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SCHOOLING IN NEW SOUTH WALES

1880 to 1914

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requirements of the degree of

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I L L U S T R A T I O N S

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Rural Camp School - Scene after breakfast

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All these are from the copies in the
Mitchell Library, Sydney.

ABBREVIATIONS

CSP - The Commonwealth School Paper for Classes
V and VI.

NASS - New Australian School Series

ARCSA - Approved Readers for the Catholic Schools
of Australasia.

SME - The Sydney Morning Herald

EN - The Evening News

I N T R O D U C T I O N

The main aim of this study is to examine formal education as a means of social control, and its main subject is Public primary schooling in New South Wales from 1880 to 1914. There are two subsidiary themes as well : what Public schools were really like, as distinct from what the Department of Public Instruction intended them to be ; and how the values and attitudes taught in Public schools differed from those of Catholic schools.

Historians of education in Australia have not yet considered these questions in detail. They have written political and administrative histories of education, but not social ones. "Official" histories like A History of State Education in Victoria by E. Sweetman, C.R. Long, and J. Smyth (Melbourne, 1922), The Organisation and Administration of Education in New South Wales by Kenneth Gollan (Sydney 1924), History of Education in New South Wales (1788-1925) by S.H. Smith and G.T. Spaul (Sydney, 1925), and Br. Ronald Fogarty's Catholic Education in Australia 1806-1950 (Melbourne University Press, 1959), have been mainly concerned to recount the administrative vicissitudes of education systems. They have judged education in no wider terms than those of the system itself. Their criterion of the success of education, for example, is based on the extent to which the schools have fulfilled its official aims. Both in Gollan and in Smith and Spaul, true education is identified with the reformed syllabus

of Peter Board, and the pre-Board era in New South Wales becomes "A Period of Uneducational Education" when "true education (was) ... confused with mere instruction"¹ and the child "was not permitted to function as God intended."² The social historian is not interested in whether the schools were imparting "true" education or not. That is a task for the educational philosopher. The social historian's interest is in education as a function of society, a process of transmitting values from one generation to the next.

Some recent works have touched on these problems. In Peter Board. His Contribution to the Development of Education in New South Wales (Melbourne, 1957), A.R. Crane and W.G. Walker have placed the new education for character and citizenship which came with the syllabus of 1904 within the context of Board's Presbyterian background, and the intellectual influences on him from pedagogical reformers like the American Francis Wayland Parker.³ In Australian Education, 1788-1900 (Melbourne, 1961, 2nd ed. 1965), which is primarily a political history of education, A.G. Austin has shown how the content of Victorian state school readers was affected by disputes over religion in schools.⁴ And Alan Barcan's A Short History of Education in New South Wales (Sydney), 1965, interprets education in terms of four traditions - the Tory - Anglican, the Liberal-utilitarian,

¹Gollan, p. 63.

²Smith and Spaul, p. 190.

³Crane and Walker, Chapter VI, pp. 45-46.

⁴Austin pp. 240-241.

the Catholic, and the Social - which have expressed the special needs of different religious and class groups. But his argument is largely imposed on a conventional story of politics and administration, and it too often becomes mere assertion.⁵ He is asking the social historian's questions, but has failed to answer them.

What is really needed for Australia are studies like those made in the United States by Richard Hofstadter and Ruth Miller Elson, who have not only placed education within wider contexts, but have also done it successfully.

Hofstadter sees Francis Wayland Parker and the new education which he prefigured, for example, as part of a continuing American tradition of anti-intellectualism born of the peculiar demands of American religion, politics, and business.⁶ Ruth Miller Elson finds from a study of nineteenth-century American schoolbooks that popular opinion of the time valued good character and usefulness far above intellect and artistic creativity.⁷ These two historians help to explain the nature of society itself by looking at the aims and practice of its education system. In their hands the history of education

⁵On occasion it is assertion vaguely expressed. For example, the "new emphasis on moral and civic aims in education and the new interest in literature, history and science, widely found in the early years of the 20th century" seem to Barcan "to be associated with the growth of a new middle class with industrial, commercial and professional interests, and with a new morality and a new ideological and cultural approach fostered by this social group." (p. 214). He does not appear to explain what this means anywhere in the book.

⁶Richard Hofstadter Anti-Intellectualism in American Life London, 1964. On Parker, see pp. 365-367.

