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**UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON
FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**

School of Education

***An Auto/Biographical study of Family and History with reference
to the concept of Bildung***

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**Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree
Doctor of Education**

August 2010

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

**FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION**

Doctor of Education

**An Auto/Biographical study of Family and History with reference to the concept of
*Bildung***

by Judith Anne Chapman

Bildung is an educative process that emanates most recently from the German Enlightenment (circa 1770-1830). The concepts associated with it are: Communication and Narrative; Historical, Social and Cultural referent; Self-reflection and personal responsibility for learning and Distancing from the self. *Bildung* also has an ethical dimension. An individual undertakes this process in an attempt to develop a morally based, meaningful life with the altruistic intention of enhancing humanity (MacIntyre, 2007; Gadamer, 2004; Gur-ze'ev, 2002). I employed these educative concepts in the undertaking of an auto/biographical study on the lives of four of my female ancestors to research the effects on my learning.

All the four female ancestors relate to my father and I studied the history, society and culture surrounding their existence from 1773 to the present. A range of auto/biographical methodological approaches to data collection and analysis were employed as each woman left different documentary evidence of their lives. These included an autobiography, transcribed handwritten letters, a personal diary, and personal interviews. In addition, material from National Archives, Public Records, Museums, visits to family homes, photographs, portraits and other memorabilia were accessed.

This thesis describes the auto/biographical procedures I undertook and the learning that occurred throughout the process as I contextualised the women's lives and explored my reactions to their stories.

In so doing, I describe how through investigating the women's stories, I have recognised the importance of legacy and the transmission of moral values through deep personal scrutiny and critical reflection. Further, this has led to my developing an enhanced appreciation of the concept of *Bildung* and in the final chapter I mention its relationship to lifelong learning.

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Declaration of Authorship

I, Judith Chapman

declare that the thesis entitled

**An Auto/Biographical study of Family and History with reference to the concept of
*Bildung***

and the work presented in the thesis are both my own, and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research. I confirm that:

- this work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
- where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
- where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
- where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
- I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
- where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
- none of this work has been published before submission.

Signed:

Date:.....

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Emily has been my spiritual guide and Nadine my tower of strength throughout my study. I thank Nadine particularly for her inspiring encouragement and her exceptionally discerning critique of my work.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Chapter 1

True wisdom comes to each of us when we realize how little
we understand about life, ourselves, and the world around us.

Socrates 469 BC - 399 BC

Introduction

‘Who do you think you are?’

This is the title of a book and a recent award winning Television series (Gill and Barratt, 2006). Most auto/biographical research seeks to answer this question. ‘The general purpose of [biographical research] is to provide greater insight than hitherto into the nature and meaning of individual lives or groups of lives’ (Erben, 1998:4). This study explored, biographically and genealogically, the lives of four of my women ancestors and in doing so, investigated the educational methodology of *Bildung* and its applicability in modern professional education.

I am a sixty-one year-old independent woman. I am a white Kenyan, a Canadian citizen and a British subject. I am also an educationalist, a physiotherapist, a feminist, a mother and a daughter with a proud heritage. My father’s ancestors came from prominent families, whose pedigrees are well documented in Debrett’s Peerage and Burke’s Landed Gentry. At least the men of the family are well documented and their heritage easily traceable in genealogical records. Indeed, because traditionally men have worked, their careers have frequently been documented in other archival accounts (Herber, 2004). Further, children in Western society take their father’s family name so male ancestral trails are appreciably straightforward to explore. Daughters lose their surname on marrying and in most cases, it becomes a challenge to trace the female line back beyond a few generations as each wife or mother introduces a new family line. Female heritage is therefore quickly lost.

In my doctoral studies, prior to commencing research for this thesis, I undertook critical documentary analysis. On examining a leather bound manuscript tracing a connection between two of my ancestral families, I began to appreciate how women within the family were insignificant, invisible and ignored. This led me to explore women's roles in family narrative. Through this further research on my family, I discovered a lost link to a cousin, Elizabeth Fry, the Quaker prison reformer (1780-1845). My Great, Great, Great Grandmother was Elizabeth Fry's mother's sister. Because we were related through women with the family name Bell and Barclay, the link had been lost in our Chapman family tree. This and other investigations that I carried out for this doctoral essay became a 'pilot project' for the research undertaken for this thesis. I recognised how women's stories tended to be oral in nature and were quickly lost from the traces of a family tree. My recent, emerging interest in auto/biography fostered my aspirations to explore how women record their life history and tell their stories, leaving imprints for their descendents to acknowledge and absorb into their own lives.

In this study, using auto/biographical methods, I have researched the lives of four of my female ancestors.

Table 1: Identification of Women Ancestors (See Appendix 1 for relationships)

Name and maiden name	Names used in thesis	Life Dates	Genre of memorabilia
Maria Stella Wynn (Lady Newborough) née Chiappini	Maria Stella	1773-1843	Autobiography
Charlotte Anne Corbett née Morritt	Charlotte	1836-1861	Letters & Journal
Dorothy Beatrix Chapman née Wynn	Dorothy	1878-1974	Diary
Alice Dorothy Clegg-Hill née Chapman	Alice	b. 1910	Interview

In line with biographic research methodology (Roberts, 2002) I have used life documents and oral history (Plummer, 2001; Clarke, 2001) to explore the women's stories in light of the socio-cultural environment in which they lived. Archival and historical analysis has helped me to understand and elaborate on their accounts (Gidley, 2004; Grannum and Taylor, 2009). Through this process, I have gained insights into their characters and the factors that might have contributed to the development of their identity, as well as the impact that their lives might have had on subsequent generations.

I embarked on my Doctorate of Education through a desire to learn more about educative processes. I have been a lecturer in higher education for the past twenty-five years and have a particular interest, since I teach in a professional programme, in Continuing Professional Development and Reflective Practice. My research demonstrates how studying the auto/biographical genre inspired my learning and changed both the way I view myself and professional education.

Erben (1991) identifies the importance of scrutinizing and embedding life stories within the relevant historical and sociological context in order to understand more completely the life lived. This process is highlighted in the educative methodology of *Bildung*.

Bildung is a little understood concept in the field of education. In the current climate of bureaucratic transparency and fiscal accountability educational experiences undertaken by many are tightly controlled and remarkably limited. Education, in its broad sense, is about intellectual, emotional and moral growth. There are many theories about how this can be achieved (for example, Barnett, 2009; Biesta, 2007; Usher et al, 1997; Standish, 1995). *Bildung* is one such educative experience. It is a transforming process of individual, personal growth which is intimately linked with cultural identity and social integration; a search for meaningful existence within society. Gadamer (2004) extends this earlier concept of *Bildung* to include 'Geist', a spiritual dimension. It supports the highest development of the individual in an autonomous way for the altruistic intention of enhancing humanity (Gur-ze'ev, 2002; Bleicher, 2006). This thesis identifies and,

through personal experience, illustrates the process of this educative practice and argues for a more extensive use of it in professional education.

Through this self-analytical, time referenced, auto/biographical analysis, I have gained a stronger sense of my inheritance. It has affected my identity and the way I relate to others and it has changed my approach to education. Stanley (1994: i) lucidly illustrates this iterative educative process.

The notion of auto/biography involves the insistence that accounts of other lives influence how we see and understand our own and that our understandings of our own lives will impact upon how we interpret other lives.

Structure of Thesis

This thesis used Auto/Biographical Methodology to explore the lives of four female ancestors, focusing on the relationship between time and narrative in the formation of moral identity, with reference to the educational concept of *Bildung*.

In the literature review in **Chapter 2**, the concept of *Bildung* is explored and reference made to the development of moral identity through the juxtaposition of time, narrative and others, particularly deliberating the influence on female identity.

The Auto/biographic methodology is identified and justified in **Chapter 3**, 'Features of the Data Collection'. Each family member provided a different approach to data collection. This is explored individually with reference to each life story. It features my *Bildung*, my journey of discovery and in so doing describes how I accessed and analysed the documents and narratives and what I did to supplement and contextualise the stories.

I summarise the women's stories in **Chapter 4**, 'Family Stories'. My analysis and interpretation of each story is included. The women's actual stories are to be found in the Appendices 2-6.

Bildung is about my personal analysis of the impact that each story had on myself and my learning. I reflect on the process of learning from my past in **Chapter 5**, the impact that the biographical learning journey has had on me and how the educative concept of *Bildung* can be used to enhance professional education.

Chapter 6 concludes the thesis and draws attention to my findings for the deep learning involved in auto/biographical research.

Chapter 2

Review of Literature

Chapter 2

With the proviso below, I embark on sharing my thesis with the reader:

The folly of mistaking a paradox for a discovery, a metaphor for a proof, a torrent of verbiage for a spring of capital truths, and oneself for an oracle, is inborn in us.

Paul Valéry (1871–1945)

Review of Literature

This chapter seeks to explore the educative process of *Bildung*. The key concepts of *Bildung* include: communication and narrative; links with history; self-reflection and personal responsibility for self-education; distancing from the self; development of moral understanding with an emphasis on socio-cultural influences (Extrapolated from Gadamer, 2004 and others). These concepts are discussed separately within this review, bearing in mind that each overlap and occur simultaneously in the educative process. The relatively limited literature in the English language on *Bildung* is supplemented by exploring related work in auto/biography and life history (MacIntyre, 2004; Ricoeur, 1992; Carr, 1991; Taylor, 1989). The emergence of women's identity will be given specific consideration.

***Bildung* - Definition**

Bild: picture; scene

Bildung: formation, (Erziehung) education, (Kultur) culture

Bilden: form; be; (Erziehen) educate; (Geistig) educate oneself

(Prowe & Schneider, 1995:42)

'*Bildung* is a verbal noun that refers to the practice of becoming cultured' (Gadamer, 2001). A simple explanation of *Bildung* is as a cultural transition with three basic competencies necessary for its achievement, Knowledge (wissen), Thought (denken) and Communication (kommunizieren).



Image 1: Relationship of competencies in Bildung

However, these competencies, as represented in the model above, exclude the effect of other influences such as moral reasoning, artistic and creative insight, linguistic interpretation and historical context. The original reference to the mystical or spiritual has now been replaced with a humanistic or secular foundation. For instance, Dewey (1916/1966:5) 'replaced 'spirit' with the term 'mind' or 'intelligence' ['a course of action in so far as that it is intelligently directed']. Nevertheless, always at its core, is the notion of transformation to another level of understanding and existence, with the ultimate vision of improving the collective whole (Gadamer, 2004).

History of the concept of *Bildung*

Although recognised as a transformational notion long before, *Bildung* emanates most forcefully as a concept from the German Enlightenment (circa 1770-1830) (Løvlie, 2002). In the period of Enlightenment, there was much controversy and development of ideas about the nature of knowledge, stemming from changes in scientific reasoning. Because of fundamental differences in culture, religion and societal structure, the German Enlightenment movement, lead by Leibniz and Kant, viewed the scientific research approach emerging in France and England with scepticism. In his work the Critique of Pure Reason (1781), Kant and later Kierkegaard, postulated that people possess an inborn sense of raw experience and that this 'transcendental idealism' influences an individual's view on the world. As a result, it is difficult to gain a true sense of what is

‘real’ and what is simply an experience inevitably clouded by individual perceptions or judgments. These ideas ran contrary to the concepts emanating from the scientific paradigm, which suggested human thought and behaviour could be empirically explained and understood. The Enlightenment movement mistrusted the outcomes shaped by empirical judgments, stressing the influence of an individual’s a priori conceptualisations.

What is *Bildung*?

Bildung gained strength from these Enlightenment philosophies of individuated human evolutionary experiences and the interaction of the individual with society. It is a term that signifies the process of advancement of a human being, in a cultural context, to the achievement of a superior society. ‘A rising up to humanity through culture’ (Gadamer, 2004:9). From its medieval stem, the word ‘Bild’ equates with the word ‘image’ and in the context of the time, the image of God, giving emphasis to the spiritual element or a raised consciousness meaning in the word. This movement, from one state of understanding or consciousness to another, equates with our concept of ‘liberal education’ and in this, Gadamer (2004) stresses the personal responsibility for this self-education. He reflected the views of Hegel and Kant whose philosophies emphasised the ‘duty’ one has to educate or cultivate oneself.

Bildung is an educative process that aspires to achieve moral development. Moral development was perceived by Aristotle (1862:37) to occur through an educative process and, put simply, the true education of a person is ‘having been trained in some way from infancy to feel joy and to feel grief at the right things’. It is not however, a learning that takes place without reference to the society, culture and historical point in time in which the individual exists.

Moral, ‘Concerned with the principles of right and wrong behaviour: Concerned with, based on or adhering to the code of behaviour that is considered right or acceptable in a particular society rather than legal rights or duties’ (*Oxford English Dictionary*, 2005:1140).

Carr (1991a) suggests that this moral development seeks to clarify three areas of understanding; the value, the purpose, and the meaning or significance of life. Taylor (1989:3) explores in depth the distinction between ‘what is right to do rather than what is good to be, on defining the content of obligation rather than the nature of a good life’. He explains that in defining the self, there is an implicit process whereby an individual is able to make choices in developing a morally based, meaningful life. It is through narrative that a person comes to understand their life and it is in the dialogue with others that they become cognisant of the complexity of selfhood and develop an awareness of their place in that society (Erben, 2000).

The educative process of *Bildung* is comprised of several key, but interrelated concepts, namely:

- Communication and Narrative
- Link with History (including socio-cultural aspects)
- Self-reflection and Personal Responsibility for learning
- Distancing from the Self

These concepts will be discussed as separate entities, but each is unified critically with reference to time.

Key concepts of *Bildung*

Communication and Narrative

‘Lives are lived through time but made intelligible through narrative’ (Erben, 2000:383). The ability to tell one’s own story is a critical element of *Bildung*. It is through the expression of our experiences, organized as narratives that we come to realize connections and start to make sense of our lives. The telling of life history is part of the process of defining and changing identity. Thinking reflectively and interpreting prior life events in the light of prevailing or new cultural, sociological or historical frames of reference can bring insights that transform identity particularly in relation to others (Erben, 1998). Erben (2000) draws on the work of MacIntyre and Ricoeur to point out the evolutionary process involved in personal narrative and, in so doing shows how

narrative is dynamic, changing people's interpretations of themselves as ethical and moral members of society, as fragments of insight alter perceptions and judgments.

The critical elements of narrative are:

- temporality
- articulation and reception
- emergence of meaning and identity

Temporality

Woolf (1978:92), when describing the growth of a plant, illustrates the impact of time in the complex process of narrating a life:

... That is what is indescribable, that is what makes all images too static, for no sooner has one said this was so, than it was past and altered.

Lives are lived through time and '*a life that is studied is the study of a life in time*' (Erben, 1998:13). Life is finite. It has a beginning at a point in time and it has an ending at another sequenced, future point in time. But although it has an apparent beginning and end the life is being lived through time and is relative to time which came before it and will continue after it. The telling of it is complicated. Unlike fictional stories, life stories are being told when lived and the 'how they will end' is unknown and the impact of the future on the current stories is yet undetermined. For, as Ricoeur (1992:160) comments:

Now there is nothing in real life that serves as a narrative beginning; memory is lost in the hazes of early childhood; my birth and, with greater reason, the act through which I was conceived belong more to the history of others – in this case, to my parents – than to me. As for my death, it will finally be recounted only in the stories of those who survive me. I am always moving toward my death, and this prevents me from ever grasping it as a narrative end.

Thus it is clear that the lived life is comprised of three inextricably linked components. The past, the present and the future. Ricoeur (1991:31) highlights Augustine's proposition on time. He sees:

...the three aspects of the present as expectation, which he calls the present of the future, memory, which he calls the present of the past, and attention, which is the present of the present

Carr (1991a; 1991b), expanding on Husserl, defines this process further to include a 'just-past' memory or Retention as being different from the secondary memory, or Recollection. Similarly, he calls the immediate expectation of the future Protention, which is different from a secondary expectation, which would come in the form of anxiety or plan for the future. He uses the analogy of a subject in a field or horizon to capture the immediacy of the lived moment's link to the past and future. What will be lost in the ancestral stories will be the retention and protention of living their life; as will be anything that I write, for when a person comes to record an event or an epiphany (however soon after the event), the thought or feeling will have been replaced and altered by immediately subsequent events. As already illustrated by Woolf (1978) this element underlines the fundamental difference between a life lived and a life as told.

Ricoeur (1991) unravels the complexity of understanding the role of time in life narrative. Life is lived sequentially but understood only in the present with reference always to the past and the future. Present experiences are influenced by prior understanding of the past and, anticipation of the future influences both the experience of the present and interpretations of the past. Despite the unpredictable nature of the future's impact on a life, the life is lived in line with future aspirations and often future goals drive present time decision making (MacIntyre, 2007). Also, what is currently happening in the present of a life and what is known now will change as a result of the future being experienced and will subsequently be remembered as significant, or not. Repeatedly, the meaning of the present experience is not fully appreciated or attended to in the present and it is not until it is retrospectively considered, in light of future

experiences and future expectations, that its importance is recognised (Usher, 2000; Scott, 1991; Woolf, 1978). You live life forwards but understand it backwards.

Hence, narrative understanding and the second-order discourse of life stories are always emerging and changing. 'We are constantly having to revise the plot' as Carr (1991b) adroitly puts it. We are always changing and becoming (Taylor, 1889). It can be seen as a process of renewal (Taylor, 1991). In this cyclical and progressive way, our moral values adapt and change. This reflects the educative process underpinning *Bildung*. Echoing the evolutionary and unfinished nature of *Bildung*, Taylor (1989) alludes to the long time that maturation takes. He cites knowledge of self through the maturational process, incorporating insight to recognise and overcome defeats. We determine what we are by what we have become and by the story of how we got there. From what we have become, we project our future being (Carr, 1991a). The ability of an individual to integrate the present, past and future is essential to psychological health and without a sense of self based on past history or a lack of a goal oriented future an individual can lose their sense of identity and life meaning. (MacIntyre, 2007:217; Taylor, 1989:14). Mortensen (2002:450) also points out that '... self-transcendence is not a onetime occurrence. It is productive, cumulative' and this dynamic process constantly involves linking past and future.

This understanding and appreciation of the temporal framework of life had major implications for my researching ancestral stories. MacIntyre (2007:208) explains it well:

Behaviour is only characterised adequately when we know what the longer and longest-term intentions invoked are and how the shorter-term intentions are related to the longer.

Although as a descendent, I know something about how the life stories turn out I nevertheless have examined the stories for intent and emergence of identity. This was, for instance, particularly difficult with the brief diary of Dorothy. She only describes a few actions that took place and although I could set that in a historical and cultural

context, I was unable to understand the *intentions* of what she did and accordingly it was more difficult to piece her personhood together. The letters of Charlotte gave a more consistent view of a life lived but the thoughts and actions observed in the letters had to be interpreted cautiously since the before and after (past and future) were not available for analysis, even if the actions had 'a recognisable purpose' to myself, the researcher (MacIntyre, 2007:210).

It was also most important to place the subjects in the context of their lifetime and specifically refer to their intentions relative to the time of the action or the time of recounting the action. For instance, there was a noticeable difference between Dorothy and Charlotte writing about something that happened within the last twenty-four hours and Alice and Maria Stella recalling something that happened over fifty years previously. Not only does memory play a part, but Dorothy and Charlotte interpret and recount events at the time of the occurrence with a strong sense of the intent of the actions or events on the future. Alice and Maria Stella are interpreting the intention of their actions with the maturity of 60 years. i.e. with hindsight, there may be a different interpretation of the intent of an action given that subsequent events have placed that action in a different context than was recognised at the time. In addition, at a later stage in life there is likely a need to portray a life well lived, so intentions and subsequent actions may be hidden.

Bildung is also a spatial as well as temporal undertaking. Mortensen's (2002:437) use of metaphor in citing Wordsworth's poem '*To the Cuckoo*' (1902) illustrates beautifully not only the elusive nature of the self-education journey but perhaps more importantly it emphasises the revisiting of a former self (child) at a later time, i.e. in adulthood, when understanding has matured.

And I can listen to thee yet;
Can lie upon the plain
And listen, till I do beget
That golden time again

Temporally, Wordsworth revisits a time and place that has long been forgotten. In moving away, he had been able to distance himself but then he returns to the poignant feeling of confusion and loss as a child and is able to gain understanding. Suddenly, the sound of the cuckoo triggers a memory and then a more enlightened view. In this instance both boy and man were 'searching for something that cannot be found, even though it exists' (Mortensen, 2002:438). This spatial orientation identified for me the need for visiting the homes of my ancestors.

A life is linked inextricably to historical time and culture. This influences the telling and reception of a life story. It is a person's ability to discover their narrative identity in relation to their culture that makes the telling of their story meaningful, not just a narcissistic endeavour (Ricoeur, 1991; Hamilton, 2007).

In this thesis, I examined the prevailing historical, social, and cultural aspects of the lives of my ancestors. Recognising the impact of those issues on a life and integrating that wider knowledge into the context of their stories was an important aspect of developing my biographical writing skills.

It is by analysis of human behaviours and emotions and use of narrative that an individual makes sense of life. It is through articulating the life that she or he brings together all the disparate parts, events and reactions into a integrated, rational whole for which she or he can be accountable (Ricoeur, 1991; Taylor, 1989).

Articulation and Reception Communicating a life story to an audience

The telling a story of one's life is not the same thing as living that life. Ricoeur is particularly clear about the incompatibility of the two. '[Life] stories are recounted not lived; life is lived and not recounted' (Ricoeur, 1991:20). 'Life histories differ from literary ones' (Ricoeur, 1992:161). MacIntyre (2007:212) observes, 'Stories are lived before they are told' and Bruner (1984:7) goes as far as to classify the sequence of events:

Live lived, Life as experienced, Life as told.

A life lived is what actually happens. A life as experienced consists of the images, feelings, sentiments, desires, thoughts, and meanings known to the person whose life it is... A life told, a life history, is a narrative, influenced by the cultural conventions of telling, by the audience, and by the social context.

Thus, living and narrating lives are interrelated activities, but not interchangeable concepts. As such, both are influenced by internal and external variables that alter the perception of events and impact on the stability, accuracy and authenticity of a story of life. This tenuous situation is further complicated by the reader or audience of the life story who bring their own life experiences and interpretations to any exchange, an issue that will be addressed later. Carr (1991a:13) adds a further dimension to the instability of life stories and explains that in life 'everything is scrambled messages' and events don't occur in an organised or logical manner. Yet, most stories are told in this way, with a structure (beginning, middle and end) and with the exclusion of superfluous detail (Ricoeur, 1991; Carr, 1991b).

Ricoeur (1991) uses the Aristotelian concept of Emplotment to illustrate how individuals undertake their story-telling process. Muthos is the imaginary element and refers to the creative interpretation that an individual applies to the narrative understanding of their human experiences. Though these many life events and interpretations spring from illogical and often chaotic sources the need for concordance surpasses the incongruous and the story or Plot, as Ricoeur (1991:21) calls it, serves to synthesise these various elements into a coherent story. Various authors discuss the elements of storytelling with different categorizations, but most are consistent in the notion that they include people (characters, actors); something being told (muthos, story, chronicle); an organization of that into a coherent whole (plot, theme or story line, emplotment, trajectory); and an attraction to the reader/listener (mimēsis, genres) (Ricoeur, 1991, 1992; Wood, 1991; Plummer, 2001; Roberts, 2002; Czarniawska, 2004).

Since the life story is disjointed, it beholds the narrator to make the story accessible to the reader through what Gadamer (2004:26) calls a 'fusion of horizons'. The horizons that fuse are that of the experience of the narrator and the expectation of the reader. Both are fluid enterprises. Expectations held at the outset can be readjusted as the story moves. As Ricoeur (1991:26) explains:

The reader belongs at once to the work's horizon of experience in experience and imagination and to that of his or her own real action. The horizon of expectation and the horizon of experience continually confront one another and fuse together.

Carr (1991b) suggests that in this exchange the reader is the vulnerable party as, in making the story accessible, the narrator selects and organises the life material. Much of what happened in the lived life is excluded to conserve the attention of the audience. Often, in order to make sense, as mentioned, the story follows a linear pattern. However, there is always a tension between linear representation and telling the story in a fashion that fits the purpose of or reason for the story, underlining the fluctuating interpretation of identity. Again, Ricoeur (1991:30) explains:

It is the quest for personal identity, which assures the continuity between the potential or virtual story and the explicit story for which we assume responsibility.

A life story organized in this way demonstrates a sequencing of events that suggests causality, which gives the story meaning, both to the narrator and the audience. Retrospectively an analysis is made about prior choices leading to subsequent actions or events or epiphanies outside of the control of the individual occurring with subsequent perceived consequences as a result of attributing meaning. As the life is led, although events occur sequentially, they are not understood chronologically and the links to cause or sequence are less obvious, if recognized at all (Elliott, 2005).

A story derives its meaning from its ending. Causality and sequencing build to a climax that furnishes the audience with understanding and significance. However, a life story never ends, for up until the moment of death the story will change with current events influencing the meaning of the past. The ending of life will be absorbed into someone else's story (Ricoeur, 1992; Fish and Coles, 1998).

Any narrated life story will be the subject of interpretation by the audience to whom it is told. Issues of making interpretations of a life based on a small extract, a lack of historical context, and judgments based on the listener's life experiences are discussed at length in an article I co-authored during the course of my doctoral studies (Bramley and Chapman, 2008). These difficulties aside, the importance of the audience in constructing and co-constructing the story cannot be overemphasized (Mishler, 1986; Mishler, 1999; Elliott, 2005).

Emergence of Meaning and Identity

Identity

It is the purpose of the Educative process, *Bildung*, to develop an individual's moral identity, which then affects interactions with others in society to the betterment of that society. Taylor (1989), Ricoeur (1992) and MacIntyre (2007) all emphasise the importance of narration in the development of moral awareness. It is in seeking an answer to their life's purpose that an individual looks to unite the cacophony of events and reactions. However, the choice of whether to complete this consciously or inadvertently is up to the individual (Carr, 1991 a and b). Most people, in striving to be accountable for their actions, retell their stories to others. The act of telling the story brings about a sense of coherence to the narrative, even though the sequence of the lived life wasn't recognised that way. It is in the creating and telling of the story that meaning and a sense of (moral) purpose is imbued. In the exchange of narratives with others, ideas are clarified and the responsibility for human actions reinforced (MacIntyre, 2007). This underlines the importance of the reader or listener in the process. And moreover it emphasises the need for the reader to consider the differences in his/her own and the author's situation (Hamilton, 2007).

Identity is a person's concept of self. Despite the apparent clarity of being able to define a personal characteristic, the concept of identity is nevertheless elusive. It is complicated by its relationship with time, others, and the medium of expression. I will discuss these again now relating the concepts to the emergence of identity.

1) **Time** - The perception (of identity) or the event (of identification) happens in the present, which immediately becomes the past and from that moment the identity has changed, by virtue of another thought, event or interaction taking place. In the past / present / future continuum, identity also draws from an expectation of the future. i.e. something that has not and may not occur, and therefore the concept of identity may change with the realisation or the disappointment or change in that anticipation (Frank, 1997). Retrospectively, the perception of identity (current and past) may change as the recognition of a pattern in events and actions emerges, causality is linked, or context is understood (Elliott, 2005). In this way new knowledge is assimilated over time and influences the way in which a prior experience is viewed and therefore changes the perception of our identity (Regan, 2007).

Although a life is lived chronologically in time, it is experienced, to a degree, highly unpredictably. It is understood or narrated cohesively as interpretation and meaning is infused. Thus, the traits of identity may remain, yet the state of identity fluctuates.

2) **Others** - Identity is built up through interactions with others (You cannot be a somebody, unless there is another body to be a somebody to/with). Therefore, people have to be able to communicate. Erben (1999) describes the impact of an inability to communicate leading to mental breakdown, as life is miss/not understood. It is in telling a story that the sense of self (identity) emerges. The teller makes sense of their lives; remembers, interprets, constructs, reconstructs events in the outside world, which have been subjectively experienced (Sclater, 1998). It is in the self-scrutiny that accompanies another's reaction to us (to our story) that we develop our self-awareness (Findlay, 2003).

In appealing to an audience, narrative has the ability to communicate and teach moral understanding. The quest for personal identity is not just knowing who I am at this time, it is about the unity of life (being able to see one's life as a whole, despite it not being coherent as one lives it) and the mattering of the self to the self and to others.– the need for meaning in life). The moral choices made are not only for the individual's benefit, they are fundamentally for the good of the society in which that person lives (Taylor, 1989). Through the recounting of life events (joys and particularly hardships) and reactions to them (acting and suffering) listeners and readers can learn about living ethical lives far more powerfully than for instance interpreting a list of instructions. This reciprocal relationship was identified by John Donne (1572 -1631), a 17th century meta-physical poet when he said 'What affects another affects me. We are joined like continents'.

It is in the quest for moral good that we develop our moral principles and values. Some of the values that fuel our quest are endowed by our ancestors as well as the socio-cultural situation we live in - possession of a historical identity and a social identity. By trial and error, we redefine moral good for ourselves and integrate those ideas into the way we live our life. The process influences our way of dealing with adversity and it is in the handling of that adversity that we learn about ourselves and develop a better understanding of the moral good (Erben, 1999). An individual's moral development is no longer dictated by dogma and (blindly) followed. It grows as a consequence of individual experiences and it is important to study the history of the origin of those more dogmatic moral values and question them. How an individual interprets and acts on their experiences allows for maturity. Maturity is about reaching an advanced stage in a process– and the way in which maturity is accomplished is by education.

3) **Medium of expression** – Identity is primarily available in narrative – by conversation (Forrester, 1999), writing (Tamboukou, 2008), self-reflection (Ballinger, 2003) and other media. Language is the foremost medium of communication. Generally, words are needed to express feelings or sensations and if those words are not available, then the

ability to identify who we are as a person is severely limited. The search for meaning is explored through language and discussion. Language can uncover impressions that influence how we see ourselves and enhances our ability to explore new ways of thinking about being (Gadamer, 2004; Regan, 2007).

However, a person also exists as an identity without words (Forrester, 1999; Sclater, 1998). That inner self exists before language describes. That inner self can lie buried in the unconscious and emerge spontaneously and without conscious recognition. Developing an understanding of what lies in the unconscious is the basis for Psychoanalysis, and when articulated, allows for the maturation of identity discussed above. However, neither a life led or examined in a biographical sense is fully understood and ambiguity, confusion and incompleteness is an accepted part of an emerging identity. Several authors argue that being able to use narrative as the medium of discovery can actually compromise understanding, and argue for the use of creative expression to enhance the knowledge of moral development, and be included in the genre of Biography (Hamilton, 2007). For instance, Tamboukou (2008:3) postulates that speech distorts the story that another hears and so letters are a better way of communicating as they afford the opportunity to organise thoughts 'reflect, remember, and communicate'. She illustrates how her subject also uses art as a medium of expression.

4) Other influences - Several authors identify not one 'solid' identity, but a flexible set of characteristics and a multiplicity of selves, especially in this age of internet access where identity can be real or virtual (Chase, 2008; Løvlie, 2002; Denzin, 1989, Peshkin, 1988:17; Goffmann, 1966). There are characteristics in an individual that are attributed to a more fixed origin, are more collective in nature and therefore can be more easily identified, such as gender, ethnicity, age, religion, roles and historic-cultural or social background (Denzin, 1989:139; Løvlie, 2002; Roberts, 2002:106, 13). The characteristics emanating from internal sources are more enigmatic, individual and changeable. These include body image, drives, capabilities, skill attainment, education, personal experiences etc. (Løvlie, 2002; Peshkin, 1988).

Goffmann (1966) clearly illustrates the fixed/changeable nature of identity relative to predefined roles in society. Roles are created relative to the demands of a job. An individual adopting a role may find a 'ready made' identity. Regardless of their own personal identity an individual may have to 'fit' into the prescribed role. People have to put on hold some aspect of their several selves in order to perform a role correctly or they juggle and synthesise, accommodate and appease their other selves in that situated activity (Goffmann, 1966). This is of concern in the educational process of developing the professional identity of students as they need to adapt their concept of self to accommodate the demands of their emergent professional role.

Who I am, my identity, is critical to the *Bildung* process, for it is the movement as a result of my learning, who I have become, that is fundamental to this thesis. The unity of my life is made through narrative and within me reside different identities that allow me to move within various echelons of society. Who I am now may not be the same as who I was, but if I am to be accountable for my life, I need to be able to explain intelligibly to another how and why I was different at different points in time. I can also ask others how they see me. How my life affects theirs (correlative narrative) and most importantly, how my learning has affected my understanding of myself as a woman.

Women's identity

The way in which a life story is told may influence the perception of identity. 'The male life stories seem to be obsessed with order, linearity, conflict and struggle with separation from authority figures... Female life stories have a "more global accounting of life stories"' (Denzin, 1989:29). The telling of the story may affect the perception of identity both on the part of the individual and the person with whom they are interacting. Colebrook (2009) suggests that women's approaches to personal development emerge from a different paradigm; there is a greater recognition of the importance of social interaction on identity (Oakley, 2005:29) and an acknowledgement that women's recent social evolution is not a structured, progressive, individuated, staged event. Also there is an acceptance that developments from the past are not

static, has-been events, but are collected into the present, lending an ongoing coherence and a new way of interpreting and living the future. Colebrook (2009) advocates reclaiming the past (feminist) stories, not just in the socio-cultural framework within which they were situated, but also as active ideas that can be incorporated into the present time, which could have a different impact on how we interpret ourselves now and move our lives forward in the future. This concept had implications for how I read my ancestral stories. It brought a recognition that I am not simply an evolved female with my women ancestors as a 'before' and myself or my daughter as an 'after' in a linear sense. Therefore, I gathered the women's narratives in a historical but interactive way to inform my self-reflection and understanding of an identity that incorporated my past into future (generational) activity. '...why generations both proceed/precede each other in time, and disrupt the sense we have of time as a series' (Colebrook, 2009:14).

Link with history

Løvlie and Standish (2002:331) clearly articulate the need to consider our historical roots.

There is no other way for a human being to make the most of himself than by learning to recognize himself in the mirror of (his) inheritance.

And Channing (2007:16) echoes this in a quote from Matisse to Picasso, when illustrating how important it is for us to study the Masters in order to develop our own artistic talents.

Matisse to Picasso on reading Abstract Expressionism, "And in a generation or two who among the painters will still carry a part of us in his heart, as we do with Manet and Cézanne?" He need not have worried.

A theme that is constant throughout the writings on *Bildung* is the place of history in any undertaking. In addition to the tacit, historical knowledge possessed by an individual

being in-born and generationally acquired, there is the historical knowledge that comes from an individual reflecting on their own lives to better understand the person that they have become. In order to strive for moral development a person needs to undertake both reflective self-examination relative to his/her immediate past and anticipated future, and a collective historical analysis.

Løvlie and Standish (2002) reinforce this notion of a person being a historic personality. This understanding encompasses not only ancestral knowledge but it is historically, socially and culturally determined. Gadamer (2004) encourages us to explore tradition, that which is handed to us from the past, in an active, engaged way, so that we embrace our heritage with discernment and from it take both the capability and the personal limitations it provides (Weinsheimer & Marshall, 2004). Also, in his discussion about the evolution of understanding in the human sciences (as distinct from the natural sciences), Gadamer (2004) emphasises the importance of considering any perceived phenomena in the context of its unique historical moment as well as the hermeneutic process of using our cultural past to enlighten our self-understanding in relation to the lives of others. This relates to beneficial *Bildung* -oriented change which is, through deep conversational understanding, not unakin to the development of mature love.

Our stories are not constructed in isolation. They are always (only ever a) part of an anthology of stories. Not only are we part of the stories of our contemporaries, but our story emerges from the stories and customs of our forbearers. In order to understand our life and actions, it is necessary to explore the context (cultural, historical and societal) into which we were born so that we can make ourselves intelligible to both others and ourselves. This means exploring predecessors' stories (MacIntyre, 2007:216). In so doing, an analysis of the actions and moral values/intentions is grounded in the historical and socio-cultural mores of the time and leads to a better understanding of the life lived (MacIntyre, 2007). Without being able to orientate oneself relative to others, a sense of self and who we are is lost (Taylor, 1989).

Mortensen (2002:439) demonstrates the radical change in thinking experienced at the time of the emergence of the concepts of *Bildung* 200 years ago. At that time the prevailing belief was that a person was simply a product of what was handed down to him by his parents and ancestors. But 'Wordsworth actually turns traditional, patriarchal genealogy upside down and takes human identity out of the realm of heredity'. In these post-modern times, the practice of personal analysis is commonplace and insights derived from explorations of the unconscious, 'the child is the father of the man', more frequently steer the shaping of individual identity. There is a tension then perhaps between needing to:

- explore your life in the present and past (i.e. the development of self-awareness and exposure of the unconscious), relative to the society in which you live, by using contemporaneous relationships;
- and explore the lives of ancestors and history to gain an understanding their contribution to your identity.

Though identity, as Wordsworth pointed out, came from a strong sense of both social kinship and inheritance, the former frequently gains over the latter, because records of ancestral lives are often unavailable and the oral history of families only recounts tales of two or three generations back (Martin et al, 1988).

In the past, individual understanding was compromised by biographies being only about powerful and important people, with whom the plebeian could not identify (Hamilton, 2007:9). More recently, with the advent of personal spaces on the internet, there is growing desire and opportunity narrate and to be heard. Whether the act of telling one's story in such a way improves moral awareness is still to be established and must currently be regarded as questionable. However, I have argued, through this thesis, that we ignore the influence of our ancestors at our peril. As Santayana asserted 'Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it' (Norman, 2003:584).

Self-reflection

To see oursels as others see us

It wad frae monie a blunder free us

Robert Burns (1759-1796)

Over two hundred years ago, Burns had the insight to recognise the importance of self-reflection. Narrative of the quality implied in *Bildung* cannot be achieved without the experience of critical self-reflection. The journey towards self-possession and self-mastery is accomplished by this fundamental process (Birk, 2006; Løvlie and Standish, 2002; Mortensen, 2002; Standish, 2003; Hader, 1996). However, the process of gaining that insight is enigmatic. Analogies such as videotaping oneself and watching and critiquing the performance or climbing floors of a building and then looking back on the self of the previous level illustrate the introspection required in this maturational progression (Mortensen, 2002).

Much has been made of the reflective process in the education of health professionals. Schön's (1983) work underpins the recognition that learning that occurs as a result of a person's cumulative experience is valuable. That is, learning through experience as opposed to curriculum based learning. In advocating a reflective analysis of practice, he encourages an individual to be aware of the tacit knowledge and understanding acquired in the *Bildung* process. Reflective Practice is a dialogue of thinking and doing through which a person becomes more skilful. It includes moral questions about ethical practice and the worthwhile nature of activities, and thus attends to ends as well as means. It encourages critical thinking (Schön, 1987).

Most personal exploration occurs as a result of uncertainty (Bradby-Jones et al., 2009). Uncertainty is often a precursor to or highlighted by a significant event. Enlightenment, where lives are altered, tends to occur around 'epiphanies' (Denzin, 1989). These trigger the individual to scrutinise the situation and his/her response to it. *Bildung* is comprised of these instances, but, as it is an ongoing educative process, more than a single event, there is no completion to the process. It is simply a path of experience by which moral

values are cultivated and established (Cleary and Hogan, 2001). But, critically, it highlights the need for personal awareness; of how an individual's conduct, attitudes, beliefs and values have emerged and influenced any situation that they currently find themselves in. When I undertook my first piece of formal, published reflective writing (Chapman, 1998), the editors drew on the analogy of an iceberg to illustrate this situation. The 'doing' of professional practice is the observed tip of the iceberg; the (significant) experience, the waterline and then the lower, greater, unseen part of the iceberg contains tacit personal and professional understanding, attitudes, beliefs and values. It is these that the reflective process seeks to uncover, contextualize and use, to promote change and to become more effective practitioners (Fish and Coles, 1998; French and Dowds, 2008).

Professional organizations, such as those that I am involved in, require health care workers, and in my case, Physiotherapists, to keep up to date with changing trends in clinical practice and to be responsible for ongoing professional development (CSP, 2008; HPC, 2008; DOH, 2003). This process requires them to reflect critically on their day-to-day practice and then take responsibility for self-education to refine their knowledge and skills to improve care for the public. Both are critical steps in the *Bildung* process.

The process of *Bildung* fits well into the concept of lifelong learning demanded by professional regulatory bodies and the fundamental concepts inherent in *Bildung* warrant an exploration of its outcome to assess its use as an educative method of promoting enhanced professional practice.

Distancing from the self

We shall not cease from exploration
And the end of all our exploring
Will be to arrive where we started
And know the place for the first time.

T.S. Eliot. (1942)

In this extract from Eliot's *Four Quartets*, he deftly encapsulates this process of distancing from the self. Distancing is underpinned by memory... It is by forgetting that we can return and view the concept/situation with new eyes. These lost memories also sink into one's unconscious and become unobtrusively present in everything we do. Frequently a person can act in a particularly sensitive way that defies explanation. Tacit knowledge is embedded from previous experience, and is comprised of more than that that has been memorised or learnt by rote. It is a way of knowing that comes from aesthetic and historical understanding of others in relation to oneself (Gadamer, 2004).

In achieving this insight or self-learning, an individual needs to distance him or herself from the experience. Learning can only occur if the individual remains open to new 'knowledge' and is willing to change. This state involves risk because an individual has to put themselves beyond what is known and familiar to them and be receptive to the unexpected. 'Keeping oneself open to what is other – to other, more universal points of view' (Gadamer, 2004:15). As well as learning being a source of joy, it can accompany mourning or loss, but in the terms discussed, it is always a progressive process. Through language, literature, art, conversation and developing love, a willing individual can distance themselves from themselves. They can view as an outsider yet personal meaning may emerge from the medium and so the individual gains insight into themselves, who they are and what they could be.

This distancing is not necessarily a conscious process, and often it is in the realisation of the return to the self that the individual recognises that learning has occurred. 'Thus it is clear that it is not alienation as such, but the return to oneself which presupposes a prior alienation that constitutes the essence of *Bildung*' (Cleary and Hogan, 2001:526). In Nafisi's (2003:94), memoir of teaching western literature in revolutionary Iran, she asks the following question of her students. What should 'fiction accomplish? Why should one bother to read fiction at all?' The answer lies in the activity's ability to deepen a person's consciousness, to speak to them of different levels of existence, to take from the narrative a different perspective with which the reader can view their own world on

their return to it (Mortensen, 2002). 'What we search for in fiction is not so much reality but the epiphany of truth' (Nafisi, 2003).

I recognised this element of distancing in the empirical research that I have done. Day-to-day my learning goes unnoticed, but, like climbing a spiral staircase, when I get to the end of a research project I find myself at the next level of understanding of the subject. Although this can be useful, I recognised that often I haven't published my results for the questions I originally asked appear immature and ill formed. The results come across flawed because of the unforeseen variables discovered that impact on the integrity of the findings. This became a negative outcome of *Bildung* (Løvlie and Standish, 2002). In future; I shall now accept the research process as evolutionary learning not as a process that shows how inadequate and limited my thinking has been.

This distancing from the self has also been apparent to me in my doctoral studies. Books and articles that were unintelligible at the start are now clearer. Written work that was flawed originally has now been better synthesised as my understanding has grown, but I have no real recollection of when or why this has happened. There are still areas that are obviously immature and I don't know how that will change in the future but this is the evolutionary, incomplete process of *Bildung*.

Conclusion

Bildung is an exceptional educational transition that locates an individual more cogently with themselves in the broader context of society, with a will and vision to improve and extend that society in the future. This process provides the underpinnings of my doctoral thesis. In reviewing the concept of *Bildung* several key elements have become apparent. *Bildung* is a word that is difficult to translate into English because it contains concepts that are steeped in cultural and philosophical viewpoints. As such, its translation is shifting and alters with time and place. Gadamer has been the most prolific modern writer on this notion and has spent much energy defining a modern conception of *Bildung*. His opinions overlap with many authors of academic educational writing, who

may have drawn on his previous work or share a contemporary vision of educational challenges. Many of the concepts in *Bildung* are shared with views on biographical research and so in undertaking a process of biographical research on my ancestors, I have been able to understand the *Bildung* process more clearly.

Embedded, is the knowledge that one has been both genetically and socially determined and that is implicitly integrated into one's identity. This tacit knowledge drives many of our actions, attitudes and beliefs. 'Moral intuitions', as Taylor (1989) calls them, are instinctive and often produce no more than an automatic response to an ethical situation. Making this implicit knowledge conscious is important for better understanding ourselves and developing our moral values. The educative process, *Bildung*, seeks to reveal this knowledge. Studying the lives of my ancestors based in their historical past has helped me recognise those forces that have already moulded my life and choices. This was a unique opportunity for me, because my research was not just an investigation of 'another life in time' where I would have appreciated how social, cultural and historical influences might have collectively affected the social situation in which I have lived my life. My research subjects are my forebears, with whom I have a temporal relationship and they have had a direct impact on how I have evolved and now come to view my life. Their values were unknowingly entrenched in my formative years. The family ethos was absorbed. Importantly therefore, the educative opportunity afforded me in this research reinforced, moulded or altered those views. The learning either complemented, and enhanced or completely or radically altered those fundamental views. It gave me the opportunity to think more critically about the values that I have absorbed. Ideally I would like to see myself continuing to develop and build on the rich heritage that I have, but I have also been given the opportunity to alter the way that legacy has influenced my life. Plummer (2001) clearly identifies difference between traditional and modern or 'post-late' modern identities; the former being more stable and static and tied to kinship, community and hierarchy and the latter more relational and self-reflexive and linked to globalisation, high tech and the loss of a cohesive story, which has led to a breakdown of social and moral conduct. This challenged me to think whether I fully understood the ancestral stories, particularly the

earlier ones and whether exploring them had been useful to me in this post-modern age. Regardless, as a result of this exploration, I have been given a choice of whether to continue to adopt the family values or to lead a more 'authentic existence' (Carr, 1991a, p.107). This process of self-analytical research has give me a better sense of my inheritance; has changed my identity in a way that is clear yet also still elusive to me and it has enabled me to provide an exemplar or to be visionary to future generations.

This iterative process happens little by little and I recognised that even at the end of this thesis I had not reached a conclusion in this process (Taylor, 1989). Again, Eliot captures this well:

In my beginning is my end...

...In my end is my beginning

T.S. Eliot. (1942)

Chapter 3

Methodology

Chapter 3

Methodology

By three methods we may learn wisdom:

First, by reflection, which is noblest;

Second, by imitation, which is easiest;

and third by experience, which is the bitterest.

Confucius (551 BC – 479 BC)

Features of the data collection

In order to initiate my learning about Auto/Biographical writing I studied the lives of four of my female ancestors. In the telling of their stories, so I tell my own. Three have contributed genetically to my make-up and two have had a profound effect on my emotional and moral development, as I grew up under their tutelage. Through both nature and nurture my view on life has been moulded by my ancestors.

Part of the intention of a chapter on methodology is to enable subsequent research to be conducted in a similar manner. The descriptions can be entirely factual emphasising the repeatability of the process, or they can acknowledge the subjectivity and place of the researcher within the interactional process of gathering and analysing data. Self-revelatory narrative can add to the authenticity of auto/biographical writing and can be used to show how the research evolved and developed (Coffee, 1999:121). This latter approach is the one I intend using, because it is unlikely anyone would undertake exactly the same piece of research. However, I will identify what for me were the challenges and rewards of the work in such a manner that anyone interested in this sort of auto/biographical work can discover and learn for themselves about the methods employed. I also wish to demonstrate the quality and rigour of my investigative process.

Biographical writing was the method of choice for my research since the structure of exploring and recounting lives reflects the ideology of *Bildung*. A primary feature of *Bildung* is the exploration of history and its influence on current identity. Several women

in my family left a rich collection of evidence of their lives. In order to explore my historical past, it was therefore appropriate to use women in the family as the source for my personal research. I had access to different life documents for each woman. An autobiographical text (Maria Stella), transcribed handwritten letters (Charlotte), a personal diary (Dorothy), and an oral history (Alice). Additionally, I used portraits, photographs, archival material, official documents, scrapbooks, sewing samples, and other inherited memorabilia. Not only did I use the easily accessible material, but I researched on-line archives for historical records and visited County Record Offices (Winchester, Caernarvon and Durham) and The National Archives at Kew. I also visited four past family homes, uncovered sculptures in the National Maritime Museum in Liverpool, accessed fashion exhibits in Bath's Fashion Museum and London's Victoria and Albert Museum and connected with unknown family members.

Recognising the scope of my investigations, I questioned at the start of my research how I would recognise when I had examined enough. Roberts (2002) debates the issue of reliability, validity and generalisability in biographical research and, agreeing with other authors (Richardson, 2008; Charmaz, 2005; Ellis, 2004; Mays and Pope, 2000), develops an argument for broadening the criteria for assessing the quality of biographical research. These include for instance, adequacy, credibility, trustworthiness and explanatory power. Or, as Erben (1998:8) suggests, the research should be judged through 'general analytic coherence, internal referential adequacy and instrumental utility'. In pursuing my goal of exploring my *Bildung* experience, the authenticity of the life documents is less relevant to my research. However, coming from a 'scientific background' authenticity became a priority and I recognise that I often delayed my educative experience with factual corroborations. I will therefore, in this chapter describe how I sought to substantiate the life documents and how I explored the socio-cultural context that is associated with the women's lives.

Given that I was exploring the lives of four women I initially expected to limit my research by concentrating on each life when they were twenty-one, a time of emergent identity. This was because I knew that Charlotte died at the age of twenty-five and my

grandmother, Dorothy wrote her diary in her twenty-second year. Chase (2008) and Clarke (2001) suggest that it is not necessary to examine a whole lifetime in biographical writing, so because of the limitations of the doctoral work, my investigation covered a smaller portion of each life in greater depth. However, for various reasons that will be identified, I found that I couldn't limit the study to the stated age.

In gathering the data, I constantly reflected on my own experiences and the effect the stories had on me (*Bildung*). In this chapter, I describe my journey of discovery. I acknowledge that I already possessed the essential material but detail how I accessed, authenticated, (re)constructed and analysed the documents for each woman and what I did additionally to supplement and contextualise their stories. Although I didn't approach the research in a sequential fashion, I present the four women in chronological order for ease of reading. I have addressed the methodological issues inherent in the way each documented their story.

