MAKING 'GOOD AUSTRALIANS': THE WORK OF THREE SOUTH AUSTRALIAN EDUCATORS

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CONTENTS

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SUMMARY

This thesis began in response to two questions. What were children in South Australian state primary schools taught about Australia and themselves? In particular, when were they helped to understand that Australia was their country and that they were part of an Australian nation? Preliminary work further refined the questions. Why was it not until 1906 that the South Australian Education Department made a concerted effort to adapt the essentially English curriculum to Australian circumstances, so helping children to make Australia central to their ideas of country and nation? What does this indicate about the nature of the patriotism and nationalism experienced by Australians, a subject of considerable debate among historians?

As the Introduction explains, investigation of these questions draws on three inter-related areas of research: the history of education, Australian history and Australian historiography. The first serves to focus on the curriculum of schools, the text books used (especially for History) and educational ideas generally. But to understand how and why educators used all these to mould children's ideas of patriotism and nationalism, one needs the wider background of the other two areas, Australian history and historiography. They reveal both what was the experience of Australians and how that experience was interpreted by historians. Historians' interpretations especially were then translated by educators and writers of school text books for children, so completing the cycle.

Chapter I shows that educators from 1852 recognized the problem of how to adapt an English curriculum to Australian circumstances but were uncertain in their response. Thus, whereas adaptation was made in Geography, this was not found possible in History, Reading and Special Lessons. In the opinion of John Hartley, Inspector-General in the 1880s, there was no Australian history; neither was there an Australian nation. In this he was influenced not only by his perception of Australians at the time, but also by the views of current historians and writers, especially of Charles Dilke in his book Greater Britain: Australians, however modified, were still essentially Englishmen or, perhaps more accurately, Greater Britons. Thus, Hartley believed, children should be taught that while their country was South Australia, they themselves were citizens of Greater Britain.

Chapters II, III and IV are the most important in the thesis. They examine the innovative efforts in nation building of three reformers, George Henderson, Alfred Williams and Bertie Roach, to make Australia central to the curriculum in schools from 1902 to 1913. Children were to be taught that their country was Australia and that they belonged primarily to an Australian nation. They were to be 'good Australians'. Through this, they argued, children would learn to appreciate the Empire to which they also belonged; they would become Imperial patriots. While these efforts reflected all kinds of changes taking place in the lives of Australians, they also reflected the changing interpretations of historians: of Henderson himself in his writing and teaching; and more particularly of Richard Jebb in his book Studies in Colonial Nationalism.

Finally, Chapter V outlines and explains the fate of the reformers'

efforts in the period from 1914 to 1939. Their work had promised so much. Yet, within a few years, it was eclipsed by their successors' uncertain attitude towards Australia and their insistence that the British Empire should be the focal point of the curriculum and school life generally. Thus, the kind of patriotism and nationalism encouraged in schools was essentially British-based - a stagnant rather than innovative approach. This reflected the way in which World War I strengthened rather than weakened the Imperial sentiment of many South Australians. The emergence of the League of Nations, and, more particularly, its failure, had a similar effect. Australian patriotism and nationalism were seen as narrow and parochial. By contrast, feelings centred on the Empire appeared to be more international; they promised to lead to a more certain kind of security than that offered by the League. All this was seen in the work of historians W.K. Hancock and G.V. Portus.

The Conclusion is a reminder of how striking were the achievements of Henderson, Williams and Roach from 1902 to 1913 when seen in the context of the broader period. But further, the study of these and other educators shows how important the curriculum, especially History, has been in shaping Australian children's understanding of country and nation. It also indicates that the feelings encouraged in schools reflected, through the work of historians, the feelings held by Australians in the wider society. In this way it is possible to gain greater insight into Australians' understanding of patriotism and nationalism.

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

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Many organizations gave me access to their records and to them I am grateful: the University of Adelaide, the Education Department, the Australian Natives' Association, the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (SA), the Mecklenburgisches Kirchenbuchamt, Schwerin, DDR, the Australian Labor Party (South Australia), and the United Trades and Labour Council of SA. The staffs of several libraries were particularly helpful: the Barr Smith Library, University of Adelaide, the State Library of South Australia, the Mitchell Library, Sydney, the Fisher Library, University of Sydney and the State Library of Victoria.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANA	Australian Natives' Association
CH	Children's Hour
EG	Education Gazette
RGSA (SA)	Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (South Australian Branch)
RS of SA	Royal Society of South Australia
SAA	South Australian Archives
SAPD	South Australian Parliamentary Debates
SAPP	South Australian Parliamentary Papers
SAP(S)TU	South Australian Public (School) Teachers' Union

ILLUSTRATIONS

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INTRODUCTION

> The demand is sometimes made that we should teach specially Australian history, because we live in Australia. To me this seems to be a mistake ....
>
> J.A. Hartley, Inspector-General, 1885.
>
> ... because ... we live in Australia ... schools should ... ensure familiarity with the Australian environment, institutions and heritage.
>
> Curriculum Directorate, 1980.[1]

This change in attitude of the Education Department in South Australia from 1885 to 1980 could hardly be more marked. The extent to which children should be made aware of their Australian circumstances had been a matter of debate since the 1850s. At least by 1980, the Department showed a determination to firmly ground the curriculum in Australia.

Such a change in attitude prompts a series of questions. Was this the first time the Department showed this kind of determination? Had there been earlier moves to Australianize the curriculum, moves which had lapsed? If so, why? Who in the Department or wider society has been concerned with this aspect of education and what has been their motivation? How did innovators and others conceive of an entity called 'Australia' and how did they perceive its people? Were innovations sudden, gradual or syncopated? Did they permeate the whole curriculum or only particular subject areas? Behind such issues lay the fundamental query of what kind of concepts were children given of South Australia, Australia and themselves.

Researching such questions should reveal much about the wider society in South Australia as well as its schools. For what was taught to children was what the leaders of society thought they should know. Selleck makes the point very clearly in his study of the New Education at the turn of the century:

> One comes to an understanding of an age in many ways, by studying its politics, its philosophy, its economics, its music, its architecture, its literature. For the most part, historians have not attended closely to its educational thought. But is it not reasonable to expect that the education which one generation prepares for its children will tell us something of its secret hopes? 2

His point, although a general one, has obvious implications for the way children were taught to relate to their land and people.

Newsom, in introducing a study of how one generation moulded the next through History text books, was a little more specific:

> The study of opinions and ideas in children's literature is an important, but until recently neglected, branch of educational research. It is partly by historical surveys of the traditions of society as passed on to the young that we may judge how these traditions came to be selected and the extent of their effect upon the national consciousness. 3

The most useful research about the way in which children were taught to think and feel about country and nation has stemmed from an examination of two particular aspects of the curriculum: the text books used and the History taught in schools. Work of this kind is being done in Europe, Canada, the United States and Australasia. The most interesting, at least in terms of this enquiry, has been occurring on the Continent and in the United States. It has been tracing the shaping of children's concepts of 'nation' - their own and others.

On the Continent, research has taken two complementary directions: on the one hand, historians have become increasingly concerned at the way in which children's concepts of nation have been distorted by History texts and are seeking to make these books less nationalistic, more neutral in approach; on the other hand, they have been pressing for the writing of European and international text books rather than national ones for use in schools.[4] This reflects their response to the excesses of the two world wars and to the movement towards integration in Europe.

In the United States, research has centred more on the image children were given of the American nation.[5] One study in particular by Ruth Elson shows how quite early in American history, writers of school books deliberately sought to foster in American children an awareness of their 'American' nation. School books became 'guardians of tradition', at least

> ... guardians of what their authors consider-[ed] ... national ideals to be. In defining proper attitudes and behaviour for American youth they spell[ed] out the ideals seen by their authors as those of American nationality . ... [they, the authors] clearly saw nationalism, not necessarily of a chauvinistic sort, but love of the American nation, as a primary value to be developed in youth. 6

Nationalism and its promotion by school books, in this context, is seen in a more positive light by Elson than by European historians. As she points out:

> By defining what they consider American, these schoolbooks perform a function required in few other societies. To be English, French, or German is usually taken for granted, but Americans have always worried about what 'Americanness' is and whether they have it. 7

Perhaps it is, as one European remarked, '... that nationality

and nationalism seems to be most prized by those nations which have had least of it'. Certainly Elson would agree from her research in the United States. The comment would appear to be equally appropriate to Australians. The European went on:

> Nations which have recently been oppressed or even only ignored, pursue their national ideals with avidity. The old-established nation-States are more aware that nationalism has its pitfalls as well as its advantages. 8

Overseas research, then, works on the assumption of the powerful influence text books had and have in forming children's sense of nationalism. So too does this investigation.

In Australia, there have been two important studies centred on the books used and the History taught in schools, but they have been more specific than those from overseas. One by Firth is primarily concerned with the way in which state and Catholic schools in New South Wales used different text books to project quite different social values from 1880 to 1914.[9] The other, by Trethewey, traces the changing social purposes behind the teaching of History in Victorian State schools.[10]

Both in their own way were pioneering efforts, and both, concerned as they were with social values and purposes, inevitably touched on the issue of patriotism and nationalism. Yet neither attempted to analyse seriously the changing Australian and British components of the patriotism and nationalism promoted in schools. Neither traced the strengthening feeling for Australia and the growing identification with Australia. Such profound issues cannot be examined in a cursory fashion since they are basic to our understanding of Australian society and its history.

Firth, for example, simply concluded, using the words of the influential Commonwealth School Paper in 1914, that

> ... there were two patriotisms which the children were to hold: 'patriotism which is concerned solely with the country in which we live' and 'that wider patriotism which embraces the whole Empire'. This notion of two loyalties, one to Australia and the other to the Empire, was familiar. Britain was the mother, the colonies her sons; the Empire, tied together by these bonds of loyalty, was properly called 'Greater Britain'. 11

References by Trethewey are even more fleeting. He writes of History being used 'to develop in children a lively patriotic spirit' and after 1902 to encourage 'a vital patriotism among children' without examining more closely the nature of, and more particularly, the changes in that patriotism.[12]

Perhaps this is understandable in Firth's study which examines the rather short period 1880-1914. Even so, quite important changes were taking place. Trethewey takes the much wider sweep of 1852-1954 when still greater changes occurred. Nevertheless, it would seem that in any study of changing social values or of the purposes behind the teaching of history, an analysis of the ideas given to children regarding Australia and its people would be essential. This, then, is the major theme of this thesis.

In the last two decades, Australian historians generally have begun to give serious attention to tracing the development of a sense of both patriotism and nationalism, that is, a feeling for country and for nation, in Australia.[13] In the past, such issues were either neglected or at best were handled rather gingerly by historians unwilling to differentiate between patriotism and nationalism and to unravel the complex set of feelings Australians had for their colony, for Australia, for Britain and the Empire.

Hancock, for example, dealt with them by simply saying that Australians were 'Independent Australian Britons' who were 'in love with two soils'.[14] It was Blackton, who, from the mid 1950s, began to analyse some of the complexities of Australian nationalism. His work brought attention 'to the role of native movements and forces and the developments, largely domestic and internal which transferred the leadership of Australian nationalism from the radical egalitarian movements to the nativist, democratic middle class'.[15]

This promising development was then overtaken by Ward's stimulating but nevertheless misleading 'Australian Legend'. By arguing that 'the values and attitudes of the nomad tribe were embalmed in a national myth', that this 'upcountry ethos became the core of the national outlook', Ward dismissed Blackton's 'nativist, democratic middle-class'.[16] His judgement was based on quite limited evidence. Yet such was the influence of his book that it diverted historians' attention away from the majority of Australians living in the cities and the mixture of feelings they experienced concerning what it was to be Australian.

It was not until subsequent historians took an interest in cities and their bourgeoisie that they began looking more closely at earlier ideas. Such interest, as Tim Rowse's stimulating study Australian Liberalism and National Character shows, was a recognition of the 'continuing intellectual tradition which was so obviously part of a wider Anglo-American culture, respectable but hardly distinctive'.[17] Thus, whereas Ward had pursued Hancock's strand of egalitarianism, nationalism and the Labor Party into the bush,

historians such as Clark and Inglis, came to believe the Australian-British dichotomy and the modification of European ideas in a new land were more promising.[18]

Such redirection of the historical debate was supported by an explosion of complementary studies. Some, like those of Reynolds and Shortus, showed the importance of 'parochial traditions', that is those springing from attachment to the immediate locality, or to one colony and the way in which these could lead to much broader ties.[19] Others were concerned with the broader ties themselves.[20] Definition of these ties of nationalism and imperialism in the Australian context was difficult, as was so ably pointed out by Cole.[21] Yet he and others are successfully unravelling these interwoven themes: Clark, especially in the latest volume of his History of Australia introduced by the obvious symbolism of Parkes and Lawson on the frontispiece; Inglis, with his analysis of the holidays the people of Australia celebrated; and French, in his work on Empire Day and what it symbolized for Australians.[22]

One of the most interesting directions these studies have taken is that which shows how historians shape Australians' sense of nationalism, both in the past and present. Roe, for example, argues that 'nationalism is an ideological creation' of historians and that their 'ideological commitment to nationalism ... determined [their] ... choice of what part of the Australian reality they mused upon'.[23] Pascoe made a similar comment in his review of Australian historiography:

> ... a nation's concept of itself is fashioned not only by the myths, traditions and stereotypes of popular culture but by its historians' selective interpretations of past events. 24

Munz went a step further in holding historians responsible for Australians' limited sense of nationalism: '... historians ... have failed to establish national consciousness and have instead reinforced in us our awareness of colonialism'.[25]

These recent developments raise some important questions for this enquiry. What role did historians play in moulding children's ideas of patriotism and nationalism? To what extent did their understanding of Australian history influence what was taught to children about country and nation in the Australian context? How closely involved were historians in the writing of the curriculum for state schools?

It would seem, particularly from the point made by Munz, that historians failed to help successive generations of school children come to terms with their national identity. Certainly some geographers and environmental historians like Powell and Seddon perceived that failure in examining Australians' relationship with the land.[26] Seddon, from his own research on Australians' changing perceptions of their environment, concluded: '... we are still, by and large, aliens in an alien land'.[27] He went on:

> Australians are still learning to see where it is they live. The imaginative apprehension of a continent is as much a pioneering enterprise as breaking the clod. 28

Those responsible for this situation were, he argued, the historians, who 'in the past have tended to follow a long way after the artists and creative writers in meditating upon the relationship between man and the environment in this country'.[29]

Harsh as this judgement may seem on historians, it is not really surprising. The artists, even writers who, in the nineteenth

century, sought to interpret the Australian environment and its people had to come to terms with the essential differences of that environment. Historians, however, were not forced to make the same kind of adjustment. Being more concerned with people than with landscape, historians were more likely to see similarities than differences between people in Australia and the population in Britain from which they had come. For much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the 'Australian' history written was really British history. By writing in this way, historians were simply reflecting a widely held assumption among people in Australia. In turn, this was the view passed on to children through schools. Thus, most likely, children were encouraged to develop feelings of patriotism and nationalism, but they were British-based. While that will not satisfy either Munz or Seddon, it reflects the social reality of the time.

This, then, is the basic concern of my investigation. Through an analysis of the text books and readers used in schools and the instructions issued to teachers, there is much that can be learned about how children were taught to relate to Australia and its people. In this, an examination of the kind of History taught will be particularly useful since it shapes so directly ideas of country and nation. Immediately this involves a consideration of the role of the historian and through him, the wider society. In this way, it should be possible to gain a more accurate idea of the nature of patriotism and nationalism felt by Australians. After all, 'there is probably no better place than a schoolroom to judge the character of a people, or to find an explanation of their national peculiarities'.[30]

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PART I UNCERTAINTY 1852-1901: COLONIALS OR GREATER BRITONS?

South Australian educators perceived one of many basic problems from the early 1850s: how to adapt a curriculum which had been brought out from England to quite a different environment in South Australia? Their response was an uncertain one.

Potentially, these immigrants had considerable resources to deal with such a problem. As Pike so ably pointed out:

> ... it was their particular concern for particular liberties that distinguished them from other immigrants, governed their choice and their character, and inspired their special experiment in colonisation: to let the particular shortcomings of liberty in England determine the particular guarantees of liberty in South Australia. 1

Such immigrants, one would think, would welcome their new environment in all its variety because of the possibilities it allowed for creating a different and better society than the one they had left in England. Conscious of their own mission, these immigrants would very likely be closely interested in their children's education, especially in the way it shaped their attitudes to the new environment and their place in it.

Yet, there was no concerted attempt to adapt the curriculum to the new environment until the 1870s. Even then, only in one area, Geography, was this successfully done. In the other more sensitive areas of History, Reading and Special Lessons, the attempt was begun but not carried through. Indeed, in History, the introduction of South Australian history was, within just a few years, rejected altogether, and the course reverted once more to English history.

John Hartley, who made the attempt, clearly thought that teaching children the geography of their local, South Australia and Australian environment was soundly based on 'the natural method' of beginning with the child in his immediate situation. It was also a practical necessity. In History, however, he faced a dilemma. On the one hand, he believed that the same method required that 'South Australian' and 'Australian' history be taught. On the other hand, he was not convinced that there was such history: Australia was not a country in its own right; nor was there an Australian nation.

In this, his views were similar to those of Charles Dilke, the English writer.[2] Dilke, as an observer of life in the Australian colonies, noted signs of an emerging Australian nation, quite distinct from the English stock from which it had sprung. But such signs were far outweighed by others which indicated that whatever modification was taking place, in essence the race was one. In his view, transplanted Englishmen around the world were forming a 'Greater Britain'. This 'nation', not an Australian one, was what Dilke found so striking. Other writers and historians in the various Australian colonies made similar assumptions. Such an emphasis in historiography would have confirmed in Hartley's mind the essentially colonial stage of the Australian people.

Thus, Hartley concluded, since the people and therefore the history of South Australia and Australia were essentially English, it would be a mistake to teach their children otherwise. On this basis, the children were taught that while their country was South Australia, they themselves were citizens of Great Britain.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM IS RECOGNIZED: JOHN HARTLEY'S DILEMMA

The response of early educators

At first, few educators recognized the need to adapt the curriculum to its South Australian environment. The teachers who were licensed by the Central Board of Education to teach in state-supported schools following the Education Act of 1852 were required by regulation to teach simply 'Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Grammar, Geography and History'.[1] The emphasis was very much on the first three. The details of all subjects were defined only by the lesson books approved for use in schools. There were three such sets of books but the cheapest and one most commonly used was that prescribed by British administrators for use in Ireland, the 'Irish Readers'.[2] For years then, right up to the 1870s, teaching proceeded on this basis.

The Board, however, while it accepted that an 'English education' was the aim of its schools, also recognized that the process of adapt ing the curriculum, that is the text books, to South Australian conditions, must begin. It sponsored a book written by its Secretary, E.W.Wickes, specifically for 'Families and Schools in the Australian Colonies' in 1856.[3] Essentially a first primer or 'Mother's Catechism', the book comprised 'all the information usually found in similar compilations, with such transpositions or alterations as are required by our geographical position, and some of the leading facts which appertain especially to Australasia'.[4] It appeared to include almost everything: 'the rudiments of the Christian religion - the religion of the Bible, without the slightest tinge of sectarianism; arithmetic, grammar, geography, history, natural history, geometry, optics, geology,

and various other sciences, besides those miscellaneous scraps of knowledge which have lately been grouped under the name of "common things"'.[5]

Wickes, in writing the book, was clearly influenced by James Bonwick, that enterprising and perceptive school teacher of Tasmania, South Australia and Victoria, who had already written several school books 'for young Australians'. Two of these were introductory books on geography (including that of Australasia) but they were followed in 1855 by one entirely concerned with Australia and New Zealand. Bonwick himself commented enthusiastically that he had 'endeavoured to furnish intelligence of this wonderful part of the globe, to impart to Australian youth a knowledge of their own home, and, in some humble manner, to open up a new path for the student of history and science'.[6] Two years later, he completed 'the first school book on Australian history ever written', a task which was not to be attempted again in Australia until 1877.[7] Thus Wickes had an example of some stature to follow. What Bonwick had done for Geography, he would do for the Catechism.

It might be thought, from Wickes' preface to his book, that he had in mind quite an extensive revision of the English Catechism: 'Our local position as inhabitants of an opposite hemisphere, involving numerous differences of relation and circumstance, renders the best English publication ... when adopted by us, in many respects defective or redundant, inappropriate or untrue'. To what extent was he aware of South Australians' 'Paradise of Dissent'? Would he make a point of establishing and explaining its differences? In the body of the book, however, this kind of revision did not occur. Clearly there were difficulties involved.

Of particular interest on this point, are the book's lessons on country and nation. These lessons, conducted in question and answer

fashion, must have confused as much as enlightened children. 'Country', for example, was first defined as 'an extent of land generally bound by the sea, rivers, or mountains, and mostly inhabited by a people of the same race or nation, and having the same government, language, and usages'.[8] Children were then asked, 'In what country do you live?' and were told 'South Australia'. Yet its boundaries were not natural, and its people did not form a distinct nation. Further confusion on this point occurred in the answer to the question 'What portions of history are most necessary to be known?': 'First, sacred history, the history of one's own country, and then the histories of Greece and Rome'.[9] But here, which country was 'one's own' was not made clear.

Despite these difficulties, the book sold well. Its appearance was welcomed by the Register, one of two daily papers in Adelaide, which pointed out that while most of the school books used in England were equally serviceable in South Australia, such was not the case with those concerned with Geography and the Catechism.[10] However, although both Wickes' and Bonwick's books were used in Board schools, the Irish Readers predominated. The Board's annual report for 1870 showed this uneasy compromise:

> ... although some of the lessons contained in them are not altogether suitable for children living in a country different in some of its physical features, climate, and productions from Great Britain and Ireland, yet it would be no easy matter to find, upon the whole, a more useful series. 11

The last word would seem to be the important one since the series served all classes from I to IV.

The Board's hesitation in seeking a series more suited to South Australian circumstances requires some explanation. Firstly, concern for the curriculum was overshadowed by more political considerations, that

is, whether and to what extent and under what conditions the state should provide schools and teachers. Much of the controversy centred on the issues of the place of religious teaching in non-church schools and state aid to church schools, issues which appeared to have been resolved in 1852 but were not finally settled until 1875.[12] The Education Act of 1875 confirmed the pattern of government aid and control of schools in the colony: aid was only to be given towards the salaries of teachers who had been licensed by the Central Board of Education and who taught its secular curriculum; the government was to take full responsibility for the provision of new school buildings. Thus, it was only in 1875 when the state fully accepted responsibility for the education of the majority of its children that its educators could begin to consider the curriculum more seriously, especially its adaptation to the South Australian environment.

Secondly, together with this uncertainty about the provision of schools went a low attendance of children at existing ones, hardly an incentive to curriculum reform. By 1874 the picture was a dismal one:

> In some country schools the average attendance of each child was only seventy days in a school year of 225 days. For the whole colony the average was 110 days, but 40 percent of the 54,000 children of school age were not enrolled at all. Worse still, there was no school fit to show a visitor. 13

Many politicians, including even Voluntaryists who had in the past opposed state aid to education, now became anxious about the political consequences of such miseducation, especially as manhood suffrage had been firmly established.[14] Their introduction of compulsory attendance in the act of 1875 was in part intended as a spur to members of the Central Board; not only must it ensure that all children were literate, but also it must cultivate children's intelligence. Thus it was not until 1875 that the Board had to seriously consider the precise nature

of the curriculum and its function in South Australian society.

A third reason was the basic fact that there was almost no-one sufficiently interested in the curriculum to adapt it to local conditions. The seven members of the Board (with only one exception after 1871) had no practical experience in education and took little interest in their responsibilities which were only honorary.[15] The Chief Inspector, Dr. Wyatt, who might have been expected to give a lead on such an issue, was noted during his twenty four years in the job for his conspicuous inability to produce a constructive plan for education.[16]

It was not until the appointment of John Anderson Hartley to the Board in 1871 that the Board showed any real interest in educational matters. Hartley became the exception who stimulated its activity.[17] Within three years he became its chairman and continued as its salaried president when the Board was reconstituted as a Council. Abolition of the Council in 1878 left him in complete control as Inspector-General, power which was confirmed rather than challenged by the Royal Commission on education in the early 1880s.

John Hartley's adaptation in geography

> What is known as the natural method (commencing with the child's home and school and gradually enlarging the circle of its knowledge till the whole world is embraced) was adopted here in 1876.
>
> John Hartley on the teaching of Geography, 1883 [18]

These words characterize Hartley's swift response to the problem of how to adapt the curriculum to the South Australian environment. As Chairman of the Board, he began to centre the teaching of Geography

on the immediate locality of the child and moved further out with each successive class. This was clearly evident in the regulations of 1874 for the Model School opened in the city largely due to Hartley's persistence: the first three classes were required to study 'local topography', 'outlines of South Australia' and 'Australia in outline, South Australia in detail' respectively before moving on to the geography of Europe and the world generally.[19]

Following the establishment of a state system of education after 1875, these Model School regulations were extended to all public schools with even more specific directions: the youngest pupils, for example, were to'understand a plan of the school-room and its immediate vicinity'.[20] To assist teachers in their task a text book on the geography of South Australia was written by the Principal of the Training College, L.G. Madley, as part of the Collins' school series on Australasian geography.

This was a deliberate attempt by Hartley to help children understand their immediate environment in a meaningful way. He believed such an approach was based on a sound method, 'the natural method'. Children taught in this way, he thought, would gain a more intelligent grasp of Geography. He was adamant, too, that Geography should be taught in a living way through a child's observation of the surrounding landscape and reading of maps rather than his continuous reading of bare text books.

Such a response reflected his commitment to educational reform. Foremost was his insistence that the purpose of the curriculum was to develop the intelligence of the child as well as his literacy. He feared that teachers spent far too much time drilling children in the

'Three Rs' at the expense of subjects like Geography, History and Object Lessons. Thus, in responding to complaints by teachers that cramming was necessary in order to prepare children for the annual examination, Hartley explained:

> To those who say that the teaching of the elementary branches occupies so much time that no attention can be given to higher subjects which interest pupils or develop their intelligence, I can only reply that some of the teachers who by no means get the lowest results give lessons in subjects not comprised in the scheme of examination. 21

The same insistence characterized his remarks directed at politicians who sought to cut expenditure in education, particularly during the difficult 1880s, and to limit the kind of education provided by the state. The establishment of a proper system of education he saw as an 'investment in national intelligence' and the benefits of such a system were not to be measured, he thought, 'merely by the way children could read, write and work sums'.[22] Thus, he warned those who for financial or political reasons wished to limit children's educational opportunities:

> It is too late in the world's history for us to gravely maintain that our civilization is to be based upon 'keeping down' the humbler classes; and especially are such views out of place in a community where universal suffrage is the law of the land. 23

Clearly this insistence that attention be given to general intelligence as well as literacy meant that Hartley would be promoting Geography, History and Object Lessons as much, if not more than, Reading, Writing and Arithmetic.

Allied to this aspect of reform was a second one: Hartley's belief that for the curriculum to be meaningful to the child, it must be adapted to the child's circumstances, most immediately his South Australian circumstances. Of all subjects, Geography was the most

obvious one to use in beginning the process of adaptation. Hartley's choice was a timely response to the criticism he heard from his inspectors concerning the curriculum. One of the most pointed comments concerning Geography came from Inspector Hosking in his report for 1874: 'I frequently find the mind burdened with minute details of distant lands, when to produce in outline a representation of the colony in which we live is altogether impossible'.[24] Burdening the mind with 'minute details' appeared to stem from 'the practice of making children copy page after page of their dry little text-books', a practice which Hartley condemned.[25]

Hartley's enlightened approach to the teaching of Geography continued well into the twentieth century and was in advance of that adopted in the neighbouring colony of Victoria and even in England.[26] The results were quite striking as can be seen by inspectors' reports:

> I was glad to see in some schools the common-sense plan adopted of telling the child something about his own neighbourhood ... in short the plan of leading his mind forward from the known to the unknown.
>
> In some schoolyards maps have been dug out, mountains built up, lakes hollowed out, the coast features plainly marked, and water laid on to make the courses of rivers and the position of the ocean more realistic. 27

Such results must have encouraged Hartley and others to think that what had been done for Geography could also be done for other parts of the curriculum.

His dilemma in History

> The demand is sometimes made that we should teach especially Australian history, because we live in Australia. To me this seems to be a mistake ....
>
> All that is required is to give the children a fair general outline of the course of English History ....
>
> John Hartley on the teaching of History in 1885 28

Here was Hartley's dilemma. On the one hand, he had enthusiastically adapted the teaching of Geography to South Australian conditions. Logic required that he do the same for History. After all, this subject showed even greater potential for developing the intelligence of the child and helping him to understand his surroundings. On the other hand, such a move might so lead children to identify with Australia as to weaken their ties with England.

At first in the early 1880s, Hartley appears to have been attracted to the idea of adapting History as he had Geography. Making History meaningful to the child in his South Australian context might well lead to better results in teaching the subject. That there was a desperate need for improvement is evident from one of Inspector Burgan's reports on the teaching of English history: 'The ludicrousness and indefiniteness of some of the [children's] replies would be amusing were it not that disgust is felt at the ignorance displayed'.[29] Perhaps Burgan and Hartley discussed possible reasons for such results. Besides condemning the cramming of minds with textbook details, Burgan, who always took an interest in history, very likely suggested an explanation he made in a later report: 'It is, perhaps, because we are so far removed from England that but little interest is taken in events that have not affected us personally'.[30] Thus, it must have seemed to Hartley that there was a great deal to be gained by placing History as well as Geography in a local context.

Against this background, Hartley began to experiment. At first his steps were rather cautious. The 1874 regulations which had been so significant for Geography, simply specified more precisely the requirements of teaching English history: 'The succession of kings

and queens of England' and 'The outlines of English History'.[31] Two years later the directions became broader but were still English in orientation: 'A subject to be fixed. For 1876: History of the industrial progress of the nineteenth century'.[32] Initially this might appear to encompass more than English history, but, in fact, based as it was on Collier's History of the Nineteenth Century, it was largely a history of the industrial progress of England in the nineteenth century. The book did, however, mention exploration in Australia. As the years went by this rather indefinite programme remained for history 'Until further notice'.[33]

However, all this was swept away by Hartley's bold initiative of 1881. He abruptly replaced the study of industrial progress with that of the book The Laws we Live Under written by Catherine Helen Spence at his request.[34] The book was not so much a history of South Australia as an introduction to its political and economic life in the hope that it would 'interest all the young people in South Australia in the things which promote order, goodness, and happiness.'[35] Through this book, Hartley was attempting to awaken in children an interest in their immediate historical surroundings.

Clearly his decision to take this step in the teaching of History was not made lightly. It followed years after the similar decision concerning Geography. This reluctance and the fact that the initial suggestion of Spence's book came not from Hartley but elsewhere, suggest that he was not sure that 'the natural method' would work in History as it had in Geography. But at least it should be tried.

The idea for such a book came from David Bower, Chairman of the Port Adelaide School Board of Advice, Mayor of Port Adelaide and

Member of Parliament. In 1880 he suggested to Hartley the importance of instructing young children in schools in the history and traditions of their colony, using a book which should be specifically written for that purpose.[36] As a resident of many years in the colony and as a member of the Unitarian Church, Bower had a well-established reputation for encouraging the education of the young, believing as he did 'that it was to education they had to look to enhance the social and moral well-being of the community'.[37] Thus he had given generously to three of the most important institutes in the colony at Moonta, Wallaroo and Port Adelaide and was an enthusiastic chairman of the Port Adelaide School Board.

Being so interested in education and its potential in the colonial situation, Bower was very likely aware that in Victoria a school history of Australia had been commissioned by the Minister of Education and had eventually appeared in 1877. It was against this background that Bower in 1880 suggested a South Australian book. Very probably it was also Bower who recommended as author C.H. Spence, whom he knew through the Unitarian Church.[38] All this quickened Hartley's interest in adapting History to local circumstances.

Hartley's decision that C.H. Spence should write the book was significant. Spence believed herself to be 'a colonist thoroughly' and, like the heroines of her novels, she identified closely with the colony of South Australia and its future.[39] She moved in the same intellectual circle as Hartley and must have welcomed the opportunity to communicate to the younger generation a positive view of the colony and its past. Such a view can be traced throughout the book but it is stated most clearly in the preface of the second edition. So keen an advocate

had Spence become that she was trying to reach parents as well as children:

> I have not been without hope that the child's schoolbook may be taken up by the father and mother at home, and found all the more interesting because it is not a dry text-book, but has the local colour which my long residence in South Australia, and my deep interest in her welfare has enabled me to give it. 40

Despite Spence's enthusiasm, the experiment based on the use of her book, was short-lived. Within two years it was removed from the History course and the traditional English history was reinstated. The regulations of 1885 made the change clear. They were brief and to the point: 'All that is required is to give the children a fair general outline of the course of English History ....', English History which excluded any mention of the colonization of Australia. Spence's book was relegated to 'Special Lessons' where it was used to instruct children in the duties of a citizen. One might well ask: 'Why?'

Firstly, it was widely regarded as being unsuitable for use in schools as a history book. Headmaster Alexander Clark, when asked about History in schools by members of the Select Committee established in 1881 to enquire into education, seemed to be speaking for many headmasters when he commented: 'I have no particular remarks to make ... except that the book "The Laws we Live Under" is very loosely composed, and the subject does not admit of very accurate examination.[41] Hartley himself admitted, in giving evidence to what had become a Royal Commission in 1882, that although he found the book 'exceedingly interesting to read' he thought it was not 'a good school book' since it was defective in logical method.

However, in assessing these comments, one needs to take into account the peculiar circumstances in which the book was introduced into schools. So hastily was it given to teachers early in 1881 that the necessary regulations were not published, a fact which caused some confusion in the minds of teachers.[43] As if such confusion were not enough, the book was tried for no more than two years. Given the immature state of the Course of Instruction and the limited training teachers received in History, this was hardly a fair basis for the judgement passed by teachers, headmasters and Hartley himself.

Secondly, and more importantly, Hartley was not prepared to consider seriously the idea of South Australian and Australian history, hence his impatience with Spence's book and his unwillingness to develop it. Indeed, he believed that Australians had no history apart from Britain. This was made clear in the major statement he made regarding the curriculum at the end of 1885, a crucial year for Hartley following the final report of the Royal Commission. So significant are his words in terms of the argument that they are worth quoting at some length:

> The demand is sometimes made that we should teach specially Australian history, because we live in Australia. To me this seems to be a mistake, for two reasons. In the first place our adopted country is very largely in the happy position of 'having no history'; and further it would be a great pity that we should lose our association with the glorious past of England. After all, we are citizens of the Greater Britain, and the memories of the defeat of the Armada or the taking of Quebec, should stir our pulses more than the gallant deeds of the defenders of the Ballarat Stockade. I do not forget that the records of Australian exploration are bright with stories of patient endurance and self-sacrifice; but these would find an appropriate place in connection with the geography of the country. 44

For Hartley (and indeed for inspectors and many teachers) Australia was an 'adopted country' and while he could not but recognize that

its geography was distinctively different from that of England, he was reluctant to take the same step concerning history. Obviously much more was at stake. Teaching children the geography of South Australia was a commonsense, practical necessity, but teaching the corresponding history might weaken children's 'association with the glorious past of England'. What was seen to be needed was history which would strengthen children's sense of being 'citizens of the Greater Britain' and, in Hartley's judgement, the kind of memories stimulating such a sense 'should' be British rather than Australian ones. Thus, the use of the word 'should' here, one suspects, was quite deliberate. It was what Hartley wished to be the case.

In examining further Hartley's statement that Australia had no history, it is difficult to accept that he was entirely convinced of this. When he had written that Australia was 'largely in the happy position of "having no history"', he had thought it necessary to qualify his remarks with the word 'largely' and by placing the phrase, having no history, in quotation marks. What may have been the basis for such caution?

Perhaps he was aware of the attempt by William Rusden in New South Wales in 1883 to write a history of Australia or the even more scholarly work on the period 1788 to 1808 by James Bonwick the previous year.[45] These men obviously thought there was sufficient reliable and interesting material for serious Australian historical work. Bonwick in particular had taken some pains to reassure his readers who might have felt rather prejudiced towards Australian history:

> Dark as the chronicle may be, it is highly instructive and suggestive. We have in that gloomy and often forbidding picture of humanity a means of gauging the immense social progress of the colonies. Even in the worst phases of society at that remote period we fail not to detect some bright and pleasing features, indications of that struggle between light and darkness which ultimately led to the opening day 46

Then too, there was the work of H.G. Turner and more especially the Sutherland brothers George and Alexander.[47] In writing about Australian geography, history and literature for children as well as adults, these men were constant reminders that there was much of excitement and interest in Australia and its past. Their viewpoint, arising as it did from the most wealthy and influential Australian colony in the second half of the nineteenth century, was becoming more Australian than Victorian in orientation.

However, as Hartley would have known, such a viewpoint was in direct contrast to that held by most historical writers in South Australia.[48] Their works were almost solely concerned with their own colony or province, with its distinctive origins and development. Spence's book was based very much on such an approach. It may well have stemmed from South Australians' sense of difference.

Even so, there was a group of South Australians vitally interested in Australian history, the South Australian branch of the Geographical Society of Australasia established in 1885. So strongly did its Provisional Council feel about the matter that one of its first acts was to propose that it should persuade its sister branches in Sydney and New South Wales and Victoria to include historical as well as geographical objects in their constitutions.[49] It argued that the two objects were so closely connected in the Australian colonies that

they should be pursued by one society rather than two as in Victoria where an historical society had already emerged.

Leadership on this issue came from two founding members of the South Australian branch, Thomas Gill and John Langdon Bonython. Both were influential South Australians. Gill at thirty seven was the accountant in the South Australian Treasury; a few years later he was to become the Under-Treasurer, a position he held until his retirement in 1920. But his main interest was in Australian history, and the collection of rare books, manuscripts and documents relating to it.[50]

Bonython, about the same age as Gill but unlike him, an immigrant, came from Cornwall to South Australia as a young boy in 1854. Beginning work as a junior reporter with the Advertiser in 1864, he became in a relatively short time, co-owner in 1879 and editor in 1884, making the paper the most popular in South Australia. His interest in history was in the more personal area of genealogy, but he took it very seriously. As his grandson, who lived in his house from the age of four later remarked:

> He spent all his life gathering information, and if he ever had to state truthfully his hobby, that was it. He began in 1875, aged 27, and he lived to be 91. [51]

He and Gill, then, shared an intense interest in history and their relationship was a close one. Unfortunately, little remains of Gill's papers, but a brief mention in his obituary of a treasured letter from Bonython in 1881 encouraging him in his historical writing shows how much Gill valued his friendship.[52]

Throughout the first years of the society in South Australia, these two men consistently attempted to broaden the objects of their

own and of other branches so as to stimulate interest in Australian history. Bonython warned the South Australian branch against defining its historical object too narrowly: 'The collection and publication of historical records of geographical interest, and of memoirs of notable men of Australasia', he thought, excluded 'much of historical interest which was not connected with geography'.[53] No doubt conscious of the approaching jubilee celebrating fifty years of settlement in South Australia, he also pointed out:

> The subject of local history was an important one, and if the work of collecting data were commenced at once, it would both simplify matters and prove advantageous in years to come. 54

Gill supported him by commenting on how rapidly the colony's pioneers were disappearing, making it difficult to gain information about the early days.