⁷Ruth Miller Elson, "American Schoolbooks and "Culture" in the Nineteenth Century", Mississippi Valley Historical Review Vol. XLVI. No. 3, December 1959, pp. 411-434.

becomes a tool.⁸

This social history of education attempts to describe both aims and practice, using as its evidences mainly textbooks and school rituals - what was read and done at school. Chapter V examines some textbooks used in Public and Catholic schools. Chapter IV is an analysis of the Public schools' monthly paper. Chapter III describes the annual Public school ritual of Empire Day and its Catholic equivalent Australia Day. Chapter II explores the sudden upsurge of interest in Nature in the Public schools which accompanied the new education after 1904. The first chapter attempts to find the origins of the new education in the old, and depicts education for character and citizenship as a pedagogically more effective way of teaching children the same respectable attitudes they had been taught before. Chapter I is also an experiment in method, which is designed to show the potential value of the Department of Education records as sources for the social history of education. The approach is anecdotal, an attempt to get behind the generalised obscurity of official reports and statements of what school was supposed to be, to the reality of individual schools as they really were. It begins with a picture of the establishment of several schools during the 1880's.

⁸The idea of education history as a tool "with which to penetrate historical reality ..." is that of George L. Mosse, "Concluding Remarks", The Journal of Contemporary History Vol. 2 Number 3 July 1967 Education and Social Structure, p. 217.

Chapter I

RESPECTABLE SCHOOLING

Setting up the School - The Physical Environment

The Croydon Public School was opened on Monday, February 4th, 1884, by the Honourable G.H. Reid, Minister for Public Instruction. He had been requested to open the school some weeks previously by a committee of the residents,¹ who had arranged also that the proceedings be enlivened by the playing of the band from the training ship "Vernon". The "Vernon" was a "nautical training school" for delinquent boys established in 1866, and housed truants after 1880 when the Public Instruction Act made attendance at school compulsory.² As the chairman of the committee, Mr. I. Bearer, had explained in the second letter he wrote to the Minister on January 22nd, a train left Sydney at 2 p.m., so that the band would have plenty of time to attend the opening at 3 p.m.³ Croydon was six miles west of Sydney, a growing locality of the better sort, with superior residences, a Congregational

¹T. Bearer to G.H. Reid 22 January 1884, Department of Education Records, Archives Office of N.S.W. Box No. P 1788.

²A.R. Crane and W.G. Walker, Peter Board His Contribution to the Development of Education in New South Wales A.C.E.R. Melbourne, 1957, pp. 206-207.

³T. Bearer to G.H. Reid 22 January 1884, Department of Education Records, Archives Box P 1788

and an Episcopal Church, and a hotel.⁴

Arranging for the band was merely a final detail in the story of establishing Croydon Public School, as the more concerned parents of the Croydon district who listened to Mr. Reid that afternoon knew only too well. There had been talk of a school at Croydon ever since 1879, when a number of propertied citizens had offered land suitable for school sites to the Council of Education,⁵ which controlled all elementary education financially supported by the government.⁶ The Council had not accepted their offers. There were, after all, schools at both Ashfield and Burwood, only a couple of miles apart. Croydon children could go to these for their education. But the passing of the Act of 1880 and the rapid expansion of Croydon as one of the new Western suburbs made the need for a new school imperative. So, at least, it seemed to those who signed the official "Application for the Establishment of a Public School", which the Department of Public Instruction received on 23rd December, 1880,⁷ and especially to the committee which had organised the application. On top of the committee list was Captain Henry Fox, Insurance Manager, Congregation-
alist, who had previously made himself known to the education

⁴The Australian Handbook and Shippers' and Importers' Directory for 1885, Gordon and Gotch London p. 243.

⁵For example, Henry Fox to William Wilkins, Secretary of the Council of Education, 1 February 1879, and J.S. Jones, Inspector to Secretary of the Council of Education 4 August 1879, regarding land offered by A. Hordern, Department of Education Records, Archives Box No. P 1761.

⁶It was set up under the Public Schools Act of 1866 to replace the Board of National Education and the Denominational Schools Board. See A. Barcan, A Short History of Education in New South Wales, Martindale Press, Sydney 1965, pp. 127-128.