Autobiography

Maria Stella, Lady Newborough née Joinville (Chiappini)

(16 April 1773-28 December 1843)



Image 2: Maria Stella (1802)

The story of Maria Stella's life has been handed down from generation to generation in the Wynn family. She is my great, great, great grandmother. The oral tradition of telling life histories that are absorbed into the 'cultural bricolage' of subsequent generations is the customary way most people learn about their heritage (Plummer, 2001; Martin et al, 1988). Unlike many family stories that become folklore, modified and reinvented in the storytelling, this one is available in a fixed form of a written autobiography, first published in French in 1830 and later (circa 1914) translated into English. As Plummer (2001:79) points out, 'Written lives solidify and accumulate more densely than oral ones'. This typewritten copy of the autobiography was the basic document for my ancestral research. It is apparent, however, that even in this more rigid mode of telling, the story could be fraught with inaccuracies and personal interpretations, false memories and a need to convince an audience. Gill and Barratt (2006:7) in encouraging formal family research, caution against the family myths and make the comment, 'these

are usually far too intriguing to ignore and can lead you in entirely the wrong direction in your family research'. This story of Maria Stella's life is a family myth that relatives, and I in particular, have always loved. From the outset of my research, I felt excited about exploring it in more detail. In addition to the academic exercise of exploring the biographical genre and investigating my *Bildung*, I wanted to clarify portions of the story and present a more coherent and accurate interpretation for my descendants.

Methodology for provenance of documentary sources

This personal and academic exercise was charged with Gill and Barratt's (2006:7) advice to 'corroborate details as much as possible.' Moreover, I recognised that 'It is important to develop criteria by which to distinguish genuine knowledge from mere belief, prejudice or faith' (Benton and Craib, 2001:181).

One of the contentious issues in auto/biographical research is establishing methodological rigour. A positivist approach to uncovering 'truth' is to check the reliability and validity of the approach and the measurements as well as the accuracy of the analysis. Given the acknowledged subjectivity of narrative research, authors call for rigor, but have emphasised more abstract notions to demonstrate authentic meaning. For example, corroboration and coherence (Roberts, 2002). Erben (2006) and Denzin (1994) identify documentary credibility checks, which I undertook within this autobiographical document. Denzin (1994) based his criteria on a series of validity and reliability checks that emerge from the quantitative research fields, so I applied the broader principles offered by Erben (2006) as they seemed more appropriate for biographical documents. No less rigorous, Erben recommends that authenticity, relevance and representativeness need to be established when viewing documents. Since the document was already deemed relevant to my research, I pursued the authenticity and the representativeness of it.

Authenticity

In checking out the authenticity of the document, I tried to date its origin and explored the origin of the typewriter, carbon paper and stapling. The copy that I have of the autobiography (Newborough, 1830) is in English and type written on very flimsy tissue

paper. The ink is blue or purple, typically the colour of carbon paper, which suggests it was a copy of a typewritten original. It is stapled in the top left hand corner and could have been produced anytime from the inception of the commercially available typewriter, around 1910, when mechanical typewriters were standardised using the QWERTY keyboard that persists to this day. Because of the volume of pages small treasury tacks were used to hold chapters of the document together. Having construed a date as circa 1914, I then looked for other documents that would substantiate Maria Stella's story and my dating of it.

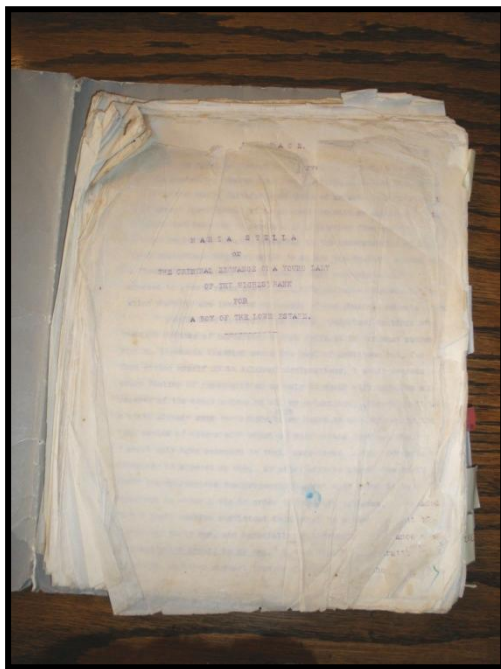


Image 3: My copy of Maria Stella's autobiography showing thinness of paper and treasury tacks in corner to bind paper

Representativeness

Maria Stella's story is one of intrigue and fascination, and in my search for other sources to uphold the authenticity my document, I found another translated autobiography, similar to my own; two extensive biographies; written summaries of her life in catalogues and tourist guides and a staged play. These were all produced at different times over the past 180 years. What interested me in analysing each document was why the different versions of her life story were brought out at the times that they were. Establishing the reasons for their production enabled me to recognise the context in which the story was written and what that might have done to the interpretation or representation of the story.

Maria Stella's original autobiography was published in Paris in 1830 when she had exhausted other avenues of proof of the legitimacy of her claim to be born of Royal Blood, and Louis Philippe was posturing to be King of the French. The last reprint of this autobiographical book was in 1848, the year that Louis Philippe abdicated, and publication was intended to discredit him (Payne-Gallwey, 1907). One biography, which comprises a chapter in a book on *Family Romance* (2nd Edition) by the renowned genealogist, Sir Bernard Burke, was published in 1854, some 11 years after Maria Stella's death. I cannot locate the date of the first edition, so it is difficult to surmise the motive for him including her story amongst the anthology. To keep her story entertaining, he embellishes parts of it and numerous inaccuracies creep in. However it is a reasonably impartial account, keeping close to the original autobiography, and Burke acknowledges the tragedy of the impact that the knowledge of Maria Stella's changed birth status had on the rest of her life.

Another rather extraordinary version of Maria Stella's story was located at the Caernarvon Archives. A playwright and actress, Maria Vernet, read Maria Stella's memoirs and produced a play, which was staged in Paris in 1889. The play coincided with the instability occurring around the centenary of the French Revolution of 1789. In developing her play, Vernet wrote to Maria Stella's granddaughter, Viscountess Isabella Hill, and members of the Sternberg family [Maria Stella's 2nd marriage] asking for verification and requesting copies of documents as corroborating evidence of the story (Vernet, 1888). Wynn (2010) notes the extensiveness of Vernet's research. A probable reason for this tenacity was that she was a Legitimist, i.e. opposed to the restoration of the d'Orléans family, and needed proof for the origin of her story. Despite her quest for authentication, in her play, she fabricated Maria Stella's death and introduced a spurious scene where Louis Philippe ordered the killing of his 'brother' in front of his sister, Maria Stella. These two 'embellished' and inaccurate versions of Maria Stella's story highlight the need to be vigilant as a reader and researcher when uncovering or piecing together a truth.

At around the same time, 1887, Fred Wynn, Maria Stella's grandson and Isabella's brother sent letters to *The New York Times* (1887) confirming the legitimacy of the play being staged in Paris. *The New York Times* ran an extraordinarily lengthy and detailed article on her story (see Appendix 7). Interestingly, I read it before I completed reading the autobiography and it helped me to contextualise Maria Stella's story as it was written some 57 years after her manuscript and explained how she had lived and died in the 13 years after she had published her story. This is an example of how I referred to a secondary source before going through the original document, which can be hard to understand without a referent.

Some twenty years later, Maria Stella's grandson, Fred Wynn, while living at the family home, Glynllivon, encouraged Sir Ralph Payne-Gallwey (1907) to write a biography of Maria Stella. Wynn made many documents and pictures available for the investigation, and together with Payne-Gallwey's extensive research, the reader's understanding of events is broadened and it provided new evidence not available to Maria Stella herself and therefore not included in her autobiography. This book is supportive of Maria Stella's claims. It has not been possible to locate a copy of the only book that refutes Maria Stella's story, Maurice Vitrac's *Philippe-Egalité et M. Chiappini* (Paris, 1907). I do however think that it might explain the timing of Payne-Gallwey's publication, because Payne-Gallwey's book was either refuting Vitrac's denunciation of Maria Stella or perhaps Vitrac published his reproof in response to Payne-Gallwey's support of her claims. However, the overall timing of the publications in 1907, has to date evaded me.

There are two translations of Maria Stella's actual story, my typewritten version (Newborough, 1830) and one published as a book in 1914 (Capes, 1914). The translations are almost identical but it is fascinating to note that they carry different degrees of 'truth' owing to the different translators. These books were translated and one published shortly after Payne-Gallwey's biography (1907), but again the reason for the timing of these publications has eluded me. And why should there be two formal printings within ten years. Since that time, there have been no further publications. It is most likely because of the difficulty of authenticating and verifying Maria Stella's claims.

Maria Stella's story, however, is not only fascinating to members of her family but clearly it stirs the imagination of many of the public at large, so it has been told and retold. It is summarised in booklets, purely for commercial value, and is available in gift shops for Glynllivon visitors (Lloyd Jones, 2006). It features in chapters of books cataloguing the Newborough artefacts in the Merseyside Maritime Museum, Liverpool (Stammers, 2001). It can be found on Wikipedia (2010c). Serendipitously I came across one web site, Notable Names Database (NNDB), which is the only one to have mentioned her 'changeling story' for Louis Philippe. But it simply said 'The legend that he was a supposititious child, really the son of an Italian police constable named Chiapponi, is false' (NNDB, 2010) and offered no further explanation. It was recently included in a 30-minute BBC documentary featuring Maria Stella's home of 18 years, Glynllivon (BBC Wales, 2010). All of these accounts seem to be reproductions of her original autobiography. With the exception of Payne-Gallwey (1907) and the introduction by D'Agen in Capes' translation (1914), no one has shed further light on her account.

In researching Maria Stella's life, the internet has been both my salvation and my nemesis. It has encyclopaedias and historical databases at the touch of a finger, so finding background material has been facilitated. However, the challenge becomes how to capture, catalogue and use all the additional information. This has been one of the greatest obstacles in my research journey and one, which I discuss later in this chapter.

Further Authentication

The second autobiographical writing is out of print and is accessible to download from the internet (Capes, 1914). The book, published in 1914, was almost identical to my typewritten one and it authenticated my own (Newborough, 1830). I had no knowledge of who translated my copy but both the versions of the autobiography were translated around the same time, some 84 years after Maria Stella's original French version. Capes (1914) has a preface of some 50 pages by B. D'Agen giving an update on evidence acquired in the Vatican Archives. The story was translated by M. Harriet M. Capes. Not knowing how to cite the translator I accessed the internet and initially identified her as

Mary Capes, an author who published in 1922. However, I felt her name was too ‘English’, so I continued my search and found a Monsieur Harriet M Capes, who had translated *The Diary of a French Army Chaplain* – stated date 1915. With this discovery, I had confirmed another small piece of the story, though it really had no impact on authenticating the original story. In following this lead, I recognised that my tenacity sometimes knows no bounds. This I have found to be a strength as I focus on supplementary details that embellish or authenticate a story; but it is also a disadvantage in the research process as investigations are often tangential and time-consuming.

When studying the two translations I noticed the texts were not identical. Sentences or words would be similar but often there would be variations. The overall meaning was more-or-less the same but some phrases and nuances changed in the translations.

For example, on notifying Maria Stella of Thomas’ intention to end his life for her, the replies in the different books are:

Table 2: Comparison of texts

My Version of the autobiography (Newborough, 1830:21) translated circa 1914...	Capes’ translation of the autobiography (Capes, 1914:78)	Payne Gallwey’s biography (1907:31)
‘My foolish old man, if you wish to give me real proof of your affection, be quick and do what you have just said to your unfortunate victim. Maria’	‘ My old fool, if you wish to give me a proof of your affection, make haste and carry out what you announce to your unhappy victim, Maria.’	‘My Dear Old Lunatic, If you wish to give me the greatest proof of your affection, hasten to carry out what you announce.’

The wording in the Capes (1914) translation was ‘better’. More fluid and up-to-date. This led me to consider that perhaps my version was slightly older than I had originally speculated (1810) and may have been a translation used by Payne-Gallwey in his 1907

Gallwey rarely quotes Maria Stella directly, preferring to précis her original text, but in this case his words were placed in inverted commas, as though it was a direct quote.

These anomalies drew to my attention to the accuracy of documentation. Each author told a slightly different story, so which could be considered the most accurate and do these small variations matter? I considered that if there were these small discrepancies, were there larger differences in interpretation that did alter the original meaning? There was also the interpretation brought to the story by the reader. Whether it was the fault of the translator or the laboured writing style of the author, for Maria Stella was poorly educated and was writing in French (not her native tongue), the story was not easy to read. It had a flamboyant style that was quite 'over the top' on many occasions. Much of the text was factual, which did not make for ease of reading. The documents also demonstrate the inaccuracies inherent in writing a life story. Maria Stella was 57 at the time of writing, arranging her story into a coherent pattern, which in and of itself is risky practice as people attend to different issues at different stages of life and life takes on different meanings according to the time and the desire to write (see Oakley, 2010:10; Richardson, 2005:966). These issues made it important to find as much corroborating evidence as possible.

Cross checking evidence from documentary sources with extant historical artefacts

In an attempt to authenticate and emphasize the relevance and credibility of the documents, supplementary sources were explored (Oakley, 2010). This helped to 'triangulate' the data (Plummer, 2001; Kember, 2000; Mays & Pope, 2000; Cresswell, 1994). I will now describe the process of examining other data sources to verify my interpretation and retelling of Maria Stella's life history.

Because Maria Stella married into a wealthy family, several paintings and pictures of her exist. These appear in a number of books while the original paintings hang on walls of family homes. These paintings were studied at length to glean more about her character and personality. One of Maria Stella's main claims was how similar her features were to

the d' Orléans family and how strikingly Italian Louis Philippe's appearance was. Technology now allows a comparison of facial expressions and can categorise pictures of similar features. It would be interesting to compare the pictures and paintings of the d' Orléans and Chiappini families to see if her claim were true. This could be completed in future research endeavours.

My investigation into appearance was enhanced by viewing two marble/plaster busts of Maria Stella and her husband Thomas, bequeathed to The National Maritime Museum, Liverpool. On visiting the museum the busts were uncrated and it was extraordinary to observe the two life-size figures in three dimensional form.



Image 4: Image 4: Marble/Plaster busts of Thomas, Lord Newborough and Maria Stella, Lady Newborough (1790)

These were created in 1790, by Joseph Nollekens¹. They were probably made in Italy, shortly before the Wynns returned to Britain. Observing these closely, I noticed that both Maria Stella and Thomas looked of a similar age, yet she was only 17 and he 54, an age difference of 37 years. It reminded me of the desire for people to portray

¹ 'Nollekens was the top Danish portrait sculptor of the day. The one [sculpture] that was in Belan [i.e. the one pictured] was of plaster and was either a copy or a model for the marble one. MS was a good looking woman!' Email from Antony Wynn to Patricia Budgen February 17, 2009 and forwarded to myself.

'I found a marble bust of Maria Stella made by Joseph Nollekens in the National Museum of Stockholm: it seems exactly the same of the English one, published in many books'. Email from Luigi Rivola, a journalist, to Antony Wynn, 13 February 2009 and forwarded to myself.

themselves in a good light for posterity. Thomas, who must have paid for the sculptures, wanted to portray himself younger and probably more handsome than in reality. Further, he might have wanted to hide the fact that there was a considerable age difference between them.



Image 5: Self (JAC) in front of Glynlivon, Gwynedd - The Newborough Family Home

I also visited Glynlivon, the Newborough family seat, to further my understanding of Maria Stella's life. She was only 19 when she came to live there but she resided there until she was 37 and her two sons were born there. These would have been formative years in a new culture of wealth and opulence for the underprivileged young singer/actress (see Taylor, 2001). Being in the same place that an ancestor has lived, fuels one's imagination intensely, even though one's interpretations are individual and may vary from the truth because of differences in lived time and culture (Brady, 2005).

From the Caernarvon Archives I acquired a photocopy of Maria Stella's marriage certificate and a copy of the birth certificate of Thomas, her firstborn. Whilst there, I also transcribed much information about the Vernet (1888) play directly into my computer, as well as letters written by Maria Stella in Paris to her son Spencer, asking for financial help. I viewed commemorative inscription on tombs in the Wynn family church at Llandwrog. These confirmed births, marriages and death dates of the Wynns. Usually these are considered primary sources for data collection but the marble plaque for Maria Stella gives an incorrect age at death (she was 70 not 74), so if using this as a means of establishing her date of birth I would have wrongly surmised that she was born

in 1869. This was just further confirmation of the extraordinarily difficult task of verifying a life's story. It also highlighted the incorrect assumption that I make when undertaking research, that I will find the 'truth' if I look hard enough.



Image 6: Plaque commemorating Maria Stella's life - Llandwrog Church

Procedural issues in data collection and analysis

My approach to managing my research may have come across as a logical, ordered process. In reality, it did not happen in the organised, chronological way that I have mentioned above. Reading the short New York Times (1887) article identified a deficit in my understanding of French history, which was to be essential in my understanding of Maria Stella's story. It is not enough, as Oakley (2010:4) rightly indicates, '... merely to read, one must have the necessary background to generate a relevant interpretive framework'. An Exhibition 'France 1775-1860' at the Hartley Library supplemented my knowledge of French History and affirmed the need to strengthen my understanding of European Politics. If I had acquired this knowledge, and completed reading Maria Stella's autobiography, before visiting the Caernarvon Archives I would have appreciated the relevance of Vernet's (1888) play and my research at the Archives would have been slightly more focused. Having said that, I have learnt to accept that research of this nature is a spiral process. It cannot be done in one swipe of the card. New evidence informs the reading of previous work, which needs to be reread before the relevance of different parts becomes clearer. It is a slow iterative process. Gradually pieces of

information slotted together and my understanding of the issues Maria Stella faced broadened as my historical research and understanding deepened.

There were other difficulties too, many self-made. I reviewed my initial ideas and records and found mistakes of transcribing accuracy, which had a knock-on effect for ensuing insight. For example, I'd erroneously recorded the date of marriage which led to a misunderstanding of age at marriage. This complicated and slowed down my research writing. My personal mind set about exploring the life of this ancestor with a controversial story that needed to be 'proved', drove me to extreme lengths in my data collection. My emotional reaction to her story and disappointment at my lack of ability to add anything new to her case hampered my imagination and ability to write her story. Payne-Gallwey (1907), in his biography had used fresh material that became subsequently available (foreign office records, private documents and letters and anecdotal stories communicated to him by Maria Stella's grandson and family friends which corroborated and extended Maria Stella's own story). Some of these were available for me to rediscover in the Caernarvon archives (marriage certificate and copy of Vernet's (1888) play), but many were lost or indistinguishable and none of them 'new' material.

Such errors are part of the messy work of biographical writing, as is the constant ruminating and circling back over again and again over the same documents. However, a limit, that is imposed by the objective of the research, needs to be exercised to bring closure to the exploration (Erben, 1998).

Then comes the writing up, which was the most onerous process of all for me. As with my other ancestors, the issue of representation is foremost in my mind. Ethically, from the point of view of writing about Maria Stella's story I have fewer qualms than others of the ancestors because she wrote her autobiography for unrestricted reading. It is already in the public domain. None the less, for her and all my ancestors I worry about portraying their story fairly and accurately. Are my observations and imaginings giving full justice to their writing and indeed their lives? That need for accuracy and

authenticity hampers my ability to write in an accessible way for the better engagement of my reader. I have undertaken extensive research, which I wanted to convey to the reader. It takes the distancing emphasised in the *Bildung* process, to be able to write then delete extensively when, in second time round reflection, the salient points emerge.

I have summarised Maria Stella's story in a chronological format (See Appendix 2)

These intense discussions that I had about Maria Stella's life and its publicly accepted autobiographical account, contrasted greatly with the approach that I had to take with Charlotte's daily journal entries and private 'conversations' via letters , that she had with her mother.

Letters & Journal

Charlotte Corbett née Morritt

(2 February 1836 – 22 May 1961)

Introduction

Charlotte Corbett wrote over 500 letters to her mother from the time she left Paris, aged 16, with her diplomat husband, Edwin, until she died, aged 25, in Stockholm. This section outlines the biographical research undertaken to explore the two years of her life, spent in Washington.

Initially I had planned to use Charlotte's Washington letters as a pilot research exercise before embarking on the letters written in her twenty-first year. However, the nature of the work was more extensive and complex than I originally anticipated. So a decision was made to continue with a more in-depth study and centre this biographical account on these years even though she was only 16-18.

I lived in my grandmother's house in Berkshire from the age of 13. On either side of the fireplace in the living room hung two pictures. I would have seen them daily, but never registered who they were.



Image 8: Portrait of
Edwin Corbett



Image 7: Edwin's portrait in my
grandmother's drawing-room.
Charlotte's hung on the other side of
the fireplace



Image 9: Portrait of
Charlotte Corbett

My father inherited them, but never hung them in his own home. On finding them in his attic, he asked me if I would like to keep the pictures. I still did not know who the couple was, but I later learnt that they were my grandmother's grandparents on her mother's side of the family. That was my first conscious introduction to Edwin and Charlotte.

Soon after acquiring the pictures a cousin gave me photocopies of 6 letters written by Charlotte to her mother. They were dated from May 1855 - November 1860, six months before she died. These letters spurred me to go to Stockholm to find her grave in February 2006 some short time before I started this current research.

From these small pieces of evidence, my interest in Charlotte grew and I began to piece together a picture of my great great grandmother. I felt gratified at this undertaking because from a simple portrait I have recreated the story of a life that might have been lost to contemporary and future generations. I will detail how I went about my research for this particular ancestor.

When I started my research, I was aware that there were more than the six letters that I had been given. I was led to believe that they were housed in a repository in the Morritt family home, Rokeby Hall in Yorkshire². Unfortunately, when I visited the home, which was often open to the public, it was closed for the winter. But I walked through the farm and parkland, situated in the conflux of the rivers Greta and Tees; explored the outside of the Palladian mansion and sat on a garden bench from which, in a small reverie, I imagined Charlotte, as a girl, running down the slope from the house to the river banks and playing in the spacious garden.

² Extract from a letter written by Anne de Halpert [Beatrix' grand daughter-in-law] to my father Peter Chapman in 1989. "All Charlotte's letters from the day she married until her death (8 years 5 months 10 days) were kept by her youngest daughter, Beatrix. Sometime subsequently, Michael [Anne's husband] acquired them. He in turn gave them to the archivists at Rokeby Hall, the Morritt family home."



Image 10: Rokeby Hall House, Yorkshire (2008) – The Morritt family home

I continued my research in the Durham archives but uncovered little about Charlotte or her mother or father who were first cousins from the same Morritt family. It emerged later that Charlotte's family never actually lived at Rokeby. Her childless uncle, her father's older brother, had inherited the home. I had made a major error in reading the hand-written Morritt family tree. Henry, Charlotte's father, placed on the left hand side of his siblings, appeared to be the older brother, who would therefore have taken over the family home. But, his placement in the incorrect birth order was designed so that his marriage to his cousin could be accommodated in the table (see Appendix 8). Much time and imagination was exhausted seeking evidence about Charlotte's family that would never come to light because the birth order of her father was registered incorrectly in my mind.

A key motivation for exploring the Durham Archives was to ascertain Charlotte's actual date and place of birth. The National Registry of Births originated in 1838 but birthdates before this time are hard to confirm and local or parish records need to be consulted. Since Charlotte was born in 1836, I had failed to uncover her actual birth date in the Births, Marriages and Death records in London. Therefore I consulted the census and parish records in the Archives. However, as previously noted, it became apparent that Charlotte was only ever a visitor at Rokeby and there were no official records of her living there. This struggle to identify her correct birth date may appear to be tangential to exploring Charlotte's life, given that I was already aware of the year of her birth, but it

reflected my need to authenticate her story – a validation exercise (Roberts, 2002; Hones, 1998). I wanted to be sure of exactly how old she was at her early and tragic death. I also wanted to find out something about Charlotte’s earlier history as I had nothing but those six letters written later in her life, following her move to Paris with her mother.

Despite Rokeby Hall being closed, the curator provided a detailed history of the house, its architecture and insights into the characters of its occupants. This revealed some facts about Anne Morritt, Charlotte’s mother, who, with her sister, may have often visited their Uncle John Sawrey Morritt, as a marble bust of her remains in the house. And a story, of which Charlotte was very proud, was that Anne played ‘Brenda’ in Sir Walter Scott’s play, *The Pirates*. Sir Walter Scott was a frequent visitor to Rokeby and Charlotte delighted dignitaries in Washington with her knowledge of him.

The curator also confirmed that there was no collection of letters in the house. However, serendipitously, they were discovered when an unknown cousin, whose grandmother, Beatrix, was Charlotte’s third child was encountered. She had preserved more than 500 letters that Charlotte had written to her mother and typed copies had been made from the original handwritten correspondence³.

The first batch of typewritten letters had been bound into a book, with a foreword by the cousin, but it had never been published. As mentioned, this book was used as a pilot for my biographical research on Charlotte’s life and later became the main research document.

³ Letter to Judith Chapman from Bee Dufort, 21 January 2009. ‘Charlotte was my great-grandmother and her youngest daughter Beatrix was my grandmother. I have got all the letters Charlotte wrote to her mother [Anne Morritt] from the eve of her marriage to Edwin Corbett in 1852, until just before she died in Stockholm in 1861. The letters have all been typed out, but I had the ones from Washington (1825-1854) properly printed as they are delightful and would make a charming book on their own’.

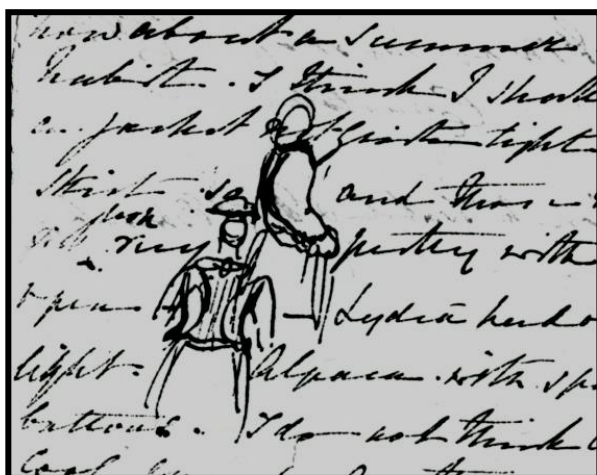


Image 12: Handwritten letter by Charlotte to her mother

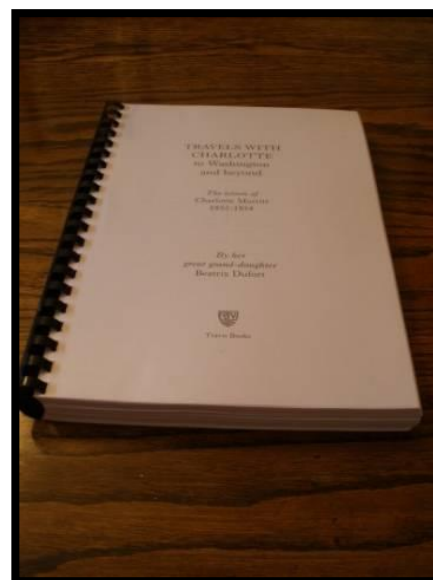


Image 11: Collection of Charlotte's letters typewritten and bound by Dufort. 1999

Letters are contemporaneous records (Roberts, 2002). These letters provided unique accounts of Charlotte's experiences and recorded her attitudes, anxieties and opinions in a fashion appropriate to the social relationship of a daughter confiding in her mother 150 years ago. The letters gave insight into expressed feelings and values that Charlotte held, although, because of the temporal gap of my reading them some 150 years later, they needed to be interpreted with caution. I also acknowledged that because they were only written to one person, Charlotte's mother, the letters would show a side of Charlotte's character that might not be portrayed to her acquaintances, her husband or her children (Plummer, 2001). Letters, because of their lack of focus, have been criticised for not providing enough evidence on which to conduct research (Roberts, 2002). But collectively, Charlotte's letters could provide specific insights as a sufficient number were written over a considerable length of time. For instance, I investigated the subject of fashion and dress in the 1850s for a conference presentation, as Charlotte mentioned clothes extensively in her letters (see Appendix 9). There were extraordinary details about what she wore every day and for her social outings. Indeed, she described mourning clothes, which she and other women in her neighbourhood had to wear whilst also commenting on the delights and extensiveness of clothes for children

Studying Charlotte's letters provided me with much valuable experience in the iterative process of auto/biographical writing. Criticism is sometimes levelled at

auto/biographical writing for its apparent lack of rigour. In my experience of providing a contextual base for the interpretation of Charlotte's letters and giving them meaning to a modern day audience, I found the process no less challenging than undertaking scientific research. The research process provided me great insight into the challenges facing a woman in her age and echelon of society. Erben (1998:13) identifies how narrative analysis is a powerful means of weaving 'social context and individual lives together'. Roberts (2002) corroborates recent acknowledgment of the value of studying women's writings as a source of understanding how lives were lived in a particular social circle, especially complementing evidence from public records. Several authors (Richardson, 2008; Tamboukou, 2008; Ellis, 2004) demonstrate how writing helps a person construct their identity of which there is evidence in the letters, over the two year period, of Charlotte's maturation, although her writing was more a vehicle of communication than a mindful exploration of her life.

Process

A total of 115 letters (typed in 223 pages) were read and re-read over a four month period in 2009. What started as an erratic activity, took on a more systematic approach as themes emerged and people referred to became familiar. Colour coding was used to specify different themes and people and events tabulated when their significance emerged.

Apart from the odd literary or historical question, identifying significant events was problematic. I realised that when reading her letters and 'journals' – for that is what she termed part of the content in her letters to her mother – I was experiencing her life as it unfolded. I had no purpose with which to guide my exploration of her letters, as is the case in much biographical research, other than identifying important learning moments for myself. So, I was reliving that life, without knowledge of outcomes or consequences. I had been to Washington myself, so could cautiously identify with her confusion living in an American city for the first few months. She was unaware of what the demands would be and who would be the important people in her life there. Similarly when reading, it was only as the story unfolded that recognition of significant events and people became

apparent. For example: her use of a Ouija board was fascinating, but would it continue to be important to her? ‘This all absorbing topic...’ (p.47 ^{18/02/1853}) and her sagacious observation that it might be ‘a curious and important discovery which will no doubt soon be turned to some more useful purpose than moving tables about the room’ (p. 47 ^{18/02/1853}); her subsequent discovery of it being a ‘fake’ power (p.50 ^{25/02/1853}) and her eventual observation that ‘The table turning is alas a most transparent humbug! Mr. Crampton, Edwin and I discovered it. It is done by the least impulse given to the table ... everyone unconsciously assists in pushing’ (p. 59 ^{26/03/1853}). In another instance, and more importantly, I was not aware that my great grandmother, Sybil, was born when Charlotte was in Washington. The excitement for me was anticipatory from the first time Charlotte documented she was pregnant, as I knew her first child was my great grandmother. [I did not review her birth date in the family tree, as I didn’t want to spoil my expectancy in her story]. Also I found that having ‘lived’ through the symptoms of Charlotte’s first pregnancy, I was more astute the following year (1854) in picking up the signs of her second pregnancy [as was the case at the beginning of my own second pregnancy] before she confirmed it to her mother.

Recording the emerging themes and events became essential to the research. Notes and markings in a text of this size became unmanageable as a way of retrieving data. Prior to reading the letters a second time, a table citing page numbers of major experiences and significant activities was created and in the text, pages containing similar or progressive events were noted (see Appendix 10). This table was created at the outset of reading Maria Stella’s work, which improved the organisation and recovery of data. A slightly more elaborate table was created for the people mentioned. In addition to their relationship with Charlotte, quotes from her letters describing them were included. This collation of comments throughout the two years brought a particular cohesiveness to the interpretation of the lives of these people, their relationship with Charlotte and the impact that they had on her life (see Appendix 11). Charlotte associated with many dignitaries while in Washington and historical sources were accessed to gain an understanding of their stature and place in history (Trollope, [1839] 1984; Ritchie, 1924; de Vries, 1967; Peters, 1987; Hickman, 2001; Schama, 2002; Goodwin, 2009; and various

electronic data bases). Pictures and descriptions of the figures were infused with life by Charlotte's accounts of them and altered my perception of her with the recognition of her close association with the dignitaries at the young age of 17 (p.153 ^{15/01/1854}).

Works of fiction were also accessed to help give insight into the period in which Charlotte lived (Austen, [1814] 2003; Dickens, [1857] 2003; Trollope [1858] 2004). Listening to and reading contemporary literature, such as that by Charles Dickens (1812-1870), who tended to focus on the under privileged, was illuminating. His descriptions of the appalling conditions in which some members of society lived provided a stark contrast to the privilege of the gentry classes. Edith Wharton (1862-1937) had the ability to transfer me back in my imagination to a time close to that in which Charlotte lived and shed light on her slightly coquettish behaviour, and provided me thereby with a sense of why she admonished impropriety and unquestioningly accepted her place in the social hierarchy.

Another method of data organising was the use of calendars for 1852-1854. Charlotte would always date her entries, but not always add the day of the week. She would often then remark 'On Saturday we dined at Mr. Crampton's [British Minister to Washington and Edwin's superior] and Mr. Thackeray dined there too and we all went to his lecture. Very interesting' (p.49 ^{21/02/1853}). Since her letters were sometimes written up to a week apart, in order to keep the days and dates in organised manner, a digitally archived calendar for 1852-1854 was accessed. Important dates could be circled in order to be able to refer rapidly to when events happened.

Although much of this research was necessarily systematic, it was also repetitive and sometimes lacking in interest. Nonetheless, remarkable revelations interspersed this recursive work. For example, Charlotte had commented on the clothes worn by the president's wife:

Poor Mrs Pierce was dressed in high black parramatta covered with crepe, black collar, sleeves and gloves, etc. and a little white crepe mourning cap on her head. It looked so funereal. (p.140,141 26/12/1853)

It was therefore a surprise and greatly confirming to find corroborating evidence in Taylor's (1983) description of mourning clothes. She used an example of Mrs. Pierce, dressed in a similar outfit, which is on display at The Smithsonian Institute in Washington:

Her evening dress, with a fashionable V-shaped waistline and fully gathered skirt, is made of black silk taffeta with an overskirt of black tulle embroidered with silver dots. Mrs. Pierce wore with it a black lace, net and velvet head-dress trimmed with dull jet and gold. (Taylor, 1983:145)

To explore my ability to compose a biographical account, a critical historical account of her time in Washington was constructed (Appendix 4), using a balance of Charlotte's quotations and interpretations from historical literature. Electronic databases were useful to gain a quick understanding of the history, culture and society of the period, but these were not robust and needed to be corroborated by academic literature. Analysis of historical literature and novels set in the 19th century helped enrich the picture and feed into a better understanding of how and why Charlotte conducted herself (Goodwin, 2009; Schama, 2008; Hickman, 2001; Trollope [1839]1984). Artefacts such as museum photographs of 'The Asia' the boat in which the Corbetts sailed to America and 'fashion plates' also infused my imagination and complemented Charlotte's descriptions. This historical analysis gave me confidence to tailor my investigation of Charlotte's life for a presentation at an auto/biographical conference. I was thus able to experience the process of focusing life history investigation to a specific research need.

The need to be immersed in the data is paramount but this level of intense involvement cannot be maintained and in the essence of *Bildung*, the data needs also to be set aside

for a time, for when revisited new interpretations emerge that lead to a greater level of understanding. Corrections can be made and new insights absorbed into the gestalt of the research.

In order to distance myself from the letters, yet still maintain my engagement with Charlotte, I painted a picture of her, copying the large pastel portrait. I used this as an opportunity to experience the distance from learning advocated in *Bildung*. Having minimal experience in life drawing, the painting was primitive, but the experience invaluable as it enabled me to think about Charlotte in a creative way (Plummer, 2001). I noticed things in the original portrait not before observed and it served to substantiate my impression of her gained from reading her letters. Her hair was meticulously tied up, confirming Charlotte's fastidiousness. I observed her with a soft gentle expression, communicating the kind, caring nature that I imagined characteristic from her letters. My painting was bolder and she looked much older. She looked more assured and confident. I wondered if I had, inadvertently, tried to picture her as she might have been had she lived longer. This artistic experience felt liberating and having completed the work I felt I had a more connected and intimate understanding of Charlotte.

Having worked with Charlotte's story closely for over nine months, it was a contrast to approach Dorothy's more succinct and cryptic diary.

Diary

Dorothy Chapman née Wynn

(18 July 1877 – 05 March 1974)



Image 13: Dorothy - Wedding portrait 1905

Introduction

Dorothy Chapman was my paternal grandmother. As was the habit of women brought up in the Victorian era, she documented her life and events in a number of ways including scrapbooks, photograph albums, a book, recording visitor's to her home and a diary. She was a great collector of memorabilia, some of which has been preserved, through the legacy of my father and my aunt.

One of the most extraordinary and illuminating documents is her Visitor's book, which records, with photographs alongside the signed entries, every person who stayed with her from 01 February 1905, the day of her marriage at age 27, to the day she died on 05 March 1974, aged 96. The book's uniqueness lies in the fact that it inadvertently records changes in fashion, travel, accommodation and activities over a span of seventy years and is also a fascinating record of people ageing, in conjunction with herself. This book was to be my data source on Dorothy, the third of my four women ancestors, even though the entries only started when she was twenty-seven. However, when talking to my Aunt, Alice, about the intention to discuss her life at the age of twenty-one, she

identified that she possessed a diary written by her mother, Dorothy in 1899, when she was 21-22. It was a perfect match for my established age range for these ancestors.

In 1887 Dorothy accompanied her brother, Willie, on his yacht, the 'Fedora' on a trip to Burma to visit their sister Mabel, who had married a gunner in the Burma Police in 1896. She recorded in her new diary that they arrived in Singapore on 19 December 1898 where they stayed until 14 January 1899. Their journey back to England, where they disembarked at Wyvenhoe on 11 October 1899, was via Penang, Colombo and Zanzibar. They arrived at Mombasa, Kenya, on 09 March 1899 for a month's visit and hunting trip, before continuing home via Durban, Cape Town, Ascension Island and St Helena.

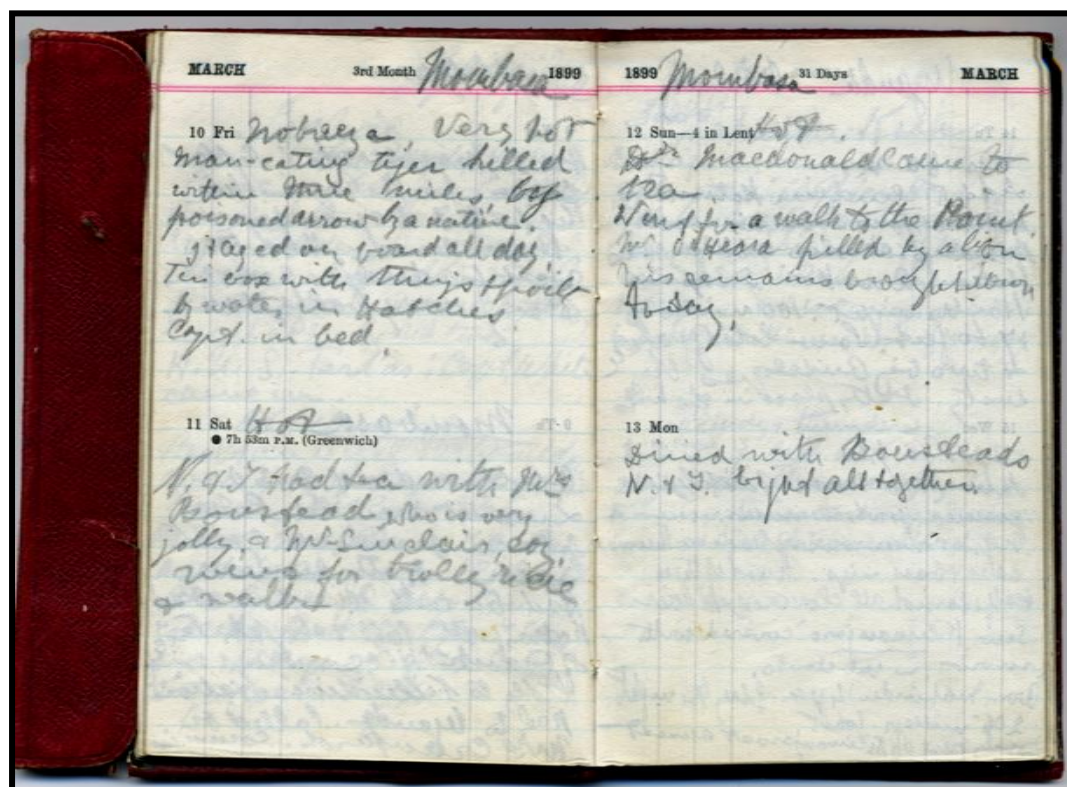


Image 14: Dorothy's diary, 1899.

This small red leather bound diary provided daily facts, about the weather, how far the yacht travelled in a day and the various dignitaries met in their ports of call. The entries were formal, lacking any expression of emotion, and only occasionally was an opinion recorded. The writing was unfamiliar and difficult to decipher. The handwriting was quite large so words were hyphenated or squeezed down the side of the page onto the

next line. The diary was written in pencil, the clarity of which depended on the sharpness of the lead and, although well preserved over the 110 years, much had got smudged with repeated turnings of the pages. Some entries, written at sea, showed the erratic stability of the boat. Some written on land suffered from too much information needing to be recorded on a particular day. Reading the diary and transcribing it was an extremely challenging undertaking, increased by my anxiety to represent my grandmother's sentiments accurately.

Another sentiment that challenged me was the question of whether there was sufficient information in this one diary to compile and deliver a biographical record of Dorothy's life at the age of twenty-one. Having described how difficult it was to transcribe Dorothy's writing, I also felt that for the purpose of this thesis, I would only be able to complete a section of the diary. Consequently, I was troubled as to whether I would be further limiting her ability to tell her story and also how that might compromise my learning? However, Plummer's (2001:48) view that a diary was 'a document of life par excellence' was reassuring. Indeed, however it was written and however little of it I analysed, Dorothy's diary was a valuable contemporaneous view of her life, albeit more of a log or aide de memoire in recounting her long voyage to new countries. Because of its factual nature, I did not feel I was being voyeuristic, simply curious. I decided to take the risk, particularly with Roberts (2002:62) assurance that 'In writing... diaries, "Factual information" is given but details of values and beliefs of individuals are also present'.

Process

The original plan was to transcribe the entire diary for 1899. The work progressed more slowly than anticipated because the writing, as mentioned, proved difficult to decipher. Knowing that the majority of Dorothy's education had occurred in Strasbourg examples of Germanic handwriting were investigated. Examples of the Deutsches (Fraktur) alphabet and the Deutsche Schrift were downloaded from internet sources to help guide interpretation of her lettering.

Deutsches (Fraktur-) Alphabet											
Anti-qua	Fraktur Schrift	Druck	Anti-qua	Fraktur Schrift	Druck	Anti-qua	Fraktur Schrift	Druck	Anti-qua	Fraktur Schrift	Druck
A, a	<i>A, a</i>	A, a	H, h	<i>H, h</i>	H, h	N, n	<i>N, n</i>	N, n	T, t	<i>T, t</i>	T, t
B, b	<i>B, b</i>	B, b	I, i	<i>I, i</i>	I, i	O, o	<i>O, o</i>	O, o	U, u	<i>U, u</i>	U, u
C, c	<i>C, c</i>	C, c	J, j	<i>J, j</i>	J, j	P, p	<i>P, p</i>	P, p	V, v	<i>V, v</i>	V, v
D, d	<i>D, d</i>	D, d	K, k	<i>K, k</i>	K, k	Q, q	<i>Q, q</i>	Q, q	W, w	<i>W, w</i>	W, w
E, e	<i>E, e</i>	E, e	L, l	<i>L, l</i>	L, l	R, r	<i>R, r</i>	R, r	X, x	<i>X, x</i>	X, x
F, f	<i>F, f</i>	F, f	M, m	<i>M, m</i>	M, m	S, s	<i>S, s</i>	S, s	Y, y	<i>Y, y</i>	Y, y
G, g	<i>G, g</i>	G, g							Z, z	<i>Z, z</i>	Z, z

Image 15: Deutsche Schrift writing

To illustrate my difficulty in interpreting, I observed in my journal of 1 February 2009 ‘It is amazing how suddenly the words can jump out of the page at you having lain so long in an undecipherable jumble with only the very odd word recognisable. If you get a small string of previous words to make sense, then you can use that to give you a clue as to what the rest of the sentence or paragraph is about. This is when new words suddenly jump up at you from their camouflaged background’.

Additionally, the places she described were unfamiliar, the people difficult to imagine and the customs described, alien. Then, an article published in ‘The Times’ on 24 October 2006 ‘The Lunatic Express begins its journey into Africa’s new dawn’, (Crilly, 2006. See Appendix 12) focused my attention on Dorothy’s Kenya visit as she had travelled on the ‘Lunatic Express’ to the end of the railway line as it was being built in 1899. It was then that I decided to limit my data collection process to the month Dorothy spent in Kenya. Kenya was my country of birth and upbringing. My own intimacy with the country she described would allow her story to be told with a more authentic voice. The rest of the diary could be used to supplement examples of her character or personality.

The analysis became simplified. Foreign place names were instantly recognisable. The geographical locations could be pictured and physical discomforts imagined. More peculiar animals were familiar, and the awe with which she viewed and painted the Mountain, Kilimanjaro, could be implicitly understood. More difficult to appreciate was

the killing of the animals, undertaken by her brother and his companion. But even in my upbringing there were 'hunting safaris' and 'photographic safaris' and I knew many "White Hunters" who would shoot rogue animals.

The extent of the research became manageable. The time frame of life recorded was significantly less than previous ancestors, the writing succinct, and the venue familiar. What became an issue was placing Dorothy's experience in the historical context of a foreign country. Much has been written about the colonisation of Kenya, but less about the 'opening up' of the country, which centred on the building of the very railway on which Dorothy and her brother travelled, less than a year after the first fee paying passenger used the train (Pavitt, 2008). However, Pavitt's (2008) book, *Kenya. A country in the making 1880 -1940*, which came out two years after the start of this research proved an invaluable source of confirmation and expansion for Dorothy's story.

I had, in my youth, travelled on the then called East African Railways and Harbours (EAR&H) train from Nairobi to Mombasa and reverse numerous times so could picture the outlook, the kinaesthetic experience and the excitement of travel. To add to the imaginative experience of the time (1899), my Aunt found a photograph album which contained pictures that showed many of the places Dorothy visited during her travels. Occasional entries in her diary suggested that photographs had been taken by specialists and were purchased. '14 April 1899: Bought photos with W (Coutinho Brothers, Photographers, Zanzibar)', or had been taken by herself, as a diary entry illustrates: '14 May 1899: Still and Warm. Caught two smelts. Went to the point foot of the lighthouse & photographed the breakers.'

The photographs taken in Kenya may have been a mixture of formal pictures that were bought and those taken by Dorothy. Some depicting the railway line were undoubtedly taken by Dorothy herself, with her brother in the foreground. Unfortunately, there were no images of Dorothy herself on this expedition. However, women of the time were depicted in Pavitt's (2008) book and all the photographs emphasised the spirit of pioneering. These two corroborating sources helped my own imagination.



Image 16: S.Y. "Fedora" – Singapore 1898

A further corroborating exercise arose when the internet was explored for statistics on the capacity and length of the Steam Yacht, 'Fedora'. The source uncovered was Paul Barnard, the great grandson of the Captain of the S.Y. 'Fedora', Turner Barnard. Paul Barnard's grandfather, Henry Daniel, aged 19, had also been on board and had kept a diary for the same year that Dorothy did, 1899. The Web entry read:

The Steam Yacht Fedora 07/09/2006

Paul Barnard is searching for information about the steam yacht "Fedora". I wonder whether you could find space on your website to appeal for any information regarding the steam yacht Fedora, which was captained by my great grandfather Turner Barnard, son of Thomas, on a long voyage 1897 to 1899 for Lord Newborough. On board was Turner's son, Henry Daniel Barnard, aged 19, my grandfather, whose diary/log I have for 1899 covering the journey home from Penang to moor at Wivenhoe.

<http://www.rowhedge.com/> accessed 12 June 2010 -JAC

Although the request was posted in 2006 Mr Barnard was fortuitously still at the same internet address and responded:

I have a photo of Fedora, and my grandfather's diary/log for the 1899 voyage home which is a good read... Not once does he refer to his father as "father", always "Captain". On board with Lord N was his niece, the Hon Miss Wynn, whose birthday was celebrated on 18 July. (Barnard, 12 Jun 2010)

Fedora weighed 358 tons, was 145 feet long, had two decks, three masts and electric light. She carried her own cutter (24 feet 10 inches long), steam launch and dinghy, and could take on at least 96 tons of coal and 27 tons of water. (Barnard, 14 Jun 2010)

Further communication revealed that both Dorothy's diary and that kept by Paul Barnard's grandfather Henry, had many similar entries. They referred to the same people and ports visited, weather patterns and activities.

March 14, Tuesday 1899.
Up 6am. Left Kilindini Station 8.20. Headman, four Somalis & cook. Picked up 60 coolies at Mazeras Station. Arr. Voi 5.30 p.m. Stay the night. 100 miles up. 1700 feet. Saw lots of gazelle & two big Antelopes. Very Dusty. Pretty place in the hills. (Wynn)

Tuesday 14 March 1899
Light winds and fine clear weather. Lord Newborough, Honble Miss Wynn, Dr. Jennings and Mr. Morley left the ship between 7 & 8am. to go up country by train to a place called Simba taking two days from Mombasa to get there and then striking inland for shooting. (Barnard)

This fascinating corroboration will be explored further on the completion of this thesis, but underlines the extraordinary resource provided by the internet. However, there is the recognised danger of interacting with unknown sources from the internet.

There are also other issues that emerge from Dorothy's diary that need to be explored further. Namely how she coped with the heat, the dust, and the physical discomforts. Her fear, her joy and her worries need to be explained. How she managed being the only woman still needs to be scrutinised further.