Although they failed to convince most of their fellow South Australian members, they continued to press their case when involved in drafting the constitution for the proposed federation of the various branches of the Geographical Society of Australasia. Their definition of historical object was:

> The collection and publication of the work and life of explorers, pioneers, and others identified with the discovery, formation or progress of Australia and the adjacent Colonies; also the collection and preservation of ethnological and historical records of colonial interest. 55

This view gained wide acceptance at the Second Interprovincial Geographical Conference in September 1887 at Adelaide. However, nothing came of it for the attempt to federate the four separate branches of the society in Australia was unsuccessful.[56]

Despite this, Gill persisted in trying to modify the objects of the South Australian branch and eventually in 1888 was rewarded with

the setting up of six committees, one of which was to pursue historical and ethnological matters. His aim in doing this, he said, was to extend 'the usefulness and popularity' of the society.[57] Clearly, some members still felt these concerns were peripheral and that in some cases, they were an unnecessary duplication of the Royal Society's interests. However, by 1890 the committees (or subsections as they were being called) were staffed: two of the three members of the historical and ethnological one were, not surprisingly, Gill and Bonython.

Hartley would have known both men well since he also was a founding member of the small and select South Australian branch of the society. No doubt he was familiar with their arguments about Australian history, but, like many others, remained unconvinced. One needs to remember his comment:

> I do not forget that the records of Australian exploration are bright with stories of patient endurance and self-sacrifice; but these would find an appropriate place in connection with the geography of the country. 58

As well, he would have known that behind Gill's understanding of Australian history lay a solid British base, as was evident in the preface of his Bibliography of South Australia:

> A Bibliography of South Australia! A colony which, fifty years ago, was a terra incognita ... a land not obtained by exciting wars or conquests by battles, but a history of conquests of wild and uncultivated regions by indomitable British pluck - a simple, peaceful history of the steady progress of British settlement. 59

Well might Hartley have asked himself: 'Was this 'Australian' history'?

The problem was, for Gill as well as other historians in Victoria and New South Wales, that there was as yet no distinctive shape to Australian history. It was either the history of one colony writ large or the sum total of the histories of the six colonies.[60]

This must have strengthened Hartley's resolve not to recognize Australian history.

Further support for this position came from the conclusions reached by the English writer Charles Dilke. After travelling through most of the English-speaking parts of the world in the late 1860s he concluded that however 'climate, soil, manners of life, ... mixture with other peoples had modified the blood, ... in essentials the race was always one'.[61] These transplanted Englishmen, in his view, were forming a 'Greater Britain'. Certainly, Australian differences were noted: 'A literature is springing up, a national character is being grafted upon the good English stock'.[62] But for him, these had not yet led to the formation of a distinct Australian nation: 'What shape the Australian mind will take is at present doubtful.[63] Australians were not yet seen to be sharing a common history, except that of the vast Anglo-Saxon Empire. This must have confirmed in Hartley's mind the essentially colonial stage of Australian historiography. Thus, children were to be taught that they were 'citizens of the Greater Britain'.

At the time Dilke was writing and even by 1885 when the book came out in a third edition, there was in Australia no consensus on the matter of country and nationality and a suitable political framework which would draw the people of the six colonies together. The work of Blackton and others on the 1880s is a reminder of the conflicting loyalties Australians experienced in that time and indeed up to and beyond 1901 despite federation.[64] The way in which these loyalties could be merged together in an acceptable way can be seen in the words of South Australia's radical Premier, C.C. Kingston and in the response he drew from his listeners at the annual conference of the teachers' union in 1899:

> If there is one thing I would like to see more encouraged in our State schools it is the growth of patriotism - (cheers) - and that by the teaching of poetry. Possibly recourse might be had to Australian poets .... Our patriotism need not be confined to our State; it should improve on relations with the dear old mother-land - (cheers) - with the Empire, and with that Australia about to be called into existence in the coming year. 65

Hartley's decision, then, not to develop South Australian and Australian history in schools reflected not only the limited historiographical development taking place in Australia and the beliefs that the Australian colonies were part of a 'Greater Britain', but also the lack of consensus among those living in Australia regarding country and nation. Seen in this light one can explain the apparent contradiction in Hartley's words when he referred to the children's country as Australia but their nation as something much wider, that is, the British nation.

However, while this situation may have given Hartley reason for caution, he must have known of moves by the Education Departments in the sister colonies of Victoria and New South Wales to introduce Australian history into schools. They at least recognized Australian history and the need to introduce it to school children.

In Victoria, where history was not taught as a distinct subject in the compulsory programme but through stories of English history in school readers, the Minister of Education, after the introduction of compulsory education in 1872, had commissioned the journalist Marcus Clarke to produce a reader of Australian history especially for use by older children in schools.[66] This was published in 1877. Unfortunately it turned out to be a miserable fiasco, being a rather dull year-by-year account of settlement in the Australian colonies.[67] It was replaced by Alexander and George Sutherland's History of Australia. This adopted

a sounder structure, but even so, emphasized individual colonies, rather than Australia as a whole. As well, an attempt was made by the Department to modify the school readers themselves by including 'Historical Lessons' on the geography of Australia and its exploration, the history of the different colonies and an explanation of Victoria's constitution.[68] David Blair of Adelaide, journalist, clergyman and sometime politician, in 1879 agreed to write the lessons. However, due to several difficulties, they were not included until much later.

Thus Victoria had made a start, qualified though its success was. One who was anxious to encourage this development was Charles Pearson, a one man Royal Commission in 1878 reporting on public education in the colony. In welcoming the two readers on Australian history, he urged:

> ... an ordinary boy or girl will, I think, be interested in the history of the Australian colonies, and able to understand it. Why certain parts of the colony were first settled, and what were the special circumstances of each settlement; the history of exploration, and of pastoral settlement, and of gold discoveries, and of constitutional government are all matters that have an unmistakable freshness and meaning for the present generation. 69

Later, as Minister of Public Instruction, he was in a key position to further his particular interest.

In New South Wales as in Victoria there was the same determination to introduce Australian history even if in a limited way through the use of readers. In one respect though, the case of New South Wales was quite distinctive since its politicians went so far as to prescribe the teaching of Australian history in the Education Act of 1880: 'In all schools under this Act ... lessons in the history of England and in the history of Australia shall form part of the course of secular instruction'.[70] Such prescription was considered necessary to ensure the place of History in the curriculum. Earlier it had not been

taught for fear of arousing sectarian animosity. With the introduction now of Australian history, the Sutherland book was to be used.

Hartley could hardly ignore these attempts to introduce Australian history into schools. However, his view was that the basis of this Australian history was too uncertain and the difficulties encountered in teaching it were too great for his own experiment in South Australia to be continued. In this way, the initial enthusiasm Hartley had felt for drawing aspects of Australian history into the curriculum through Spence's little book, faded. Thus he could agree with headmasters to withdraw the book from History and relegate it to Special Lessons.[71] All that remained was to gain agreement on which text should be used for the teaching of the reintroduced English history.

Just how far Hartley had strayed from the promise of his earlier reformist ideas can be seen from his rather tired reply to members of the Royal Commission in 1882: 'I do not feel strongly on the subject of history as I know the difficulties in teaching it'.[72] Thus, within the space of only a few years the tentative move to adapt History to children's South Australian and Australian environment had come to nothing.

During the 1880s and 1890s, History came under increasing criticism as teachers and inspectors complained of the difficulties in teaching it. Books continued to be a problem especially as to which ones were the most suitable and as to whether they should be for teachers' use alone. As pressure mounted during the 1880s for the introduction of science and drawing into the curriculum, it was not surprising that it was in History that the adjustments were made. Teachers were encouraged to spend less time teaching the subject since children were no longer to be examined individually but collectively

in 'drafts' of thirty where there were large classes.[73] The curriculum of those training to be teachers reflected the same change.[74] Even Geography shared this fate. In only one respect did inspectors show that they were persevering with History in schools: they specified more exactly the content of the course for older children and included particular stories which might be told to the younger ones.[75]

In the process of reshaping the History course up to 1902, it is significant that neither Hartley nor the other inspectors appeared to reconsider their decision to exclude Australian history. Yet they must at least have paused when they read the lecture given by Dr.Pearson, Minister of Public Instruction in Victoria at the Training College in Melbourne in 1890, a lecture Hartley thought enough of to include in the Education Gazette.[76]

Pearson agreed with Hartley's approach to History for younger children, that they should be 'saturated ... with a few dozen vivid stories from old time, taken preferably from English history ...'.[77] But he was also adamant that they should then proceed to a study of Australian history: 'It is easier for children to learn about their own land, and it is more necessary that they should go out into life with at least this outfit of knowledge'.[78] These two reasons must have reminded Hartley of his own earlier use of 'the natural method'. Pearson was quick to admit that there were difficulties associated with teaching Australian history since it was hardly romantic and too short to show the grand procession of the ages. Even so, he argued, '... a skilful literary man might find a good deal to tell pleasantly, and in the form that children affect, about Australian history'.[79]

Hartley had much in common with Pearson, being an English immigrant and being closely interested in the evolving educational systems of South Australia and Victoria. Both had been involved in the foundation of the University of Adelaide from the earliest meetings.[80] But Hartley, unlike Pearson, had been unable to fully adapt his training to plan a curriculum in the Australian environment. Certainly too, he lacked in Adelaide the kind of support Pearson enjoyed from Melbourne's intellectual circle from the 1870s.

Thus, whereas Pearson was encouraged by his contemporaries to further develop his ideas on Australian history, Hartley, considering similar reforms about the same time, was not. By 1890, when Pearson was promoting Australian history in schools more enthusiastically than ever, Hartley only went so far as to include Pearson's lecture in the Education Gazette for teachers to consider. That, it seems, is as far as Hartley was willing to proceed. Perhaps it was not surprising, given his reluctant lead on the question of Australian history, that only one teachers' association debated the issue of Australian history. A brief report of the deliberation by six teachers, meeting at Orroroo in the far north of the colony, captured very neatly the low esteem in which Australian history was held:

> Mr. Opie read a paper on History. The reader, for sake of argument, took the view that instead of teaching English history, we should substitute Australia, or of the printing press, or electric telegraphs, etc. By criticism and discussion that followed, this view was not supported by the teachers present. [81]

Perhaps Hartley might have reconsidered his position on the teaching of Australian history had he not died suddenly in 1896. For by 1899, even the Governor of South Australia, Lord Tennyson, was

deploring the 'non-existence of any proper history of South Australia'.[82] In his perceptive address to the Royal Geographical Society, he pointed out how far teaching about South Australia in schools had fallen short of the ideal set out in the president's inaugural address in 1885. One has the impression that Tennyson was rather puzzled by this disinterest.

Lady Tennyson, through her illuminating letters, also seemed puzzled. On the one hand, South Australians of all classes had surprised her by being so proud of being colonial, that is, not 'Englishmen'.[83] Yet they showed so little interest in their surroundings; it was an exceptional Australian who 'could tell one all the names of flowers & shrubs & trees & birds which no Australian as a rule knows anything about'.[84] The Tennysons were to do much in their quiet way to encourage South Australians to take pride in their emerging heritage. A good example of this is Lord Tennyson's purchase of a series of South Australian native flower paintings by a local artist, Rosa Fiveash. Lady Tennyson explained:

> ... just before she [Miss Fiveash] sailed Hallam, thinking it was a very great pity that they should be lost to the colony, with the help of a rich colonist who entered into the scheme with him, bought the whole collection to present it to one of the public institutions in Adelaide. I only hope [she added] they will appreciate the gift for H. has had to give a good round sum!! 85

This was the kind of encouragement Hartley lacked in the 1880s.

The same dilemma: Reading and Special Lessons

Like History, both these subjects were most suited to Australian adaptation. Both offered the same kind of potential in developing the intelligence of children and helping them to understand their immediate environment. Yet both posed the same dilemma. By using

Australian literature and by directing children's attention to the Australian natural environment, Hartley might weaken their attachment to and their knowledge about, the stories and plants of England. Thus, as with History, so with these two subjects, the same cautious steps were taken but not developed.

In Reading, Hartley first replaced the Irish Readers with the Royal Reader series in 1878. More to the point, when a new Royal Reader series, which included some Australian content became available, these were introduced into schools in 1888.[86] About the same time he also arranged for the local production of reading sheets, primers and readers for younger children.[87] The advantages he saw in this move were, significantly, that books could be more exactly adapted to their requirements and that employment could be given to persons in the colony. Another advantage which must have pleased the government in the difficult economic times of the mid 1880s was that already by 1886 a sizeable sum was being paid into the treasury from the local production of copybooks. But surprisingly, the 'requirements', according to Hartley, seemed to refer more to reading levels than to the life experiences of children as only one of the four locally produced readers contained pictures, words and stories which referred to some aspects of Australian life.[88]

This seems to have caused little comment among teachers and inspectors. There was, however, one inspector, J.T. Smyth, who had welcomed Hartley's decision to produce local readers and who was obviously disappointed in their lack of content which related to children's immediate environment. Thus, when in 1899 he pressed for class readers for older children, he made a strong case for colonial readers with suitable content rather than those published by reputable

firms in England:

> ... it would prove a more decided advantage still if a set of Australian readers were compiled by our Department .... As the subject matter would in this case be treated from an Australian standpoint, the pupils would naturally take greater interest in the stories, and their minds would be brought into contact with the writings in prose and poetry of our best Australian authors. 89

Even the monthly school newspaper, the Children's Hour, despite some initial striking contributions from patriots C.H. Spence and J.C.F. Johnson, was used primarily as yet another medium for stories and poems from or about Britain and other countries of the world.[90] This little paper, written and published in South Australia and the first of its kind among the Australian colonies, is an invaluable source of evidence with regard to what South Australian children were taught about country and nation for it was the only regular direct link between educators in Adelaide and the children in the colony.

Launched by Hartley in 1889 and edited by him until his death in 1896, the Children's Hour gave children the impression, from rather scattered evidence over several years' numbers, that South Australia was their country, but that they were members of the British nation. Initially, when children's attention was first drawn to the founding day of white settlement in South Australia, the cause for celebration was that Governor Hindmarsh had 'declared this colony a part of the British Empire'.[91] The next year the day was given more local significance: 'Just imagine that this grand and glorious country, the land of our birth, is younger than most of our fathers and mothers'.[92] This view of country was coupled with a much wider understanding of nation which appeared in its most striking form in 1897 on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. Children were urged to take

RECEIVED
20 MAY 01

Kooringa
May 17th 01.

To the School Board Adelaide

Gentlemen.

Could you inform a School Boy. If the Children of the country Schools, will be allowed to come to the City, to see the Royal visetors. I think we ought to have a treat but unless, we ask it we will not be thought of. I hope your invitations will go a little further than the City Children seeing they have the Lion's share of all the fun and our teachers dont bother about us but they take every care they miss nothing so we have to write and ask you to see we are not left out in the cold to see a sight we could always remember.

I am, &c.,
School Boy
Kooringa.

Forwarded to the Hon M of Education
Hon Inspector
J Langdon Bonython
Ch: Adv. Bd.
20/5/01

A child's view of imperial visits, 1901.

'pride in their membership of the greatest race the world has ever seen' as well as to love their 'homeland of South Australia'.[93]

Thus, when writers of the paper were concerned to clarify such issues, this was the view that emerged. In some ways it might seem rather strange, given that the 1890s was not only the decade of the achievement of Australian federation but also the flowering of the Bulletin school of writers. It is true that the process of federation was mentioned, but understandably, until it had been achieved little was made of it.

As a reader, the Children's Hour had unlimited potential for introducing local material of all kinds to children. Yet it was only gradually that such potential was realized. Not until the late 1890s for example, did articles on South Australian and Australian geography begin to appear, despite teachers' pleas for information to enliven their lessons. The lack of a suitable text book on Australian geography highlighted the dilemma faced by teachers. Alexander Clark's comment to the Commission in 1881 showed the lengths to which teachers went in seeking information: 'We have to make use of our practical knowledge of it [Australian geography] gained from the newspapers'.[94]

Even in the teaching of South Australian geography, which was based on a bare outline given in the text book by Madley, teachers were clearly looking for other information which would bring it to life for children. Inspector L.W. Stanton was persuaded to meet this need by making available descriptive notes on the country he traversed as inspector through the columns of the Education Gazette.[95] Not surprisingly, by 1898 some teachers had begun writing their own texts on Australian geography, texts which were sanctioned by the Board for teachers' use in schools.[96]

It was about this time that the long-awaited articles began appearing in the Children's Hour. They were written by B.S. Roach who initially described the mid north of South Australia, where he was teaching, but then soon became involved in a series on Australian explorers.[97] J.T. Smyth was quick to notice their appearance and recognize their significance. He commented with approval:

> The usefulness of the little periodicals known as the Children's Hour cannot be overestimated .... the interesting and varied character of the reading matter has proved most attractive and beneficial to the pupils in classes III and IV. I am glad to see that the little papers have been made still more useful by comprehensive articles descriptive of different portions of the colony. Much valuable and interesting reading matter will thus be combined with geographical knowledge, and the children will become well acquainted with the country in which they reside, and in which the great majority were born. [98]

The pity was, of course, that such articles were so rare.

Just as in Reading, so in the Special Lessons, there were signs that they were being related more closely to Australian circumstances, but again this was not done systematically. These lessons, seen by 1889 as the most convenient place for advancing children's scientific education, were probably most commonly on natural history since material was usually ready to hand and not as difficult to understand as physics for teachers with a limited scientific background. The potential of natural history had already been seen in the activities of a teacher, W.C. Grasby at Oakbank in the Adelaide Hills, who, it was reported, '... was doing a very useful work by inducing the boys to go into the open and try to learn and understand the wonderful works of nature'.[99]

This example, with the encouragement of the South Australian Teachers' Association and the Minister of Education, led to the establishment of a Boys' Field Club in Adelaide in 1887 and later in

country areas. In some ways the emergence of such clubs can be seen as an attempt to give city boys something to do on a Saturday afternoon, particularly in the difficult times of the 1880s. But, more importantly, they were promoted by the Minister as a pleasant means of training children in observation.[100] The Minister at the time was J.C.F. Johnson, a man who combined a deep love of the Australian landscape, as can be seen in his writing, even for the Children's Hour, with a strong financial interest in mineral exploration and development. It was he who in 1887 sought to introduce the subject of drawing into the schools and to use Special Lessons to begin the study of nature, science, geology and physics.[101]

Potentially then, the Special Lessons, by using nature study in particular, directed children's attention to the Australian environment in both a personal and scientific way. As well, it was about this time that Arbor Day began to be promoted in schools. Its programme was intended to make children aware of the importance of trees, both existing and planted, in their environment.[102] Significantly too, the Minister and his Department were encouraged in their efforts by the prestigious Royal Society of South Australia. In 1888, its Field Naturalists' Section formed a Native Flora and Fauna Protection Committee which almost immediately began pressing the government to establish a national park and to seriously educate young Australians to care for their natural environment 'by the giving of more direct instruction in natural science in the public schools'.[103]

However, despite the potential of the subject and the concern of the Royal Society, Special Lessons in the 1890s came to be used primarily for manual rather than scientific work, that is, making

handicrafts and caring for agricultural plots. The more interested and perceptive of the inspectors noted the trend with regret. J.T. Smyth, for example, went so far as to say that 'object and science lessons have been allowed to drop out altogether'.[104] What had replaced them was 'usually a variety of articles partaking somewhat of the nature of a small bazaar'.[105] Part of Smyth's desire to reintroduce science lessons was clearly to make children more aware of their natural environment:

> An effort to revive them again is advisable, so that they may be taken as alternative courses with the manual work, by which means the younger children will be trained to observe the birds, insects, plants, rocks, &c, while later on the more advanced pupils will have brought under their notice science of an easy character, illustrated by simple experiments. The intellect and powers of observation will thereby be expanded, and the pupils rendered more competent to understand the wonders of nature which are met on all sides. [106]

Thus, Special Lessons which held the promise of helping children to understand and appreciate the Australian natural environment, failed to do so. The only other way in which children might have been assisted was on an informal basis through individual teachers who responded to the Minister of Education's appeal in 1897 by forming 'Bands of Mercy', that is, school groups which had as their aim the protection of native birds. Interested teachers were asked 'to forward to the office suggestions as to a moral lesson in Natural History, having special reference to birds that are helpful to farmers and orchardists'.[107]

Significantly, this move was initiated by the Royal Society and supported by the Education Department through society member C.L. Whitham who was one of the three inspectors on the Board which replaced Hartley

on his death. Whitham was also editor of the Children's Hour, and being aware of teachers' limitations in teaching nature science as part of the formal curriculum, he relied heavily on the more informal medium of the Children's Hour to communicate his concern about native birds and animals. While not as effective as more formal instruction, the school paper nevertheless had considerable influence. Certainly Whitham believed so:

> I have had the command of the eyes and ears of upwards of 30,000 per month of our school-children, and ... this matter [protection of native birds] has been receiving, and will continue to receive, very special attention in all our schools. 108

The fact that eighty children sent in essays for his competition on the subject of protection showed that some, at least, were prepared to treat his message seriously. If such an informal approach drew this response from children, how much more effective might a more formal study of natural history have been?

Thus, the period up to the end of 1901 shows that despite South Australian educators' growing awareness of the need to relate the curriculum more closely to children's Australian circumstances, it was not until the 1870s that one of them, John Hartley, began to do so. Even then, his efforts were concentrated almost entirely on one area, Geography. Where he did concern himself with other areas, most noticeably History, but also Reading and Special Lessons, he was faced with the dilemma of wanting to adapt yet fearing that this would undermine children's associations with England.

Thus, Hartley's first cautious steps towards adaptation in these most important areas were not developed. Instead, in History they were rejected altogether. Such a resolution reflected not only the

uncertain status of Australian history and nationality at the time, but also Hartley's unwillingness to admit signs of their emergence. For him, recognition of South Australia as the children's country was necessary, but recognition of a South Australian or Australian nation was neither realistic nor desirable. Children were not to be colonials but Greater Britons.

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PART II INNOVATION IN NATION BUILDING 1902-1913: AUSTRALIAN NATIONALISTS AND IMPERIAL PATRIOTS

In South Australia, the period from 1902 to 1913 was a time of educational reform engineered by a small group of men whose aim it was in part to make Australia central to children's understanding of country and nation. The members of this group formed an interesting trio: George C. Henderson, Professor of Modern History and English Language and Literature at the University of Adelaide from 1902 to 1923; Alfred Williams, Director of Education from 1906 to 1913; and Bertie S. Roach, Editor of the Children's Hour from 1906 to 1931.

Each made a unique contribution: Henderson, as spokesman for reform in education and sponsor of Australian historical research in universities; Williams, as the reformer who made Australia central to the state school curriculum; and Roach who communicated through the Children's Hour a positive image of Australia to children. Throughout the two major periods of change, 1902-1905 and 1906-1913, which brought a more positive attitude towards Australia in the curriculum of South Australia's university and schools, it is possible to trace the guiding influence of these three men. Children were to understand that Australia, not South Australia, was their country. They belonged to the emerging Australian nation as well as to the wider British one.

The reformers' task was a difficult one, involving as it did the mediation of complementary yet sometimes conflicting loyalties experienced by people in Australia at the time. They well knew that people variously interpreted the term 'country' to mean 'South Australia', 'Australia' and 'the wider British Empire' - all in an

indiscriminate fashion. The use of the term 'nation' was just as confused. But how were the reformers to make Australia more central to notions of patriotism and nationalism?

In this, Richard Jebb's work on 'Colonial Nationalism', provided a useful model.[1] Jebb argued that Colonial Nationalism involved an increased awareness of Australia as a clearly defined polity, a developing society, and a distinctive civilization responsive to the unique natures of the land and its people. The federation movement - and its achievement - was a clear manifestation of that process, as was the continuing task of 'nation building' accepted by men like Alfred Deakin and Charles Kingston. Their aim was to foster Australian loyalties in the people of the new federation.

Such loyalties, argued Jebb, should be nurtured. The kind of patriotism and nationalism they defined was not, however, exclusive. There was a nexus of Imperial loyalties to 'Great Britain' (exemplar of British civilization, Westminister democracy, the Rule of Law and allegiance to the Crown) and to 'Greater Britain' (the white Anglo-Saxon pro-British emergent dominions) and perhaps to 'the Imperial Idea' (both a civilizing force and a drive towards collective rule). Unlike Dilke in the 1860s, Jebb listened more carefully at the turn of the century to leading Australian figures. By then, too, their views were much clearer. In these, Jebb perceived a dual set of loyalties to Australia and to Empire. Whatever friction occurred between these sets of often inchoate ideas, there was no basic conflict. Loyalties to Australia did not exclude loyalties to the Empire. To perceptive Australians, Jebb's book was 'the first ... by an Englishman ... to understand fully the trend of colonial actions

and aspirations towards nationalism within the British Empire'.[2] Such a model was to have great appeal for the three reformers.

All three were native-born, and, having grown up in the country districts of New South Wales and South Australia during the 1870s, they developed a real affection for the Australian landscape. But as well, they came to appreciate, through their education, the wealth of their English heritage. That education had been a struggle. Coming from humble beginnings as the sons of miners, they had entered the teaching profession the hard way, as pupil teachers. From such a background, all three developed a strong commitment to and interest in, Australia and Australians on the one hand, and the ideas of the New Education on the other.

Circumstances and ambition brought them to Adelaide at the turn of the century. They came with a determination to reform South Australia's educational system. The difficulties they sought to mediate are seen most clearly in the beliefs and career of George C. Henderson. It was his resolution of these difficulties, particularly at the university, which provided the example for Williams and Roach to follow.

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CHAPTER II

GEORGE C. HENDERSON AND UNIVERSITY RESEARCH

The professing patriot: George C. Henderson

> Our heart's where they rocked our cradle,
> Our love where we spent our toil,
> And our faith and our hope and our honour
> We pledge to our native soil!
>
> Rudyard Kipling, 'The Native-Born', 1894.

> ... there has hardly been any pretence yet to scientific work in the history of those British Colonies that lie to the south of the Equator. It seems to me, after careful consideration, that it is the plain duty of our colonial universities to found and encourage schools of research in this branch of history, and we owe that duty to the world. [1]
>
> George Henderson, 1906.

This concern expressed by Henderson in 1906 for university research to be Australia-based typified the nature of his commitment to reform. Thus, before examining his interest in reform, it is important to first trace in some detail the development of his feelings towards Australia and Australians, his sense of patriotism and of nationalism. Probably to a large extent this development was prompted by his stay of several years overseas as a young man.

Born in New South Wales in 1870, just a few years after his parents had migrated from England, Henderson grew up in Hamilton, a suburb of Newcastle where his father worked as a miner.[2] There, and at his teaching posts at Port Macquarie, Kegworth and Sydney, he developed a love for the Australian landscape. It was a feeling he took to Oxford as a scholarship student which made it difficult for him to accept the contrasting English landscape. Writing in 1898 after several years there, he confessed:

> I had to learn to appreciate mists .... They are so different in their first impressions from the boundless free and wandering air of the Australian hills. I longed for the clear transparent air of Sydney where the Blue Mountains tower up enchantingly in the distance. It was a long time ere I could see beauty in these mists ... still I was oppressed by them; still I yearned for the boundless sweep of a far reaching landscape. 3

He was interested in people as well as landscape for he went on to comment in his closely-written, reflective notebook on the way in which an environment shaped the character of a people. For him, coolness, mystery, orderliness and endurance were characteristic of both climate and people in England. As an Australian in England, Henderson, to those who knew him well, seemed to typify quite different qualities. Ernest Barker, a contemporary of his at Oxford, commented:

> These Australians [speaking of Henderson and his friend Robjohns] had sunshine in their veins: they bubbled with ready fun: they blew into the antiquity of Oxford with the challenge of their own and their country's youth .... I was ... exhilarated and emancipated by Australia and its buoyancy. 4

Of Henderson more particularly he wrote: 'He had the irreverence of a breezy Australian for conventions and the fine shades ...'.[5] This egalitarianism and openness greatly interested Henderson. For it was his hope that these qualities would come to characterize 'the growing spirit of the nation' in Australia.[6] One way of ensuring this, he thought, was through wise use of a reformed state education system, a point I will return to later.

This interest in 'the growing spirit of the nation' would have been furthered by his temporary return to Australia in 1899 after taking his Master's Degree to teach History and Philosophy at Sydney University while his former professors were on leave. For as Acting-Professor in

History in 1899 then Philosophy in 1900, he could observe the coming together of the Australian colonies. Even after returning to England he continued to pursue this interest. This time it was from a slightly different perspective. He accepted an offer from Dent, the publishers, to write a life of Sir George Grey, one-time governor of South Australia and an imperial statesman who had championed the rights and interests of colonies against the imperial centre.

Undoubtedly, it was this research which prompted Henderson to apply for the position of professor at Adelaide in 1902 for not only had this city been one of Grey's postings but also it was centrally situated between New Zealand and Cape Colony where the relevant government despatches and Grey's private papers were held. Thus, whereas in 1899 Henderson had forwarded but then later withdrew his application for the Chair in History at Adelaide, in 1902 there was no hesitation and this would have been partly due to his current research.

As well, it was an opportunity to serve his country, an ideal Henderson regarded quite seriously. The words of his former Professor in Philosophy at Sydney University, Francis Anderson, testify to this:

> I know of no man who has a more single-hearted devotion to the cause of higher education in Australia, and I sincerely hope that his services may be permanently retained for his native country by an Australian University. [7]

Thus, although there were exciting prospects for him in England as a staff lecturer of the University Extension Delegacy at Oxford or perhaps as Professor of History at the new University of Birmingham, he stated clearly his preference for the Adelaide post.[8]

There was a personal reason, too, why Henderson wished to take a permanent position in Australia at that time. His marriage of three

years to an Englishwoman came to an abrupt end in late 1901 or early 1902.[9] This coincided with an invitation from the University Extension Board of Sydney to lecture in New South Wales for twelve weeks in mid 1902. In this way Henderson was given the opportunity to be in Australia at a time when the position at Adelaide University might become vacant, since from June 1901 the matrimonial problems of Professor Douglas had become so public in England and Australia as to be embarrassing to the university.[10] Within three weeks of Douglas being dismissed, Henderson's ship steamed into Outer Harbour on its way to Sydney. Within three days he was appointed professor.

Thus his decision to return to Australia brought together several strands: the need to pursue his research, his desire to serve his country in a permanent way and his retreat from an intolerable personal situation. The first two had been clearly evident for some time and were simply given greater urgency by the third. Taken together they reflected a strong interest in and commitment to Australia at that time.

But as well as this commitment, Henderson brought another to Adelaide in 1902: a commitment to the ideas of the New Education, to educational reform. He would have been aware that early in 1902 a concerted effort was being made in South Australia to reform the state education system and that as professor of Modern History and English Language and Literature he would be in a key position to assist,even to lead that reform. His own commitment to ideas of reform was well known within Australian university circles and this may well explain why he was approached by a member of the Adelaide University Council in 1899 and again in 1902 to apply for the History Chair.

This commitment was the product of his own education in New South Wales and of his involvement with the reform movement in England. Coming from a humble background, he had been state-educated and entered the teaching profession as a pupil teacher. Scholarships enabled him to train as a teacher and, at the same time, to study at Sydney University for his degree in the early 1890s. Under the influence of his two Professors, Francis Anderson and George Arnold Wood, both of whom showed an interest in the state education system and its teachers, Henderson developed his ideas of reform. In particular he was concerned with how he would use the education system to modify the kind of society he saw evolving in Australia.

He was concerned with the materialist nature of Australian society which he felt was too much influenced by 'the devilish "getting on" spirit'.[11] Such a concern led to his interest in socialism. It was, he thought, a means of preventing great disparity in wealth and of introducing an element of selflessness since it focussed attention on others, the public, rather than the individual. Thus, although he could not accept socialist methods, he felt that in some ways as an ideal it provided an answer to what he saw as Australia's dilemma in the 1890s: its materialism, its purposelessness as a nation. 'Nations', he warned, 'dwindle when they follow a material instead of a spiritual end'. Education could be used to prevent this. Appearing to address himself, he outlined in a series of jottings headed 'Plan of work' how he would do this:

> Public sentiment ...
>
> Virtue of the oppressed. Show you are worthy [,] a secret force for good in the world ....
>
> Fight like a puritan in the conviction that God is with you ...

> If you strive to make that public sentiment ...
> soon will your legislators make laws to
> embody that idea. No force can stop this ...
> It all depends on you.

Education, he argued, should be concerned with the development of the whole man: 'We have taken one part of man's mind [intellect], developed that, & thought we were develop'g the man'. Too often, he felt, educators had been solely concerned with equipping children to find a job, to make money. Instead, education, he argued, should be concerned with the heart as well as the head: 'Education should make citizens & (2) it should make characters'. In such a process he emphasized the importance of the teacher's character: 'Stick to this it is your best point', his notes urged.

Australian state schools in particular interested him as he thought they offered much greater potential than the English public school model in shaping the spiritual education of children: they enabled children to live at home and enjoy the benefits of family life and as well provided an egalitarian environment, in that all classes used them without 'unjust prestige' being given to any one.

This was the basis on which he wished to strengthen what he perceived as 'the growing spirit of the nation', that is a concern with educating a child's feeling as well as his intellect. It was work in which he expected to participate fully, 'Don't merely talk but act ...', and from which he must not be diverted. Hence his warning to himself as he set out for Oxford, on scholarship, early in 1894:

> Blest indeed art thou if thou canst have a university education & if that education makes thee more humble, & teaches thee ... the value of simple pure delight. But cursed art such institutions if by these petty intellectual sophistries they lure thee to find ... and take thy ... ambition to a palace of ease away from thy struggling fellows ....
>
> Whatever you know, whatever you reach in science, or in life must be brought back and criticised under the light of this ideal.

Much was expected of him. The course he had chosen in Oxford would not only make him a more efficient teacher but would, according to Wood, 'prepare him for political life in N.S.W.', presumably to ensure the reform of the education system.[12]

Arriving as he did in England at the height of the debate about the ideas of the New Education and what they offered England at a time of industrial and commercial uncertainty, he would have found much that could prove useful in the Australian situation. There were several distinct groups concerned with these ideas in all their variety but the one idea they had in common was criticism of the education then offered in England. It was instrumentary education with a narrow curriculum, emphasis on the three Rs and the accompanying methods of rote-learning, over-reliance on text book and payment by results.

The ideas of two of the groups in particular would have attracted Henderson's attention. The aim of the social reformers was to realize fully each child's potential, to educate him above his station. That of the Herbartians was to emphasize the importance of character formation in education. To this end History was given a central place in the widened curriculum, as it was considered most likely to stimulate a child's interest in the world around him and to provide the context for teaching morality.

Not surprisingly, while at Oxford Henderson became involved with the social reform group. It was his habit to visit East London with friends of his who were training for the Congregational ministry at Mansfield College, Oxford. This college ran a settlement in East London concerned with self education of the lower classes and it organized camps in the country for under-privileged boys during vacation. One such camp was managed by Henderson. 'It was', Barker related, 'work which suited his boisterous power and his Australian upbringing: he drove the young larrikins gaily about, and carried the camp easily on his shoulders'.[13] Thus, despite his heavy academic programme, in which he continued to excel, he maintained an active concern for his 'struggling fellows'. His decision, once he had graduated from Oxford in 1897, to accept the offer of a lecturing position with the Oxford Delegacy for University Extension was part of that same concern. He continued this kind of work while temporarily lecturing at Sydney University in 1899-1900. Later, as we have seen, it was extension work which brought him out to Australia again in 1902.

By this time then, Henderson's commitment to social and educational reform was well established. It was a commitment which clearly impressed his tutor at Oxford, the famous A.L. Smith who remarked on his 'strong sympathy with democratic movements' and was moved to 'confess':

> ... in nearly thirty years' experience, I have never myself had a pupil who interested me more, and from whom I expect more for the cause of education ....
>
> What will carry him furthest is the high ideals which he has consistently in view, and the high principles which he holds and, what is more, acts upon. [14]

Coming from one such as Smith, this opinion must have had a considerable impact on the Adelaide University Council in the period 1899-1902 for

it was at that time involved in taking the revolutionary step of training teachers for the Education Department. Significantly, Professor Mitchell who had suggested this step was the one who urged Henderson to apply for the Chair in Modern History and English Language and Literature in 1899 and again in 1902.[15] In this he was supported by Professor Bragg, also on the Council. Both men were closely associated with attempts to reform the state education system, particularly with regard to the proper training of teachers. This had been Mitchell's interest when lecturing in Education at University College, London. Although appointed as Professor of Philosophy at Adelaide University in 1894, he maintained this interest and again lectured in the subject with the establishment of the University training scheme in 1900.

Mitchell appears to have known Henderson quite well by 1902, possibly through Anderson, Professor of Philosophy at Sydney University. Certainly he would have watched with growing admiration as Anderson launched the reform of the Education Department in New South Wales in June 1901 with his outspoken criticisms which led to a Royal Commission being appointed in March 1902. Perhaps Henderson, as Anderson's (and Wood's) protege, might do the same for South Australia. Gaining Henderson as a professor at the university would do much to strengthen the reform group there and its influence in the community, for beside his high academic reputation and concern for reform, he was well known as a persuasive public speaker. Professor MacCallum, Chairman of the Sydney University Extension Board had made this clear in his reference:

> Without being in the smallest degree aggressive or proselytising, Mr. Henderson is so convinced of the value of his interests, historical, literary, philosophical - of the value they have had for him and that they ought to have for others - that he impresses one as impelled to set them forth, and his words strike home. 16

In the event of the crisis surrounding Professor Douglas, it may well have been this reform group which persuaded the Chancellor, a personal friend of Douglas and one who was more reluctant to press for educational reform, and the Council to insist on his almost immediate dismissal. Certainly with Henderson's arrival soon afterwards in Adelaide en route to Sydney, it was Mitchell and Bragg who acted as his advocates. The Council moved swiftly to appoint him. In retrospect it would seem that either Mitchell anticipated the crisis of 1902 and urged Henderson to make himself available in the likely event of a vacancy being created or that a series of unrelated events led to Henderson's interest in the position in Adelaide and his arrival there soon after the crisis occurred. Whatever the case, by June he had gained release from his extension lecturing engagement in New South Wales and returned to Adelaide to begin second term at the University.

Once in Adelaide, he was drawn very quickly into the politics of South Australian education. This was no doubt encouraged by Professors Bragg and Mitchell. But the one most concerned to involve him was Alfred Williams, then Headmaster of the Norwood Public School and Corresponding Secretary of the South Australian Public Teachers' Union. Williams, as a close friend of Andrew Scott, the Superintendent of Teacher Training at the University, was probably familiar with not only Henderson's reputation as a reformer, but also with the moves to bring him to Adelaide. Within a short time, Williams satisfied himself that Henderson would make an ideal Director of Education. Accordingly, he began seriously to seek election as president of the teachers' union so as to have maximum political influence on Henderson's behalf when the anticipated restructuring of the Education Department

took place.[17] With Henderson as Director, he hoped reform would follow, as was occurring in Victoria with the appointment early in 1902 of Frank Tate, a reformer Williams knew well.

Spokesman for Reform in Education in South Australia: 1902-1905

Henderson became immediately embroiled in the politics of South Australian education. Barely two months after beginning lecturing at the University in mid 1902, he addressed the Adelaide Teachers' Association. The title he gave his address was most appropriate, 'Builders of the State', and he must have chosen it quite deliberately. For, only a few weeks before, state school teachers had suffered a crushing blow: head teachers' salaries had been cut by ten percent. This was part of the pruning of government expenditure by the Jenkins Government at a time of severe drought and unemployment. Clearly then, Henderson had a wider audience in mind when he said:

> You [teachers] are working at the foundations of national greatness. You are training the minds of the children. Their minds will ultimately determine public opinion. The fate of this country depends on the tone of public opinion. That is the ultimate source of power ....
>
> No politician has the slightest chance of withstanding that power. When the people have made up their mind statesmen must obey ...
>
> It is you whose special work it is to train the mind of the individual and the general will or mind of the nation. You are in a position of great responsibility. The sooner this is realized by the public and by the politicians the better for the future of South Australia. 18

Part of the appeal he had for his listeners, especially Williams, must have stemmed from the emotive phrases he used in association with the terms 'country' and 'nation', terms which appear to refer to Australia.