⁷Records, Archives Box P 1761

authorities when offering them his land in 1879. Then there was Mr. E. Du Faur, also a Congregationalist, who worked at the Lands Office, Mr. Richard Bachelor, Accountant, and Mr. Thomas Parrott, Architect, both Anglicans, and Mr. Henry Deakin, Land Auctioneer, a Roman Catholic.⁸ The Committee estimated that there were about 600 children between four and fourteen years of age who lived within two miles of the site of the proposed school. Of these half were from the Church of England, a fifth Presbyterian, and a tenth Roman Catholic. The rest were "Others", as the official form had it, probably mainly Congregationalists. And parents had undertaken that more than seventy of these children would attend school.⁹ Mr. Deakin himself had been first to enter the name of his own daughter in the annex to the application: Elizabeth, aged six, Roman Catholic. There had been another application earlier in December, 1880, signed by Mr. W.J. Hobbs and representing the parents of 48 children, which gave added weight to the committee's claim.¹⁰

In the circumstances, therefore, Inspector Dwyer¹¹ was deputed to investigate and report upon it. He pointed out that the people of

⁸From "Queries to be answered by Inspectors when reporting upon applications for the establishment of Public Schools", signed by Inspector Dwyer in April 1881. Records, Archives Box P 1761.

⁹Nineteen of these were put down as Congregationalists.

¹⁰Hobbs to Under-Secretary 15 December 1880, Records, Archives Box P 1761.

¹¹William Dwyer was born in 1834, and joined the teaching service in 1855. He became an Inspector in Sydney in 1879, and District Inspector for the Goulburn District in May 1881, soon after he reported on Croydon. In 1890 he returned to Sydney as District Inspector in the Sub-Metropolitan District, and he appears to have left the service about 1900.

Croydon belonged to the professional and artisan classes, and were in comfortable circumstances, and that many of them had a permanent interest in the locality.¹² He recommended that the committee's application be accepted, but that Mr. W.J. Hobbs's offer of land about a mile from the Station, and away from the population, be declined.¹³ Inspector Dwyer's advice was taken, and the final decision to set up the school was made in June, 1881. There were delays in building, but the school was ready for occupation by February, 1884.

Establishing a school was not always so easy. In some country districts school began in a tent. At Willow Tree, 230 miles north-west of Sydney on the northern tablelands, a tent-school was opened in February 1882 with another tent alongside to serve as a residence for the teacher, Edward Wilson.¹⁴ One of them collapsed in the wind soon after, and later that year Wilson wrote that he found it almost impossible to bear the "cold and misery" to which he was exposed, being unable to light a fire and "sleeping with the wind - often coming from snow-capped hills - blowing through the tent". He was allowed ten shillings a week for alternative accommodation. In summer some children did not come to school at all because the tent was intensely hot and made their eyes sore.¹⁵

¹²"Queries to be answered by Inspectors when reporting upon application for the establishment of Public Schools", signed by Inspector Dwyer, April 1881, Records, Archives Box P 1761.

¹³Dwyer to the District Inspector 22 April 1881, Records, Archives Box P 1761.

¹⁴Edward George Wilson was born in 1862, began teaching in 1882, and was appointed an Inspector of Schools in 1910.

¹⁵Willow Tree Public School 1882 to 1940
An historical account prepared by the Division of Research and Planning, New South Wales Department of Education. March 1961, pp. 2-3

The Public School at Grong Grong, 334 miles south-west of Sydney, started in February 1883. It was also under canvas, the original recommendation of the Inspector having been for a furnished tent 18 feet by 15 feet. The initial enrolment of 20 had doubled by May, and the Department was petitioned to provide a permanent structure: "the tent had been defectively erected and the furniture insecurely fixed". There was no water tank at the school. It was not until the following year, that schooling could be conducted in the new wooden schoolroom.¹⁶

Schoolrooms themselves were not always well built. At Araluen West Public School, 210 miles south of Sydney, the teacher in 1890 felt obliged to call his Inspector's attention to

the unsafe condition of the school building here. During the late heavy winds, it went so near to collapsing altogether, that the children were terrified, and I was on the point of wiring to ask your permission to close for a time. Should we get any more such weather, the place may come down, as one end of it has been displaced, and one side (through having lost its supports) is extremely weak. The case is an urgent one, as the place is dangerous.¹⁷

In more sparsely settled districts Public schools were replaced by "Provisional" and "Half-Time" schools, first introduced by the Public Schools Act of 1866,¹⁸ and "House-to-House Schools", which

¹⁶ Grong Grong Public School 1882 to 1940
Historical account prepared by the New South Wales Department of Education. June 1963, pp. 1-2

¹⁷ Alexander Graham to C.H. Willis, Inspector of Schools, Braidwood, 21 October 1890, Records, Archives Box P 1861.