I have chosen to allow the reader to read Dorothy's story as transcribed and without interpretation (Appendix 5). However, observations, comments and questions generated as I read the diary are included. At this stage, I felt that if I intervened biographically, I would bring much more of myself to her story than I would to any of the other ancestors (see discussion p.145). My decision was augmented by Plummer's (2001) caution of not losing empirical data by abstract conceptualization. I have however, included selective pictures, which 'challenges the spectators ability to grasp the past, the that-has-been' (Løvlie, 2002:478). Also, at the end of her diary transcript I have included an excerpt from an interview with my aunt, Alice, Dorothy's daughter, in which she describes the oral memories shared with her mother about the trip in Kenya, which confirms and elaborates the diary excerpts.

The final woman in my ancestral stories was my aunt, Alice. She has not written about her life so in contrast to the documentary analysis I carried out for the other ancestors, I was given an opportunity to interview Alice and research her story subsequently.

Interviews

Alice Clegg-Hill née Chapman

(b. 21 September 1910)



Image 17: Alice 1929

Introduction

My 96 year-old aunt, Alice, shared her oral history by way of an interview. A pilot interview was conducted on 23 February 2007. She lived alone in her own home, fully independently, with her two small dogs. She was the only living relative of her generation in the Wynn/Corbett family. Alice is Dorothy's second and youngest daughter and sister of my father, Peter, the middle child.

Ethical Considerations

Alice was a woman deemed to be in a vulnerable age group (96 years old). I was therefore very aware of my responsibility to assure her protection when she agreed to be interviewed for my research (Plummer, 2001; Sin, 2005; Bramley and Chapman, 2008). She appeared no more vulnerable than any other research subject, as she had the mental capability of understanding and making competent, informed decisions. She was clear that she had the choice of what information to contribute, commenting: 'Well I won't tell you anything I wouldn't want the family to know'. However I was a close family member and I thought that she might therefore divulge something to me that she wouldn't share with a stranger.

Prior to the interview, Alice was given an explanation and type scripted instruction sheet outlining the nature of my research and the purpose and possible consequences of the

interview (see Appendix 13). She was informed of the proposed handling of her narrative and was given an opportunity to view the transcripts and make changes or deletions as she saw fit. She was aware that she could stop the interview at any time and withdraw from the research process without consequence. Further, she was aware that part of her story might be published and presented at academic conferences. She was also aware that these recordings would be available for members of the family to observe. Her material could not be anonymous, but all respect for her personal disclosures would be accorded. She was given the opportunity to assume a pseudonym in the writing of the story, but she chose not. Having read the formal instruction sheet about the research participation, Alice signed a consent form to undertake both the pilot and formal interviews (see Appendix 14). The pilot interview in February 2007 enabled me to practice my interviewing skills, pilot my questions and identify any unforeseen problems or biases. Importantly it afforded Alice the opportunity to see whether she was comfortable and had the stamina to tell her life story and it enabled us to explore the technical issues around videotaping an interview. Two videotaped pilot interviews took place over three days. The first was one hour and 40 minutes long and the second interview was one and a half hours long. The second, formal interview, conducted in August 2007, lasted for two hours with occasional short breaks throughout.

Interview format

Videotaping was chosen as the method of recording the interview. This is the most advanced technology available currently and was in keeping with contemporary mode of communication available at each stage of family history. In addition, a videotape demonstrated her ability and agility at her given age. Alice could have written her story, as Maria Stella did, but she didn't type and her handwriting was virtually illegible, so her family stories would have been lost to subsequent generations.



Image 18: Alice's videotaped interview

Because of my professional background of forty years as a Physiotherapist, I had developed skilful interviewing techniques to get information from clients about particular ailments. I had also completed three years of a part time course developing counselling skills, which broadened my technique to allow clients to take more control of what was discussed in the interview time. I therefore felt comfortable with the prospect of interviewing Alice. However, I had never conducted a narrative interview. The literature had alerted me to not interrupt the flow of thought and to facilitate the narrator's control of their story (Holloway and Jefferson, 2001). I was also concerned whether I could attend to and interpret the fragmented story, pick up on the emotional emphasis, and take note of the hidden or unspoken story as well (Roberts, 2002).

I hadn't structured my interview, for in establishing an auto/biographical situation, I wanted Alice to control the interview and reveal her own narrative. Her story of her life at the age of twenty-one was comparatively new to me and so I didn't know what to expect. If she wanted to speak of events that would be acceptable. If she wanted to reveal feelings or discuss the political background, I would listen, for it was her story framed in any way she chose. Prior to the pilot interview, Alice's hearing aid had been playing up so I wrote an opening question and some questions on a piece of paper to guide her and then let her direct the interview. My intent was also to prevent me from interrupting her. I was somewhat concerned that if I responded to her, it might, as Mishler (1986) cautions, turn into a conversational situation akin to our usual social discourse. I therefore maintained an uninvolved questioning style and only intervened for clarification or reflected on a point that she had made. This felt most uncomfortable,

as it was not indicative of the customary relationship we had, nor was it a controlled interview seeking specific information as I was used to in the therapeutic setting. I felt that Alice might feel inhibited by the videotape, so I positioned myself just behind the table on which the camera sat so that she could look directly at me and in so doing appear to look at the camera.

Alice spoke for eight minutes without pausing, but her discourse was stilted and self-conscious as she tried to address my specific questions. She also made a slip-up of memory. Alice's father had died during her twenty-first year and she and her sister, Cynthia, had had to wear mourning dress. She described the tennis outfits that they wore. They both wore black stockings but had different coloured scarves on the shoulders of their white dresses. Cynthia's was white with black spots and Alice had one, white with black spots. But, I knew that the scarves were different. This being a formal interview, I thought of the methodological issues. The question of who had had the black scarf with white spots occupied my mind as I wondered whether accuracy was important and whether I should intervene for the sake of clarification. Then Alice started discussing her siblings, Cynthia's and Peter's twenty-first birthdays. They were five and four years older respectively. Should I intervene to get her back to her birthday year? I had not expected to be preoccupied with these issues and found it difficult to concentrate on what she was actually saying. I was glad the interview was being videotaped and I would be able to refer back to it at a later date.

At the end of the eight minutes, Alice then said: 'I think that was the end of my reminiscences.' I panicked. She had finished her story because I had given her a fairly narrow mandate for the interview. With a prompt, she continued, but it highlighted the need as a narrative researcher to be more attentive to the opening question and setting the scope of the inquiry before the narrator is left to tell their story in the way they choose.

Alice expanded on her immediate experiences of being twenty-one and then went on to describe her life as a young adult. This again provoked anxiety as I felt we were not

addressing my research agenda. The family left their house in Ropley, Hampshire, after Alice's father died and two years later moved to Barford, Norfolk.



Image 20: Ropley House 2007



Image 19: Barford Old Hall 2010

Alice talked extensively about her life there where she grew in confidence and independence. But I knew little about Barford, and wanted Alice to talk about Ropley, a house that I had researched extensively in the Winchester Archives and visited on two occasions, once having arranged to visit it with her. This situation demonstrates how my desire to record material directly relevant to my own research influenced the way that I received and listened to her story. Alice probably thought that I knew all her stories associated with Ropley and therefore would want to hear new material for the interview, but in truth, I as an interviewer, wanted her to confirm formally all the research I had undertaken prior to the interview. In this and another part of the interview I found myself wanting Alice to move more swiftly from one story to another and to cut out the verbiage. I was conscious of having to undertake a transcription of the interview and only wanted to transcribe the 'important and relevant elements' and found myself impatient listening to the words and stories which, at the time, had no meaning. In retrospect, I learnt a great deal about the young Alice and her emerging identity from her stories during the following six years until she was twenty-eight. This again reinforces the need as a researcher to keep an open mind and to listen attentively to whatever part of a life story given. It also highlights the influence that an autobiographical researcher introduces into the research process (Richardson, 2008; Oakley, 2005; Ellis, 2004; Mishler, 1986).

Interview Issues

One of the major questions in an interview of this quality is the influence of memory on the story. 'Oral History Interviews are often conducted years after the event' (Roberts, 2002:106). In Alice's case, she recalled incidents from the age of twenty-one, some 80 years later! 'and memories may have grown imprecise'. Over the past three years, Alice has recounted her stories to me on numerous occasions. In the subsequent interview; over the telephone and in conversations when I visited and in response to looking through photograph albums [In fact some of her stories were so well known to me that I could supply names, places and instances when her memory, which is only slightly weaker now that she is in her one hundredth year, lapsed]. I sought through these subsequent exposures to her stories to verify that her memory was not at fault despite her age. For example in the two interviews conducted, there was evidence that the details and sentiments remained the same.

Interview 1. 27 February 2007

But oh no, you lived – your life was the nursery. But for some reason when we left Roydon she [mother, Dorothy] sold my rocking horse, I was only eight, mark you, she sold the rocking horse and she sold my doll's house, which was a beautiful thing, I suppose about that size, but it was in three tiers. Why, God knows, because at the age of eight I was just about beginning to think I'd like to have a doll's house. Why she did it – and most of my fairy books had gone. I mean I don't think I've got two fairy books but I had masses of them (Chapman, 2007:7 L. 12-14).

Interview 2. 14 August 2007

Then Mamma went and gave that [rocking horse] away when we left Kent to go to Ropley, I was very cross. Very strange she was. She gave away all my fairy books. I've only got the Blue Fairy Book and there were masses more. She just gave them away. She gave away my rocking horse. A beautiful doll's house. Damn it, I was only eight, just when I was liking a doll's house (Chapman, 2008:6 L. 17-22).

It might be argued that this and other examples demonstrate the entrenchment of life stories as a person ages, but I would contend that these interviews were a more open and generative process for my aunt as she recounted and reflected on her life making small shifts in the way she perceived events or the importance of them (Roberts, 2002). However, these changes were minimal as Alice seemed to have organised the events and emotions in her life into a meaningful whole and seemed aware of some of the consequences of her prior actions on subsequent events in her life (Chase, 2005). As she said, it was also a positive experience in that she was given an opportunity to leave a legacy to future generations.

The above quotes were an example of a situation with her mother that she had not resolved and she still felt anger, because she still failed to understand the motive behind her mother's actions. There were other instances however, where her complex relationship with her mother was rationalised because of the hard life Dorothy had led when she was younger. Alice recollected, for instance, when Dorothy's mother took her elder sister, Mabel, to India to find a husband, Dorothy was: 'let with the house'. She was 'looked after' by unknown cousins who rented the house whilst Sybil and Mabel were away.

Alice was very clear about her feeling towards people in her life. There appeared to be few in-between responses to the people she described. Again it became clear to me (as happened when analysing Maria Stella's story) that when recounting a life story retrospectively (as opposed to documenting it concurrently), that the significance of people and events is established by the future having become the past. Alice would not include (or perhaps even remember) those people that were not later deemed to be significant in her life. She disliked many people for different reasons but there were three people whom she favoured above all others. Her nanny, Nan, her husband, Rat, and her brother, Peter. The fact that she had such an obviously positive view of my father excited me and I found myself attending more carefully to the instances when Alice would speak about that relationship: 'I was engaged to somebody in the 60th (King's Royal Rifle Corps) and Peter said "I wouldn't if I was you, ducky". So I didn't'

(Chapman, 2007:12 L.17-20). However, there was one instance, not mentioned on tape but often referred to in conversation, when Alice vehemently blamed Peter for his perceived negative role in her son's young adult upbringing. I experienced feelings of rage and hostility when she criticised my father, and have recently recognised that I have never recorded that instance on paper. Not that I have denied it, for I remember the fall-out during my own upbringing, but I here dismissed it as not relevant to my story of Alice at twenty-one. Again this suggests the need for very careful personal analysis when doing auto/biographical research, searching for the omissions as much as the stories recounted.

Robert's (2002) encourages researchers to examine the question of power in the research relationship. Usually it is the researcher who holds the power, but in the interviews with Alice, I could not get away from the fact that I was the niece, the child in the relationship. So Alice was, I felt, wielding the power. I tried to establish myself as a 'proper interviewer' who was a seasoned health professional and who had conducted research for many years, but the adage that 'You'll never amount to anything' communicated by Alice in my childhood reasserted itself as soon as the interview started. So, as recounted earlier in this section, I forced myself to take a passive role in the narrative Alice recounted, despite my feelings. I have also been brought up to respect people's privacy and I am not comfortable with asking searching questions of a personal nature. By the second, formal interview, I had reconciled some of these feelings and recognised that I needed to take a more assertive role as interviewer in order to explore some of the more pertinent issues of life as a twenty-one year-old in 1931. I chose to engage a narrative interviewing style along the line proposed by Wengraf (2004), which uses the lightly structured depth interview that holds no fixed agenda yet employs scientific rigour and an adherence to ethical standards (see Appendix 15).

There was a change in my questioning, albeit still tentative, in the formal interview. From clarifying and reflective questions in the pilot interview, such as: 'So the three of you shared did you?' (p.6) 'And they were all much of a muchness?' (p.15), I was firmer

in my formal interview in clarifying: 'When you say slum end of Norfolk, where do you mean? (p.1) 'So religion was quite an important part of your life? (p.4) 'What was their birth control like then when you said she was careless. Was it her responsibility?' (p.19). I also introduced concepts that Alice was alluding to but not labelling 'You hadn't really made friends with anybody in the village?' (p.7). 'But the governess preferred Cynthia?' (p.8). In addition, I started new avenues for storytelling: 'In society, you've talked about people marrying once, twice... You said to your spinster headmistress 'you're only twenty-one once but you can get married several times'. Was that acceptable and was lesbianism or gay people, how acceptable was that?' (p.20).

As well as altering my style of questioning, I learnt the value of observing the silences in the storytelling. On several occasions, Alice pondered quietly on what she had just said, and then said something more intimate, insightful or controversial. During these times, I was acutely aware of and uncomfortable with the silence. I anticipated I should reflect on what she had said or ask another question, but each time I was thankful to have been patient, for the 'nugget' would have been lost.

These observations underline the importance of pilot interviewing in establishing a direction for the formal interview and an intimacy with the research subject. This may not be possible with the restrictions of time on opportunity. But I benefitted by the chance to have a trial run before conducting a proper interview. However, I used data from the first pilot interview to recount Alice's story, so, although my interviewing skills were not as honed, the data produced was nevertheless valuable.

A bonus from the pilot interview emerged when Alice discussed her mother's visit to Kenya in 1899. Alice had also bought a farm in Kenya and for a time lived there so knew a lot about the country and was able to embellish the factual record of Dorothy's diary (see Appendix 5). She had heard the oral history of the events from her mother so provided new details of clothing and accommodation, 'They would have slept in tents... Waterproof but very thick... And you had a fire, they kept a fire going at night... To keep the animals away' (Chapman: 2 L. 14-19) and confirmation of interpretations that I had

put on the diary entries. The few minutes that she talked about Dorothy's trip to Africa brought Dorothy's diary stories to life and provided a rich source of further material to add to her mother's story. This underlined how important oral history is and how easily family stories get lost from one generation to the other, even though they are written down (Martin et al, 1988). It also confirmed what I had already sensed about the importance of visiting places that are associated with a person's life. If I or Alice had never been to Kenya it would have been very difficult to imagine, interpret and discuss Dorothy's experience there. Even though the country and encounters change by the generation, there is a greater understanding of the prior life led. For that reason, my daughter has visited Kenya on several occasions.

To supplement my understanding of Alice's story I used photographs. As mentioned, Dorothy, Alice's mother, embraced the Victorian habit of recording for posterity. I used Dorothy's visitor's book in which there were photographs as well as signatures, to track Alice's development from a baby to her marriage in 1938. In addition, Alice lent me a photograph album that covered the years 1928-31 when the family was at Ropley. These are compiled in a chronology of her life, set against a historical background, using words from her interview to bring the two media together (see Appendix 6). Methodologically, I questioned why I chose a particular picture to complement or illustrate her story. Sometimes it was because of the clarity, for many photos were eighty to a hundred years old; sometimes because Alice had talked about a particular situation and some were illustrative of the time period, for instance young boys in dresses, new automobiles. Chalfen (1998) suggests a useful framework for the analysis of photographs but interpretation at that depth was beyond the scope of this thesis. I was, however, aware that in interpreting events, photography can belie emotions experienced or expressed.

For instance, I thought this was a delightful picture of Alice prior to her being presented at Court (1928) but she informed me of her anger at having to wear the dress designed



Image 21: Alice and her mother, Dorothy, 1928

by her mother and Aunt who neglected to consult her. I was also aware that the significance of an event captured in photographs may change over time and that the pictures selected were all taken to illustrate happy or special moments. There were many difficult situations that Alice alluded to in her story and these could not be corroborated by the photographs. Roberts (2002:66) suggests that one of the drawbacks of interview is that the narrative is not contemporaneous and people have the ability to portray a positive view of themselves. These photographs would confirm that assertion.

Not only did I use photographs to supplement my imagination of her story, but I visited the home in which Alice was brought up for the 12 years prior to her twenty-first birthday. This visit necessitated confirmation of several issues raised, for example, ownership and building renovations. I visited The Hampshire Records Office in Winchester on three occasions and I discussed my findings with Alice who challenged several assumptions I and the owner had made. This led to the organisation of a visit by Alice. The visit triggered many memories for Alice and clarification of the layout as it was in 1931 shared with the current owner. This became a powerful auto/biographical research experience and a part of that revelation is recorded in Appendix 16.

The last methodological issue I faced was knowing that Alice would likely hold back on her experiences because I was a member of the family, who shouldn't know about her 'transgressions'. She might have been more honest with an objective interviewer. However, I have recognised that over the past three years, as she continues to tell her story, her level of disclosure changes and this brings up a major ethical issue in oral history taking when getting to know your subject. What did Alice consent to? – Formally, two interviews. Is it possible to actually record and divulge other subsequent instances of the same story that show a different level of intimacy? Realising there was more information (perhaps memories triggered by the interviews) I wondered how I would get that out in a subsequent consented interview, if arranged? Did Alice only divulge this information because she assumed it was 'off the record'? She was fully aware of the fact that I would often take notes in informal conversations 'Are you at it again – laugh' and that it would supplement her interviewed story. Here is an example of a more intimate speculation in conversation as opposed to what was recorded in interview.

2008 - 'I don't know why to this day she [Dorothy, Alice's mother] didn't want me to marry Rat except that their money - it wasn't always their fault that they didn't have any money. She was very fond of Charles [Rat's father] and Charles was very fond of her' (Chapman, 2008:15 L. 1-4).

2010 - 'He [Rat] was down at Aldershot and came up in the evening. I'd ring up – 'You're not coming home with him' [said Dorothy] – Bang the telephone went down and this went on for three or four days. I think the family had lost it – I think she had had an affair with his [Rat's] father but I don't know' (Chapman, 2010).

Summary

In this chapter, I have outlined the broad range of methods that I was exposed to in conducting narrative inquiry about the lives of four of my ancestors. Some of the experiences I have recounted are situationally unique, but most are accounts of the challenges and enjoyment in undertaking any auto/biographical research. Not only have I learnt a great deal about this methodology, but it is hoped that in describing my journey, readers of this research will also learn from my experiences. Few researchers actually report the intimate details of conducting their research journey (Oakley, 2010; Plummer, 2001 and Mishler, 1986). Because of its messy nature, few want to admit to a seemingly disorganised approach to the process or the intensity of the relationship with the subject(s) (Boyt, 2009). I hope that recording my experiences and learning will provide insights for other students and researchers.

Chapter 4

Analysis: Family Stories

Chapter 4

Analysis: Family Stories

In this chapter, I retell parts of the stories of the lives of my female ancestors (Their full stories are in Appendices 2-6). In so doing I demonstrate the process of analysing, interpreting and creating family stories. My exploration of their lives varied according to the type and quantity of documentary evidence. It was also influenced by my familiarity with the story (For instance, I knew virtually nothing about Charlotte's life, yet I see Alice regularly) and my naivety with the research process. In making sense of their lives, I have endeavoured to employ an imaginative discourse to bring the lives lived into a semblance of coherence both for myself and the reader of my work (Erben, 1999). Words on a page and pictures are the only relics of Maria Stella and Charlotte. My memories of my grandmother pervaded my investigation of Dorothy's diary and sixty years of an active relationship with my Aunt Alice and the live interview technique employed, infused the interpretation of her life. It is not my intention to discover the 'truth' of these lives, nor will my accounts be complete or unfragmented, because that is not how lives are lived. But the purpose of my research will enable me to keep to the internal coherence and external correspondence of the texts (Hume, 1978). Ultimately, it is not the recounting of ancestral stories that is important to my research. It is the impact that this process of discovery has on my own development as a moral being. Therefore in analysing the stories I hope to develop the recognition of 'the speeding impermanence of life in time and the sadness of the human condition' so that I may 'see the importance of pathos for the conduct of our own lives and therefore the values we bring to the biographical research we practice' (Erben, 1999:85). This impact and understanding I will discuss further in the next chapter.

The stories that follow are presented in different ways reflecting the different approaches that I employed in biographical analysis to illustrate the identities or emergence of identities of these four women. In presenting each, I start with a factual synopsis of her life and move on to explore the historical and political events occurring, and reflect on the influence that those events may have had on the way she led her life.

The social and cultural ethos is interrogated in order to explain her motives and actions. My comments here are juxtaposed with interpretations of other authors and I offer some considered speculations based on my accumulated evidence and knowledge. This is a process of imaginative reconstruction (Erben, 1998).

Maria Stella, Lady Newborough née Joinville (Chiappini)

(16 April 1773 – 28 December 1843)



Image 22: Maria Stella 1806

Introduction:

The chronology of Maria Stella (see Appendix 2) informs this piece of writing and I recommend reading it first to better understand my comments in this section. As illustrated in Chapter 3, Methodology, I have pieced together her story from a number of sources. The potential for bias is plentiful, and my investigation and interpretations carry the same potential for bias as any predecessor. But my motives are, I hope explicit, and are not intended to prove or disprove any of her claims. I have explored Maria Stella's story as an academic exercise in biographical writing, with the express intent of discovering how scrutinizing the life history of another person can lead to a better understanding of my own life and place in society (Richardson, 2005). The additional benefit for me is that Maria Stella is an ancestor, so I have also integrated the task of reflecting on familial traits and so seek a better understanding of her thoughts and actions, as well as a deeper understanding of my own characteristics.

Life Story

Maria Stella was born in 1773 in Modigliana, a Tuscan town not far from Modena where Louis Philippe's [the last King of France] grandmother was born and raised. From the age of four, she lived in and around Florence. Her family life, as daughter of a gaoler,

Chiappini, was tumultuous. Although loathed by her mother, her father apparently had money enough to develop her musical and theatrical talents and by the age of 12, she was performing on the stage. Thomas Wynn, a wealthy Welsh Baron aged 50 fell in love with her, after seeing her perform, and despite her heartfelt protestations, they were married when she was just 13. Her father and family were generously remunerated by the Baron. When she was 19, she returned with him to his mansion in North Wales, Glynllivon. Nine years later, his only son by his first marriage died. He needed an heir and Maria Stella:

...at last ... felt it to be my duty to make the most painful sacrifices for his sake—I consented to become a mother! (Newborough, 1830:34; Capes, 1914:93).

Maria Stella had two sons, Thomas (1802) and Spencer (1803), within 2 years. However, in 1807 Thomas, her husband, died and a short time later she remarried. Baron Sternberg was a Russian and they moved to Estonia, where she gave birth to a third child, her beloved Edward (1811).

Maria Stella left Estonia in 1817, never to return. Her elderly father, Chiappini, begged her to come back to Italy, which she did and nursed him until his death in 1821. Chiappini left a letter confessing that he was not her father. She had been exchanged at birth for his son who was 'adopted' by a person of high rank. Astounded, she vowed to find out who her true father was, for 'the honour and love of my children' (Newborough, 1830:46).

Within two years, she had discovered the alleged identity of her parents: The Count and Countess Joinville. By a court order, her birth certificate was amended to endorse this. The name 'Joinville' was a minor title used by the Orléans family, the younger Bourbon line, when travelling incognito. Maria Stella spent the rest of her life and all her money trying to prove her birthright to the French Royal family. Louis Philippe, Duc d'Orléans,

the child with whom she was changed, became the last King of the French (Citizen King), reigning from 1830-1848.

Lady Normanby (1848), the wife of the British Ambassador, wrote in her journal at the time of Louis Philippe's abdication:

Thursday, 24 February 1848

Firing in all directions - ... If every volley sends the blood to my heart... what must that old King (Louis Philippe) feel who stepped upon his throne through the blood of the people, and is now in vain trying to preserve his arbitrary power through the same means.

Maria Stella died in penury in Paris in 1843, a year after the death of her son Edward and eleven years after the death of her first born, Thomas.

Comment

Maria Stella's story is one of intrigue and fascination. It has all the qualities of a good historical novel. Wealth and poverty; power and dominance, weakness and ineffectuality; aristocracy, proletariat; love, hate; anger and despair. Further, it has at least three dramatic twists. A changeling child; an underage marriage; and a claim to a royal throne. It engenders for me feelings of horror at events that took place; frustration and anger at the plight of women in the late 18th century; excitement at the prospect of royal intrigue and a great sadness for a life wasted in a futile quest that caused her to abandon all her family devotions and responsibilities.

In engaging with the different variations of her story, several adjectives came to mind that convey a lasting impression of Maria Stella: zealous, regal, unconventional, betrayed, lost.

In the following interpretive account, I demonstrate why I chose these themes.

Zealous

My foremost perception of Maria Stella is of a tenacious, single-minded and selfish woman who achieved an extraordinary feat in her lifetime that very few men let alone women would have undertaken. She pitched herself against the Establishment in an attempt to prove that she had been substituted at birth and that her place as a member of the French Royal family had been usurped. Regardless of the evidence that she accumulated however, she was never likely to win her case. She had pitted herself against the Royal Monarchy. Money and rank afforded power that overturned truth and legitimacy. She knew that and was warned and entreated on many occasions to drop her case, but she became obsessed and devoted 21 years of her life to this 'unsuccessful' attempt. However, as Wynn (2009) points out, her story was successful in discrediting the Orléans family and, when reprinted in 1848, sealed the fate of Louis Philippe who, after 18 years on the throne, had abdicated due to his unpopularity. When the d'Orléanists again tried to reassert their claim to the throne, a play based on Maria Stella's life, put on by Vernet (1888), destroyed any remaining confidence in the Orléanists and confirmed the death of the French monarchy.

Deposing the monarchy would not necessarily have been Maria Stella's intent. Hers was a more focused concern involving wealth and heritage for her descendants. They would have a birthright to the crown of France and become heirs to all the Orléans estate; Maria Stella being their eldest daughter and there being no living sons. From this, I have an overwhelming sense of admiration and wonderment that sits alongside a sense of bewilderment about what would have driven her to that extreme, given the futility of her cause to achieve her desired aims. Why did she take it up to the exclusion of all her comforts as an aristocratic wife and mother? At 50, her relationship with her husband, who was nine years younger than she, was at best mediocre (Newborough, 1830:101), though he provided financially for her. Her need to discover the identity of her birth parents was understandable but when she had obtained an Episcopal Court judgement in favour of amending her birth certificate to document her real parents, the Count and Countess Joinville, it is puzzling why she then did not abandon the matter? Rumour had it that the Count and Countess Joinville were from the Orléans branch of the French

Royal family. She therefore became determined to acquire the title, riches and inheritance that she believed she deserved, despite having come from her impoverished background and having acquired so much for herself and her children.

The French Revolution had brought about irrevocable change (Kontje, 1998). Maria Stella had lived through the proletariat and bourgeois uprising of 1789 and, despite being a woman, might have expected to have been able to assert her proper birthright. Kontje (1998) ascertained, however, that although there was a change in the social and political order of things, the revolution did not lead to the emancipation of women from patriarchal rule. (This was indeed highlighted when Maria Stella had to give up her rights to her children when she married for a second time.)

By the time Maria Stella received her father's letter, in 1821, she was nearly 49, and recognised the political unrest and regal instability in France. Although he was from the younger branch of the House of Bourbon, Louis Philippe was laying the foundations to claim the French throne. This inspired Maria Stella's zeal further to make her claim for the Royal House, for the sake of her children.

Unconventional

Was it naivety then or downright stubbornness and ignorance borne of passion or madness that drove Maria Stella to continue to press her case against Louis Philippe? Did she not anticipate that she would be ineffectual? Given that she was a woman in this situation, she actually posed little threat. However, because of the volatility of ruling class politics, she may have felt that she had a chance. Court life, following the French Revolution (1789) was unpredictable with constant clashing between the challenging factions. How Maria Stella imagined that someone would support her allegation that Louis Philippe was an Italian peasant's son changed at birth, and hence not the legitimate heir to the French Crown is difficult to fathom particularly when the three Bourbon brothers, Louis XVI, XVII and Charles X had all been found lacking as rulers and Louis Philippe was the people's choice for King. However because she was a woman, she had little choice or freedom in how she conducted her life. She on the one hand would have to 'conform to the bourgeois convention that made her a prisoner of her husband

[or] enter the public sphere as a lonely, obsessed “virago” (Kontje, 1998). Maria Stella chose the latter course of action.

Betrayed

An analysis of Maria Stella’s childhood might indeed account for her fanatical, unrelenting investigations; her grandiose ideas and desire for retribution; and her determination to give her children a heritage that she had been deprived of. My anger with her actions fades when I think of the fact that she was dreadfully abused both physically and psychologically, by her ‘mother’ in particular and then her ‘father’, both of whom recognised her elegance and talents and wanted to benefit from them. Her abusive mother beat her frequently, often bringing on attacks of eczema. Her father forced her to practice the piano and having recognised her talent, he forced her on to the stage to earn her living at the age of 12. Supplementing the family income was not an uncommon role for young girls from poorer backgrounds (Turner, 2006). Although she was horrified at the prospect, whatever her father commanded she had to obey. ‘...Everything was settled and arranged and that it only remained for me to carry out his wishes’ (Newborough, 1830:10).

As a child, Maria Stella was resourceful in her opposition to things and she showed considerable feistiness as she regularly tried to stand up to her parents against their wishes. Her father, in return for a sizable pension for the family, had accepted the 50-year-old Baron Newborough’s offer of marriage to Maria Stella. At 13, her fear of marriage to the elderly protestant left her in a delirium for days and she even attempted suicide. Women had no status in the 18th century and were treated as mere chattels. Maria Stella had no recourse but to comply. ‘Then my father bade me remember that his power over me was absolute and that I was bound to obey his commands; my mother joined in and declared, with an oath, that, willing or not, I should be the wife del Signor Inglese’ (Capes, 1914:66). Thomas had also persuaded her by saying ‘that if I did not love him yet, I would later on; that his rank, his estates, his wealth, and all the fine things I should enjoy, would oblige me to love him dearly’ (Newborough, 1830:13). Maria Stella then became his property rather than her father’s. Amongst the aristocracy, women

were no more than possessions that men could use to gain or display their wealth and produce their heirs.

To complete the tragedy of her childhood, Thomas decided to return with his family to Britain in 1791. This meant that Maria Stella, at the age of 18, would leave everything that was familiar to her, even her native language.

In another show of dominance by men, Maria Stella shows how little control women had. She felt betrayed by the patriarchal system that insisted that she would lose the guardianship of her children, if she married again. Not long after Thomas' death Maria met her second husband. 'Finally the Baron himself made me a formal proposal. . . I did not hesitate to give an answer in the negative alleging, as my reason, my position with regards to my two sons' (Newborough, 1830:38). Nevertheless, she did marry and remarked subsequently, 'still less will I endeavour to depict my despair when I realized that it was vain to dream of keeping the guardianship of my children. Milord's executors were inexorable; they tore them from me, without pity' (Newborough, 1830:38). Custody laws for women who had left a marriage were strongly campaigned for by Caroline Norton, but these did not come into effect until 1839 and 1857 (Turner, 2006).

Another shock came to Maria Stella who, at the age of 49, discovered after their deaths, that her 'mother' and 'father' had betrayed her in a way that she could never have imagined. They were not even her real parents. Her mothering story however, recycles her lived experience. If parenting skills are based on lessons learnt in one's own upbringing then it is not surprising to see her abandon her sons, aged eight and seven. For she was abandoned at age 13 to her husband and ultimately learnt of her own appalling abandonment at birth.

Lost

Through these experiences, Maria Stella would have learnt self-reliance. Deprived of parental love and cruelly treated by siblings, she would have learnt to be alone in her own world. To be living alone in Paris in later life would therefore not have been remarkable for her. She was shown no affection in her early life, so when faced with

advocates for her cause who expressed personal enthusiasm and concern she could easily have been taken into their confidence and unsuspectingly mistaken their attention for genuine feeling instead of their own egotistical motives and avaricious fiscal ends.

Maria Stella was often ill. She had bad eczema and frequently had to leave Wales for spas in England on account of her poor health. She was fanatical in her Catholicism supported by Thomas' conversion prior to their marriage and an apocryphal story that Thomas procured bones of St Beuno returned to from his burial site at Clynnog for her. Kontje (1998) reflects that illness and religion were symbolic of women's distress in that time, and I concur that Maria Stella seemed to be ill at the times of her highest stress.

Regal

Maria Stella lived a very humble existence before meeting Baron Newborough, but nevertheless had dreams of grandeur. 'I bewailed my fate unceasingly; I felt humiliated by my circumstances; I envied the ladies who possessed many servants, beautiful mansions, fine equipages, and most of all those who were received at Court. These lofty aspirations were always with me' (Capes, 1914:54). It was not until she returned to Thomas' house in Wales, Glynllivon that she began to get a taste of the privileged lifestyle that she had always aspired to. She should, I thought, have been satisfied with the wealth she acquired from both her husbands, but having seen pictures of the Luxemburg Place, which was the home of the d'Orléans family, I could feel a little tinge of the envy that must have consumed Maria Stella (Amis du Musée Louis-Philippe, 2010).

Maria Stella not only craved wealth, but acceptance and birthright. Until her father's letter suggesting otherwise, Maria was always ashamed of her ignoble background. She herself was beautiful and had considerable talents as a musician and actress. These features served her well when she was finally accepted into the aristocratic circles. However, her family were a constant source of embarrassment to her, especially when the Italians came over to her large country home in Wales. Taylor's (2001) research demonstrates how an individual's memory about a place is often influenced by the

importance attached to it by that person. Glynllivon is a 21-bedroom house situated in parkland surrounded by a 10km wall (Lloyd Jones, 2006). Yet Maria Stella mentions nothing of the home she lived in for some 18 years, which was the longest time she spent anywhere in her life, and the place where her two of her sons were born. Her only comment about the house was their homecoming. 'We were escorted home by six hundred men, all people or friends of milord's. . . for six consecutive months it was like a perpetual fete, and we had as many as fifty guests every day' (Capes, 1914:88). That is virtually all she says of her time in England. This could demonstrate how the hardships Maria Stella bore in relocating and in her unsatisfactory marriage influenced the memories of her time at Glynllivon to the extent that she saw her time as insignificant. On the other hand perhaps it maybe had more to do with the way autobiographies were then in so far as they 'had a notable tendency to omit personal aspects of life.' (Oakely, 2010:8).

Maria Stella moved constantly throughout her life. She had lived in 4 different houses before coming to Wales at 19 years of age. From there she moved to Estonia, back to Italy and then oscillated between Italy, Switzerland and France for nine years until she settled in Paris, where she died some 14 years later. Taylor (2006) asserts that living in many places affects the development of identity. I surmise that Maria Stella having moved so much as a child and with relatively difficult consequences (leaving her family home in Italy to move to Wales; having to leave her children when she went to Estonia; having to leave her third son in Geneva to go to France) undermined rather than strengthened her sense of identity so that when she heard that she was the daughter of French nobility and possibly party to 'Royal Blood' it drove her desire to prove this exponentially.

Conclusion

I have extrapolated five key characteristics from Maria Stella's autobiographical story that build her identity as a tenacious, independent woman and committed mother whose dedication to the attainment of her birthright was inexhaustible. Because hers was a completed life story, I might simply have been picking up on the traits that she

wanted to portray. I wondered, for instance, whether Maria Stella really did have illusions of grandeur as a child or whether she constructed her autobiographical story to include this feature to make her previously questioned rise to aristocratic circles more socially acceptable. However, in analysing the components of her identity, I recognised that she was also affected by her position as a woman in that society and that she might simply have been committed to her search as a means of gaining her independence. The personal characteristics highlighted from Maria Stella's story will be discussed in reference to my identity in Chapter 5.

Charlotte Corbett née Morritt

(02 February 1836 – 22 May 1861)

‘The inexorable clock warns me that I must finish’ (p.45. 13/02/1853)



Image 23: Charlotte circa 1852

Introduction

From a collection of sequential letters written by Charlotte to her mother, a window into her life (two years, 1852-1854) has been pieced together.

Life Story

Charlotte Morritt was born on the 2 February 1836. A year later, the 18 year-old Victoria became Queen (20/21 June 1837). Little is known of Charlotte’s early life, but from her account of it as revealed in her letters, she must have spent some of her childhood in North Yorkshire where her great grandparent’s had a family home at Rokeby Park. Charlotte was an only child. Her father, Henry Morritt, a captain in the Royal Artillery, married his first cousin, Anne Morritt, who was nine years his senior. He had died, aged only 30, in 1847 when Charlotte was nearly 11. Subsequently she and her mother lived in Paris.

Charlotte was 16 when she married a diplomat, Edwin Corbett, in the British Embassy in Paris on 11 September 1852, just three days before the death of the Duke of Wellington

(de Vries, 1967:102). It was a time of political and social unrest again in France, as King Louis Philippe had abdicated in 1848 and Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, who staged a coup d'état in late 1851, became Napoleon III of the second French Empire. Two months after their wedding, Charlotte and Edwin crossed the Atlantic and took up residence in Washington where Edwin, then 32, was a paid attaché to His Excellency, the British Minister, Mr. J. F. Crampton (p.62).

From their arrival, Charlotte assumed the duties of a diplomatic wife and had social obligations that exceeded the responsibilities of a junior diplomat's spouse as the British Minister was unmarried. She and Edwin, for the most part, enjoyed the privileges of their high social circle. They attended numerous diplomatic and presidential functions, regularly went to the theatre and dined with visiting speakers such as Thackeray. They struck up the acquaintance of American political figures such as Edward Everett, the Secretary of State and Charles Sumner the Abolitionist and made intimate friends with other members of the foreign diplomatic corps. For relaxation they rode through the woods of Georgetown, and Charlotte played the piano, drew and sewed.

During their stay in Washington, Charlotte had the first of her five children, my great grandmother, Sybil. She left Washington, again pregnant, at the end of August 1854. Her letters for the next six years remain unexplored, but during that time, she, Edwin and the children relocated to diplomatic postings in Paris, Washington, Madrid, Paris, Copenhagen, Florence and Stockholm (Foreign Office List, 1888; Boase Allibone, 2006). It was in Stockholm on the 22 May 1861 that she died giving birth to her fifth child, Vincent. Though heartbroken, Edwin married again and had a further five children, but when he died he was buried in Stockholm with his beloved Charlotte.

Comment

Analysis of Charlotte's letters was the first biographical undertaking in this research project. Two major themes became apparent which were analysed in detail. These were subject oriented rather than personality centred. One explored the historical background of her diplomatic life in an emerging major world country and the other the

socio-cultural aspect of fashion and dress. In this section, Charlotte's maturing identity will be demonstrated by addressing these background themes.

Historical Context

Because she entered a high echelon of Washington society, Charlotte met and mentioned many American dignitaries and foreign diplomatic families. This provided the impetus for me to review historical documents and literature to contextualise the historical period in which she lived. Discovering the reputation and significance of the people that she talked about provided a more considered and enriched understanding of Charlotte's character.

Embassy life

In 1852 at the age of 16, Charlotte found herself far away from the world with which she was familiar and at the centre of one of the largest British diplomatic localities abroad. Hickman (2001) singles out Paris and Washington as two of the locations most recognised for engendering feelings of isolation and loneliness. Ligation or Embassy life, although sounding glamorous and privileged, often required major personal upheaval and readjustment. For some, as Charlotte demonstrates through her letters over the two years, it can afford maturity, for others it could be a lonely and depressing experience. Part of the reason that Charlotte responded well was that she was in love and was greatly adored by Edwin, her new husband. Also her personality was cheerful and resilient. At 16 she had lived comfortably in two different cultures, had tragically lost her father and was embarking on an adventure that would thrill most teenagers. Additionally, even if Edwin was not seen as a replacement father figure (he was only 4 years younger than her father) his superior, Mr. Crampton would have. Crampton was unmarried, which meant that Charlotte did not have to succumb to a superior, probably intimidating, matriarch, and was credited with many of the responsibilities and privileges afforded the wife of an ambassador. He, in turn doted on Charlotte and Edwin, so much so that they became constant dinner guests. 'Mr. Crampton and Mr. Griffiths have got into the habit of having us with them every evening. They hate not having us, even for a single night' (p.93). He was obviously affable company and made it easier for her to fit in. 'Nothing can be more charming than Mr. Crampton, he is full of talent and

really a most superior person – he is kind and as good as can be and has the most charming manners’ (p.196). It is recorded in the National Archives (2010) that Mr. Crampton, the minister-plenipotentiary and envoy-extraordinary to the United States, was one of the most popular British diplomats.

In the 1860s there were only 5 British Embassies and 19 legations located overseas (Hickman, 2001). As a consequence, the command of British affairs abroad was undertaken by a small select group of diplomats, who carried great responsibility when representing their sovereign. The frequent socialising that Charlotte and Edwin assumed: ‘Today we dine with Mr. C[rampton] and tomorrow he has a dinner party of 24 – a great spread. .. I do not find Washington dull’ (p.28), is consistent with other accounts of a hectic diplomatic lifestyle (Hickman, 2001). However, unlike many accounts of older women, Charlotte generally makes light of her duties and responsibilities and in adolescent exuberance exclaimed, ‘It was a very pleasant party and I danced a great deal and wound up with a Gallop with Mr. Paget, the only one I’ve had in America, which was delightful. I came home at two.’ (p.185). Edwin, on the other hand, sixteen years her senior, consistently developed headaches and was often excused the socialising. ‘Edwin had a slight headache and then he was lazy and would not go so I had to go with His Excellency [to dine with Lady Jersey]’ (p.167). Occasionally she complained about the lengthy presidential dinners, and the lack of personal privacy was something she did not warm to. ‘Do you know, dearest Mama, between you and I, I am not quite sure that I do not like dinning at home better than at Mr. Crampton’s every night’ (pp.31 -32). But for the most part Charlotte took every situation with good humour and a youthful sense of intrigue. Her growing social awareness was shown in her concern when friends hosted parties. Presumably, because there were so many, sometimes people did not show up: ‘Mr de Sartiges was in a dreadful state of mind as not a quarter of the people who he had invited came. He had a buffet for 150 people and there were not more than 50’ (p.187).

The one activity that annoyed Charlotte was the constant round of social visits. Once Charlotte was established as his Excellency's representative, she was obliged to make these visits more official.

There has been so much offense taken among the silly people here ... about my not having a 'day' to receive, being the only lady at the Legation, that I am obliged to give in much to my disgust, and I have fixed on Tuesday mornings... I do wish there was a Mrs. Crampton to do all that part...I really think £250⁴ per annum [Edwin's salary] is not sufficient remuneration for so much bother and annoyance! (p.144 31/12/1853)

Charlotte received some 20-30 visitors in a morning! And she herself was equally obliged to make the round of social calls with up to 20 visits in a day. William Thackeray, whom Charlotte met several times at dinner and attended his lectures also found the visiting practice in Washington overwhelming. He said: 'Haven't been able to write this morning for the visitors pouring in.' (Richie, 1924:79).

Nevertheless, Charlotte mostly enjoyed the status accorded her and, even at her young age, regarded her duties most responsibly. She had the extraordinary opportunity of assuming an 'ambassadors' role without the title or expectation and she blossomed as the diplomatic wife. Given evidence of her maturation in Washington, her emerging confidence and inherited sense of arrogance, she might well have become one of those slightly intimidating, matriarchal ambassadors. Nevertheless, I think she would have had a twinkle in her eye and been a compassionate mentor for the subordinate wives.

Domestic Life in the 19th Century

It appeared to prove less of a challenge to Charlotte to socialise in these circles than it was to run a household. Life in America with its different customs was frustrating and

⁴ This would equate to £14,632.50 in today's money (2010) - <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/results.asp#mid>

from comments she made her development from a dependent child to self-resilience and a growing assertiveness with her house staff is revealed.

Being only 16 when she married and having lived with her mother previously, Charlotte had never taken responsibility for managing a home. Indeed, she recognised that she had been very much taken care of in the past, when she writes about Placidie, her French maid's lack of skills: 'She is very slow, dirty and untidy and always in a hurry, and nothing ever ready or in its proper place which is tiresome. It is perhaps better for me and will teach me to look after things myself' (p.23, p.105). She had difficulty keeping her staff. The housemaid left, as she was overworked (p.41); the cook due to incompetence (p.56); the laundress for a better job (p.133); another Irish cook leaves for drinking on the job (p.157, p.167) and the groom left as he had been insubordinate to the Butler (p.200). When her trusted maid, Placidie, left as she was pregnant at 40 and was unable to work as before Charlotte is exasperated: 'I am so tired of this abominable country,' she exclaims, 'on account of the housekeeping, which is such uphill work and so expensive and so little satisfaction' (p.104). Charlotte echoes the observation by Hickman (2001:15): 'Their [diplomatic wives] sphere is essentially domestic... children, dogs, gardens, houses, servants, clothes, food. Politics, except on the occasions when they came into direct conflict with their lives, are only incidentally mentioned.' Charlotte recognised this as being an unavoidable evil that came with her status and made the following astute observation:

I have been obliged so often to feign total ignorance on subjects which I know perfectly, and never to express an opinion to any American on any subject relating in any degree to politics, that secrecy on these subjects has become a habit with me, the importance of which is dinned into me every day by H.E., Edwin and Mr. G. (p.191 28/05/1854)

In the historical analysis, American politics and culture was explored (see Appendix 4). Charlotte met and dined with two presidents during her time there. By her second year she was having more intimate conversations with the presidential family, but

acknowledges her inability to respond to the grief still overwhelming Mrs Pierce on the loss of her only child in a train accident some two months prior to Mr Pierce being elected.

When we went up to Mrs. Peirse⁵ to make my curtsy before going away she asked me about my baby again and spoke so kindly and so sadly that it made my heart ache. . . One did not know what to say to her, poor woman, particularly before so many people! They say she has taken a great fancy to me. I wish she would not talk so sadly though for it makes me miserable to hear her. (p.141 26/12/1853)

Charlotte, although not quite 18 years old, demonstrated a great empathy for loss, but it is not surprising that she found articulating that difficult. She had a special relationship with all the wives of the diplomatic corps and on occasions had to offer sympathy at the death of a child, though etiquette and a sense of duty prevailed and she could not offer comfort as she would have liked as her duties got in the way, 'I could not go to them on Tuesday as it was my morning [for visits]' (p. 154).

Women and American Political and Diplomatic Life

Partly ordered by the diplomatic way of life and the need for complete secrecy on political affairs and partly due to the nature of the desultory social interactions Charlotte would clearly have said little to others about current affairs. However, Edwin and Charlotte's close relationship would have led to constant discussion about political and world affairs. At the dinner party tables, although she might not have engaged in political discussions, she certainly would have listened to them. Indeed, on occasions she used her tact to steer conversations away from controversial subjects:

⁵ An explanation of the changes observed in Charlotte's spelling of Pierce/Peirse is addressed in The Discussion p. 142 .Her great grandmother was named Anne Peirse.

... and from there the conversation slips into that disagreeable subject of slavery in general, which it is impossible to discuss without putting the person you are talking to in a violent rage, or else saying things which are against your own conscience. I avoid the subject as much as possible. (p.132 03/12/1853)

Slavery was an extremely controversial topic, which Charlotte timidly acknowledges from the beginning of her correspondence. Her growing political awareness and interest can be traced through the two years and she eventually discusses America's affairs astutely and passionately.

There is a great deal of excitement occasioned by the Nebraska Territory Bill. Nebraska is a new Territory, which they are going to annexe and there is to be a fight in Congress between the Abolitionists and the Southerners as to whether slavery should or should not be introduced into this new territory. It is expected to be a very animated discussion and the most sensible men of both parties dread that party feeling should run so high as to cause the dissolution of the Union, which of course ought to be maintained at any price. I fear slavery & Free Soilism will be the shoal upon which the Union will be split, and with the Union all the power and prosperity of both North and South. This is a very sad prospect for an American whatever are his Politics. An understanding of the subject of Slavery seems as far off as ever. (p.154-155 23/01/1854)

And she was right, for just six years after they left Washington, and Abraham Lincoln had been ushered in as the 16th President, the country was embroiled in civil war focusing on the question of abolishing slavery (Schama, 2008).

In America, women could engage more formally in political discussion by hearing members of Congress speak in the Capitol. Unlike the House of Commons, there was a

gallery in the Capitol building created for the sole purpose of allowing women into the House of Representatives (Trollope, [1839]1984:189).

Mr. Crampton sent me word that Mr. Everett was going to speak and if I liked he would take me to Capitol to hear him, so we went. But although we were there by 12, the gallery was already so full that we could not get in. ... His Excellency then sent in word to Mr. Everett that I was there and he came out and said he would try to get me onto the floor of the Senate where ladies are forbidden, but it was put to the vote and one horrid man from Indiana vetoed it so I could not get in. All the gentlemen of the Corps Diplomatique are allowed on the floor, but no ladies. (p.163. 12/02/1854)

Another situation affecting Charlotte directly and showing her political awareness was the war in the Crimea, which commenced in October 1853. Edwin's brother was in the military and was dispatched to Malta in the spring of 1854. Her sentiments at this time were, 'God grant the war be short and brilliant' (p.175). Although talking later of the excitement of a Russian diplomat in being posted to Constantinople and the Allies victory at Silistria, she starts to recognise the personal cost of war when a friend of hers who is Russian wants to travel to see her children in Russia: 'The Baltic is now shut up so she must go and return by land. I do not wonder at her being nervous... it will be very disagreeable for her to cross Russia and to come suddenly on battles, burnt villages, armies etc.' (p211). In the end she reads in the newspaper of the death of a friend, 'many others will follow I fear' (p.218). Charlotte would have been acutely aware of the intricacies of the war as it developed as most evenings she and Edwin dined with Mr. Crampton. He was dismissed from his post some 18 months after they left Washington for actively recruiting Americans to support the British troops in the Crimea (National Archives, 2010).