But it was not only the political issue which concerned Henderson. He was also concerned with the educational one. Indeed his remarks must have been a vivid reminder to Williams of the ideals which inspired Tate. In comparing the work of politicians and businessmen on the one hand and that of teachers on the other, Henderson commented:

> Their work is arduous and important; but yours is more so. You are more concerned with the realities of happiness and wealth than they are .... you are struggling to develop the inward resources of the people in this country - a far more valuable work....
>
> Ladies and gentlemen, it is your work, as builders of this State, to establish character and happiness on foundations other than material. It is your high privilege, as well as your responsibility, to train men and women in such a way that their source of happiness is within them - not without; to ensure that they are not the creatures of circumstances, but self-contained and self-reliant men and women ....

Tate had been even more direct on this point when speaking to South Australian teachers at their annual conference in 1901:

> Did we not aim at producing a typical Australian, who could stand on his own feet, think his own thoughts, and look the whole world in the face? 19

Henderson went on:

> Think for one moment how the resources of this nation would be increased if its people were trained to ... realise the happiness that comes from the contemplation of the beauties that lie round their very doors - the magic splendour of the morning light that floods these hills round Adelaide: the ever-changing tints and shades that pass over their dimples and ravines in quick succession; the delicately tinted verdure budding everywhere in the glowing days of springtime; the silent, solemn grandeur of these nights of spangling stars, as beautiful as any in the Umbrian sky. These are great things, inspiring things. 20

In retrospect, this might seem a rather inexpensive way of reforming, which might appeal to a conservative government. However, given Henderson's background, he was, more importantly, seeking to

arouse an Australian-based sense of patriotism and nationalism among his listeners.

Henderson's involvement with educational reform deepened, particularly during 1903 to 1905 when Williams, as President of the teachers' union, always made a point of having him to speak at the union's annual conference, usually a very public affair. With such a forum, Henderson developed his themes with increasing insistence: the importance of training the 'inward resources of the people'; the influence public opinion could have on the fate of South Australia and the need for its government to recognize the vital role teachers played in the community by rewarding them suitably. It must have seemed to Williams that Henderson might well be interested in playing an even more direct role in South Australian education should reorganization of the department occur. For he had made it his business to visit schools in and around the Adelaide area to familiarise himself with teaching conditions and, as well, with Williams, had become involved in the kindergarten movement.

Williams, successful in gaining the position of president of the union, for two years made educational reform a public issue, particularly through the annual conference. By mid 1905 it seemed that the reorganization of the Education Department he had anticipated in 1902 was imminent. For during those years important political changes had taken place. With the growing conservatism of the Jenkins Government (which allied itself more and more closely with the 'opposition', the Australian National League), the radical liberals, led by A.H. Peake, had left it to form a new party in 1904, the Liberal Party. Increasingly, it and the Labor Party co-operated to provide a more realistic opposition. With the victory of the Labor Party in the elections of May 1905, it was

able, with support of the Liberal Party, to unseat the government and form a new government at the end of July. Price, as leader of the Labor Party was now Premier and Minister of Education, a situation that gave Williams considerable influence since he had established good relations with the party through Coneybeer, Labor MP and a friend of some years. Even more important, though, was the fact that Williams, through his colleague Roach, was closely connected with Peake, leader of the Liberal Party and Deputy-Premier.[21] Although not Minister of Education, Peake was much more the government's education spokesman than Price, having championed the teachers' cause from 1901 and shown an interest in reform of the curriculum. From Williams' viewpoint, then, this government showed considerable potential.

In the next few months the campaign for reform of South Australia's Education Department gathered momentum with heavy support coming from the local press and perhaps more significantly from the interstate figures of Knibbs, member of the Royal Commission on Education in New South Wales, and Tate of Victoria. In September, these two educators addressed an Adelaide meeting on the subject of educational reform.[22] The meeting appears to have been engineered by Williams, Price and Peake and was used as a lever against the current education administration. The fact that its chairman was the Reverend Bertram Hawker, son of the well-known pastoral family of South Australia, son-in-law of a former South Australian governor and an interested observer of the education reform movement in England, the Continent and Australia, added to the status of the meeting, making it impossible for the Education Department and the Government to ignore its proceedings. Certainly Stanton, the Inspector-General of the Department, saw it as a direct challenge. By October, re-organization of the Department was being widely discussed

within the community. Significantly, the man most commonly mentioned in terms of this re-organization was Henderson.

By this time, Henderson had become a public figure of some note, not just, as we have seen, because of his interest in educational reform, but also because of his university extension lectures and his research. He quickly became the most popular extension lecturer at the University, his lectures rating as great public occasions. By 1905 he was beginning to use his work on Grey in these lectures. In this way his interest in Australian and imperial sentiment and their interaction became a public one.

Research interests had also led to his becoming an important member of the Library Committee of the Board of Governors of the Public Library, Art Gallery and Museum. Thus his excursions to South Africa in 1902-1903 and New Zealand in 1903-1904 were used not only for his research on Grey, but also for adding to the library's collection of rare documents. Further, it was his initiative in 1905 which led to the purchase of the York Gate Library, a point which will be discussed later.

Socially, he mixed with Adelaide's elite: he was a member of the Adelaide Club. Perhaps more important though was his close friendship with Professor Mitchell and his happy working relationship with Mitchell's father-in-law, Robert Barr Smith, the wealthiest and most influential man in South Australia.

There seemed every reason then why Henderson should make an ideal Director of Education. However, when the reorganization of the Education Department came at the end of 1905, he decided against

accepting the position. He felt that he was not suited temperamentally to the position. Besides, he had already played his key role in making educational reform a public issue from 1902 to 1905.

Now it was for others like Williams, who became Director of Education, to implement the reform in state schools. Henderson turned instead, during the period from 1906 to 1913, to concentrate his attention on his own research and on founding schools of Australian historical research in Australian universities.

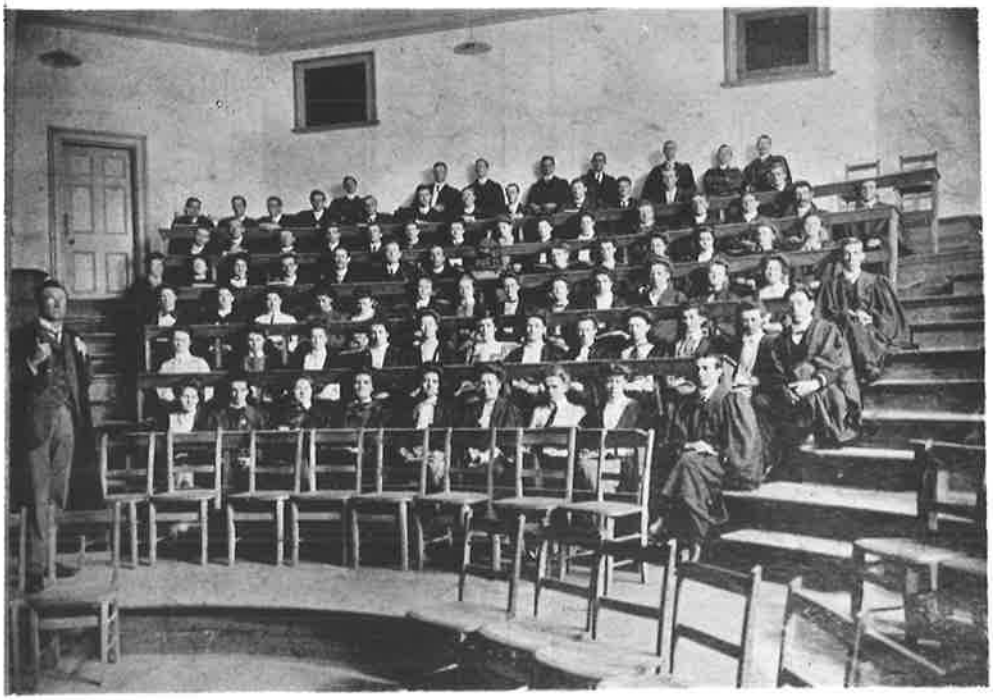
Sponsor of Australian Historical Research: 1906-1913

Henderson's research culminated in his book on Grey being published in 1907. From then on, his teaching duties, especially his desire to establish a school of research in the southern parts of the British Empire, first in Adelaide, but later in other Australian capitals, became the dominating aspect of his professional life at this time. Here one can see the flowering of his Australian-centred sense of patriotism and nationalism. Initially, he began by altering the Adelaide University regulations in 1905 so that in the BA Ordinary and Honours degree 'British Imperial and Colonial History' would have to be taken instead of 'Modern European History, 918-1273'. But in 1909, Henderson took the more significant step of offering Honours students the opportunity of concentrating entirely on original research, under the heading of 'History of South Australia', in their final year. Part of his difficulty up until then had been that there were no Honours students. They only began to make their appearance in 1909 with the introduction of the Tinline Scholarship.

Henderson's suggestion of this scholarship, his hopes for what it would achieve and his methods of establishing it show clearly his

Professor G.C. Henderson

Bushwalking in the Blue Mountains with his friend's son, Mark Mitchell, about 1910.



Lecturing at Adelaide University, 1906

state of thought at that time, particularly with regard to the university's responsibility to stimulate an interest in things Australian. He hoped it would encourage excellence in History in the same way that the John Howard Clark Scholarship had in English literature. As well, it would assist in the formation of an Honours class. But primarily his hope was that such a scholarship would ensure that Adelaide University would begin to fulfil its duty to stimulate research in Australian history. In writing to G.J.R. Murray, head of one of South Australia's wealthy pastoral families, a prominent Adelaide King's Counsel and a member of the University Council, about this idea, as a reminder of a much earlier conversation, Henderson explained in February 1906:

> But there is a special reason why I write to you now about this. Of late as you have seen a professor of Colonial History has been appointed to Oxford, and the subject is bound to demand a lot of attention as long as Imperial matters are to the front. Now, while there are plenty of students researching into the history of countries that lie to the north of the Equator, there has hardly been any pretence yet to scientific work in the history of those British Colonies that lie to the south of the Equator. It seems to me, after careful consideration, that it is the plain duty of our colonial universities to found and encourage schools of research in this branch of history, and we owe that duty to the world. 23

Subsequently, late in 1907 Murray gave £1000 to the University to found the scholarship. For him it was a fitting memorial to his uncle and mother, of the pioneering Tinline family, both of whom had died that year. Henderson had a way of persuading the wealthy of South Australia to share their good fortune with the people of the State. Perhaps, too, the generosity of Robert Barr Smith helped in setting an example to the rest of South Australia's elite.

The Tinline Scholarship began to work as Henderson had hoped. In 1908 the first Tinline Scholar, A.C.V. Melbourne, was appointed to work for two years on 'some subject of Imperial or Colonial History' towards his Honours degree.[24] While the scope of the topic appeared wide in the regulations, Henderson seemed to have fairly specific aims in mind. Again, in a letter to Murray, he explained that it would involve original study into five or six years of the history of South Australia from the beginning. He went on:

> The next Tinline scholar will have to carry that on, and the next till we reach the year in which constitutional government was granted. I am hopeful that the Theses on these periods may be good enough to publish in book form. - Then we can go on to wider Colonial History but not beyond those parts of the Empire that lie to the South of the Equator. 25

But establishing a school of research at Adelaide University was to involve more than creating a scholarship to finance students. It involved him in a campaign to unlock relevant source material. For in the process of encouraging Honours students to take up this research, he was faced with problems relating to source material. The major problem was that the primary sources, government despatches, were not available for public use. For some years Henderson tried to persuade the Secretary of State for the Colonies to make more accessible the despatches kept by Government Houses in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. But the Downing Street response, circularised to all the dominions in 1909, was cautious: in the case of South Australia, extending the period from 1802 to 1837 for 'unfettered access' meant very little.[26] For Henderson's students, researching beyond 1837 meant seeking the special permission of the Secretary of State, a time-consuming business. Although there was subsequently a slight improvement in that permission could be granted by the local government concerned, Henderson felt that much more could be done. Not

surprisingly, this was the major topic of his address when he spoke as President of the History-Geography section of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science in Sydney, January 1911.[27] He suggested that the governing bodies of the Public Libraries throughout the Commonwealth of Australia should jointly petition the Secretary of State requesting that duplicates of all despatches should be transferred from Government House to the Public Library in each State. Later in the proceedings a resolution to this effect was passed unanimously, so setting in motion a series of letters, resulting, in the case of South Australia, in the necessary permission being given early in 1912.

While restricted access to government despatches was the major problem facing Henderson in his drive to encourage research at Adelaide, there was another problem relating to source material. Both the University and the Public Libraries were limited in the books they could provide on imperial and colonial subjects. Yet these were essential in giving background information and perspective to any original research. Initially this problem had affected his own research on Grey when he arrived at Adelaide. Hence his application through Mitchell to the University's main benefactor, Robert Barr Smith, for a grant to immediately supply the necessary books. The next year, 1903, with no doubt, his ideas of a course in British Imperial and Colonial History in mind, he joined Mitchell, Barr Smith and the Chancellor, Way, on the University's Library Committee. As well, soon afterwards, at his first meeting of the Library Committee of the Public Library he made his intentions even clearer by proposing and having accepted the motion, 'That it is desirable that special attention be devoted to strengthening the Imperial History sections of the Library'.[28]

However, it became evident that he was after something much more extensive. No doubt he was aware of David Mitchell's generous offer in 1898 of his private library, rich in Australian material, to the Public Library of New South Wales, if it could be housed appropriately. He would also have known of the tardy response of the New South Wales Government: it was to be eight years before the foundation stone was laid and nearly four more years before the library was officially opened in 1910.

Thus when in 1905, news arrived from England that the famous York Gate Library, with its wealth of imperial material was for sale, Henderson was quick to act. As soon as he could see that the Library Committee would not recommend purchase (because of the cost involved and because the collection, which had to be bought in toto, would duplicate some of the Public Library's books), he urged Thomas Gill, an important member of the Committee, to take up the issue with the Royal Geographical Society, an organization in which Gill had considerable standing as Treasurer and more importantly as an historian.[29] In the final event, it was this small society's funds, supplemented by additional donations fromthe wealthier members (probably after Henderson's discreet persuasion), which brought the York Gate Library to Adelaide. Like the Mitchell collection in New South Wales, special arrangements were made for its housing. In 1908, almost two years before the opening of the Mitchell Library in Sydney, the new wing was complete. Clearly Henderson expected much from the purchase of this library. It was, he remarked to Murray:

> ... one of the best Imperial Libraries in the World and one condition of its purchase was that our university students should have free and unfettered access to it. It affords a splendid opportunity for doing good work on Imperial subjects. 30

Although Henderson had been particularly concerned with the establishment of a school of research at Adelaide University, it had also been his hope that such schools would emerge at colonial universities generally. This was clear from his letter to Murray in early 1906. Certainly, at no other Australian university at that time was there such a school. Not surprisingly perhaps, with such a commitment, Henderson sought a wider stage on which to urge his cause, particularly when he experienced difficulties in negotiations with the Secretary of State regarding access to despatches. It could well have been Henderson who was instrumental in persuading the Council of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science to include history with geography in its section E around 1909. Unfortunately the records do not tell us.

Certainly, at the first conference after its inclusion, Henderson as President of the section gave the opening address which argued the need for 'systematic' and 'scientific' study of Australian history at university level, and, as was mentioned earlier, for a co-ordinated approach by Public Libraries of Australia to the Secretary of State concerning despatches. Not only had such a study become feasible, he explained, in that there was now a sufficiently distant perspective, but also it was a duty which Australian universities owed to the country and to the world. Further, universities were bound to provide advanced students with the opportunity to do original research because of the way in which it developed the qualities of initiative and perseverance and exerted, as he put it, 'a quickening influence on what might be called "The vital quality of the soul"'.[31]

As a means of fostering this research into the history of the States, the Australian Commonwealth and neighbouring colonies, he

proposed awarding scholarships to 'students who have done promising work inside or outside the University, and who have the time and the desire to continue their studies'.[32] As well, and this was a touch so typical of Henderson, he favoured open scholarships because there were 'so many men and women deeply interested in the history of their country who have not been able to go to a University, or have long since passed through it'. Such research, he argued, was in fact far more original than the Honours work of Oxford and Cambridge, and was therefore a legitimate departure for Australian universities. After all, if Australians did not look to the researching of their own history, who would? He went on to comment: '... among the self-governing dominions of the Empire there is none in which so little has been done in a scientific and systematic way to explain its history as in the Commonwealth of Australia'.[33]

Thus, by 1911 the nature of Henderson's commitment was clear, not only as far as Adelaide University was concerned, but also other Australian universities. In some ways it was surprising that it was Henderson, not his former teacher Wood, who became the Australian spokesman on the issue. After all, Wood, from the time of his appointment as History Professor at Sydney University in 1891, had taken an active interest in Australian history. From 1891 he had served on the board supervising the editing of Historical Records of New South Wales and the writing of the official history arising from them.

About that time he had shown an interest in introducing Australian history into his own teaching programme, into university extension lectures and into schools.[34] Yet it was not until 1905 that his own teaching programme actually reflected this interest. More particularly, it was not until 1909 that regulations concerning post-graduate work

specifically mentioned original research. Even then there was no mention of that research having to be concerned with Australian matters, though that was probably the intention. Thus, while Wood's history regulations were very similar to those of Henderson's in 1905 and 1909, Henderson's were much more specific and indicated a stronger resolve to establish a school of Australian historical research. It should be remembered, too, that the 1909 regulations were only the first step for Wood since it was not until 1914 that his students began such research.[35] Significantly, Wood appeared to be waiting until a collection of government despatches for years 1788 to 1812 was published during 1914 and 1915 in the series Historical Records of Australia. This makes Henderson's commitment all the more striking, a commitment that has not been generally recognized by Australian historians.

Thus, Henderson, although very much influenced by Wood's teaching in the early 1890s in Sydney, went on to develop such a determined and specific commitment to Australian historical research that by 1911 he had become Australian spokesman on the matter. After gaining the unanimous support of those in the History-Geography section at the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, Henderson returned to South Australia and drafted the case to be put to the Secretary of State for the Colonies by South Australia and hopefully by other states too. By the time of the next conference in 1913, Henderson could report successful outcomes for South Australia, New South Wales and Western Australia. The association's council resolved to continue to press for the transfer of the despatches in Victoria, Queensland, Tasmania and New Zealand. In this way Henderson laid the groundwork which would encourage universities to establish the hoped for

schools of research into Australian history. The following year Ernest Scott, newly appointed to Melbourne University, began similar work with students there.

Clearly, throughout his drive to shape historical research at Australian universities Henderson made his commitment to Australia and Australians quite clear. Australians should be responsible for research into the history of their own country and people. His establishment of the Tinline Scholarship at Adelaide University and his search for sources are evidence of that commitment. In his own research on Grey, Henderson had been greatly interested in what he saw as 'the rising sense of nationality' in Australia and in other parts of the Empire.[36] In many ways his work at the University reflected that interest.

However, a commitment to Australia and Australians had to be set within a context which he and his associates in Adelaide could accept. From his research on Grey he had concluded, as Grey himself had, that 'the rising sense of nationality' in Australia was quite compatible with a sense of imperial unity; indeed, the deeper the sense of nationality, the stronger the feeling for Empire. Thus, far from a sense of Australian nationality alienating Australians from the Empire, it bound them more closely to it. Given this belief, it is not surprising then that Henderson should variously term the historical research taking place in Australia as 'imperial', 'colonial', 'South Australian', 'Australasian', 'Australian'. They were simply different sides of the same coin.

Yet Henderson was obviously concerned that this rising sense of nationality was showing signs of becoming incompatible with feelings of imperialism. In a series of three articles in 1909 in the

Standard of Empire, a British journal in which imperial-colonial matters were discussed by scholars and imperialists around the Empire, he commented on Richard Jebb's recognition of Colonial Nationalism and its implications for the New Imperialism and government of the Empire.[37] It was Henderson's view that so strident was this nationalism becoming, that it was no longer compatible with imperialism in either its old or new form. Further, it could never be compatible with the New Imperialism, he thought, unless the Dominions were capable of defending as well as governing themselves. Only then would there be an association of equals, the promise of the New Imperialism. But that, he believed, was a long way off.

Thus, in Australia, he saw that the sense of Australian nationality, the desire for independence, was not matched by the capacity to ensure it. He thought it an unreal situation. 'Would it not be better', he asked, [for leaders] to use language that would make the people of the [Australian] Commonwealth more deeply conscious of the great differences between them and the United Kingdom in regard to both power and prestige?' Not surprisingly, the course he developed in Australian history was very much within this framework. For the time being, Australian 'nationality' must still be seen, he argued, within the context of the older kind of British imperialism.

As if to underline this view, Henderson willingly spoke for all like-minded men in toasting the Empire at the annual dinner of the Royal Society of St. George in Adelaide in 1912:

> It had been held that nationality was incompatible with Empire, but within the last 25 years there had been a complete revulsion of feeling and the federation of the Australian States ... had not only been allowed, but even urged, and nationality, far from being incompatible with Empire, was now regarded as the chief and corner stone of Empire (Cheers). 38

Although he appears not to have been a member, Henderson was obviously closely associated with the Society. Founded in 1908 by C.E. Owen Smyth, it had as its objects:

> God and the King; the sure binding together of the various portions of our great Empire, the welfare of the Empire, the helping of young Englishmen coming to a new country, honouring the Flag and supporting it if necessary with our life's blood. 39

It brought together those in South Australia who wished to foster a patriotism and nationalism which drew on both Australian and British traditions. Some of its members, like Way, its President, had strong links with the League of Empire, while others, like one of its Vice-Presidents, Sowden, were heavily involved with the Australian Natives' Association.

In some ways, the emergence of this society can also be seen as a joint Liberal-conservative response to what was perceived by many as the increasingly radical threat posed by the Labor Party. This was the period in South Australia when Liberals like Peake, also a member of the St. George Society, parted company with the Labor Party and joined the conservatives to form the Liberal Union. Their action may not have been simply due to a difference over domestic matters, but also to a difference in orientation in their sense of patriotism and nationalism. The Labor Party was seeking to strengthen people's allegiance to the new Commonwealth of Australia and by implication, some felt, to weaken their feeling for the Empire. Such rivalry is evident in the following resolution put to the Annual Conference of the United Labor Party of South Australia in 1910:

> That a special day be set apart in the State schools on the lines of Empire Day to be called Commonwealth Day, for the purpose of instructing the children in
>
> (1) their duties as citizens to the Commonwealth;
> (2) the constitution of the Parliaments;
> (3) the value of the franchise and the responsibilities of democratic government;
> (4) instructions regarding the constitution of Australian Parliaments and local governing bodies. 40

To Henderson such rivalry was unrealistic and his view was shared by fellow reformer Alfred Williams, himself a member of the Royal Society of St. George. As Director of Education, Williams was to be an influential figure in shaping children's understanding of Australian patriotism and nationalism.

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CHAPTER III

ALFRED WILLIAMS AND THE STATE SCHOOL CURRICULUM

> It should be remembered that our children must be trained to look at the past from two points of view. We are the descendants of a European race whose achievements in literature and science, in social and political government, in naval and military engagements make up a glorious history; but we are also the descendants of people who explored and settled a part of Britain beyond the seas and while we must remember the history of the motherland, we must not neglect the many opportunities to instil in our pupils a love for their own country. 1
>
> Alfred Williams on the Teaching of History, 1907.

In Williams' words of 1907 one can see the same kind of commitment to reform as shown by Henderson: Australia was to be made central to the teaching of History in schools, indeed, to the teaching of all subjects. Yet as with Henderson, so with Williams, such teaching was to be set within the wider imperial context.

The previous chapter showed how Henderson's arrival in Adelaide in mid-1902 brought into focus Williams' commitment to reform education in South Australia. It was Williams, who, as President of the teachers' union from 1903 to 1905, had promoted Henderson as spokesman for educational reform in South Australia in the hope of Henderson becoming Director of Education. When ultimately it was Williams who became Director, it is perhaps not surprising that he should take Henderson as his exemplar of reform. But, of course, his own background and career inclined him in that direction anyway. Just how closely Williams' ideas of reform and his understanding of patriotism and nationalism matched Henderson's can be seen from an examination of his career in the South Australian Education Department.

Alfred Williams: Reforming Teacher

In background he was very similar to Henderson. The son of immigrants, he had been born in Kanmantoo, South Australia, where his father had been a miner.[2] It was at the larger mining town of Moonta that his schooling had led to pupil teaching. From then on his promotion had been rapid within the Department so that by 1891 he had become Headmaster of the East Adelaide Public School and by 1900 of the prestigious Norwood Public School. As a teacher and headmaster he was particularly interested in the subjects which encouraged the wider education of children. Inspectors' reports reflected this interest:

> Poetry, Geography and History are exceptionally well taught. The children are intensely interested in their work which is a pleasure and not a task. Some of the teaching as in geography is very idealistic and arouses the interest of the children and stimulates them to enquire and to study. 3

Little wonder that it had the reputation of being the premier public school of the state.

His commitment to widening the scope of education was also evident from his involvement with teachers' union affairs. For some years he had been on the committee of the important Adelaide Teachers' Association, and as its delegate, had become involved in the statewide teachers' union. In this role he had pressed at the union's annual conference of 1900 for the kind of reform contained in the ideas of the New Education. His motion, 'That this conference still holds the opinion that more time than is necessary is given to the somewhat more mechanical subjects of writing and drawing' was carried unanimously.[4] In speaking to the motion, Williams pointed out the undesirable results which followed

this emphasis in the curriculum: '... other subjects, by which the scholars were taught to use their intellectual powers, had been, to some extent, neglected'. Although expressed differently from Henderson's jottings of 1894, his motion reflected the same kind of concern.

Williams' increasing involvement with union affairs, particularly his interest in the reform of the curriculum led to the development of a close friendship with the Victorian Frank Tate, a frequent visitor to South Australia at the turn of the century and a popular speaker at union meetings. As Principal of the Melbourne Training College from 1900 Tate became the apostle of New Education not only to teacher trainees but also, through summer schools, to teachers throughout the state, even interstate. By January 1902 when the second of these was held in Melbourne, hundreds of teachers were seeking places. Among them was Williams, who as Corresponding Secretary of the South Australian Public Teachers' Union was one of its two delegates sent to Melbourne.

What appeared to impress Williams most was Tate's determination to put into practice the ideals of the New Education, to shift the emphasis from the mechanical subjects of Reading, Writing and Arithmetic to subjects like English Literature, Nature Study, Geography and History.[5] The theme of the summer school was <u>reality</u> in education, which reflected Tate's desire to bridge the great gap he saw between schools and life outside them. An important part of that reality, Tate emphasized, was that schools and their curricula must relate to an <u>Australian</u> environment. Only a few months before, Tate had spoken of his concern about this at the annual conference of the South Australian teachers' union. The report of his comments is worth quoting

at some length for it illustrates very clearly his awareness of Australia which so interested Williams:

> In Australia we were only beginning to realise what the business of national education could be. We had in the past adopted aims and methods of education suited perhaps to other circumstances, but not necessarily suited to our conditions. It was time to think of Australian needs, and to work out such a conception of education as would make the school system supply the kind of men and women we want in Australia. The true education system was the one which was best adapted to the life of the community it served ....
>
> The education he was pleading for recognized that a man had not only a living to get in the world, but a life to be worthily lived .... Australia should mean to every one of us something more than a place out of which we can scratch a living .... To realize this ideal in any way at all by the work of the schools the teacher must remember that there must be no divorce between school interests and life interests ....
>
> ... our future schemes of work must provide for the satisfaction, not only of the intellectual interests of a boy, but especially of his aesthetic interests, his constructive interests, and, above all, of his spiritual interests .... He wanted an Adelaide boy to appreciate the beauty of their lovely hills. In his scheme of education a boy should be taught to realize that the blueness of the sky above these hills, and all the beauty of light and shadow on them, were just as important factors in his life as the tram cars running along King William Street .... Australia might mean so much more to us did we but keep alive the sense of wonder and delight in natural beauty which we have when we come into our schools .... Australia was for our joy as well as for our use and when we neglected her beauty, and became foolishly and apathetically habituated to the manifestations of this beauty, we cast out much from our lives which might be fruitful of national good. 6

That had been in 1901. Now for Williams at the summer school of 1902, Tate's emphasis on reality, presented in greater detail with regard to both education and to Australia, was exhilarating. It was crucial in strengthening his commitment to education reform in South Australia and in making him more aware of the need to Australianize

the curriculum, particularly with regard to History. It would have confirmed what was already becoming obvious to him from his own experience in South Australia. For the teacher B.S. Roach, who had, since 1898, been making a deliberate and successful attempt to introduce Australian history to children by writing stories about the Australian explorers for the Children's Hour, was one of his closest colleagues. The relevance of his work had become increasingly apparent with the celebration of the centenaries of 1900, (the sighting of land in the Southeast of South Australia by Grant,)and more especially of March and April, 1902,(the sightings by Flinders of landmarks further west, Mount Lofty and Encounter Bay). Thus it may well have been Williams, encouraged by Roach, who moved at the committee meeting of the teachers' union in March 1902: 'That only the principal points in History be taught, and that some Australian History be included'.[7] This was the first step in the move to reform the History curriculum, in terms of making it more relevant to the Australian situation.

Thus Williams, in the months which followed the summer school in Melbourne, particularly with the appointment of Tate as Director of Education in Victoria, was full of enthusiasm for the possibility of Australian-based reform in South Australia. It was not surprising then, that as he became aware of the likelihood, then the certainty, of Henderson's appointment at Adelaide University, he realized that here was the ideal man to bring about such reform. Not only was Henderson committed to reform in the Australian context, but he was a persuasive public speaker and politically astute. Socially he moved in circles where he could have much greater political influence than Williams. Thus, just as in 1893 teachers in the South Australian Teachers' Association had sought out J.L. Bonython for their president who, as a prominent public figure would give weight to their cause, so now

Williams sought out Henderson. As part of this move, Williams began planning for his own election as president of the teachers' union. Not only would such a position strengthen the chances of Henderson becoming Director. It would also allow Williams to press more effectively for reform within the Education Department in the meantime.

That there was need for the kind of reform indicated by Williams prior to and after 1902 is evident from the limited view children continued to be given of Australia and Australians in schools during the period 1902 to 1905 when L.S. Stanton was Inspector-General. It is true that for the first time Australia rather than South Australia, was portrayed as the children's native land, but its negative aspects were given undue emphasis. As well, the rest of the world, especially Britain, were featured more often and more positively. Teachers and children could only conclude that these areas were more relevant to their situation. This can be seen from analysing the curriculum and the text books and readers used regularly in schools by teachers and children in the period from 1902 to 1905. The areas of the curriculum most influential in shaping children's understanding were Reading, Geography, History and Nature Study.

Children's Limited View of Australia and Australians

During this time Australia began to be presented to children as their own country with its own particular kind of beauty, its own flora and fauna which should be valued and preserved. The distinctive history of its settlement by Europeans began to be related. But any enthusiasm a child might have felt for Australia must have been dampened by the featuring of the country's more negative aspects: it was a harsh, dangerous land; its first inhabitants were despised; its

flora and fauna could not compare with those of Europe and its seasons did not allow for the proper celebration of the main festival of the year, Christmas. Furthermore, most of the curriculum and the reading material was not concerned with Australia, but the rest of the world especially Britain.

Emphasis on Australia being the children's own country, their native land, gradually became apparent in the curriculum and in the reading material. In History, a very small section on the colonization of Australia was introduced in 1903 for the older children, after pressure was exerted by the teachers' union. As well, teachers were advised by the Education Gazette to read and to encourage children to read Long's Stories of Australian Exploration which was said to provide 'just the points of our brief Australian history that touch the imagination of children'.[8]

More importantly though, to foster this interest, articles were written for the schools' most important reader, the monthly Children's Hour. The most striking of these formed the series 'Our own country' which ran for two years. Its message, as introduced by an excerpt from one of Tennyson's poems, was clear:

> Love thou thy land, with love far brought
> From out the Storied Past, and used
> Within the Present, but transfused
> Thro' future time by power of thought. 9

The term 'country' appeared to refer to Australia: initially, Australian discovery and settlement by Europeans was outlined; thereafter, it was South Australia which was featured and, in particular, its Southeast region. Perhaps it was the intention of the editor, C.L. Whitham, to continue the series choosing other regions in the state and beyond. However, the series ended with the change in editor

in early 1906. Even so, it was a significant attempt to focus children's attention on points of geographical and historical interest relating to their land.

A few other articles served a similar purpose. Not only did they inform children about their country (a term which sometimes still referred to South Australia) but also they encouraged them to feel a certain pride in the exploits of their forebears, particularly the explorers who were at that time being honoured with monuments. One, for example, reported the laying of the foundation stone to commemorate Grant's discoveries of 1800. Its comment, 'This was the first land seen and named in your native land', obviously referred in this case, to South Australia. Elsewhere children had been encouraged to send their contributions in to help meet the cost of the monument. Even the occasional song in the Children's Hour revealed the same emphasis on native land. 'Bright Austral Land' written by 'Australian' contained the refrain, 'That Austral land, 'tis mine, 'tis mine ...'.[10] In this way children were being encouraged to consider Australia rather than South Australia, and certainly not Britain, as their native land.

Associated with this idea was that of Australia being a beautiful place. However, it made only a rare appearance and sometimes in odd contexts. For example, in a Children's Hour article on the drought-stricken north of South Australia, we find the writer describing the country after rain as a 'misty fairy land'. He went on to remark: 'Yes; there is a beauty in the North - a beauty of delicate frail colours, green, brown, red, blue, with all the glare washed out of them'.[11] This ability to see beauty in the Australian context is also evident in two articles by W.W. Froggart, Government Entomologist of New South Wales.[12] In one he wrote, 'In this bright sunny climate Nature has

clothed our hills and fields with a profusion of plants and flowers, with their attendant birds and insects ...' and he went on to lament the 'careless disregard of our surroundings'. In the other, he spoke of 'the great Australia beyond the town' and again of the city boy's ignorance concerning it.

This awareness of the beauty in the Australian environment was closely linked to a growing interest in Australian flora and fauna. This was evident from a change in the curriculum, in the area of Special Lessons which increasingly from 1902 were devoted to nature study rather than other kinds of manual work. Inspectors, influenced by the ideas of the New Education being implemented in Victoria, saw nature study as providing an enjoyable way of teaching the scientific method and fostering the growth of more intangible qualities in children: 'a love for study and a desire for improvement' and 'a taste for the good and beautiful'.[13] Some, like Inspector Smyth, thought it would have particular relevance in the Australian context:

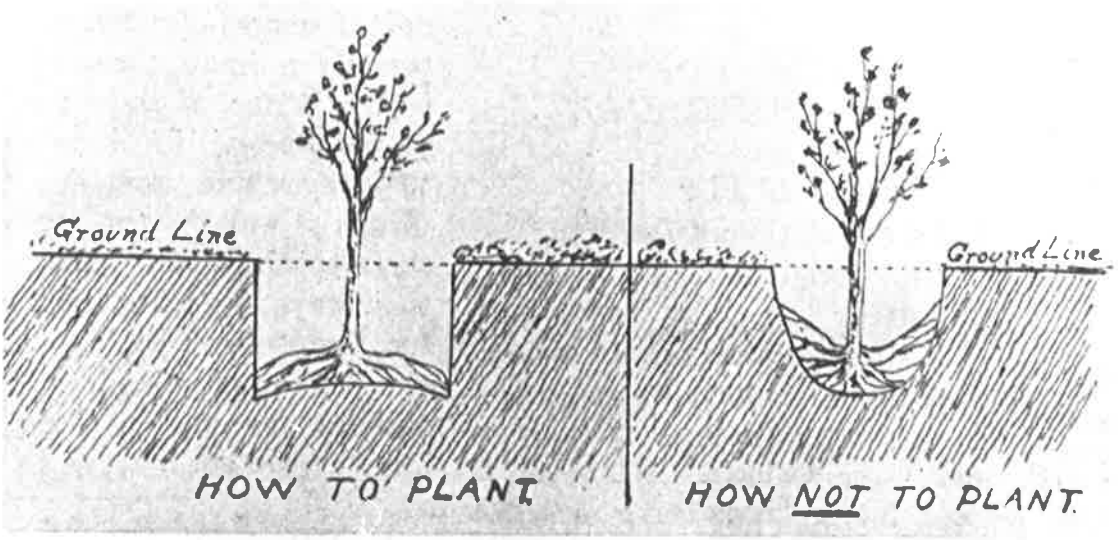
> ... especially in the country districts, ... every boy or girl may have an opportunity of becoming a self-taught naturalist. By its means the powers of observation are intensified, and those of reflection more keenly developed. With a sympathetic teacher ... a great deal of pleasure will be imparted, and a new interest given to life. 14

But it was also evident from a change in children's reading material. From 1903 the Class II edition of the Children's Hour ran a particularly good series on Australian birds and the other two editions for Classes III and IV featured the occasional article on Australian flora and fauna. Student contributions on nature study topics were encouraged especially those which revealed keen observation of birds or plants over a period of time. Another series which promoted this interest was the one mentioned earlier, 'Our own country'. Its first few articles were almost entirely concerned with Kangaroo Island, particularly the history of the discovery

by European botanists of its flora. The editor even went so far as to include a paper written some years before by one of the botanists, which gave both common and scientific names. The introduction of common names was most significant, as will be seen later, in helping children to relate to native flora.

The highlight though of the Children's Hour's interest in nature study came with its special July number in 1904 and 1905 which introduced and celebrated Arbor and Bird Day. This appears to have been prompted by the new South Australian law of 1904 protecting native birds, for part of the number gave a long list of these birds. It is possible to catch a glimpse of the impact of such reading material on children by seeing the kind of essays they wrote in return for the Children's Hour: they showed a concern for the environment, a concern that Australians did not appreciate their native birds, that they overrated the damage and underrated the good done by birds, and that more native trees should be planted to support bird life.[15]

Turning now to the emerging interest in relating the distinctive history of European settlement in Australia, a beginning was made, as has been seen, with the decision in 1903 to include a small section on the colonization of Australia. But as there were no detailed guide-lines as to which aspects of colonization should be taught, teachers had to rely on Stories of Australian exploration. Children continued to depend on their readers, mostly the Children's Hour but also the Imperial Readers which provided rather sketchy information and ideas. For example, the series 'Our own country' was almost entirely concerned with the discovery and settlement of the Southeast of South Australia. But it was balanced to some extent by a series on the far north of the state and its different kind of settlement, the introduction of the



Note.—The tree on the left is too deep in the ground, otherwise it is properly planted.

[*Photo., J. Willmott.*

PLANTING A TREE ON THE RICHMOND SCHOOL GROUND.

Arbor Day, illustrations in the Children's Hour.

Class IV
July 1904.

camel and even ostrich farming. Overall, the emphasis which emerged was on discovery and exploration, particularly concerning Grant, Flinders and Stuart, an emphasis which would have been encouraged by the growing public recognition of these men at that time. In this way a formal beginning was made in relating to children the discovery and settlement of Australia by their forebears: Australian history was their distinctive strand of British history.

All this resulted in a more positive image of Australia being presented to children. Indeed, in some rare instances in the Children's Hour, it was made so positive as to equal or surpass the more dominating British values. This was most often in regard to flora. In the long poem 'The national flower of Australia' we find this equality clearly stated:

> Let England boast her Rose so red,
> Scotland her Thistle blue,
> Ireland its Shamrock leaf so green
> The Wattle blooms for you. 16

Another article, 'The life story of a Eucalypt' (as told to a jackass), pointed out how superior the Eucalypt was to English trees in the Australian environment. At one point in the story the Eucalypt demanded of the jackass: 'Do you think an English tree could have lived all these years in this dry bush as I have without water?' and went on, incredulous, to relate how 'our Australians actually bring them here and plant them in their streets'.[17] The same kind of superiority, and hostility, emerges even more strongly in another story, this time told by an old red gum to, significantly, a young English oak.[18] He reflected on his early years when there had been an harmonious balance between the land, its flora and fauna and the first inhabitants, the Aboriginals. He lamented the destruction which had come with European settlement.