¹⁸ Barcan, Short History of Education in New South Wales, p. 128

were started in 1883.¹⁹ Under the 1885 Regulations of the Public Instruction Act,²⁰ Provisional schools could be established where there were no fewer than twelve but no more than nineteen children between six and fourteen years of age able to come to school, and where all other State schools were at least four miles away. Half-Time schools were formed when at least twenty children living in a radius of ten miles from a certain place could be gathered in two groups to be taught by an itinerant teacher who divided his time between them. Both Provisional and Half-Time schools were conducted in proper school rooms and provided the full course of instruction. House-to-House schools, by contrast, which were formed in the most sparsely populated areas, could be held in station homesteads and provided only reading, writing, dictation, and arithmetic. This meant that the child taught in a House-to-House school up to the end of third class, which was the end of schooling for most children in the 1880's,²¹ missed out on the Public school subjects of grammar, geography, object lessons, history, singing, drawing, and scripture lessons.

Alone among teachers in the Department of Public Instruction, the House-to-House Teachers were not guaranteed a minimum wage. At £5 for teaching each pupil for a year, their earnings could be dispiritingly low. Their schools, which took education to the remotest parts of the State, were needed in order to fulfil the logic of universal education,

¹⁹Crane and Walker, Peter Board, p. 237

²⁰New South Wales Department of Public Instruction. The Public Instruction Act of 1880 and Regulations Framed Thereunder ; Together with Instructions to Teachers, Thomas Richards, Government Printer, Sydney 1885, pp. 16-21 ; pp. 46-48.

²¹Barcan, p. 193.

but they fell far short of being its finest expression, as the following example shows.

The schools at Apple Tree Clump and Molley, near Narrabri, 350 miles north-west of Sydney, were converted from Half-Time to House-to-House at the end of 1889.²² Mr. Michael Sweeney, an itinerant teacher at Woods Reef, 438 miles from Sydney, was transferred to Narrabri. After about a week at his new job, he telegraphed the Chief Inspector for permission to resign :

[sic]

Molley and Apple Tree Clump can't be worked conjointly in wet weather could not earn board there any weather please let me resign immediately.²³

This brief message he expanded in a letter written to the Department from Molley the same day :

Sir, As you instructed on 9th inst. - I came to enter on duty as H to H teacher here and at Apple Tree Clump. In doing so the feeling was bitter that after nearly five years of prolonged hardship in House to House teaching I would have to carry on the same work in a strange place and amongst strange people :- but that would not deter me.

At Molley I learnt from the records that the average attendance for a quarter was as low as 3.5 and seldom more than 5. When I reached here it was raining hard and as the Namoi River flows between the two stations twas hard to get to Apple Tree Clump. About Apple Tree Clump :- This School is in the middle of a plain which is well nigh impassable now and often totally so on account of the boggy nature of the soil. The School is nearly two miles from any house : but the Teacher has to sleep there at the School in a bed which is abominable with bugs and vermin. In the morning a Teacher has to flounder to a paddock : catch his horse : spend ten minutes in removing the plastic clay from his

²²Memorandum from Inspector L. Blumer to the District Inspector, Tamworth 24 December 1889. Records, Archives Box P 1861.

²³Telegram from Narrabri to Chief Inspector, Department of Public Instruction 17 January 1890. Records, Archives Box P 1861.

boots and ride to breakfast at a place which is not noted for cleanliness : and return to School. This has to be repeated every night also ; and the average attendance is only 6 or less in dry weather ; in rainy weather the place has always been closed. I was not reared in the lap of luxury I can stand hardship with any one. Taking pity on my horse yesterday I dismounted at seeing him labor through a bog and had to forget my own troubles in contemplating his after bringing me eighty miles : 'twas not consoling to find at coming to the River that 'twas uncrossable and only for the kindness of a settler I would have (had ?) to ride my horse back thro' the mud again for nine miles - to a loathesome bed. It might be said that my predecessor worked these places : but his salary was paid to him regardless of the attendance and he did not work them in rainy weather but stayed teaching at one place - teaching 4 or 5 children which would not enable me to live and pay board. But apart from this altogether I have asked myself in the height of mortification what I have done that I should be brought from firm ground where I earned £100 a year, to wallow and flounder in a bog for a pittance barely enough to support wretched existence in it. At Wood's reef my lot was not enviable. I had to pay 5/- a week out of my salary for a room in which to teach : was so generous as to pay more than half the school fees myself often (which I don't regret) rather than record arrears ; and yet was happy and contented except when thwarted in my work by floods and rain and depressed by the thought that I was only a H to H Teacher :- (Here he wrote something and crossed it out)

Will gladly now take a Provisional School with six pounds a month because if I have to resign twill be trouble for me and I have to shudder when thinking of Apple Tree Clump. May I hope that this will receive your prompt consideration.²⁴

Michael Sweeney's inspector, Mr. L. Blumer,²⁵ was not moved by

his eloquence. He explained in a memorandum²⁶ to the District

Inspector that not being able to cross the Namoi had proved no difficulty

²⁴Sweeney to the Chief Inspector, 17 January 1890, Records, Archives Box P 1861.