From the above examples, I have demonstrated how Charlotte matured from a poised yet self-centred adolescent to an empathetic, intelligent and politically astute woman, capable of handling onerous responsibilities as a diplomatic wife.

Fashion and Dress

Through my analysis of fashion and dress I explored the more social and personal side of Charlotte's development.

In contrast to the chore of her domestic duties, Charlotte had a passion for riding and played the piano and painted for amusement. She was well read and loved to discuss literature with the visiting lecturers, such as William Thackeray and Washington Irving, who often had dinner at Mr. Crampton's.

Charlotte enjoyed music and the arts and there was plenty of opportunity and exposure in the capital city to develop her artistic appreciation. It is through her attendances at society dinners that she describes her clothes. From brief descriptions at the beginning of her letters, she clearly becomes much more involved in the ordering of material for new dresses and like any teenager, delights in knowing and sporting the latest fashions. Fortunately, 'The ladies [in Washington] dress well, but not so splendidly as Baltimore' (Trollope, [1839] 1984:194) and Charlotte is aware of this:

I want a white silk slip to go under my tarlatan and a black slip for my net. Recollect I am in a desert land as regards shops. One can get things in Baltimore and New York, I believe, by paying enormously for them, but here you positively cannot get a yard of velvet ribbon. (p.67

16/04/1853)

Charlotte had only a small budget for clothes, as Edwin was a low paid attaché and Charlotte learnt the hard way to exercise control over her spending. Initially, she wasn't that careful with money and Edwin had to settle her accounts on more than one occasion when she overspent. Her capricious ordering is here recorded, 'As to the

eighteen pairs of kid gloves, dearest Mother, I suppose you are right ... and that I did order them. I had quite forgotten it. Should I not want them, I can always sell them here you know' (p.137 ^{12/12/1853}).

However, as she matures, she recognises the effect of careful financial planning and when she has a new baby to clothe, she becomes even more frugal. 'If you take one here [a work woman to make the clothes] by the day it is 50 cents, that is 2/- and a penny⁶ day, but by the week you get one day for nothing' (p.178 ^{23/04/1854}).

Charlotte's decorum goes beyond managing her money well. Her European upbringing sets her apart from the American girls of her age.

Addy informed Mr. Crampton that she had pressed Thackeray's hand under the table, which she hoped was not wrong – the things the girls say here would make you wince. They tell Edwin they think he is very good looking and think it is lucky for him he is married for the would all be setting their caps at him, and one added that she for her part would certainly be in love with him. Conceive young girls of seventeen or eighteen saying these things so boldly and simply as possible – I do not think it so much boldness, as ignorance of 'les convenances' (p.46 ^{18/12/1853})

Because she is married, she has assumed a very maternal attitude even with her friends (Florence is less than a year younger than Charlotte)

I told Florence that nothing would tempt me to a Masked Ball and I should try and prevent her Mother from letting her go... A Masked Ball here of all places in the world where the Society is so mixed and where

⁶ This would equate to £6.10 in today's money (2010) - <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/results.asp#mid>

there are so few restrictions of any kind, where girls and men have so much liberty is shocking to think of. (p.157 ^{29/01/1854})

Charlotte proved that she was more independent and resilient than her counter parts. 'I intended to have nothing but riders [to attend her picnic in the country], but all the men I asked accepted with delight and all the women refused except Addy Smith... so then I was obliged to let people come in buggies' (p.185 ^{07/05/1854}). '19 out of 20 Americans cannot ride six miles without being tired and stiff for a week' (p.195 ^{04/06/1854}).

On many occasions, Charlotte depends on her mother for good advice, showing a little of her adolescent traits, but also showing her developing confidence with her womanly tasks '6 frocks being at the rate of 2 shillings a frock and 1 shilling a petticoat, do you think that that is too dear? It is cheap for Washington' (p.187 ^{07/05/1854}). The relationship between mother and daughter is intimately companionable.

Conclusion

'The inexorable clock warns me that I must finish' (p.45. ^{13/02/1853})

What is significant about Charlotte's story is not only the interest that my family members have in her, but the window she opens on women leading diplomatic lives. Hickman (2001:14) reveals that 'Because they [diplomatic wives] were women, their experiences had no value, and their presence often went unrecorded' but in those stories, like Charlotte's, that do survive the more subjective accounts of everyday life 'brilliantly ... describe what life was really like' (Hickman, 2001:15). In this sense, Charlotte's contribution is unique in that it describes the joy and heartache of a young woman separated from her beloved mother for the first time and having to assume onerous diplomatic obligations in a foreign country at a very young age.

Charlotte's growing maturity over the two years shines through in her letters as she writes in more detail and about a broader range of subjects. She demonstrated her

passion for fashionable clothing, her love and agility in riding, her flourishing intellect and her love of her daughter, Sybil, her husband, Edwin and her mother.

Because her letters are written to only one person (her mother), and there is no record of any responses, it is difficult to see the breadth of her character or the impression other people had of her. Nonetheless, her letters show her growing more confident, perhaps more arrogant, but remaining a kind and sensitive young woman, who handled the social scene of a diplomatic life with apparent ease and much poise. Only two comments from outsiders are recorded in her letters, but they lend support to my observations.

General Scott, the renowned Commander-in-Chief of the American Forces, and 1852 presidential candidate, sat next to Charlotte at a dinner party. At the conclusion of the meal he informed his host that “that he liked me very much and said I was ‘a very remarkable young woman’ (p.25); And, in one rare letter written by Edwin to his mother-in-law, he also extols her virtues: ‘she looks so young and pretty and even more interesting than before, that I am inclined to think her the greatest darling in the whole world. She is so wise beyond her years; she is a constant delight to me’ (p.107 ^{22/08/1853}).

Dorothy Chapman née Wynn

(18 July 1877 – 05 March 1974)



Image 24: Dorothy Wynn 1903

Introduction

Dorothy was Charlotte's granddaughter, Alice's mother and my grandmother. Although she only left a small diary for my analysis, I also drew on my knowledge of her (I was 24 when she died and I had lived in her home for five years) and also reflections from her daughter, Alice.

Life Story

Dorothy Wynn was born in England on 18 July 1877 daughter to Sybil, Charlotte Corbett's eldest child and Thomas John Wynn, Maria Stella's grandson and heir apparent to the Newborough estate in North Wales. She was the fifth of six children, though an elder sister and brother had died prior to her birth. Her father, Thomas, died unexpectedly at the age of 38, a year after Dorothy's birth and whilst Sybil was pregnant with Dorothy's youngest brother Thomas. Sybil, when she married, would have expected

to become Lady Newborough on the death of her father-in-law, Spencer Bulkeley Wynn, Maria Stella's son. Being the eldest son, Thomas would have inherited the family estate of Glynllivon near Caernarvon and possibly several other houses and land belonging to Spencer. However, although she and her children would have been nominally provided for on Thomas' death, none of the family wealth or properties would have been bequeathed to her.

There is evidence that Sybil and her four children might, sometime after Thomas' death, have gone to the continent, where her sister, Alice Corbett was a nun. A formal picture of Sybil, Dorothy and her youngest brother Thomas was taken in Berne when Dorothy was five and Thomas four. Part of Dorothy's education occurred at the Bon Pasteur, a convent, orphanage and hospital outside Strasburg, where her aunt, Alice, became Deaconess. She and her older sister, Mabel, lived there year round, holidays included. Sybil met, but did not marry, a Baron Gaertner and by him had two other children, a half sister and brother to Dorothy. How much they shared lives is questionable. My aunt, Alice, Dorothy's daughter, knew nothing about the half brother and sister until after Dorothy, died.

There is scant evidence of Dorothy's whereabouts or activities in her early life, until she went travelling with her elder brother, Willie, who became Lord Newborough at the age of 15, on the death of his grandfather in 1888. Brother and sister travelled on Willie's Steam Yacht the 'Fedora' to the Far East from 1897-1899. The diary of 1899 records it as 'being the sixty-second year of the reign of her Majesty Queen Victoria' [Accession June 20, 1837]. Alice, Dorothy's youngest daughter recounts that Dorothy and Willie had a close relationship and that she continued to sail with Willie until he met and married an American woman in 1900. 'It was either Grace or the boat that had to go'. On an occasion when they were sailing to America, they encountered a bad storm, where one of the crew was swept overboard. Willie was badly hurt and Dorothy had to bring the yacht back to England with a broken mast.

On 1 February 1905, Dorothy married Rear Admiral Cuthbert Chapman, Captain of the Royal Yacht 'Osborne'. At that time, Edward VII was on the throne and his wife Alexandra, a former Danish Princess, made great friends with Cuthbert, giving them a silver rose bowl when they were married. It was a society wedding, held at Glynllifon and reported in minute detail in the Caernarvon Herald. Dorothy had three children, Cynthia born in 1905, Peter [my father], 1906 and Alice, 1910. Cuthbert was retired out of the navy due to stress in 1915 and her beloved brother Willie died in 1916 from the effects of injuries incurred in the First World War. The family lived at Ropley, Hampshire, till 1931 when Cuthbert died of a neurological condition. Dorothy and the three children moved to Barford, Norfolk until the Second World War, then Dingley Hill, Berkshire. Dorothy lived an uneventful life until she died in 1972 at the age of 96.

Reflections on Dorothy's character

I had little data to go on to comment on the person that Dorothy was at the age of twenty-one, however as Roberts (2002:62) suggested, I found I could conjecture on her character quite well from her choice of content and the pattern of diary entries.

There is no doubt that Dorothy had a privileged upbringing, but due to the early death of her father, she endured hardships along with that privilege. Despite being left by her mother at Strasburg while Sybil had a new family she must have maintained a close relationship with her as she frequently noted having written to her in her diary and recorded that they shopped and spent time together when Dorothy returned to England at the end of her voyage in 1899. However, Dufort, drawing on evidence from Sybil's sister, Beatrix's diary entries, identified something of her character.

Sybil seems to have been a restless and temperamental person and I know my grandmother found her very difficult at times. After Tom Newborough died Sybil seems to have gone off the rails and lived with Baron Gaertner (all this mentioned disapprovingly in the diaries). She had two children by him, William and Marguerite (Gardner) and lived at the Chateau de Vicardessnes in Normandy. The children [Sybil and

Thomas Newborough's] spent most of their childhood in France though I think William (Newborough) was sent to a decent school in England.

(Letter written by Dufort 21 January 2009)

Early on, Dorothy would have had to have developed a certain self-reliance. Although she spent more time growing up with Mabel at Bon Pasteur, they were not close as sisters. Their age difference was exactly five years, so their interests and behaviours would have been dissimilar at the various stages of development. Mabel was seen as 'very very difficult. She never had any small talk. She was very quiet but had a caustic tongue' (Alice, 07 June 2010). Her awkwardness is illustrated by the story of her marriage, which was reported in *The Advertiser*, 29 November 1896.

It appears that the marriage ought to have taken place some few months earlier but was postponed on account of the temporary illness of the bride...

The bride's dress was a prune coloured cloth [Suggesting half mourning] and she wore a black velvet hat trimmed with feathers and green and white ribbons. Her bridesmaid's dress was equally plain.

Indeed, there was nothing like show about the ceremony...

It will therefore be seen that the marriage which took place under such quiet and unassuming conditions at Cheadal yesterday unites two important & influential families.

For a society wedding to have such a low profile was most unusual and possibly gives insight into Mabel's character, which contrasted appreciably to Dorothy. 'The illness would undoubtedly have been sheer nerves. Sybil had had to take Mabel to India to find a husband. They called them fishing trips. It was pure luck meeting Frank [her husband]' (Alice, 07 June 2010).

There may have been a difference in how the two sisters were treated as children that might account for their different personalities. Mabel was the eldest child, followed a year later by Willie. Then two children, Stella and Spencer died within three months of their respective births. Dorothy was born next and because she survived, she may have been treated as a “precious” child.

Dorothy adored her elder brother, Willie and this was apparent when they set sail on a two-year voyage from 1897 to 1899 to see their newly married sister, Mabel, in Burma. Willie possessed the Steam Yacht ‘Fedora’ at least from 1886 (Evidence: A photograph album containing photographs in the Faroe Islands) to 1901 when it is reported he sailed to the Azores and New York to watch the Americas Cup (*New York Times*, 1901).

In the aforementioned trip, The ‘Fedora’ sailed out to Burma and the Malay Peninsula at the height of the expansion of the British Empire. Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India in 1877 and by 1907 Britain’s empire occupied more than one fifth of the world’s land mass (Fraser, 2004:606). Dorothy and her brother were not interested in living or working overseas but they nevertheless had great pioneering spirit and took full advantage of the respect offered the British by the people of “their colonies”.

Despite the expansion of empire there remained unrest within the countries. Burma itself had been annexed by the British in 1886 in order to stop the French, who were expanding in Indo-China, from taking any of India (Fraser, 2004). Dorothy and Willie must have experienced some tension in their trip thorough Egypt and the Suez Canal in 1898, for Kitchener, avenging the death of Gordon, was fighting to reclaim the Sudan. Having been built by the French and completed in 1867 the Suez Canal was, by the time the Fedora passed through it, under the protectorate of the British whose troops had safeguarded it since the Egyptian civil war in 1888. German, British and Italians were vying for territory in East Africa. It was through the Berlin Treaty of 1884-85 that Britain acquired the land that is now Kenya and Uganda. Germany acquired Tanganyika and Italy, Somaliland (Pavitt, 2008; and see Appendix 17a: Map of Africa 1900). It was to protect the source of the White Nile in Lake Victoria, Uganda, from French and German seizure that the railway that Dorothy travelled on was built in 1896-1901(See Appendix

17 b&c). Further unrest was brewing between the British and the Dutch in South Africa. The *Fedora* docked in British held territory just four months before the start of the Second Boer War in October 1899.

To have travelled in these seemingly volatile times, Dorothy would have had to have been spirited and indeed, her diary entries point to her being courageous and stoic. She had, in other ports of call, ventured into the interior of the country, but usually she went to a hotel or to stay with people that Willie and she knew. In East Africa, she undertook a journey where only a railway carriage or a tent separated her from wild animals and threatening tribesmen. From her writing emerged a love of adventure, but she had the good sense to be nervous of real danger. She comments: 'Man-eating tiger [lion] killed within three miles by poisoned arrow by a native. Stayed on board all day' (10 March 1899). Mr. O'Heara killed by a lion. His remains brought down today' (12 March 1899). These rogue lions were a very real threat and had put a stop to work on the Uganda railway three months previously.

Man-eating lions held up construction work on the permanent bridge for several months. Many Africans and twenty eight coolies⁷ were devoured in gruesome circumstances, while the rest of the workforce was left in abject fear. After months of evasion, Patterson killed one of the lions on 9th December 1898. It was huge, taking eight men to carry it back to camp. He bagged a second lion three weeks later, bringing the reign of terror at Tsavo to an end. (Pavitt, 2008:36)

It was no surprise that Dorothy stayed on board when she heard news of other man-eating lions at large just a day after her arrival in Mombasa. In her diary, she rarely notes anything but lists of animals seen or shot, but on one occasion, she follows up her show of nervousness by noting: 'Heard lion roaring close by while at dinner' (21 March 1899).

⁷ Coolie/'kuili'/► noun (pl. coolies) *dated* an unskilled native labourer in India, China and some other Asian countries (OED, 2005:381).

My aunt, Alice, recounted a story when Dorothy, her mother, met a lion. It wasn't recorded in her diary, but orally transmitted from mother to daughter:

All she ever said was, 'oh I was out sketching', I think...I took it that they were sitting under a tree in the shade and so was the lion. And so she said, 'it was very lucky he wasn't hungry'. So I imagine they were sharing a bit of shade with a lion which they hadn't realised was there.

But she never said more than that. (Alice, 25 February 2010)

Not only were the animals frightening, but although she did not document it, Dorothy must have been anxious about the tropical diseases that she could have caught. At that time, there were no preventative vaccinations against the life threatening diseases of typhoid, tuberculosis or yellow fever, and malaria was a common killer. In 1893, Mrs. Watt, the wife of a missionary, was the first white woman to reach Fort Smith in the interior of Kenya (now Nairobi) and some 20 years later one of her young sons died of Malaria, as did her husband in the following year (Pavitt, 2008). Dorothy did in fact record a condition responsible for a death 'Swahili coolie died of pneumonia' (23 March 1899) that might, in fact, have been tuberculosis.

The safari, they undertook was pioneering, but nevertheless elaborate for Dorothy mentions that they took with them a 'Headman, four Somalis & cook' and that they 'Picked up 60 coolies at Mazeras, [a small town 20 km from Mombasa] (14 March 1899). This indicates that Dorothy, as on board ship, did not have any responsibility for tent erection, food preparation or other domestic tasks. Nonetheless, it does show something of her strength of character that she was willing to go on the journey, despite its potential dangers, unsuitable clothing and generally ill equipped for the weather or the terrain. The men's clothing, although more formal, has changed little to the present day, whereas other photographs taken at the same time that Dorothy was there, show the women in long flowing skirts, long sleeved, high collared shirts and elaborate hats.

Fortunately, she would not have been in Kenya at the hottest time of year, for March is the start of the monsoon season, but the equatorial coastline would produce temperatures of between 25-36c. Dorothy documents that there was a lot of rain so the mud and water must have made walking in her skirts difficult, and the humidity would have added to her discomfort, as she regularly details: 'Rained all night & Morning; Sultry; Very hot; Hot but strong breeze' (10 March – 14 April 1899).

Again, as a woman, she is set apart by lack of female company. Although she had socialized with Mrs. Boustead and her cousin in the five days they spent in Mombasa, she only met one other woman, a strong colonial woman hunter in the 26 days of her safari. On the safari, Dorothy travelled with her brother and the ship's doctor and mostly met men associated with the railway. However, this might not have been unusual for Dorothy, as on board ship there were no other women and she would have been at sea for ten and twelve days at a time between ports.

Dorothy seemed quite comfortable in her own company. She would spend hours of the day alone, whilst the men went out to hunt. It is unclear what she did in that time alone, but she was evidently happy embroidering, sketching and painting the scenery, as she recorded: 'I sketched, worked & caught some fish' (01 April 1899); 'Lovely sunset over Kili'jaro, sketched it' (03 April 1899); 'I sketched entrance of Harbour' (11 April 1899). Her love of watercolour painting continued into her adult life as she sketched and painted wild flowers. She became an avid botanist and went all over the world looking for wild flowers, recording their whereabouts and pressing or painting them. At her death her books were bequeathed to the Linnean Society of London⁸.

Only occasionally did Dorothy go out with Willie, for a walk or a shoot, which suggests she must have been very patient and self-sufficient. Killing the animals did not seem to bother her. She notes 'Got two Wildebeest & wounded two. W - One Thompson's doe & one ostrich. Lovely feathers & Grantia. Enjoyed the day immensely. But rather tired' (27

⁸ The Linnean Society of London, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London W1J 0BF,

March 1899). In fact she seems to have embraced the spirit of the hunting safari with enthusiasm. 'Went out with N & Morbey after guinea fowl. Brought back two. Good eating' (24 March 1899). 'Fished with pin & cotton, plenty of fish' (30 March 1899). Dorothy even went out on Easter Day 'with N at 7.30 a.m. shot two waterbuck does. Missed lovely Buck' (02 April 1899). She was indeed a very spirited and fit young woman and showed her stamina as they were often out from 7.30 in the morning until 6.30 at night. There was no transport through the bush and she would have been on foot all day.

Dorothy continued on to Zanzibar, after Willie had agreed a price for his animal carcasses in Kenya, and thence carried on to Durban, where the S.Y. 'Fedora' repaired its mechanical and engineering problems. Again Dorothy was patient, being buffeted from one family on the mainland to the next.

In Cape Town she and Willie met the Chiappinis, descendants of Maria Stella's brother [perhaps her 2nd cousin once removed] and his children, [3rd cousins] two girls. She recorded: 'Went to museum with two Chiappini girls and afterwards drove round sea point to Camp's Bay and back by Kloof Rd' (19 June 1899)]. To make a contact like this shows how important family ties were to Dorothy.

Again, showing her strong constitution, Dorothy virtually never commented on being ill. However, she didn't see in the turn of the century in Boulogne as she had a bad cold and cough. 'Fine, mild. Father's Birthday. Mother and W walked to Nap's Column. Letter from Tom, ship doesn't sail for another ten days. Didn't see the New Year in' (31 December 1899).

It had been an exciting year for Dorothy, especially as she was consistently in the company of her brother. This was a rare occurrence in her life of constantly changing venues and relationships, as is confirmed by a diary entry of her Aunt Beatrix, her mother's sister some four years later.

November 1904.

Thursday 17 –I got a letter from Dorothy telling me she was engaged to Captain Chapman. Capt. of the Osborne, who she says is charming – I am so so very glad that she should have someone to take care of her & to cherish her – She has been so dependent on the whims & fancies of those she lived with – he has money enough. Everyone says he is a very good fellow.

From my account, I have drawn attention to some traits of Dorothy's character. At twenty-one, she showed that she was strong minded, independent, pioneering, amenable, emotionally self-sufficient and used to being waited on.

It was more difficult discover Dorothy's emerging identity from the brief and often indistinct diary entries. However, Alice helped provide insights and I also used my knowledge of Dorothy as my grandmother to interpret her story.

Alice Clegg-Hill née Chapman

(b. 21 September 1910)



Image 25: Alice at Ropley House aged 21 with her brother, Peter (1931)

Introduction

The analysis of Alice's story is limited, for three main reasons: Alice is still living and her story is therefore not finished. She can continue to reflect on her life and may change the interpretation and significance of events in light of her living and re-telling her story. I am in regular contact with her and any manner of things trigger her memories which she is keen to discuss. Further, I did not and do not want to put any form of closure on her narrative.

It was not a therapeutic interview. There were many parts of her life story that Alice chose not to discuss. Although the interview concentrated on her earlier years around the age of twenty-one, inevitably other memories intervened and she talked about later times which included her marriage and birth of her only child, but she never mentioned the death of her husband, who was killed in action at the end of the World War II⁹.

⁹ Comment made by Alice, Summer 2009: 'My idea of hell would be to live those years over again. There was no respite. I was raw – see in a way, for me, the world had come to an end when Rat died, but I had to go on for David. David was the most difficult child you could imagine. It wasn't his fault – the atmosphere got to him [The atmosphere at Dingley Hill where Alice and her mother, Dorothy lived]. Oh the memories that we'll never get rid of'.

Alice's life, I would suggest, was dislocated at this time as 'the present is not what the past was supposed to lead to' (Frank, 1997:60). It was an event that impacted on her future life and I was part of that future life. My knowledge of this event and the recognition of the impact that that had on her life would have distorted my interpretation of the stories she told about growing up. I believe I could do an analysis with the recognition of this event, but Alice is still alive and I respect that I would do it without her permission (even though she had given consent to the research process) and with perhaps a destructive outcome to our relationship.

Alice is not my direct predecessor, so unlike the other ancestors studied, our genetic makeup, as it affects identity and moral development, may be different. Alice became a surrogate parent for me after my mother died. My father lived in Kenya and when I came over to England to secondary school, Alice would look after me for the ten months of the year when I wasn't at home. My memory of our relationship places me in a difficult position for interpreting other events in her life. I found myself looking for traces of, or a rationale for, the woman she was to become, instead of taking her story at twenty-one at face value as she described events and emotions. Frank (1997:159) stresses that the point of hearing a narrative is not what is learned from their content but 'rather what the listener *becomes* in the course of listening to the story'. For me the interviews provided an unexpected opportunity to revisit my own past as told by someone who was an adult when I was a child. I found that instead of analysing her story I was reacting with my own. In analysing Alice's story I would be presented with the predicament of whose life was I commenting on. I wondered whether I would be responding to her story as a researcher or whether I would be responding from my memories of childhood.

As with the other women in the family, I will give a brief overview of her life to contextualise her story, which is summarised with historical and cultural reference in Appendix 6.

Life Story

In 1910, Alice was born to Dorothy and Cuthbert Godfrey Chapman, who for several years had been Captain of the Royal Yacht and was a particular friend of Alexandra, King Edward VII's wife. At that time they lived in Royden, Kent, in a rented Dower House on the estate. Alice had two siblings, Cynthia born in the same year (1905) that Dorothy and Cuthbert were married and Peter, my father, who was born a year later (1906). Alice, who was not expected, was born in 1910. Her mother, Alice recalls, expressed her concern to the children's nanny. 'Damn it Nanny, I'm pregnant'. In her interview she recalls 'Ma was careless and had me, but I don't think that was any trouble, but I did come four years after. She didn't want another one' (Chapman, 2007:19).

Like many children in her social class in the Edwardian era, Alice preferred her Nanny to her mother 'I was much fonder of Nanny than I was of Mamma. Nanny knew everything. You could go and you could tell Nanny everything. She always had time... Your mother, no. She never had time to listen to you. Mamma knew nothing that I was up to' (Chapman, 2007:6 l. 12-16). Alice did not get on well with her sister either. But her brother, Peter [my father], she adored. Throughout his early life he provided friends and suitors and she made adventurous trip to meet him for example in Burma when he was posted there with the army.

Alice had a normal upbringing for a girl of her social class. She had a nanny to care for her until she was old enough to be schooled by a governess. However, the governess preferred Cynthia and tried to usurp Nanny's place in the family, so she was let go and Alice, who was by then 15 was sent to a girl's boarding school. She stayed there less than five terms and prayed daily to be removed. The answer to her prayers came in the form of appendicitis, from which she made a poor recovery, having subsequently contracted peritonitis. Alice informed the doctor that she would only get better if her mother removed her from school. Her mother eventually agreed: 'She did and I did'.

Alice's father had been invalided out of the Navy due to stress in 1914 or 1915 but later it was diagnosed as Parkinson's disease. She did not see much of him as he kept mostly

to his study or 'smoking room', but he was obviously a foreboding character as the children struggled to get his permission to play tennis on their court on a Sunday. After his death in 1931, when Alice was twenty-one, the family eventually moved to a rented house in Barford where Alice 'blossomed'. There was no one to sponsor a 'coming out' in London, although her sister had been given the opportunity, funded by Willie's [Dorothy's brother] wife, Gladys. Nevertheless, Alice was presented at court and led an affluent, independent lifestyle in Norfolk, despite her allowance being curbed from £100 to £80 a year, to enable Peter to acquire an army commission.

In 1938, when she was 28, she met Rat, her first cousin. Against her mother's judgement Rat and Alice became engaged and Alice and her mother travelled to Cape Town where Rat and Alice were married 1938. Rat was seconded from the King's Shropshire Light Infantry to a Rhodesian regiment and he and Alice travelled to Lusaka where they lived for the first year of their marriage. When the Second World War broke out Rat went to Kenya and then to Somaliland, where there was fighting. Alice joined him in Kenya and they bought a farm on the foothills of Mount Kenya at Nanyuki. Alice worked as a nurse assistant and a telegram officer for the Kenya intelligence. Towards the end of the war, Rat decided to rejoin his regiment in England. Alice was pregnant, with their son David, when Rat went to Belgium to join the regiment. He was killed in action in the last months of the war in 1945.

After David was born, Alice returned to their farm in Kenya and brought David up there until the Mau-Mau civil uprising made it unsafe for them to stay there. They returned to England in 1952. Unable to live financially independently, Alice and David moved to Dingley Hill, Berkshire where her mother had a home. Alice remained with her mother until Dorothy's death in 1974. She then moved to Kent, where she lives independently in her home with her dog. She will be 100 in September 2010.

Analysis

I will mention briefly Alice's characteristics that emerged from her interview, referring only to the characteristics she identified. She talked about being a most compliant child.

In the same way that Maria Stella acknowledged the complete parental authority, so Alice deferred to the will of her mother in all but three instances, her refusal to take Sunday School (Interview 2: p.5, l.1;) her wish to leave school (Interview 2: p.10 l.3) and her marrying her cousin (Interview 2: p.12, l.14). The magnitude of her defiance, however, shows a great strength of character, and in listening to her story, I have picked up other instances where her rebellious streak is evident. Her capacity to love was deep as demonstrated by the respect for the three key people in her life, Nanny, Peter and Rat (Interview 2: p.16, l.10). At the age of twenty-one and in her early adult life she demonstrates her cheeky nature (Interview 1: p.9 l.16). She acknowledges her sense of superiority, accepting that it was the way she was brought up, and she discussed how her aptitude towards arrogance was 'knocked out of her' by her husband. She is often disparaging of others and doesn't suffer fools gladly (Interview 2: p.22, l.10). She is also known to harbour grudges (Interview 2: p.6, l.14). Apart from riding and tennis, which she only did as an adolescent, she wouldn't consider herself 'sporty'. However, she showed she was self-sufficient from a young age and tenacious in getting what she wanted.

These traits continue to be prominent in Alice's character now.

Summary

In this chapter, I have established my ability to analyse characteristics and identities in stories of lives as represented in four different auto/biographical formats. In the next chapter I illustrate how this analytical process has affected my understanding of myself as a person and how I recognise that some of these characteristics have been incorporated into my life as a successor.

Chapter 5

Discussion and Personal Analysis

Chapter 5

Discussion and Personal Analysis

Introduction

In this chapter, I will illustrate my own learning, having experienced the insights of reading and thinking about the stories of my ancestors (*My Bildung*). Again, I will relate my learning to each individual's story, and then follow it with a discussion of the experience of my research as a whole. The source of learning occurring in this chapter centres around the concept of reflection as a mental process involving the recognition of the role of emotional responses to any given information or experience (Moon, 2001). This meta-cognitive process has allowed me to integrate my diverse observations with the data collected and analysed in an unstructured and often elusive manner to shed light on my identity as a scholar, woman and moral person.

It has been difficult for me to organise this personal analysis. Epiphanies have occurred to a greater or lesser extent throughout the research process (Denzin, 1989). I recorded major epiphanies and their impact in my research log so that I have been able to go back and review my learning. This is a process that Moon (2001) refers to as second-order reflection. These insights have then been integrated into my tacit knowledge (as discussed in the Review of the Literature p.26, 33) as I progressed further in my investigations so that when it came to writing, some of those events ceased to have the same impact and therefore are not mentioned here. What is mentioned here is still an emergent understanding which will also be dismissed or augmented in time, as my perceptions and sense of reality changes. As such, it bears out the fact that 'Autobiography is an act of ceaseless renewal: the story is never 'told' finally, exhaustively, completely' (Elbaz, 1987:13).

However, I will attempt to reflect, in a chronological fashion, in order to achieve a coherent structure to this writing, though the events cited and realisations achieved did not necessarily occur in a sequential fashion. The timing of the comprehensions also varied significantly and occurred sometimes spontaneously, in discussion and through

academic reading or cultural or social activities. This writing has also been informed by help from supervisor, mentor and peers as well as friends and family. Indeed my daughter has been my most formidable critic, both on an academic and personal level.

Reflections and learning from Maria Stella's story

Maria Stella has been one of the focal figures in our family history. Her story lives on, not only in the imagination of her descendents, but is recorded for posterity in auto/biographical books and is of public fascination because it challenges the birthright of French Royalty. What is interesting is that it is the story of a woman.

I don't remember a time when I didn't have some knowledge of her story. Although her familiar portrait, extraordinarily dressed in peasant's clothes, did not depict her as young and beautiful, as several of her biographers mention, Maria Stella used to be my heroine. From a very young age, my cousins and I had been spellbound by her story. She brought absorbing speculation, scandal and gossip to our family. An exchange at birth! That led to youthful conjecture about whether we too had been adopted or swapped at birth. We were never taught French history at school so we had no idea who Louis Philippe was, but Maria Stella legitimized our intrigue at looking at our veins and remarking on the 'blue blood' therein. When my Grandmother died (1972 – I was 23), my father gave up his claim to much of his mother's family silver to procure the small watercolour picture of her that I so desperately wanted.

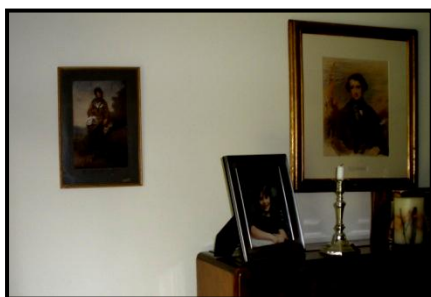


Image 26: Maria Stella: My small 30cm x 20cm picture



Image 27: Life-size Oil painting portrait at Glyn/Rûg –1802

(see Appendix 18 for observable differences in portraits)

Her story fascinates every member of the family and we all take pride in and credit for the unique identity that she left us. We have French Royal blood in our veins. And, through her changeling story, I have always been aware of the necessity to have boy children and understand the lengths that parents might go to to procure them for their lineage! That has constantly made me aware of being a woman. All my five cousins were boys. I was the only girl in our generation. Although my mother would have liked several children, my father could only afford, he said, to bring up one child in the way that he was brought up. He would have called his son Benjamin Barclay Chapman. Instead I was born; a daughter. I therefore ended this branch of the Chapman family name and heritage. Not that I was ever treated that way, but I felt a failure of identity from a young age and unwittingly challenged myself to be as good as, if not better, than a boy. However, there was nothing I could do about the Chapman name. I resisted changing it when I married and reverted to its use when I divorced. My child, one of two daughters, carries Chapman as a 'middle' name. The name will not continue after this or the next generation. I feel a sadness at the unfairness of primogeniture and the great burden that it inadvertently puts or put, on women.

Maria Stella's story was the second women's story I analysed for my research and in reading the documents I embarked on a lifelong ambition; a desire to help 'prove' her story. I subsequently recognised a strong feeling of ambivalence in undertaking this venture. I had had access to Maria Stella's autobiography ever since my grandmother died, but had never read it. My father had made notes from Payne Gallwey's (1907) book clarifying the family trees of Orléans and Chiappini for me, but I had never read that book either. I'd been to Montmartre, but never looked for her grave in the cemetery of the Sacré Coeur, as I had looked for Charlotte's in Stockholm and Dorothy's in Ropley. It was as though by exploring her story I might destroy the family myth; alter irrevocably the hand-me-down legend involving all the complexities of interpretation between storyteller and the listener (Ellis, 2004; Herber, 2004; Mishler, 1999). I might find that, after all this time, she wasn't the extraordinary character I'd always imagined. I also noted on the eve of starting her story that my Lichen's Plannus, an auto-immune condition exacerbated by stress, had broken out again.

When I started my research, I felt so much pressure from myself to get her story right, or at least accurate. And, very quickly I wondered what, if anything, I could contribute to her cause. I naively thought my investigations would get me closer to the ‘truth’ that occurred over two hundred years ago. I then met an unknown cousin, Anthony, who was hoping to write a book, and realised that despite his going to Italy, to Modigliana where Maria Stella was born, he was unable to shed much more light on her story. I’d researched in the Caernarvon Archives but that revealed nothing new. Proof, there was no proof. So, what was the point of this research? I had lost sight of the nature of my work. *Bildung*; that is to investigate and tell life history and explore the impact of that on my learning.

It was this that changed my thinking and I began to consider Maria Stella as a person with whom I could identify. I no longer wanted hers to be a story, but a proper record of a life. I wanted to become more intimately acquainted with the events happening at the time she lived and wanted to get to know her more thoroughly. I wanted to try to find out what motivated her and why she didn’t succeed in her quest. What sort of a person was she?

It was in some ways easier to research Maria Stella’s story than any of the four others. It was complete and brief, whereas Charlotte’s was detailed, lengthy and ongoing. Dorothy’s diary entries were so brief that it needed much more imagination to create an impression. Alice’s story by interview and ongoing dialogue could be never-ending. It constantly risked re-interpretation, reorganisation and embellishment with every self-reading. However, because the autobiography was written for a public audience, it was much more difficult to get a feel for Maria Stella as a person and as Burke (1854) was quick to point out; the lack of structured education in her youth also hampered her ability to tell her story. She wrote it in French, which was an acquired language for her, and it was very fact full, despite occasional emotional outbursts. Apart from her graphic descriptions of how she was betrayed as a child, what I could glean of her character came from ‘between-the-lines’ in the rest of the story. The biographers give a better

insight into her appearance and characteristics, but that was their interpretation and I found it difficult to substantiate their claims in my imaginative interpretation of her story.

When I closed the book at the end of her story, I found myself in tears. Outraged and sad at the injustice that Maria Stella had suffered all her life and sad at her abandonment of her children, one of whom became my great great grandfather. Perhaps though, those tears were for myself. No longer was Maria Stella a myth. I had looked at the facts of her life as she presented them and instead of feeling indignant and ready to pursue her cause, I felt disappointed and disillusioned. My feelings were quite polarised and extreme.

My first reaction was a sinking feeling of my being betrayed— all these years I had put Maria Stella on a pedestal. She was the family's heirloom. She gave us her legacy of being part of a royal family but, I was disappointed when I discovered that she couldn't prove it and the claims are likely a figment of imagination. My feelings of disenchantment were augmented by uncharitable feelings towards her as a bad mother. As a descendent, I feel ashamed of how she abandoned her children and family for this quest. She was strenuously stubborn and arrogant, despite her humble origins. She came through sometimes as a deluded individual who, though tenacious, was seriously naive in business matters and a poor judge of character. Her self-centred aggrandisement and feelings of unending entitlement profoundly irritated me. I despised her negativity and rejected her ill health. I did not like discovering these traits in an idol, or an ancestor and felt bewildered at my hostile reactions. However, there were traits that I admired. She was very independent for a woman in 18/19th century Europe. She travelled from country to country most often on her own. From a very early age she quickly adjusted to new social situations. She adapted to languages and cultures (Italian to English, English to Russian, All of these to French) and was assertive in her quest for information. It made me wonder how many of these traits have been passed down in the family stories. All our family have travelled, and indeed both of my ancestors presented in this thesis who are her direct descendents have a tale of travel to

some part of the globe. More than just travellers, it seems that many of us have settled for prolonged periods before moving on again. I have lived in three different countries for 20 years at a time. The social scenes have been very different but the cultures similar. My cousins travel a lot and one lives in Australia. My daughter splits her time between her family in the UK, America and Canada. We travel and relocate more than many families.

My feelings at the end of the story, as I have said, were of disappointment, irritation and confusion. Interestingly, some days later, I found myself excusing all her annoying traits! I wondered if I'd misread her arrogance sometimes. A phrase like 'a vast crowd that begged at intervals to be allowed to look at me. When I complied with their wishes, the air was rent with loud applause' (Newborough, 1830:88), might have been said with relief at peoples' acceptance of her at the age of 19, as the new lady of the house [Glynllivon]. Her poor health related to stressful episodes in her life, is not unnatural. After all, did I not observe that my Lichen's Planus flared at the outset of this investigation? She wrote with dramatic self-aggrandisement that is difficult to follow nowadays and it produced quite a negative response from me. Written in the beginning of the nineteenth century, on the contrary, it might have stimulated and motivated readers to empathy and support. I should be more sensitive to what she was trying to say rather than how she said it. (Denzin, 1989:79) reminded me that words are all we have to express ourselves and our lives to others.

Our humanness and our selfness lie in the words we speak and attach to ourselves. These words, hollow, often empty, learned from others, spoken and written by us, are all that we have. To live their lives into the words that they speak is what all speakers are after.

Bochner (1997:427) also cautions against 'endowing... [a] story with meanings that weren't available at the time these events were lived'. His example was a then perceived act of discipline that would now be construed as abuse. From this, I learnt the important lesson that my construction of Maria Stella as an unsatisfactory mother who abandoned

her children was erroneous in the context of her time. Women of her social class had little to do with their children, and from her descriptions, possibly being an older mother; it appears she was fully attentive to their needs when she was able.

In making these statements, I perceived I was reverting to my original feelings about Maria Stella. I tend not to like being critical about someone else, and was surprised at my initial antagonistic reactions. Then with these more positive reflections, I thought perhaps I did not want to ruin the myth and wanted to re-establish her role in the family story. Perhaps, having seen the familial pattern of travelling, I feared that through genetics, those irritating traits would also have been passed down to me!

I felt that I had achieved a more balanced position and could be more objective. It took a long time and much writing to begin to put myself in her shoes. I was viewing her story with my 21st century judgement, finding it difficult to imagine the position women occupied two centuries ago.

I recognised that it was much more difficult to seek to uncover a life story with preconceived ideas. Although much of what I read was new knowledge, my prejudice caused me to look for evidence that supported her story rather than evidence that would refute her claims. That insight although acknowledged was not appreciably recognised at the beginning of my research and emphasises the need for a researcher to be constantly vigilant about his/her reactions and suppositions. Reflection throughout the process needs to occur to challenge assumptions and bring to light other unrecognised influences.

On balance, there was considerable evidence of truth in Maria Stella's story. She and her biographers have provided both documentary and circumstantial evidence. But the chances of proving it now I realised were next to none. I wondered if that mattered. Would it make any difference to the lives of her descendents? Indeed, events cannot be changed, but should new evidence be gained, perceptions of history could. Even if the story remains unverified, Maria Stella nevertheless has achieved something rare by all

those years of investigation and disclosure, in that all her descendents value her story and we have acquired a uniqueness to our identity and a commonality that unites us because of it. Her life will always remain a strong and fascinating myth in the family.

I reflected on whether another version of her story should be undertaken after so many variations had already been produced? In considering this, I came to understand more fully how contemporary interpretations could alter the perception of history (Løvlie and Standish, 2002). For instance, preoccupation with personality and the development of individual identity allows a current day reader of Maria Stella's story to gain different insights on behaviour, motivation and outcomes. When I wrote the chronology of her life, I tried to remain faithful to the original script of her autobiography. However, even though I felt it was simply a reproduction of facts I came to recognise that if I were to compare my selection of the 'facts' with another biographer, I would have picked up on a different emphasis in her story. This highlighted for me the complexity of representation and the responsibility in biographical writing when transposing lives across generations.

A modern interpretation however is necessary to allow 'contemporary events and preoccupations to be observed in the context of a transcendent past' (Ackroyd, 2004:118). In other words, it would allow a view of history that is inaccessible if it remained in its original form. Ackroyd's (2004:119) chapter on why the story of King Arthur survives in current memory despite its presumed inaccuracy indicates that it is not so much the truth of the story but the heritage that we derive and pass on from it that is important. It becomes 'a continuing historical force in the present' (Samuel & Thompson, 1990). This is why we keep family stories or myths alive. But as indicated, each iteration of the story is dependent both on the narrator and the audience and what remains is the question of whether the characteristics assumed by descendents originate from the story or do the characteristics of the descendents create the personality and characteristics of the individual originating the story? Do I see tenacity in Maria Stella's story because I recognise it as a characteristic of myself or has the tenacity in her story been passed down the generations to me? Perhaps it does not matter.

Family myths have been used to stimulate better aspirations in the individual hearing and acculturating it, than their circumstances would otherwise permit (Roberts, 2002:125). She failed to prove her case, but in the fashion of mythology her descendents, even if they don't necessarily 'believe' they are progeny of French Royalty, have been 'crucially influenced' by the perseverance of her story. Indeed, Maria Stella's life has taught me how powerful family stories are and how easily they can be integrated into one's identity, even though my own social circumstances are far removed from her claims. The qualities demonstrated in her pursuit of her dream will live on, to be welcomed or perhaps rejected by future generations. In the spirit of legends, they will also have different effects when heard by people of different ages. The element of Royal heritage appealed to me intensely when young. Now what strikes me in her story is the injustice she suffered as a woman and I would seek to portray that in future writing about her life.

Erben (1999) in discussing events that occur within a life span suggests that these are, through the reflective processes, integrated into a purposive whole of identity and meaning, giving value to that life. As such, I can see how 'the past is always incorporated within the present (often unconsciously) in *all selves*' (Erben, 1999:90). Through this research on Maria Stella I have come to not only recognise, but am beginning to assimilate the fullness of the impact of our ancestors and family history on our identity and life conduct. Bucx *et al* (2010)'s powerful, though cross-sectional study, supports my appreciation as it demonstrates 'an intergenerational congruence in attitudes about partnership', as well as intergenerational solidarity in political and religious attitudes.

Importantly I have recognised how after this investigation, I feel a motivation 'not to let the team down'. My family has a history; some important stories of very courageous people who, even if slightly delusional, cut swathes through their generations. They pushed the boundaries of what they or their gender was capable of. Maria Stella's is a story of human endeavour. A story of someone standing by her principles despite the great personal cost in order to ensure a long-term benefit for her lineage. She was prepared to make no compromises to this goal. She had an unswerving desire for justice

to be done. Perhaps she knew it was futile but she saw that her character if not her cause would persist down the generations. How importantly, I recognised the value of one life.

Continuing this theme of legacy, I identified in Maria Stella's story a myth common to many life stories; that of 'unhappy childhood'. In reflecting on her story, I reviewed my life and revised the idea of an 'unhappy childhood' that has been a cornerstone of my identity. I in fact had a privileged life, albeit emotionally challenging and it was an 'ordinary life' in its context (1950s\1960s). So many others then lived with similar history. I recognised that I have drawn strength from my childhood experiences and have appreciated through this research that it set me up for a remarkably diverse and rewarding life. I have achieved so much that neither my family nor I ever thought I was capable of (If I continue to believe this and live it – then this is a transformative experience).

Another, perhaps less enlightening, example of transformative learning occurred when I was researching the French Royal family tree, in order to understand why Louis Philippe could claim the throne, being of the junior branch of the Bourbon family (see Appendix 2- Addendum IV: *Kings of France Family Tree*). At times, I wondered if this was prevaricating work. However, in a clear example of the impact of *Bildung* I suddenly linked this historical example to what had happened in the Wynn family over the title Lord Newborough, when neither of my great-uncles had sons. My father was the only male of his generation and might then have inherited the title as his mother outlived her brother, but a woman cannot assume the title so it reverted through several generations to the junior branch of the Wynn family and a cousin is the 8th Lord Newborough. This was undoubtedly another example of the impact of primogeniture acting unfairly on women in our family. This constant referral to men's birthrights made me recognise how deeply I harboured a sense of shame by not having been born male. It also made me suddenly want to side with the women of our family and to re-establish Maria Stella's story in a positive way. In telling the story with its lack of evidence, its allusion to madness in its principal player and the doubts created or inferred, I have eventually

sympathised with the woman, the person in the story. I described before, my anger at her abandonment of her children. Having distanced myself for a time from the research, I found, on returning, I had a clearer understanding of her motives. Because Maria Stella had no power over her circumstances, specifically her being abandoned at birth and having to relinquish custody of her own children when she remarried, her emotional power would have driven her to endure the consequences of her isolated life in Paris trying to prove 'for the sake of her children' her original heritage. Despite the inheritance offered to her children by her husbands, she wanted to establish a personal claim of heritage, especially when she perceived it to be a superior birthright. I felt I could now justify my admiration for Maria Stella. This is an example of transcendental learning.

Having studied the effect of mythologized family stories on future generations I then moved onto the effect of researching a completely unknown ancestor, whose story may never have become apparent to our side of the family, had I not located her letters.

Reflections and learning from Charlotte's story

Although Maria Stella was the ancestor whose story I have been aware of the longest, Charlotte's story was the one that consumed the most research time. I would not have anticipated this at the outset, since I only had six letters and a portrait of her as my data. From Charlotte's story, I have learnt the most about biographical research. Hers was the first story I analysed. The newness of the bibliographic methodology proved challenging. Large amounts of information needed to be organised, themes extrapolated and an appropriate writing style required to capture her story. This contributed to a number of academic conundrums that needed to be addressed. In the following reflective discussion, I describe the impact that exploring Charlotte's story had on me and my educative experience.

At the start of this part of my research, I had no particular questions to answer. I naïvely read Charlotte's letters and expected relevant information to emerge from the data. I trusted the *Bildung* process and I waited for meaning to occur. I didn't fully appreciate that what I was learning was the process of Biography as a research method. I knew I was doing Biographical analysis but what I had read about it in the literature, did not appear to equate with what I was doing. What I was doing was confusing, seemingly lacking in purpose, tedious, frustrating and endlessly iterative. I read and re-read the letters seeing, on subsequent readings, things that had not previously registered. Stanley (1992:158) uses the analogy of looking through a kaleidoscope to describe this activity. 'Each time you look you see something rather different, composed mainly of the same elements but in a new configuration'. Actions and attitudes became more or less significant on subsequent readings. This was frustrating as I started to doubt my ability as a researcher to gather and organise data. Iser (1988:217), however, also confirmed this as an acknowledged pattern in the reading process: 'The time sequence that he realised on his first reading cannot possibly be repeated on a second reading and this unrepeatability is bound to result in modification of his reading experience'. I was unable to place meaning on much of Charlotte's experience until I had carried out a lot more supplementary historical and/or editorial investigation. It was through this process

that I started to recognise my own patience, tenacity and interest and I subsequently wondered if this trait was one passed down from Maria Stella. My desire to make a faithful representation of Charlotte's life was paramount and however consuming it might be, I was prepared to devote the requisite time and energy to it. This process was however tedious and illustratively I wrote:

I was reading notes that I had made in August about some reading from Hollander and trying to link it to the experiences Charlotte wrote about – That was four months ago and I'm still writing it. (05 Dec 2009).

It makes me weep – how slow progress can be. (27 July 2009).

But, it was also very exciting:

Well tonight I realised why Charlotte confused the spelling of the President that she met in Washington. President Franklin Pierce (1853-1857). (She spelt it in her letters Pierce p.46, 216 but also Peirse p.138, p.140/1). Charlotte's great grandmother was called Anne Peirse (1747 – 07 April 1809). Yet another fantastic revelation! It gives me heartfelt JOY to discover why Charlotte might have 'misspelt' the President's name so frequently! She was a most particular young lady; correct in so many things that it was difficult to believe that she could have made such a fundamental spelling error. However, it turned out to be another important contribution to my understanding, from the female side of the family! (05 Sept 2009).

I also recognised how slow research can be as I sought to 'uncover the truth'. How many books, articles and web pages should I have read until I had enough supporting evidence for Charlotte's story? It is a common question asked by students in self-directed education. And one of the pitfalls associated with Problem Based Learning, an

educational approach designed to promote deep learning, but often seen to encourage strategic learning, as students grapple with the demands of a sizeable, time limited, professional curriculum (Norman, 2003). Biographical research requires exploring to a point of saturation where no more new information emerges. I experienced this proviso in the process of my exploration of nineteenth century dress, when a third visit to a different museum to view and handle clothes of that period provided little fresh insight, and when interviewing a doctoral student of dress history confirmed an acceptable level of understanding. Nonetheless, I still could have accessed fashion magazines and newspapers of the time, visited a current day textile manufacturer and challenged myself to make a garment. My tenacity had to be curbed. I appreciated that there would always be a trade off in a conventional educational system given the constraints of time.