But the best example of how this positive image could be used occurred in relation to the issue of climate and the most important festival of the year, Christmas. It was a poem in two parts, 'Christmas: in England and Australia' by the late J.C.F. Johnson who as a writer and politician had made some attempts to Australianize the curriculum during the 1880s. Its inclusion in the December number of the 1904 Children's Hour may well have been a reminder of Johnson's beliefs since he had died just a few months before.[19]

In the poem, he not only gave Christmas an Australian setting but also showed, by comparison with the English one, how it more clearly reflected the true Christmas spirit. In England the mark of Christmas was coldness:

> A sky of mist, with cloud-wrack from the sea,
> Sodden with sleet, and laden all with snow,
>
> ...
>
> Wild Winter rules; his potent touch hath now
> The landscape bound in hard and glittering bonds.

In Australia it was warmth:

> A cloudless sky of tender turquoise blue
> Smiles o'er the warm, glad, sun-kissed southern
> land.
>
> ...
>
> No grey old wintry blooded man art thou
> We see a bright-haired youth with sun-tanned face,
> Radiant with youth's high hopes, frank fearless
> eyes,
> Slender, lithe limbed, Apollo like in grace,
> And cheeks aglow with thoughts of high emprise.

How bleak was Christmas for many in England with its 'misery that seems past cure ...'. How different was the scene in Australia:

> No note of anguish clouds his glorious smile,
> No cry of starving brothers in their pain.
> O'er our great Island, stretching mile on mile,
> Joy holds her sway, and peace and plenty reign.

One might be tempted to modify Johnson's poetic licence in places, but nevertheless, his was a rare and striking attempt to re-think the message of Christmas in terms of his Australian surroundings. They were to be preferred to the English ones for the proper celebration of Christmas. This makes its inclusion in the Children's Hour of 1904 so significant.

Promising as all this might be, it was far outweighed by the more frequent featuring of the negative aspects of Australia's image. Australia was portrayed as a harsh, dangerous land with wild coasts and a vast lonely interior. Death was often the result of Europeans venturing forth into this environment, death by shipwreck or by becoming lost in the bush. Well might children grow up fearing this environment, like the small son of a poor selector in the Blue Mountains in a fairy tale included in the Children's Hour.[20] It is true that often such conditions were shown to lead to acts of heroism, not only by explorers but also by children like Grace Bussell of Western Australia. But throughout the reading material there was the vague implication that this land was not really suited to occupation by Europeans or their plants and animals.

Such a harsh environment had produced, not surprisingly it was felt, strange and backward original inhabitants. Mention of Australian Aboriginals was rare but when it did occur, the discussion was patronising and derogatory. This was evident in articles by both children and teachers in the Children's Hour. For example, in one of the articles of the series 'Our own country', much was made of the wreck of the 'Maria', the fate of its survivors and the punishment later meted out to the Aboriginal 'murderers'. Where Aboriginals did assist Europeans, as in the story of Burke and Wills, little was made of such

assistance: 'King contrived to reach a party of blacks, with whom he lived until he was rescued some months later'.[21]

This treatment of the Australian Aboriginals in children's literature differed markedly from that of the New Zealand Maoris. In all the Imperial Readers, written, it should be noted, primarily for New Zealand children, there was at least one, sometimes two stories about the Maoris and without exception they were told in a complimentary way. This contrast in treatment can be seen most clearly in the Children's Hour article 'The advance of Australia' in its discussion of settlement in New Zealand:

> In making their new homes the settlers had several wars with the maoris, the original inhabitants of the country, a race of brave and intelligent brown people, much higher in the scale of humanity than the blacks of Australia, who are fast dying out. 22

It was not surprising that children learned to despise the first Australians.

In a similar way children were also given the impression that their flora and fauna were equally strange when compared with those of other lands, especially Europe. Despite the occasional article on Australian flora and fauna, stories and photographs of those in other lands predominated, even, significantly, in the special Arbor and Bird Day numbers of the Children's Hour: no Australian bird or tree was featured, only European. One senses the constant comparison being made between the two, a comparison which belittled the Australian because the European was seen to be the norm. The clearest example of this occurred in the article which began the series on Australian birds: in introducing the black swan, the writer remarked that it was

> not as large as the beautiful white ones
> brought out from England, which we often
> see in the ponds of our parks and gardens.
> They are, however, bolder and more fierce 23

Coupled with this was the idea that such flora and fauna, with the exception of some native birds after 1904, were not worthy of preservation. Stories promoted the commercial exploitation of the possum and saw the extinction of certain species as inevitable and not a matter for regret. For example, in the article 'Wild birds of the present and the past' we find:

> ... [the emu] has entirely disappeared from the
> settled regions of Australia. It is probably
> destined to extinction at no distant day, for,
> though its flesh is esteemed as an article of
> food, its appetite is too voracious to make its
> preservation profitable. 24

Such articles marred the attempt to create a more positive image of Australian flora and fauna.

Climate and seasons were also matters for comment, though again the European norm prevailed. Thus, much was made of the strangeness of Australia's heat and dryness, its droughts and bushfires. Clearly, events like Christmas could not be given such a strange setting. Some Christmas stories were more alienating than others, like the one which had Father Christmas refusing to go on his rounds without Jack Frost and the Snow Queen because once before when he had gone alone, boys had said,'"No Frost! no snow! ... what a wretched miserable Christmas"'.[25] Faced with such pleas, Jack Frost and the Snow Queen obliged. One wonders how such stories affected the way children felt about their Christmas in Australia. Not once in the years 1902 to 1905 were they given an Australian setting.

This featuring of the negative aspects of Australia's image was strengthened by the fact that most of the curriculum and reading material

was not concerned with Australia but the rest of the world, especially Britain. The approach in History typified that used in most subjects of the curriculum: the small section introduced on Australia was only a very minor part of one of the four years of instruction in History. It was only too obvious that the basic principle of the History course still remained: 'All that is required is to give the children a fair general outline of the course of English History'.[26] Only Geography fared better in that four of its six years course were given over to local, South Australian and Australasian matters.

A more striking sign of the continued importance of Britain in the curriculum was the appearance of Empire Day in the schools in 1905. Initially instructions given by the Minister of Education to teachers concerning its celebration were cautious: '... in all schools under his control that have joined the League of the Empire, Empire Day may be specially observed', (that is, in about twenty out of more than seven hundred schools).[27] Instructions given the next month, however, were much more authoritative: '... "Empire Day" shall be celebrated at all schools under his control'. The object of the celebration appeared to be solely concerned with the Empire not Australia:

> ... to bring prominently before the pupils such a view of the British Empire as will help to develop a feeling of pride in the achievements of the British people, and increase the groundwork of knowledge on which an intelligent patriotism may be based. 28

Precisely what was meant by 'intelligent patriotism' was not clear, though further down, the instructions spoke of encouraging children 'not only to be patriotic Australians, but patriotic citizens of the British Empire'. The same issues were raised later in the year with the appearance of Trafalgar Day. Again a second set of instructions

were issued by the Minister, though this time the influence of the League was even more evident: '... all schools shall take special notice of the Centenary of Trafalgar ..., and shall follow the advice given by the League of the Empire in ... the September Gazette '.[29]

The Children's Hour reflected this new interest in empire. It publicized prizes for essays and poems on Nelson to mark the centenary of his death and did the same for Empire Day, reaching a wider audience than the Education Gazette. It reported in great detail the first public celebrations of Empire Day in South Australia: the saluting of the Union Jack (in schools which owned one), the flying of flags from public buildings in Adelaide, the ringing of the Town Hall bells, the twenty one gun salute at Fort Largs and, most important, the 'great Rally' of nine hundred in Victoria Hall, Gawler Place, Adelaide.[30] Lieutenant-Governor Way, President of the South Australian branch of the League presided over the proceedings which began with a stirring recitation,'Defence of Lucknow', with bagpipe accompaniment, followed by patriotic songs, then addresses on Empire Day, Australia and Windsor Castle. Curiously enough this report in the Children's Hour was followed by the United States of America's national song 'The Star Spangled Banner', but perhaps this was intended to indicate what had once been Britain's wider Empire.

Such a development in the school paper simply sharpened the emphasis of its earlier numbers prior to 1902. For example, in the article 'The advance of Australia' the writer commented with approval on the viewpoint of Grey when Premier of New Zealand: '... his ruling idea was to work in such a manner that the England of the South and the England of the North would remain for all time a simple and growing force'.[31]

Other readers, both those published locally in South Australia for younger children and those from overseas, used almost entirely traditional European, usually British stories, poems and proverbs. The readers most widely used for Classes II to V, the Imperial Readers from New Zealand, were an interesting example of this. They included a wide range of stories and poems from across the Empire, though New Zealand and traditional British ones were emphasized. The philosophy of the readers was decidedly imperial, as was clear from a note on the poem 'Ye Mariners of England': 'The song teaches us that we must depend upon our navy for our Empire, and that we should give honour to our heroic ocean warriors'.[32]

The only other text books used by teachers and children were those for History in Classes I and II, Longmans' 'Ship' Historical Readers Books I and II. Their subtitle, 'Simple Stories from English History', and the preface of Book II obviously assumed that the children's country was England:

> ... an attempt has been made to tell such stories as shall be of interest to children, and at the same time give such an outline of the history of our country as may form the basis of more detailed lessons that may come later. As far as possible the history is taught through biographies. Further, some of the subjects of the stories have been selected for the sake of the valuable moral lessons to be learnt from them....

Among the 'valuable moral lessons' to be learned was that of patriotism which was defined in the story about Eliot as that feeling in a man which caused him to defend, even to the death, the rights of parliament (in the English context)and the people against an autocratic monarch.

This interest in England, reinforced by the introduction of Empire Day, detracted from the positive image of Australia which had made its appearance in the period 1902 to 1905. That Australia was

their native land, with a beauty of its own, with interesting flora and fauna, still largely unknown and unappreciated and with its own particular history, had little effect when measured against the weight of tradition associated with Europe, particularly Britain and its Empire. Thus, at a time when children in South Australia were beginning to be informed in a meaningful way about their land, they were also being taught how much less important it was than Europe and Britain. It is possible to catch a glimpse of the effect of this on children from a story told to children through the Children's Hour. It began:

> 1. Once in South Australia lived a boy who thought nothing so wonderful happened in his country as in other far-away lands of which he read. ...
> 3. There may be pupils reading the Children's Hour today who think that to be a hero, and to do deeds which poets may write about, or artists make pictures of, you must live in other lands, where battles are fought, and where people do not lead such quiet lives as we do in Australia. 33

Understandably, given Williams' desire for reform, he welcomed the more positive changes of 1902 to 1905, but he felt that they did not go far enough. While the curriculum and its reading material taught children a more positive attitude towards Australia than before, it still alienated them. Thus, the slight reform from 1902 to 1905 simply whetted the critics' appetite for more.

Growing Demand for Curriculum Reform: 1902-1905

Criticism was expressed both by teachers through their union, particularly under Williams' Presidency from 1903 to 1905, and by inspectors. Their comments reflected a belief in the ideas of the New Education, especially in the desire to move beyond the Three Rs, and to make Australia more central to the curriculum. Throughout this period, Williams pressed continuously for reform of the curriculum, especially

in History.[34] What was needed, he argued, was a curriculum which would encourage the correlation of subjects, so allowing for the proper teaching of Drawing, History, Geography and Poetry. This was seen to be especially useful for teachers in small schools taking several classes at the same time.[35] As well, the provision of text books for Geography and History was seen as essential. These would take some of the pressure off teachers and help children to be more responsible for their own learning.

Many of these ideas were taken directly from Tate's revised curriculum of June 1902 in Victoria which correlated in particular Nature Study, Geography and History. There, Australia's history had been introduced into the curriculum primarily to make the study of its Geography more interesting. But clearly the book which was specifically written for the course in 1902, Long's Stories of Australian Exploration, was intended to do more than this. Australian history, it argued, should be studied in its own right as was the case with the Old World. Thus in the preface we find:

> Are not our mountains, plains, lakes and rivers associated with the exploits of their explorers - brave men who contended no less strenuously with foes in the guise of hunger, thirst, and the perils of the wilderness than their forefathers with the peoples who bordered on their territories? ... Should it not be possible to surround with a halo of romance the physical features that constitute the contour of the continent, to colour the geographical description with the personality of the men who first gazed upon them?
>
> More than this, should not those who, like myself, are native-born, feel it to be a disgrace to them that the deeds of the heroes of exploration - those men who, taking their lives in their hands, went forth to reveal a new continent to the world - are being allowed to fade into forgetfulness? 36

Later in Tate's 1905 revision of the curriculum much greater emphasis was given to History and Australian History. These developments were not lost on Williams in South Australia as his campaign for reform gathered momentum.

Williams and the union were not alone in their criticism from 1903 to 1905. Inspectors also, perhaps influenced by the union, for the two groups were close, voiced their criticism, criticism which has survived in much more detail because of their annual reports. Their chief criticism reflected the central idea of the New Education, that is, that education should be much more than the Three Rs, but it also reflected a concern that the curriculum should be Australia-based. Senior Inspector Burgan indicated this in his report for 1904 when he said: 'We have laid, I am afraid, in the past too much stress on the acquisition of certain arts ..., and have not regarded these as merely the means by which something else is to be secured'.[37]

Such misplaced emphasis had led to insufficient time being given to the more cultural subjects like Geography and History which led in turn to the cramming of facts into children's heads by rote-learning, again something the New Educationists condemned. In South Australia, too, this brought forth specific comments from the inspectors, who questioned the teaching of these subjects, even Geography which had been adapted to the Australian situation. Regarding Geography, particularly of South Australia and Australia, they said:

> Speaking generally, no subject has been worse taught. Too often have I found that geography has been understood by the children to mean two things - (1) learning by heart printed notes, (2) map drill .... Observation of nature and reasoning about natural phenomena have formed no part of the work. There has been a great want of concrete teaching - of realism - throughout.
>
> So many towns are marked upon the school map that nearly the whole of the time given to this subject is taken up in learning their names merely.
>
> I have occasionally found the whole of the pupils of the Second Class unable to show the position of South Australia on the map of Australia. The class ... had no idea of its ... length, breadth, boundaries, population, climate, and physical features, although they could point the positions of the most obscure little towns marked on their map, and knew the names of the chief ranges of hills, rivers and lakes.

> I must again remark that upon several occasions I was greatly surprised to find the Fourth and Fifth Classes knew very little of Australian geography, specially that of South Australia .... I can see no excuse for children leaving school without having a fair general knowledge of Australian geography, because great care has been taken to make it no more than a well-selected outline such as the average child is likely to remember. 38

History suffered a similar fate, as sketched by Inspector Whillas:

> The chief object of many teachers appears to be to make the pupils familiar with a chart which is often-times unintelligible to the examiner. Other teachers present only the dry bones of history, compelling the unfortunate pupils to cram up a short epitome of the chief events and their dates. This is history with all the life crushed out, and is not only useless, but positively injurious, as it makes the subject repulsive to the pupil. 39

One can have a certain sympathy for the teacher caught between the desire to make lessons interesting on the one hand and the demands of the annual examination on the other. Classes of seventy were common. Yet all had to be prepared to face the questions of the inspector or, if the school was exempt under the system introduced in 1901, of the head teacher. Children were examined collectively, in 'drafts' of thirty, and a result over Classes II to V was averaged for the whole school. Small wonder that teachers often stuck to their chart and the 'dry bones'!

Eventually, inspectors began to understand that the practices they were quick to criticize stemmed in large part from the examination system itself:

> ... the subjects requiring the most attention were given the smallest number of marks [according to the examination system]; and these subjects [History and Geography among others], which suffered from comparative neglect, are the most difficult to teach and the most educational and beneficial to the pupil. 40

What hopes then did inspectors have for the curriculum? What was that 'something else ... to be secured'? Burgan's report indicates part of the answer:

> ... it seems to me that we are only just awakening to the fact that education, to be of any use, must have a practical bearing on life, and that all our efforts to teach children should aim at the preparation for life, its duties, privileges, and responsibilities .... in a democratic country like ours the necessity for fitting a child to get its living and to perform its duties faithfully and honestly in the interests of the State is of paramount importance, and must not be neglected. Teachers have the opportunity to make or mar the future of our growing Commonwealth.... 41

With such a concern, Burgan was giving voice to yet another tenet of the New Education: the primacy of History in the curriculum because of its potential for character formation, especially with regard to citizenship. He deplored the 'gross ignorance' which he found 'even amongst intelligent children' regarding the duties and rights of citizenship and looked to the proper teaching of History to rectify this situation: 'The struggles of the people to obtain and keep their freedom and the inheritance that has come down to them from their forefathers should always be before them, and they should learn how these can be retained in a constitutional way'.

Other inspectors also noted the potential of History, particularly since its modification in 1903. Not only did the course for older children include some Australian history (minor though it was), but also it was reorganized to emphasize British political development, especially the development of parliamentary government and the rights and duties of citizens, rather than the changes in dynasties. The impact of such modification on inspectors and teachers was significant: 'No subject has provoked more discussion as to its utility as a subject for teaching in the common schools than this'.[42]

In this way both inspectors and teachers saw the ideas of the New Education a means of redirecting state education in South Australia. Such education should have 'a practical bearing on life'. It should reach beyond teaching the three basic skills to helping a child understand the world around him, the world outside the school. This emphasis inevitably had to take into account the Australian environment which meant that the subjects which were seen to have such potential, Nature Study, Geography, English Literature and History, must, at some time, be directly related to that environment. With the first three this would not be especially difficult, but how would History be used? In particular, what would it teach children to think about concepts of country and nation in relation to Australia on the one hand and the Empire on the other?

Alfred Williams: Director of Education

These were matters to which Williams had given much thought when President of the teachers' union from 1903 to 1905. How he hoped to develop the potential of the above subjects, particularly in fostering Australian patriotism and nationalism among children, became apparent from the time of his appointment in January 1906. Although he adopted the curriculum proposed by the outgoing administration and approved by the teachers' union, he took care to set out his own particular expectations in the column 'Notes by the Director':

> There are three subjects which need considerable attention and thought on the part of the teacher, viz., poetry, geography and history.
>
> ...
>
> I should like to see in every school some form of 'Observation lessons' [that is, nature study]. 43

Alfred Williams, Director of Education,
The Adelaide Observer, 6 January 1906.

His concern for ensuring that the curriculum related to the real world of the child is evident from his remarks on the teaching of Geography: 'We must always keep two important matters in mind ... (1) the acquired knowledge is to be based on a foundation built up by observation; and (2) we must begin at home'.[44] The method illustrated over page indicates his intent.

But clearly, from the changes which followed gradually over the next twelve months, his major concern was History and how it was to relate to the rest of the curriculum, especially its Australian segments. The initial move was to link History and Geography more closely together, particularly for Classes II and III which studied South Australia and Australia respectively. It was also to be closely related to reading as was clear in the instructions reassuring teachers alarmed at the lengthening curriculum:

> Good teaching of history may do much to encourage a love of reading.
>
> The introduction of Australian history will, of necessity, lessen the time which can be given to the history of England. If, however, the subject is properly dealt with in the reading and geography lessons, the time required to be specially devoted to it need not be very great. 45

This pattern emerged much more strongly in what was really Williams' first curriculum early in 1907. Not only was History given higher status, so that it became the next most important after English and Mathematics, but also it was tied more closely to reading by having History readers used for both subjects. Even more significantly, as will be seen later, continuing changes in the period 1907 to 1913 ensured that History would be more relevant to the Australian situation.

Within this context, there was a much stronger attempt to present a positive view of Australia and Australians to children and this time

A practical lesson in Geography, Observation School, Adelaide.

SAPP 1909.

without the accompanying alienating aspects: it was a country worthy of being understood and cared for in its own right; it had a particular kind of beauty; its flora and fauna did have a rightful place in the botany and zoology of the world and its history was a distinctive part of the British stream from which it had sprung.

Emphasis on patriotism, feeling for Australia, was evident from the beginning of Williams' administration. Thus we find him making a point of including in the February Education Gazette, just a month after his appointment, notes on patriotism. These had been given as part of an address on music in the schools to the students of the Training College by one of the inspectors, but it was felt that they should be printed 'for the information and guidance of many teachers'.[46] The notes were quite unequivocal: 'To cultivate patriotism is of very great importance. We have thousands of pupils who should leave our hands feeling and believing that there is no country like their own'.

This deliberate fostering of patriotism permeated the whole curriculum. In Nature Study, this kind of emphasis was evident, not so much from the course itself but from what was said about it. A speaker at the 1906 annual conference of the teachers' union obviously struck a chord in his listeners when he said that:

> Nature study taught them [people] it was not necessary to leave their own doors to see the wonders and beauties of nature. ... the first two generations of Australians had turned wistful eyes back to the old country; but the time had now arrived when Australians had come to realize that the land with which they were most concerned was Australia. (cheers) The sooner they learned to love their own soil and the conditions in which they were placed the better for Australia. 47

The promotion of this patriotism was built in part on the recognition that Australia was a beautiful place. Again, it was not so much through the curriculum but rather through conference speakers and instructions in the Education Gazette that this was done. The same speaker at the 1906 conference had remarked, again with the support of his listeners: 'People sometimes raved about the scenery of distant lands, but there were beauty-spots in Australia, and unsurpassable sunrises and sunsets. (cheers)'.

Most often though, beauty was spoken of in terms of Australia's flora and fauna. The aim was not just to communicate this sense of beauty to teachers but also to give them information which would aid their understanding and appreciation of native flora and fauna. An early start was made in this by Williams, who arranged for J.A. Leach, Lecturer in Nature Study at the Training College, Melbourne, to lead a special Nature Study camp for South Australian teachers at Victor Harbor in the holiday week of October 1906.

Leach set the tone of the camp by establishing the particular reason, as he saw it, for teaching Nature Study in schools, that is, to pass on to the next generation growing up in towns and cities an understanding of the bush. His own words clearly explain his point:

> Some objectors say that we did very well at school without nature study; but conditions have changed. We had our school life. After school we had the bush to wander in, and our out-of-door life, where we learned many of the remarkable features of our districts; but where are those things now? The trees have been rung, the scrub burnt off, the swamp drained, and the whole face of nature changed. In order to give our children as good a chance as we had, we must include something to make up for this destroyed field of nature that did so much to develop us. 48

For teachers unable to attend the camp, the proceedings were printed

in an Education Gazette supplement. The accompanying Director's note, in commending it to teachers, encouraged them to continue their study by using the two recently published books First Studies in Plant Life in Australasia and First Studies in Insect Life in Australasia.

This promising start was followed by detailed course instructions in 1907. But as they were simply the same 'Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers' issued by the English Board of Education, the Director was careful to add in 1908 a nature study section in the Education Gazette specific to Australian matters. The section was to be handled by A.G. Edquist, the teacher sent to Melbourne to train in Nature Study then appointed as lecturer at the new Adelaide High School. 'Note by the Director' made his purpose clear:

> The matter published in this column from month to month is intended to form a basis for the Nature Study work to be done in the schools. It will deal with our own conditions at various seasons, and should, on that account, be of especial interest and value to teachers and pupils. 49

Not only did it deal with problems for the month and point out observations for the month, but also it encouraged questions from teachers in the correspondence column. Interestingly enough, it was the latter which was to prove most popular. Edquist himself commented: 'The growth of this column during the year points to an increasing and lively interest in the natural objects around us'.[50] Numerous flowers and insects had been sent in for identification and information. Edquist's own example in the field was quite remarkable as can be seen from the photograph on the next page.

Just how important this nature study section was to teachers can be seen from a remark from one of the inspectors: 'There is no

NATURE STUDY.—A LESSON ON A YOUNG PLAIN.

Five Hundred and Fifty Children from the Eastern Suburbs on a Visit to the Hills on April 29th. 1910.

A.G. Edquist at work.

SAPP 1910.

unwillingness on the part of teachers, but much misunderstanding and want of knowledge'.[51] With articles like Edquist's educating them, how much more likely would teachers be able to fulfil the expectations of the Education Department, that is, 'to render their lessons so attractive that the pupils will become fascinated by the wonders of creation and eventually keenly in sympathy with the wondrous beauty and harmony of design everywhere unfolded'. [52]

Such interest in schools was a reflection of what was happening in the wider society. Public recognition was being given to artists who captured the beauty of Australian wild flowers. The purchase by the South Australian Government and A.G. Downer of Ellis Rowan's hundred paintings of South Australian native flora in 1907 was a sign of determination to retain part of the state's heritage.[53] Indeed, the South Australian Government, through the prompting of men like George Downer and George Murray, had led the rest of Australia in recognizing the importance of Ellis Rowan's work.[54] For Williams, who may well have been consulted by his Minister on the purchase, the acquisition would have encouraged him further in his work in schools.

However, the greatest effort in communicating a sense of beauty and relevant information about native flora and fauna to teachers and children and thus stimulating Australian patriotism, was made by the more deliberate promotion of Bird and Arbor Day. The day was now to be celebrated specifically in relation to the Australian environment. As the planting of trees was not compulsory on Bird and Arbor Day, the Williams' administration began in 1906 to impress upon teachers the importance of planting trees: each generation had a 'universal obligation' to plant trees for the use and enjoyment of succeeding generations.[55] Indirectly the planting of native trees was encouraged. The case of

Jamestown was cited where the 'fine gums' planted a generation before had transformed a 'suffocating dustbin into an attractive township'. Perhaps teachers took the lesson too much to heart for the Department found it necessary a few years later to add the following caution to its regulations: 'Trees are supplied only for schools, or for school children to plant under the teacher's supervision, in public, not private, grounds ...'.[56] Still, to be fair to teachers, the regulations had not made the public/private distinction clear before. Another significant addition, also in blackened print, was the instruction: '... the work must be thoroughly done and the trees well looked to afterwards'.

Not surprisingly, as A.G. Edquist established himself in his role of Nature Study lecturer, he became the Director's right hand man in promoting Bird and Arbor Day and its Australian celebration. He encouraged the swapping of seeds of native trees, shrubs and flowers and gave advice on the planting of seedlings so as to give a natural effect. They should be in clumps not lines and arranged according to height. But his greatest achievement, with Williams, was the creation of Bird Protection Clubs in the schools from 1910 to form the Gould League for the protection of birds. Their aim was to encourage the observation, appreciation and protection of native birds by organizing an annual competition: for several months of the year children, in groups of six, observed a 'wild' bird and a tree and in May each child wrote two essays based on the observations.[57] The winning two essays secured not only a gift of books for the child, but also a silver cup for the school until the next year. The second prize was similar, except that the cup was replaced by books for the school. Probably the most exciting part for the successful children though was seeing their photographs and names appear in the Children's Hour.

The idea of Bird Protection Clubs was a popular one: within a few months ninety clubs had been formed in the schools; within three years there were three hundred and twenty two with nearly ten thousand members.[58] Edquist noted their impact:

> ... a marked change in the attitude towards the feathered tribes has been noticed throughout town and country. Instead of a juvenile populace lacking a proper sentiment for things Australian, and caring little for the welfare of our birds ..., we have in our midst today a rapidly growing band of young Australians pledged to look after the best interests of our native birds. 59

In this way Bird and Arbor Day came to have a real significance for teachers and children in stimulating positive feeling for their country, Australia.

Although birds received such an emphasis, trees were not neglected. In the special effort made in 1912 to provide teachers with suitable Australian material for the proper celebration of Bird and Arbor Day there were photographs of several native trees, among them one of impressive red gums. Significantly, it was accompanied by a verse establishing the superiority of the gum as against the European tree:

> The oak and the elm are but fair-day friends
> That smile when the sky is clear,
> But close their eyes when the Summer ends,
> And skies and the world grow drear;
> Our gum stands firm thro' the winter cold -
> There's never a change in him -
> He gives his best like a comrade bold,
> When joy of the world grows dim. 60

Tree-planting obviously continued to be an important part of the Day. But however the Day was celebrated, teachers were urged by the Director to send in 'graphically written accounts' of the proceedings where events of importance or interest had taken place.[61] These, with illustrations, would be published to stimulate further interest.

Clearly, it was Williams' hope that by helping children, and indeed teachers, to understand and see beauty in Australian flora and fauna, they would come to love the country itself. This was an important way of developing patriotism. To this end, increasingly from 1911 on, many photographs, articles and poems about native trees and birds were included in the June Education Gazette. Most striking were the words of the Director explaining this new trend:

> English poets have sung of the birds of the old land, and created associations for them which have helped to make them dear to Britons .... Some day Australian poets will do as much for the birds of our own land. In the meantime, our teachers may help our children to realize that Australia is rich in bird life, in birds of bright plumage and sweet song.
>
> To arouse in the minds of our children a desire to beautify their country, and to create in their hearts a love for our native birds, is to sow the seeds of true love of country. All patriotic Australians will ardently hope that the influences which produce such a result may grow stronger from year to year. 62

Part of the impetus for this new trend came from the promotion of Wattle Day in South Australia in 1910 and in its schools in 1911. Eventually in 1913, when it gained the status of being a half holiday, the Education Department made a point of explaining its significance. This was done using terms very similar to those of Bird and Arbor Day: an understanding of the aesthetic (even commercial) properties of the wattle would stimulate not only love of the wattle, but also of the country itself. Thus, among the objects drawn up by the Australian Wattle Day League and presented to teachers in the Education Gazette were those of:

> ... (1) Securing the general popular adoption of the Wattle blossom as the national floral emblem of Australia; ... (5) promoting the planting and conservation of the Wattle ...; (6) inspiring school children with a love of the Wattle as an

> emblem of patriotism, a practical appreciation of it on account of its commercial value, and a determination to cherish it and protect it ...; (7) encouraging the dissemination, through the schools and otherwise, of knowledge of the properties and commercial value of the Wattle and Australian flora generally ...'. 63

Again, as in Bird and Arbor Day literature, there was the assertion of Australian as against other symbols:

> The Englishman has adopted the Rose for his floral emblem; the Scotchman, the Scotch Thistle; and the Irishman, the Shamrock; the Canadian claims the Maple as the floral emblem of his land ..., and why should not patriotic Australians point with equal pride to the lovely Wattle as the floral emblem of the Commonwealth of Australia ...?' 64

In this way, the two 'Days' were as much, if not more concerned with promoting a sense of patriotism as an interest in flora and fauna matters.

But promotion of patriotism depended on more than awakening children to the beauty of Australia and its flora and fauna. Most importantly, it was seen to depend on teaching children the distinctiveness of Australian as against British history. Here not only patriotism but also nationalism was involved. The first step towards this was in 1906 to introduce Australian history at <u>all</u> levels where History was taught, that is, in Classes II to V, so that children now learned Australian and British history concurrently. They were to be made aware that there were two strands of history to know, not one as before.[65] Hence the instruction of 1907: 'It should be remembered that our children must be trained to look at the past from two points of view'. The next step was to explain why this should be so:

> We are the descendants of a European race whose achievements in literature and science, in social and political government, in naval and military engagements make up a glorious history; but we are also the descendants of people who explored and settled a part of Britain beyond the seas, and while

> we must remember the history of the motherland, we must not neglect the many opportunities to instil in our pupils a love for their own country. 66

How this was done in detail proved to be an interesting exercise. The study by Classes II and III of the heroes of Britain from British history readers, was tempered by stories of the heroes of Australia's discovery and settlement from the two editions of the Children's Hour. One can sense the pride with which Williams discussed these stories with the Tennysons when visiting them with Frank Tate in England in 1907.[67] Earlier, the Tennysons had done much to encourage reform in the Education Department and they still followed it with interest. As can be seen from the stories in the Children's Hour, the discoverers and explorers of Australia were highly suitable as heroic figures to present to children since they could be seen as both Australian and British at the same time.

The course for Classes IV and V was similarly balanced between the history of Britain on the one hand and the development of her Empire, Australia in particular, on the other in contrast to the previous course on British political development. The texts chosen were a clear illustration of this. One, Wardens of Empire, was written in Britain from that viewpoint:

> ... we are going to read the story of Britain's expansion beyond her sea-girt borders ....
>
> But we are not going to forget the Mother Country. We cannot tell the story of the expansion of Britain without taking note of what happened in our islands themselves. So we are still to deal with British history, only we are to think in a special manner of the way in which British people have made for themselves new homes across the ocean. 68

The other, Simple Studies in English History for Young Australians, was written in Australia from a different point of view:

> The Saxon village parliament can be understood by any boy who has joined in a general meeting of boys to discuss the cricket business of the school. ...
>
> ... the child can be made to feel that the history of our people is not a tale that is told and ended, but a great story which is still going on, and that in this far-off part of the Empire, he also is to have his share in shaping this story. 69

But the most important part of the new History course for the two senior classes was the section 'How we are governed', the beginning of Civics in schools. It outlined the role of government in Australia from public meeting to federal parliament and the historical traditions from which it had sprung. Again, care was taken that teachers should understand the point behind the section:

> ... a series of lessons has been inserted dealing with subjects which should rouse the children's interests in the laws under which they live and how these laws are made. The reproach is constantly heard that electors do not exercise their franchise. If our pupils are taught early to realize the value of the wonderful freedom under which we live, and taught to honour and respect the memories of the men who helped to secure it for us, this reproach may, in a measure, be removed. 70

As can be seen from the above and from the detail of the section itself, again the instructions were relating the Australian situation to its British background: 'the men who helped to secure it for us' were clearly De Montfort, Charles I, Cromwell, Pym, Hampden and Eliot.

In 1910 the course was reorganized to make it even more relevant to Australian children.[71] Whereas before, the course had begun with 'England', going on to 'Expansion of Britain', 'Britain Beyond the Seas' and lastly 'How we are Governed', now the order was reversed with 'Citizenship and Development of Government' first (with the important opening detail 'Australia in relation to England, geographically and politically'), followed by 'Expansion of Britain' and 'Britain Beyond

the Seas'. Significantly, the section 'England' had been deleted. The only English history now taught was that which helped to promote an understanding of 'Citizenship and Development of Government'.

All this was a clear sign of the re-orientation in thinking which was taking place. It also indicated the increased attention being given to citizenship training in the History course. Of all parts of the curriculum, History was the one used most explicitly to promote feeling for Australia and, by implication, for Australians. Others clearly felt as Williams did. Miss S.E. Mitchell, a lecturer in History Method at the University of Melbourne, could have been speaking for Williams when she argued in her paper at the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science in 1913 that the teaching of History in schools must be used to develop in children a sense of Australian national identity. This was especially so in Australia, she reasoned, since 'Australia has rarely been troubled with any general catastrophe, and there has been little quickening of national life by any great occasion for national thanksgiving'.[72] Thus, while Australian history was part of British history, it was a distinctive part, and must be given priority if it were to be 'a real asset in the making of the nation'.[73]

Even the celebration of Empire Day reflected this different orientation. In 1905, as has been seen, Empire Day was almost entirely centred on Britain. For example, ten of the eleven suggested topics for the day were concerned with Britain and her Empire and only one with Australia: specifically 'How Australia is connected with the Empire'. But the Williams' administration, once it realized that Empire Day was going to become an institution in the schools, adapted it to suit the Australian orientation of the curriculum. Thus, in the 1910 instructions for the celebration of Empire Day, it was Australia which

was given first place:

> In thousands of schools in Great Britain, Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, teachers and children, speaking the same tongue and gathered under the same flag, will turn their thoughts to the early history of their own land, to its exploration, its growth, and its development....
>
> This subject may be so treated as to arouse in the hearts of the children a love for their native land, without which it is hopeless to expect any true 'Empire' feeling. What we must strive to do first is to make good Australians of our children. If we succeed in this, we shall be training good and loyal sons of the Empire. Tennyson tells us that 'That man's the best cosmopolite who loves his native country best', and in this matter of patriotism, as in all else in teaching, we must begin at home. 74

Here especially can one see Williams' ideas on patriotism and nationalism, and the way in which they reflected what Kipling and Jebb had observed. Children must be taught to love their country Australia and to feel a sense of identity with their fellow Australians, to become 'good Australians'. Such identification rested largely on a sense of appreciation of the country itself. Williams believed that he was effectively using the curriculum to reflect the change he had observed in Australian society:

> A great change has come over Australian sentiment during the last two decades. One remembers the time when it was commonly held that nothing good could come out of Australia: her birds had no song; her flowers no scent; her scenery no charm. Great Britain was 'home' - theme of constant eulogy; Australia - a place to be endured. All this has greatly changed and rightly so. 75

But such identification also rested on Australia's culture and institutions which were essentially British. With such a base, Australian patriotism and nationalism were thought by Williams to be quite compatible with a wider British nationalism. The two merged together. Thus his comment: 'If we succeed in this [i.e. making 'good Australians'] we shall be training good and loyal sons of the Empire'.

'Australia. I love my country.'
Infant and Primary School, Norwood, 1916.

Symbolic of this relationship was the particular wording of the 'National Salute' introduced, it seems, in 1911 for the compulsory weekly flag ceremony in schools:

(1) I love my country

(2) I honour her King.

(3) I will cheerfully obey her laws. 76

Although regulations specified that 'The Union Jack must be used on every occasion', 'country' was obviously meant to refer to Australia. The message, 'Australia. I love my country', on the blackboard at Norwood Public School, made this quite clear.[77] Clearly it was Williams' hope that, as the boys saluted with their right hands and the girls bowed, they were thinking of Australia first, even if that then merged with Britain. Increasingly, two flags rather than one, were used as can be seen from the photograph on the next page.

Williams' encouragement of an Australian-based patriotism and nationalism which was still within the British context was quite similar to the one adopted by Henderson at the university. He too promoted 'the rising sense of nationality' among Australians but thought that it could best be understood within the British context. Significantly, like Henderson, Williams illustrated his point by referring to Australia's defence. He urged teachers, on the one hand, to make children aware of the recent emergence of an Australian army and navy, but on the other, to clearly show that 'our wonderful security ... has come from no merit of our own, but from the protection of the British flag ...'.[78] Establishing strong loyalty towards Australia in the minds of children, would, he argued, enable them to understand and appreciate a wider British loyalty.

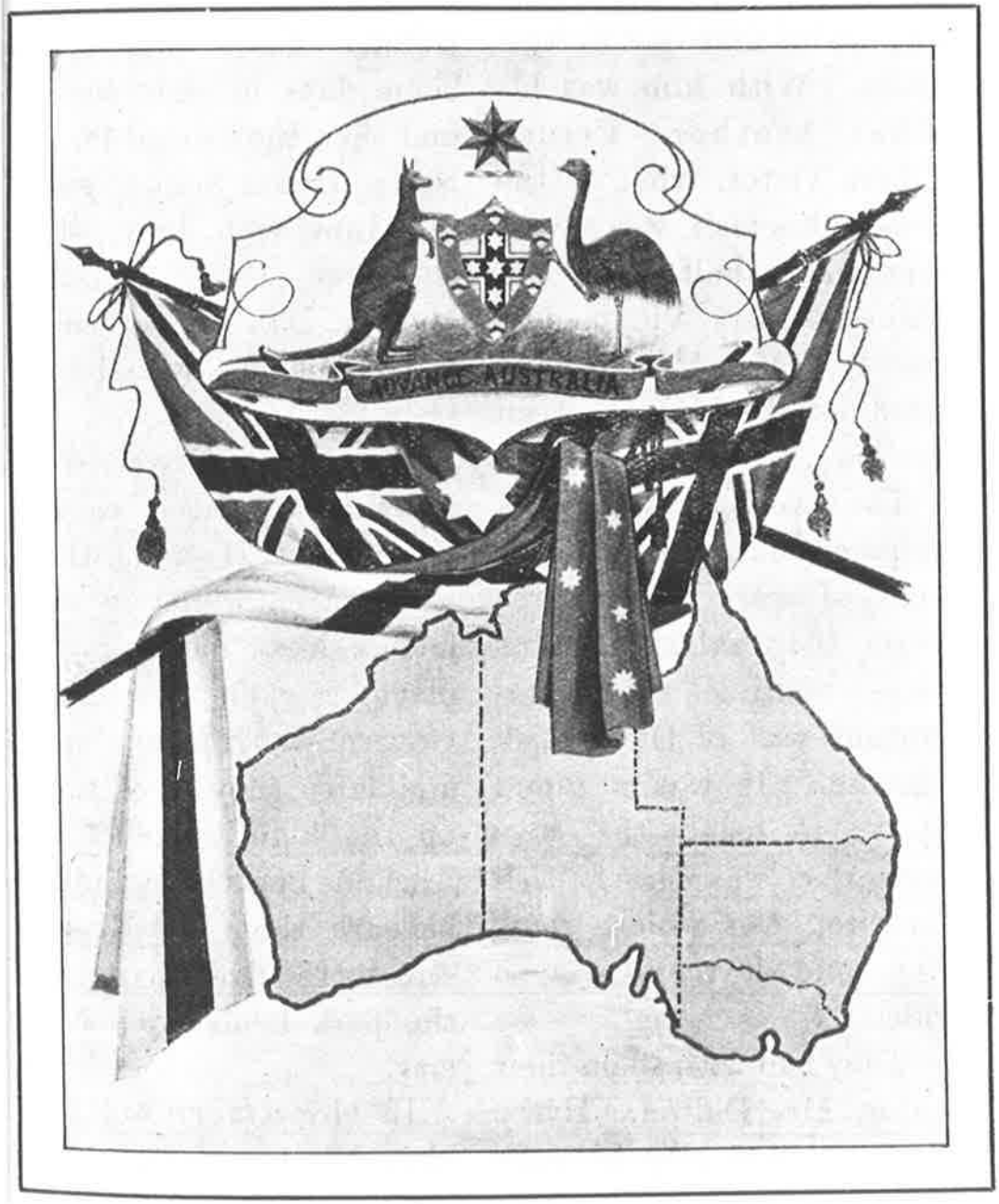
EMPIRE AND CORONATION NUMBER.