²⁵Luke Blumer was born in 1854. He joined the teaching service at the age of thirteen in 1868, and was made an Inspector in 1886. His Senior-Inspectorship came either in 1907 or 1908, and he still held this position in 1914.

²⁶Inspector Blumer later changed his mind and arranged for Michael Sweeney's transfer to the Provisional School at Come-by-Chance.

to Sweeney's predecessor. He had simply spent the whole week at one place and then "proceeded to the other on the Saturday via Narrabri - a distance of perhaps 30 miles." The attendance was admittedly small : out of a total of 19 at both schools, the average for the previous three months had been 14.8. "The salary", wrote Inspector Elumer, "consequently is small ; but as Mr Sweeney's skill is correspondingly so, and as he is not classified, his case is not one for special consideration."²⁷

Classification of teachers had begun in 1867.²⁸ Under the 1885 regulations it determined eligibility for appointment to schools, which were also graded, and consequently teachers' salaries. It was based on teachers' attainment in examinations and their skill in teaching,²⁹ but did not apply to House-to-House teachers who were merely required to be "persons of good moral character" able to impart "the rudiments of an English education".³⁰ Neither was it required, it appears, of teachers of Provisional schools.³¹

For many children the problems of the government in making education universal were to be welcomed. At Carraboblin, on the western plains about 300 miles from Sydney, a school was worked half-time with Bedgerabong in the early 1890's and classes were held in the

²⁷Memorandum from Inspector Blumer to District Inspector Bradley, Tamworth, 18 January 1890, Records, Archives Box P 1861.

²⁸Barcan, p. 140.

²⁹1885 Regulations, pp. 28 ; 35.

³⁰1885 Regulations, p. 21.

³¹Ibid. p. 17

woolshed. When the shearers moved in, the children moved out because the boss was afraid of losing his men if he asked them to give up any space. The school was therefore closed and in theory transferred to Bedgerabong. In practice, "most of the children were absent from school, helping with the shearing". And when floods came, the teacher could not reach Carraboblin "for weeks at a time".³²

Other children flocked to school for the first week and then drifted away after the novelty had worn off. This happened at Croydon Public School during the first week of its existence in 1884, when numbers were swelled by about forty young transients tasting the delights of education.³³ The idea of having to go to school was a new one.

The Social Environment

Schools and their teachers were beset not merely with the problems of buildings and weather and numbers, but by the problems of being part of the community.

A common problem was that of school fees, which were fixed in 1880 at threepence per child per week up to a maximum of a shilling for each family.³⁴ This was supposed to give parents an interest in the

³²Bedgerabong Public School 1876 to 1940.

Historical Account prepared by the New South Wales Department of Education, February 1961, p. 6.

³³"Return of pupils attending the Public School at Croydon for the four weeks ending Friday 29th February 1884. (Primary Department)", attached to letter from Bonyng, Principal Teacher, to the Chief Inspector, 29 February 1884, Records, Archives Box P 1788

³⁴Crane and Walker, p. 170.

education of their children,³⁵ and was not abolished until the Free Education Act of 1906.³⁶

Mr. Thomas Bonynges,³⁷ the first head teacher of Croydon Public School, wrote of one debtor in 1888 that

The wife informed me he drinks and earns but very little, and that little he spends on drink. She has to go out charing to find bread for herself & little ones. As she is daily expecting to be confined she has had to discontinue working for the present and is merely living upon credit of charity. Any action taken against the husband would only fall on her.³⁸

He recommended that the outstanding debt of 6/9 be cancelled or written off.

Cases of poverty and suffering which demanded similar understanding were to become more frequent during the early 'nineties, although the Department expected the efficient teacher to avoid debts by insisting on weekly payments. In the depression year of 1893 this was impossible, and Mr. Bonynges continued to recommend the cancellation of a greater number of debts.

There was Frederick Keen, for example, a brickmaker from Ashfield, whom Mr. Bonynges described as very poor. He supported seven

³⁵Berry Public School. Historical Account. June 1960, p. 10.

³⁶"If a family was unable to pay, exemption was granted, but something of a "pauper" stigma was still attached to it. A strong feeling existed that "If education is to be compulsory, it should be free". Applications for exemption from payment of fees, together with descriptions of the poverty of the parents and the difficulty of collection continue to appear frequently in the records till 1906." Ibid., pp. 10-11.