One of the unique learning experiences afforded when reading Charlotte's letters, was living her life vicariously with her as it unfolded. Although I had the knowledge that she was to die some seven years later, I had no knowledge of how she lived her life up until that time. Like her, I did not know who would be the significant people in her life. I did not know whether something that she documented was going to be significant. I was as surprised as she was to hear that her forty-year-old French maid was pregnant, and I was upset like Charlotte, when I heard that Placidie had died as a consequence of childbirth. Even Charlotte acknowledged how with hindsight one would perhaps alter the way in which one might lead a life. 'Placidie's death – 'It is altogether a sad sad business and I have never ceased regretting I ever brought her to America, but no one could foresee the result' (p.124).

This 'not knowing' but accelerated living through a life provided me with a clear understanding of what I had read about lived life being different from a recounted life (MacIntyre, 2007; Usher, 2000; Erben, 1998; Ricoeur, 1992,1991; Carr, 1991; Scott, 1991). Had Charlotte summarised her time in Washington after her return to Europe, the significance of events would alter as she sifted through the details of what to recount. Many of the perceptions of events she described, her attitudes and actions would alter as a result of the life lived in the interim. Recollections would fade,

perceptions distort and the current context in which she was telling her story would alter what Charlotte had captured on the written page as she lived her life. This was the most extraordinary and enlightening experiential opportunities afforded in my learning.

It was a very different encounter from reading Maria Stella's autobiography, because, although I didn't know the details of her story and those unfolded as I read, it was a complete story and read as such. There was a purpose to the included content. Events were described chronologically and for a purpose, which complemented the plot. Only significant people were included as they had an identified role in the story. There was not the same sense of a life unfolding in an unpredictable way. Similarly, in Alice's interview. Hers was a recounting of events involving recollections with little detail of atmosphere or description of place or a lack of knowledge of what was to happen. Also, the tale was told very quickly over two hours, so there was little sense of 'emergence'. Dorothy's diary was brief and factual so again, although the recollections were immediate, as she was living her life, the inference of a life evolving was missing. Charlotte's letters accentuated my understanding of the significance of the concept of *time* in living a life.

In writing Charlotte's story I found myself constantly facing 'writer's block'. To begin with, as it was the first narrative I wrote, I put the tension down to the ethical dilemmas I felt in exposing Charlotte's life without her permission (Oakley, 2010:10). Having had personal experience of being misrepresented in auto/biographical research, I was acutely conscious of doing the same with Charlotte (Bramley and Chapman, 2008). She was from a gentry background, living in an extremely high-class social environment of the diplomatic corps and it was therefore no surprise that her writing showed an arrogant side to her personality. This sense of privilege is less acceptable in the current social climate, some 150 years later and might deter people from engaging with her fascinating life history. As such I felt the need to write about it very carefully. Then I recognised that in fact this hesitation to portray that side of her character had more to do with me than to do with Charlotte. My own speaking reveals my privileged upbringing and my own sense of superiority is evident within me and to a lesser extent

outside me. Because of the biographical process of the narrator writing themselves into the story, in sharing Charlotte's story, I felt people might not be judging her, they might be judging me. I try to play down that side of my identity and through personal circumstances and experiences have learnt that life is a level playing field and there is no room for arrogance without personal achievement. Having come from a colonial background I can identify with but do not condone Charlotte's shock at the mix of society at presidential gatherings and the ability of the president to converse with the commoners. This reaction would have come from her instinctive knowledge of her position in society even at her young age. However, I also recognised in Charlotte's writing that she wanted recognition of her abilities in the role of a diplomatic wife and as a good mother. I saw reflected in her writing the struggle that I have had for acceptance as a person, beyond my privilege of birth. Hers was an interesting and unique social situation. She was, by virtue of being a diplomatic wife, friends with many ambassadorial figures and an intimate companion of their wives. She also, with Edwin, had close associations with the American Secretary of State, Mr. Everett, whom she nicknamed 'Pecksniff' demonstrating the level of familiarity in their relationship and she was also a good friend of the political abolitionist, Mr Charles Sumner. None of these relationships came by virtue of her achievements, for in those days few women of her social standing would have done anything more than keep home and be socially proficient (Hickman, 2001). Nevertheless, Charlotte confided in her mother her need to be recognised for achievement in those roles and she prided herself in her ability as a horsewoman. When I was young, there was no family expectation for achievement outside of the home. But I recognised then, at an unconscious level, that the colonial lifestyle had afforded us a pseudo-gentried upbringing, and that I was not like my aristocratic counterparts in the UK. I was swept up with a desire to make something of myself and was imbued with the understanding that no longer could people from my background command a personal respect unless it was earned (McIntosh, 2001). In Western society, no longer is a collective group respected by virtue of birth position. Rather each individual is valued. This has contributed to the celebrity and political culture, which has taken over from the class culture. I have always had a strong sense of heritage and a pride in my aristocratic and gentried ancestors. But, the tension I have always felt is that my privileged and

colonial history background is not an acceptable position. I had not the wealth or the aristocratic title to be elite; neither did I have the underprivileged struggle of which to be proud. My research into Charlotte's life has brought a focus on this issue that has evaded me before. She was a spirited young woman, bound by convention, seeking to establish herself in an elite society but wanting to earn the respect afforded her by virtue of her social position. I on the other hand, seek to re-establish my pride in my heritage having gained respect by virtue of my achievements.

It is appropriate perhaps to end this section with words from the Gettysburg Address delivered at the end of the American Civil War by Abraham Lincoln; some nine years after Charlotte left Washington. It shows how Charlotte must have been thinking about these issues as her great friend Mr. Everett preceded with one of his two hour orations on the same topic and said to Lincoln: 'I should be glad if I could flatter myself that I came as near to the central idea of the occasion, in two hours, as you did in two minutes'

Four score and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Abraham Lincoln, Gettysburg Address, 19 November 1863

From the intensity of Charlotte's letters I then approached Dorothy's diaries. They too were written in the present, but were much more succinct in their manifestation.

Reflections and learning from Dorothy's story

I lived in Kenya long before my grandmother, Dorothy ever set foot there. At least that is how I felt having completed the write up of Dorothy's story. I was the one that had been born and brought up there and I did not associate Dorothy with Kenya, except in the collective sense that all my family lived there. Both my father's two sisters and my mother's sister lived there, as did my five cousins. The grandparents lived in a place called 'home', i.e. England. As a child, I eventually became aware of Dorothy's earlier visits, as she would come and stay with my father and mother for several months at a time. The difficulties of travel in the 1950s, mandated family and friends from England to undertake extended visits. From reading my father's visitors' book, it was evident that his mother came to visit once every 18 months. But I have very scant recollection of her stays. Photographs record her holidays with us, but I was either too young to remember, or being away at boarding school from the age of six, I missed her visits, which mostly occurred in the term time. It was not until much later that I discovered that Dorothy had been a 'pioneer' in Kenya, travelling on that same railway before the tracks had even reached Nairobi.

I explain all this in detail, as I want to identify the temptation I had to tell my story instead of Dorothy's when writing her biography. Kenya was my country, it was my story. I have already discussed the advantages of knowing and understanding African life, and how that has contributed to the transcribing of Dorothy's diaries (see Methods p. 66), but in setting the context for her story I found my life experience permeating the descriptions. I knew that some knowledge of place and culture often helped biographical writing but it was difficult to write Dorothy's story without overwriting her experience, which is why in the Methods Chapter, I left her story simply as it was transcribed from her diary. In the analysis, I was nevertheless conscious of a slight feeling of irritation that it was her story I was commenting on, not my own. It was an important learning point in carrying out auto/biographical research, when I recognised how much the researcher is influenced when analysing and creating the story by the desire to tell his/her own story.

Initially, I was surprised at the jealousy I displayed in telling Dorothy's story, instead of my own. In transcribing and describing events occurring in those four short weeks she had captured more than I had recorded about my twenty-one years in Kenya. Arrogantly, I wondered whether my story of Africa wouldn't be more exciting than my grandmother's, and then in a more reflective moment of humility, I wondered who would want to read my story anyway. I recognised that we all had a story that needed to be told in whatever way possible. This story, more than the other ancestors highlighted my need to leave my own story behind for future generations. In undertaking this research, I have felt a strong responsibility to keep the female identities of our family available to our decedents. I have had the fortune to explore several different ways in which this can be done. Even Dorothy's cryptic diary entries leave behind an elaborate picture of a privileged life at the turn of the twentieth century. In contemplating how I might tell my story, I recognised that I would have a choice of what genre to use, and will be able to, with greater insight, identify the impact and limitations of the different auto/biographical methods.

Having identified the emotional reaction of wanting to superimpose my own story onto Dorothy's I reverted to the excitement of uncovering the historical context of the expansion of the British Empire. But instead of gaining a sense of wonder at Britain being the owner of a fifth of the world's land mass I started to recognise the volatility of the colonised countries; the subjugation of native people; Britain's craving for the raw materials to sustain its inventions and the arrogance and exploitation of the British ruling class. These feelings started to replace some of the defensive arguments I have long held, as justification for my own colonial upbringing in Kenya. And I suddenly wondered where the pride, which I'd had before this overall investigation, was, of my grandmother pioneering in Africa. It occurred to me that through the analysis and recognition of her emerging character, I found out that she was not in fact a 'pioneer'. She was not like Mrs. Watt, the missionary's wife, giving up all that was familiar to her, to help develop and enrich the lives of the natives (Pavitt, 2008). Rather, Dorothy was simply taking an extended holiday, albeit in some challenging circumstances. Everything she undertook was to give her and Willie pleasure. Henry Daniel Barnard and his father,

the Captain of the Yacht, were there to ensure their enjoyment. Some of the workmen they employed even gave their lives for the progress of the 'Fedora' and the undertaking of the sibling's trip. Instead of revelling in the excitement of her observations, I became increasingly uncomfortable with the routine of wealth that she described. Maybe there was a tinge of jealousy too. I have taken pride in that part of my identity that is Kenyan. Until now I have staunchly defended our family being in Africa. I recognised that we had a privileged life there and that my father, mother and their siblings were there to emulate the aristocratic/gentried lifestyle that they had grown up with in England. But, I have also always maintained that we were 'good to the Africans'. Perhaps I would describe this as 'benevolent power'. And consequently our family was treated respectfully throughout the Mau Mau uprising¹⁰ despite my father training local police officers to combat the extremists (Osborne, 2008). In reflecting on Dorothy's story now, I anticipate that she also would have been 'good to her servants'. Especially when young, a person can do nothing about the situation in which they find themselves. They take their cues from their family and people who surround them. In adulthood, some of those views are so strongly entrenched that a person cannot see that what they are doing maybe erroneous or their attitudes mistaken. I questioned myself in this statement, and reflected that it is in the release of prior naïve thoughts that a person matures (Taylor, 1989; MacIntyre, 2007; Ricoeur, 1992). But I was confronted with the dilemma that always occurs in learning. Was I ready to relinquish my old ideas and replace them with new, albeit that is the nature of *Bildung*? I recognised that perhaps my long held ideas were erroneous. In confronting issues that Dorothy's story had introduced, a new line of thinking had emerged and perhaps, in time, it will mature. A state of disequilibrium is necessary for learning (Standish, 2003). However, these values I acknowledged were entrenched and I recognised that the process is only partially complete. My further readings returned me to a more balanced view as I read that the British colonial rule was less draconian and violent than other European colonial

¹⁰ The Mau Mau was an extremist African nationalist movement aimed at ousting the colonial Europeans and establishing a system of African self-government. A state of emergency was declared by the British Government in October 1952 which was officially ended in 1959. One of the main campaigners was Jomo Kenyatta, who went on to become the first African Prime Minister in 1963 and engineered Kenya's Independence on 12 December 1963.

governments. Further, I reverted somewhat to my own idealistic experience of living in Kenya. This demonstrated how difficult the maturation process is. It has humbled me to go through this process while at the same time it has also unnerved me, and I understand that although we return to the place from which we started we are nevertheless different as a result of the experience.

Returning to Dorothy, she was also actively involved in the killing of wild animals. She and Willie killed the white double horned rhino that faced extinction some hundred years later (Saving rhinos, 2010). Not believing Dorothy to be involved in the hunting, I had transcribed her accounts without attributing any blame. However, on re-reading her entries carefully, I recognised that it was in fact *her* that had shot guinea fowl, wildebeest, grant's gazelles and even waterbuck. This horrified me. Some of the meat they ate on their safari, but much of it they brought back to Mombasa and arranged to sell, to help pay for their journey. This, on the surface, seemed a most reasonable exchange. Willie clearly was being very pragmatic and financially astute. However, viewing it from the point of view of a conservationist a century later, this pioneering trip into the interior seemed like an example of a callous disregard for our planet's future. However, it is unlikely that Dorothy had any knowledge of the effects of her actions. Moreover, I asked myself, is it really any better now? Indeed, these very rhinos suffered a 96% loss in numbers from the forty years from 1970 to 2010 (Saving rhinos, 2010). The increased privileged lifestyle of many has not come without cost to the environment. With hindsight, I can exercise judgement over the behaviour of my ancestor. But it made me wonder how someone will judge my life in another hundred years. I treasured the difference in culture that my upbringing in Kenya afforded me and took pride in wearing my leopard skin flip flops and zebra skin belt as it emphasised, externally, the difference between myself and my English school friends. This reflection has led me to recognise the important need both individually and collectively to be responsible heirs in our lifetime.

Following this in-depth reflection, I subsequently viewed Dorothy's trip as a global maturation process – Her *Bildung*. I realised that I had failed to see it for the educational

experience that it was and how it could have affected the rest of her life; how it might have forged her character and afforded her some lasting happy memories that would have seen her through bleak times in her later life.

My exploration of Dorothy's story reinforced the emerging understanding of the privileged life of the aristocracy, and the gentry classes. Dorothy never appeared arrogant in her diary entries, though that might have been apparent in the lengthier discussion of her many letters. She was simply accepting of her place in society. That she showed compassion is apparent in her entries about the ship's Captain being ill, but when a 'coolie' died, there was a noticeable indifference to the loss of life. The poignant diary entry by her Aunt Beatrix however, points to how despite birthright and privilege, life experiences significantly mould character and identity. The theme of loss, which is common across all the ancestors, stands out most for me in Dorothy's story. She never knew her father (he died when she was one) and her virtual abandonment by her mother as she made a new life for herself, always strikes a poignant chord for me, as I lost my mother at the age of 12. I really identified with Aunt Beatrix's observation 'She has been so dependent on the whims & fancies of those she lived with', as during my upbringing, in particular I relied on the good humour of both Dorothy and Alice who looked after me.

Dorothy's story illustrated for me a more flexible lifestyle for women of her time than I expected. My investigation of fashion and dress (Laver, 2002; Hollander, 1978) led me to believe that she would be restricted in the activities she could undertake due to the clothes women wore. However, Dorothy played golf, tennis and rode. She went on walking safaris for game as frequently as the men and shot animals herself. Again this reveals how privilege and education provide a freedom that does not necessarily equate to gender, which I have echoed in my own experiences. Both men and women of Dorothy's class had the opportunity to 'be idle'. However, in her circle, Dorothy was an extremely accomplished woman. Her competitive spirit is demonstrated by her record of winning a round of golf by 6 holes (1 February 1899) and being beaten at Billiards (18 July 1899). I was an only child and had no need to compete for attention, but I have

always striven to be the best that I can in whatever I do. This innate desire to achieve may come from a familial heritage.

Reflections and learning from Alice's story

From Alice's story I learnt the sense of saturation that is often described in autobiographical investigations and is used to recognise the completion of the process of data collection (Charmaz, 2005). Not only was no new information forthcoming from her story, but I felt that the biographical process was repeating itself with no new insights. I wondered, therefore, whether I should incorporate her story in my thesis, as it did not appear to contribute further to my learning. However, I felt an ethical responsibility to include it, as that was the condition under which she agreed to share the story of her life at twenty-one. As is demonstrated in the chapters on Methodology Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, Analysis: Family Stories, I did learn a great deal about being a conduit for the story of a living person. However, because Alice was such an influential figure in my development and our stories are so enmeshed, I regarded it unwise to expose my personal exploration around her story in this chapter.

Contrasted with the three ancestors who are now dead, my relationship with Alice is organic and ongoing. I found that the analysis of her personality provoked many contradictory responses in me, both as a child and as an adult. Ellis (2004:62) indicates that the interview situation is a more powerful medium for evoking a researcher's reaction to a story. Indeed, I found Alice's explanations and claims being challenged by my own perceptions and memories of experiences. My interpretations of her 'analysis' of her characteristics were significantly clouded by my own knowledge and judgements and I found I disagreed most fervently with some. Through this research, I have come to see her more benevolently and, given that she will be one hundred years-old in September of this year (2010), I wish to respect her and my privacy.

In the analysis of my ancestors who are dead, I fully appreciated that what comes through in my analysis is my interpretation of that person. However, Alice is alive and is at liberty to tell her story in whatever way she chooses and my interpretation of her actions, emotions and explanations would only be one way of telling her life. This

pointed out to me, very strikingly, the difference between a life lived and a life observed or subsequently interpreted and made me question the ownership of that life story.

Emerging Themes

Whilst each of the ancestral stories illustrated specific issues that have been important in the development of my understanding of myself, there are several cross cutting themes in all the stories that have relevance to my life.

The historical valuing of male progenies in aristocratic families

Maria Stella had to have children with a seventy year-old man to ensure the succession of his estates and title and she was denied her own birthright by being born female. Charlotte died in childbirth in order to acquire a son, although she and Edwin already had three girls. Dorothy's family lost their entitlement to the Glynllivon and North Wales estates due to the early demise of her heir father. Though the title went to her brothers, it passed on to cousins when they died having no male heirs. I continue to feel a degree of failure at not being able to continue the Chapman name.

This entreats me to consider whether this emphasis on male heritage is still important to this and future generations and how this issue, which is so ingrained in the structure of English society, will resolve.

Loss due to death in early childhood development

Maria Stella was abandoned and lost her heritage at birth. Anne, Charlotte's mother, lost her father at the age of two and her mother at the age of eight. Charlotte lost her father at the age of 11 and her son aged one and a half at the age of 22. Dorothy's mother, Sybil lost her mother, Charlotte at the age of seven and Dorothy lost her father when she was one. Alice lost her father at age 21 and her husband when she was 35. I lost my mother at age 12 and my daughter lost her sister at age 14.

However, I perceived a strength of character that is evident within all these women which led me to conjecture that the family story of survival following unexpected loss supports subsequent generations' ability to work through their own losses.

Denial of rights of women in gentried families

Maria Stella was unable to have custody of her children when she remarried, after her husband's death. Charlotte was unable to discuss politics in diplomatic or social circles. All four ancestors were remarkable women with a sense adventure, and yet their stories, for the most part went unnoticed. Their circumstances did not allow them to be fulfilled other than in the role of a wife and mother.

Each of the women lived and passed on a spirit of independence which belied their historical conventional boundaries. I recognise this trait in myself and my daughter in our desire not to be constrained by our gender.

Class structure

Maria Stella originated from a working class background, married into aristocracy and died in poverty trying to establish her regal birthright. Charlotte was from a gentried background and moved in diplomatic circles from a very young age (16). Dorothy was the granddaughter of a Baron, but forfeited the entitlements of her aristocratic background when her father died prematurely. Alice married the son of a Viscount, whose son inherited the title, and lives in a council estate (*Daily Mail*, 2007). I rebelled against Alice's arrogance and moved to Canada and married a "commoner".

Travel and moving from country of origin

All women have moved from their country of origin at an early age.

Being a good enough mother

All the women suffered as children from the parenting skills of their mothers with consequences in the way they cared for their children. Maria Stella was harshly disciplined by her Italian mother and abandoned by her French mother. She in turn 'abandoned' her children. Charlotte died, abandoning her children. Sybil, Charlotte's daughter, 'deserted' her daughter, Dorothy, having two more children after Dorothy's father died. Although she lived with her mother, Dorothy, Alice was brought up by her Nanny. I felt abandoned when my mother died when I was 12 and my daughters were cared for by nursery from an early age, as I and my husband worked full time. This,

Gadamer (2001) points out can seriously curtail a child's development of his/her capacity to learn (Cleary and Hogan, 2001).

All these issues that came to light during my research have the potential to alter my perception of life were I to explore them further. One of the salutary lessons from this *Bildung* exercise has been wrestling with the difficulty of containing this research. Truth emerges from experience. Not knowing what was going to arise or what learning or epiphany would emerge, I did not tackle the reading with a confined question which might limit or organize my approach. In identifying these areas for further learning I felt frustrated that I had not explored them further. However, it gave me a clearer understanding of the nature of *Bildung*, as a life-long learning experience and the restrictions that are imposed on individual learners involved in a formal curriculum. I subsequently relayed this understanding to students in a module requiring critical reflection on learning when they were overwhelmed with what their chosen incident had uncovered for them to explore.

In this chapter, I have discussed the impact that researching my ancestors' individual stories had on my learning and identity. I have also acknowledged themes that were generated by my analysis that I have yet to investigate.

In the following chapter, I will conclude my findings as a result of undertaking this personal educative process and offer some reflections on the necessity of *Bildung* for a proper, advanced education.

Chapter 6

Conclusions

Chapter 6

Conclusions

In this thesis, I have discussed and demonstrated the process of *Bildung*. i.e. Learning that has occurred to me having deliberately employed the concepts of the educative process. Communication and narrative; historical, social and cultural referent; Self-reflection and personal responsibility for learning and distancing from the self. I used an auto/biographical approach to exploring and (re)constructing the life stories of four of my women ancestors. Each one left an assortment of evidence of their lives, which required a different methodological approach to data collection and analysis.

Autobiographical text (Maria Stella), transcribed handwritten letters (Charlotte), a personal diary (Dorothy), and personal interviews (Alice). I described details of my learning relative to the methodological process and analysis for each woman.

Having discussed the learning acquired through these individual life investigations, I then explored the collective effect and my deepened understanding of the process of *Bildung* and its potential application in professional education. This is presented in this final chapter. Through investigating all the women's stories, I have an enhanced appreciation of the concept of legacy and my own evolution and place in the ongoing narrative of our family.

Bausman (2001) eloquently discusses how people know that individual lives are finite. We collude with others in an attempt to transcend that knowledge, give our lives purpose, and make meaning out of our lives. Individuals, by sharing common habits, beliefs and routines, agree and share this covert knowledge in a dignified way and this forms the basis of society. Society was there before we were born and will be there after we die and provides a sense of continuity in which a finite life can nest. This emphasises the historical nature of *Bildung* and clarifies the unpredictable picture of a life lived in

time. A life links to the past through social history but is lived and modified with the expectation of dreams (or realities) of the future. The umbrella of society forms the continuity that a finite life cannot provide. Society evolves slowly, building on the past and recognising a future far beyond the reaches of an individual life. *Bildung* reflects this understanding as it affirms that the educative process does not stop with the individual but has an impact on future generations. (This concept of a transient, individual life which is embedded in the stability of a slowly evolving society is metaphorically captured in the picture of waves lapping the shoreline at the conclusion of my thesis).

Despite the transience of an individual life, it is a life that is lived with respect to the things that have happened ('concepts' – often beyond the control of the individual) and the moulding of that life by the expectations of (dreams) of the individual's future. People draw on their social community to provide direction and rationale for the life being lived. There are many choices of society (organisations/groups) to support the search for individual meaning and not all are morally virtuous. Neither do all humans have the ability or choice to belong to specific groups (McIntosh, 2001). The boundaries between social classes is more flexible now than in the time of my ancestors' lives, but then they were fortunate to have access to the upper echelons of the social hierarchy so there was more available to them on which to build purpose and meaning in their lives.

People become aware that in order to live in their society certain moral agreements need to be established and adhered to in order for the society to remain cohesive and protective of the individual life. In Maria Stella, Charlotte and Dorothy's time, observance of religious practice served as the guide to living life purposefully. Bausman (2001:6) called it, a collective 'public vehicle of transcendence'. But these strong religious doctrines that served so well for societies in the past are breaking down and are less able to provide the meaning promised in the past. Society is evolving, and it is necessary to look for individual support in other areas (Standish, 1995).

Plummer (2001) clearly identifies differences between traditional and modern or 'post-late' modern identities, the former being more stable and static and tied to kinship,

community and hierarchy and the latter more relational and self-reflexive and linked to globalisation, high tech and the loss of a cohesive story, which has led to a breakdown of social and moral conduct. An individual's moral development is no longer dictated by dogma and (blindly) followed (Barnett, 2009). It emerges as a consequence of an individual's experiences and their interpretation of the society in which they live. How that individual interprets and acts on those experiences allows for maturity. This underlines the importance of understanding and applying the concept of *Bildung* as a way of developing personal responsibility with reference to and giving to society (Biesta, 2002). It is a moral imperative for self-improvement.

At the core of the educative process of *Bildung* is the individual. An individual is the subject of a life – or narrative - that runs from birth to death. In leading a moral life a person is 'accountable for the actions and experiences which compose that narratable life,' regardless of when in that life an event happened and how that individual might have changed in the meantime (MacIntyre, 2007:217,218). We cannot control the happenings in our lives, but how we respond to them develops us as moral human beings. How you live with your broken dreams is achieved by education and guides the process of human maturation (Erben, 2006).

The exploration and acceptance of an individual's life meaning is brought about by communication or narrative. The understanding of this process is referenced by time, discussed earlier. Telling a life story is not purely an introspective process, because, when a life story is told, insights, which give meaning and explanation to the life lived, can then change the future meaning of that life before it is lived (Bausman, 2001). This constructive process goes on all the lived life, as people try to reconstruct their life in the changing milieu of themselves as people and the society in which they find themselves, as I witnessed in Charlotte's and to a lesser extent in Dorothy's documents. At the end of a life, this process is different as the individual reconstitutes their entire life in an attempt to generate an overall meaning and positive outcome, as was the case for Maria Stella and Alice. In giving their account of their life, they rarely referred to the social context in which they lived and the impact of that on the way they led their life. Alice

was able to do this more frequently, but Maria Stella's story was fixed in her own finite interpretation. A reader who does not position Maria Stella's life in its social context risks overlooking its true value and may critique it inappropriately (as I did).

Examining the process of researching these lives in the context of my own learning brought about the important revelation that *Bildung* (an educative ideal) and biographical research are similar processes. Undertaking auto/biographical research automatically involves the researcher/author in an educative endeavour because all the principles are common to each. This led me to wonder whether the principles of *Bildung* could be utilised in the education of under and postgraduate health professionals. I questioned how powerful formal education is in offering personal enlightenment, which is at the root of professional development. Recently, in the postgraduate field, Professional regulatory bodies such as the Chartered Society of Physiotherapy and the Health Professions Council have acknowledged the importance of continuing professional development and accept clinical experience as means of learning. Many educators have explored developing the skills of reflective practice as the means of investigating and articulating that learning (Ghaye, 2010; Bartlett, 2009; Lindquist, 2006; Cross, 2004; Clouder, 2002). Although there are recommendations for personal contemplation in this process there is less emphasis on the historical, social and cultural exploration which is critical to attaining an individual's fullest potential (Ghaye, 2010). *Bildung* does not result from a single (transitional) occurrence – and neither does it have a specific goal so it is well suited to the ongoing process of post registration professional development. It cannot be sought and it materialises as an evolutionary experience. It is about forming something rather than consuming it (Biesta, 2002). This process is at odds with current educational approaches, which seek to detail personal achievement relative to specific learning outcomes towards which specific educational interventions are directed. But, Hansen (2008:94,112) argues for the need to 'rewrite *Bildung* for the late modernity' in order to preserve its aims in an increasingly technical and global society..

As Gadamer (2004:10) states: 'The result of *Bildung* is not achieved in the manner of a technical construction, but grows out of an inner process of formation and cultivation,

and therefore constantly remains in a state of continual *Bildung*. 'Like nature, it has no goals outside of itself.' Learning or 'assimilating', under the *Bildung* concept, is not a technical acquisition of knowledge or skills aimed at improving a person's ability which, although valued by Physiotherapists is not the only outcome aspired to through the professional development programmes. It is a process by which an individual acquires a knowledge of him/herself that leads to a tacit understanding of 'life' and that individual's purpose in that life in relation to the 'universal intellectual human being' (Gadamer, 2004:11). It is a process that requires personal sacrifice in order to attain a more universal goal (Bleicher, 2006). Learning is about the 'cultural processes that shape the meaning and understanding of experience and the formation of identity' (Usher et al. 1997:116). It is experienced as a process whereby knowledge is acquired or emerges (as opposed to being discovered) and is used in the service of a social edification. It relies strongly on discourse as its means of acquisition.

With these revelations in mind, I undertook to develop a new module for independent Physiotherapy practitioners who had enrolled on a Master's of Science course. The module entitled 'Continuing Professional Development through Critical Reflection' provided an ideal opportunity for introducing and trialling the concept of *Bildung* in a professional programme (see Appendix 19 for Module Outline). Although my own *Bildung* experience had been conducted in a completely different context I was able to transfer the concepts to experiences relevant to the Private Practitioners and was able to give them specific feedback in the educative process that they undertook that greatly enhanced their learning of the reflective exercise (see comments Appendix 20). Evidence of this kind was, I recognised was more anecdotal than rigorous, however it has given me the confidence to pursue the use of *Bildung* concepts in my ongoing educational roles. I have presented my ideas at two recent forums involving the education of undergraduates and it has been met with interest and innovative ideas for its application in a much more prescribed curriculum.

Many people may not have the opportunity to position themselves within the context of their family as records are unavailable and oral stories broken by death or family

fractures. However, from undertaking this research I have recognised how very privileged I am to have had access to the life stories of ancestors and what shaped them to be the people they became. I now have a profound understanding of the sense of continuity of life and of my place within the family and society. Barenboim (2006), echoing Carr (1991), in the Reith Lecture provided a striking metaphor when describing the relationship of notes of music:

It is obvious that if a sound has a beginning,... it also has a duration, and it has an end . . . the notes in music cannot be allowed to develop their natural egos, so that they hide the preceding one, but the expression in music comes from the linkage, ... and is therefore in relation to the preceding note and to the note that comes after that.

At the beginning of this research, I felt I could account for all the characteristics I possess by reflecting (perhaps psychoanalytically) on the experiences encountered in my own life, but now I am aware that that belittles the historical background of my identity. I am more than myself, and I embody the people and the lives that preceded mine as well as the lives of those who are my descendents. I am only one small part of our family story and I am aware that the collective is greater than the sum of the parts. I recognise more fully the responsibility I have to accept, cherish and empower my community and furnish my daughter with an understanding of the responsibility that she also has to future generations. That may not necessarily be familial but, by integrating the ancestral stories, we will impart our valuable legacy to others.

In exploring the different evidence left by my ancestors I have learnt how best I can bequeath traces of my life, and how important that is, even if no one in the future is particularly interested, there may come a day when someone might learn the importance of a historical perspective on their life. In this research process, I realised that I have acquired qualities, aptitudes, foibles and values from my ancestors and recognise the accountability I have to enhance and use these in conjunction with my own experiences to the benefit of the society in which I live and pass on opportunities to

future generations. This is not a static concept and I shall continue to experience, understand and evolve, in the true spirit of *Bildung*.

All mankind is of one author, and is one volume;
when one man dies, one chapter is not torn out
of the book, but translated into a better language.

John Donne (1572-1631) [Meditation XVII](#)

In a post-script I wish to acknowledge the influence of my mother, who died when I was young and who has been noticeably absent throughout my research. The need for the exploration of her family and its influence on me is fully acknowledged and will be undertaken with the benefit of the insight that occurred as a result of this auto/biographical research process.

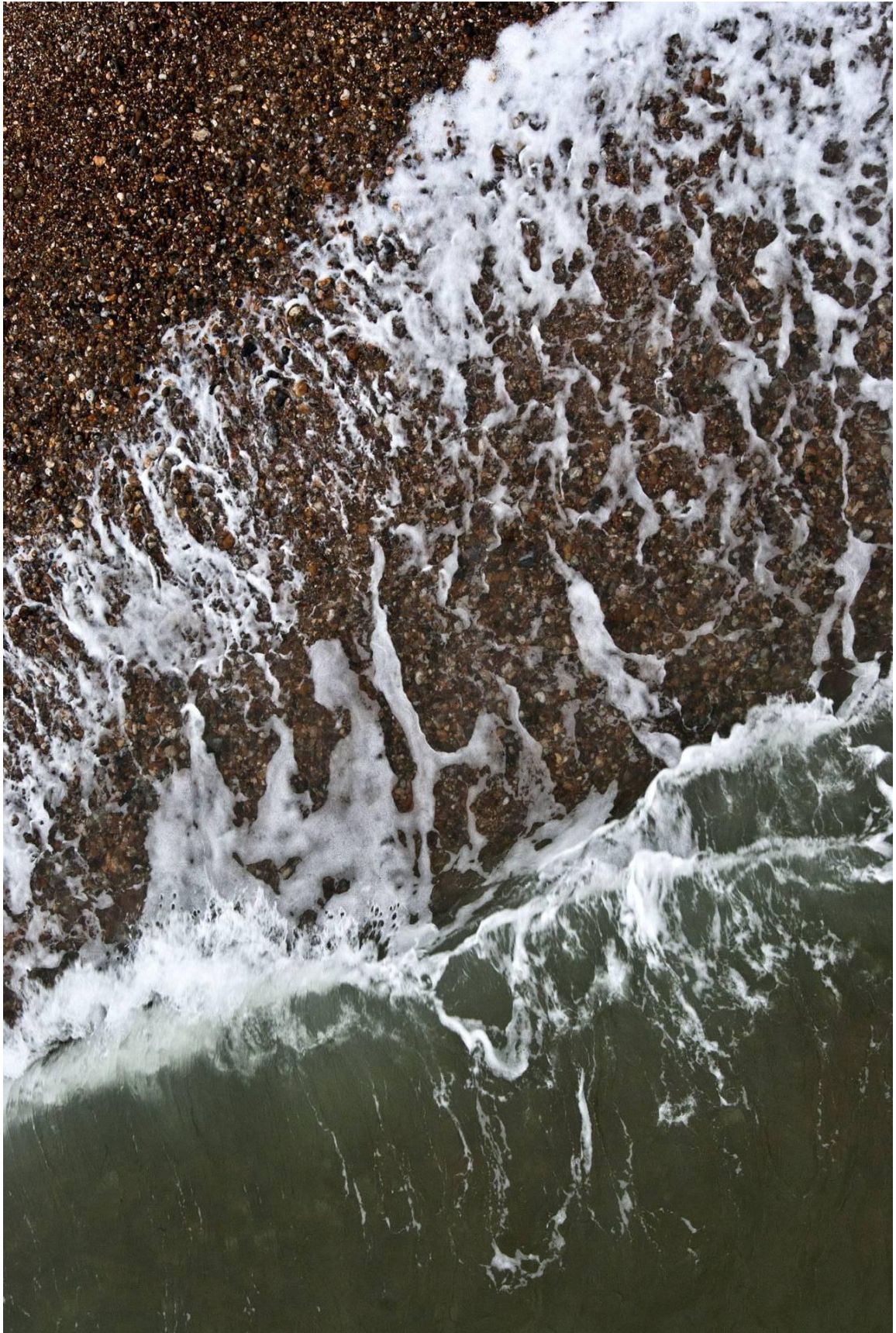


Image 28: Waves ©Teresa Job 2010

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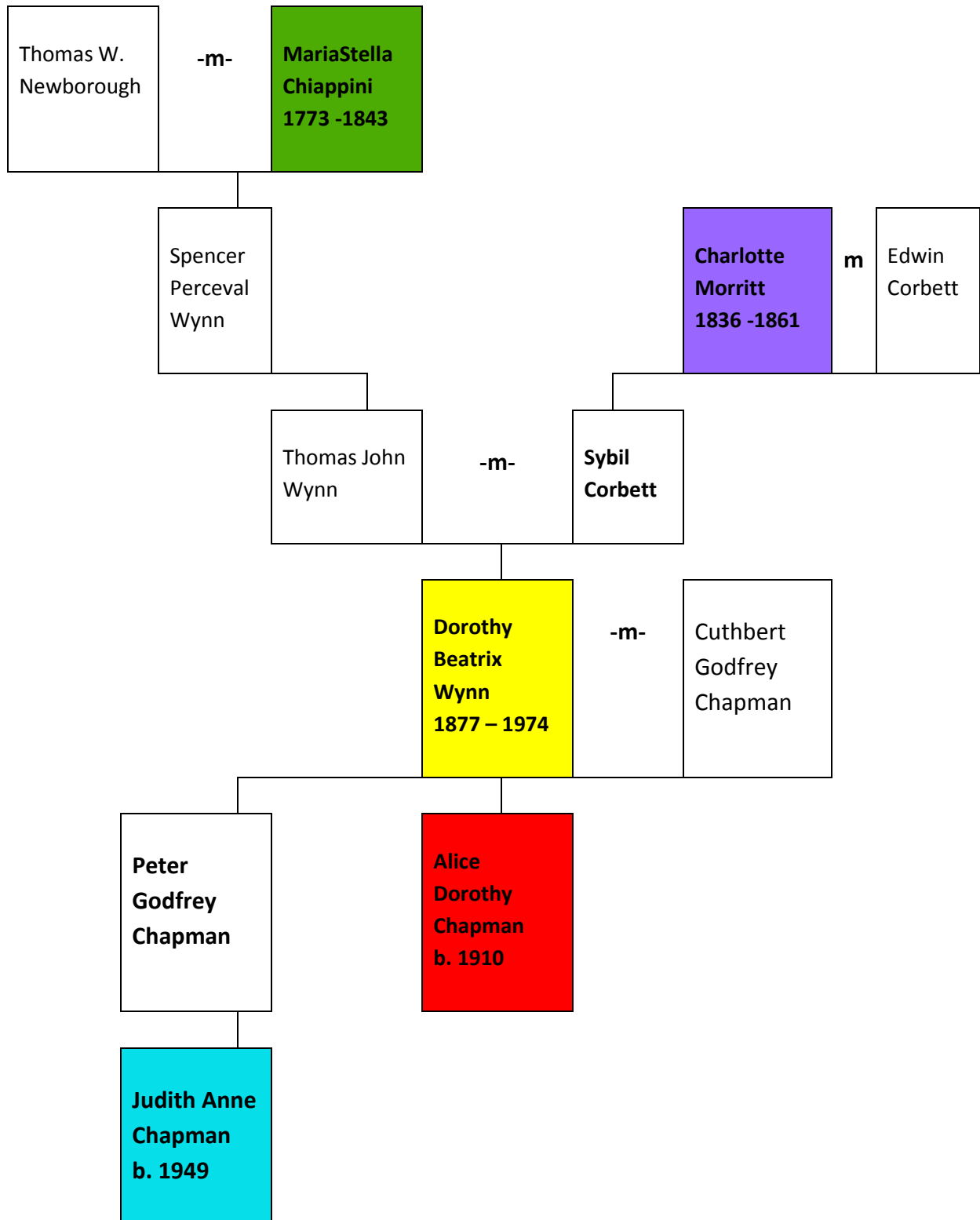
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Appendices

Appendix 1

Relationship of Women Ancestors



Appendix 2

Family Stories: Chronology Maria Stella

‘The first law of History is not to dare to lie;
the second, not to fear to tell the truth;
further, the historian must not lay himself open
to a suspicion of either flattery or animosity .’ p.45 Memoirs³

Significant family dates:

Thomas Wynn b. 1836. d. 11th Oct. 1807

m. 1st 15 Sept 1766 Lady Catherine Perceval, a daughter of the second Earl of Egmont. She d. 1782.


John Wynn – b. 1772. Son of Thomas Wynn and Catherine Perceval

m. 2nd 10 Oct 1786 **Maria Stella Petronilla Chiappini**. bapt 17th April 1773. d. 28 Dec 1843

Thomas John Wynn - b. 1802 Son of Thomas Wynn and Maria Stella Chiappini. d.1832

Spencer Bulkley Wynn - b. 1803 d.1888 Son of Thomas Wynn and Maria Stella Chiappini

Date	Synopsis	Fully chronology	Addendums
1736	Thomas Wynn 3rd Baronet & 1st Baron Newborough Born April¹ 1736	Thomas Wynn was the son of Sir John Wynn, 2nd Baronet, and Jane Wynne. Thomas Wynn succeeded his father in the baronetcy in 1773 and on 23 July 1776 he was raised to the Peerage of Ireland as Baron Newborough, of Newborough, as a result of his military and political support of the Crown (George III r 1760-1820). [*] He served as a Member of Parliament from 1761 to 1781, and 1796 to 1807. ^{1,5} He inherited a vast estate in North Wales, which included the original Wynn land at Boduan, Llŷn Peninsular. His grandfather and father had both married local heiresses and thus extended their property to Glynllivon, which became the family residence, and included Meanan Abbey lands. John Wynn augmented the estate by buying much land in the Llŷn Peninsular, including Bardsey Island. ⁸	[*] In 1761 Thomas Wynn was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Caernarvonshire and undertook the protection of land in North Wales in the Franco British war. He commanded the militia and built Fort Williamsburg in the Glynllifon grounds ⁸ p.12 In 1763 the war with France ended, but Thomas built Fort Belan on the entrance to the Menai Straits to protect against the French supporting the American War of Independence ⁸ p.13
1766 15th Sept	M.1st Catherine Perceval Egmont b. 20 February 1746 ¹ d. 1782	Thomas first married Catherine Perceval at Saint James, Westminster, London. ¹ She was daughter of John Perceval, 2nd Earl Egmont, and Lady Catherine Cecil. ¹ She was also half sister to Spencer Perceval, Prime Minister of Britain 1809-1812 & the only PM to be assassinated in office.	
1772	John Wynn b. 27 Apr 1772 d.18 Oct 1800 ¹	They had one son in their sixteen years of marriage. He was 10 when his mother died.	
1773	M.2nd Maria Stella Petronilla	Maria Stella Petronilla Chiappini was born in April 1773 in Modigliana, Tuscany, the 1 st child of Lorenzo Chiappini, gaoler to the Duke of Borghia. Her mother treats her very badly. She lavishes attention on her 2 younger brothers, but calls Maria Stella (M.S.) a ‘little bastard’, and was often known to punish her severely. ^{2,3,5} M.S. is however	‘I was born in 1773, in the little town of Modigliana, situated on the heights of the Apennines, which could be reached only by very bad roads. It belongs to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, though dependent

	Chiappini Bapt 17 April 1773²	given a lot of love and attention by a neighbouring aristocrat, the Duchess of Borghi. (p.49,52,56,57)	on the Diocese of Faenza in the Papal States. On April 17 of the same year I was baptized in the parish church, receiving the names of Maria Stella Petronilla. My father's name was Lorenzo Chiappini; my mother's, Vincenzia Viligenti.' p.1 (p.49)
1776	Chiappini family moves to Florence Maria Stella aged 3+	Lorenzo was promoted to captain of gendarmes to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, in Florence. The Borghi family continue with their kindness and pay for M.S.'s education, but not that of her brothers or sister. From the age of 7 she was given lessons in singing, piano playing and dancing and Lorenzo encourages her to appear on the stage. ^{2,3,8} Despite her talents, her mother always favoured her two brothers and sister. ^{2,5}	Later in her autobiography M.S. indicates that The Duchess D'Orleans under the assumed name of Countess Joinville returns to Florence and that that visit coincides with her father's promotion and their move to Florence. p.170 (p.287)
1782	Thomas Wynn moves Florence, Italy.	Thomas' wife Catherine Perceval dies in June 1882 and so with his son, aged 10, Thomas moves to Florence. This change of scene was undertaken to reduce his living expenses, for he faced severe financial difficulties resulting from over expenditure on his Welsh properties. He resided in Florence from 1782 until 1791. ^{1*} There he sees Maria Stella performing on stage in a singing/dancing routine and falls deeply in love with her, though she is less than enchanted with him, as he is old enough to be her grandfather. He was 50 & she nearly 13	*Through his military endeavours and the building of Fort Williamsburg and Belan Thomas incurred huge debts. In addition his younger brother sued him for money owed through his father's will. ⁹ p.5
1786	Thomas Wynn and Maria Stella marry 1 Oct 1786	However, he was determined to marry her despite her protestations. Her avaricious father encouraged the union, as he stood to benefit greatly from Thomas' wealth. Following Thomas' conversion to Catholicism, they get married in secret (she is under age, only 13) in a private chapel in the church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence on 1 st October. 'by kind permission of the Duke of Tuscany' ^{4,6,7}	
1786-1891	And live in Florence	They live for a short time in Florence. Their house was in Fiesole a little town lying three miles from Florence p.16. They lead very separate lives. She, because she can't stand him and him, because he is entertained by a lot of the Italian nobility. Because of her lowly birth she is ignored by that company. Lord Newborough is generous to her family, but the marriage is not consummated. The Chiappini family leech on him and at one point have him briefly imprisoned on a charge of debt March 19 th - May 31 st 1891. ^{4,5}	14 July 1789, French Revolution - The Storming of the Bastille
1791	Thomas and Maria Stella Wynn leave Florence	Records show that by 20 th December 1891 the couple had left Florence. ⁴ p.35 They returned to England via Holland where they stayed for six months, while preparations were made for their arrival back home. Although Maria Stella is introduced to the Dutch royal family, she is not entirely accepted by the British Diplomatic circles, as the scandal of her lowly birth accompanies her. The British Ambassador, on his return to the country is quite happy to receive Lord Newborough, but 'sees no means of extending civilities to Lady Newborough.' ⁴ In London she	Payne Gallwey writes 'Lady Newborough tells how she was presented 'to the Royal Family of Holland, who received me with rare affability'. There was no Royal Dutch House then; but as the Princess of Orange had become royal before she wrote (her autobiography), we may excuse this slip.' ⁴ p.38 The Dutch Royal family were officially established in 1815. ¹¹

		is presented at Court with the spurious title of Marchesina of Modigliana to hide her lowly birth. They return to the Wynn home at Glynllifon in North Wales 2 months later. ^{2,5} Here, however, she is received resplendently!	At the time of their visit, Holland, which had been made up of a series of semi-independent states had been brought together in 1747 under the hereditary stewardship of the Orange Nassau family. In 1806-1810, Napoleon made his brother, Louis Bonaparte the first King of the kingdom of Holland. William I from the House of Orange-Nassau became King in 1813 after the overthrow of the French.
1792	Autumn 1792 Thomas and Maria Stella arrive at Glynllifon	At Caernarfon the horses are taken out of the carriage and it is dragged all the way home by the people (some 6 ½ miles). The hills around are illuminated to celebrate the Lord's return and there were constant parties and celebrations for six months more. ^{4,5} Thomas, despite all his debts and financial struggles is an extremely rich person. During his military expansions he ended up shrinking his inherited estate considerably but still his son, Tom inherited a 'vast estate' ⁸ _{p.16}	21 Jan 1793, Louis XVI guillotined 16 Oct 1793 Marie Antoinette guillotined 06 Nov 1793, Louis Philippe Joseph d'Orléans guillotined
1793	Maria Stella becomes British	The couple return to London in early 1793 where permission is given for Maria Stella to become an English citizen. She is presented at court and, for more-or-less the first time in her life, she finds that she is accepted into the aristocratic circles. 'I was treated with kind enthusiasm... I saw myself surrounded with attentions and honours (and) people of the highest rank sought my acquaintance, and were proud to be received by the wife of a noble peer.' p.30	In the entry for April 4 th 1798 of The Patent Rolls of George III is the record of M.S. naturalisation. 'doth grant unto our well-beloved M.S. P, Lady Newborough... may be (a) free denizen and liege subject of us, our heirs and successors.' ⁴ _{p.40}
1800 1802 1803	Death of Thomas' son John Wynn. Maria Stella becomes a mother, to secure the properties, estate and her own annuity	The couple spent time between Wales, London and various other places that were known for their restorative powers. Maria Stella was not a well woman and suffered badly from eczema and bronchial problems. On the 18 th October, 1800, Lord Newborough's son, the sickly and prodigal John Wynn, dies. There is now no heir to the vast estate and Thomas fears everything will pass to his cousins on his death. In a will, he makes provision for the greater portion to go to his 1 st wife's brother's second son. That brother is the soon to be Prime Minister, Spencer Perceval. p.34 However, Thomas also begs Maria Stella to become a mother. The marriage had yet to be consummated, but after this request*, she bore him two sons, Thomas John (1802), who succeeded to the peerage on his father's death in 1807, when he was 5 years-old. He died unmarried in 1832 and Spencer Bulkeley who was born a year after his brother in 1803 became the 3 rd Baron Newborough at the age of 29. ⁵ p.33-36	*'...leaving me at the same time an annuity of; £1400, on condition that I granted him a favour, until then persistently refused. . . . His grief was so great, and he had always shown me so much kindness, that at last I felt it to be my duty to make the most painful sacrifices for his sake—I consented to become a mother ! . . . p.34 (p.93)
1810	Maria Stella marries again In August	Maria Stella continued to live with her boys at Glynllifon for two years after Thomas died*. When 'drinking the waters at Cheltenham', p.37 she meets a Russian Baron, Ungen Sternberg. She had never been happier. They danced, listen to music and rode. He wanted to marry her, but she was reticent, as it would mean relinquishing control of her children. Eventually she was persuaded to marry, on the 11 th September 1810 and	*Payne Gallwey pointed out that Maria Stella on becoming the Dowager, moved to the dower-house at Maenan Abbey, Llanrwst in the Vale of Conway, some 32 miles away. ⁴ _{p.46} ⁸ _{p.15} When she returns home to visit her boys, after her marriage,