Children's Hour

FOR READING AND RECREATION.

[REGISTERED AT THE GENERAL POST OFFICE, ADELAIDE, FOR TRANSMISSION BY POST AS A NEWSPAPER.]

VOL. X., No. 109.] CLASS II. [MAY, 1911.



"FAIREST OF BRITAIN'S DAUGHTERS—AUSTRALIA"

The Union Jack and the Southern Cross.

Henderson had learned much from studying overseas in England and from his work on Grey. He also understood Jebb's thesis well and substantially agreed with it. His example at the university would have been an attractive one for Williams, now Director of Education. Henderson was his mentor and friend and their relationship, both personal and professional, continued to be a fairly close one. When Williams went abroad in 1907 with Tate to examine educational institutions, both corresponded with Henderson.[79] Professionally, Williams and Henderson served together on the Adelaide University Council and on two of its more important committees: Education and the Board of Education, the latter supervising the training of state school teachers. They shared an interest in the Royal Society of St. George where Williams was a member.

Thus Williams, by conveying an idea of the beauty of Australia, enthusiasm for its flora and fauna and the distinctiveness of its history, encouraged an Australian-based patriotism and nationalism among teachers and children. However, to give instructions in the Education Gazette regarding all this was one thing, to ensure that it reached and was adopted by children was another. The means he chose to convey this new sense of Australian patriotism and nationalism to young minds was the Children's Hour. The man given the job of editor was his friend and colleague of several years standing, Bertie S. Roach.

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CHAPTER IV

BERTIE S. ROACH AND THE CHILDREN OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA

1. Once in South Australia lived a boy who thought that nothing so wonderful happened in his country as in other far-away lands of which he read.
2. That boy has now grown into a man, and he knows that the flowers and animals that lived in the scrub around his home were quite as wonderful as those he read about in his boyhood days.
3. There may be pupils reading the Children's Hour today who think that to be a hero, and to do deeds which poets may write about, or artists make pictures of, you must live in other lands, where battles are fought, and where people do not lead such quiet lives as we do in Australia.
4. But such a way of thinking is a mistake 1

Bertie Roach, 'A Brave Diver', 1907.

This introduction by Bertie Roach to a story of a brave Australian is deceptively simple. It indicates to his young readers of the Children's Hour not only the limited view of Australia and Australians he had as a child, a view which he feared many children still had, but also how wrong such a view was. It was his task to communicate to children through the Children's Hour a more positive interest in, and understanding of Australia and Australians. Like Henderson and Williams, he was realist enough to appreciate that the context must be a British one, but the thrust of his message was Australian. It was this commitment to Australia which was so striking in Roach. As a member of the group of reformers in South Australia, motivated by the ideas of the New Education, this was what characterized him above all.

From Bush Boy to Editor

Roach's enthusiasm for Australia, his delight in its natural environment, his interest in its literature and history appear to have stemmed from the fact that he was native-born of immigrant parents and that as a child he grew up in the mid north of South Australia, an area closely associated with some of the key themes in South Australian history. He was born to Henry and Sophia Roach on the family farm at Penwortham, near Clare, in 1864.[2] Some years before, his grandfather, Thomas Roach, a tin-miner and farmer from Cornwall, had bought land there after working a year or so with his sons in the copper mines at Kooringa. This pioneering experience of his grandparents was to become an important part of Bertie Roach's life. For him, the Pioneer Legend as later explained by John Hirst in the Australian Legend debate, was very real.[3] No doubt Bertie, like his sister, could have recounted the essential ingredients of that experience:

> The Roaches were a pioneer family in South Australia and were highly respected .... I often heard the older generation speak of the first Thomas as a refined gentleman. He was delicate, but his wife, Mary, although small, seems to have been capable of managing .... she, it was, although she had grown-up sons, who drove in a bullock waggon from Adelaide to Penwortham to select their land. 4

Like many assisted immigrants of the 1840s, Bertie's grandfather had brought his family to South Australia in search of better health, economic opportunity and the independence which would come from settlement on the land. Coming from such a background, Bertie was likely to grow up in South Australia with more positive feelings for his native land than for the land of his grandfather and father. Not only were they Cornishmen who traditionally viewed the English with some antipathy, but also they were immigrants seeking new associations.

Whatever the difficulties of pioneering, and the Roaches experienced some, on the whole, Bertie would have been surrounded with a positive attitude to the new land.

This was also the case with his mother's family, perhaps even more so for she had migrated from Germany to South Australia as a child with her parents and many other Mecklenburgers, people, as the Register put it, 'with the expectation of finding, in this province, a secure retreat from political and ecclesiastical persecution and strife.[5] The report went on:

> All the passengers appeared much pleased with the appearance of the country, and seem to have made up their minds to be as happy and contented as usually falls to the lot of human nature to be under so great a change in outward circumstances.

Her father, a miller and carpenter, eventually settled with his family at Hahndorf, though his three stepsons established themselves as carpenters at Kooringa. No doubt it was through one of these stepsons marrying into the Roach family that their stepsister Sophia came to know and marry Henry Roach.

Thus Bertie, with immigrant parents of Cornish and German descent would be more likely to identify with his local environment and its associations than with the predominant English tone of South Australian society. His birthplace of Penwortham, for example, always meant a great deal to him. Not only was it a pleasant stretch of undulating, wooded country, but also it was founded and settled by the South Australian explorer, Horrocks. Many years later in 1906, Roach as editor of the Children's Hour, was to write that its scenery was 'even now considered to be the most charming in South Australia'.[6] Significantly, too, from the time he was included in Who's Who in 1922, his birthplace was always associated with Horrocks.

Of course, such a positive start in Australia for the young Bertie may not have been recognized by him at the time, particularly if he was 'that boy who thought that nothing so wonderful happened in his country as in other far-away lands of which he read'. But certainly as a young man, a reforming teacher and an enthusiastic editor, he drew on all that was positive but had lain dormant in his Australian childhood. Such a childhood, not an orthodox one, even in South Australia, may well have made him more responsive to reform of the curriculum, particularly in adapting it to the Australian environment.

While Penwortham and its surrounds were obviously important to Roach as a boy and continued to be as the occasional visit stirred old memories, it was Moonta where he spent the greater part of his boyhood and youth from about 1871 to 1885. His family had moved there when mining seemed to offer a more certain livelihood than farming which had been so severely affected by the drought. So rich were the copper mines around Moonta that, within a few years, it had become a well established town, the largest and most important outside the metropolitan area. It was no wonder that Roach could tell children years later: 'Once upon a time people in South Australia thought that no one had travelled who had not seen Moonta'.[7]

If Penwortham was the beginning of Roach's early attachment to the South Australian countryside, Moonta was the beginning of his teaching career, and, perhaps more importantly, of his association with other teachers who were to become increasingly influential as reformers in the state education system, especially by the turn of the century. As a pupil teacher at the Moonta Public School, he served three of his four years under Charles Whillas who later became a Vice-president of the South Australian Teachers' Association and a president of the South

Australian Public Teachers' Union and, in 1899, an inspector of schools. One of his contemporaries who was also a pupil teacher at Moonta was Alfred Williams. He, like Whillas, was elected to the highest position in the two key teachers' associations, but then also reached the very top of the Education Department as Director.

There were others as well, such as John Harry, Milton Maughan (later Williams' right hand man) and William Torr. Roach became closely associated with these three through the Yorke's Peninsular Teachers' Association which they formed early in 1885.[8] He conscientiously filled the position of secretary/treasurer. At that time, he was also assisting John Harry, then president of the Moonta Mutual Improvement Society with classes for young men in Latin, Physiology and Mathematics.[9]

Both men, with William Torr, were also involved in the Moonta Model Parliament established that same year as a means of airing matters of urgent public concern. Unemployment was the most urgent problem. Earlier that year the price of copper had fallen to the lowest point ever, wages had been cut and some of the men had been put off. Miners had begun leaving Moonta in growing numbers for the mines opening up at Silverton. Roach was a keen participant in debates on such matters. No doubt his concern had deepened in this regard as he watched his own father leave for Silverton with his mother and ten brothers and sisters. Perhaps, too, he was encouraged to take such a public role by two of his more prosperous uncles: Jacob Roach, the town butcher, a stalwart supporter of the Wesleyan Church and a trustee of the Institute, and Malachi Deeble, a captain in the mines and a member of the School Board of Advice.

Thus, by the time Bertie left Moonta for his next teaching position at Hindmarsh at the end of 1885, he had established himself not only as a teacher but also as a public figure of some note. In the process, he forged links with other teachers, both in schools and in the community, links which were to be reaffirmed later in his career.

Some links were reaffirmed quite quickly, like the one with Whillas. It seems no coincidence that just a year after Whillas was appointed Headmaster at Hindmarsh School, Roach was moved there. He also began appearing in the South Australian Teachers' Association records, (those that have survived), as a committee member under the leadership of Whillas, 1889-1890. Again there is evidence of his diligence, this time as an organizer of the library recently established for state school teachers at the suggestion of the Inspector-General.[10]

Other more important links were also reaffirmed specifically the one with Alfred Williams whose rise in the Department was so striking. In 1892, Roach was appointed to East Adelaide school where Williams was in his second year as headmaster. It was a time when Williams was closely associated with not only Hartley, the Inspector-General (through the Department and, more significantly, Saturday afternoon walks and discussions), but also F.W. Coneybeer, soon to become a Labor Member of Parliament. Although Roach was attached to Williams' school, for most of the year he was on leave without pay to continue university study. Despite this, his association with Williams at East Adelaide must have made quite an impression on him, for in later years he often reminisced about his time there which caused his listeners to think that his stay had been a long and intimate one.[11]

The relationship between Roach and Williams deepened as pressure for change in South Australia's education system gathered momentum at the turn of the century. Despite Roach's sojourn at Orroroo (where he was active in forming and heading a teachers' association) and Naracoorte, his appointment to Mount Barker in 1901 brought him back into Williams' immediate circle. For during 1901-1902, Roach, as Vice-President of the Hills Teachers' Association (the most important outside Adelaide), was in constant communication with Williams, then an Adelaide Teachers' Association delegate to and the Corresponding Secretary of, the South Australian Public Teachers' Union. Much of that communication involved discussion about Tate's summer school of January 1902 in Victoria.

When later Roach gained a city appointment at Walkerville, their cooperative commitment to reform education was cemented. Just as Williams became President of the union in 1903, so did Roach re-establish himself in the Adelaide Teachers' Association and become one of its delegates to the union. A sudden, though not entirely unexpected resignation of one of the vice-presidents in early 1904 resulted in Roach being elected to fill his place, thus becoming Williams' right-hand man in union affairs.[12]

But, while their shared Moonta beginnings and, more particularly, their involvement in union affairs drew them together at the turn of the century, there was yet another factor which deepened Roach's relationship with Williams. By 1902, Roach was in close touch with one of South Australia's most promising members of parliament, A.H. Peake, who, more than any other, was championing the cause of teachers.[13] It would appear that Roach first knew Peake at Naracoorte in 1899 although it was during that year that Peake moved to Mount

Barker. In less than two years Roach followed Peake's move, perhaps through his influence. Certainly, Peake, as a self-educated man and as the father of six children at school(where he followed their progress closely) was aware of the importance of a sound education.[14] It is likely that having been a resident of Naracoorte for nearly thirty years, he would have kept in touch with the town's news and would have heard of Roach's success as a headmaster in his two years there.

Whatever the influence, once in Mount Barker Roach and Peake became closely associated in education and public matters. Peake's connection with the school was not simply through his being a parent as well as the local member of parliament. His business partner, H.A. Monks, was Chairman of the School Board of Advice and of the District Council. As well, both Peake and Roach were Masonic Lodge brethren.[15] Roach, as before, became involved in union affairs and may well have been instrumental in persuading Peake to take up the teachers' cause in parliament in August 1901.

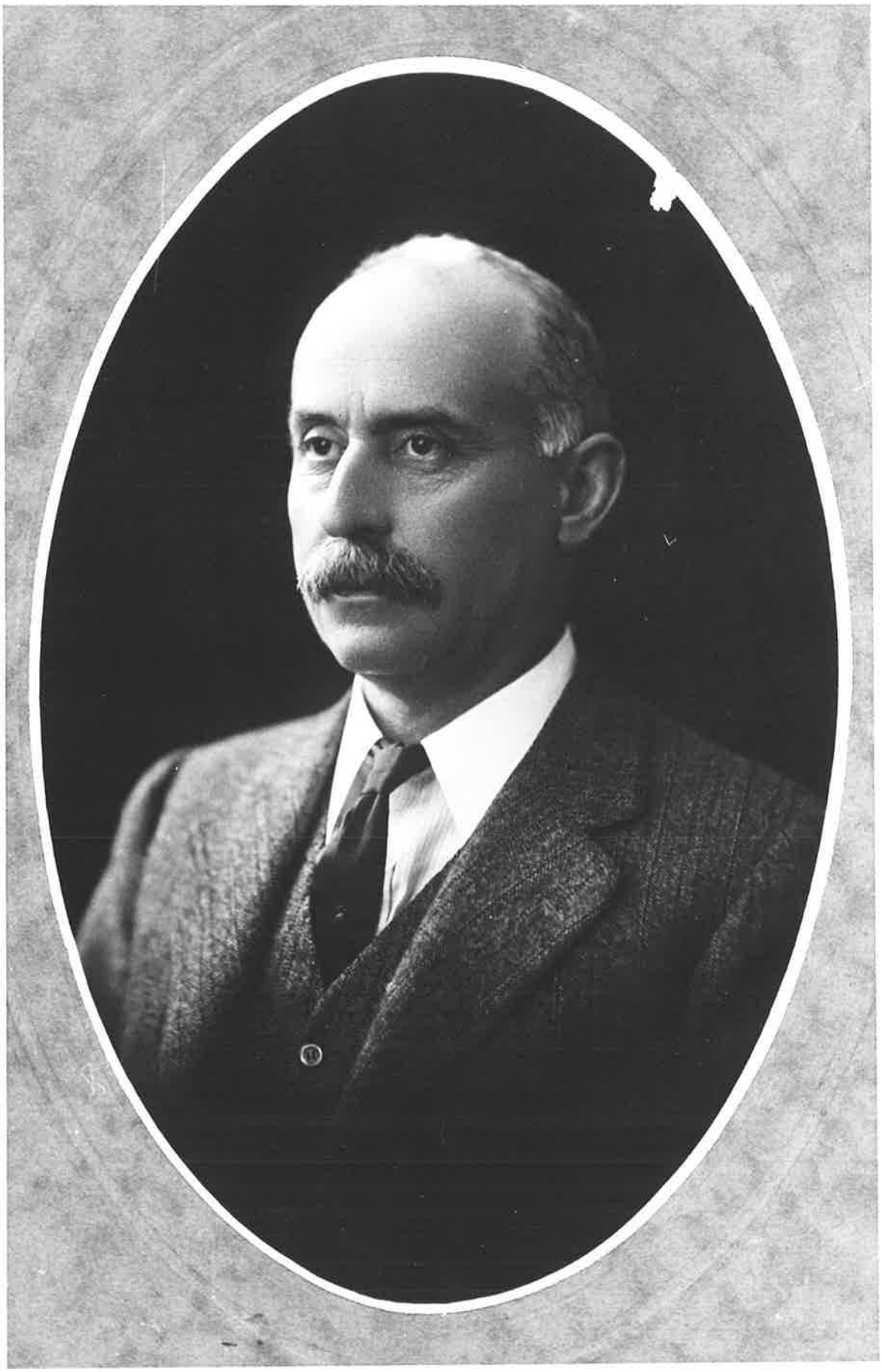
From then on, as criticism of the Education Department administration mounted, Roach was in a key position to coordinate the strategies adopted by both Williams in the union and Peake in parliament. His move to the school at Walkerville in mid 1902 would have assisted him in that role. Such a role became increasingly important from 1904 when Peake led his liberals out of the Jenkins Government to form the Liberal Party which,with the Labor Party,then acted as the Opposition. By mid 1905 when these two parties achieved government and began to seriously consider reform of the Education Department, it was Peake, the Deputy-Premier and Roach's associate, rather than Price, the Premier and Minister of Education, who was the real education spokesman.[16] All this would have been clear to Williams who no doubt valued

his connection with Roach all the more. Peake, through Roach, was to be Williams' link with the Liberal Party in much the same way as Coneybeer was his link with the Labor Party.

No doubt Roach was involved with Williams in his campaign to publicize, during the latter part of 1905, reform in education for South Australia. Perhaps, too, there were discussions concerning Roach's part in the hoped-for new administration under Henderson or even Williams. By temperament and interest, Roach was well suited to the editorship of the Children's Hour. For among teacher contributors to the school paper since 1898, he had been the most significant with his series of articles on the Australian explorers.[17] As well, he would have been attracted by the kind of role Williams expected of the paper, that is, to provide material which would integrate Drawing, History, Geography, Nature Study and Poetry in a way that would appeal to children.

When, at the end of 1905, the Price-Peake Government toppled Inspector-General Stanton and his assistant Whitham, who was also editor of the Children's Hour, and appointed in their stead Williams and Maughan, the way was open for Williams to appoint Roach as editor. In this position and still Head Teacher at Walkerville, Roach amply justified Williams' hopes. So successful were his articles that as will be seen later, by 1908 the Children's Hour was being promoted not only as a History text but also as a text book for other subjects.

Williams in his first annual report and in the Education Gazette and Peake in parliamentary debates made their approval clear: after two years the school paper was significantly enlarged and Roach was promoted to the position of full time editor and lecturer in Literature



B.S. Roach, Editor of the Children's Hour, 1906 - 1931.

and History at Adelaide High School.[18] Perhaps such a move was also a recognition by Williams that Roach's potential as a lecturer and editor was far greater than as head teacher. Inspectors' reports for his last two years at Walkerville indicated this:

> H.T. more scholar than master
> forgets minutiae
>
> Intellectual, virile, lacks
> thoroughness & detail. 19

This dual appointment put Roach in close touch with not only teachers and children in schools but also with trainee teachers at the Adelaide High School and then, after reorganization of the training programme in 1909, at the University Training College. There he was one of five staff members; another was A.G. Edquist, Lecturer in Nature Study.

His move to the university grounds would no doubt have strengthened his relationship with Professor Henderson. Already they had been associated in establishing the Kindergarten Union and in supervising teacher trainees through the University Board of Education. Roach had been appointed to that Board along with Williams and Maughan in 1907. Henderson would have known of Roach's interest in Australian history. Given the close attention he paid to educational matters and given the move he had made early in 1906 to formalize matters with George Murray in initiating a scholarship which would encourage colonial historical research, Henderson must have noticed the comments being made about Roach's expertise in Australian history.

The question of a book on Australian history for schools had been raised in parliament by S.J. Mitchell in July 1906. Williams, in his report for that year had made it clear that Roach was the

Department's answer to such a question. Of particular interest to Henderson would have been Williams' words: 'His method of dealing with the Australian explorers should remove from us the reproach that we do not teach our Australian children anything of their own land'.[20] Peake also supported this view when an Australian history book was again at issue in parliament in 1908 by arguing: 'Mr. Roach was specially qualified to deal with matters which had been urged by members of the House should be included - Australian and particularly South Australian history and geography and exploration, and such things'.[21]

The relationship between Roach and Henderson may well have been further strengthened through the person of Robert Barr Smith. As has been seen, Barr Smith and Henderson knew each other well. There was much correspondence between the two and Henderson made regular visits to see the old man and Mrs. Barr Smith; politics, university affairs and even family matters were discussed. The Barr Smiths also knew Roach's family well.[22] His mother, as a young woman, had been nurse to the first two Barr Smith children and had accompanied the family on their lengthy stay in Britain from 1860 to 1862. Her friendship with the family continued after she married in 1863. No doubt she felt keenly the sudden death in April 1864 of her former charge Bertie (Robert Bruce) Smith for at the end of that year she named her first born Bertie Smith Roach.

Thus, years later, when Roach was appointed to Mount Barker School, just down the road from 'Auchendarroch', the imposing Barr Smith country residence, it is likely that he would have renewed his link with the family. Despite, or perhaps because of their wealth and standing, the Barr Smiths were understanding and generous patrons of the town. After Roach moved to Adelaide in 1902, the link persisted

for the Barr Smiths were also involved in the Kindergarten movement. In this way, then, the connection both Henderson and Roach had with the Barr Smiths would have strengthened the relationship already developing between them on educational and political matters.

From this base, Roach proceeded in the ensuing years to widen his circle of friendships and contacts which shaped and enriched the material he presented to children through the Children's Hour, particularly material which might give children a more positive image of Australian experience and history. His first and most striking initiative was to accompany a party of geographers, scientists and other interested members of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science congress, then meeting in Adelaide in January 1907, on an exploratory cruise in Spencer Gulf.[23] Of the eight South Australians on board almost all knew or came to know Roach well: Dr. W.G. Torr, a colleague from Moonta, Dr. R.S. Rogers and J.W. Mellor, both of whom became nature study contributors to the Children's Hour; Douglas Mawson, soon to become a famous Antarctic explorer and Thomas Gill, Australian history enthusiast of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (S.A.).

Although Roach's strengths were in Literature and History, he had a solid scientific background, having studied Biology, Physiology, Geology, Botany and Physics at the university. It was not surprising then, given his scientific and historical background, that he should strike up a friendship with J.H. Maiden from New South Wales who was also on the trip.[24] Maiden, Government Botanist of New South Wales, Director of the Botanic Gardens, Sydney and sometime President of the Australian Historical Society, was then writing his book on Banks, the botanist.

Plate XV. **Members of Party around Tablet at Memory Cove January, 1907.**

Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science party,
B.S. Roach, standing at extreme left.

Roach made immediate use of the trip in the Children's Hour. Beginning with the February edition, he ran a series of articles which described the expedition so vividly that children could imagine that they too had been there.[25] Essential information on the geography, geology, botany and history of the area was presented in an integrated and interesting way. Most important, though, was that Roach was communicating to children the idea that scientists thought Australia worthy of serious investigation and that the editor also believed this.

The congress showed another side to Roach's thinking about Australian experience and how it should be related to children. In the paper he presented to the Mental Science and Education section of the congress, 'The Literature of Children', he argued for the importance of telling stories of exploration and adventure to children to stimulate their imagination and shape their character since most lived a comfortable, unadventurous urban life on the edge of the continent. He looked to Australian literature and history, recently introduced into schools, to reproduce for children the pioneering experiences and the daring spirit their parents and grandparents had known:

> Will not the reading of such [exploration] books tend to revive the old spirit of our fathers? Will not such literature fire the youthful mind to leave the enervating life of the crowded city and face the strenuous life of the undeveloped interior? ... It is to be hoped that Australian writers will see what an unworked field there is in this class of literature. 26

In saying this he was voicing sentiments similar to those expressed by Leach at the Nature Study camp at Victor Harbor a few months before: 'In order to give our children as good a chance as we had, we must include something to make up for this destroyed field of nature that did so much to develop us'.[27] Clearly, both men felt that early

Australian conditions had called forth a 'daring spirit' from those first settlers. It was now the responsibility of their generation to nurture such a spirit in very different conditions.

Roach's reasons appeared to be both practical and sentimental. Like many of his time, he deplored 'the enervating life of the crowded city'. As well, he was seeking the kind of development which had taken place in South Australia in the 1840s, the 1860s: 'We must keep in mind that much of Australia is virtually unknown, and that on that area there must be mineral and other wealth which needs the daring spirit of the past to develop.'[28] He may well have had in mind the experiences of his grandparents as they set off for the Kooringa mines and then to take up their land at Penwortham. Perhaps too, he was thinking of his own parents farming at Penwortham but moving on to Moonta and Broken Hill as pioneers of another age. There were others also whom he may have had in mind: J.C.F. Johnson; or, through his historical and botanical studies, Ferdinand von Mueller, a remarkable man who had emigrated from Mecklenburg (like Roach's mother and grandparents) and had pioneered the study of Australian flora.[29]

In view of his concern for the past and the way it might serve the present, it was not surprising that the same year he should join the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (S.A. Branch). As was seen earlier, this society, one of Adelaide's most prestigious, had been involved since the 1880s in historical as well as geographical matters affecting South Australia. It had made a point of noticing the various 'discovery' centenaries and had played a major role in their celebration and in the raising of monuments to mark the efforts of discoverers, founders and explorers. This was truly the era of

monuments: 1902 had seen several raised to the memory of Flinders; in 1903, one at Mount Barker commemorated its explorer; in 1904 Grant was remembered at Mount Gambier and, more controversially, Stuart when his statue appeared in Victoria Square; in 1905 Light's restored monument in Light Square was unveiled and, as well, the following year his statue was placed in Victoria Square.

The sentiments voiced by members of the society were echoed by the premier of the state. W.B. Wilkinson, for example, in commenting on the president's annual report for 1904, had remarked:

> ... South Australians were beginning to recognise, by the erection of monuments, the work performed by the early colonists. The erection of monuments such as those to Colonel Light and McDouall Stuart should be encouraged in every way. ... they encouraged the youth of South Australia to emulate the works of those grand old pioneers (cheers). 30

Premier Price, also concerned with the function of these monuments at the unveiling of Light's statue in Victoria Square, had urged:

> There is no finer inspiration for the young than keeping before them, the noble deeds of the heroes of their race. South Australia is doing its duty in this respect.
>
> ...
>
> I see before me in the near future, when this square will be to the Australian youth of South Australia what Westminster Abbey is to the Britisher at home 31

Already the South Australian Caledonian Society which had spearheaded the raising of the Stuart statue had provided state schools with photolithographs of the statue.[32] Roach applauded its generosity in the Children's Hour.[33]

These concerns of the Royal Geographical Society had a much greater impact, as Roach would have appreciated, because of its close

ties with the daily press in South Australia. For the South Australian press was also committed to the promotion of explorers, founders and, in general, pioneers as Australian heroes. The key men involved, R. Kyffin Thomas and W.J. Sowden of the Register and J.L. Bonython of the Advertiser, were among the most active in the Royal Geographical Society in this respect.

Kyffin Thomas, part-owner of the Register, had in particular, long been noted for his interest in South Australia's foundation. Chief Justice Way commented on this in 1910 at the time of Thomas' death:

> One feature, which was very marked in his character, was his patriotic love of South Australia, and his pride at being descended from one of its founders. He was particularly anxious that the diary of his grandmother, which is the most vivacious record we possess of the infant settlement, should be handed down to succeeding generations. 34

This enthusiasm for early South Australian history can be seen in his long and active participation in the Old Colonists Association and the Royal Geographical Society. In fact, it was while he was president of the latter from 1900 to 1903 that he persuaded the Old Colonists Association and the Australian Natives' Association to cooperate in collecting and publishing the reminiscences of old colonists and in preserving papers and documents relating to the early history of Australia.[35]

In this he had the full support of W.J. Sowden, at that time President of the Australian Natives' Association. Sowden was also a part-owner of the Register and editor as well. As one of the leading journalists of his day, he was seen to be 'exceedingly influential in the foundation of public opinion'.[36] Thus, whereas it was Thomas who

appears to have first raised the issue of early Australian records, it was Sowden who promoted it in the press. In his editorial 'Australian history, monuments and other things', for example, he urged South Australians to send in their reminiscences and went on to relate this to another

> ... pressing proposal ... a scheme which relates to the use of statuary in our streets, squares, and other public places as permanent reminders of national heroes, navigators, explorers, statesmen, literary magnates, and soldiers, ... men whose achievements constitute the most noteworthy features of Australian development. Their praiseworthy performances miss one of their highest functions if they are not allowed to contribute materially to the formation of Australian character. 37

It was, he thought, a simple means of modifying the environment which 'stunts the mental and moral growth of congested cities'.

A vigorous proponent of the nativist viewpoint, Sowden continually sought to inculcate in his fellow citizens strong feelings for Australia. Hence, he was vitally interested in the education system and the way in which it could be used to encourage this. As part of a hard-hitting address to the Adelaide Branch of the Australian Natives' Association which was then reported in the Register, he protested against the stultifying attachment many Australians had for Britain and suggested that children should be helped to develop positive attitudes towards Australia. One way this could be done, he thought, was to present them with patriotism in a 'concrete form ... the Union Jack intertwined with the Commonwealth flag'.[38] When it is remembered that at that time the only flag saluted in school was the Union Jack, the radical nature of the proposal can be appreciated.

Given that this was the background of Thomas and Sowden, it was not surprising that in 1906 the Register should seize the occasion of

the seventieth anniversary of the founding of South Australia to promote its particular view of patriotism:

> The Register has earnestly taught, and still sincerely teaches, the duty and the privilege of patriotism. It has particularly striven to instil into the minds of the rising generation the inspiring thought that South Australia, no less than America, had its Pilgrim Fathers and Pilgrim Mothers; and that pride in the exploits of Our Founders of eighteen hundred and thirty six should be esteemed as a national heritage, with some of the transmitted qualities which enabled the fine Old Pioneers to confront the unknown with dauntless courage 39

Their deeds were 'not less meritorious or noble, if apparently more prosaic than those enshrined in the records and traditions of their northern hemisphere counterparts'.[40]

To underline its view, the Register ran a competition among state school children for the best three short stories on 'The Pilgrim Fathers and Mothers of our State'.[41] This, it was hoped, would stimulate in children 'a practical desire for knowledge of the early history of their country'. Not only teachers were enthusiastic about the idea. Professor Henderson also gave his approval saying that South Australians would be proud of a colony founded by men 'who understood importance of character and education.'[42] The judges of the competition were to be Chief Inspector Maughan and Editor of the Children's Hour, B.S. Roach.

Roach, interested as he had been in the explorers, at least since his years at Orroroo in the 1890s, must have been well aware of attempts by the Register in particular, from 1901 to 1906, to use explorers and founders in encouraging positive feelings towards Australia in the minds of citizens, especially children. As well, having been involved as he had been in the campaign for reform in education, it is likely

that he would have known Sowden quite well. For Sowden as editor had been quite outspoken in his editorials in pushing for change in the education administration during the second half of 1905.[43] Besides this, Roach may well have known Sowden from his Moonta days when he was working on the Yorke Peninsular Advertiser in the 1870s.

There was another in the press whom Roach would also have come to know quite well by 1906: Fred Johns, a journalist on the staff of the Register. He had worked for some years with Sowden in reporting on parliament. As well, he had developed a strong interest in biography and in 1906 brought out John's Notable Australians, the precursor of his Who's Who in Australia. So similar were Roach and Johns in temperament and in their literary and historical interests that they became 'the best of friends'.[44] Interestingly enough, both joined the Royal Geographical Society about the same time, Roach just a few months after Johns.

Roach, closely connected as he was with the staff of the Register and aware of their promotion, with the Royal Geographical Society, of explorers and pioneers, was thus confirmed in his own long-held interest in explorers particularly, but also founders and pioneers generally. In the years that followed his promotion to the position of editor of the Children's Hour, he communicated to the children of South Australia in a way no other medium could, the history of their country he and other influential men of the community wished them to know. In so doing, what he was communicating was not just the story of explorers and pioneers. More importantly, he was portraying their forebears from Britain as Australian heroes, who by their daring had explored and settled a new country.

Because the majority of Australian children were no longer required to be pioneers in the old sense, based as they were in the cities, the past must be recreated for them in such a way that it preserved that pioneering sense of daring and adventure. It would also, by maintaining the link with the land beyond the cities, purify their 'stunted' lives. Thus it could well have been Roach who suggested to Williams in 1908 the placing in schools of copies of original paintings of the main Australian explorers.[45] Generations of school children grew up with such paintings.

As can be seen from the above, Roach believed that the bush was an important part of the explorer-pioneer imagery he conveyed to children. It was the environment which called forth the daring and the courage. This, together with his boyhood memories of Penwortham and Yorke Peninsular and his interest in Botany from his university days, caused him to be vitally concerned with the Australian natural environment. It was inevitable, then, that he should join the body most concerned with its aesthetic appreciation, its scientific study and its production, the Royal Society of South Australia, or more specifically, its Field Naturalists'Section with its Native Flora and Fauna Protection Committee.

For years that committee, under the chairmanship of Samuel Dixon since 1888, had urged the introduction of nature study in schools, the protection of flora and fauna and, to that end, the creation of national parks.[46] It was particularly active during the years 1902 to 1911 in pressing for what eventually became the Flinders Chase National Park. In its campaign it enlisted the support of the Australian Natives' Association and the Royal Geographical Association (among others) and the Register and its weekly Observer, probably

through Sowden's influence. Sowden, while President of the Australian Natives' Association, made his stand clear in his editorial, 'Australian Flora and Fauna', in the Observer following the annual conference of 1902 which had agreed to press for Commonwealth-wide protective legislation. He deplored Australia's neglect of its indigenous timber industry and went on to reinforce the view evident at the conference:

> A destructiveness born of ignorance and thoughtlessness similar to that which has been applied to our flora marks the treatment of our fauna .... who can wonder at the dearth of indigenous birds and beasts, and at the loss by Australia of things purely Australian? 47

By 1911 when Roach joined the Royal Society there had been some success with regard to the Kangaroo Island sanctuary. Indeed, at the end of that year when the whole history of the committee's activities was reviewed by Dixon in his farewell address to the Field Naturalists' Section, he was quite positive about the legislation and public interest it had prompted. But for the future he proposed a 'Society for the conservation of our Flora and Fauna' which would more adequately supervise existing parks and actively ensure the survival of flora and fauna nearing extinction. More than this, he wished that public and private gardens would reflect an appreciation by Australians 'of our extremely beautiful and unique flora':

> Visitors to Australia, if scientists, note the amazing absence of native plants, shrubs, and trees. ... I hope Australia will yet produce a gardening genius who will utilize the amazing potentiality for producing unequalled landscape beauties by grouping such extraordinary contrasts of growths, foliage, and colour as are to be obtained from the wonderful variety in each State of Australia. 48

His conclusion was a stirring affirmation of the beauty of the pre-European Australian landscape:

> ... how monotonous and wearying to the eyes is the Alexander Drive along the Yarra, how commonplace and artificial compared with its lovely shady native growths of forty years ago with hundreds of

> water-fowl in the Princes Bridge lagoon. ...
> To me it seems unfortunate that the distinctive beauties peculiarly Australian should be sacrificed to uniform imitation of European gardens, palling to the eyes by their mechanical repetitions. 49

Roach was most likely present at the meeting, and, given his own particular background, he could not but have been impressed and warmed by the sentiments expressed.

The Native Flora and Fauna Protection Committee, active as it had been, could well have given more of their attention to helping children to relate more positively to native flora. Perceptive naturalists in Victoria and South Australia had noticed that one of the major difficulties for children was the lack of an agreed set of names for the wild flowers they found in the bush. William Gillies, the writer of text books and, in 1906 the reporter for the Age of the impressive State schools exhibition in Melbourne, indicated the dilemma: 'We notice that most of the wildflowers of Australia are still without names that can be used in every-day talk'.[50]

J.P. McLennan, Supervising Officer of Agriculture, also a visitor to the exhibition, particularly to the nature study section commented further:

> Some of the popular names were very strange, and in most cases they did not seem appropriate. The 'Harbinger of Spring', Wurmbea dioica, boasted of about sixteen different names, such as - 'lords and ladies', 'ladies & gentlemen', 'cats & dogs', 'cats & mice', 'hens & chickens', &c. 51

Despite this confusion, he added: 'I find that children have no trouble in giving the generic name to the native plants'. So strong was the demand about that time in Victoria for 'fixed popular names' for the better known native plants that the Field Naturalists' Club of

Victoria appointed a Plant Names Committee in 1907 to establish such names.[52] A provisional set of names was published in the period 1911 to 1916 and covered all known Victorian flora. Some years later a refined set was published in book form.

There were some in South Australia also aware of the dilemma children faced in referring easily to native flora. C.H. Souter, a doctor at Clarendon and also a poet and naturalist in touch with what was happening in Victoria, made a point of writing to the Minister of Education on the matter:

> I have long known that the children of our state have no definite nomenclature for flowers (wild flowers) and as a consequence take too small an interest in them. It occurs to me that they (with our assistance) have as much right to make names for flowers (nameless but for 'classical' designations never possible for popular use) as had the children of the old countries. 53

He proposed a series of competitions among school children across the state in collecting and naming 'bush flowers' as a means of arriving at a set of common names. Such an exercise, he thought, would not only add 'to our language names ... that are fit for use in the ... literature of our country'. It might also persuade people in the community generally 'not to exterminate some of the most lovely flowering plants on earth'.

It was Williams, who as Director, advised the Minister in his reply. He himself had also visited the exhibition in Melbourne and was aware of the Victorian Field Naturalists' Club's reaction to the problem.[54] While he saw much good coming from Souter's particular proposal, he preferred the Victorian method. Unfortunately the South Australian Field Naturalists' Section and its Native Flora and Fauna Protection Committee did not take up the challenge.

Roach, a close associate of Williams and a keen observer of and later participant in, the affairs of the Royal Society and its Field Naturalists' Section, would have been very much aware of this and other issues relating to native flora and fauna. At least from 1907 when he accompanied the scientific/historical expedition in Spencer Gulf, if not before, he was becoming part of an important circle of people concerned with the appreciation and preservation of Australian flora and fauna. Thus, as Doctors Rogers and Pulleine developed their interests through the Field Naturalists' Section, what should be more obvious that that Roach should seek to relate their work to children through the Children's Hour?[55] This, too, would be in accord with the interest the Section and its committee had long shown in schools. Further, it was not long after 'the organization of the Wattle-Day League was introduced and commended as a worthy national sentiment', most likely by Sowden who was the founder of the League, that Roach began promoting Wattle Day in the school paper.[56]

His position in this circle neatly complemented that formed by his geographical and historical associates in the Royal Geographical Society: Torr, Gill, Barr Smith, Rogers, Sowden, Thoms, Bonython and Johns. Sowden, as has been seen, provided yet another link with that powerful group, the Australian Natives' Association. He also, with Thomas, Johns and Bonython, formed the centre of a literary circle of which again Roach was also a part. Further, Sowden was an important member (as was Rogers) of the Board of Governors of the Public Library, Art Gallery and Museum and eventually became President in 1908. On that Board were several members of the university, among them G.C. Henderson who was developing his interest in Australian history and was also working with Roach on teacher training.