³⁷Thomas Bonynges was 44 years of age in 1888. He became teacher of Collector Public School on the southern tablelands, in 1867. He taught at Tumut and Wagga Wagga in Southern New South Wales and by 1877 had gained a 2A classification, the third highest. He resigned from Wagga Wagga in 1879 to teach in Fiji, and took up the appointment at Croydon in 1884. He was a Wesleyan and was married.

³⁸"School Fees in Arrear" form for William Burton, 6 December 1888, Records, Archives Box P 1829.

children and owed 11/6 for the period from 16th January 1893, to 24th March, but had lost his job and gone to Western Australia to find work, unsuccessfully. Because the father was away, the family was "frequently short of food", wrote Mr. Bonynge. He could not see the money being paid and recommended cancelling the debt.³⁹ Another impoverished parent was George Mitchelmore of Croydon, who supported nine children and owed 6/3. He worked for only two and a half days a week and received 6/- a day. Mr. Bonynge recommended that the debt be cancelled because it was impossible for a man to support such a large and helpless family on £1 a week, and none of the children helped to earn anything.⁴⁰

In the Return of School Fees in Arrear for the month ending 23rd June, 1893, Mr. Bonynge listed 26 debts in all. In nine cases the reason given for inability to pay was "out of work" or "only occasionally at work" or "partial employment"; ten gave as the reason "short of cash", "short of money", "poverty", or "no money"; six gave no reason at all, and one promised to pay.⁴¹

Unpaid school fees sometimes made Mr. Bonynge annoyed with parents, and parents were sometimes annoyed with Mr. Bonynge because of the way he was teaching their children. In the latter half of 1887, for example, he had been involved in a dispute with one of the pupils' parents which led to his censure by the District Inspector. He had

³⁹ 25 April 1893, Records, Archives Box P 1933.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ 23 June 1893, Records, Archives Box P 1933.

given Thomas Dunn, aged 13, a sum to do in his home lesson book which was to multiply 54 tons, 17 hundredweights, 2 quarters, 19 pounds, 15 ounces, and 11 drams by 687.⁴² As Thomas was unable to solve the sum, his father, Mr. J. Macgregor Dunn, wrote underneath it in the exercise book : "It is no good to give the boy sums like this, he [sic] cant do division". Mr. Bonyng was annoyed. He instructed Thomas to tell his father that he had no right to write such things in the exercise book and that if he had anything to complain of, he should send a proper letter. This Mr. Dunn did, on August 23rd, saying he believed the book was his property but assuring "Mr. Bonny" that he had no regrets about sending his boys to Croydon School. Mr. Bonyng replied the following day (in a letter written in pencil, as Mr. Dunn noted in his subsequent communication with the Minister for Public Instruction). He drew a distinction between legal and moral rights, reminding Mr. Dunn that

There is a fitness in things which it would be well to observe. You have a legal right for instance to blacken your son's face and send him to school in that state since he is your own, but whom would you find ready to say you had a perfect right to do it in another sense - the moral right to do it ?

He concluded by promising his eager pleasure in complying with any request of Mr. Dunn's "if accompanied with the usual courtesy extended by one gentleman to another".

Mr. Dunn wrote two letters on August 25th. In the first one

⁴²This was the sum as remembered by J. Macgregor Dunn in his letter to Hon. James Inglis, M.L.A., Minister for Public Instruction, 12 September 1887, Records, Archives Box P 1816. This was typical of arithmetic before the coming of the new syllabus in 1904. See S.H. Smith and G.F. Spaul, History of Education in New South Wales (1788-1925), Sydney 1925, pp. 191-192, and Barcan, p. 140.

he allowed Mr. Bonynge the chance of withdrawing his remarks, as it was obvious that they had been written "under temper". But as he now learnt that Bonynge, in front of the whole school, had torn out the page on which he had written, and had promised Thomas "half a dozen cuts with the cane if he brought any more notes in his exercise book",⁴³ Mr. Dunn wrote another letter. He promised to "bring the matter before the Minister"⁴⁴ if it were true, although he was unwilling to believe this was so. Mr. Bonynge sent the letter back with the edge turned over. On it he wrote :

Memo to Mr. Dunne

In order to strengthen your case with the minister, I admit hereon that I told your boy I should cane him if he brought his book again disfigured with writing, but forgot whether it was around (?) six twelve or twenty cuts.

The leaf torn out I threw into the waste-paper basket and I'm sorry to say was (?) burnt with other rubbish same day.