1811	1811, Edward, her third son is born	<p>had to leave Glynn and her boys to be brought up by the executors of Thomas' estate. p.38**</p> <p>She moved to Russia with her new husband and in August 1811 she bore her third son, Edward (named after his father). She took him to visit her estranged sons in England*later that year. p.40, and one presumes several times after that, but there is no record in her book. Maria Stella left Estonia in 1817¹¹ and returned to Italy circa 1818-19 on the request of her father, where for two years she nursed her aged father till he died in 1821.</p>	<p>she is not allowed to visit them at Glyn and continues to reside during these visits at Maenan Abbey.⁸ p.15</p> <p>**The boys were privately educated in Whitchurch, Oxfordshire, by 1818. Their tutor Mr. John Salter wrote to their guardian saying he could no longer tutor them 'I suggest Lord Newborough be sent at once to Christ Church or else be enabled to see more of the world so he can conform with the habits of Society in General'. On 23rd June 1820, Coutts Trotter received a bill for £9.00 for the two brothers cutting down fruit trees at their lodging at Whitchurch.⁹ p.6</p>
1821	December 1821 Lorenzo Chiappini dies	<p>The day before Chiappini died in late December she heard his last mumbled words to her. <i>baranto, baranto</i>, 'exchange'. She can make nothing of it until, shortly after his death, she receives a letter from him p.45 in which he confesses that he was not her father but that he had exchanged her for his own son as a new born baby for a large sum of money.^{Addendum I} Her real father is a man of rank, he says, but does not say who he was. On the day that he died he regained the clarity of his mind, but her supposed brother Tomaso refused to allow her to see him.⁵</p> <p>She now understands the reason for her mother's coolness towards her, and why the Borghi family had been so kind to her. She determines to find out who she is and spends the rest of her life obsessed with the search for her true identity and the restitution of her rights. She spends all of her money on the quest and becomes, by the end, almost deranged.</p>	
1822- 1824 1822	Search for Proof of birth	<p>Maria Stella immediately sets about finding her true father. p.46 After a great deal of investigation where she hears confessions from servants of her father and Count Borghi and her Aunt she is advised to get her father's letter formally verified, which happens on 17th December 1822. p.49. She then travels to Rome to seek documented evidence from clerical archived material. The Cardinal Consalol finds nothing.</p> <p>From the Bandini sisters who worked for the Count Borghi, she discovers that she is the daughter of a Frenchman travelling incognito under the name of the Comte de Joinville. Joinville is a minor title of the House of Orléans. Her father is in fact the Duke of Chartres, who subsequently became the Duke of Orléans, Philippe-Égalité, who was guillotined in 1793. Maria Stella had been exchanged for the Chiappini boy who was now the current Duke of Orléans, Louis-Philippe, and who was soon to become king of France.⁵</p>	<p>She is contacted by Abbé de Sainte Fare on behalf of the Duke d' Orlean (p. 55,57,59), who claimed that the Duke was born in Paris on 6th October 1773. p.56 It turns out that the Abbé was in fact the Duc's uncle, the brother of his father (i.e. Louis Philippe Joseph!)</p>

<p>Later 1823</p> <p>1824</p>	<p>She obtains a judgement from the Episcopal Court of Faenza, and her birth certificate is amended 29th May 1824</p>	<p><i>(Motive for the exchange: The Duke of Chartres had urgent need of a male heir in order to inherit his wife's vast Penthièvre fortune, which would come to him on his father-in-law's death. She was a sickly woman who had already had one still-born child, a daughter.)⁵</i></p> <p>She travels to Champagne, to Joinville, to make contact with the family that could help her shed light on her birth. There, helpful contacts become silenced the closer she gets to contact with the Duke. Pictures she discovers of the Duke in the Palais Royal visually confirm what she suspects. That her exchange had been for the Duke. Her then 10 year-old son exclaimed "Heavens, Mama, how like that face is to old Chiappini and his son!" – and we then discovered that it was the picture of the Duke (Louis Philippe).’ p.58</p> <p>Finding no support in Paris, she heads back to Italy to find any documents that would authenticate her story. She eventually found great assistance from Sieur Borghi who corroborated her story despite him having destroyed all the written evidence left to him by his father. He told of his parents receiving money for Maria Stella's education p.69. and he encouraged other local people to talk to her. These were people from many different backgrounds: in the local militia, barbers and lawyers. They all told different parts of the same story, and confirmed Maria Stella's understanding of events leading to her circumstances when she met her husband some 12 years after her birth.</p> <p>Strong in her convictions, she applied to the Episcopal Court, sitting at Faenza, to 'obtain a proper amendment of my birth registration.' An amendment to her birth certificate was made following the court's decision on 29th May 1824. (The full court testimony is in p.146*)^{3 Addendum II}</p>	<p>Sieur Borghi, son of the original, was reticent to assist M.S. in her investigations. He had been sent a series of letters supposedly from her that put him against her.</p> <p>Sieur Jean Mahi-Valla – local militia p.63 (arrest of the count and the change in fortune of Chiappini)</p> <p>Joseph Querzini – barber p.63 (attests to shaving a French Grande Seigneur in the monastery)</p> <p>Sieur Lodovichetti – lawyer. p.65 (arrest of foreign seigneur of highest rank)</p> <p>Sieur Dominique de la Valle – secretary p.66 told of Juan Baptiste Tondini (evidence of papers when the monastery of St Bernard closed) - & Bandini's tales (2 letters from Comte Joinville to Father Abbot)</p> <p>Chevalier don Gaspar Perelli – prebendary at Ravenna p.67 (Disguised prince passing through – exchange of a girl for a boy)</p> <p>Sieur Mare Maresta – chief of customs guards. p.68 bartering of a girl for a boy</p>
<p>1824 - 1825</p>	<p>She makes a continued attempt to discover who her birth parents, the Count and Countess Joinville are</p>	<p>The Count Borghi* did not testify to all that he knew at the hearing of the Episcopal court and therefore there is some hard evidence lacking p.71 The Bandini sister also had no documentary evidence to corroborate their testimony. p.72 The effort and expense of the investigations of the preceding events leave M.S. weak and she therefore retreats to the love and attention (and financial assistance) of her good friend the Marquise de B.... had a 'brotherly' relationship with the Duke. Her father had given the Duke and his 2 brothers pensions and had cordial invitations to stay. The Marquise wrote to The Duke on behalf of Maria Stella. He begged her to break her friendship with M.S. p.74-75 But, because she would not, The Duc D' Orléans refuses to associate with her. p.87 Maria Stella eventually resorts to placing an advertisement in the Genoa Gazette on 2nd March 1825 for information leading to the whereabouts and identity of her father and mother.p.76** It was broadly known however, that the Orléans family was aligned with the influential Italian families so everyone kept silent.¹ p.157</p>	<p>*The 'new' count- son of the old count, is The Count Nicholas Borghi Biancoli p.73</p> <p>**This was marginally successful as an ex-magistrate, who knew her father well, contacts her by letter and corroborates the story of a change at birth p.77</p> <p>***Henry IV married Marie de Medici so there was a strong Italian connection for 200 years. Also, Louis Philippe's</p>

		*** She offended the Governor of the region, not only by her advertisement but by her very presence. In response to her seemingly innocuous research, he is quoted to have said 'Yes, but it is easy to see that this Count and Countess Joinville are no other than the old Duc & Duchess de Chartres!' p.79, which, of course, makes him very uncomfortable	mother, Louise Marie Adélaïde's mother was Princess Maria Theresa Felicitas of Modena – a province in Northern Italy (some 80 ml 130km from Modigliana!)
1825-1826	The expense of her investigations cripple her and she borrows money from her friend.	Maria Stella continues to spend her very generous allowance from her husband in trying to establish a relationship of her now proven parents, Joinville, and the d' Orléans line. She repeatedly hires lawyers to investigate her cause. Systematically they take her money and produce no evidence for her. She supplements her funds from the purse of her great friend the Marquise B. Their relationship was obviously very close 'we were always together, and I can state that the winter that followed was the happiest time in my wretched life.' p.87 (winter of 1826-1827)	Advocate at Bologna 'At Bologna I engaged an advocate whom this gentleman had recommended to me; but I was soon obliged to give him up on account of his dilatoriness.'p.60,(132) Chevalier Montara at Genoa p.75 Alguier-Caze Advocate in Paris p.82-87
1826	In October her husband visits her in Nice	'Towards the end of October,' Count Sternberg visits her with a strong persuasion to settle the affair. Maria Stella refuses ('It's All or Nothing' as far as she is concerned) p.87. The Baron announces that he is taking their son and will send him to a public school. (Edward would have been 15)	
1827	Maria Stella moves to Geneva	The school was in Geneva, and he and Maria Stella moved there in the summer of 1827. p.88 p.174 Here her advocate, Caze encourages her to come to a favourable financial settlement p.90, which she rejects.	
1828	Maria Stella leaves Geneva for Paris	Persuaded by her husband, Maria Stella moves to a house on the outskirts (Southeast) of Paris to continue her revelations, but it means leaving Edward at his boarding school in Geneva. p. 96 She was horrified at the lack of amenities in her new abode and realised that here too she was being conned for money. It seems, unusually, that her husband was with her in Coligny and he was blamed for the atrocious accommodation. When she subsequently moved into a local hotel* instead of the accommodation procured for her, he left her; returning to Geneva and collecting their son, Edward to return with him to Russia. p 101 Although she was devastated at this news it hardened her resolve to continue with her investigations, 'for my children's sake'. p.102 She fought her case against Cooper and recovered her furniture and personal effects that were in his remit. p.105 but the case for compensation for the loss of rent for the year wrangled on and on, costing M.S. more than 28,000 francs!! p.120 This all resolves about 1929.**	Henry Derver Cooper was an English hop merchant, turned depressed lawyer. He rented his house to Maria Stella p.96 *‘We left Meudon on September 1 st 1828, and established ourselves in the Hotel Britannique.’ p.100 (p.191) **(see letter from British Ambassador 23 rd April 1829 refusing to assist her in this affair)
1829	Maria Stella publishes advertisements in a daily paper to help identify	After this fiasco, Maria Stella redoubles her efforts to establish her identity. She places an advertisement in the local Paris papers for anyone who has documents or information on this subject to come forward. ^{Addendum III} She does this on two occasions but the publisher prevented her from submitting it on a final occasion because he had recognised who she was and what she was asking. He surmised that what she was claiming was	Quotedienne = female of Quotedien = daily/everyday (Referring to a paper)

	anyone with information or documentation of her parentage.	untruthful as the Duke and Duchess of Orléans did not leave Paris in 1773 and so " Therefore I cannot permit the Quotidienne to print a single line concerning the extraordinary and mysterious event spoken of in these papers." p.123-4(p.223) He even published a letter rescinding the paper's responsibility for publishing M.S.'s advertisement.p.124	
	Lafont D'Aussonne, author of 'Memoires Universels de la Reine de France' offered to help her write her memoirs in French	Again a new friend, offers his services to Maria Stella as a translator for her memoirs, but also entreats her to return to the patient and devoted family and not continue to pursue her line of enquiry. p.125/6 He was a friend of the Duc d'Orléans and now says he will act on Maria Stella's behalf writing a letter denouncing the Duc. However, he again pleads for a 'reasonable' course of action that would see M.S. financially rewarded and the Duc saving face in the light of the evidence that she had collected, which would of course be quashed, as a result of the settlement. She refuses to compromise.	'After making a thorough examination of your case, I perceived many probabilities, but, unfortunately, not enough proofs; and that is why, as an honourable and kindly man, I advised you to consent to a compromise, supposing your wealthy adversary able to make up his mind to a sacrifice. In this way you would have gained an increase of fortune to the benefit of your son, while the Prince, real or supposed, would have retained the votes and the respect of the common people which your Memoirs and the noise of the trial must inevitably have lost for him.' p.131 (2 ^d p. 234)
1830	Maria Stella writes her autobiography putting forward her case connecting her parents, the Jonivilles, to the so called parents of the current Duc D'Oleans, Louis Philippe	<p>Maria Stella sums up her case in the last three chapters and conclusion of her book.</p> <p>'Identity of name, title, description, character, position, time and place, are doubtless enough to establish identity of person, or nothing would be able to prove it' p.140 (p.246)</p> <p>1st The Name The Title of 'Joinville' was created in the 11th century and bequeathed to Philippe of France, Louis XIV's brother, who was head of the Orléans family. The Duc de Chartres, son of the Duc D'Orléans, had the right to use the name Joinville. In addition, The Duc of Chartres, Louis Philippe Joseph or 'Philippe Égalité' and his wife Louise Marie Adelaide often travelled under that name. p.140-1 (p.246-7)</p> <p>2nd The Rank According to the documented evidence, the Count de Joinville was a Frenchman of very noble rank with power and money. When arrested following the change of children, he was considered to be a 'prince in disguise.' p.142 (p.249) This was confirmed by the remembered behaviour of the Cardinal at Revena who embraced the Count (Roman Catholics were only allowed to embrace members of reigning houses – and he got him off all charges instantly.)</p> <p>3rd The Description of his Appearance Italian witnesses said the Count Joinville had a fine, if stout figure, a high complexion and an inflamed, pimpled nose. This was the exact description given to Maria Stella by the Abbé St Fare some 6 years earlier (see p.56 1822). p.143 (p.250)</p> <p>4th His Character He was generous and enjoyed the company of those of lower rank, in fact he liked not having to 'stand on ceremony'. These characteristics supported the story of the Count quickly making the acquaintance of the gaoler and giving him large sums of money. p.143-4 (p.152)</p> <p>5th The Circumstances Maria Stella discusses the possible reason for the changeover of children. His wife in the 4 years of marriage had borne one stillborn daughter (1771). Her father</p>	<p>1830, July Revolution.</p> <p>Charles X abdicated.</p> <p>Louis Philippe becomes King of the French(see French Royal Family Tree Addendum IV)</p> <p>Moreover, the fact of her being her parents' only child and sole object of their deepest love,p.176(p.292)</p>

		<p>was extremely rich and the inheritance would stay with Louis Philippe Joseph if he had a son. If his wife should die with no heir, her money would revert to the father. Her mother had already died and her father was contemplating a second alliance, which potentially would alter the financial arrangements. Naturally, LPJ was anxious to secure his estate. He had been known to engage in many very underhand deals to secure the French throne for himself, so obtaining a successor to ensure his inheritance was a vital move. p.144-5 (252-3)</p> <p>6th The Time and Place In a statement from a witness based in Reggio, Maria Stella hears a sworn testimony of a 64 year-old woman who bears witness to the visit in the late spring of 1773 of Duc Louis Philippe Joseph and Duchess Louise Marie travelling 'incognito' under the French names of Comte and Comtesse de Joinville. They returned again in 1776 using the same assumed name. P.145-6 (p.256-58) This evidence was corroborated by a written statement from the Chamberlain to his Imperial Highness, the Archduke of Austria, A Priest, Carlo Brunone and M. le Baron de Vincy p.150-51 (p.260)</p>	<p>'Therefore, to sum up, between Louis-Philippe-Joseph, Due de Chartres, and Louis, Comte de Joinville, perpetrator of the shameful substitution, there is no difference; everything about them is identical, everything proves, everything shows them to be the same person, one and the same individual.' p.151 (p.260)</p>
1830	She also rebuts all arguments refuting her claims	<p>They say that in Chiappini's letter to M.S. he mentioned that 'I was born in a rank similar to, but lower than that given me by my marriage to Lord Newborough.'</p> <p>Yet in fact, if she had been born to the Duc D' Orléans how elevated her status would actually have been! She rebuffs this by saying that Chiappini would not have been told of the real rank of the father, for he almost certainly would have exhorted more and more money over the course of his life. p. 163 (p.278)</p> <p>2. If he was going to commit such a terrible crime, surely Joinville would not have used a name that would be so easily traceable to his family.</p> <p>MS retorts that perhaps he hadn't premeditated the change until he got to Modigliana. The Duchess was just as likely to have born him as son as a daughter and had he not been using his family name, there could not have been the celebrations that an occasion such as the birth of an heir warranted. p. 164 (p.280)</p> <p>3. Why was the birth not published, even if it had been one in suspicious circumstances? Why did the Duchess go back to France supposedly still pregnant until she gave birth to a son in October of that year?</p> <p>Undoubtedly some rumour or gossip would have got out if the birth had been made public at that time, counters MS. The Joinvilles left a subtle period of time before making the announcement so that they could dissociate from the deed, and rumours would have died down. p. 165 (p.281)</p> <p>4. Did not the newspapers record events at which the Duc and Duchess were present .that would refute their being in Italy at the time of her birth?</p> <p>Sometimes paper publish lists of people who should be there, not who actually were there. Also, M.S. states that having successfully made arrangements for a son, the Duke could easily have gone back to Paris and not been present at the time of the births. There was sufficient time for him to return to the Apennines and bring the family home before May 13th. The Duchess could easily have made an appearance at the Opera in early June. p.</p>	<p>'I see that Heaven has made up for my fault, since you have been placed in a better position than your father's, although he was of almost similar rank;'p.45</p> <p>'Do they not report that the Duke was in the Chapel Royal on April 8, being Holy Thursday; that, on the 13th of the following May, he accompanied his Majesty to the great review of the troops on the Plain of Sablons, and that in the month of June of that same year the Duchess was seen at the</p>

		<p>168 (p.284)</p> <p>5. Why did the Duchess return to Italy to the same places 3 years later, in 1776, using the same name and in great state?</p> <p>To confuse people, says M.S. A confident re-entry would supercede the memory of the underhand visit in 1773 and years later, the dates would likely be confused in peoples' minds. p. 169 (p.285)</p> <p>6. Wouldn't the Duc want to restore the situation to its original given that he had two sons subsequently? Due de Montpensier and the Comte de Beaujolais.</p> <p>Well, no he wouldn't, says M.S. Both boys were weak looking and might have succumbed to illnesses causing their deaths, whereas Louis Philippe was hale and hearty looking and had a fine constitution. p. 171 (p.288)</p> <p>7. There is evidence in a letter written by the Duc from Turin to Chiappini that, 'having lost the substituted child, he no longer felt any scruples on his account.'</p> <p>MS rebuts this by saying that Chiappini was continuing to make fiscal demands on the Count Joinville, so in order to stop him, the Count wrote the letter. p.172 (p.290)</p> <p>8. Why did the Count and Countess pass through Reggio with only a small entourage, yet when seen by a priest in Alexandria they had a huge retinue?</p> <p>It is likely that The Count had left many of his attendants behind, so as to distance himself from any of those who knew of the circumstances in Modigliana. p.173 (p.291)</p> <p>9. Wasn't the Duchess above reproach in this situation? No not necessarily say M.S. She thinks that The Duchess would have gone along with this to secure her husband's affection and give her own father knowledge of his line being continued (The Duchess was an only child) p.174 (p.292)</p>	<p>opera?'p.166 (p.282)</p>
	<p>In the end she comes up with two definitive realisations</p>	<p>'Two important facts have been proved : First, that of the exchange between the goaler, Chiappini and the Comte de Joinville; secondly, that of the identity of the Comte with the late Duc d'Orléans - Égalité. So I know who is my brother; I can name my mother; at last I belong to a family. Alas! shall I be for ever excluded, repulsed, from its bosom?' p.176 (p.295)</p> <p>The book concludes:</p> <p>'Far from me be any shameful capitulation! May my hand perish rather than sign any degrading concession! I have said it; I say it again, and shall constantly repeat it "To conquer, or die as I have lived. All or nothing!"</p> <p>M. S. Newborough, Baronne de Sternberg, née de Joinville."p. 179(p.299)</p>	<p>Her son, Thomas died unmarried in 1832 and Spencer, my great, great grandfather became the 3rd Lord Newborough. Edward died in 1842 a year before she died.</p>
	<p>Post Script:</p>	<p>The years from 1830 to her death in 1843 are not recorded in her autobiographical book.² Neither does Capes³ Payne Gallwey⁴ or Burke¹⁰ give further evidence of her life after the conclusion of her book. But I found evidence in</p>	<p>The play was written and produced by Marie Vernet, who had read and based it on M.S.'s <u>Memoirs</u>. She was 'very happy to be able to contribute to the full extent of her slight</p>

		<p>the Caernarvon archives of a play that was produced in 1889¹³ and the effect of this play is discussed by Anthony Wynn.⁵ Encouraged by the Anjou family descended from Edward Sternberg, It effectively scupper a future attempt by the d'Orléans family to regain the French throne. A letter written by Baron Sternberg to Marie Vernet said that she settled in Paris at the Hotel de Bath, Rue de Rivoli where she died in 1843¹². The New York Times¹⁴ of 1887 ran a story about Maria Stella. It suggested that her death in 1843 could be attributed to poisoning. She had been remanded under the Lunacy Law of 1838 to remain a prisoner in her own home. ^(see document Family and Personalities appearing in Maria Stella's autobiography 1773-1830) Her offence was her attraction to 'dickey birds'. She died with the strange title of 'La Dame au Monieux'. But she still had the ability to make Louis Philippe, King of the French, 'uncomfortable'.</p>	<p>means to the great work of justice and reparation.' She had contacted Fred Wynn and subsequently his sister, Isabella, Viscountess Hill and The Count Sternberg for permission and authentication documents. She started to write it in 1886 and wanted to perform it in 1877 'and it was accepted by the Director of the Theatre Chateau d'Eau. No-one in the French government doubts the facts, but the censors are Orléanists, and so the play has been interdicted without reason.' It was eventually performed once in late 1889 in front of a private audience.</p>
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(with thanks to Anthony Wynn⁵ for skeleton document)

Chronology Maria Stella

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- ⁶ Marriage Certificate, held at the Archifau Gwynedd Archives. xd2/4087
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- ¹⁰ Burke, B. (1854) *Family Romance; or Episodes in the domestic annals of the aristocracy*. Hurst and Blackett Pub. London 2nd Ed, p. 15-34.. Obtained from the University of Wisconsin, Madison. Digitised by Google.
- ¹¹ http://www.koninklijkhuis.nl/english/History/Kings_19th_century/King_Willem_I_1772_1843
- ¹² Ungern Sternberg, Island of Dago (nr. St Petersburg) to Mme. Marie Verne. LETTER. **Oct 31, 1887, # 4187**. Accessed 28th October 2009.
- ¹³ Vernet, Marie (2 rue des Ecuries d'Artois), Paris to Mme la Vicomtesse (Isabella Hill, nee Wynn, Hawkstone, Shrewsbury). LETTER **Aug 16, 1887**. Caernarvon Archives # **4180**. Accessed 28th October 2009.
- ¹⁴ New York Times (1887) *The Citizen King's Birth. Light on the parentage of Louis Philippe. Documents which show that he was an Italian and not the son of Philippe- Égalité*. 19th July

Chronology Maria Stella

Addendum I Confessional Letter from Lorenzo Chiappini, Maria Stella's 'father'

<p>Miledi.</p> <p>Giunsifi finalmenie al termine di miei giorni senza vere svelato ad alcuno un segreto che riguarda me e la vostra persona direttamente.</p> <p>Il segreto è l'appresso :</p> <p>Il giorno dell a vostra nascita da persona che non posso nominare, e che già è passata all' ultra vita, a me pure nacque un figlio maschio. Fui richiestò a fare uno scambio, e mediante l emie finance, di queri tempi, accedi alle molteplici richieste con vantaggio ; ed allora fù che vi adottai per mia figlia, in quella guisa che mio figlio fu adottato dall altra parte.</p> <p>Vedo che il cielo ha supplito alle mie maucanse, con porvi in uno stato di miglior condizione del vostro padre, sebbene esso pure fosse per rango quasi simile, ed è ciò che mi fa chindere con qualche quiete il termine di mia vita.</p> <p>Serva a voi questa operazionne per non farmi colpevole, totalmente; domandovi perdono di questa mia mancanza, vi prego, se vi piace, di tenere in voi questa cosa, per non far parlare il mondo di un affare che non vi ha più rimedio.</p> <p>Non vi sarà consegnata questa mia che dipo la mia morte.</p> <p>Lorenzo Chiappini.</p>	<p>Milady</p> <p>I have come to the end of my days without having ever revealed to any one a secret which directly concerns you and me.</p> <p>This is the secret.</p> <p>The day you were born of a person I must not name, and who has already passed into the next world, a boy was also born to me. I was requested to make an exchange, and, in view of my circumstances at that time, I consented after reiterated and advantageous proposals ; and it was then that I adopted you as my daughter, as in the same way my son was adopted by the other party.</p> <p>I see that Heaven has made up for my fault, since you have been placed in a better position than your father's, although he was of almost similar rank ; and it is this that enables me to end my life in something of peace.</p> <p>Keep this in your possession, so that I may not be held totally guilty. Yes, while begging your forgiveness for my sin, I ask you, if you please, to keep it hidden, so that the world may not be set talking over a matter that cannot be remedied.</p> <p>Even this letter will not be sent to you till after my death.</p> <p>LORENZO CHIAPPINI (P111/112)</p>
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Chronology Maria Stella

Addendum II Change in wording of Baptismal Certificate

Wording of Baptismal Certificate was changed from

" Maria-Stella-Petronilla, born yesterday, of the couple Lorenzo, son of Fernando Chiappini, Sheriff's Officer of this place, and Vincenzia Viligenti, daughter of the late N. of this parish, was baptised on the 17th of April, 1773, by me, Canon Francesco Signari, one of the Chaplains.

"The god-parents were Francesco Bandelloni, Constable, and Stella Ciabatti.

" In testimony whereof, etc.,

"Signed, Gaetano Violani,

"Canon, etc."

To:

"Modigliani, April 16th, 1824."

" I have, I say, proceeded to the execution of the aforesaid judgment by carrying out the aforesaid rectification, which has been definitely made in the following form and words:

" Maria-Stella-Petronilla, born yesterday of the couple M.le Comte Louis, and Madame la Comtesse N. de Joinville (French) then living in the territory of Modigliana, was baptised on the 17th of April, 1773, by me. Canon Francesco Signari, one of the Chaplains.

The godparents were Francesco Bandelloni, Constable, and Stella Ciabatti."

Signed, Angelo Morigi,

Registrar to the Episcopal Tribunal of Faenza.³

p.147

Chronology Maria Stella

Addendum III Article/Letter to Paris Newspapers

Maria Stella writes an advertisement for the Paris newspapers

I had the following article inserted in several newspapers

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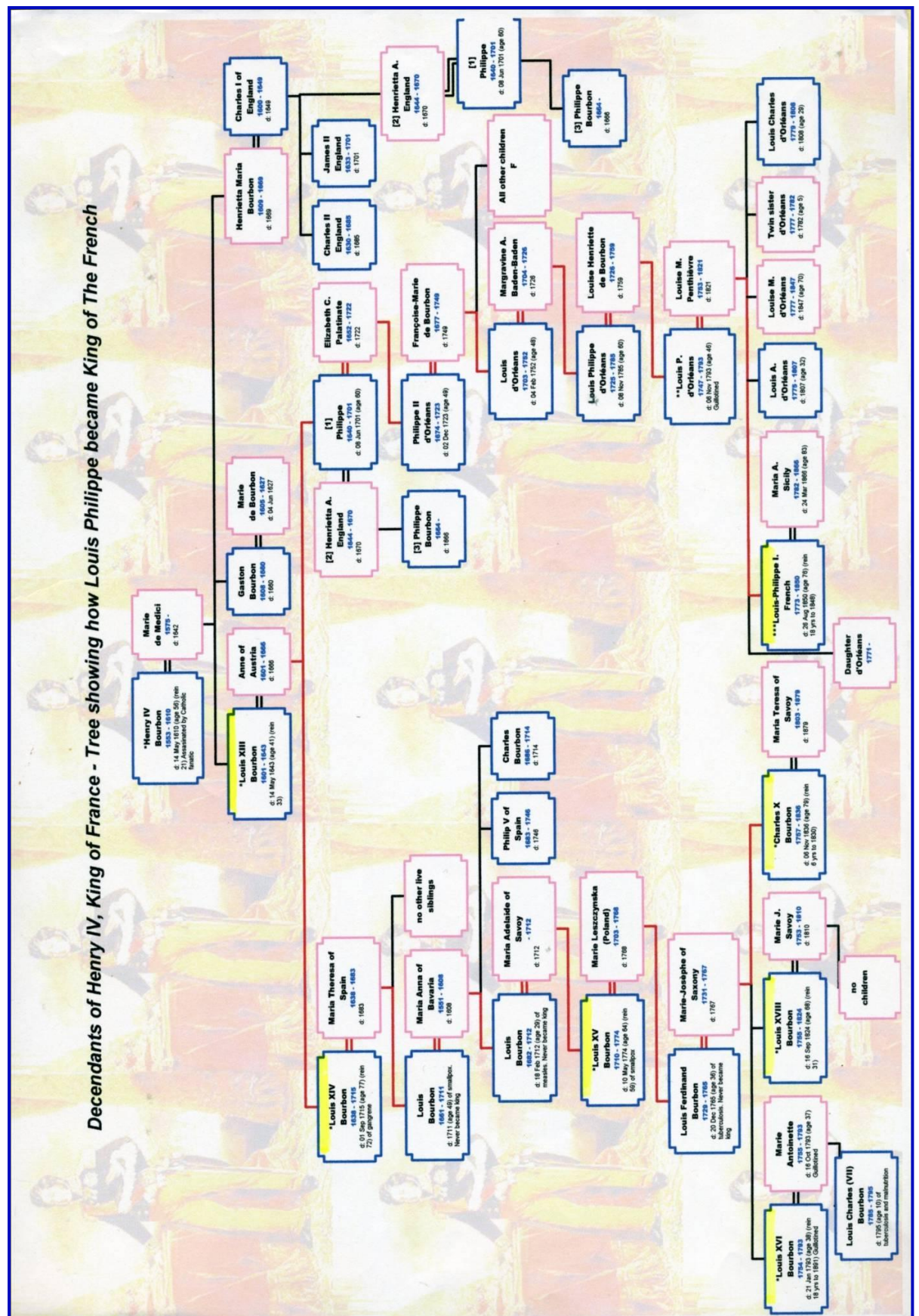
"In the year 1773, two illustrious French personages were travelling incognito in Italy, under the names of the Comte and Comtesse de Joinville. On the 16th of April of that same year the Comtesse gave birth to a daughter in the little town of Modigliana. The parents, urged by ambition, resolved to exchange their daughter for the son of a jailer, named Chiappini, whose wife at the same time gave birth to a boy, who has in consequence enjoyed the rank and fortune belonging to the other child. It has pleased Providence to allow this unjust usurpation to last for many years. But, to prove that justice, though sometimes slow, is always sure, it has lately permitted this unnatural action to be brought to light; the proofs were sufficient to convince any impartial mind, and a decisive decree of the Ecclesiastical Court of Faenza, given upon the most undoubted evidence, has pronounced as to the truth of the facts.

" The father, many years ago, met with a violent death; the mother survived him, but has now been eight years dead ; and there is no doubt that the parents during their lifetime entrusted certain papers and documents to persons who were then in their confidence.

"It is needless to add that these documents are of the highest importance to the daughter who was deprived of her proper position. In the name of justice and humanity, she entreats any persons who may be in possession of documents concerning this matter, to send such information, in writing, to the Baronne de S., 18 Rue Vivienne, Paris.

"They may feel assured of a large reward from the person concerned."

Family Tree French Royal Family



Appendix 3

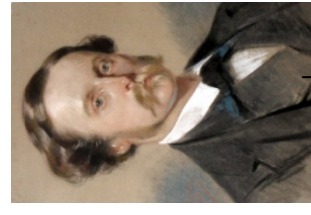
Family Stories: Charlotte's: Family Tree

Charlotte Anne Margaret Morritt



b. 02 Feb 1836
d. 22 May 1861 (aged 25 yrs 3m)
Stockholm following childbirth (see Vincent)
Author of 9 years of letters to her mother living in Paris
These were sent from various places when posted,
with her diplomatic husband, Edwin Corbett
JAC's great, great grandmother

Married 11 Sep 1852
British Embassy Paris



Edwin Corbett

b. 04 Dec 1819 Darnhall Chester
d. 23 Feb 1888 Stockholm
(aged 68)
Charlotte diplomatic husband
JAC's great great grandfather

Sybil Corbett
Corbett

b. 14 Sep 1853
d. 07 Jan 1911



'Let us congratulate you and us all upon the birth of a very fine girl, which dearest Charlotte brought into the world yesterday 12.20pm.'
p.112, 15/09/1853

'The baby is very fine and very good, has dark blue eyes and darkish hair, very fat arms and broad shoulders, as broad as mine they say! It is supernaturally good...C is very happy and so am I indeed – and we are so glad that our child is so strong and healthy. The baby weighs 10 lbs' p.113 15/09/1853

m. Thomas John Wynn 11 Jul 1871.

d. 07 Jan 1911 (aged 57yrs 3m).

JAC's great grandmother

Alice Corbett

b. 19 Jan 1855
d. 24 Sep 1924



b. 19 Jan 1855
d. 24 Sep 1924,
(aged 69yrs 8m)
Mulhouse, France.
Deaconess of the

Mortimer Corbett

b. 25 Oct 1856
d. 25 Feb 1858

b. 25 Oct 1856
d. 25 Feb 1858
(aged 1yr 4m)

Beatrix Corbett

b. 26 Jan 1858
d. 1940



b. 26 Jan 1858
m. Alexander de Halpert
06 April 1878
d. 1940 (aged 82) Bibury,
Gloucestershire.
(Bee Dufort's grandmother,
Simon/Jeremy/Sussi de Halpert's
great grandmother)

Vincent

b. 26 May 1861
d. 1936



(K.C.V.O.)
b. 22 May 1861,
Stockholm
d. 1936 (aged 75)
d.s.o.

Appendix 4:

Family Stories: A background to Charlotte Corbett's letters, written from Washington 1852- 1854

Introduction

This is a focused presentation of the lifestyle and attitudes of Charlotte Corbett, a young English woman of high social standing, who accompanied her diplomatic husband to the USA. The Corbetts arrived in America and lived in Washington from November 1852 - August 1854. In exploring the historical and political context that surrounded the Corbetts, I will attempt to capture the *zeitgeist* of that era, and complement the content of Charlotte's letters. I have tried to explore, through other literature, visits to pertinent buildings, art and pictures, the environment in which Charlotte was living. However, the vicarious experience of my compiling and writing these abstracts leaves Charlotte in a vulnerable position. I have tried to let Charlotte tell her own story, but in choosing the extracts from her letters and linking them to historical or political events, my imagination and interpretation of that time will inexorably be incorrect. As Steedman (1992) points out "The organisation of texts, the arrangement and ordering of the documents is itself an act of interpretation: nothing can remain as it was, for the very act of reconstruction alters the account of the past, and thus the past itself"¹_{p.4}. The cultural context cannot be ignored, but will only be demonstrated inadvertently.



Charlotte Corbett née Morritt

(b. 2nd Feb 1836 d. 22nd May 1861) m. 11th September 1852



Edwin Corbett

(b. 4th Dec 1819 d. 23rd Feb 1888)

One can only imagine the apprehension that a trip of this magnitude caused Charlotte. The socio-cultural contrast would have been enormous. Specifically, the democratic nature of the North American society contrasted greatly with the hierarchical class structure in Victorian England. Charlotte Morritt was born on the 2nd of February 1836. The 18 year-old Victoria became queen a year later (20/21st June 1837).² p.157 She was crowned on June 28th 1838. (see Story of an American acquaintances' feelings for the Queenⁱ p.42)



Small portrait of
Queen Victoria in JAC's
possession

Little is known of Charlotte's life until she married at the age of 16 and left home with her 32 year-old diplomatic husband, Edwin. Two months after her wedding Charlotte, an only child, left her widowed mother in Paris and accompanied Edwin to his posting in Washington. American culture is a feature of some consternation. Charlotte refers to it frequently throughout her writing, despite her having spent some time as an inhabitant of Paris where her mother continued to reside. France, following the French Revolution (1789-1799) had become a republic and embraced democratic political ideals emulating the United States. Under the emperorship of Napoleon and subsequent French kings a tenuous state of moderated, unstable republicanism existed, though there was a constant tension between the democratic ideals and the elitist monarchist or dictatorship ruling. Charlotte came from an English gentry background and so in Paris the society that Charlotte and her mother experienced had not perhaps embraced the egalitarianism that had been hoped for. At the time of her departure from Paris, the country was still unstable, both politically and socially. Napoleon III was self-proclaimed Emperor, following a coupe coup d'état and a short episode of bloody riots at the end of 1851. Charlotte cannot have been happy to leave her mother, who lived alone there.

Washington and the Political (hi)story

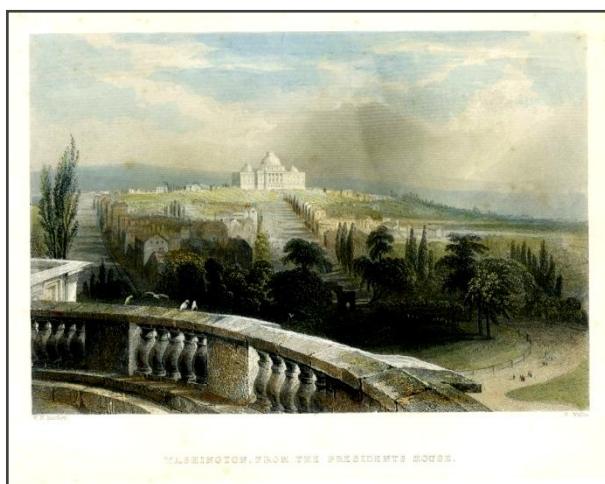
The political setting in Washington at the time of the Corbett's arrival at the end of 1852 was unsteady. The USA had seceded from Britain in the reign of George III on July 4th 1776 (Declaration of Independence) and what followed was a 7 year American Revolutionary War, which ended in the establishment of a democratic government. George Washington became the 1st President in 1789. Its 13th President was Millard Fillmore.



Millard Fillmore, the last member of the Whig Party to assume office, had been vice president to Zachary Taylor, and had become unexpectedly president on Taylor's sudden death of a fatal gastronomic illness in July 1850⁵ p. 148. He is one of only 5 presidents who were never inaugurated as he took over office not having been elected. The primary issues

facing the presidency at the time were the inclusion of California and New Mexico into the union and the controversial question of whether doing so would expand regions of slavery within the country. Before the end of 1850 Fillmore, supporting the Compromise, had passed a series of legislations to resolve these issues but there remained an 'uneasy sectional truce' between the industrial, anti-slavery based northerners and agrarian southerners.^{3, 5} p143, 149

So, when the Corbetts arrived, there was a relative sense of calm pervading the streets and homes of Washington. Perhaps that is why there is little reference to political matters in Charlotte's letters and journals. However, much was going on under the surface. "Washington", as Charlotte observed "is a slave state and you see such quantities of black people" p.17. Slavery dominated all political discussions and, believing the entrenched attitudes and dreadful arguments between the abolitionists and the slave owners would divide the Union, Fillmore agreed the new Compromise (Sept. 1850). Although this admitted California to the union as a free state it imposed a harsher Fugitive Slave Law. This supported the tracking down, return and punishment of fugitive slaves in and beyond states where slavery lawfully existed. The concessions to the Southerners had upset the Northerners and this had led to his downfall at the end of his presidential term.³



None of this, however, was reported in Charlotte's letters. Her only references to the Fillmores were social. They lived in a "large white house with columns and a marble façade and a small garden in front of it." p 16. She met the president's son (Millard Powers Fillmore) at a grand dinner at the Legation^a, where she was one of 14 guests and only one of three women, shortly after their arrival in Washington.

He was "...quite a young fellow, looks like a wild man of the woods with lank straight light hair." She then met the president in his famous 'White House'.

"In the last room we were asked into the redoubtable presence of Mr. Fillmore, President of the U.S. He was standing in the middle of the room shaking hands with everyone and saying 'how do you do Sir, how do you do, I hope you enjoy good health Sir, how do you do' all in the same breath. Mrs. Fillmore was ill but Miss Fillmore (Mary Abigail) and a young lady friend of hers stood for people to come up to them. We were introduced and bowed. Mr. Fillmore took us to the window to show us the pretty view of the river and what is to be Washington's monument, which said monument is to be the highest construction in the world –

five hundred feet – higher than the Pyramids¹¹. We only stayed five minutes. There were no more than a dozen people in the room. He has a nice countenance and most affable manner.” p.24. 7/12/1852

This picture was loaned to me by Mrs. Bee Dufort. It shows the view from the White House balcony, looking down what was then Pennsylvania Avenue to the U.S. Capitol. Washington’s memorial was built 45° to the right of this picture, directly in front of the White House

The next occasion Charlotte met with the president was at his New Year’s Day reception

“Now comes the Great Day – New Year’s Day. The President had a great reception all day. The Corps Diplomatique were to go an hour before everyone else... we got to the White House at eleven, the common people not being admitted till twelve. We went into an ante-room where we all assembled and found almost the whole of the Corps there. We stayed there for a few minutes until Mr. Everett, Secretary of State, came to say ‘Ladies and Gentlemen, Mr. President is ready to receive you.’ So we went in two and two into the next room where the President and Mrs. Fillmore surrounded by the Cabinet, were standing to receive us all. It was so nice, everyone one knew was there, and until twelve there was only just the Cabinet and the corps. It was really very pleasant and the gowns and uniforms brilliant. At twelve the band began to play and the crowd poured in, and such a crowd!!! All the shop boys and clerks and people out of the very street ... The poor President had to shake hands with them all from twelve to four.” p. 32. 2/01/1853

This is one example of Charlotte’s surprise and consternation at the mixing of social classes in the American Presidential Society. Another example is found in an excerpt from her letter on page7/8

Obviously these receptions were given by the President on a frequent basis. Towards the end of January 1853 the Corbetts attended one of the last of Fillmore’s large dinners for all the Chiefs of Mission (Fillmore had lost the 1852 election). But this didn’t hold Charlotte’s attention for long and “After dinner, Edwin and Mr. Griffiths went to the

¹¹ Washington Monument was built between July 4th 1848 (employing the trowel used by Washington at the laying of the cornerstone of the Capitol in 1793) and 21st Feb. 1885. It reached 555 feet high. <http://tourofdc.org/monuments/washington-monument/> ‘Upon completion, it became the world’s tallest structure, a title it inherited from the Cologne Cathedral and held until 1889, when the Eiffel Tower was finished in Paris, France.’ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Washington_Monument

President's reception but I was tired and did not feel inclined to go so I came home.' p.35 16/01/1853. (At this time Charlotte would have been within her first trimester of pregnancy, which might account for her fatigue. She first referred to the pregnancy in a covert way in her letter of 21st February. I have given up dancing as that tires me very much and makes me feel ill. . . I wrap myself up a great deal and Edwin takes great care of me. p.49 the first actual mention of the pregnancy is on April 10th 1853 when she says to her mother 'As to the baby things I have not the remotest idea of what is necessary. I don't want to spend more money than can be helped and yet I should like the things nice and well made.' p. 62)

I mentioned that perhaps one of the reasons that Charlotte had not raised political issues in her letters was because there was nothing of importance to discuss, but one also needs to bear in mind that discussing political issues was a very sensitive matter for those in the Diplomatic Corps. Originally I thought that because Charlotte was very young (16-18 years-old) during her time in Washington she would not have been aware or interested in politics, but, on the contrary, she was. However, because she was the wife of a diplomat, she was obligated to be discreet and reserve comment.

"I have been obliged so often to feign total ignorance on subjects which I know perfectly, and never to express an opinion to any American on any subject relating in any degree to politics, that secrecy on these subjects has become a habit with me, the importance of which is *dinned* into me every day by H.E., Edwin and Mr G so much so that I can hardly imagine the necessity of impressing discretion on other people." p. 191. 28/05/1854

Thus in her journal and letters she must have refrained from discussing (documenting) political matters with her mother for fear of reprisal. In fact, she goes on to express her extreme consternation with her mother who had shown a letter that Charlotte had passed on from her friend, Lydia, in Madrid, to a close acquaintance.

"You do not I am sure know the *incalculable* and *irremediable* mischief this may have done. Please God nothing may come of it – I really could cry about it – Edwin says that many of her (Lydia's) letters would, if shown, be *quite* enough to set America and Spain by the ears and serious political difficulties have arrived out of much less causes." p. 191. 28/05/1854

Charlotte attended numerous dinner parties, presidential receptions and 'interminable visits' where the political situation would have been ruminated over endlessly. She shows how she acquires, but hoards, information shared with her acquaintance.

“For heaven’s sake never tell anyone anything I tell you of the least political tendency relating to any country, but more particularly to Spain, of which, from my intimacy with the Calderons and Magallons, I know a great deal which is most strictly confidential, and which if repeated might be enough to upset a tottering Ministry, or light the ‘Lone Star’ train of gunpowder – oh!” p. 191. 28/05/1854

Both her age and her Britishness may have prevented Charlotte from fully venting her political feelings. She constantly referred to the frank and brash manners of the American women, ‘the things girls say here would make you wince.’ p. 46 18/02/1853. Evidence of the cultural contrast can be found in extracts from the letters written by Frances Seward to her husband, William throughout the time that the Corbetts were in Washington, expressing her strident political views as he campaigned for presidency.⁵

p.144, 145 & 153-155

Beyond the diplomatic machinations there were the ‘affairs of state’ and in Washington Charlotte rubbed shoulders with many prominent American leaders. She speaks intimately of her relationship with Edward Everett, one of America’s greatest orators and then Secretary of State (1852-1853), whom Charlotte and friends had nicknamed ‘Pecksniff’^b.

“We dined at Mr. Everett’s... I like Pecksniff very much though, although he is Pecksniff.” p. 153 15/01/1854

In the evening we dined with Mr. Everett. He is Prime Minister here. He is charming and extremely clever. He was sometime Minister in London and knew Sir Walter Scott and stayed at Abbotsford. p.41

“Mr. Crampton sent me word that Mr. Everett was going to speak and if I liked he would take me to Capitol to hear him, so we went. But although we were there b y 12, the gallery was already so full that we could not get in. ... His Excellency then sent in word to Mr. Everett that I was there and he came out and said he would try to get me onto the floor of the Senate where ladies are forbidden, but it was put to the vote and one horrid man from Indiana vetoed it so I could not get in. All the gentlemen of the Corps Diplomatique are allowed on the floor, but no ladies.” p. 163 12/02/1854

Even if she could have got into the gallery, she might not have heard much. Trollope, who was in the Capitol some twenty years before observed ‘The privilege of attending these debates would be more valuable could the speakers be better heard from the

gallery; but with the most earnest of attention, I could only follow one or two of the orators, whose voices were peculiarly loud and clear. This made it really a labour to listen' (Trollope, 1839:190).

One can only speculate what the speech was about, but it was obviously important and may well have related to the controversial issue of slavery. Critical to the stability of the Union was a conciliation of opinions regarding slavery. The Missouri Compromise of 1820 had divided the country along the 36⁰ 30' parallel. States below this line were legally allowed to keep slaves. Each time a new territory from the west wished to join the Union there were fierce debates about whether slavery should be allowed in the state. Although Fillmore provided a temporary truce in 'the Compromise' of 1850 the latter part of the '50s were very turbulent and ended, after the election of Abraham Lincoln, in the outbreak of The American Civil War, a 'Nationwide clash over slavery'. These tensions are exposed in William Seward's presidential campaign. Frances Seward's letters expose France's vehement anti-slavery opinions. She even criticises her moderate husband's diplomatic voice on the issue, preferring Charles Sumner's more confrontational stance.⁵ p.154

Although these wars raged in the corridors of Washington, there is very little record of it in Charlotte's journals. The references she makes are subtle and cryptic.

"I enclose some lines of Longfellow on the Duke's death which Mr. Sumner the great abolitionist and Senator, Longfellow's bosom friend, has just brought me – they are very good I think."
p.37 24/01/1853

"Yesterday Monday, Mr. & Mrs. Synge dined with us, also Mr. Griffith and Charles Sumner the great abolitionist Senator, a charming person..." p. 39 01/02/1853

"Mr. Sumner told me that a lady here, a Mrs. Preston whose father has great estates in Kentucky and consequently has slaves, says that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was a true picture of slavery and that the whole description of it in Kentucky was to the life." p. 39
01/02/1853

"All that morning, Mr. Sumner, the Abolitionist, drove us about Boston and the environs, which are very pretty." p.221 29/08/1954

These few obscure references demonstrate an obviously quite intimate relationship between the Corbetts and Mr. Charles Sumner and must reflect a 'meeting of minds'.

Thus, one might surmise, they exhibit the opinions that Charlotte & Edwin had on the abolition of slavery. This political stature was seemingly only once expressed. On the boat over from Liverpool to New York, Charlotte met a merchant and slave owner from New Orleans, with whom she engaged in healthy argument.

“... There is another type of American also, in the shape of Mr. Zachary an old *Southerner*. He is a *dear good* prejudiced dirty vulgar old southern slave holder – as dirty and vulgar as possible, as prejudiced a Yankee as ever breathed but as good natured, generous, kind-hearted, good-tempered an old man as possible. He was a slave owner and *of course* upholds slavery. He and I used to quarrel over it every day but he was, I think, very fond of me and I was very fond of him.” p.9

19/11/1852

Charlotte’s opinion on slavery is thus apparent before she arrived in Washington. It was an opinion that would have been bolstered by her association with that abolitionist Mr. Charles Sumner, a man of complete conviction, whose ‘unyielding position on slavery produced anger and ridicule’ in the Senate. ³ p. 154

Indeed, she refers to it as an uncomfortable subject for dinnertime conversation and regardless of her opinions, she tries to avoid the subject. ‘... and from there the conversation slips into that disagreeable subject of slavery in general, which it is impossible to discuss without putting the person you are talking to in a violent rage, or else saying things which are against your own conscience. I avoid the subject as much as possible. p.132 03/12/1853

However, there was a time when the feelings ran so high in Washington that not even she can ignore the subject and she writes to her mother with this insight:

‘There is a great deal of excitement occasioned by the Nebraska Territory Bill. Nebraska is a new Territory, which they are going to annexe and there is to be a fight in Congress between the Abolitionists and the Southerners as to whether slavery should or should not be introduced into this new territory. It is expected to be a very animated discussion and the most sensible men of both parties dread that party feeling should run so high as to cause the dissolution of the Union, which of course ought to be maintained at any price. I fear slavery & Free Soilism will be the shoal upon which the Union will be split, and with the Union all the power and prosperity of both North and South. This is a very sad prospect for an American whatever are his Politics. An understanding of the subject of

Slavery seems as far off as ever. p. 154-155 ^{23/01/1854} (See p.162 Team of Rivals 03/02/1854)

Mr Aiken is one of the largest, if not the largest planter in the South. They are very rich. He has between two and three thousand slaves – they are North Carolinas. He is in the House of Representatives. I like both him and his wife very much, she is a good natured person and is very handsome and that is to say fine looking. She has fine diamonds and looks very gorgeous. Her only child (a daughter) is the largest heiress in the Southern States. She is 16, not pretty, but a nice well brought up girl. p.179 ^{23/04/1854}



Franklin Pierce. The Corbetts seemed to have had a closer relationship with the incoming President of 1853, Franklin Pierce (or as Charlotte spells it inconsistently in her letters Pierce ^{p 46, 216} **Peirse** ^{p 136, 138 p.140/1})¹². Her diary noted his arrival in Washington on 17th February for his inauguration on March 4th p.46 ^{18/02/1853}. A sad note was added “Mrs. P. will not come until afterwards it is supposed as poor thing, she is in deep mourning for her boy”.