In this way, Roach, coming from an important position in teacher union affairs and associated with key political and educational figures, now moved into several important cultural circles in Adelaide which confirmed and encouraged interests already formed some years before. In the 1890s he had begun an interest in Australian explorers. Now that was to be developed and broadened into an interest in Australian flora and fauna, geography, history and literature through his wide contact with groups which were seeing Australia in a new light.

All this confirms how thoroughly Australian Roach was in his outlook and how committ ed he was to reforming the curriculum along those lines. However, like Henderson and Williams, he did not wish to deny the wider British context. His membership of the Royal Society of St. George when it was founded in South Australia in 1908 was the clearest sign of this. But it also reflected the other side of the circles in which he moved. Whether one examines his political, educational, geographical, literary or naturalist associates, men like Peake, Williams, Sowden and Rogers, all combined an attachment to British traditions with their enthusiasm for things Australian.

Having such a background, Roach must have delighted in his job as editor of the Children's Hour and the opportunity it gave him to awaken in children a love for their own country and its people and to help them understand that this was the real basis of their patriotism and nationalism, whatever the wider British context. Certainly his influence on children's minds through the Children's Hour was considerable. To fully appreciate this one needs to understand the role this paper had played in schools and its growing importance during the Williams' administration.

The Growing Importance of the Children's Hour

Williams' promotion of the Children's Hour was an unusual step given the controversy concerning its role as a reader in schools a few years previously. Originally in 1889 it had been conceived as a monthly paper which children were expected to buy for reading and recreation in primarily after-school hours, so diluting their staple diet of Royal Readers. However, by the turn of the century, the Children's Hour had become the most important reader for children aged nine to twelve in Classes III, IV and V. Significantly, it was mostly from this reader that the annual examination in reading and spelling was taken.

In 1902 the Department decided to extend even further the usage of the school paper by introducing a third edition which would serve Class II. It was this decision which unleashed the criticism which had been simmering within the teachers' union for some years. At the annual conference that year there was almost unanimous agreement that the Children's Hour was not the most suitable means of teaching reading or spelling and that a set of graded readers, rather than another edition of the school paper, should be introduced.[57] While the Department insisted that the Children's Hour should continue to be used and that the third edition should go ahead, it did also present teachers with a list of readers for each class from II to V from which another reader had to be chosen. Thus the school paper lost its pre-eminent place in reading and spelling. Even so, it was still the only reader the Department actually specified and teachers were reprimanded if their pupils did not buy it.

Perhaps it was such criticism which determined the Department to choose more carefully the material for the Children's Hour. Certainly,

by 1905 Williams, as President of the teachers' union, was beginning to recognize the potential of the school paper. It might become a medium through which ideas of the New Education could be introduced to children. In commenting on Nature Study at the annual conference of that year he remarked:

> The articles appearing in the Children's Hour, under the head of 'Nature Study', were of distinct value, as this subject might be made to link the child's school life to his outside life, in a way no other subject did. And very badly did they need something which would help to bridge the gulf that had become fixed between the methods of the school and the way a boy learnt for himself in the outside world. 58

Such a remark, together with others he made about the correlation of subjects, foreshadowed a new role for the Children's Hour.

This very quickly became apparent when Williams was appointed Director in January 1906. Within a month he had installed his friend and colleague B.S. Roach, as editor of the Children's Hour to begin work immediately, even though Cabinet had not yet signified its approval.[59] Within a few months it was clear that Williams and Roach believed that the school paper could solve the problem of text books in schools. As has been seen, for some years there had been dissatisfaction concerning children's readers.

There had also been considerable pressure put on the Department, both by teachers and politicians, to prescribe text books in Geography and History, particularly Australian history.[60] The latter had had a most earnest advocate in S.J. Mitchell, member for the Northern Territory in the House of Assembly, who asked in 1906:

> Why was there not in the South Australian schools a reading-book which contained the splendid narrative of Australian exploration and pioneering? He hoped the Minister of Education would put a sum on the Estimates, so that an attractive history book, containing biographies of Stuart, Sturt, Eyre, and Grey might be written. 61

But prescribing text books was one thing, paying for them was another. Many parents, for example, had baulked at paying for both readers and the Children's Hour, as was evident from the exasperated reply of a teacher to a departmental query:

> ... since the introduction of Reading books for classes II, III, IV and V the parents flatly refuse to pay for the 'Children's Hour' and ... for the 6 months from May 04 to Nov 04 I Paid for them out of my own pocket. From that time till now [September 1905] we have read from the teacher's copies as best we could. 62

Thus it was not surprising that although Williams began 1906 with the same readers and the Children's Hour as the previous year and new text books in History, by the middle of that year he had replaced one of them, C.R. Long's Stories of Australian Exploration, with Roach's early Australian history articles in the Children's Hour.[63] The next year a set of graded readers was introduced, the Gateways to History series, so as to serve two subject areas in the curriculum at the same time. This was to be supplemented by books from the school libraries which were being established at that time. In 1908 he went much further by making the Children's Hour virtually the sole textbook for children in Classes II to V:

> The 'Children's Hour' can be enlarged & made to include lessons in English, more lessons in history & geography than at present, & lessons in Nature Study. Gradually the necessity for textbooks in these subjects for all but the highest class will disappear, as the lessons provided in the 'Children's Hour' will be all that are required. More reading matter can be supplied, & the additional Reading book now in use will not be needed. 64

In this way, the school paper became a real teaching mechanism: it deliberately grouped material together so as to correlate subjects; it was topical and quickly reflected changing philosophies in the Department (unlike text books) and it allowed scope for the use of much

Australian and South Australian material, largely unpublished. In practical terms it solved the perennial problem of the publication, pricing and distribution of books, involving the rivalry of book firms. It was also profitable for the Department.

Thus, although readers doubling as History texts, continued to be written into the Course of Instruction, they were not seen by the Williams' administration to be as important as the Children's Hour. As a sign of the seriousness of his intentions, it was then that Williams promoted Roach from his headship at the Walkerville school to a lectureship in History and Literature at the Continuation School (soon to become Adelaide High School), so that he could give more time to the school paper.[65]

Inspectors, however, were not in agreement as to the superiority of this school paper. Some were obviously enthusiastic:

> I know the children and parents eagerly await each issue, and take the keenest pleasure in reading and discussing the contributions. One wants to get into back country farm homes to learn how this little paper is appreciated.
>
> If I ask the children from which they would like me to hear them read the answer is promptly and decidedly in favour of the Hour. The preference is unmistakable. 66

But others were more critical, like Inspector Charlton:

> The work done with the Children's Hour is less satisfactory than that done with the 'Readers'. ... It not infrequently happens that, when asked to take out their sets for the year, the children produce three or four dog-eared, dilapidated papers. 67

Still, Charlton had been Williams' rival in the union's presidential election in 1903 when he and his New Educationalists had made a successful bid for power. Clearly Charlton had a very different philosophy.

It was perhaps because of this kind of criticism that other readers continued to be part of the Course of Instruction. However, significantly, apart from one of them, Gillies' Simple Studies in English History for Young Australians (and that was discontinued after 1910), all were histories of England or the Empire written and published in England for English children. Even the Adelaide History Readers, specifically published for the Education Department Adelaide, read as if they were addressed to the children of England. For example, early in the first story of the Class I reader, children were told:

> The words and the pictures will tell you stories of our land in days gone by. They will tell you about the far-off days when our country was wild, and the people were savages. 68

It was on the second page that the reader found that 'our' meant Britain, not Australia, and 'savages' referred to Britons, not Australian Aborigines. This meant that the Children's Hour was the only source which addressed children as Australians as well as Britons, the only source which gave them information about Australian as well as British matters. Thus, being the main reader in schools and the only one written in Australia from that point of view, the Children's Hour was a powerful instrument in the hands of Williams and Roach.

Australia and Australians as seen in the Children's Hour

Quite striking was the way in which Roach continually reminded his young readers that they were Australians and that their country was Australia. He was obviously concerned that children should be given all the necessary support so as to develop positive feelings for their country and people, thus avoiding the sense of disparagement he had felt as a boy: 'Once in South Australia lived a boy who thought nothing

so wonderful happened in his country as in other far-away lands of which he read'.[69] This concern remained with him throughout the period. In 1912, in an article, 'Our own land', he again voiced his fear that some Australians, 'unable to see the wonders and beauties around them, fancy that far-off countries have greater attractions than those of their own land'.[70] He was scornful of the boy who knew where St. Petersburg was but not the Macdonnell Ranges.

Because of this fear, he deliberately included in his paper matters he thought Australian children should know about and especially information which could foster a sense of pride. It was not unusual for Roach to begin a story by saying: 'Every Australian boy and girl should know'. There were less obvious touches which still made their point clearly.[71] On the naming of Canberra, he commented: 'Most Australians will be pleased that their capital is to be known by an Australian word'.[72]

Other writers for the Children's Hour also supported this approach to Australian matters. Constantly attempts were made to interest children and their parents in their own environment. One writer, for example, in introducing the subject of caves to young children, went on to comment:

> In other lands many stories are told of strange little folk ... who live in dark caves. Why should we not have such stories about the caves of our own land? ... Let all of us - mothers, nurses, teachers, children, all who love stories - learn to know those that can be told of our own land. 73

But nowhere was this emphasis on Australia more obvious than in Empire Day material, particularly for younger children: 'We must remember that, while King Edward rules us, we are Australians'.[74] Thus, Roach urged children, in the same way that Williams was urging teachers, to firmly place Australia first in their affections.

As will be seen, the rationale behind this was the firm belief that Australia was their country, that it, too, had 'wonders and beauties' of which they could be proud as well as other values they shared as a people. But even more important, was the belief that the three areas of Australian flora and fauna, Australian literature and history were worthy of serious study.

Probably, for a child, the most exciting of these three areas was the first, flora and fauna. For, while Williams expected much from the teaching of Nature Study in schools, it was Roach who brought it to life for children through the Children's Hour in a way no text book could. The secret of his success was to enlist the help of amateur naturalists he came to know through the Royal Society of South Australia, particularly Doctors R.H. Pulleine and R.S. Rogers. These two men made nature study an exciting treasure hunt for they interested children in discovering specimens particularly of spiders and orchids unknown to European naturalists at that time.[75] Through their regular articles they taught children how to collect and document their finds which were then forwarded to Adelaide. Sometimes prizes were given for collections which had been well done; in other cases there was the thrill of finding something unusual and of seeing one's name in print. In this way, Roach and his associates hoped that by sharing their interest in Australian nature with children, they, in turn, would 'be filled with the true spirit of the naturalist' and learn 'to observe and think for themselves'.[76]

But Roach wished to do more than arouse this kind of enthusiasm. He was also concerned to reassure children that, interesting and unusual as Australian flora and fauna sometimes seemed to be, it was

not so very different from that in many other parts of the world. This came out particularly strongly in a two year series on Australian birds by James Aitken. In his introductory article he remarked:

> It was not so very long ago that British people thought that everything in Australia was very different from what they were accustomed to see in the mother country . ...
>
> Thanks to the spread of knowledge, everyone is better informed now. 77

Through his articles he pointed out the many similarities between Australian and other birds. Australia was not the odd continent after all. Such an impression was also conveyed by other naturalists who wrote for all three editions of the Children's Hour. The very regular appearance of their articles was a constant reminder to children that Australia's flora and fauna were interesting and worthy of their close attention.

Naturally enough, given Williams' growing enthusiasm for the Australian celebration of Bird and Arbor Day, particularly from 1912 on, we find a corresponding emphasis on Australian flora and fauna in the material produced in the June and July numbers of the Children's Hour. Indeed, this was already evident from 1908, most obviously in the selection of photographs: oak trees were replaced by gums, as is seen in the following photograph; instead of a formal line of plane trees in the Botanic Gardens, Adelaide, there was the abandon of gums in the hills at Belair. But the school paper went further than this. As the character of Bird and Arbor Day changed and the idea of Bird Protection Clubs emerged, it was the Children's Hour which popularized it among children in a way no instruction via the Education Gazette and the teacher, could. For a child there was always the chance that his team would be the successful one featured in the school paper, especially if he attended a country school.

From English oak to Australian eucalypt - Arbor Day illustrations in the Children's Hour.

Class III
June 1908, 1910.

As with Bird and Arbor Day, so in a sense it was with Wattle Day. Before it was formally introduced into schools in 1911, Roach had begun awakening children's minds to the beauty of the Australian spring and its symbol, wattle. For the very young, there was the poem 'The Wattle Fairies' by Catherine B. Coutts:

> Some little yellow fairies
> Were swinging on a tree;
> They were the dearest little things
> That ever you could see.
> ... 78

The fantasy of this simple poem was the kind Roach wished to encourage. Clearly he hoped that such fantasy would stimulate a sense of wonder and delight in children and help them to see their native flora and fauna in a new light. Older children were presented with more complex imagery on being introduced to the 'Australian' Adam Lindsay Gordon and his poems. Certainly, they reflected joy in the Australian spring:

> Oh, gaily sings the bird! and the wattle-boughs are stirr'd
> And rustled by the scented breath of spring;

but as well there were the memories it revived of an unhappy past in England:

> Oh, the dreary wistful longing! Oh, the faces that are thronging!
> Oh, the voices that are vaguely whispering! 79

With the official celebration of Wattle Day in schools, Roach's interest in the wattle symbol broadened. It was to be a sign of patriotism: 'Remember that August 30th is Wattle Day, when all who love Australia should wear a sprig of her national flower'.[80] Much was made of the competitions which featured the wattle in essays, drawings and needlework, and were organized by the Wattle Day League. As can be seen from the topics for the essays, they were to stimulate an interest in Australia generally:

> The wattle and its significance as a national emblem
> Wattle Day and its celebration
> The commercial value and uses of wattle
> Who was Captain Sturt? What did he do and what was the result?

In this way, the Children's Hour played a key role in communicating to children, in a language they could understand, a real appreciation of Australian flora and fauna.

There is much evidence showing just how effective this role was. The articles by Dr. Pulleine, for example, resulted in many groups of collectors sending in spiders. At one point, Pulleine acknowledged specimens sent in by thirty three different groups during the preceding month. One school in particular, at Mallala, was complimented on being most helpful, having sent in hundreds of spiders, several of them new to science. Pehaps it should be pointed out that Pulleine stressed the importance of sending live specimens, if possible, to enable photographs and lantern slides to be made.[82] It became common knowledge that his surgery contained a large live collection of spiders which he regularly observed. But the effectiveness of the paper even went beyond school children. So popular were the numbers with Dr. Rogers' articles on native orchids, 'others than regular readers being anxious to secure the only popular account of orchids as yet published in South Australia', that he agreed to the Department publishing the same articles in special book form.[83]

These and other articles of the Children's Hour probably contributed more than those of Edquist in the Education Gazette to the teacher's and child's appreciation of the Australian environment, so much so that in report after report, inspectors remarked on the impact of Nature Study in schools. As Williams anticipated, Nature Study seemed to embody one of the most important tenets of the New Education, enthusiasm for learning, the ability to discover through observation:

> In many schools the children show a wonderful interest in this lesson, and very often teachers are not ashamed to confess that the tables have been turned, and that the boys and girls have become their instructors. ... [Nature study] not only enables the children to gain information from their own observation and reasoning, but encourages them [for the very joy of personal discovery] to talk freely about it.
>
> If we except singing, no phase of our work is more popular. I have found schools, in which exceedingly moderate work has been done in most subjects, excel when questioned regarding the lessons Nature has to teach the locality 84

One inspector found teachers so enthusiastic about their pupils' interest in the environment that they saw it as their 'duty to spend their Saturdays and public holidays ... prying into the wonders of nature'.[85] There was a readiness among teachers and inspectors to accept children's accounts of rare observations they had made on their way to and from school. Such a case was reported by Inspector Fairweather:

> ... in the outback mallee, I met a boy who had just seen what many ornithologists might desire, but never have the good fortune to meet. Eagerly he told me of seeing the young of the mallee hen .... Similar experiences noted by a member of a bird club would be preserved and valued. 86

It was this enthusiasm on the part of child, teacher and inspector that Roach sought to foster through the Children's Hour, a vivid example of his commitment to the ideas of the New Education. Once aroused, such enthusiasm would lead quite naturally to serious study.

As in flora and fauna, so in the second area, literature, Roach systematically introduced children to Australian prose and poetry. This appears to have been part of a general plan to make children aware of the 'great masters' and their literature following criticism of the school paper in 1902. Reformists, with Roach among them, had accused the paper of 'fostering a love for magazine reading, but not a love

for the true literature which was to be found only in the works of the great masters'.[87] Thus from 1906 on, especially in the edition for the older children, excerpts from the works of English, American and French writers were given, sometimes accompanied by biographical notes. So strongly did Williams, the Director of Education feel about this matter, that he himself wrote several articles explaining their literature during 1906.

With this interest in 'good' literature came a search for an Australian equivalent. The work of Adam Lindsay Gordon, Henry Kendall, Henry Lawson, A.B. Paterson, J.B. Stephens, George Essex Evans and Dorothea Mackellar, among others, began to appear in the Children's Hour. The terms that were used and the references given, for example H.G. Turner's and A. Sutherland's The Development of Australian Literature, promoted the idea that Australia did have a distinctive literature worthy of study. Most of the selections were poems and drew attention to the beauty of the Australian natural environment. As has been seen above, many of these were associated with the celebration of Bird and Arbor Day and Wattle Day. Much was made of signs of the Australian spring, especially the golden, scented wattle. Because of these associations, the poems emphasized the green-ness, the colour, the scents and sounds of the winter-spring months of the Australian year. It was only later in 1913 that an attempt was made to help children see beauty in the 'harsher' side of the Australian landscape. This was through Dorothea Mackellar's poem 'My Country' which stated quite unequivocally her rejection of 'green and shaded lanes' and 'ordered woods and gardens' and her passionate acceptance of 'a sunburnt country'.[88]

Just as this poem must have prompted children to reflect on their feelings towards their country, so others must have raised questions

in their minds about aspects of Australia's history. From Roach's introduction to one of these, 'The Last of his Tribe' by Henry Kendall, this was clearly his intention:

> No doubt you will be able to understand what the poet wishes to describe in this fine poem. Ask some old resident in your district to tell you of the tribe of blackfellows who lived in your locality. Have they all disappeared? 89

Unlike most other poems or stories about Aboriginals in the Children's Hour up to this time (1907), this one was written by a sympathetic observer who was concerned to show the real tragedy behind the passing of that race. Through another poem, 'Convict Once', children were helped to come to terms with another bitter aspect of Australia's history which for so long had been ignored.

One last group of poems is of especial interest because of the Australian-based patriotism and nationalism they encouraged. 'The Australian Flag' by Henry Parkes, included, significantly, in the Empire Number for May 1908, urged its readers to take pride in the flag of 'the starry cross' which bore 'no stain of blood and tears' and in the land which 'the foe ne'er trod'. This was no poetic licence. It reflected the rather simplistic view of Australian history held by most Australians during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Essex Evans, in his poem 'Union', went further in speaking of 'a Nation born'.[90] The poem, winner of the Commonwealth competition celebrating federation, was included in the Children's Hour to mark the poet's death in 1909. It was full of an eager expectation for a united Australian future. Children were encouraged to believe not only that they did have a future as an Australian nation but also that that future would be a great one. Take, for example, the sentiments of the

'Ballade of the Southern Cross' which appeared in the Empire Number for 1910. Its last verse made the point clearly:

> Britannia, when thy hearth's a-cold,
> When o'er thy grave has grown the moss,
> Still 'Rule, Australia!' shall be trolled
> In islands of the Southern Cross. 91

Like Williams in his Education Gazette instructions, Roach in the Children's Hour was determined to emphasize the Australian significance of Empire Day, even to the extent of including a poem like the above which embodied the sense of Australian superiority.

Thus, by his choice of Australian literature, particularly after 1910, Roach clearly wished children to observe the positive way in which writers, poets especially, had responded to the Australian landscape, its people and their history. Children might then be prompted to also respond in a positive way and to consider Australian literature worthy of serious study.

Striking as Roach's interest in Australian flora and fauna and literature might seem, it could not compare with the attention he gave in the Children's Hour to the third area, Australian history. As with the curriculum generally, so with reading material, especially the key text, the Children's Hour, History became a central concern. It was this subject which above all was to so arouse the enthusiasm of children and demand serious study that they would see Australia as a distinct country and its people a nation, whatever the wider British context.

With Australian history being taught at all levels from II to V and with the decision not to continue using Long's Stories of Australian Exploration after 1906, Roach was free to provide imaginative material suitable for each class. As might be expected, he was particularly

concerned with Classes II and III since the History taught in these classes was closely integrated with Geography which was of South Australia and Australasia respectively. The two most common themes were discovery/exploration and settlement, as can be seen from the following outline:

> South Australian History - Flinders' voyage along the coast of South Australia; Sturt's voyage down the Lower Murray; Captain Barker and the Murray Mouth; Governor Hindmarsh and the Proclamation of South Australia; Colonel Light and the fixing of the site of Adelaide; McD. Stuart's journey from Adelaide to the North Coast.
>
> Australian History - A brief account of the early voyages to Australia, e.g., Torres, Pelsart, and Dampier, to show that the Spanish and Dutch, as well as the British, are connected with the early history of our land.
>
> Voyages of Cook in the Endeavour and Flinders in the Investigator.
>
> Sturt's three journeys.
>
> Eyre's Journey along the Australian Bight.
>
> Leichhardt's journey to Port Essington.
>
> John McDouall Stuart. 92

The more important of the two themes was obviously discovery/exploration. Here, History, in its close association with Geography was to be used wherever possible to make it live for children. This was made clear in the Course of Instruction from 1907:

> When children learn the coastline of New Zealand and of eastern Australia by following, in their imagination, Captain Cook on his adventurous voyage in the little Endeavour, the various names he [sic] learns assume an interest in his mind they could gain in no other way. 93

It was also clear from the way Roach handled history in the Children's Hour. Above all else, he was interested in the discoverers and the explorers. Stories of these men were repeated three or four times during the period 1906 to 1913, mostly in the Class III edition. Through

them children learned the significance of the names given by Europeans to mark their conquest of this 'new' continent. In this way, the extent of Roach's purpose in writing about the explorers became clear: '... they are our Australian heroes; and their names will never be forgotten'.[94]

The importance of heroes to the teaching of History was still very obvious at that time, as can be seen in Williams' first Course of Instruction in 1907: 'The stories of stirring events must centre around some central figure, some great personality'.[95] The story of discovery/exploration had ready made heroes. But the question which must have exercised Roach's mind was: 'Should heroes be portrayed as Australian, British or both?' The appearance of Empire Day and its regular celebration in schools exacerbated this problem and yet, eventually, as interpreted by Williams, it provided a solution: the emphasis of Empire Day was to be Australian but the development of Australia and its nation could only be properly seen in the wider British context. The two were inextricably linked.

This blending of the two is clearly evident in the Children's Hour. In the first special Empire Number of the school paper, for example, Roach introduced his hero, 'An Empire Builder Captain Cook', but then immediately went on to say 'Every Australian boy and girl should know ....'96 In the following months he continued his theme: Flinders was 'Another Empire Builder' but at the same time was South Australia's 'greatest hero'. When heroes were native born, the message was even clearer.

The second of the two themes in the Australian history course was settlement. This was also of concern to Roach, though to a lesser extent. There were numerous articles on the history of European settlement in South Australia and the other Australian states and New

Zealand in the editions for Classes II and III respectively. Particular care was taken with the history of South Australian settlement and the founders of Adelaide, Light and Hindmarsh. More importantly, it was written in such a way that it would appeal directly to children.

A good example of this was 'Grandmother's story' which describes the arrival of the first settlers to South Australia and the beginnings of their settlement at Glenelg.[97] Now children could read an account similar to those they had probably heard from their own grandmothers. In this way, their reading reinforced their appreciation of what it must have been like for those first children from England who landed at Holdfast Bay, saw the beautiful wildflowers, and birds, and ate their first Australian Christmas dinner of a parrot pie. It was a most appealing way of presenting the history of South Australia to very young children.

Their older brothers and sisters were given more formal fare, which nonetheless encouraged them to take an interest and a pride in the history of their state. Much was made of the absence of convicts, and the introduction of the ballot and the Torrens Title system. Above all, South Australia was portrayed as distinctive in its beginnings because it had held out to British immigrants the promise of a better life in all respects.[98] In detailing the fulfilment of that promise, Roach made every attempt to impress upon his readers reasons for their appreciation of and pride in South Australia. The conclusion of one such article is worth quoting at length:

> Our climate is one of the most pleasant in the world; there are thousands of people who arrived here weak and sickly; but who, after a few years, have blessed South Australia for giving them health and strength and often wealth. Our laws are just and merciful, and have often been copied by other countries. Every man and woman in South Australia has a vote in making the laws. During the past few years the State

> has been exceedingly prosperous; workers have received high wages, and every one who could and would work has benefited. No charge is made to parents who send their children to our schools. It is possible for a bright pupil to pass through all classes in the ordinary High Schools, and then go on to the University ..., without his education costing one penny to his parents. 99

Significantly, however, it was only very occasionally that Roach made mention of Commemoration Day, the founding day for European settlement in South Australia. Perhaps this was because its celebration was still largely a local affair organized by the Mayor of Glenelg. As might be expected, apart from the occasional one for Classes III and IV, most articles on South Australia were for Class II. Because of this, they were very basic, making sure that children were familiar with the major geographical features of the state, yet at the same time full of historical interest.

The settlement of other parts of Australia and New Zealand were handled in a similar way: children of Classes III and IV were encouraged to learn the geography and history of these areas by following the settlers. But with New South Wales, unlike South Australia, no particular significance was given in the Children's Hour to the day of the first official landing, Foundation Day as it had become known in New South Wales. When it is realized that it was not until 1911 that the South Australian Government recognized January 26 as a public holiday, this does not seem so surprising.[100]

As with the theme of discovery/exploration, so with that of settlement, heroes were an essential part of instruction. While settler heroes could not vie with the others, they gave Roach more scope in his Children's Hour articles. This can best be seen in the Empire Numbers. Much was made of early pioneers, particularly children like

young Frank Hawson of Port Lincoln who died from an encounter with Aborigines and Grace Bussell who rescued ship-wrecked passengers off the coast of Western Australia.[101] Clearly, Roach's message to children was that Empire Builders were Australian as well as British born, children as well as adults; they did brave deeds in Australia, as well as other parts of the Empire. For younger children in particular, who read the Class II edition, he was especially careful to use people with whom they could identify. This explains his startling introduction to the story 'A Brave Diver' which told of the bravery of a man working in the gold mines of Western Australia.[102]

Whether telling of the heroes of discovery/exploration or settlement, the Empire Numbers of the Children's Hour were used by Roach to spell out most clearly his idea of Australian patriotism and nationalism. To underline the importance of this Australian emphasis he included the 'Song of Australia' much more often than 'God Save the Queen'. Quite regularly too, the symbolism of the Australian flag was explained to children. The most revealing example of this occurred in the younger children's edition, revealing, because although Roach was concerned to establish its Australian significance (the Southern Cross, the union of the six colonies), the context he used was an Imperial one:

> The Commonwealth Flag
>
> We must remember that, while King Edward rules us, we are Australians. Our King allows us to make our own laws, and if it is required we must fight to defend our country.
>
> 2. What is the name of our country? ... It is Australia.
>
> 3. Six years ago the five States of Australia and Tasmania made a union, and promised to obey the Governor-General, who rules the Commonwealth of Australia for King Edward.

> 4. When this union took place we had it written on our flag, just as our British forefathers marked the union of England, Scotland and Ireland. We have changed the British Union Jack into an Australian flag.
>
> ...
>
> 8. The stars are arranged on the blue of the flag. Perhaps the blue colour will remind you that the blue sea joins all the lands of the British Empire, and that while our King's ships are strong and his brave sailors are true, we, who live far away from the British Islands, need have no fear.
>
> 9. Now, when you look at the Commonwealth Flag remember that it is a history picture which has taken hundreds of years to make. On it is written something about England, Scotland, Ireland and Australia. 103

Thus, on the one hand, Australia's new flag was used to symbolize a country distinct from Britain. Yet, on the other hand, it was used to indicate that Australia was an integral part of the Empire.

The fact that there was no specifically Australian national anthem or day recognized by all state governments, emphasized the appeal of the Australian-British imagery of Empire Day. Material for that day in the Children's Hour promoted a sense of Australian uniqueness, yet this was placed firmly within a British context.

By adopting such an approach, Roach avoided the problem of defining what was Australian, as distinct from British, with regard to notions of country and nation. That he was aware of the problem is evident from his attempts in the period from 1906 to 1913 to speak up in favour of Australia and Australians. But immediately he ran into the problem that in reality Australia was still part of the Empire and Australians, to a lesser or greater extent, were regarded, and regarded themselves, as British. Occasionally, he did suggest an alternative

definition of Australian, that is, Aboriginal, but he did not appear to consider it seriously, so far did it stray from the reality he knew. Thus, his interest in 'Canberra' as an Australian word and in the Aboriginal as 'A real Australian' was only fleeting. The dilemma he faced on this last point is only now beginning to be understood by historians, such as Bernard Smith, if not by Australians generally.[104]

In viewing, then, Roach's treatment of Australian history in the Children's Hour, several points are clear. Firstly,it was his hope to enthuse children about Australia by linking the study of Geography and History, particularly through the two themes of discovery/exploration and settlement and by using heroic figures which could be presented as not only the traditional British ones but also as more unconventional, more Australian ones for admiration and emulation. Secondly, he hoped that such enthusiasm would lead children to consider seriously the study of Australia and its people. In this way children would come to understand and take pride in their country, and its nation, while still acknowledging the wider British context. Thus, while the History course seemed to be very prescriptive with regard to Australia, Roach went to great lengths in the school paper to provide much more. This was very much a reflection of his belief that children must be inspired to know and care for their country and people.

Whether his belief was understood and adopted by the readers of the Children's Hour is another matter. Certainly the school paper was popular among children, but then it contained as much, if not more, non-Australian as Australian material, Still, children's response to Australian nature study material had been quite remarkable. Teachers were also an important audience for Roach. Indeed, in many respects, they were more important to him than children. They were the ones who

would have their copies of the Children's Hour bound from year to year to serve as reference books in future years. This was assumed by instructions regarding the South Australian history topics, for example, listed in the curriculum: 'During 1911, articles will be published in the Children's Hour dealing with those of the foregoing subjects concerning which information is not easily accessible to teachers'.[105]

To see how enthusiastically teachers responded to Roach's articles from 1906 on, one has only to read the Director's and Inspectors' reports. Most told of the revolution which was taking place in teaching, particularly in History and Geography, and particularly with regard to Australia. The Director, Alfred Williams, remarked in his first annual report:

> Not only from the literary point of view, but from the standpoint of true teaching, Mr. Roach has been signally successful. His method of dealing with the Australian explorers should remove from us the reproach that we do not teach our Australian children anything of their own land, while the way in which he has sought to correlate subjects should have proved a very great assistance to teachers and pupils. [106]

Inspector Neale confirmed this in his report for the next year when he said: 'The Children's Hour has done much to help, [in correlating subjects] at any rate as far as Australia is concerned, by its geographical, historical, and biographical articles'.[107] Later, in his report for 1912, Assistant Inspector Nicolle spoke for others by commenting: 'The articles bearing on Australian history which have appeared in the Children's Hour have proved extremely helpful, both to teachers and pupils'.[108] Interestingly enough, so noticeable had the influence of the school paper been on children that he could not help going on to remark: 'Just here may I say that our little periodical has a very popular place in the homes of our boys and girls'. Yet another inspector

suggested collecting these Children's Hour articles on History and Geography and printing them in book-form so as to make them even more accessible and beneficial to teachers and children.[109]

Clearly then, Roach and his Children's Hour had a marked impact on teachers and children, particularly with regard to Australian matters. Even today, many seventy and eighty year olds who grew up in South Australia recall with pleasure the Children's Hour. Its arrival each month was eagerly awaited. One such person made this very clear in her response to a letter seeking information about B.S. Roach as editor of the Children's Hour: 'You revived wonderful memories for me by mentioning the much loved paper "The Children's Hour". We loved it'.[110]

Part of its appeal to children must surely have been its appreciation of their environment and circumstances. It spoke to them of their country, their people. Nowhere else could they so readily find such material. Roach, by encouraging his young readers to be interested in and to study Australian flora and fauna, literature and history, was making Australia basic to their sense of patriotism and nationalism. However broad the eventual British context, this Australian base would remain.

Well might a journalist later comment:

> It is not the noisy people of the world who do it the greatest good. In an unobtrusive way Inspector Bertie Smith Roach, editor of the 'Children's Hour', is through the medium of this excellent school paper doing a national service to the community. Who during the plastic years of their school days have not turned with pride to the editorial pages of this little messenger of thought and wholesome inspiration? Yet how few have given a thought to the man, seated in the quiet of his editorial chair, who is the driving, dynamic force behind it. [111]

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PART III UNCERTAINTY AND STAGNATION 1914-1939: BRITONS IN A BRITISH EMPIRE

Such an intensive period of reform under the leadership of Henderson, Williams and Roach from 1902 to 1913 so reorientated the state school curriculum that children were presented with concepts of country and nation which were much more Australian than British in emphasis. What then happened to this promising innovation? While it is not the purpose of this work to take up this question in detail (fascinating though it would be), it is necessary to briefly indicate and explain the fate of the reformers' ideas.

For much of the war period and, on occasion, through the 1920s and 1930s, there were signs that the dual loyalty to Australia and the Empire which Henderson, Williams and Roach had worked for, was continuing. But especially after 1918, such signs were rather scattered. There was no concerted attempt to maintain, let alone develop, the Australian curriculum established by the three reformers. Instead, educators showed a determination to reshape both the curriculum and school life generally so as to make Britain, its civilization and monarchy, not Australia,its antipodean offshoot, the focal point.

Historians have offered various and useful commentary on this shift in emphasis. Amongst leading Australian literary figures, for example, David Walker in his book Dream and Disillusion explored the growing disillusionment with the nature of Australian culture and civilization. No-one had fulfilled the expectations of the nation builders of 1898 to 1914, and no group furthered that promise - least

of all the 'comfortable bourgeois' which were considered 'the least civilized in the world, with their pride of money, their ignorance, and their vulgarity'.[1]

At another level, political figures symbolized the change: Stanley Melbourne Bruce (Prime Minister from 1923-1929) with spats and cane and appeals to Empire and British capital represented one stereotype; Jack Lang (Premier of New South Wales, 1925-1927 and 1930-1932) with his demagogic fervour and appeals to radical populist sentiments with programmes of repudiation of interest payments on British loans, represented another. Not only was the promise of nation building on the wane but notions of Australia and Empire were being fragmented. The nexus of dual loyalties that Jebb had observed seemed to be flying apart. Tim Rowse in Australian Liberalism and National Character and Geoffrey Serle in From Deserts the Prophets Come have explained how crises facing Australian governments in economics and foreign policy simply served to strengthen Imperial ties between Australia and Britain.[2] So strong were these ties, Serle argued, that 'Imperialist indoctrination in the schools was never stronger than in the inter-war period'.[3]

From an examination of South Australian schools, it would appear that these historians are substantially right. The British reorientation occurred in schools firstly because the war, along with social upheavals in Europe and Australia, ultimately strengthened rather than weakened Imperial sentiment in Australia. Australia's participation in the war drew attention to the British heritage. Secondly, it sapped the vigour of men and organizations active in earlier years in promoting children's interest in Australia. It encouraged an essentially British rather than Australian approach among historians, as can be seen in Hancock's work.

Thirdly, the emergence of the League of Nations and the concept of internationalism caused educators, with the encouragement of historians like Hancock and Portus, to reconsider the role and nature of patriotism and nationalism in schools. Some educators so disparaged love of country and nation that they wished to ignore such feeling altogether in the interests of internationalism. Others attempted to discount British Imperialism especially, and instead cultivated 'an Australian sentiment and a spirit of internationalism'. Still others questioned the value of 'Australian sentiment': it was narrow and parochial; increasingly it seemed to represent the feelings of one segment of society only, the working-class; it was, therefore, potentially divisive. By contrast, a patriotism and nationalism based on British loyalist sentiment seemed a much safer option: it offered a common set of ideals which drew together not only those of Anglo-Saxon background, but also, potentially, others in the Empire of different colours and creeds; as a miniature version of the League, the Empire appeared to have more clearly defined ideals and to provide a more certain form of security in an increasingly unstable world.

Thus, educators in the inter-war years who sought to help children make sense of the confused and divided world about them, faced a limited range of options in handling the issues of patriotism and nationalism in schools. Mostly, they chose the safest one - British sentiment. While they could not ignore Australian sentiment entirely, educators simply became more determined and skilful in blurring distinctions between Australia and the Empire, between Australians and Britons. Children were now to understand that their country as well as their nation was British. Britain, not Australia, was to be the basis of their patriotism and nationalism.

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CHAPTER V

THE TRIUMPH OF BRITISH SENTIMENT

1. I love my country, the British Empire.
2. I honour her King: King George the Sixth.
3. I salute her flag: the Union Jack.
4. I promise cheerfully to obey her laws. 1

Saluting the flag, 1916-1939.

Saluting the flag was a daily rather than weekly ceremony in all schools. Teachers, if not children, must have continually wondered: 'Which is my country? The Empire or Australia? Is my nation British or Australian?' The words of this ceremony symbolized educators' uncertain and stagnant approach towards Australia in the curriculum and in school life generally during the inter-war period.

Vain attempts to re-forge Australian-based curricula: the triumph of British sentiment

Whatever confusion and dissension occurred in society at large about conflicting ideas of Australian patriotism and nationalism, some innovators maintained the thrust of reform evident in the stance of Professor Henderson: Bertie Roach forged new orientations in Australian history, Civics and English (Reading) attempting to make studies alive and contemporary; Charles Fenner worked at the level of local geographical studies - on a path less open to the vicissitude of public debate. Significantly, Fenner proved more effective.

The closing worlds of innovation

Despite Alfred Williams' untimely death in 1913, there were signs that his earlier initiatives would continue. After the final report of

The Royal Commission on Education in 1913, the reforming Education Act followed in 1915. Among other reforms, it extended by two years the compulsory age for school children and reorganized the grade system. It created the Curriculum Advisory Board, thus broadening the influence on the planning of the curriculum by providing for teacher representatives. Whether it was this second reform or Roach's promotion in 1915 to the inspectorate, the years 1915 to 1919 saw an increasingly self-assured Australian basis emerging in the curriculum.

This was seen most clearly in History and Civics where Australian history was featured much more prominently: in 1916, the step which had seemed so logical in the 1870s of giving two of the lower grades South Australian and Australian history and no other was finally taken. This complemented the teaching of Geography.[2] Thus, stories of the discoverers and explorers of South Australia and Australia were not to be hidden away amongst stories like 'The King who Burnt the Cakes' and 'Robin Hood and his Merry Men'.[3]

As well,in the next year Australian history was extended to all three higher grades of Primary schools. This was a significant step even though it meant Grades VII and VIII simply revised material introduced to Grade VI:

> Early discoveries of Australia; Captain Cook's voyage along the east coast; Bass and Flinders; settlements of various Australian states; discovery of gold; how the cities of Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide were founded; how settlement spread into the interior; Sturt, Hume, Eyre, Stuart and the overland telegraph. 4

However, more significantly, this view of Australian history, now recognized as being based on explorers and settlers,was beginning to undergo further change. Probes into twentieth century history could be seen

not so much in the course outline as in the reading material, especially the Children's Hour which was still being used as the main reader. They concerned primarily the exploits of Australian men in the Great War, most noticeably at the Dardanelles. Roach was quick to note their significance for Australian history. In June he explained the nature of the Dardanelles campaign. But the next month he swept in with:

> History books used in Australian schools will, in a few years ahead of us, contain one chapter that will be read by pupils with flashing eyes and glowing cheeks. It will be that dealing with the landing of Australian soldiers at the Dardanelles on the early morning of Sunday, the 25th of April last. 5

Australian nationalism had a new and contemporary focus.