T. Bonynge.

Although Mr. Dunn afterwards withdrew his written complaint to the Minister, Mr. Bonynge was officially censured for the unbecoming attitude he had assumed towards the parent of a pupil. In recommending this, Inspector W.F. Thompson pointed out that Mr. Bonynge's messages to Mr. Dunn had been "very offensively worded, dictatorial and exasperating".⁴⁵ It was a censure which was particularly inopportune

⁴³Dunn to Inglis, 12 September 1887, Records, Archives Box P 1816.

⁴⁴Dunn to Bonynge, 25 August 1887, Records, Archives Box P 1816.

⁴⁵Memo to the District Inspector from Inspector W.F. Thompson 2 November 1887, Records, Archives Box P 1816.

in view of the anonymous letter sent to the Department early in 1888 which accused Mr. Bonyngé of serious misconduct in his position as Principal Teacher. Among other things, he was accused of kissing one of the girl pupils. In his report,⁴⁶ the District Inspector felt obliged to point out that

As the girl and Mr. Bonyngé were alone, the matter must rest with the assertion of the one and the denial of the other.

and "that his conduct was very indiscreet. There was no need for him to take the girl aside".

But no action was taken against Mr. Bonyngé beyond informing him that this was the Departmental view. The District Inspector was inclined to believe Mr. Bonyngé rather than the girl.

Civility was required of Mr. Bonyngé by a parent, discretion by a pupil. Their wishes were forced upon him by the Department of Public Instruction, which defined his conduct as a teacher in terms acceptable to the respectable community. The mechanism of this process was the inspectorial system.

Early in 1889, ~~Mr.~~ Inspector Allpass⁴⁷ inspected the Infants' Department of Croydon Public School, under the charge of Miss Frances Adnum. He found the rooms and the weather-shed quite dirty. When asked by the Chief Inspector to explain, Miss Adnum replied that sweeping was only done three times a week instead of five because of the

⁴⁶J. McCredie, District Inspector, to the Chief Inspector 20 February 1888, Records, Archives Box P 1846.

⁴⁷James Webster Allpass was first appointed to the teaching service in 1855, became a District Inspector at Bathurst in 1880, and in 1882 an Inspector in Sydney, where he remained at least until 1893.

expense, now that the allowance for cleaning had been withdrawn and teachers had to pay for it themselves. They already had to provide towelling, soap, and pannikins for the pupils.⁴⁸ Mr. Allpass was not convinced by this explanation. It was "undoubtedly an honest one", as he wrote to the Chief Inspector, but it was also "a clear challenge to the policy of the Department, in relation to the matter of "School Sweeping", and an infringement of Regulation 120."⁴⁹ He thought Miss Adnum should be informed that

in order to escape a petty expense, she has preferred to forego the influence a clean schoolroom must have in the moral training of her children

and "that through such an act she has incurred great blame". She should be requested to inform the Department whether "her Schoolrooms and Weather-shed are now swept daily".⁵⁰

In reply,⁵¹ Miss Adnum assured the Chief Inspector that the moral training of the children under her charge had never been endangered by the influence of a dirty schoolroom, and that cleaning

⁴⁸Frances Adnum to J.C. Maynard, Chief Inspector, 20 March 1889, Records, Archives Box P 1846.

⁴⁹Regulation 120, 1886 Regulations : "Habits of personal neatness and cleanliness are to be encouraged among the pupils, not only by precept, but by the personal example of the teachers, and if necessary, may be enforced. Teachers are also responsible for keeping the school-rooms and furniture clean and arranged in an orderly manner". The Public Instruction Act of 1880 and Regulations. Framed Thereunder together with Instructions to Teachers, Sydney 1886, p. 29

⁵⁰Allpass to the Chief Inspector 23 March 1889, Records, Archives Box P 1846.

⁵¹Adnum to the Chief Inspector 18 April 1889, Records, Archives Box P 1846.

was now to be done every day even though it was considered unnecessary. For her candour she was rewarded with the official information that "any future disregard" of Regulation 120 would be "severely dealt with".⁵²

This was not the last such letter which the Department was to send Miss Adnum. Early in December 1891 she received a printed memo urging her to effect immediate improvement in the defects pointed out by Mr. Allpass. Her explanation to the Chief Inspector⁵³ had apparently failed to satisfy him, even the section on marching. She had considered it unfair to condemn all the marching because of one occasion which was easily explained. The "position of my room", she had written

is certainly unfavorable to steady marching, as there are several steps (six or seven) leading to it, this is liable to lead to loss of step, not easily regained by young children.