A fearful tragedy had occurred. ‘Two months before he took office, he and his wife saw their eleven-year-old son killed when their train was wrecked. Grief-stricken, Pierce entered the Presidency nervously exhausted’.⁴

The inauguration was a lavish affair. Charlotte was obviously excited,

“I have a great deal to tell you as this last week has been the important time of the Inauguration of the new Democratic President.
p.53 ^{07/03/1853}

“Friday was the day, the 4th March. Mr. Crampton advised me not to try to go, but Mme. Bodisco took me in her carriage and we drove on the Avenue and saw the procession which was rag tag and bobtail in the extreme. The President went in an open carriage and the old President was with him. Crowds of men followed him with long

¹² 05.09.2009 I realised tonight why Charlotte confused the spelling of the President that she met in Washington. President Franklin **Pierce** (1853-1857). Her great grandparents were Anne **Peirse** b. 1747 d. 07.04.1809 aged 62, m. John Sawrey Morritt b 09.12.1737 d. 05.08.1791 aged 53. It was because her ancestor spelt her surname differently.

coloured streamers tied to their arms and the procession was preceded and closed by troops. The president after taking the Oath in the Senate, which Edwin said was not very imposing, made a speech on the steps of the Capitol, we saw him making it from the garden.¹³ He then got into the carriage again and the procession moved towards the White House.” p. 54 07/03/1853

There were many Presidential occasions and dinners.

Wednesday December 7th 1853

“Edwin is not gone on his duck shooting expedition as that tiresome Presidentess, Mrs. *Peirse* has sent round a formal circular that she will receive the ladies and gentlemen of the Diplomatic Corps tomorrow at half past one p.m. So we must all go to be presented to her Democratic Majesty. Edwin was very wrath with her, but there is no redress. Poor Mrs. *Peirse*! I am very sorry for her. Mr. Dobbin told me he did not think she could live, for her delicate constitution and nerves received such a shock in the railroad accident in which her only remaining child was killed that it is thought that she will never recover. She has not received a cat till now and I suppose she will just have 2 or 3 receptions and have to be there.” p. 136 07/12/1853

Thursday (8th December 1853) was Mrs. Pierce’s Reception. All the Corps Diplomatique were there and Mr. Marcy dragged us up one by one to be presented – we then arranged ourselves, the ladies on one side and the gentlemen on the other and General and Mrs. *Peirse* said a few words to each. Mrs. *Peirse* is a very small middle aged most melancholy looking person. I never saw anyone look so broken hearted. She asked me about my baby and so on and then said ‘Ah! Mrs. Corbett, it is a great comfort to have a child!’ Poor poor thing! I was so sorry for her but one could not say anything. General *Peirse* is very agreeable. After the reception, Mr. Griffiths like a good little man drove me to pay some visits.” p. 138 12/12/1853

¹³ How extraordinary this description is! I saw the inauguration of President Obama recently on the television Jan 2009. This emphasised for me the way times have changed. How immensely fortunate we are to have TV and can see and experience a momentous occasion at the very time it is happening, yet in a different country. I was mesmerised by the ceremony, the oath, the inaugural speech. And it made me think more about Charlotte actually being there for the inauguration of the 14th President, all-be-it at a distance, experiencing perhaps the same **rush** as I did!

Charlotte, with perhaps a little more grace, attended a Presidential dinner given in honour of the Diplomatique Corps.

“Thursday (29th January 1854) was the day of the President’s dinner. Mr. Crampton sent the carriage for us at half past five. I put on the blue silk with the black lace ‘tablier’, black lace shawl, white and blue flowers in my hair and it looked remarkably well E said. We got to the President’s at seven minutes before six and were the first people, which was rather awful. However the other people soon began to pour in but we did not sit down to dinner till a quarter to seven (‘A long time to wait if peckish’ M.E. June 2009). We were forty in all. Mr. de Bodisco is just now at New York. He is the ‘doyen’ of the Corps Diplomatique. In default of him Mr. Carvalho (Chile), who is the next longest in Washington, took in Mrs. Pierce. The President took in Mme. De C, I went with Mr. Sibbern and sat between him and Mr. de Carvalho Moreira (Brazil). They were both very nice, particularly Mr. Sibbern, so I was lucky. Besides the Corps Diplomatique there was an Aunt of Mrs. Pierce’s, Mr. Marcy, Secretary of State, Mr. Dudley Mann, Under-Secretary of State and Mr. Webster the President’s Private Secretary and an old maid sister of General Almante’s.

The dinner lasted three mortal hours and I nearly fell asleep over it. (This would have been a very normal reaction though I was tempted to ask if she were pregnant again. She was not. Though it was only 4 months after Sybil’s birth) The plate etc. is not half as handsome as Mr. Crampton’s, no more were the ornaments for the middle of the table. HE’s (His Excellency – Mr. Crampton) are beautiful and in perfect taste. At the Presidents they are all ‘style de l’Empire’^c which I hate. All the great dinners here are served ‘a la Russe’^d. The servants etc. at the Presidents were as little smart as anything you can conceive. They were all Irish, dressed in different plain clothes; some had white neckcloths but most had not. They were all differently dressed and had white cotton gloves on. There was a pause of ten or fifteen minutes between each dish which made the dinner very interminable and there were not half servants enough.

After dinner we stood, sat and talked for about half an hour and then began to go. When we went up to Mrs. Pierce to make my curtesy before going away she asked me about my baby again and spoke so kindly and so sadly that it made my heart ache. She said she felt so much interested in my child and hoped so much that she would prove all I could wish and that I should be more fortunate than she had been etc. One did not know what to say to her, poor woman, particularly

before so many people! They say she has taken a great fancy to me. I wish she would not talk so sadly though for it makes me miserable to hear her. Everyone of course was dressed up in the smartest things and covered with jewellery and lace, etc. Poor Mrs Pierce was dressed in high black parramatta^e covered with crepe, black collar, sleeves and gloves, etc and a little white crepe mourning cap on her head. It looked so funereal." p. 140,141 26/12/1853

"Monday is kept here as New Year's Day and we shall have to pay our respects at the White House at eleven in the morning, fully dressed. I mean the Gentlemen in uniform and I in my best morning gown, viz my black velvet (high) black lace, shawl, white bonnet, lace veil. The other people are admitted at twelve. .. at which receptions you are regaled with cake, egg nog, apply toddy etc. etc." p.145&146 30/12/1853

However, Charlotte demonstrates some frustration at having to attend so many formal presidential functions.

"Mr. Clifford dined at the Legation and after dinner we all went into Washington to the President's reception. They are unending receptions as everyone can go and does go. I recognised all the shopmen in Washington and even the Hackney coachmen go. So you see a Senator's wife gorgeously appparelled in an evening gown covered with lace and flowers and diamonds and next to her a woman in a shabby our mourning gown and perhaps a bonnet. Little children of 8 or 9 years old go and the commonest, muddiest man out of the street stands perfectly comfortably next to the greatest Swells without looking or feeling the least awkward, just as much at home in the magnificent East Room as the President himself. The common people have not the slightest degree of 'mauvaise honte'(shame of being poor). They know that the greatest man in the country began as common workman and that the President is in no sort of way above anyone else. They were so orderly and quiet and well behaved there. We stayed a very few minutes and then come home." p. 159 05/02/1854

And so Charlotte and Edwin took their leave of Washington and the President in August 1854

"Tuesday (8th August 1854) I spent in Washington paying visits. I got through an immense number and was very tired when I got back. Eight hours leaving cards is a great deal for a hot day. I have still a few more to do, among others Mrs Pierce and the President. I shall do those

tomorrow.” p.216 (Charlotte was also again 3-4 months pregnant with her second child at this time. This might have contributed to her exhaustion)

They left Washington for Boston where they were to catch a boat to England on 10th August 1854. In those two years in Washington, my great grandmother Sybil had been born (14th September 1853 12.20 pm) p. 112 and Charlotte was again pregnant with her next daughter Alice who was born 19th January 1855.

Only six years later, Abraham Lincoln was nominated Presidential candidate for the Republican Party in a surprise win over the favoured William Seward. He won the election in 1860 and was inaugurated in 1861. The American Civil War broke out in 1861 and continued to 1865. Abraham Lincoln was assassinated at its conclusion in April 1865.

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² Shama, S. 2002. *A History of Britain. Volume 3. The Fate of the Empire 1778-2000*. London, BBC Worldwide.

³<http://www.whitehouse.gov/about/presidents/millardfillmore> (Accessed last 18.05.2009)

⁴<http://www.whitehouse.gov/about/presidents/franklinpierce> (Accessed last 18.05.2009)

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⁶Soanes, C and Stevenson, A (Eds) (2005) *Oxford English Dictionary*. Pearsall, J and Hanks, P (Eds 1st Edn) 2nd Edn, Revised . Oxford, Oxford University Press

- ^aLegation A diplomatic minister, especially one below the rank of ambassador, and their staff
The official residence of a diplomatic minister⁴
- ^bPecksniffian Affecting benevolence or high moral principles. ORIGIN mid19th cent: From Mr. Pecksniff, the name of a character in Dickens's *Martin Chuzzlewit*
- ^cStyle de l'Empire **The 'Empire' style**
As part of the 'symbolic legitimisation of the sovereign', painting and sculpture were mobilised to suit the needs of the regime. The work produced by the cabinet-makers and gold and bronze smiths, the incredible achievements of the watch-makers, and the items from the porcelain manufactories, are all testament, often breath-takingly so, to a quality of workmanship that the Emperor and his court encouraged and patronised.
http://www.napoleon.org/en/magazine/whats_on/files/472783.asp
- ^dA la Russe *Service à la russe* appeared in [France](#) and [England](#) in the middle of the 19th century and, by the late 1890s, was regularly followed. It is the service which modern diners generally expect. Each dish is prepared and divided in the kitchen then one helping at a time is placed before the diner. The meal is composed of a series of dishes served in succession. Prior to the adoption of *service à la russe*, *service à la française* was used. In this method of service, which dates from the Middle Ages, each course was composed of a large number of dishes spread on the banquet from which the diners served themselves, like a modern buffet. The Russian Prince [Alexander Kurakin](#) is credited with bringing *Service à la russe* to [France](#) in the early 19th century
<http://www.cuisinenet.com/glossary/russe.html>
- ^eParramatta A fine-quality twill fabric with a weft of worsted and a warp of cotton or silk, used originally as a dress material and now particularly in the making of rubber-proofed garments. ORIGIN early 19th Century named after Parramatta, a city in New South Wales (now-a days the western suburb of Sydney), Australia, which was the site of a prison whose inmates manufactured the cloth for clothing supplied to the convict servants of settlers.⁶ p. 1281
- ⁱReference to Queen Victoria
(Mrs. Lawrence) is such a queer woman and is quite as much quizzed and laughed at by her own country people as by English people. She was known to say once that she had a very peculiar feeling for the Queen. It was not loyalty, for that no American wife and mother could feel, but it was that '*feeling of sympathy which one female in an exalted situation felt for another similarly situated.*' They are the richest people in the United States and very purse proud in consequence.

Appendix 5

Dorothy B. Wynn. Diary - Kenya 1899

(Original transcribing by JAC Oct to Dec 2006)

Letts's
POCKET DIARY
WITH
AN ALMANAC
FOR
1899.

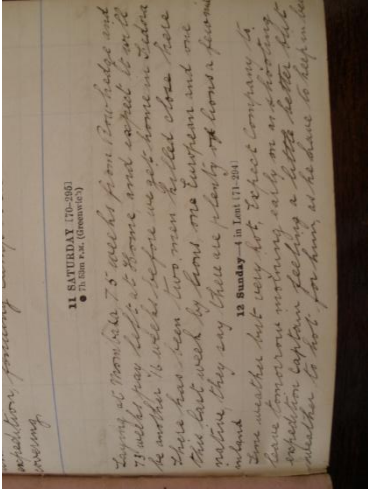
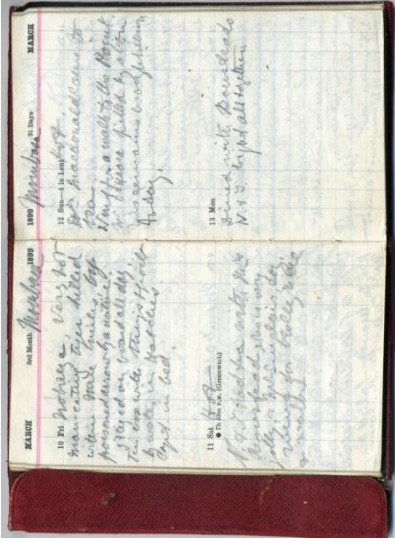
BEING THE SIXTY SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN OF
HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA
(*Accession June 20, 1837.*)

PUBLISHED FOR
LETT'S DIARIES COMPANY, LIMITED,

BY

CASSELL & COMPANY, LIMITED,
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 <p>Excerpt from Henry Daniel Barnard's diary 11 March</p>	 <p>Excerpt from Dorothy Wynn's diary 11 March</p>	
<p>Excerpt from Henry Daniel Barnard's Diary</p> <p>(His father, Thomas Barnard, was captain of the 'Fedora') Henry Daniel was a crew on board and kept a Letts No. 35 Indian and Colonial Rough diary for 1899</p> <p>Saturday 11 March</p> <p>Laying at Mombasa, 75 weeks from Rowhedge and 73 weeks pay left at home and expect it will be another 16 weeks before we get home in Fedora.</p>	<p>Diary (R) hand page</p> <p>1899 At sea 31 Days MARCH</p> <p>9 Th <u>Mombasa</u></p> <p>Anchored at 9.30.</p> <p>Quaint ruined looking place perched on a rock. Pretty harbour.</p> <p>Had tea with Mrs. Boustead</p> <p>Rather pretty, tall & slight. Friend of Frank Hill. Went on Trolley to Killindini Station rail to Uganda. Called on Mrs. Crawford. Commissioner</p>	<p>Comments/discoveries</p> <p>Probably referring to Fort Jesus. – see Image 1...</p> <p>'An historic landmark of Mombasa, dominates the entrance to the old dhow harbour. It was built by the Portuguese between 1593 and 1596' (Pavitt, 2008:6) . 05.06.2010</p>

Diary (L) hand page	Diary (R) hand page	Comments/discoveries
<p>MARCH Mombasa 1899</p> <p>10 Fri No breeze. Very hot</p> <p>Man-eating tiger killed within three miles by poisoned arrow by a native. Stayed on board all day. Tin box with things spoilt by water in hatches. Capt. in bed.</p> <p>11 Sat HA ● 7hr 53m P.M. (Greenwich)</p> <p>N/W & I had tea with Mrs. Boustead, who is very jolly. & Mrs. Sinclair, coz. Went for trolley ride & walked</p>	<p>1899 Mombasa 31 Days MARCH</p> <p>12 Sun---4 in Lent Hot</p> <p>Mrs. Macdonald came to tea</p> <p>Went for a walk to the Point</p> <p>Mr. O'Heara killed by a lion.</p> <p>His remains brought down today.</p> <p>13 Mon</p> <p>Dined with Bousteads</p> <p>N/W & I ----- all together</p>	<p>No tigers in Africa – Lion?</p> <p>'Man-eating lions' held up construction work on the permanent bridge for several months. Many Africans and twenty eight coolies were devoured in gruesome circumstances, while the rest of the workforce was left in abject fear. After months of evasion, Patterson killed one of the lions on 9th December 1898. It was huge, taking eight men to carry it back to camp. He bagged a second lion three weeks later, bringing the reign of terror at Tsavo to an end' (Pavitt, 2008:36)(See also Streeter, 2004)</p> <p>Patterson Safari Camp, East Tsavo:</p> <p>Visited by JAC December 2008....</p> <p>'Saturday 10 December 1898....</p> <p>Up at 5am & went after the lion - to my joy I found the enormous ... quite dead 20 yards from where I had shot him. He measured 9' 8" by 3' 8" and was a most powerful beast in every way. All my men were most highly delighted and hundreds visited me to see the last of the famous Tsavo man-eater. Coolie who had struck made abject submission. Sat up all night for the female; but saw nothing of her. Send off skin to Rowland Ward'.</p> <p>'A memory of the past, a record of the present and an image of the future'.</p> <p>Patterson Safari Camp, 15th July 1999</p> <p>Of Boustead & Clarke. Importing Business in Mombasa. Information told to JAC by MTBC Nov 2006. Maman said her friend Mary Sell married Heaver, director of B&C in 1935. She was 20.</p> <p>'Accordingly' it came as a relief to the expatriate community when a proprietary members club, The Mombasa Club was founded by the Boustead brothers in 1897' (Parvitt, 2008:28). 08.06.2010</p> <p>Henry Barnard's diary: Friday 7 April 1899.</p> <p>I and the Captain went to the club that the Railway officials have started. The have got a very nice club house opened last January' 26.08.2010</p> <p>Changed from 'son' to coz. 05.06.2010</p> <p>N (meaning Newborough not Willie)</p>

Diary (L) hand page	Diary (R) hand page	Comments/discoveries
<p>MARCH <i>Uganda railway</i> 1899</p> <p>14 Tu</p> <p><i>Up 6am</i> <i>Left Kilindini Station 8.20.</i> <i>Headman, four Somalis & cook.</i> <i>Picked up 60 coolies at Mazeras Station. Arr. Voi 5.30 p.m.</i> <i>Stay the night. 100 miles up.</i> <i>1700 feet. Saw lots of gazelle & two big Antelopes. Very Dusty. Pretty place in the hills.</i></p> <p>15 Wed</p> <p><i>Left Voi 7.30</i> <i>Saw two herds of antelopes & guinea fowl, mouse deer</i> <i>Negroes wear rows of beads in their ears & Grass rings. Most of them half starved. All close cropped hair.</i> <i>Saw Kilimanjaro covered with snow' in the clouds.</i> <i>Arr. Makindu 4 pm. Stayed the night.</i> <i>206 miles fr. Coast</i> <i>Lovely view of Kilimanjaro & sunset</i></p>	<p>1899 <i>U. R.</i> 31 Days MARCH</p> <p>16 Th</p> <p><i>3200 ft Makindu - Kiu</i> <i>Beautiful sunrise on Kili</i> <i>manjaro. 60 off. Saw heard of zebra. Country very bare, no trees.</i> <i>Herds of antelopes, Buffalo, Zebra</i> <i>Ostriches &----- arr Kiu</i> <i>1.20 p.m. Pitched camp on hill.</i> <i>Met Mr Whitehouse, head of railway.</i></p> <p>17 Fri <i>Cloudy & thunder</i> St. Patrick</p> <p><i>N & Dr. J left at 6 a.m.</i> <i>Dr J got Thompson's Gazelle, a lioness & rhinos two horns, which he wounded & Mrs Whitehouse killed.</i></p>	<p>Unable to transcribe</p> <p>George Whitehouse was the Chief Engineer (he became Sir George in 1902 (Streeter, 2004:12)</p> <p>Originally transcribed as 'more' 'mouse deer' – could be referring to dik-dik? . 05.06.2010</p> <p>Half-starved – very difficult to figure out</p> <p>Dr J = Dr. Jennings</p> <p>Dr. Jennings. Obviously a companion of Willie's mentioned on other occasions, but called Dr. Jennings 24 Jan 1899 in Penang & 26 Jan 1899, also in Penang. . 05.06.2010</p> <p>Actually it was not Mrs. But MR. 26.08.2010</p>

Diary (L) hand page	Diary (R) hand page	Comments/discoveries
<p>MARCH Kiu 3rd month 1899</p> <p>18 Sat Fine and cold. Better at night</p> <p>Mr. Whitehouse came to show them a good place for game. 6.30 am Saw fox or jackal, N got two rhinos. Dr J (picture of antelope horns) & Hartebeests. Sketched view from camp Mr. Whitehouse had breakfast with us.</p> <p>19 Sun – 5 in Lent 3h 24m A.M. (Greenwich)</p> <p>Heavy rain in the night. N. went out at 7.30 No spoils. In the evening went out with Capt. Whitehouse R.N. Dr J got rhino</p>	<p>1899 Kiu 31 Days 5000 ft. MARCH</p> <p>20 Mon N & self went off 7.30 am. Saw Hartebeest, Thompson and Ostrich. Brought back Dik Dik. Very hot. Saw Kili'jaro over the clouds. Went out with N in the evening, hajob of zebra</p> <p>21 Tu Kiu – Simba (lion)</p> <p>Left Kiu 11 a.m. arr. Simba 3 pm. Camp half a mile fr. Railway. Came down in Mr. Cartmail's carriage. Dr J trolied down & got a Grantia Heard lion roaring close by while at dinner.</p>	<p>Spelt 'ee' but is spelt 'ea' – does one spell as it is in the diary, or change to correct spelling? 08.06.2010 – Actually it is EE – wildebeest hartebeest. (Scott, 997:116,120)</p> <p>Najob Ask Darsi . 05.06.2010</p> <p>Grants gazelle?</p>

Diary (L) hand page	Diary (R) hand page	Comments/discoveries
<p>MARCH Simba 3rd month (a lion) 1899</p> <p>22 Wed Very hot.</p> <p>N got Thompsonia head 13 ¾ in. Walked up hill with headman Lovely view of plain & mountain Saw herd of zebra, a lion, hyena, congoni & bustard. Sand storm during tea. Some thunder & lightening, rain & rainbow in the distance Station master sent six eggs</p> <p>23 Th Simba</p> <p>Swahili coolie died of pneumonia 22nd N. went out all day & Got nothing, cartridges caked. Dr J got two wildebeest & a Grantia. W(N?) has devil's luck Rain all round but none here</p>	<p>1899 Simba 31 Days MARCH</p> <p>24 Fri Cloudy not too hot</p> <p>Went out with N & Morbey after guinea fowl. Brought back two. Good eating. Saw troop of large monkeys. Capt. White house came to see us. Went out with N & Dr J afternoon & had a drive for Wildebeest, But only saw zebra & 3 con- goni.</p> <p>25 Sat</p> <p>Annunciation. Lady Day. Quarter Day. Oxford Lent Term ends</p> <p>W got One fox</p>	<p>Thompson's Gazelle</p> <p>Kongoni . 05.06.2010 Coke's hartebeest (Scott, 1997)</p> <p>Originally transcribed as 'Italian' 05.06.2010</p> <p>Name?</p> <p>Baboon?</p> <p>Originally transcribed as 7 . 05.06.2010</p> <p>N & W are interchangeable. N = Newborough – All the Lord Newboroughs signed themselves N. Could have been W referring to Willie</p> <p>Devil's luck – Is this good or bad?</p>

Diary (L) hand page	Diary (R) hand page	Comments/discoveries
<p>MARCH <i>Simba</i> 3rd Month 1899</p> <p>26 Palm Sun <i>Not very hot</i></p> <p><i>N & Dr J went on trolley With Capt. Whitehouse & Mr Hale but got nothing Dr J got Thompson's a doe</i></p> <p>27 Mon ○ 6h 19m A.M. (Greenwich). Cam- bridge Lent Term ends</p> <p><i>Cloudy and not too hot Went out with W & took lunch. Left 7.30 am. Got back 6.30 pm. Walking all time Except half four at lunch sitting On crates by? Longest wet! Got two Wildebeest & wounded two W. One Thompson's doe & one ostrich. Lovely feathers & Grantia Enjoyed the day immensely But rather tired</i></p>	<p>1899 <i>Simba</i> 31 Days MARCH</p> <p>28 Tu <i>Rather hot</i></p> <p><i>Very bad night, no sleep. Went out with N. 4.30 pm got Grantia, lovely littie beast!</i></p> <p>29 Wed Hillary Law sitting end</p> <p><i>Rather cloudy & warm But breeze!</i></p> <p><i>Went out with N at 7.30. a.m. into Kiboko country. N shot, Zebra, Ostrich Thomposnia, Coke's Hartebeest & Jackson's Hartebeest. Saw Waterbuck got back 4.30 pm. Dr J got wild cat.</i></p>	<p>This (L) hand side is not exactly as lined in the diary as the content was prolific on these 4 days!</p> <p>Hour?</p> <p>Unable to transcribe – 'Long'? 'Cetruct'? 'Very get wet'?</p>

Diary (L) hand page	Diary (R) hand page	Comments/discoveries
<p>MARCH Simba 3rd month Kiboko 1899</p> <p>30 Th Left Simba 12.00 Saw Capt Whitehouse down with fever. Pitched camp Kiboko at 1.30 under the trees, my loan spot close to swift river. Fished with pin & cotton, plenty of fish. N & Dr J went out & got nothing. Lovely sunset & view of Kilimanjaro. Rain picked up Coolie charged by rhino.</p> <p>+</p> <p>31 Good Fri Not too hot. Lovely sunset Fox Hunting ends</p> <p>Dr j went off with his kit down river to Look for Mr. Ellison's R.N. camp place N shot Wildebeest calf. Sketched & N & self caught a dozen whitebait. Squirrels jumping about on tent in the night. N went to native homa to wait for hyena by moonlight but didn't see it.</p>	<p>1899 Kiboko 30 Days APRIL</p> <p>1 Sat Very hot Easter Even</p> <p>Note from Dr J to say Ellison's Camp 5 hours march. He narrowly escaped rhino. N got nothing. I sketched, worked & caught some fish. N got partridge. Decided to go to Makindu on Monday & fr. there to Athi River</p> <p>2 Easter Day Rather cloudy & some rain</p> <p>Sent off coolies to Dr J. Went out with N at 7.30 a.m. shot two waterbuck does. Missed lovely Buck. Got back 2.30. Lovely view of Kilijaro over the clouds N shot 9 partridge. Capt White house arr. from Simba.</p>	<p>ARthi river Actually map of 1910 and recent spells it Athi River! – so I was wrong 08.06.2010</p> <p>+ sign in DBW's records means dead... 05.06.2010 Not necessarily! More likely sign for period starting! 08.06.2010</p> <p>Originally transcribed as 'Shetekid' !!</p> <p>Originally transcribed as 'staff' . 05.06.2010</p>

Diary (L) hand page	Diary (R) hand page	Comments/discoveries
<p>APRIL Kiboko 4th month Makindu 1899</p> <p>3 Easter Mon Bank Holiday ☾ 11h 56m A.M.</p> <p>(Greenwich) Left Kiboko I was up at 12.30. Capt Whitehouse Saw us off. Dr J. arr. just in Time, he got a Congoni & Waterbuck. Lovely sunset over Kili'jaro, sketched it. Very windy. Detachment of Beluchi Regt. Here fr. the front going down.</p> <p>4 Easter Tu Hot</p> <p>N. & Dr J went out to look for Camping place 3 ½ miles out. Good shooting, Oryx. I saw Hyena. Sketched Kili'jaro. Met Mr. Evans Commissarial Off. lot of pets. 3 ostriches, parrot which he offered me, monkey & tiny Oribi deer. Met Mr. Fowler, Dist. Eng. had tea with him & came back in his trolley. Very windy at night.</p>	<p>1899 Makindu 30 days APRIL</p> <p>5 Wed Sultry Oxford Easter Term begins</p> <p>Left camp at 7.20 a.m. Arr at the Hill at 8.35 a.m. Easy walking. Short Prickley trees, difficult to see game. N. went out & saw giraffe. Dr. J got eland I sketched camp. Have a boma round & three fires</p> <p>6 Th Sultry</p> <p>Walked up the hill & sketched Kili'jaro. Found snake bones. Lots of lizards Two shikarees ile. Dr. J went out at eleven. Shot giraffe & got lost in the dark. Had to send coolies with torches to look for him. N went out at 4 pm & shot lion first shot. Lion was after oryx.</p>	<p>Originally transcribed as Swanys? -. Swamp 05.06.2010 'I was up' !! 29.10.2010</p> <p>Originally transcribed as selau!</p> <p>Commissioned officer? .05.06.2010 Shibances III (must be some of their bearers, servants or guides)</p> <p>Originally transcribed as guests? . 05.06.2010</p> <p>Originally transcribed as 'arya'!!</p>

Diary (L) hand page	Diary (R) hand page	Comments/discoveries
<p>APRIL <i>Makindu</i> 4th month 1899</p> <p>7 Fri <i>Sultry. Clouds</i></p> <p><i>Went out with W & saw Impala Antelope, Zebra, pig, Congoni & giraffe. W had a shot at each but missed. Out fr. 2.30 to 6.30. Dr J shot nothing.</i></p>	<p>1899 <i>Voi 3400 ft - Mombasa</i> APRIL</p> <p>9 Low Sun – 1 aft Easter Voi. <i>Very hot</i></p> <p><i>I spent the day in railway carriage. Very noisy night, not cold. Dr. J went after Kudu but saw nothing. W. & I walked along Mombasa road, very pretty.</i></p>	
<p>8 Sat <i>Cloudy, not too hot</i></p> <p><i>Struck camp 6 a.m. Left 10 to 7 am. Arr. Makindu 10 to 8. walking. Train left for Voi 9 am. Saw Capt. Whitehouse Mr Tweenge & Mr Cartmail, Mr Roberts. Arr. Voi 5.30 . Walked through Bazaar & river bed</i></p>	<p>10 Mon <i>Kilindini Harbour</i></p> <p><i>Left Voi 8.30 am. arr. Kilindini 5.30 pm. Up an incline Engine couldn't pull train, all our coolies had to get out & push it up, then a coupling broke. Yacht lying in Kilindini where she took in water (condensed) Feel very fit after warm bath & head washing. Kittens grown very ugly. Mrs Mann very unwell. H.M.S. Fox in</i></p>	<p>Sunday 05 March 1899, Zanzibar. 'Chinta had four kittens, two black and two dust colour.'</p> <p>Sat. 15 July 1899 Cheta and Kiboko and kitten were given to the Paymaster. (Ascension Island)</p> <p>Wed. 19 July 1899. Mr. Turner, paymaster, sent twelve young turtles on board in exchange for Cheta and Kiboko</p>

Diary (L) hand page	Diary (R) hand page	Comments/discoveries
<p>APRIL Mombasa 4th month Kilindini 1899</p> <p>11Tu Hot but strong breeze Easter Law Sitting begins <i>I sketched entrance of Harbour. H.M.S. Sparrow, Capt. Wilkin came in, H.M.S. Fox went out. W sent off his rhino & heads to price. Called on Mrs Bous tead who brought me back to the Kilindini. Saw Coopatooa</i> <i>Capt. T. B. is well, but has no appetite.</i></p> <p>12 Wed <i>Left Kilindini 3.30 p.m. Head wind. But skioyting</i></p>	<p>1899 Zanzibar 30 days APRIL</p> <p>13 Th <i>Arr. Zanzibar 4 pm. H.M.S. "Fox" in.</i></p>	<p>References</p> <p>Pavitt, N. 2008. Kenya – A country in the making 1880-1940. London, WW Norton and Co.</p> <p>Streeter, P (2004) Mad for Zion: A biography of Colonel J.H. Patterson. The Matching Press, Harlow.</p> <p>Scott, J (1997) Safari Guide to East African Animals. Nairobi, Kensta.</p> <p>Quote from Paterson Safari Camp, 15th July 1999. East Tsavo: Visited by JAC & DNCB December 2008.</p>

Supplementary Comments for Dorothy Wynn's Diary

Interview 1 with Alice Clegg-Hill née Chapman 25 February 2007

CD 2 Title 1Chapter 2. 03.45 – Transcript p.1 l.19

Q: Don't know who that is. No, what I wondered was in her diary in Kenya, she wrote a lot about how many animals they killed every day.

A: Yes, most extraordinary, wasn't it? Made one quite ill.

Q: I wondered why they would do that and then he seemed to sell them all at the end.

A: We had a lion, though all the puppies persisted in chewing its ears. It was in papa's smoking room at **Ropley** and thank goodness we sold it. Or I don't know what she did with it, she burnt it, I think. Well, I think they just kept a record. Like nowadays, or for a long time you always kept a shooting book and wrote down exactly how many you'd shot and possibly with how many cartridges, but mostly you kept – I kept a hunting book for a time.

Q: Did you?

A: Yes. Oh yes, that was quite the thing to do to keep them and I should imagine they gave what they didn't eat in the way of carcasses themselves which they merely gave to the Watu to eat. There was nothing else you could do with them. But making a list was a perfectly normal thing to do. I don't know where his gun book is.

Q: So they would have just gone out on their own, she and Willy?

A: Oh, they always had a bearer. Oh yes.

Q: But they'd have done that trip up country without other white people?

A: They wouldn't have taken anybody with them, no. No whites, unless they were friends and they were going. They did have somebody with them, didn't they, at one moment. Oh no, I mean they didn't go with anybody. There wasn't anybody to go with anyway, not down there. There was only the locals. There were district commissioners but I mean they wouldn't have anything much to do with Willy. And I suppose coming up for a district commissioner I mean he'd probably go and say good evening. He might or he might not. He'd know he was there because his **Ascari** would have told him. But no. People ran around Africa you know just as a playground.

Q: And would they have slept in tents?

A: Yes. Very thick. I think there's one up in the attic actually. I may have got rid of it, but it's very, very thick. Waterproof but very thick and you had an over – you had the actual tent and then you had a fly over that. And you had a fire, they kept a fire going at night.

Q: To keep the animals way?

The Chapman's lived at **Ropley House**, Ropley, Hampshire from 12 August 1919 to November 19931

Ascari – Kiswahili for Police Officer or Night Watchman

A: To keep the animals away and you always had your bearer. I suppose she had a bearer of some sort, but she wouldn't have had anything else. I mean she'd have had to have done it all herself. Probably the washing would be done, laid out on the bushes as they used to do with ours. Don't hang them up, put them on a bush, a lot easier. But no, there'd be nobody else. I mean the people she mentions being there were just friends who'd they asked.

Q: And no women?

A: No, no, probably not.

Q: So what would she have worn?

A: A long skirt.

Q: Would she? Not trousers?

A: Linen. No she wouldn't have worn anything else. Might have been above her ankles. Yes, in those days it would have been around about her ankles, but nothing else. And a blouse of some description. Probably not up to the neck. More or less her ordinary clothes for a hot summer's day, that's all.

Q: She went out with a bearer when Willy went shooting.

A: She'd go out probably with just some man, an African of some sort. Might have been her head boy – quite possibly. On the other hand it might have been the head boy and her gun bearer if she was going to shoot I suppose. Oh, she did shoot, didn't she? Well she'd have taken a gun bearer with her. She wouldn't have carried the gun, much too heavy.

Q: And she's take her sketch book.

A: And she took her sketching things with her. But as I say, where are the sketches? Never saw them. She must have thrown them away I suppose probably when she married. Sickening, 'cause I should have liked to have seen them, but I've never heard of them. I mean we only vaguely heard that she'd gone to – somewhere up towards Voi. That's because the railway stopped there because they'd run out of whatever they had, sleepers I suppose or rails, they'd run out so they just stopped. **Then they got eaten. It was bad luck.**

Q: And you said there was a story that she didn't actually write down.

A: Oh, the fact that she was – well all she ever said was oh I was out sketching, I think and I think she said, 'I took it that they were sitting under a tree in the shade and so was the lion.' And so she said, 'it was very lucky he wasn't hungry.' So I imagine they were sharing a bit of shade with a lion which they hadn't realised was there. Well they probably wouldn't have seen it lying in the long grass, probably also in the shade. But she never said more than that. I don't know why she told me that. Probably we were talking about **the man eaters of Tsavo.**

Q: Which happened at that time.

A: Oh yes, very much happened. Oh, I think I came across a book

'Man-eating lions' held up construction work on the permanent bridge for several months. Many Africans and twenty eight coolies were devoured in gruesome circumstances, while the rest of the workforce was left in abject fear. After months of evasion, Patterson killed one of the lions on 9th December 1898. It was huge, taking eight men to carry it back to camp. He bagged a second lion three weeks later, bringing the reign of terror at Tsavo to an end'(Pavitt, 2008:36).

Paterson Safari Camp, East Tsavo:

December 2008

Saturday 10 December 1898....

Up at 5am & went after the lion - to my joy I found the enormous ... quite dead 20 yards from where I had shot him. He measured 9' 8" by 3' 8" and was a most powerful beast in every way. All my men were most highly delighted and hundreds visited me to see the last of

actually. I don't know where it is now but I feel sure I did.

Q: So tell me how you think the rest of the trip went. I mean why did she go out with Willy, why would she have gone with him anyway?

A: Well, there was nothing else for her to do. I don't know where she was living. I think she had a poor time and as Willy was going out there why shouldn't she go? I think those two were very fond of each other so it was perfectly natural for him to say well come on out. Mabel was already lurking somewhere out there. It was quite natural, there was nobody else for her in the family so she might as well go

the famous Tsavo man-eater. Coolie who had struck made abject submission. Sat up all night for the female; but saw nothing of her. Send off skin to Rowland Ward.

'A memory of the past, a record of the present and an image of the future'.

Paterson Safari Camp, 15th July 1999

Interview 2 with Alice Clegg-Hill née Chapman 14 August 2007

CD 3 Title 1 Chapter 5. 24.00 - Transcript p.22 l.8

A: He married you see this impossible woman, Grace. Bitch, she was a bitch. I think that shook Granny very much too. She lost the yacht and lost him at the same time.

Q: Because she was the lady of the yacht?

A: Oh yes. Well she went everywhere with Willy.

Q: And you were suggesting it was like current day celebrities when they docked in at port, they were very important when the Fedora came in.

A: Oh yes. Well I mean they were in those days. If you had money you were important. Just the same only now you've got to have more money to be important. Not that I should think either Granny or Willy put on any airs or anything. I mean they were just – happened by luck so you might say to be Lord somebody and had money to have a yacht. And it was perfectly normal to have a yacht in those days. If you had money you had a yacht.

Q: And you travelled?

A: And you travelled.

Poem written about the Kenya Uganda Railway, as it was being built

Aboard the Lunatic Express

What it will cost no words can express;
What is its object no brain can suppose;
Where it will start from no one can guess;
Where it is going nobody knows;
What is the use of it none can conjecture;
What it will carry there's none can define;
And in spite of George Curzon's superior lecture,
It clearly is naught but a lunatic line.

London Magazine *Truth*, 1896

Lists of the Kenya wild animals referred to in Dorothy Wynn's diary of 1899

Dorothy Wynn's diary In notes section for March 1899

Animals shot by Willie in EastAfrica

17th March – 7th April

2 Rhinoceros
Dik Dik gazelle
Three zebra
One Congoni Hartebeest
One Jackson's Hartebeest
Three Wildebeest
Two Grant's Gazelle
Two Waterbuck
Two Ostriches
Two Thompson's Gazelles
One lion
One fox

11th April Tuesday

'W sent off his rhino & heads to price.'

Record in Henry Daniel Barnard's diary

Tuesday 11 April

All the antlers, skins etc. are going to be cured and sent home by Bonstead & Co of Mombasa.

Wednesday 12 April

List of the chief animals that his Lordship shot:

*One lion
Two Rhinoceros
Three Zebras,
Two Ostriches
Two Waterbuck
One Colies Hartebeest
One Jackson's Hartebeest
Three Wildebeest
Two Grant's Gazelle
Three Thompson's Gazelle
One Dibi Dibi
One fox*

Besides several deer and small animals. Dr. Jennings shot about the same am

Pictures of the animals referred to in Dorothy Wynn's diary of 1899



Mount Kilimanjaro



White Rhinoceros



Dik Dik



Hartebeest



Wildebeest



Burchell's Zebra



Waterbuck



Ostrich



Grant's Gazelle



Lion



Fox (Jackal)



Thompson's Gazelle



Hyena



Giraffe

Photographs taken by Dorothy Wynn in Kenya 11th March – 12th April 1899



Fort Jésus and Mombasa Harbour



Mucupa Bridge / Salisbury Bridge opened Aug 1899



Simba to Mwanil 1899



Uganda Express at Voi Mile 100



Tsavo East looking to Simba (taken by self (JAC) 2008

Appendix 6:


History beside the life of Alice Dorothy Chapman (1910- 1938)

<p>Victoria 1837-1901</p>	<p>Born 1819 Reigned for 63 yrs (18 to death at 81) 1840 Married Albert of Saxe-Coburg Had 9 children in 18 years (All lived to adult but 1 d. 1 yr b4 Victoria 1 d. 22 yrs b4. 8 married European royalty)</p>		
<p>Edward VII crowned August 1902 d.6 May 1910 1901-10</p> 	<p>Queen Victoria died January 1901 m. Alexandra of Denmark in 1863 Herbert Asquith  Liberal 1908-1916</p>	 <p>Roydon (1 June 1906- Sept 1919)</p>  <p>Alice 3 months with siblings Cynthia & Peter</p>  <p>Alice 14 months</p>  <p>Family outing at Roydon circa 1911</p>  <p>Summer holiday, Westgate 1912</p>	<p>Alice born in Roydon, Kent. 21 Sept 1910</p> <p>‘Ma was careless and had me, but I don’t think that was any trouble, but I did come four years after [her brother]. She didn’t want another one’ I2, p19, I8.</p> <p>‘You kept to the nursery. You came down after tea, having been putting on a new frock or another frock and you came down for an hour, if you behaved yourself, if you didn’t Nanny was sent for and you went back to the nursery’.</p> <p>‘Nan, you and your nursery was your world and you didn’t go anywhere else’ Interview 2, p.6, I.20.</p> <p>‘Nanny gave me lessons in the tenant’s hall every day. Or writing or reading or painting’ I2, p18, I7.</p>

<p>George V 1910-36</p> 	<p>1913- Suffragette Emily Davison killed by king's horse. 04 June</p> <p>1914-1918 First World War Britain declares war on Germany 4th August 1914 – Germany signs armistice 11 Nov 1918</p> <p>David Lloyd George Liberal 1816-1922¹⁴ USA joins war 6th April 1917 Lloyd George coalition 1818</p>	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;">   </div> <p style="text-align: center;">Alice aged 6, 1916</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Alice & Peter circa 1918</p> <p>Q. you were suggesting that society changed. A.I should think in the war very much. For one thing I don't think they had time to be fussy about anything. I mean, was it a million who were killed? something fantastic. See that didn't really touch us because Papa – well he had friends, I mean Jellicoe and Balfour and I mean a lot of people, he must have been worried, but he was only in the war about a year, if that because he was invalided out. Willy, of course, that must have been a shattering blow to granny. I2, p21, I16</p>	<p>'How did the war affect you, the First World War?'</p> <p>A: 'Not at all. I was only four when it started and I was eight when it stopped. At that moment we were standing outside at the end of the park by the gate – I don't know what we were doing there – and I think ma was either interviewing or she was coming to be interview the governess, the old bitch, and somehow there was a great deal of cheering and sort of a lot of yelling and somebody said war was stopped'I2, p10, I22. 'We were there (in London) in 1914 at the beginning of the war – I remember going home, (to Roydon) where we wrapped ourselves in eiderdowns and looked out of the window to watch the search lights picking out aircraft? Well I suppose – we saw a zeppelin ² once.'I2, p11, I8</p>
<p>1910-1920</p>	<p>1918 Women over 30 & householders VOTE</p>  <p>1919 Lady Astor 1st woman MP 01 December 1920 Women at Oxford allowed to receive degrees</p>	 <p style="text-align: center;">Ropley House, Hampshire 1919</p>	<p>Move to Ropley 1919 – Sept 1931</p> <p>'I used to come down after tea, about five and I would go and sit with Mamma in the drawing room, having changed and put on a party frock. And I was very keen on dancing and when you came down into the hall there was a big archway and it had a lovely red curtain and if I was feeling that way I'd dance for them, very keen on that, very keen on dancing' I2 p8 I1.</p>
<p>1920-1930</p>	<p>1922-1923 Andrew Borne Law Conservative 1923 Herbert Asquith Liberal Stanley Baldwin assumed PM when HA resigned due to ill health Irish Civil War 1919</p>	<p>1923</p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;">    </div> <p style="text-align: center;">Cynthia Frank, Alice & DBC</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Alice Peter & Cynthia, 1913</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Cynthia & Alice Ropley House</p>	<p>'And she [Cynthia] was very good at theatricals. Yes, very good, and she could produce them. The governess was good at that, very good and so she taught Cynthia. And then after the governess pushed off Cynthia went on with her own Girl Guides to produce really excellent variety shows. And they really were excellent and we had great fun going round the villages' I2, p.20, I8.</p>

¹⁴ 1933 Alice went to Egypt with a friend Florence Laird , who gave her the trip for her 21st birthday. – oh and onboard we had Lloyd George plus wife and Megan and Gwyneth and Gwilym and his wife and a doctor and a secretary. . . , but we, of course, came into the sort of magic circle. And so we spent a lot of time with them. He was enchanting. Lovely blue yes, and he said would I like to go on to Ceylon with them, spend a week at the Gaul face and come back. So I said, 'yes please.' Interview 1 p.2 I16.

		<div data-bbox="574 241 896 465" data-label="Image"> </div> <div data-bbox="601 468 850 492" data-label="Caption"> <p>Prior's Field Tennis 1925</p> </div> <div data-bbox="904 291 1206 515" data-label="Image"> </div> <div data-bbox="909 517 1193 542" data-label="Caption"> <p>Prior's Field Science 1928</p> </div>	<p>Prior's Field School</p> <p>(Alice was sent to Prior's Field School for 5 terms when she was about 15 circa 1925)</p> <p>'I went in autumn and had a whole three terms and two halves. I left in the early spring after my operation. I remember Mrs Louse coming to me and saying 'I heard you nearly died last night.' Mama got a very smart surgeon from London who said to me 'You really must get well' I said ' You tell my mother that I don't want to go to school anymore and I'll get well' He did – and I did'. 13 Sept 2008 'No, I just didn't like school. I didn't like being regimented' I2, p14, I19.</p>
	<p>1924 Ramsay McDonald 1st Labour PM 1924-1929 Stanley Baldwin Conservative 7 May 1928 Women over 21 get vote. Equal terms with men. Emmeline Pankhurst</p> <div data-bbox="328 1010 485 1216" data-label="Image"> </div> <p>dies (1858 -1928)</p>	<div data-bbox="587 763 815 1128" data-label="Image"> </div> <div data-bbox="571 1151 810 1207" data-label="Caption"> <p>Alice Peter & friend 'Cat's Cradle' circa 1931</p> </div> <div data-bbox="898 754 1144 1178" data-label="Image"> </div> <div data-bbox="914 1180 1134 1238" data-label="Caption"> <p>Alice Eaton & Harrow match circa 1934</p> </div>	<p>Q: 'But at 21, what were the privileges of being 21?' A: 'I don't think any. Not as far as we were concerned. Probably if you had property or a title or something, no, it didn't make any difference. Just was that you could drive a car, I think. You could vote, which really wasn't very much. No, you drove before you were 21 I think' Interview 1 p 13 I.5.</p>
	<p>30 Sept 1928 Alexander Fleming discovers penicillin</p>	<div data-bbox="563 1292 804 1568" data-label="Image"> </div> <div data-bbox="563 1570 829 1599" data-label="Caption"> <p>Alice's Hunting Diary 1928</p> </div> <div data-bbox="834 1292 1184 1550" data-label="Image"> </div> <div data-bbox="855 1550 1165 1603" data-label="Caption"> <p>Alice at Whitsbury Stable with 'Royal Superior' 2008</p> </div> <div data-bbox="563 1615 761 1939" data-label="Image"> </div> <div data-bbox="609 1942 718 1966" data-label="Caption"> <p>Alice 1928</p> </div> <div data-bbox="761 1615 1002 1792" data-label="Image"> </div> <div data-bbox="802 1800 973 1825" data-label="Caption"> <p>Alice on Bo 1929</p> </div> <div data-bbox="1002 1615 1206 1904" data-label="Image"> </div> <div data-bbox="948 1910 1206 1935" data-label="Caption"> <p>Alice at Royal Ascot 2004</p> </div>	<p>Alice's passion for horses and riding</p> <p>'Well I certainly rode and I used to go hunting. I mean that was life. Nothing else really came into it. Q: What hunting only? A: Hunting. Well, being with horses, being with hounds, that's all there was to it' I2 p5 I3.</p> <p>'A horrid foggy day so the Master put the meet off ½ hr. A large meet for the day and came from long distances. The horse went well, but very bad jumper and very apt to refuse and jump big. The girth broke, but managed to borrow one to bring me home.'</p> <p>Hunting Diary, 18 Dec 1928.</p>

	<p>1 Oct 1929 Great Wall Street Crash</p> <p>May 1930 Amy Johnson – first woman to fly solo from England to Australia</p> <p>1931-1935 Ramsay MacDonald (labour) led a National Government comprised mainly of Conservatives</p>	 <p>Presentation at court 9 May 1929</p>	<p>'Dulce said "It was such fun watching Alice coming out" – I was rather ignored at Ropley but in Norfolk I had this devastatingly attractive Irish girlfriend (Rachael)... Dulce said that I came out like a butterfly! You see none of my boyfriends were particularly exciting. But there was a lack of other females – there were two but they were large and a bit wobbly!' 13.06.2009</p>
			<p>Barford Old Hall, Norwich. March 6th 1933 – Aug 30th 1939</p> <p>and August 2010</p>
<p>Edward VIII 1936</p> 	<p>1935-1937 Stanley Baldwin Conservative</p> <p>10 Dec 1936 Edward abdicates to marry Wallace Simpson</p> 	 <p>1930 Peter with car</p> 	<p>'And I drove my car, a baby Austin. When we left Ropley, Mamma said she'd give me a car if the Conservatives won some election. And they did so she did' I2, p2, I15.</p> <p>(probably 1935 election - Alice would have been 25 years-old)</p>

<p>George VI</p>  <p>1936-52</p>	<p>1937-1940 Neville Chamberlain (Conservative) 12 May 1937 George VI crowned 1939-1945 Second World War Hitler invades Poland 1st Sept 1939 Britain & France declare war 2 days later. USA join war 1941. 7 May 1945 German surrender Atomic Bombs dropped on Nagasaki & Hiroshima 14 August 1945 10 May 1940 Winston Churchill coalition (Conservative)</p>	 <p>Alice & Rat's wedding - Cape Town 1938 with Dorothy</p>	
<p>Elizabeth II</p> <p>1952-present</p>			<p>Alice Clegg-Hill</p> <p>100 years-old</p> <p>21 September 2010</p>

Key: **Government, War – unrest, Social, Medical, Political/Royal**

Sources: www.britannia.com/history www.historyonthenet.com

www.wikipedia.com www.quaker.org.uk <http://www.phrases.org.uk>

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Britain and Ireland. 7th Edn. Vol I p 409, London, Harrison and Sons

³ Original Marriage Certificate

⁴ DBC Birthday Book of Flowers and their Language

⁵ de Halpert Pedigree

⁶ Hugues Corbett family tree

⁷ Goodwin DK (2009) Team of Rivals. London, Penguin books. p.345.