This event gave Roach the long awaited opportunity to reply to Hartley's remarks of 1885. Then, Hartley had said that Australia had no deeds which could 'stir our pulses' as much as 'the memories of ... the taking of Quebec'. Now Roach, as if to answer Hartley's comment, could say:

> It is certain that in the history of modern warfare there is no other feat that surpasses - we might almost write equals - the Australians' landing. Wolfe's men were well seasoned troops; ours were ... young men working on farms ... Wolfe's men managed to climb safely up the cliffs and form into line before they were discovered ... our men had to jump into the sea ... were now exposed to the fire 6

Over subsequent months in the Children's Hour the heroism of Australian soldiers was constantly brought before children through soldiers' letters, through excerpts from the many books which appeared on Gallipoli (including A Child's History of Anzac) and through poems commemorating the occasion. One poem, 'The Australian' by Will Ogilvie was particularly striking with its recurring line, 'The

bravest thing God ever made'.[7] All this gave an added incentive to use wherever possible through the school paper the terms 'Australia' and 'Australian'. Clearly, Australians' participation in the war was being used by Roach to further emphasize the importance of Australia in children's understanding of history. Ordinary Australian men were now joining discoverers, explorers and settlers as the heroes of Australian history and somehow they seemed more Australian, being native born.

These new directions in the teaching of History during 1916 and 1917 were welcomed by many. Inspector Fairweather, for example, remarked:

> In the matter of history, one is pleased to see more prominence given to that of our own continent in Grades IV to VII, thus impressing on the youthful mind at a generally retentive age facts that have, in a former generation, been sadly neglected. 8

Civics, the study of government, which was promoted much more deliberately from 1916, also made the curriculum appear more Australian. Separated from History and given in more detail 'in order to assist the teacher', this course was to introduce to older children the skills of participating in the Australian democratic system. The ideas of public meetings were linked with local and state government and so to the Australian Commonwealth Government.[9] At state government level, the expectation was that 'each child should know the name of the Legislative District in which he lives, the Assembly District, and the names of the members of each'. The course ended with the British Parliament and 'Citizenship - The privileges and responsibilities of citizenship'. The year 1917 saw further impetus given to this course when the regulations required that 'one lesson a week should be devoted to Civics'.[10]

To complement this view of the Australian political system, Roach urged teachers 'to select poems from what may be styled the new school of Australian poets' so as 'to help in the creation of an Australian national spirit'.[11] He explained:

> Kendall and Gordon, who are at present used in the schools, were to a considerable extent echoes of the grand old masters of the homeland, but since they wrote Lawson, Brady, Paterson, Olgivie, Dorothea Mackellar and others have published many stirring poems that strike a more recent as well as a more national note.

To support his belief in the power of poetry to inspire such national awareness, Roach referred to the example of Australian soldiers in war. Their stirring deeds, he felt, had been inspired by 'many noble poems written of late years in Australia'.[12]

While History and Civics, at least up until 1918, provided the clearest indication that educators were continuing Williams' experiment in making Australia more central to the curriculum, the leading subject in this regard was English, in the twenties. By the middle of that decade, the earlier readers in English history had been completely replaced (though not, significantly, the Children's Hour) by a much wider range of books including a set of class readers prepared by B.S. Roach.[13] His ideas which had been such a powerful force in the period up to 1913 were still evident in the preface of each reader:

> The subjects treated are largely Australasian, for children are naturally interested in their own land, and love to read of its plants and animals, its productions, and its history. The knowledge so gained is valuable, not only for its own sake, but as a basis of comparison when other parts of the world are being studied.

Many of the stories he wrote himself; some had already appeared in numbers of his paper the Children's Hour. Others, including poems

and descriptive pieces, were from the works of well-known Australian writers: Marcus Clarke, Rolf Boldrewood, Henry Kendall, Ethel Turner, K. Langloh-Parker, George Essex Evans, Henry Lawson and A.B. Paterson. They spoke of the bush, of mining, of pioneering and even of Aboriginal life, very much in the mode of the 1890s. These, together with a great variety of other stories and poems, were to be used by children in schools. Teachers could not have helped noticing that the list published in the Course of Instruction in the 1920s showed a gradual increase in the number of Australian stories and poems.[14]

However, these were chosen carefully so as not to over-emphasize Australian sentiment, though of course much depended on how they were used by individual teachers. A prime example of this careful choice by the Department is its selection of stories from Amy Mack's Bushland Stories.[15] Her book, first published in 1910, was an exact illustration of the feeling expressed about that time by Williams: Australian birds, flowers and trees were to be preferred because they were Australian and had their own kind of beauty.[16] Many of the stories were based on the antagonism the author perceived between Australian birds, flowers and animals, and those of other lands. The reader was left in no doubt as to the author's allegiances as can be seen from the concluding segment of the story 'The Cocktails' Party' where a gathering of small native birds had been spoilt by an invasion of sparrows and starlings:

> In a few moments there was not one member of the party left, and the greedy Sparrows and Starlings were gobbling up the feast as fast as they could.
>
> And, oh! The sorrow and sadness of the little birds, as they met at the other end of the Gardens to talk it over!

> After much discussion they wrote a letter to the Governor, and told him what they wanted. But whether they ever got an answer, I cannot say, for the Sparrows and Starlings still do their best to gobble up everything and starve the other birds. But perhaps some day they will be punished. I hope so; don't you? 17

In other stories, the symbolism was even more obvious. 'The Lion and the Kangaroo' was one such story based on the uneasiness, even hostility, between Australia and Britain. But the most touching, as far as children would have been concerned, was the one 'How the Flower Fairies Helped', an impassioned plea by the author for Australians to know and love their native flowers. In the story, the flower fairies considered how they might best achieve this. After discounting rather harsh suggestions from the fairies, Boronia and Hakea:

> ... that we spread our flowers all over the land, not only in the bush, but in the gardens that mortals are fond of. Afterwards let us kill the garden flowers, and then the mortals will have to notice us.
>
> ... that we stick sharp spikes into mortals every time they look at any flowers but ours 18

the fairy queen accepted one made by the gentle Bauera: '... that we begin by making the children love us'. The story continued:

> 'I think it would be a good idea to go into the schools and nurseries, and teach the young children to know and love us'.
>
> 'That's a capital idea', cried the Wattle Fairy. 'For if children know us when they are young they will never forget us'.
>
> 'Yes, and when they grow up they will teach their children about us, and by-and-by everyone will know us quite well, and we will no longer be strangers in our own land'. It was the Correa Fairy that spoke, and her voice was sad as she uttered the last words. 19

In their preliminary survey, only one fairy, Bauera, found a child who was

> 'not satisfied to draw foreign flowers ... a boy who looked different from the other children. His face was rounder, browner and he looked more like the children we see in the bush'. 20

On hearing how this boy who had once lived in the bush drew beautiful native flowers from memory because he loved them, the fairies shouted, 'Hooray, hooray! ... he was a real Australian'.[21] When he grew up, he introduced these flowers through his paintings to his own countrymen saying:

> 'You tread them beneath your feet every day .... You are too proud and blind to see them, and while you are gazing up and searching for rare things from far away, you are crushing and passing by the beauty at your feet'. 22

The story ended with the lesson well learned:

> So the people heeded his words and began to notice and to love their own fair blossoms; at length the Australian flowers were used in every school for copies, for the children would use no others but the ones they loved. 23

Such a story could almost have been written for Alfred Williams or Bertie Roach, so exactly did it capture their sentiments prior to 1913. But the Education Department had changed by the 1920s.

Whether the power of Amy Mack's convictions were effectively conveyed to children or whether the symbolism, allegory and patriotism was too clumsy, is a matter of some doubt. What is not in doubt is that these stories were <u>not</u> among those suggested for teachers' use.[24] Perhaps, one could argue, the points they raised were no longer at issue. Significantly, two of the above stories were not included in the 1924 edition of the book, the edition most likely to be used by teachers. This would seem to indicate an increasing unwillingness

by the Education Department to draw attention to the distinctiveness of Australian life.

By the 1930s, it was Geography rather than History, Civics or English that did more than any other to help children to appreciate their Australian environment. This subject explored the ways in which it was possible to promote interest in the local district. From 1920 Geography and History had been given a more important place in the curriculum with the decision to include them in the final Primary school examination, the Qualifying Certificate. Geography had always had an advantage over History in that it was more tangible for children, and from the 1870s, when Hartley introduced his natural method, Geography had shown the greatest potential for introducing children to their immediate environment. Just how rich that potential could be was not fully realized until Charles Fenner began mobilizing teachers in 1933 with his Village Survey proposal.

Fenner was actually appointed as Superintendent of Technical Education in 1916 but he had a keen interest in Geography and the Department was willing to use it. Thus it was Fenner who chaired the Geography Committee and who, in co-operation with Roach, organized the publication of a series of geography text books to be used in schools from 1925.[25] He and Roach were close associates, not just as departmental officers but also as members of the Royal and Royal Geographical Societies in South Australia. Both were instrumental in establishing the latter's important Historical Memorials Committee in 1928.[26] So, just as Roach had been two decades before, now Fenner became a vital link between the exciting developments taking place in South Australia and overseas and the teaching of Geography in schools.

One such development was the Village Survey or local history project which Fenner introduced into selected schools in 1933. Its source of inspiration was what was termed 'the Oxfordshire Experiment', a scheme published by the Board of Education in England in 1928 to systematize the teaching of local history which the Board had sought to encourage in schools since 1905.[27] However, a more parochial issue foreshadowed Fenner's decision to introduce the scheme into South Australian schools. This was the Historical Memorials Committee's preparation in 1928 for celebrating the centenary of Sturt's expedition down the Murray and its suggestion that schools should be involved in helping to provide suitable memorials to Sturt along the Murray. An article in the Education Gazette explained:

> In South Australia, many of the river towns have promised to enter enthusiastically into the question of raising funds .... In such cases, the greatest possible assistance could be given by the teachers and students of the local school, and, in turn, from the point of view of historic sentiment and tradition, no one would benefit more than the school children concerned.
>
> The Department is keenly anxious to assist this movement for the building up of local historical conditions, and for honouring the memories of pioneers and explorers. Inspectors and teachers are therefore asked to do whatever lies in their power to encourage children and school committees to co-operate with other bodies or to lead the way in their community in the matter of erecting suitable memorials. 28

As can be seen, it was not difficult to simply broaden the scheme to apply to any locality. This Fenner did by calling together a committee of twelve selected teachers in September 1933. The aim was an ambitious one of collecting 'the salient features of the history and geography of each township and village where a public school is established throughout the State'.[29] Fenner, as chairman,

was given considerable encouragement, not just by the newly established Australian Council of Educational Research but also by the Royal Geographical Society in South Australia. That society was clearly aware of how such a survey could help its own work. It had recently agreed to a request by the Institute of Historical Research at the University of London to prepare a survey of South Australia 'in connection with the historical interest in place-names'.[30] As well, it wished to promote the collection, preservation and use of historical resources relating to South Australia, particularly those which were being 'rapidly lost with the passing of the pioneers'.[31]

Just how useful research based on these sources could be was evident, said Dr. Pulleine, President of the society, from the 'original contributions of Misses Raffelt and Mills ...'.[32] These were students of Fenner who was, by 1930, taking evening classes in Geography at the university. It seems that these classes were highly successful and most of the students were teachers from the Education Department.[33] Dr. Pulleine went on to suggest:

> that the study [of the human geography of South Australia] might immediately be extended by the aid of the State Schools, of which there are over 1,000 in South Australia. If as many country schools as possible could be induced to plot to scale a given area surrounding them, say 20 square miles, show roads, farms, and all natural features with dates of settlement, names of pioneers, and other historical details, we would in time have a valuable accumulation of knowledge to go into our archives. 34

One cannot help being reminded of similar attempts made at the turn of the century by the Royal Geographical Society to preserve local historical resources.[35]

In 1933, however, Pulleine was suggesting more radical methods than those used before. Just as in 1907-1910 in his search for new

spider specimens he had mobilized the state schools by training their pupils to be amateur naturalists, so now he proposed a similar mobilization in quest of local history under the leadership of Dr. Fenner:

> Such a plan ... which Dr. Fenner is especially fitted to organize, could not fail to be of great benefit to teachers and students alike; and it would have a great historical interest in the future. 36

Strong as these historical arguments were for the promotion of the Village Survey in schools, it would seem that many in the Education Department, particularly the Superintendent of Primary Education saw the surveys as having more educational than historical merit. This was unmistakably clear in his report for 1933:

> This work is carried on, not with the object of giving instruction in any particular subject, but to create interest and to foster in children the habit of independent effort and enquiry. 37

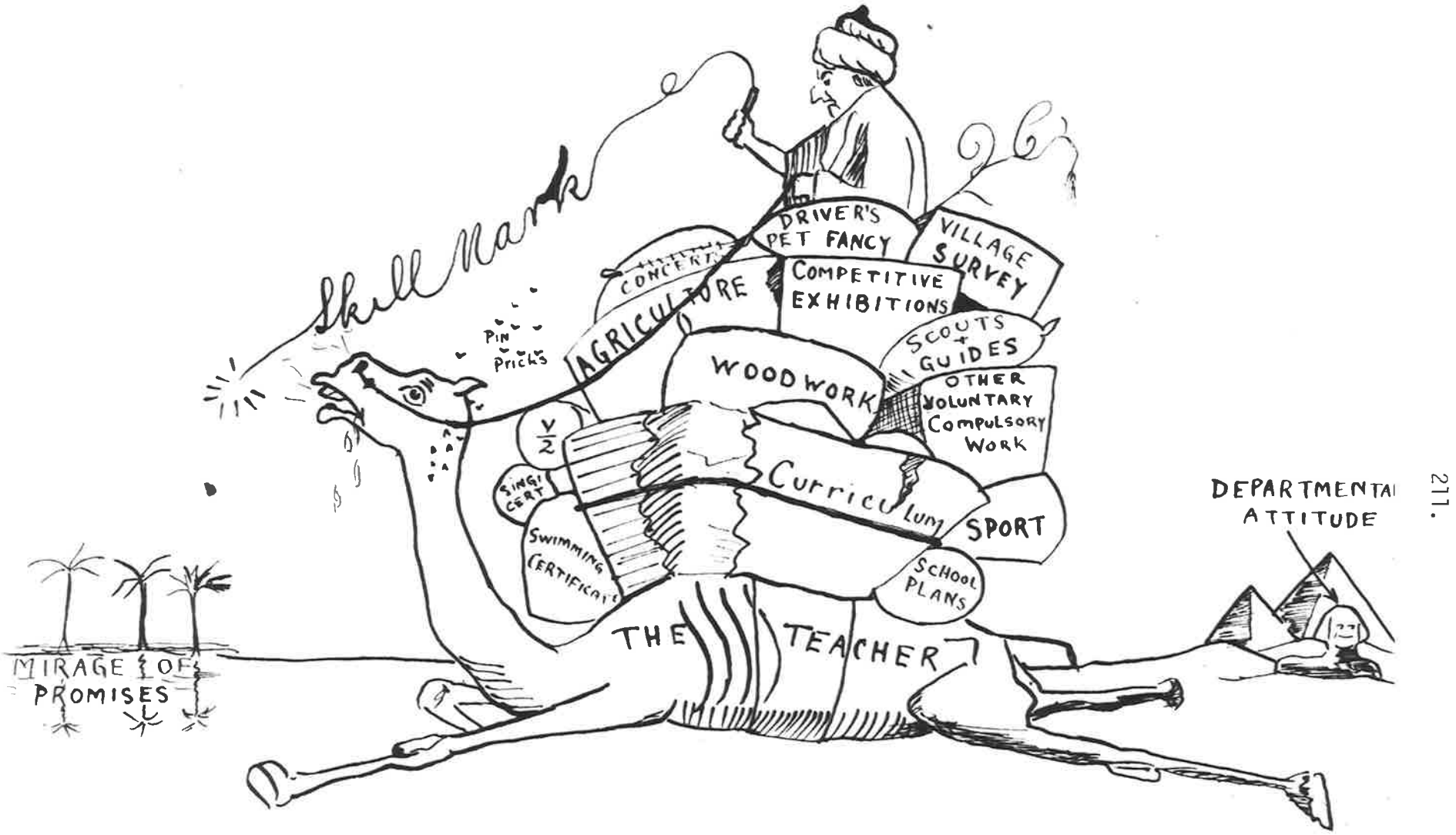
However, whether judged on educational or historical grounds, the scheme enjoyed moderate success in the 1930s and was later formally incorporated into the Course of Instruction for all schools in 1947.[38]

Some of the work was of an extremely high standard, for example the surveys completed by the schools at Riverton and Mannum.[39] A report of the Village Surveys Committee, presented to the conference of inspectors early in 1935, told how the Riverton survey, in providing 'contact with reality in history, geography, economics and literary expression ... acted as a stimulus upon the whole of the work of the school'.[40] Hoskings, the teacher associated with the Mannum survey felt that it was 'fostering in the hearts of the children a greater pride in their home town'.[41] Of the eighteen schools which eventually participated during the 1930s, nine either completed a survey or had material published in an abridged form.[42]

Only the two abovementioned were eventually lodged in the South Australian Archives as requested by the committee.

Clearly, the extent of work depended on the enthusiasm and talent of individual teachers, and for this reason is difficult to measure. However, such enthusiasm as there was appears not to have been sufficient to spread the scheme beyond the eighteen selected schools. Indeed, the Male Assistants' Association, fearful of an overloaded curriculum, did not wish to see an expansion in the programme, a point of view which did not escape the attention of the teachers' journal cartoonist.[43] However, despite this criticism and despite the difficulties of carrying out worthwhile surveys, particularly with Primary school children, enough had been done by the more dedicated teacher by 1935 to indicate how valuable these surveys could be in helping children to relate to their immediate environment. The fact that later, when the Qualifying Certificate examination had been dropped, the village survey was written into the Social Studies course tends to support this.

Thus, Geography and its local area studies provided, in the context of divided opinion in the inter-war period, a neutral base which could nurture a deeper response by children to their distinctive Australian environment. In content and design it did not intrude upon the vexed problem of country and nation - except by indirect means. Perhaps that was the only way to be effectively patriotic and nationalistic and escape dissension.



Village Surveys - the straw that broke the camel's back.
The South Australian Teachers' Journal, 20 June 1935.

The closing worlds of books and the curriculum

Reassuring as these signs were from 1915 to 1938 that educators in South Australia were continuing to realize the advantages of basing studies on the ambience of 'Australia and Australians', these were quite overshadowed by other aspects of the curriculum and of school life generally. Most striking was the way in which children were encouraged by the South Australian Education Department to understand that the British Empire, not Australia, was their country and that they belonged to the British rather than Australian nation.

As might be expected, the subject of History and Civics provided the clearest illustration of this. Australian and British history were to be so closely merged together as to appear quite inseparable. Gone was the careful distinction Williams and Roach had tried to establish between Australian and British history.

Such a move began to be apparent as early as 1918. As the war progressed and as the Australian community divided over the issue of conscription educators became increasingly aware of how History could be used to shape children's loyalties, with quite serious repercussions. The Education Department did not enter directly into the conscription debate through the columns of the Children's Hour. Nevertheless, it took the view that children should continue to be persuaded to support Australia's participation in the war. This meant that the Australian emphasis of the History course must be modified. It was not considered prudent for Australian history to be set too far apart from the mainstream of British history. Chilren might see themselves as simply Australian without any ties of allegiance to the Empire.

Nowhere was this new approach clearer than in a carefully written story about the motivation of a young working man of the AIF who died in April 1918. In part it said:

> It is true that this man was an Australian, as most of you are who will read about him. But he knew that Australians are related to old England, as the son is related to the mother; .... He knew something of the history of the Motherland. ... he had come to think that it was his story ....
>
> Then he knew that Australia, the land of his birth, the land which he loved beyond any other, was a part of the great British Empire ... and he knew that when England was at war it mattered to every part of the Empire .... And so, because his love for Australia was very great, and because England had helped Australia through all the struggles of her early history ... there grew up in his mind the thought that if he went to fight for England in her need, he would also be fighting for his loved Australia.
>
> All this was shaping him into a true patriot - a country lover, that is - and a patriot loves his country so much that he would die for it. 44

The idea of country was made to seem so Australian and yet fundamentally was so British. Thus, the story concluded: 'In your schools you are, very properly taught to honour the king, to salute your flag, and to love your country'.

As if to underline this modification, the Department decided, at the end of 1918, to delete the important paragraph which Williams had used to introduce the teaching of History:

> It should be remembered that our children must be trained to look at the past from two points of view. We are the descendants of a European race whose achievements in literature and science, in social and political government, in naval and military engagements make up a glorious history; but we are also the descendants of people who explored and settled a part of Britain beyond the seas, and while we must remember the history of the motherland, we must not neglect the many opportunities to instil in our pupils a love for their own country. 45

The nexus so clearly enunciated by Richard Jebb of a variety of loyalties - to Britain and its civilization and to an Australian nation - was broken.

Perhaps the Department assumed that the 'two points of view' were so widely accepted that the introductory paragraph was no longer necessary. Or it may have been thought that the two text books being written for the course by former students of Henderson, Wilfrid Oldham and Lynda Tapp, would make the Australian-British distinction sufficiently clear.[46] But it most likely heralded a change in mood by the Education Department: it no longer wished Australian history to be presented as distinct from British history.

Because of its potential to influence children's loyalties, the subject Morals, Citizenship and History attracted increasing attention from the Department in the 1920s. As has been seen, from 1920 it was included in the final Primary school examination. Significantly, however, after 1920, British history was reintroduced to the lower grades of schools: it was now the only kind of history taught to Grade III; it now rivalled South Australian and Australian history in Grades IV and V. Thus, overall British history outweighed the Australian history taught in schools, profoundly reversing the trend of 1916 and 1917.[47]

This is not to say that Australian history lost its importance altogether. Obviously, both children and teachers found it appealing, as was indicated by the Superintendant of Primary Education:

> On the whole, Australian history is well taught, the lessons being given by teachers out of a full store of knowledge, assisted by pictorial illustrations and well drawn charts. Another factor contributing to the great interest shown in this branch of the subject by the children is the fact that the stories are about the pioneers of their own land. 48

However, during the 1920s and 1930s, the study of Australian history stagnated. Stories of the explorers, which when first introduced in the early part of the century were so exciting to their readers, now became virtually the sum total of Australian history. The text book of the 1920s and early 1930s, the Adelaide Australian History by Lynda Tapp indicated this. For most children, Australian history must have seemed little more than endless dots around and across the Australian continent and associated facts. After 1929, to broaden this approach, the Education Department encouraged teachers to use Walter Murdoch's The Making of Australia.[49] But how much of the book reached children in a lively and interesting way is a matter of some doubt.

By the mid 1930s, it is true that the Village Survey movement and a new set of History text books introduced a much broader approach to History.[50] But herein lay a key weakness: localized lessons in Geography with some distant and unrelated sense of the Australian past degenerated into inchoate segments of 'Australian Studies' or a vague scattering of Australian experiences - contemporary and historical - without a firm framework and sense of order. The innovators like Henderson, Williams and Roach, did, within the system of their experience and beliefs, possess an organized view of the world into which Australian history fitted. Their successors had no such framework. The survey movement was limited in its application. The new text books seemed more promising but were so broad that they presented items of scattered interest not history or an ordered vision of past and present.

In the main, Australian history was still no more than discoverers and explorers. There were only three named Australians added to the

list of heroes, still an important part of the teaching of History, and, significantly, two of these were associated with the Great War.[51] In a broad sense, the sixty thousand Australians who died in that war, and the many more who were wounded, were also portrayed as Australian heroes on the one page on 'What Anzac Day Means to Us'. However, apart from these minor changes, Australian history remained an insignificant part of the course, far outweighed by world history of which the British component was the most important.

Another indication of the parlous state of concern for Australian history was the introduction of items on the Aborigines. The text books for Grades III and VII, included a collection of Aboriginal myths and legends and information about traditional Aboriginal life. In view of the way in which Aborigines had been written out of Australian history, this was an enlightened measure. Better that children had a few notions of the ways of thought belonging to what had been called 'primitive man', rather than none at all. But again, this was yet another item amongst a rag-bag of items concerned with things Australian. British history prevailed in scale and consideration within curricula and text book. Further, the study of British history alone had formal structure and organized direction. The 'Whig' version of British history prevailed.

In Citizenship there was the same concern to emphasize the British rather than the Australian strand. From 1920 instruction in saluting the flag, the Union Jack, was prescribed for all classes.[52] The words accompanying the salute remained unchanged from those introduced during the war and were intended to bind Australia and Britain more closely together in the minds of pupils:

1. I love my country, the British Empire.
2. I honour her King: King George the Sixth.
3. I salute her flag: the Union Jack.
4. I promise cheerfully to obey her laws. 53

What was happening can be seen by contrasting this wording with that of 1911. In 1911 a child, even when saluting the Union Jack, would have understood that the opening phrase, 'I love my country' referred to Australia. From the time of the war, he was in one sense, left in no doubt: 'I love my country, the British Empire ... I salute her flag: the Union Jack'.[54] In another sense lay potential bewilderment: How could a South Australian child believe that the British Empire was his country? And what did that mean? Since few answered the questions and division occurred, symbolic confusion ultimately came to rest on a basic and senseless stance: loyalty to Britain and Empire. Such loyalty was without the realistic dimensions of the nationalism which Richard Jebb and Professor Henderson had variously seen as essential for any appreciation of Australian perspectives. As with the items of the Australian past, so with the symbolism of nationalism: Britishness prevailed - even if that did not make sense of the Australian world.

And so throughout the whole period, the Union Jack remained the virtually unchallenged national symbol. From the war years, saluting the flag, accompanied by the singing of two verses of the national anthem, became part of the daily routine.[55] It was only in 1933 that the practice was allowed to be a weekly rather than daily affair.[56] Even then, the Male Assistants' Association attempted (unsuccessfully) to make it less frequent.[57] The Department's preference for the Union Jack was obvious. It was issued without charge to all public schools whereas the Australian flag was an extra charge borne by the

school if the head teacher wished to fly it as well as the Union Jack. Although some schools chose to do this, the Department did not publicize the option. Furthermore, to replace the Union Jack with the Australian flag was strictly forbidden.[58]

The teacher's handbook on Civics explained the Department's preference:

> This is done that they may learn to respect the flag which is the symbol of the unity of our race, recalling its justice, honour, and freedom. The National Anthem is a prayer that God will bless and keep our beloved Empire, for, though kings and queens may pass away, we desire the prosperity of our Empire in the future, so that it may continue to be of service to the world as it has been in the past. 59

Clearly, distinctions between Australia and the Empire were to be firmly discouraged. It was the 'justice, honour, and freedom' they shared which was more important. Given that the drive for free, secular and compulsory education in its origins and outcome was intended in part to produce 'children of civic virtue', these ideals were indisputably noble. But how they were to be understood was left to the growing child, as he became aware of his world. Schools were not, by the 1920s, places to clarify the very bases on which citizenship rested. In schools vague sentiments of Britishness were thought to be sufficient.

One attempt at clarification reveals the gap between ordered thought and vague sentiment. The instructions to teachers about the National Anthem, like those for the Union Jack, were to form the central core of Citizenship. Teachers were urged in 1929 to take great care in explaining the link between the king and his people: the position of the governor-general and governor. Aspects to be emphasized were:

(1) He is the representative of the King.

(2) He signs laws which have been made.

(3) He is the link between us and the home country. 60

This section remained in the revised course of 1938. Such clarity ignored important Australian crises which brought these assumptions into question. The major crisis of course involved the dismissal of the Premier of New South Wales, Jack Lang, by the Governor of that state. For many, that action symbolized the continuing subordination of Australian to English interests. Even so, the instruction above may well have been a deliberate attempt to impress on South Australian children the stability and continuity associated with such an office because of its link with Britain. But what concept apart from 'England: the Mother Country' or 'John Bull and his Pups' could give meaning to the proposition 'He is the link between us and the home country'? Such language was the lingua franca of the adult establishment. It was not the language of children.

Such emphasis on Britain rather than Australia in History and Citizenship was to be found in the study of English. Already it has been seen how in the 1920s the Education Department avoided the stories of Amy Mack which would make children aware of the distinctiveness of Australia and Australians. As with the Australian history presented to children, so it was with Australian literature. There was the same stagnation. Contents of The Adelaide Readers varied little from their emergence in the 1920s through their revision in the 1930s. In the Grade VII book, for example, there was a slightly greater predominance of works by Tennyson, Scott, Shakespeare, Dickens, Southey and Byron, over the sprinkling of Australian prose and poems. Australian themes were much the same: pioneering, heroism and the natural environment.

However, there were some exceptions. Essex Evans' 'The Nation Builders' was omitted in the 1936 edition of the Grade VII reader.[61] Perhaps in the context of the 1930s its tone was rather too radical, too open to dissension and attack from the Empire loyalists whose views were so evident in the only morning daily paper in South Australia, the Advertiser. The poem began:

> 1. A handful of workers seeking the star of a strong intent -
> A handful of heroes scattered to conquer a continent -
>
> ...
>
> Till the land that lies like a giant asleep shall wake to the victory won,
> And the hearts of the Nation Builders shall know that the work is done.

Also included in the 1936 edition was a new piece, 'The Departure of the Anzacs from Mudros' by Masefield. This might appear to be Australian but was in fact British in emphasis. Thus, such revisions indicate not only the stagnation of studies in Australian literature but also the increased emphasis on the British connections.

The same point is evident from an examination of the set of poetry books published by the Education Department for the first time about 1936.[62] Apart from several poems by Annie Rentoul, there were only occasional contributions by Gordon, C.J. Dennis, Dorothea Mackellar, E.J. Brady and J.B. O'Hara. All were concerned with love of the Australian natural environment, or, more rarely with the pioneers who sought to tame it - safe topics both so long as the nationalism of the 1880s and 1890s was omitted. The poems and stories of Henry Lawson were significant this time by their absence.

One slight yet important departure from this sanitized sense of the Australian past which drove Vance Palmer in despair to lambast the 'comfortable bourgeois' were the works of the modern

Australian writer and Jindyworoba k rebel, Rex Ingamells. Only two poems were presented. Both quite short, they established the beauty and the alternative vision of the Aboriginals. One, 'Black Children' is worth quoting for the sharp contrast it paints between settled and Aboriginal life:

> Where now interrupted sun
> Is shrivelling the sheaves,
> Black children leap and laugh and run
> Beneath a sky of leaves;
> And where the farmer threshes wheat
> With steel machinery,
> Go glimmerings of their little feet,
> If only he could see. 63

Apart from this significant exception, all the old English poems were there: Browning's 'Home Thoughts from Abroad', Wordsworth's 'The Daffodils'. Perhaps symbolically, the Grade VII collection ended with 'For England' by J.D. Burns, an Australian who had died in the Great War. Its flavour can be quickly appreciated from the first few lines:

> The bugles of England were blowing o'er the sea,
> As they had called a thousand years, calling now to me;
> They woke me from dreaming in the dawning of the day,
> The bugles of England - and how could I stay? 64

Again, items of Australian literature and the views of nation and the past they implied were pushed aside in the orthodox emphasis of literature which encapsulated Britishness.

The closing worlds of school life and ceremonies

In school life generally, especially in the celebration of national days, this redirection was even clearer. What was promoted in schools reflected the unease felt in South Australian society generally in the rather unpredictable years of the interwar period: the unwillingness to rely on new forms of international security like the League and the conviction that Britain and British values were the best guarantee for Australian stability and security.[65]

Empire Day remained a ceremonial institution of schools. It will be remembered that Alfred Williams, from 1910, had deliberately instructed his teachers to help children relate positively to their own country Australia, and its people before considering the wider allegiance of the British Empire. Even after Williams' death this emphasis continued. Thus, for Empire Day in 1914, just two months before the war began, teachers were told: 'To teach admiration and love of their own country and countrymen first is to lay the firmest foundation for an Imperial feeling'.[66]

From 1915 the emphasis was altogether different. Empire Day, the new instructions advised, was to be:

> a day that calls forth the highest and best in the true Briton and lifts him into a sphere of unselfishness, where his aims and aspirations ... are brought, as it were, to a focus, and concentrate in burning love for the Empire, of which he is a part, and yearning desire for its welfare. 67

The stirring Australian poems previously used in the school's preparation for the day were replaced by Imperial ones.[68] No wonder that Miss Rees George, the fiercely enthusiastic Joint Honorary Secretary of The League of Empire was made responsible at that time for instructions in the Education Gazette. Proudly she could proclaim: '... [this day has] deepened our loyalty and widened our patriotism'.[69] By 1920 it was reported in the Gazette: 'Empire Day ... has now become part of the settled order of things.'[70] Clearly, the Imperial emphasis since the war had come to stay: instructions reminded teachers that 'many citizens ... were unaware of either their glorious heritage or the responsibilities of Imperial citizenship' and impressed upon them the importance of instilling in children 'loyalty to a vast Empire'.[71]

Just how mixed feelings for Australia and the Empire had become can be seen from the Gazette's instructions for Empire Day in 1927:

> ... the celebration gives teachers an opportunity for inculcating the virtue known as patriotism, so far as it means devotion to the welfare of one's country ....
>
> Patriotism is love of country, born of familiarity with its history, reverence for its institutions, and faith in its possibilities, and is evidenced by obedience to its laws and respect for its flag.
>
> It is surely no vain boast to assert that Australians, whatever may be their failings, do not lack patriotism. In less than a year after the Empire had sprung to arms in 1914, the world rang with the praises of the prowess shown by our countrymen, and the graves of more than 60,000 men ... mutely express the sacrifice they made for their country . ... the public schools of the Commonwealth, where most of these heroes were educated, were not the least of the agents that quickened their patriotism. 72

Against the background of the History course, 'country' in the above instructions appears to refer to the Empire: '... familiarity with its history, reverence for its institutions ... respect for its flag'. Yet further down, 'country' could well mean either the Empire of Australia. Such ambiguity had the apparent virtue of pleasing all and offending no-one.

Even in the celebration of the 'Australian' Anzac Day, despite what one might expect, there was an equivalent British emphasis. Reference to the landing at Gallipoli was prescribed for schools within two months of it taking place, and in the following year instructions for 'Anzac Day' appeared in the Education Gazette.[73] However, these were not repeated until 1921 when the day was made a public holiday. Even so, from that time little attention was given to the celebration of Anzac Day in schools. This may have reflected the Imperial priorities of the Education Department. Or it may have been just that schools closed for the whole day, preventing the possibility of morning ceremonies before dismissal at lunch time, as happened with Empire Day.

As Anzac Day came to be celebrated, its tone was decidedly Imperial. The first essay competitions to promote the Day among school children were organized by the League of Empire (South Australian Branch). The topics, significantly, were: 'The British Empire and what it stands for' and 'What constitutes patriotism?'[74] Although the Returned Servicemen's League later took over this duty, it was not until the 1940s that schools were asked to provide a suitable Anzac Day ceremony. Even so, this was still British-based as was clear from the remarks to be read by the head teacher in concluding the ceremony: 'Let us all rededicate ourselves to the duty of every true Britisher ...'.[75]

In the Children's Hour there was the same cautious celebration of the Anzac story. At first in 1915 and 1916 the paper's response to Australians' involvement at the Dardanelles was most enthusiastic. But in 1918 and 1919 April there was no mention of it at all. It was only in the Empire editions for May that Anzac material was included. Once Anzac Day became firmly established in 1921, material on Anzac consistently began to appear in the April rather than May editions.

Even so, the material presented was not likely to 'be read by pupils with flashing eyes and glowing cheeks' as Roach had imagined in 1915. Most of the articles, titled 'The Landing of the Anzacs' or something similar were straightforward, factual accounts taken from books like John Masefield's Gallipoli. The underlying emphasis of such articles was Imperial as Masefield makes clear when writing of action at the landing: '... that feat of arms which for dauntless bravery has never been equalled, and which proved the loyalty of the sons of the far-off Dominions to the motherland'.[76]

It was not until 1933 that the Children's Hour began to consider a slightly different view of the Anzac experience: that of the Australian war historian C.E.W. Bean, as set out in The Story of Anzac, the first volume of the war history. In that year, the address he had given when laying the foundation stone of the Australian War Memorial in 1929, was adapted for the readers of the Children's Hour. It spoke to them of Australia:

> These men died for Australia, and to them 'Australia' was not a word to be used lightly. ... I do not know the soldiers of any country who had a greater love for their native land. 77

It told children what it meant to be Australian:

> ... we are intensely proud of the qualities that gave us the victory - qualities born of the great life, of the stuff our ancestors were, of the freedom that taught each Australian to make up his mind for himself and stick to it.

But above all, he explained,

> There is the memory that remains, however, and it is the memory of a precious unforgettable comradeship.
>
> ... for thousands of Australians the great lesson of the war was that there is something to admire in every man.

Such words could have been used with great effect by teachers in 1933 to help children reach beyond the social division and the political difficulties of the Depression years. Whether they did so is impossible to establish. However, it is significant that, apart from Roach's attempt in 1915, this was the only occasion in the inter-war period when the Children's Hour presented a distinctly Australian message for Anzac Day. In other years, the content was decidedly Imperial.

Those who had sought an appropriate title for Australia's volunteer expeditionary forces had chosen well within the context of beliefs prior to 1914. The Australian Imperial Forces encapsulated

in another form the beliefs of the nation builders of 1898-1914: men as diverse as Alfred Deakin and Richard Jebb, Professor Henderson and W.M. Hughes, Andrew Fisher and Bertie Roach. Now, in the post-war world, the concept of the duality of Australian and Imperial loyalty was lost.

For 'Australia Day', which appeared briefly in the war years, the same pattern was followed. Teachers were advised by the Minister of Education that all schools would be granted a holiday for Australia Day, which in the city would be July 28, an apparently insignificant day. The Gazette stated: 'Unless schools are co-operating in a local demonstration [as organized, for example by the ANA], they will follow a programme similar to that of Empire Day'.[78] After 1918, however, the day was no longer mentioned in regulations perhaps because Empire Day sufficed or, one suspects, because suitable demonstrations were difficult to organize and these after 1918 were a necessary pre-requisite to children being given a holiday.[79]

Thus, when examining school life generally as well as curricula in South Australian state schools during the inter-war period, one must conclude that there were a few positive signs that the experiment launched by Henderson, Williams and Roach was continuing. On the whole, they were being swamped by a resurgence of feeling for Empire. Both the Minister of Education, and his officers, made a concerted move to promote an attachment to Empire and Monarchy among children in state schools. To a large extent, this simply reflected the ground swell of feeling among South Australians at the time. Yet it was more than that. It was as if the Education Department recognized the possibility that, influenced by the views of Australian society at

large, children's enthusiasm for Australia might come to over-rule their feeling for Britain. Hence it must be redirected and made more British to prevent this.

Such a move represented virtually a reversal of what Alfred Williams had been trying to achieve. His belief had been that children should first be taught that their country was Australia and that they were Australians. Through this, they would come to see that they were also British and their country was part of a much larger entity, the British Empire. Instruction based on this belief had been a very real reflection of Jebb's Colonial Nationalism as understood by Williams. Now this Australian-based concept of country and nation was being modified so as to re-emphasize the importance of the Empire and the British.

Some explanations: the scorch of war

Three general reasons do much to explain the redirection of the Australian sentiment of colonial nationalists and the subordination of Australian images in schools to British sentiment and loyalties. All concern the experience of the Great War and its legacies. Firstly, it can be seen that war-time experience in Australia, although initially strengthening Australian feeling, finally ensured the triumph of British-based patriotism and nationalism and the re-assertion of apparently simple loyalties to Crown and Monarchy - despite all difficulties. Secondly, the war and the post war world saw the exhaustion of creative innovators like Professor Henderson and Bertie Roach, Editor of the Children's Hour and their replacement by men who could not straddle so optimistically the British and Australian strands of patriotism and nationalism in a post-war world. Thirdly

the legacy of the Great War put a premium on the League of Nations and produced a suspicion of all kinds of nationalism which were seen as simply jingoistic and chauvinistic. British loyalist sentiment seemed the only safe option in a confused and divided Australia.

War as the impulse to British sentiment

Firstly, just when children were being encouraged to explore their native land and their feelings towards it, the war revived more strongly than before thoughts of the motherland and their attitude towards it. Poems and songs used in schools, especially for Empire Day but also as part of everyday school life reinforced the sentiment of Kipling's poem recited by children:

> O Motherland, we pledge to thee,
> Head, heart, and hand through the years to be. 80

Not surprisingly, given the nature of the war and the propaganda used by the Allied side to emphasize their democratic heritage, increasing attention was given to Civics and its links with British history in schools.[81] One inspector remarked:

> The war has undoubtedly been responsible for
> a marked sharpening in patriotic fervour ...
> as well as for a much more complete knowledge
> of the Empire and that for which it stands. 82

That it should stand for more than the king became a growing concern of the Department. As the war continued into 1918 and as the position of monarchy became more untenable in many parts of Europe, the Department appears to have been worried that the singing of 'God Save the King' might seem inappropriate to children. In May 1918 there appeared in the Children's Hour alternative verses for the anthem with quite a different emphasis:

> God bless our splendid men.
> Send them safe home again,
> ...

> Lord let war's tempest cease,
> Fold the whole world in peace
> ...
>
> 83

Children were urged to understand that the loyalty they owed their king was different from, even less important than that which they owed their country. '"For King sometimes; for country always"' had been the motto of the soldier whose motive for going to war was so carefully explained in the Children's Hour of June 1918:

> ... we see ... what was in the mind of the workman. Although one may be loyal, it might happen that the king of one's country was not the kind of king one would care to fight for. Even in our own history of England we read of a king for whom the people had such a dislike that they beheaded him. So though one is able, generally, to think of king and country as one, as in the case of our own king, that may not be possible always. But the claims of country are always the same 84

Country, of course, was intended to refer to both Australia and the Empire.

In this way, children could be helped to gain a deeper understanding of their own political system in the turmoil of the later years of the war, both in Australia and overseas. Equally, they could be encouraged to reject alternative political systems, especially that of the Bolsheviks who had emerged triumphant in Russia. Thus, children were warned:

> Beware of those who have no country love, to whom one land seems as good as another. A great tree strikes its roots so deeply into the ground that the wildest storm cannot overturn it. In like manner should love of country strike its roots so deeply into our souls, that nothing which can happen to us, not even the pains of death, may uproot it. 85

Attention to this point was even more noticeable after the fate of the Russian royal family at the hands of the Bolsheviks became

known. Particular care was taken to reinforce the position of the British monarchy in the hearts and minds of children since it was becoming the major link binding together the different parts of the far-flung British Empire or Commonwealth as it was being called. Thus, from early in 1919, teachers were urged to take great care in explaining the words of the National Anthem, especially to point out that it was not simply the king being prayed for but all that he symbolized, that is, the order and freedom they enjoyed under their 'truly democratic constitution'.[86] Teachers were to emphasize how this contrasted with the 'hideous chaos' resulting from 'so-called democratic principles' in Russia. Such an explanation then became part of all subsequent Empire Day proceedings. Affection between monarch and children was further encouraged by the royal visits of 1920 and 1927.

It is quite instructive to analyse the way this was done. Explaining the symbolism of monarchy on Empire Day was one thing but how were the teachers to ensure that this lesson would continue to be learned during the rest of the year? Portraits of the monarchs were hung in classrooms and of course for much of the interwar period saluting the Union Jack and singing the National Anthem were daily reminders of monarchy. Obviously, the subject Morals, Citizenship and History was also expected to serve in this way. Here the Department was in something of a dilemma, for despite its increased attention to British history in the Course of Instruction during the 1920s, Australian history was much more popular of the two among both teachers and students. The Superintendent of Primary Education Charlton's report on this matter in 1927 is quite typical of those for the period:

> In examining the History taught, the Inspectors found that the stories of the Australian explorers had taken a much firmer hold on the children than was the case with the facts of English History. The reason for this is not difficult to understand, for the incidents connected with the founding of our Continent are more easily related to the child's life, and to him the explorers are real persons, whilst the old heroes of the Motherland, with all its wonderful traditions are more or less fictitious to him. 87

Such enthusiastic feeling for the stories of their own land could not be ignored. It would have to be directed into the right channels. Indeed, the Prince of Wales in 1920 drew on this feeling in writing to children of the Empire:

> Australia is a magnificent country and I think you very fortunate to have it for your own.
>
> You have a splendid example of patriotism before you in the men and women of Australia who fought and won in the great war. Your sailors and soldiers thought first of Australia and the Empire. 88

The Minister of Education in 1921 used a similar line in speaking to children on Empire Day:

> ... we Australians, although we dwell so many thousands of miles from its centre, form part of the greatest Empire the world has ever known .... the brightest and most valuable jewel among the Overseas Dominions of Britain is this Australia of ours. There is no other country in the world of equal size where so much civil and religious freedom is enjoyed, where only one flag is recognized, and where only one language is spoken.
>
> I urge each of you to cultivate a patriotic and personal interest in the Empire, to realize that its history is your history, its flag - the Union Jack - its traditions, its honour and its glory belong to you.
>
> ... these advantages will prove of little use to you unless you resolve to play your part in building up, beneath the Southern Cross, a great Nation worthy of our race. 89

This linking of the British past and the Australian present was clearly of concern to the Superintendent of Primary Education, who,

year after year, explained to teachers:

> ... the lessons should show how the privileges and institutions of today are ours, because of the fortitude and heroism of our forefathers of the yesterday of our race 90

In this way, from prince to teacher, children's feelings for Australia once again were redirected to become part of but subordinate to feeling for the 'race', for Empire.

To underline the point, even as late as 1936, the Empire edition of the Children's Hour for that year attempted to help children sort out their loyalties, especially where these might be challenged by awkward questions, by including the following extract:

> We in Australia ... do not nowadays speak of ourselves as colonials, inhabiting certain British colonies in Australia; we speak rather of the Australian nation, a new nation .... And you will sometimes hear people speak as if this were a bad thing; as if the growing up of a new feeling of nationhood were likely to spoil our feeling of loyalty to the Empire. And you will hear other people speak as if loyalty to the Empire ought to be discouraged, being likely to prevent us from being patriotic Australians. Talk of this kind is foolish; loyalty to our own country and loyalty to the Empire are not opposed to one another; they go together .... The two kinds of loyalty have grown up together; while we have been learning to think of ourselves as a separate nation, we have also been learning to think that the united Empire has a greater and more glorious destiny in store for it than could possibly be achieved by any of the Dominions acting separately. While the new sense of nationhood has been growing, there has been growing also a new sense of the oneness of the Empire. 91

Significantly, this was not a contemporaneous exhortation. It was uttered in the era before 1914. Taken from Murdoch's The Australian Citizen which was published in 1912, it was still thought relevant for children in 1936. The war had simply re-emphasized the British mould of Australian patriotism and nationalism, almost as Murdoch had predicted:

> ... how long would Australia remain a free nation if Britain lost the power of helping us to keep our freedom? ... let the British Navy suffer defeat in the North Sea - and our freedom to govern ourselves would go down like a child's castle of cards .... All the blessings that spring from freedom and self-government ... come to us through the fact that we are a part of the British Empire. 92

War as the exhaustion of creative potential

Secondly, the war sapped the vigour of men and organizations active in earlier years in promoting children's interest in Australian experience and history. Bertie Roach is clearly a case in point. Years before, as editor of the Children's Hour, he had been responsible for bringing to children insight and information about their own land. With the war years, however, even Roach felt that he had to be careful in encouraging an Australian national feeling.[93]

Roach was undoubtedly in a difficult position, caught as he was between his own strong desire to promote in children a love for and interest in Australia on the one hand and, on the other, his awareness that, more than ever before, such promotion would have to be set firmly within the Imperial context. As editor of the Children's Hour which was still an important, though no longer central medium in schools, he would have been inviting censure in encouraging Australian as opposed to British allegiance among children. This was more so because of Roach's part-German background, his mother having come from Mecklenburg. In the days of the closure of German schools and the renaming of German towns in South Australia, he would not have wanted to attract attention to this. The point becomes even stronger when it is remembered that in the early months of 1919, as it became evident that ill health would force Milton Maughan, the Director of

Education, to resign, Roach who was one of his old associates was being mentioned as a possible candidate for the position.[94] In the event, he was not appointed, and somewhat disillusioned, he retreated to his editor's chair in the Department and to his interests associated with the Royal and Royal Geographical Societies, the Institutes Association and the Library and Archives Committee of the Board of Governors of the Public Library, Art Gallery and Museum.

The war had a similar impact on the other innovator George Henderson as can be seen from the kind of leadership he gave the South Australian community during the war. For Henderson, the war confirmed the hopes he had had earlier for the nature of the relationship between Australia and Britain. Australia's immediate support for Britain's involvement in the war in Europe to him was simply the natural outcome of the feelings Australians shared for country and Empire. To him such support was living proof 'that nationality and British imperialism were not incompatible' but rather were inextricably intertwined.[95] The strength of loyalty shown towards Britain in 1914 not only by the dominions but also by the colonies had sprung, he argued, from the freedom allowed them in their development in earlier years. He made much of this in highlighting the virtues of British as against German imperialism when lecturing to large audiences in Adelaide and country towns during the war years: 'The last word in German imperialism is domination, the last word in British imperialism is freedom'.[96]

He recognized that the war had stimulated Australian national consciousness though he, like others, was not sure how it would develop. He hoped, however, that it would continue to develop within

an Imperial framework and actively sought to discourage those with contrary ideas. Thus, when toasting Australia at the Commercial Travellers' dinner in 1921 he warned: 'Those people who wanted to discriminate between loyalty to the Australian flag and loyalty to the British flag were making a great mistake'.[97] Such a view was not only an indication of how the war had strengthened Henderson's belief in Empire but also of his close involvement with the Round Table, a movement across the Empire dedicated to promoting wide discussion of policies which affected all its parts.[98] Certainly the structure of the Empire was changing, but the extent of those changes was not yet clear.

These were the years that saw his earlier ideas of South Australian historical research within an Imperial framework at Adelaide University come to fruition. By then, several theses had been completed and two had been published.[99] Pressure he had exerted years before as a member and later chairman of the Library and Archives Committee had led to the opening of the South Australian Archives in 1920, the first state archives in Australia. The tragedy for Henderson and for Australian historical research, particularly in South Australia, was that his ideas took so long to bear fruit. One suspects that had theses been written and the archives been established much earlier, both Henderson and South Australia generally would have come to terms with Australian history and identity much sooner. As it was, these only began to appear just before the outbreak of the war, a war which confirmed rather than challenged the Imperial framework for Henderson.

To some extent, the war and post-war years must have been a rather disillusioning period for Henderson. His hope had been that

leadership in Australian historical research would come from Australian rather than English universities. Yet by 1915 with the publication of a thesis on the systematic colonizers written by R.C. Mills at the London School of Economics, it must have been clear to Henderson that Australian universities simply could not compete with their English counterparts in resources and scholarship.[100] Funds donated by Rhodes and Beit to the London and Oxford Universities and the Rhodes scholarships which drew off the cream of university students in the English-speaking world ensured the leadership of the Imperial centre.

This realization, as well as the public campaigns he had been involved in during the war in support of Britain's involvement and the conscription of Australians, may well have exhausted Henderson intellectually. When it is remembered too, that right up until 1921 he was solely responsible for the teaching of both History and English one can understand his frustration and exhaustion from such a load. As early as 1911 he had pleaded before the Royal Commission for the separation of the Chairs of English and History so as to make possible the establishment of a research school for Australian history.[101] When the Chairs were finally separated in 1921, it was too late as Henderson made clear in 1924 in a personal note to the Chancellor, Sir George Murray, confirming his earlier decision to resign from Adelaide University:

> The work necessary to keep History and English going was heavy and I had a lot of leeway to make up when the chairs were separated. I was too stale mentally by this time to do justice to the three years course as well as the Honours work .... [102]

Unfortunately for Henderson, the lack of confidence he felt professionally at that time was also reflected in his personal life.

Within seven months of marrying for a second time in 1922, he faced acute depression and a total collapse which precipitated his decision to leave Adelaide for Dora Creek, New South Wales.[103]

Thus, the war, coming when it did, strengthened rather than weakened the lingering feelings for Britain which men like Roach and Henderson still had. These men had not had sufficient time to develop their feelings for Australia or their work on its history. Whereas both were on the threshold of such development, the war prevented this in both a personal and professional way. Hence they could not develop the kind of leadership in schools which they had made available some two decades before.

Henderson's return to New South Wales underlined the problem faced by the South Australian Education Department in the 1920s. Drawing on his own and Jebb's work on Colonial Nationalism, he had laid the foundation for Williams' innovation in schools. Could this still be used as a basis for the curriculum in schools? What were the opinions of historians in the 1920s and 1930s? In particular, did they think that a distinctively Australian sense of identity and therefore Australian history had emerged?

Most historians of the period assumed a strong British basis to Australian patriotism and nationalism; equally they assumed the same British basis as Henderson had in writing Australian history. Hancock and his work provide the best example of this, more so because he was Henderson's successor at the University of Adelaide, even though he was not to have the same strong links with the Education Department. There has been increasing interest in this Australian historian, most recently by Tim Rowse in Australian Liberalism and National Character

and Rob Pascoe in The Manufacture of Australian History.[104] The first is particularly useful in setting Hancock's Australia in the context of the 1920s though it does so largely in economic terms. Here, in this thesis, it is Hancock's understanding of Australian patriotism and nationalism which is of interest.

Although of a later generation, Hancock shared to a large extent Henderson's ideas regarding Australia's relationship with Britain. He became absorbed with Jebb's observations regarding Colonial Nationalism, the way in which it was growing and developing, particularly through pressure of war, and yet still binding the Empire more closely together. He recognized from C.E.W. Bean's work, that in Australia such nationalism was taking on a democratic, egalitarian character which nevertheless could complement the traditions of British civilization. Such an approach is evident from his first work on Australian history, especially as can be seen from his comments on patriotism in the chapter on 'Independent Australian Britons':

> Our fathers were homesick Englishmen, or Irishmen, or Scots; and their sons, who have made themselves at home in a continent, have not yet forgotten those tiny islands in the North Sea. A country is a jealous mistress and patriotism is commonly an exclusive passion; but it is not impossible for Australians, nourished by a glorious literature and haunted by old memories, to be in love with two soils. 105

Hancock's awareness of the British and Australian strands in Australian patriotism (and nationalism) was not simply a reflection of Australians' general attachment to Britain; it also stemmed from the Britishness of his own background and education, a point he himself recognized in later years. His love of the Australian environment as a playground had been balanced by his English education. His

education had been firmly rooted in European, especially English traditions. He himself wrote:

> As a healthy young barbarian I found vivid joy in the Australian out-of-doors; but might not my joy have been deeper and more enduring if somebody had taught me to read the story which time had written upon the Australian earth? My mother's nursery rhymes and fairy stories, my father's Bible teaching, the poetry I learnt at school and the people in books whose parts we acted around our fireside in the evenings - all these enriched my growing imagination, but all had their roots in a country I had never seen. It would have been good if my own country had meant something more to me than games. 106

Later, in the early 1920s when he was a Rhodes scholar at Oxford, this English/European emphasis was strengthened. The intense discussion in academic circles at the time of post-war European diplomacy attracted his interest which in Adelaide led to his active participation in the League of Nations Union meetings.[107] One senses that here in Adelaide with such an interest he began to feel that the world was passing him by, particularly as he passed the thirty year mark - a crucial time in the life of an ambitious academic: 'To an historian thinking in political categories, as I then was', he later remarked,'the Australian record may well seem provincial and second-hand, compared with that of Europe ...'.[108]

But it was not just that. There was also his feeling of being an alien in Adelaide and its surrounds, of being 'uncomfortably detached fromthe community at large'.[109] The rub was that he felt a little uneasy about such feelings:

> ... I did not employ my craftsmanship upon materials that were to hand in the South Australian archives and elsewhere . ...

> ... I might have taken on board this kind of cargo, for a number of my colleagues in the university were adventurously exploring the Australian environment; a geologist was investigating the dry lakes, a botanist was testing the regeneration of saltbush, physiologists and anthropologists year by year were visiting the Aboriginal tribes. I should have found it profitable to attach myself, as an apprentice or at least an observer, to some of these explorations; but I did not do so.
>
> ... I felt something of a deserter when I left for England. 110.

Experiencing such feeling while in Adelaide, Hancock was fortunate in being asked to write the book Australia for Benn's Modern World Series, edited by H.A.L. Fisher. For, although, as he later said, the research was 'off the main highroad' he was then following in his teaching, it did force him to explore the tension he felt in being pulled between the demands of his profession and those of his country.[111] He describes it well:

> ... I ... was wrestling painfully with myself in the endeavour to discover why I was so much at home and so much not at home in my own country. I was deeply in love with my country, deeply appreciative of the inheritance that my father's generation had passed on to mine, and deeply afraid that my generation was squandering that inheritance. 112

The book shows clear signs of such wrestling, as has been seen in his comments on patriotism.

Perhaps it was this which caused his literary friend Nettie Palmer to protest that he was 'only half Australian'.[113] Well might she long for Australian universities 'to take Australia seriously as other countries'.[114] Well might she be provoked to comment at some length on Australian intellectuals:

> There's a quickening in our literary life all through; but at the same time there is less and less awareness of our rich, earthy realities among the people who are supposed to be our intellectuals. They are simply exiles, living entirely on books mentioned in English reviews. One very intelligent young man came here yesterday from Adelaide. Keith Hancock had sent him: he was one of Keith's students ... [In fact this student was to be Hancock's choice for the Tinline Scholarship the next year but no thesis followed]. This man, Colin Badger, said he knew nothing of our bush life and that, frankly, he wasn't any more interested in it than in the Wild West of America. It seemed rude and puerile. He never knew that D.H. Lawrence had visited Australia or written about our landscape, until he saw a recent article Vance wrote in the London review, the New Statesman! So our chickens have to fly overseas before we can hear them crow. Badger was peculiarly intelligent, peculiarly articulate: he represents a whole hinterland of such parasitic minds who are not intelligent nor articulate. Nothing in his school or academic life (except Hancock, who is only half Australian) would have led him to look at an Australian book ever. Vance was saying afterwards that in our own generation we had a sense that a harmony with our environment was just beginning and that it ought some day gain expression. Well, that expression is beginning: but the next generation is further than we were from any harmony. It is in the moods of Richard Mahony, not of his descendants who might love the soil: it is more 'colonial' than ever and has no interest in seeing its own life expressed 115

Equally, Nettie Palmer had protested at the British orientation of another key academic figure of the time, Walter Murdoch, whose 'maddeningly little essay, "on being Australian"', had stirred her to critical comment.[116] Murdoch's essays, and one needs to remember there were hundreds of them broadcast and printed, had great popular appeal and probably represented more accurately the feelings of Australians generally than Nettie Palmer, which must have increased her sense of frustration. Not long afterwards, she was to lament with feeling: '... we have no sense of ourselves as a people, with a yesterday and tomorrow'.[117]

To Hancock, such a lament would have been unrealistic since he shared Australians' love for 'two soils'. For him, Australia's experience of war confirmed the potential Jebb had observed in Colonial Nationalism. Increasingly, the idea of an evolving British Commonwealth occupied Hancock's mind, leading him to see it, rather than the League, as a model of international government.[118]

Thus, for Hancock, Australian patriotism and nationalism continued to have a strong British component. Equally, Australian history continued to be part of the British mainstream. Not only for historians like Hancock, but also for Australians generally the war and its aftermath seemed to illustrate the reality of a continuing partnership between Australia and Britain. Like the other Dominions Australia was seeking greater autonomy, and on the basis of this, greater participation in Imperial decision making, especially concerning defence. Such development was to culminate eventually in the passing of the Statute of Westminster in 1931, though Australia did not ratify it until 1942. Australians, Hancock thought, recognized their essential Britishness; thus their history reflected it. Jebb's term, 'Colonial Nationalism' could still suffice for it still described the feelings shared by Australians in the 1920s.

Hancock's work exemplifies the kind of historical leadership available to the Education Department. Little appeared to have changed since Henderson's day. It is not surprising, then, that the Education Department should adopt such a British emphasis in the curriculum in the 1920s and 1930s. An alternative view of Australian feeling and history was not to emerge among historians until 1940. This was when Brian Fitzpatrick published his view that Britain's relationship with Australia had been an exploitative rather than a helpful one.

What was influencing men like Hancock was also affecting others in society, like the members of the Australian Natives' Association. Here too, the war had a similar effect. Earlier the Australian Natives' Association had played an important role in stimulating Australian feeling. It now found that its task of interesting Australians in their own country, a task which it still saw as important, was made much more difficult by the war and the revival of Imperialism. When the war had first begun, the Australian Natives' Association in South Australia had been quick to state its loyalty.[119] Perhaps it remembered too clearly the stir its president, William Sowden, had caused twelve years before by sounding too Australian.[120] Now, in 1914, the tensions which the great war brought to the South Australian community were reflected in the association's affairs which made it difficult for the Board to pursue its Australian concerns.

The Australian Natives' Association had always been based on the idea that members must be native-born yet by 1916 this was apparently not sufficient qualification; in that year, the association, although affirming its confidence in its General Secretary, Mr. Kreusler, felt that he should Anglicize his name.[121] Later in the war, however, when feeling against native Australians of German parents was so strong that the federal government could disenfranchise them, the Australian Natives' Association was moved to protest.[122] On the issue of conscription, the most bitter one during the war, the association refused to be drawn into campaigning for a 'yes' vote, arguing that it had no such mandate from its members.[123] Such expressions could well have left the association open to the charge of disloyalty to Empire.

Despite this difficulty, the Australian Natives' Association during the war and in subsequent years, pursued a moderate policy of keeping alive where possible specifically Australian sentiment, particularly among the younger generation. It formed, for example, a National and Patriotic Literary Section early in 1915, believing that

> ... the national spirit and education of the youth of Australia would be greatly stimulated by the introduction of Competitions ... the subjects of the competitions to be such as Australian History literature and national resources .... [124]

Such competitions were eventually used in the Australian Natives' Association promotion of Australia Day. For some time the Australian Natives' Association in South Australia had been pressing for January 26 to be declared a national holiday. With the emergence of the Australia Day Movement during the war, the Australian Natives' Association extended its campaign on this issue to the public schools with the support of the Director of Education.[125] However, after the war the Education Department's interest in the idea of Australia Day lapsed and the Australian Natives' Association appears to have made no attempt to revive it.

Probably the most interesting issue of Australian sentiment in which the Australian Natives' Association was involved during the inter-war years was the use of the Australian flag in schools. In 1930 the Association learned on enquiry that while the Australian flag could be flown at schools as well as the Union Jack, it had to be purchased by the schools, unlike the Union Jack which was freely issued by the Department. The Australian Natives' Association was quick to react to this by arranging for a deputation to see the Minister of Education and

to press for the use of the Australian flag instead of the other one.[126] The Minister's reply by letter was rather misleading since it gave the impression that the Australian flag could be used on its own 'if the local authorities so desire'.[127] The Board promptly resolved to request the Director of Education to notify local authorities accordingly.[128] But it would appear that this was not done since subsequent regulations only referred to the Union Jack. As late as 1953, the Minister was moved to state clearly his desire that

> ... on all normal occasions when a flag is flown from schools ... the flag so flown shall be the Union Jack . ... the Australian Flag should be flown only on special occasions which are connected with the Commonwealth of Australia such as Australia Day. [129]

It was not until 1956 that head teachers were free to use either.[130] Significantly, after its initial investigation and protest in 1930, the Australian Natives' Association dropped the issue. Perhaps it did not wish to fight it on its own, since according to the Director of Education, 'No application from any other body has been received for a variation of the practice of this department ...'.[131] Perhaps this was yet another issue overwhelmed by the larger problems of the Depression. As well, increasingly the Australian Natives' Association was becoming predominantly a friendly society rather than an association concerned with national issues.

Thus while it might protest at the use of British rather than Australian symbols, whether it be flags, anthems sung, or honours awarded its citizens, the Australian Natives' Association did little more. Uncertain support within the organization indicated that its voice had been greatly weakened by the war and that its interest in things Australian would not be widely supported in the community at large.

War as the source of internationalism and anti-chauvinism

However, in explaining the interest in British-based concepts of country and nation in schools in the post-war period, one must also consider a third reason. The emergence of the League of Nations, the concept of internationalism and especially the accompanying disparagement of nationalism, discouraged educators from interesting children in national, particularly Australian, sentiment.[132] Initially, this wariness of promoting nationalism was evident in the changing rhetoric associated with Empire Day. Children were still encouraged to take pride in the feats of their people, the British, but after 1920, they were also to note that at times mistakes had been made:

> The children's minds are not jaded with vain-glorious exaggerations of national prowess, but instead are presented with a fair account of how the British people, despite, it may be, their following at times mistaken paths, have steadily progressed towards the goal of righteousness. 133

This note, and that which underlined the benefits the British had brought to all were given increased emphasis in the following years.

No doubt this was due in part to the immediate post-war revulsion of war and the extreme nationalism associated with it. It could also have been a response to the criticism of the United Trades and Labor Council. That body, in a deputation to the Minister of Education in 1924 protested that Empire Day was being used to laud 'imperialism and Empire aggrandizement by war'.[134] Arguing that the Empire had been built on the exploitation of the working class, it pressed for an alternative way of celebrating Empire Day: 'the cultivation of an Australian sentiment and a spirit of internationalism' should be encouraged instead.

Such a view must have served as a warning to the Education Department in the 1920s and even more so in the 1930s to take care in defining and using Australian patriotism and nationalism. Emphasizing Australian-based feelings must have appeared dangerous to educators because they feared that these were associated with the working class rather than with the middle class or with society as a whole. The fear was that, for the working class and its leaders, such feelings, if linked at the same time with internationalism, might too easily lead to the Communist International rather than to the League of Nations. Their desire, like Hancock's, for a British-based sense of patriotism and nationalism was felt to be more representative of the Australian community as a whole.

In view of this emphasis by educators, it is not surprising that British rather than Australian nationalism was mentioned in schools. After all, that was seen as much less narrow and parochial, particularly after 1927 when the British Commonwealth of Nations began to be held up to children as the best example of a free association of equal and autonomous states. Not only was this association portrayed as the best guarantee of security in times of international anxiety but also as the most successful pattern for drawing together people of different colours and creeds.[135] Besides, the League was proving to be an inadequate alternative.

The messages written for teachers and children in the Education Gazette reflect this attitude very accurately:

> ... it is not the size of the Empire that counts so much, it is the love of the King and Queen for the people who live in it - especially the children. That is the secret of our greatness and that is why we are such a happy and united Imperial Family. Many Kings and Queens have ruled by force, ours rule by kindness and by a desire to make us all happy.

> Let each and all of us ... see that our influence is exerted, not only in the cause of world peace, but also in promoting all those causes, social, educational, economic and spiritual, that will make the world a happier and better place to live in for all races and classes in the community. 136

Thus, in the years following the war, educators were more careful in their handling of nationalism in schools, and the sentiment which best suited their purpose was seen to be British rather than Australian.

However, careful as this attempt was to re-present British nationalism and associated patriotism in a more positive form, it was inevitable that this would not suffice. The Australian League of Nations Union, through the teachers' union in South Australia, began pressing in 1931 for the use of supplementary school readers which would explain the aims and work of the League of Nations.[137] Its 'Goodwill Day' messages began appearing in the Education Gazette and Children's Hour, a direct challenge to Empire Day celebrated in the same month.[138] During the 1930s, curriculum reform reflected this kind of pressure as can be seen with the subject of History. A committee, established to revise the course with the assistance of the then History Professor, W.K. Hancock, sought to broaden the base of the course from its previous absorption with Britain and Australia to include a wider range of countries with their different myths, legends and social conditions. The reason was not far to seek:

> The committee were of the opinion (supported by Professor W.K. Hancock) that instruction given about the League of Nations would be useless unless it formed an organic part of the instruction given in History and Geography. 139

The role of Hancock in the 1930s and later his successor Portus in influencing the school curriculum provide an interesting contrast

on this point with that of Henderson in earlier years. For although they promoted Australian history in schools by writing school history texts, they wished, unlike Henderson, to direct students' attention beyond Australia and the Empire to other nations and the international order.[140] This can be seen most clearly in their own immediate professional area at the university. Hancock's enthusiasm for diplomatic history, international economics and law in Europe was broadened by Portus to include political science following his appointment in 1934 as the first Professor of Political Science and History.

Further probing of Hancock's and Portus' thinking on this issue indicates the kind of leadership they gave to the South Australian Education Department in the period from 1926 to 1933 and 1934 to 1950 respectively. As was mentioned earlier, Hancock during his seven years in Adelaide, became increasingly more interested in imperial and international than in South Australian or Australian history.[141] The effect of this is seen when it is realized that during that time there was only one Tinline thesis completed, quite a contrast to Henderson's time.[142] This seems all the more remarkable because it was in the midst of Hancock's Adelaide years that he established an historical society in South Australia and wrote the book Australia which scholars have since recognized as a watershed in Australian historiography.[143] Thus, during the 1920s and early 1930s in Adelaide and South Australia generally it was not the historian Hancock but rather the geographer Fenner who inspired students and teachers of state schools to enquire into their environment through the Village Survey Movement.

This was just as true when Portus replaced Hancock. Portus had also been a Rhodes scholar but on his return to Australia he had moved initially into the Anglican ministry rather than academic life, except for one year spent teaching at Adelaide University in 1914 while Henderson was on leave investigating archives in Europe.[144] By 1934 when Portus again came to Adelaide he had spent most of the intervening years as Director of the Workers' Educational Association at Sydney University. Such work inevitably led to a strong interest in political science and economics rather than history though he did write two books on Australian history, one academic and one more popular, as well as a school text which generations of children remember with affection.[145] His coming to Adelaide seems almost to have been anticipated with the change in title of the Chair in History to Political Science and History immediately following Hancock's notice of resignation.[146]

In writing his memoirs Portus says little about his teaching of history at Adelaide University except to mention his announcement on arrival that he would teach 'universal not national history'.[147] This further emphasized the move Hancock had already begun away from British-Australian history. Nowhere was this changing emphasis under Portus more evident than in his proposed new regulations governing the Tinline Scholarship which no longer required that the subject of research should be imperial or colonial but simply 'a subject approved by the Faculty of Arts'.[148] This was radical change indeed when it is remembered that up to that time the Tinline Scholarship regulations had clearly stated that the purpose was the writing of 'an original thesis on some subject of Imperial or Colonial History' and had also stipulated that the 'purpose of the scholarship shall not

be changed'.[149] More surprising still is that George Murray, the founder of the Scholarship and by 1934 the Chancellor of the University, agreed to the change. All this underlines the altered thinking of the history professors since Henderson and the ability of Portus in particular to persuade Murray to accept the significant changes outlined above. That there was need for persuasion was obvious in that the University Council initially refused to accept the revised regulations and returned them to the Faculty of Arts 'for further consideration'.[150] It was only after that reconsideration and a further meeting between Portus and Murray concerning 'the retention of the words "Imperial or Colonial History"' that the Council accepted the change.[151]

Like Hancock, Portus became an enthusiastic supporter of the League of Nations Union and the concept of internationalism, particularly among secondary school children.[152] His enthusiasm survived the collapse of the League and the emergence of the United Nations. With such an interest, coupled as it was with the teaching of universal history at the university, Portus, like Hancock, gave quite a different kind of leadership to teachers in the Education Department from that of Henderson. They wished to see schools encourage children's feeling for internationalism rather than nationalism, for the League rather than the Empire and Australia.

This placed school teachers in something of a dilemma if they were interested in helping children to relate to their Australian environment and heritage. The war had strengthened the sense of British nationalism in Australia. Now the academic leaders of the community were wishing to modify such nationalism in their attempts to promote the League. There really was no place for an Australian

sense of identity. In this situation, the one possible major innovation relating to Australia in South Australian schools in the 1930s was the local history project, for it could exist comfortably with both nationalist and internationalist themes. However, as has been seen, even this project was not widely used.

Thus, when looking at the period 1913 to 1939, there was no extensive development of the exciting ideas Henderson, Williams and Roach had introduced into schools. Instead of the expected blossoming of a positive sense of Australian identity through the informal and formal processes of the curriculum, and an increasingly clearer Australian basis to concepts of country and nation, there was a strengthening of the British Imperial tradition and a return to British based concepts. The war and the way in which it curbed the development of earlier Australian initiatives was largely responsible for this. As well, the emerging emphasis on the League in schools in the 1930s discouraged the discussion and promotion of nationalism except in a British sense.

Thus, there was little chance that students would be invited to consider their own feelings of national identity and to sort out its British and Australian aspects. Only early in 1939 was there a sign that the Education Department was beginning to reconsider its position: it allowed the statement 'I am an Australian' to be used as an 'optional addition' prior to the saluting of the flag.[153] Thus South Australian children drifted into the 1940s armed with a confused set of loyalties:

> I am an Australian [optional]
>
> I love my country, the British Empire,
>
> ....

One wonders how it all seemed to them. Perhaps many felt like Ivan Southall, the writer of children's books, as he remembers his childhood of the 1930s:

> ... we grew up in a kind of limbo, as second- or third-class English children, displaced, out of context, out of tune, deep down doubting the rightness of being where we were.
>
> For us, the colonials, despite our inferiority complexes, we did know where we had come from and where we were going; God was in his Heaven, the King was on his Throne, and we believed. To live in the sun was enough. To be British was enough. What greater birthright for anyone could there be? 154

Menzies' declaration of war in 1939 reflected such sentiment:

> It is my melancholy duty to inform you officially that, in consequence of a persistence by Germany in her invasion of Poland, Great Britain has declared war upon her and that, as a result, Australia is also at war. 155

CHAPTER V - REFERENCES

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CONCLUSION

The innovation in nation building achieved by the three reformers, George Henderson, Alfred Williams and Bertie Roach, is striking when seen against the perspective of the period 1852 to 1939. Not only did they make Australia central to the curriculum especially to History, but also, through this, they helped children to understand that their country was Australia and that they belonged primarily to the Australian nation. Children were to be Australian nationalists first before developing wider allegiances to the British Empire as Imperial patriots.

Neither before 1902, nor after 1913 was there comparable achievement by educators in South Australia. Prior to 1902 there was very little adaptation of the English curriculum to Australian circumstances. Only in Geography did John Hartley make the transition. In other areas of the curriculum uncertain attempts were made but not continued, and, as in the case of History, were rejected altogether. Children were expected to recognize South Australia as their country but at the same time to understand that they were part of the British nation. They were not colonials, but Greater Britons.

After 1913, educators were reluctant to proceed with the reformers' ideas. It was a period of uncertainty and stagnation. Despite occasional attempts to develop the Australian basis of some subjects, on the whole the Education Department preferred to make Britain, not Australia the focal point of the curriculum and school life generally. This preference is most clearly seen in the subject Morals, Citizenship and History. In this way, children were given quite a different

impression of 'country' and 'nation' from that which Williams had promoted: now their country was not Australia but the British Empire; they belonged to the British, not Australian nation. They were Britons in a British Empire.

The distinctive Australian-based approach promoted by Williams and Roach in South Australian schools from 1902 to 1913 reveal two important influences. The ideas of the New Education made them more aware of the immediate environment of children and, therefore, of the need to adapt the curriculum to Australian circumstances. The work of Henderson at the University of Adelaide indicated the emergence of not only Australian history, but also Australia as a country and Australians as a nation. By drawing attention to Jebb's 'Colonial Nationalism', Henderson's work provided the means for Williams to emphasize Australian patriotism and nationalism within the wider British context:

> What we must strive to do first is to make good Australians of our children. If we succeed in this, we shall be training good and loyal sons of the Empire.

This kind of model was not available to educators before and after Williams. Hartley, for example, in the 1880s was unwilling to proceed with the teaching of Australian history because he was unsure of its status. He ignored the scattered signs of its emergence across Australia. Instead, he preferred the view of Charles Dilke in Greater Britain: Englishmen around the world shared a common history.

Educators after 1913 might seem at first to have a similar model of history to that of Williams: W.K. Hancock recognized Australian history; his writing was a refinement of Henderson's and Jebb's

approach. However, his teaching and most of his research was centred not on Australia but on the Empire (and how it functioned so successfully) or on international relations. His successor at Adelaide University, G.V. Portus, showed a similar interest. The alternative model of Australian history then emerging was from Brian Fitzpatrick and was heavily Marxist in approach. Thus, during the inter-war period, educators preferred to emphasize a British version of Australian history.

After all, British history as presented in text books did have a clear conceptual framework: it was Whig history based on a belief in progress, the continuing triumph of people over monarch and the accompanying development of their rights and duties. Australian history had no such framework. That it could have was clear from the work of Henderson and Ernest Scott, though the Whig version of Australian history was not developed systematically until after the publication of Hancock's Australia in 1930. Even then many of his ideas were more exploratory than established.

This undeveloped state of Australian historiography does much to explain educators' handling of History in schools. Lack of a clear framework for most of the period from 1914 to 1939 resulted in Australian history being seen as bits and pieces which would serve various ends, ends which were rarely properly defined: heroic explorers and pioneers for the building of character; area studies for the appreciation of the Australian environment at the local level; and civics for the education of citizens in a democracy. By contrast, British history had shape and direction.

This variation in guidance given by historians to educators reflects the different times in which they were writing and, in

particular, different perceptions of Australia and Australians. Henderson and Jebb were writing in the very early years of federation, a time of optimism and prosperity. It seemed to Henderson as a native-born Australian and to Jebb as a visiting Englishman, that just as federation was a sign of Australia emerging as a country, so it was also a sign of an emerging Australian nation. Yet the patriotism and nationalism they noted showed an underlying sense of Britishness.

Dilke, writing several decades earlier, could not see clearly the shape of an Australian nation or its history. Instead, what struck him forcibly was the basic similarity shared by Englishmen transplanted around the world. Hartley, one such Englishman, largely agreed, despite his awareness of a different point of view among some Australians. There was no one nationalist movement but several in Australia by the 1880s. Neither was there a clearly defined shape to Australian history among resident historians. Hartley's decision then, not to introduce Australian history into schools, is not surprising.

Guidance given by historians after the first world war reflected quite different sets of assumptions in society about country and nation - both more complex, more inflexible and more confused. The renewed emphasis by historians on the essential Britishness of the Australian nation and its history indicated the extent to which the war had strengthened rather than weakened Imperial sentiment. In both defence and cultural matters, Australians were heavily dependent on Britain and the Empire. This remained so despite the impact of the League of Nations, its message of internationalism and its

disparagement of nationalism. For as the League came to be seen as ineffective in dealing with international disputes, so the Empire appeared to provide a more successful model of international government and a more effective kind of security in the uncertain 1920s and 1930s. The ties which bound the people of such an Empire could well appear more attractive than those limited to Australia and Australians. Hancock and Portus were much influenced by all this and in turn the historical interpretations they passed on to educators reflected it.

In this way, the study of three educators and how they attempted to make 'good Australians', becomes a much broader study. Involving as it does an examination of the books used and the ideas taught in schools about Australia and Australians, the study moves beyond educators to historians and the wider society. In the process, one can discover more about the nature of the patriotism and nationalism experienced not only by children but also by adults.

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2. Minutes and reports of meetings
3. Private papers
4. Interviews

B. Printed Material

1. Official papers
2. Other proceedings
3. School text books
4. Journals and newspapers

II. Secondary Sources

A. Books

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C. Unpublished theses.

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