⁸ National Archives

[http://yourarchives.nationalarchives.gov.uk/index.php?title=British Envoy to America%2C 1791-1891#THORNTON.2C Sir Edward .28Sr..29 In the U.S..2C 1791-1803](http://yourarchives.nationalarchives.gov.uk/index.php?title=British_Envoy_to_America%2C_1791-1891#THORNTON.2C_Sir_Edward_.28Sr..29_In_the_U.S..2C_1791-1803)

Appendix 7:

New York Times Article 19 July 1887

**LIGHT ON THE PARENTAGE OF
LOUIS PHILIPPE.**

DOCUMENTS WHICH SHOW THAT HE
WAS AN ITALIAN AND NOT THE SON
OF PHILIPPE ÉGALITÉ.

Paris Correspondence of the London Truth.

I have been shown two letters written on June 2 and June 9 of the present year by the Hon. Frederick Wynn as the amanuensis of his father, Lord Newborough, now in his eighty-fourth year, and too infirm to write. They go

The New York Times

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Published: 19 July 1887

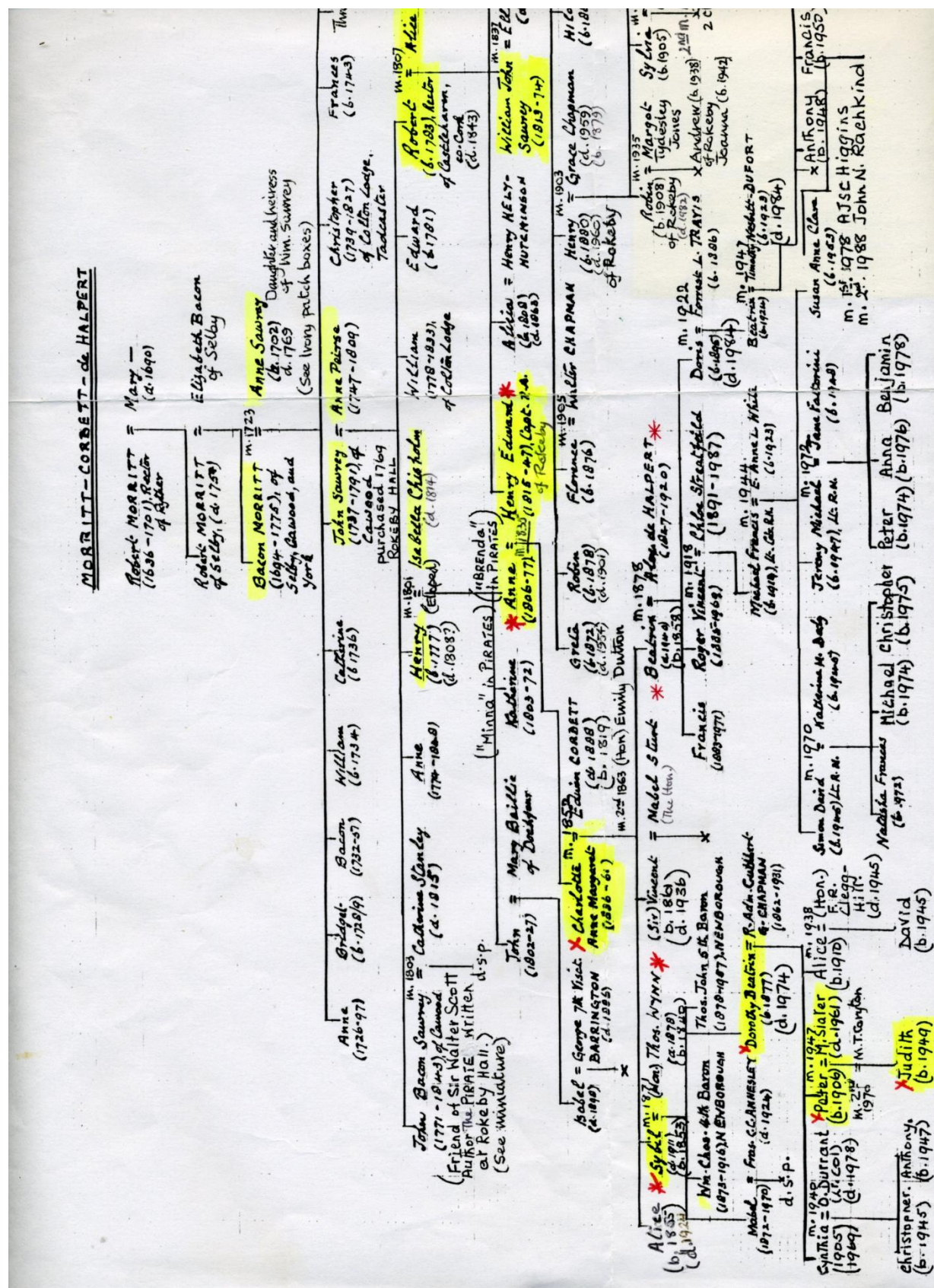
[illegible]

alleged son of the Mediterranean jaffer, who was the father of the Chippindall whom he clearly regards as the father of the girl. The girl, Maria Stellip, until the secret of her birth was made public, had been married to a clergyman of South Wales, the Rev. Mr. Watkins. It was rumoured that she had been the cause of the jealousy between her and Lady Newborough, but that she had been rescued from the clutches of Mr. Watkins and Louis Philippe, who, it also appeared, had been the cause of the quarrel between Lord Newborough and his wife, and could testify to the striking resemblance of Maria Stellip to the portrait of the late Lady Newborough. The Earl of Arundel, the Hon. Frederick says, is convinced that the girl is the daughter of the

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

Appendix 8

Morritt Family Tree



Conference 2009

This presentation is a 'work-in-progress' on my journey towards the completion of my Doctorate in Education.

Student, Doctorate of Education, School of Education, University of Southampton
and Senior Lecturer in Physiotherapy, School of Health Professions, University of Brighton



Laver, 2002 p.174
Peacock, 2006 p.6

Emily, "Madame Boniton says the Circumference of the Corsette should be Thirty-six Feet"

A yellow, floor-length, pleated dress with a white belt, laid flat on a white surface. The dress has a high neckline and a full skirt with deep pleats. A white belt is tied around the waist. The dress is laid flat on a white surface, possibly a table or floor.

A yellow dress with a white belt and a white collar. The dress has short sleeves and a full skirt. It is displayed on a mannequin.

Appendix 10:

Table of Events for Travels with Charlotte: Washington and Beyond 1852-1854

	Politics	History	Cultural	Social occasions	Medical	Letters	Domestic	People	Topic - other
Domestic	Mosquito coast? – Clayton Bulwer Treaty 150,151 Nebraska Territory Bill p.154 23/01/1854, Mr. Everett's speech p163	Crimean War 175,176 Letters from Malta 179-80, Raising of the siege of Silistria and the retreat of the Russians 207 Unable to travel Baltic 211	Eating b'fast meal 10 Timing of meals 10 Day in the life 183 Getting a Picnic together 185, week 208 Ouija board 46/47/	Salary p91 Cost of chintz curtains 146 178	Head cold 37, Riding in Preg 49, 51,52 Vaccination 144, Baby ill 153, Davis thrown out of buggy # skull 153, died 171	Delay in receiving p.166 p.172 12/03/1854 p.117 17/10/1853 Lost letter re clothes p197	Managing house 22, 23, success 29, price of food – ice p.95 Recipe for blanchmange p.184 Food 57, 202 House in satisfactory state 105,	Change of maid 41 Bad cook 56, Placidie 104, 105, nurse 117, 121, 169 New cook Mrs K 125 133, huge furore again. Mrs. Kelly leaves 157, 167 Thomas, groom-horse breaker, 108, Groom leaves 200, Eliza black nurse 117,118 Placidie and Green marry 106 Previous maid dismissed for drinking 174-175	133, Send to France for truffles, marrons 134/5 Dealing with the heat: swing p.211 bathing p.207,211 Cart ride 206,208
Family	Harry 40, 90,91,92, 100	Carrie 86,88,100, 107	Mary & Henry Creuznach Julia, & papa to Tilstone p194	Aunt Katty? 134,139, 206, 210	Anne ill 172	Crimean War Frank – Malta 175,176, 180, Silistria 207	Books The Heir of Redcliffe 170 Cyrilla 194	Nina Corbett's account of Vincent's marriage p.177, 197	No mention of Bday celebration 'how near is Christmas getting' p133 when it was Edwin's bday next day. 17 th bday p.40 18 th bday p. 158
Afro Americans		Black nurse Eliza, Mrs Gamp - 116 117,118	Eliza's son's drawings 118	Mr. Bodisc's Funeral @ Wake – 'niggers outside for whom it was a festivity and who were grinning and joking all the time!' p.15629/01/1854			Mrs Robinson's slave170		
President Fillmore	White house 16,19			16,19,24,32, 35 (37)					

Appendix 11: Examples of Family and Personalities appearing in Charlotte Corbett's writing Washington 1852-1854

Corbett Family



following
letters to her
when posted
JAC's great,




- [Edwin Corbett](#) – b. 04 Dec 1819 Darnhall, Chester.
m. Charlotte Morritt 11 Sep 1852, British Embassy, Paris. d. 23 Feb 1888 Stockholm (aged 68). Charlotte's diplomatic husband.
JAC's great, great grandfather.




- **Charlotte Anne Margaret Morritt** –
b. 02 Feb 1836 m. Edwin Corbett 11 Sep 1852, British Embassy, Paris.
d. 22 May 1861 (aged 25 yrs 3m), Stockholm childbirth (see Vincent). Author of 9 years of mother living in Paris from various places with her diplomatic husband, Edwin Corbett.
great grandmother



Their Children



	<p>Sybil Corbett b. 14 Sep 1853 d. 07 Jan 1911</p>	<p>b. 14 Sep 1853, Washington, United States. 'Let us congratulate you and us all upon the birth of a very fine girl, which dearest Charlotte brought into the world yesterday 12.20pm.' p.112 ^{15/09/1853} 'The baby is very fine and very good, has dark blue eyes and darkish hair, very fat arms and broad shoulders, as broad as mine they say! It is supernaturally good...C is very happy and so am I indeed – and we are so glad that our child is so strong and healthy. The baby weighs 10 lbs' p.113 ^{15/09/1853} m. Thomas John Wynn 11 Jul 1871. d. 07 Jan 1911 (aged 57yrs 3m). JAC's great grandmother</p>

	Alice Corbett b. 19 Jan 1855 d. 24 Sep 1924	b. 19 Jan 1855 d. 24 Sep 1924, (aged 69yrs 8m) Mulhouse, France. Deaconess of the Convent du Bon Pasteur at Strasbourg
	Mortimer Corbett	b. 25 Oct 1856 d. 25 Feb 1858 (aged 1yr 4m)
 <small>1890 BEATRIX de HALPERT (née Corbett) 1858-1940</small>	Beatrix Corbett b. 26 Jan 1858 d. 1940	b. 26 Jan 1858 m. Alexander de Halpert 06 Apr 1878 d. 1940 (aged 82) Bibury, Gloucestershire. Bee Dufort's grandmother
 <small>Vincent Corbett 1917</small> <small>Vincent Edwin Henry Corbett (1861-1936) Fourth child and only son of Charlotte & Ed Corbett - British Minister in Stockholm. Also served in Victoria 1861-66, 1870-71</small>	Vincent Corbett	(K.C.V.O.) b. 22 May 1861, Stockholm d. 1936 (aged 75)

American Politicians

Person	Position or history	References made in Charlotte's letters
Millard Fillmore 	13th president of the USA 1850-53	In the last room we were asked into the redoubtable presence of Mr. Fillmore, President of the U.S. . . . Mr. Fillmore took us to the window to show us the pretty view of the river and what is to be Washington's monument, which said monument is to be the highest construction in the world. p.24 http://www.nndb.com/people/579/000026501/

<p>Mrs. Abigail Fillmore</p> 		<p>She petitioned Congress for funding to establish a permanent White House Library, and is sometimes credited as the first White House librarian</p> <p>She enjoyed deep, philosophical conversations, which she described as "mental treats". Somewhat outspoken politically for a woman of her era, she believed women should be granted equal rights, and her urging is credited with helping to end the practice of flogging in the US Navy. She advised her husband not to sign the Fugitive Slave Law (which required that runaway slaves be returned to their owners, even across state lines), warning that if he signed it he would never be re-elected. He did sign the bill into law, and was not even nominated for re-election by his own party.</p> <p>In 1853, she accompanied her husband to the inauguration of the next President, Franklin Pierce, enduring his speech amidst wind-whipped snow. She contracted bronchial pneumonia, and died a few weeks later.</p> <p>http://www.nndb.com/people/618/000127237/</p>
<p>Miss Mary Abigail Fillmore</p>	<p>President's daughter d.1854</p>	<p>d.1854 aged 22 of cholera a year after her mother 'Pleading her delicate health, she entrusted many routine social duties to her daughter, "Abby."</p> <p>'Mrs. Fillmore was ill but Miss Fillmore and a young friend of hers stood for people to come up to them. We were introduced and bowed.' p.24</p>
<p>Mr. Millard Powers Fillmore</p>	<p>President's son</p>	<p>Quite a young fellow, looks like a wild man of the woods with lank, straight light hair. p.19</p>
<p>Mr. Edward Everett</p> 	<p>Secretary of State 1852-1853 Vice-Presidential candidate for John Bull 1860 Known as one of America's greatest orators – 2 hr.speech at Gettysburg Nov 19, 1863</p>	<p>A grave white-haired fellow, a nice pleasing man. p.19</p> <p>I had to dress <u>smart</u> for Mr. Everett's dinner party. I put on the blue gown with stripes on the skirt and two white camellias, a black lace lappet in my hair and off we went. p.27</p> <p>Last Sunday, (12th Dec 1852) Mr. Everett (the Minister of State) came to see me and we dine with them tomorrow. P.29</p> <p>In the evening we dined with Mr. Everett. He is Prime Minister here. He is charming and extremely clever. He was sometime Minister in London and knew Sir Walter Scott and stayed at Abbotsford. p.41</p> <p>On Monday we dine with the Greenhow's much to our disgust as the house is very small and bad and hot, and next Saturday with Mr. Everett. p.148 <small>07/01/1854</small></p> <p>We have christened Mr. Everett 'Pecksniff' p.152 <small>15/01/1854</small></p> <p>We dined at Mr. Everett's. It was a dinner of 20 people. Mr. E talked about his wife 'who is an invalid' with uplifted eyes and said she was confined at Boston and took to her bed and he had no hope and said 'I felt when I saw her that I ought not to leave her bedside, but still I felt there were two duties' – old humbug! I nearly laughed in his face and felt inclined to ask him whether giving great dinners and parties were on of the duties – I like Pecksniff very much though, although he is Pecksniff. p.153</p> <p><small>15/01/1854</small></p> <p>http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/197186/Edward-Everett</p>

<p>General Scott</p> 	<p>Commander-in-Chief and candidate for Presidency p.19</p>	<p>Was 'about seven feet high – gigantic! He talked expressively and well and he amused and interested me very much.' At the conclusion of the meal he informed his host that "that he liked me very much and said I was 'a very remarkable young woman.'" p. 24, 25 <small>7/12/1852</small> http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Winfield_Scott</p>
<p>Franklin Pierce</p> 	<p>14th president of the USA 1853-1857 "Two months before he took office, he and his wife saw their eleven-year-old son killed when their train was wrecked. Grief-stricken, Pierce entered the Presidency nervously exhausted'.</p>	<p>This last week has been the important time of the Inauguration of the new Democratic President. p.53 The President went in an open carriage and the old President was with him. Crowds of men followed him with long coloured streamers tied to their arms and the procession was preceded and closed by troops. p.54 "Mrs. P. will not come until afterwards it is supposed as poor thing, she is in deep mourning for her boy". p.46 Edwin has not gone on his duck shooting expedition as that tiresome Preidentess, Mrs. Peirse has sent round a formal circular that she will receive the ladies and gentlemen of the Diplomatic Corps tomorrow at half past one p.m. so we must all must go to be presented to her Democratic Majesty. Edwin was very wrath with her but there is no redress. Poor Mr. Peirse! I am very sorry for her. Mr. Dobbin told me he did not think she could live, for her delicate constitution and nerves received such a shock in the railroad accident in which her only remaining child was killed that it is thought that she will never recover. She has not received a cat till now and I suppose she will just have 2 or 3 receptions and have to be there." p. 136 <small>07/12/1853</small> Mentioned with politics. 150 Leaving cards p.216 http://www.whitehouse.gov/about/presidents/FranklinPierce/ Crampton soon quarrelled with the Americans. During the Crimean War, he actively recruited troops within the territories of the USA. By 1856, On 28 May 1856, President Pierce broke off relations with Crampton, who at once returned to Britain.</p>

The Lunatic Express begins its journey into Africa's new dawn

From Rob Crilly
in Mariakani

THROUGH the window of the Lunatic Express scorched desert gives way to the scenic splendour of the Great Rift Valley along the single track from Mombasa in Kenya to Lake Victoria and on towards Kampala, the Ugandan capital.

This railway, once the British pride of East Africa, was given its nickname by sceptics who thought it expensive folly to build a line through such difficult and empty terrain.

Now it might better describe the passengers willing to put up with last-minute cancellations, 13-hour delays and thieves at the windows. But that could be about to change.

Next month a South African consortium is to take over the railway, charged with reversing its decline. It plans to slash the 9,000-strong workforce by two thirds and invest more than £150 million to restore past glory to the line credited with opening up the continent.

Travellers hope that it will retain some of its colonial charm. Dinner is announced with a four-tone chime. Waiters in white jackets serve first-class passengers in a restaurant car that could have featured in an Agatha Christie novel. But the leather seats are scuffed and splitting at the seams. Most cabins have no electricity. Passengers fumble with torches. The stewards' white jackets are stained.

James Kangere, a steward for 25 years, sits down after the third sitting for dinner. A three-hour delay leaving Nairobi — the restaurant car had derailed — means that it is past lam. "The coaches are in a very bad state. Sometimes there are cockroaches. That is not good enough," he says sadly.

The rot set in during the 1990s when, in corrupt deals, Kenya Railways paid too much for fuel and other services. Lengths of rail and chunks of land were sold off. Passenger services to Uganda ended in 1996.

The first-class passengers now are mostly backpackers thrilled to be stepping back into history. They watch the sun rise over thick acacia scrub, backing into bacon and eggs and spotting giraffes in the distance. But as the train judders and lurches they swap tales of



The train leaves Nairobi bound for Mombasa. The 13-hour journey suffers from frequent delays and may take twice as long



The faded grandeur of the dining car evokes Agatha Christie

broken lavatories and unwelcome nocturnal visitors. Ceri Jones, 23, who has just graduated from Southampton University, woke to find a shadow looming over her. An intruder was clinging to the side of the rattling train. He managed to force his head and arms through the window as he searched for her bags.

"I'm laughing about it now but it makes you wonder whether someone was watching you in bed — wearing next

to nothing. It is frightening," she says.

The train shudders to a stop still 100 miles from Mombasa. A freight train has derailed, halting all movement.

It is an inauspicious time for one of the great engineering feats of the British Empire.

The line played a central role in the development and modern history of East Africa. Nairobi was little more than a watering hole before it arrived.

Such was the expense of the



line — which took six years to build from 1896, and which killed many thousands of imported Indian and African labourers — that the Foreign Office had to encourage white settlers so that costs could be recouped by carrying agricultural produce and passengers.

Most of those who died were stricken by disease but hundreds were also killed by the feared man-eating lions of Tsavo. The predators brought construction to a halt when hundreds of workers fled in fear, only to return when the two animals had been slain.

Now when unscheduled stops are made, children arrive at the trackside to gawp at the train or play with passengers.

"I'm not in a rush," says Nadia Khan, 25, a Canadian lawyer working in Nairobi. "This is all part of the charm, a real sense of adventure. Later, as the day slips away, I mood changes. People have been drifting away at each hitchhike from buses, lorries or matatus — the minibuses that serve as local taxis."

Ms Khan is one of the lucky ones, stuck on the train as night falls. "I think I've had enough now," she says. After her 13-hour journey has taken 24 she finally hitches a ride from Mariakani to Mombasa. By the time that the Lunatic Express pulls into Mombasa will be a ghost train.

Appendix 13

Research Instruction Sheet

Headed Paper

Hon. Mrs. A.D. Clegg-Hill
Address...

21st January 2007

Dear Aunt Alice

Re: Research Study for Doctorate of Education – Judith Chapman

An Auto/Biographical study of Family and History with reference to the concept of *Bildung*

As you know, I am undertaking a study of members of my family for my Doctorate of Education at the University of Southampton and would like to invite you to take part in my study. Before you decide, it is important for you to understand why my research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and talk to people about it. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

What is the purpose of this study?

The study is auto/biographical. I will write about myself and the learning process that I am experiencing through carrying out this research. I will describe how my research impacts on my identity and the way I view myself as a person. I will explore the lives of four women ancestors going back five generations. I will investigate the historical events that occurred, the social situation they were in and the culture of the time. I will ask how they got to know themselves; what opportunities they had to develop their identities; how their lives have affected the lives of subsequent generations and I am particularly interested in how the women have collectively impacted on my life.

How will you be involved?

What I would like to do is to talk to you about your life, especially that part of it leading up to and around the age of 21, and for you to tell me how your upbringing affected your adult life. I will ask you a few questions but will most of the time just listen to you. I might take some notes as we go along, just to remind myself of things.

What I would like to do is video tape the interview, to be able to have a permanent record of your story. The video tape will be kept carefully with other family documents and artefacts. Some of your interview will be transcribed so that I can look more closely at your story to answer my research questions. If you want to see the video at any time in the future, I can arrange for you to see it. The

written part of your story will be given to you to read. If you want to change anything in the story or you want to omit anything you are at liberty to do just that.

Along with the stories of our three other ancestors, your story will be used for my doctoral thesis and as such will become part of a bound book kept in the University of Southampton library. Your story might be used in academic conferences and public presentations and might also be published. You will of course be able to be identified in this work, being the only ninety something year-old in the family! However if you would like to use a 'stage name' in any of the presentations or publications, you just need to let me know! At all times, all respect and confidentiality will be afforded to you.

If you are still happy to take part you I'll ask you to sign a consent form where in you would agree to all the things that I have talked about above. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

Contact for further information:

The project has been approved by the School of Education's Ethics Committee (Ethics number).

If you would like any further information please contact:

Dr Gill Clarke

School of Education

University of Southampton, SO17 1BJ

Telephone:

With many thanks

Judith Chapman

Date: 21st January 2007

Ethics Number:

Appendix 14

Consent Form

Auto/Biographical Study

An Auto/Biographical study of Family and History with reference to the concept of *Bildung*

I the undersigned have agreed to participated in the auto/biographical research project undertaken by Judith Chapman, in my home.

(Please initial each box and sign on the line below)

I confirm that I have read the letter sent to me which explained the nature and purpose of the research. I have had the opportunity to ask questions.	
I agree to be interviewed as part of this project	
I agree that the interview can be videotaped	
I understand that any part of my story that is used for the research will be shown to me and that I can alter or omit any of my story	
I understand that information gained during the interview may be presented to public audiences or published. I agree to this.	
If the work is presented or published I agree that you can use my name/ my name will be changed to disguise my identity	
I understand that I am taking part in this research voluntarily and of my own free will	
I understand that I can stop the interview at any time without giving any reason	
I agree to take part in this study	

Subject: Alice D. Clegg-Hill
Researcher: Judith Chapman

Signature: _____
Signature: _____

Date:
Date:

Appendix 15

Interview Questions

(Wengraf, T (2004) *Qualitative Research Interviewing*. London, Sage)

General

Tell me about your life (in +/- an hour) Begin wherever you like and include whatever you wish, but I would like you to mention something about being a young adult around the age of 21

- What were the most important 'turning' points in your life?
- Tell me about the happiest moments in your life?
- What about the saddest?
- Who's been the most important in your life? Why?
- Describe 3 memories that you have been thinking about recently

Reflective stance-global

- What do you see as important or significant in your life?
- What does your life look like from where you are at now?
- If you could live your life over, what would you do differently?
- How do you explain what's happened to you over your life?

If you had the opportunity to write the story of your life, what would the chapters be about? Chapter 1, Chapter 2. What about the last chapter?

- How would you like to be remembered?

Historical, cultural, society, events

- What historical events happened that you can remember? What impact did it/they have on your life?
- What was society like at the different life stages you've described? What especially was it like when you were 21?
- How did you fit into that society? What were the highlights? What were the tensions?
- How do you think being born into the family that you were in influenced your life?

Development of identity and passing that on

- What was it like growing up in your family? How do you think that helped form your identity/the person that you are?
- In what ways do you think your mother/father influenced your life,
- How did your mother's mother (or lack of father) influence her?
- How do you feel your life has influenced that of your child/grandchildren?
- Tell me something about your past that is most important to you – that is, something that has had the most influence/impact on your life? How do you think that situation impacted on you and the person you became?
- Were you 'religious' – How do feel this influenced your life?
- How do you think we influence the next generation? What is our individual part in that?

Do you think your life could have been different? would you like to have been different? How? Why? Any regrets?

Appendix 16:

Excerpt from record of visit to Ropley House

Ropley House, Hampshire

Visit to Ropley House 12th Nov 2007 and 16th April 2008

For the purpose of investigating & recreating a family narrative.

Anecdotes and Comparisons between 1919-1931 and 2007



1919



1926



2007

History:

My grandmother, Dorothy Beatrix Chapman (DBC) (b. 18 Jul 1877 d. 05 Mar 1974) & her husband Rear Admiral Cuthbert Godfrey Chapman (b. 29 Aug 1862 d. 17 Mar 1931) lived at Ropley House from August 12th 1919 – Nov 1931 with their three children, my father, Peter Godfrey Chapman (PGC) (b. 17 Dec 1906) and his sisters, Eugenia Cynthia Chapman (ECC) (b. 08 Nov 1905) and Alice Dorothy Chapman (ADC) (b. 21 Sep 1910) (plus of course, Nan-Nan [Nanny, Jessie Brooker]). My Grandfather CGC died 17th March 1931 and is buried in the cemetery of St Peter's Church, Ropley. My Grandmother (DBC) died 05 Mar 1974 at Dingley Hill, Bradfield, Berkshire and was later interned in the same grave



Grave of CGC & DBC 2007



Headstone 2007



Alice Clegg-Hill 2007 aged 97 ½



She weeded the entire
grave

Ropley House is currently owned by:

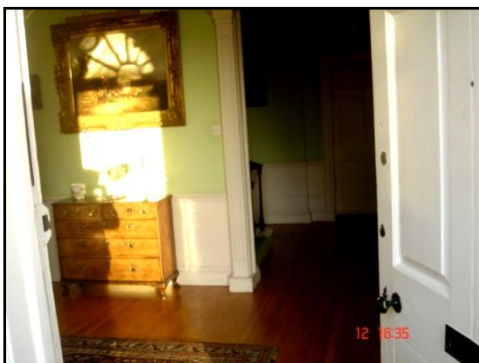
Anna Rose (ARK-H) and Peter (92) Knatchbull- Hugessen ¹

Address...

Peter bought Ropley House in 1972. Anna Rose & he married in 1992 and she has lived there for 16 years

Entrance

(ARK-H) As you come in through the front door the hall used to be paved with stone flagstones. There was a room that was on the (L) (perhaps a gun room). Peter K-H had that wall knocked down and it is now an open hall with parquet flooring. Now there is a WC behind the white door and a small office.



2007



(ADC) On the (L) as you came into the house was a room that was Mama's Flower room – I think there might have been a basin behind it? We had a lovely tredan in the hall.

(ADC) On the (R) was the library and Papa's smoking room.
This is the room that has a window onto the driveway at the front of the house.

(ARK-H) The library shelves either side of the fireplace were restored by Peter. He also put in shelves behind the door entering into the room.

(ADC) Then there was the drawing room next on the right (as it is today)



(not sure if this was taken
in the drawing room?)

and straight in front of you was the dining room.



2007



1921

(ARKH) thought it might have been the billiard room but Aunt A ADC said that our family was not that 'grand'!

ADC The dining room was where we put the Christmas tree. I was huge! The presents were placed under the tree. We opened them on the 24th Dec, Christmas Eve. It was a habit that Granny picked up from her time in Strasbourg.

Talking about the dining room reminded **ADC** of the portrait of Ella, who was dressed in black – ((JAC) has this portrait) **ADC** mentioned that there was another picture of a woman who was dressed in white with a similar backdrop, distance view (??Ella's sister-in-law)... However this picture was put into storage after the family left Ropley, by a firm in Portsmouth. The firm was bombed during WWII and this picture was destroyed. The picture of Ella hung in the dining room and the picture of the lady-in-white in the drawing room at Ropley



Alice at Ropley Houes – The Stables, 2007

Appendix 17a

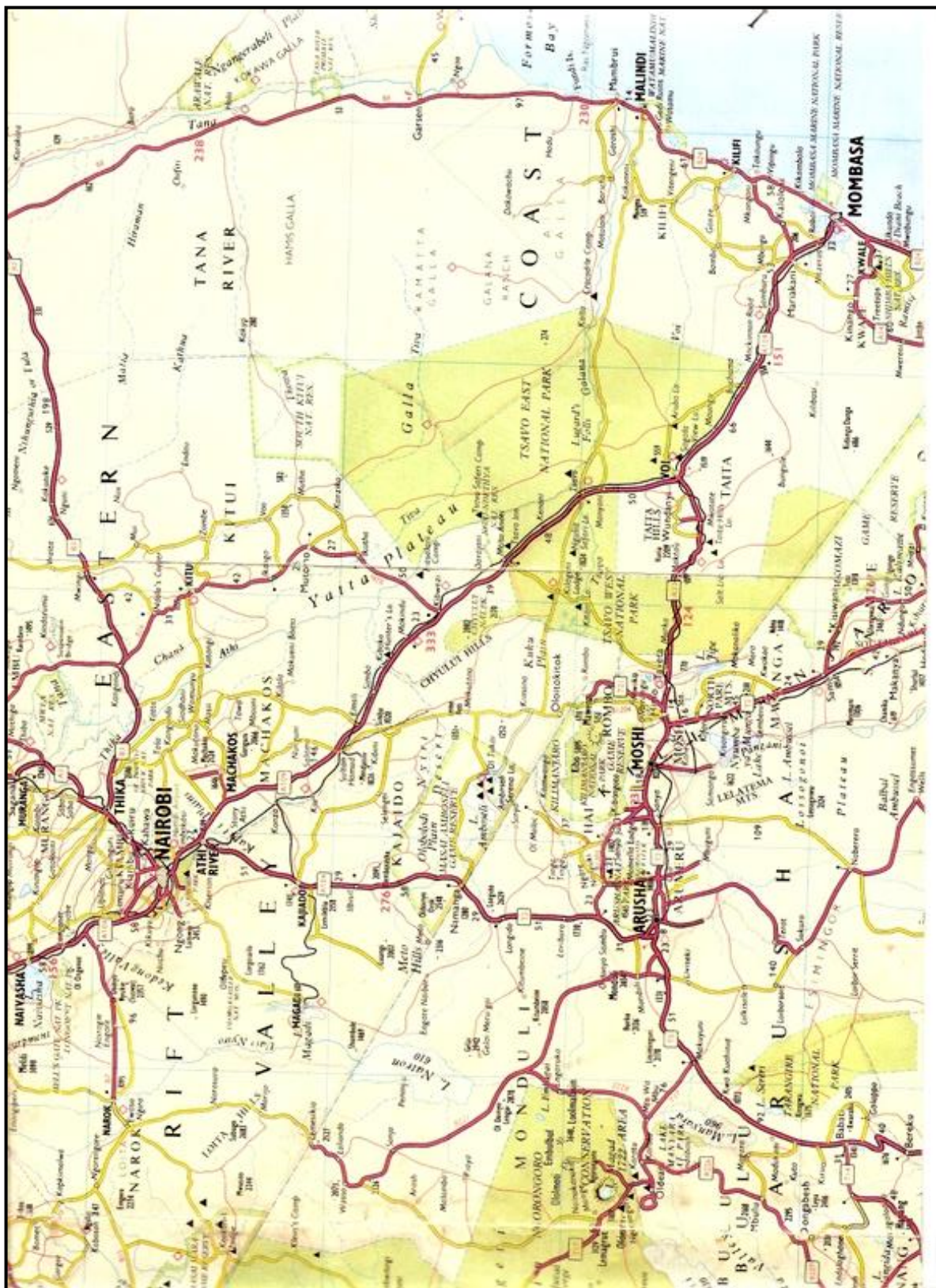
Map of Africa 1900

(Reproduced with permission of Probert Encyclopaedia)

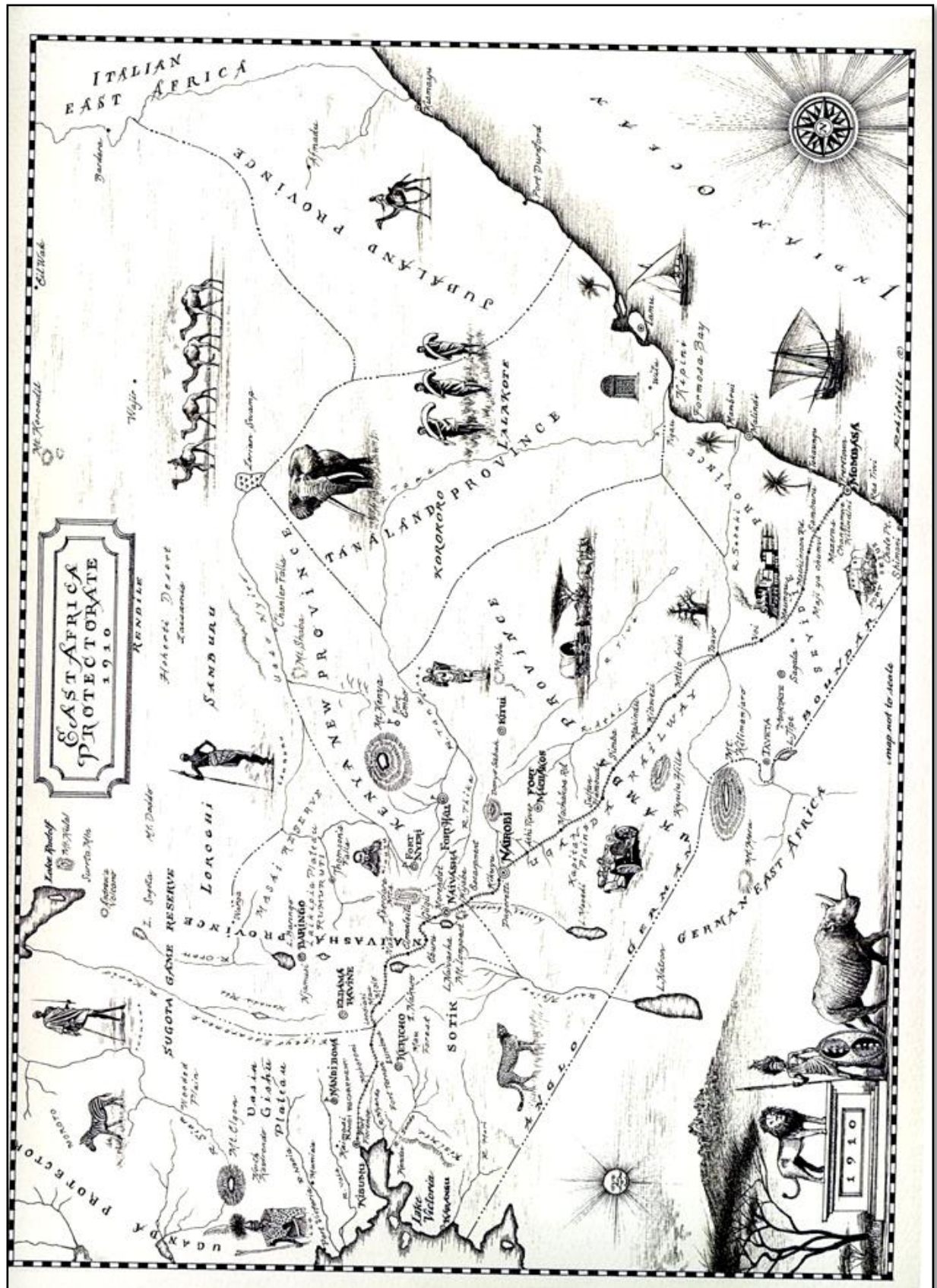


Appendix 17b

Map of Kenya showing places travelled by DBW in 1899



A 1910 Map of Kenya showing the Railway line on which DBW journeyed in 1899

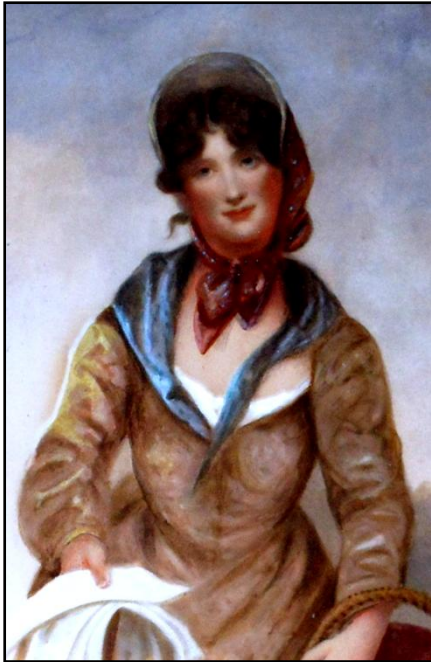


Appendix 18:

Maria Stella portraits: Observable differences between two pictures



Life-size Oil painting portrait at Glyn/Rûg –1802



JAC portrait - face & bust



Glyn/Rûg portrait - face & bust



Glyn/Rûg portrait - basket



JAC portrait - shoes & dog



Glyn/Rûg portrait - shoes & dog

Appendix 19:

Module outline and instructions for HEM 80,

Module outline and instructions for HEM 80

Continuing Professional Development through Critical Reflection (CPD/CR)

University of Brighton

School of Health Professions

Independent Practice Course

Learning Outcomes:

On successful completion of the module participants will be able to:

- Critically evaluate the purpose of reflection and its contribution to lifelong learning and continuing professional development.
- Implement a suitable model of reflection that will enable them to reflect on and critically evaluate their practice.
- Demonstrate self-awareness in critically evaluating tacit knowledge, integrating new understanding and reflecting on how their learning has developed their own practice and will impact on their future professional development
- Critically evaluate the cultural and historical foundations of both personal and professional experiences.
- Position the learning event(s) in the broader context of the clinical/service environment and comment on the influence of social, political and professional perspectives, including ethical and legal issues.
- Engage in critically reflective discussion during e learning activities.
- Assimilate ongoing theory and practice to underpin their commitment to lifelong learning.

This is the first module in the MSc in Independent Practice

The 7 hour Induction to the Course will have created activities designed to develop skills necessary for online learning required in CPD/CR

E.g

- Students will develop their own Ground Rules around established expectations provided by the course leader. This will be posted and further negotiated via the media of a Wiki
- A blog will be established where students will be asked to post their opinions based on a critical appraisal of an article

The CPD/CR module requires the students to complete **200 hours** of self-directed and guided learning.

The activities undertaken will be broken down into week to week units, but student learning is an iterative process, therefore not all students will go at the same pace and some will need to return to previous activities to reinforce learning. This may be done, as material can be posted on blogs or wikis at anytime so that it is available for all students and can be revisited at any time during the module.

Schedule for Activities:

Week 1 **Exploring your Reflective Practice Skills**

Task 1

Write a 500 word essay on a critical incident that has recently occurred, using any known format of reflection. Post this on your personal blog.

Task 2

Complete an individual needs analysis on Reflective Practice and share a summary of (no more than 100 words) your strengths (what you found easy to do and why) and challenges (What skills you need to develop) on the communal wiki. (Can use CSP SWOT analysis to help)
Compile a list of what peers can help you with in your challenges in the future

Week 2 & 3

Finding Information

Task 1

Watch the PPP on Reflective Practice.

[https://interact.brighton.ac.uk/CRS/critical_reflection_MSC_independent_practice_module_-_Web_\(800x600\)_-20100505_06.56.50PM.html](https://interact.brighton.ac.uk/CRS/critical_reflection_MSC_independent_practice_module_-_Web_(800x600)_-20100505_06.56.50PM.html)

Task 2

Read chapter 1 of

Cross V. Moore A. Morris J. Caladine L. Hilton R. and Bristow H. (2006) *The Practice Based Educator: a reflective tool for CPD and accreditation*. Chichester, John Wiley and Sons. p.1-14.

(can be obtained on Amazon £24.24 - or from your city, hospital or university library

or attached in scanned form on separate section of this Additional Learning Materials page)

Set up a wiki to discuss your responses, questions, concerns about the material you have seen

Task 3

Find an article on the *benefits* of Reflective Practice. Share your findings on the wiki

Find a minimum of 3 *models or approaches to Reflective Practice* and share on the wiki. Compare and contrast your models with those of others posted on the wiki

Optional Additional Reading:

Moon J (2001) pdp Working paper 4. *Reflection in higher Education Learning*. LTSN Generic Centre.

[Click here](#) to obtain There is an exercise that you might like to undertake, if you do read the Moon article. [Exercise for Moon \(2001\) article](#)

Also Jane Mentioned

Bradbury-Jones et al (2009) A new way of reflecting in nursing: the Peshkin Approach. *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 65 (11) 2485-2493

Clouder L (2002) Reflective Practice : realising its potential. *Physiotherapy* 86(10)517-522.

Week 4 & 5

Exploring Professional Guidelines

Read:

French, HP and Dowds, J (2008) An overview of Continuing Professional Development in physiotherapy. *Physiotherapy*. 94. p.190- 197.

Make comments on the wiki about the quality of the review (can you trust it's outcomes/claims?)

Would you agree with its claims? – Debate this on the wiki

What if any experiences do you have that are similar/different to the report?

Task 2

Log onto the CSP web site and complete the exercises attached in Key Information or [click here](#)

Log onto the HPC website and look at the HPC requirements for CPD. Complete the attached exercise with your colleagues on the wiki ([HPC exercise](#))

Find at least one other relevant professional group's guidelines or government edicts or and compare with CSP guidelines. Prepare a short critique and post on wiki

Optional Additional Task

Task 3

[Click here](#) for a reference list on Reflective Practice – over the next few weeks you might access some of the literature and comment about the usefulness of the articles on the wiki (critique the literature). Can you supplement the reference list with other useful articles you have found?

Optional Additional Reading:

Department of Health (2003) *Allied health professions project: Demonstrating competence through continuing professional development [CPD]*. Leeds.

Available at:

http://www.dh.gov.uk/en/Consultations/Closedconsultations/DH_4071458 (last accessed 7 May 2010)

Read and comment on results observed in report

Week 6

Preparation for summative assignment

Create an outline of your significant incident that you will use for your summative assessment. Submit on your personal blog for approval by your tutor/course team

Review the different approaches to critical reflection and identify an approach or model you will use.

Week 7

Work on the description of events

Explore the emotional responses to the situation (personal and others views)
Identify themes

Week 8

Critical Reflection of the Situation

Think about the situation from your point of view, exploring your personal and professional past that contributed to your actions and response in the situation
Think about the situation from the point of view of other people involved in the situation

Review the literature to understand the situation better

Week 9

Future

Draw up a new perspective on the situation and develop ideas for change in future practice

Week 10

Submit summative assignment- to be completed by 6th September 2010

Review your personal blog over the entire module

Review your contribution to the group wiki

Review your Reflective Account

Write a 2,000 word report on your learning, mapping blog to the module learning outcomes and using evidence from the literature

Assessment:

Participants will be expected to keep a personal blog. The assessment of this blog and their contribution to the group blog will contribute 50% towards the module mark.

Participants will submit a 2000 word report on their personal blog. They will map their blog to the module learning outcomes using evidence from the literature. This will contribute 50% towards the module mark.

Participants will be required to pass both components of the assessment.

Initial Announcement

I'm excited - I hope you are too?! I love beginnings, and this is the first module in a brand new course so what could be better?!

I hope over the next 10 weeks you will learn a lot about Critical Reflection. If you don't then I have misjudged your entry level ability, or the educative process you will undertake is not quite right. Being the first cohort through the module you might experience 'teething problems' - (not to be confused with a discomfort that *always* occurs with deep level learning!) Please keep me informed, via your wiki or personal blog of the joys, challenges and rewards you are experiencing. It is important that you make known any difficulties as we go along, as they may be able to be rectified. You will of course be asked to give overall feedback at the end of the module. This is valuable to us so that we can tweak things for the next lot of participants.

Reflection is all about you and how you conduct your professional practice, so I expect a lot of references to you as individuals and a lot of use of the word 'I' (contrary to 'academic writing') In your assessment you will need to be judicious about how much you use 'I' as it is your first academic exercise and the assignment asks you to make objective comments about your learning through the module. It may take a little time to get the balance right, but to start with I want you to really dig deep and monitor your experience/reaction to the tasks (either privately or in your personal blog) then as you get comfortable with that, I hope you will be able to share some of your feelings with your peers on the wikis.

In addition to your 'on line blog' which is completely private to you and your tutor (who is me at this point in time, because you are a small cohort), what I would encourage you to do is to keep a reflective journal through the 10 weeks. It doesn't have to be written in every day but in it you can keep your private reflections from which you can draw secondary, less vulnerable, comments for your private blog – or go so far as to post your insights on the wiki.

The reason I encourage you to keep this personal journal is that life is lived forwards, but experienced or understood backwards (the whole point of reflection!). Something that occurs or you feel today may seemingly not be of any significance, but given something that happens, or some insight in the future, it may be critically relevant. It is better to record the event at the time, than to rely on hindsight and memory, when the significance eventually emerges.

Well, what a welcome! –From the module outline that I have 'Camtaised' for you, you will see that the module is broken down into weekly or biweekly tasks. These will become available to you on the Friday preceding at 4pm. Please get in touch with me if you have any concerns or questions. I shall enjoy monitoring your work and I wish you well with your explorations.

All the best, Judith

Appendix 20

Student Reactions to learning –

HEM 80 Continuing Professional Development through Critical Reflection

https://studentcentral.brighton.ac.uk/webapps/lobj-wiki- Week_8_hermeneutics"

last edited by *Student* on Wednesday, 06/30/2010 9:23 PM

Week 8 –Critical reflection on the situation

I looked up the definition of "hermeneutics" and found it to be the study of interpretation. Linda Finlay analysed at levels most of would not attempt and questioned the way we are conditioned to interpret things.

She was not content with just recording and analysing her reflections but studying how she interpreted the findings.

From reading her musings it sounded like she was very confused about how to base her analyses until she learnt about existential-phenomenological literature (Heidegger 1962, Gadamer 1989, Sartre 1969). She 'found with relief we are all embedded in our social world'. She described how she 'managed to 'move back and forth in a kind of interactive dialectic experience'.

In simpler language I guess this can be an explanation of how a group of people can describe a collective experience quite differently. Each person has their own description and learning experience as everyone has historically different experiences and considers things at different levels.

Written by Judith Chapman 07/01/2010 09.34 am

Well done *student name*. You are taking this exploration of Critical Reflection up to another level! Linda Findlay (OT) did her PhD studies in Philosophy and its relationship to Clinical Reasoning and Critical Reflection! She runs Master Classes for health professionals in this area. I've attended one and found myself severely wanting in the academic background! Never the less, we can indeed get a lot out of her musing and challenges.

I am so delighted that you have made this discovery about the social context and the need for narrative and dialogue to form our interpretations about ourselves. You made a really important point about each of us viewing situations differently because of our different backgrounds, experiences, values, genetics etc. This is why Critical Reflection is so important to the therapeutic or professional practice that we provide. Each of us,

however intimate or likeminded, views every situation differently because of our history - and learning how others view a critical circumstance really expands our ability to be compassionate, moral, ethical beings.

May I add one more concept? That is the dimension of time. As you all have already identified, when you look back over the past 9 weeks of learning, what you know now is different from what you knew then. How you are as a person has changed. Your identity and knowledge of yourself is different. This is an accelerated version of what happens on a daily basis.

Time is a dimension of a lived life. It makes what happens to each of us elusive. As you are living you don't know, at any given point in time, what is significant. It is usually only retrospectively that you recognise the importance of an instance. And the importance (or not) of that instance changes over time as we add new experiences and thoughts to our understanding.

In the concept of time there is the past, the present and the future. It doesn't mean that we don't plan for something significant. For in living our life (present) we reflect on the past to make plans for the future. But in every minute we live we change our perception of what we are and how we fit into the socio-historical context in which we find ourselves. And if, like you are doing in this module, you recount your life and critical incidents in writing (or dialogue/discussion/conversation) you change your perception of what meaning that has for you. So, as Linda and others are saying, - and this is a mouthful... - present experiences are influenced by prior understanding of the past, and anticipation of the future influences both the experience of the present and interpretations of the past. So every time you reflect on a situation you may come to a different conclusion. And that accounts for the recognition that we need to also look at the factors that are influencing the interpretations that we are making in our critical reflection at any one point in time...

At this time I don't suggest you read Ricoeur, MacIntyre or Erben, but they are the people who have formed my thinking in this area. I just wanted to flag up their names in case you hear or want to explore their work in the future.

You have obviously hit on something that is dear to my heart, Dianne. I hope you understand what I am trying to say, but I am not a seasoned writer! Perhaps you could flag up for your peers the reference that you were using for Linda Findlay's work, in case they want to refer to this in the way that you have experienced.