On the occasion which Mr. Allpass referred to in his report, she had been busily occupied in the schoolroom as the children were marching in and had not given the order to forward at once. They had stood at the door awaiting the order, creating a block "and consequently, some talk and confusion". As Miss Adnum had further pointed out, she gave drill regularly and paid particular attention to the marching twice every day, when the children were marching into school. But her protestations were in vain. Miss Adnum was posted her printed memo on 2nd December, 1891.

⁵²This, at least, was suggested and approved in May 1889, Records, Archives Box P 1846.

⁵³Adnum to the Chief Inspector 23 November 1891, Records, Archives Box P 1886.

Three months later she was writing yet another letter of explanation,⁵⁴ following Mr. J. Dawson's⁵⁵ inspection. He was later to become Chief Inspector. This time, on top of "Disorder", and "loose marching" came criticism of her classroom administration. She had failed to sign the Daily Report and the Time Book. She had neglected to call the roll in the morning. She had kept her pupils late for play-time. She had been unable to find the Monthly Examination Book when Mr. Dawson asked to see it. She had not adequately supervised her pupil-teacher's handwriting. And she had kept the Punishment Book wrongly, not realising that punishments were to be entered at the time they were given rather than after school. But on this occasion her promises to reform were accepted by Mr. Dawson.

For Miss Adnum 1893 was like other years. She received a bad report from Mr. Dawson. Her letter of explanation⁵⁶ was not considered satisfactory, and she was warned that if no considerable improvement were made in her teaching the Department would consider reducing her classification.⁵⁷

The reasons for this warning were made clear in a letter from Mr. Dawson to the Chief Inspector :

⁵⁴Adnum to Chief Inspector 2 March 1892, Records, Archives Box P 1910.

⁵⁵James Dawson was a Scotsman, born in 1855. He obtained an M.A. of Glasgow University and his first appointment to the New South Wales Department of Public Instruction was in 1880 as an Inspector in the Goulburn District. By 1886 he had returned to Sydney, and was chosen by Peter Board as his Chief Inspector in 1905.

⁵⁶Adnum to the Chief Inspector 4 December 1893, Records, Archives Box P 1933.

⁵⁷This, at least, was what Dawson recommended in his memo to the Chief Inspector 12 December 1893, Records, Archives Box P 1933.

"Miss Adnum admits that there was dust-covered rubbish on the top of a book press . . . She admits that the so-called monthly examination book is not entered to date . . . Her examinations are not conducted monthly, but at longer periods. The teacher of such a small infant school, if at all zealous, would have at least an examination every month."

"Miss Adnum admits that the writing in the upper classes is too small, and the pencils blunt. Such pencils point to a careless teacher. The small writing, which is also in many cases bad, the badness arising out of the attempt to write small with blunt pencils, points to an unskilful teacher."

"When I entered her department about 9.45 a.m., I saw Miss A. mounted on a chair doing something to the clock, the pupil teacher standing at the chair, both talking loudly, and the school in an uproar."

This clock episode lets a flood of light upon the order and management of this department. First, the mistress was negligent otherwise the clock would have been set right before the children came in. Second, both Mistress and pupil teacher leave their classes to attend to the clock and talk loudly. Third, the pupils in their teachers' absence cannot control themselves." 58

Just as Mr. Bonyngé had been required to be polite and discreet, Miss Adnum was now required to be tidy, orderly, efficient, and zealous in her work. So too was every other teacher in the Public schools of New South Wales. The sanctions of the centralised education bureaucracy were designed to make every teacher conform to this pattern.

The pupil-teacher is a good example. The system of training teachers by apprenticing pupils in the classroom had begun in 1851 and was not abolished until 1905. Pupil-teachers were expected to be

⁵⁸12 December 1893, Records, Archives Box P 1933.

punctual, diligent, obedient, and dutiful in school ; to give regular instruction, and be generally efficient and useful ; and to show application in home study. Their teachers were expected to report not only these aspects of their behaviour, but also on their health, their progress since the last examination, and their "Conduct Out of School". Here "Special reference" was to be made to "moral character, as evidenced by the persons chosen as associates, and the mode of spending leisure time".⁵⁹ As Miss Mary Carroll's teacher put it in her report in April 1890, which recommended that she be appointed Pupil-Teacher at Ashfield Public School, five miles west of Sydney:

I believe Miss Carroll's moral character to be good. Her associates are chosen from the School she attended when a pupil there and are I believe highly respectable. Her leisure time is spent chiefly in reading.⁶⁰

The comment on a pupil teacher at Croydon Public School in 1895, Frederick Yabsley, was that he was of good moral character, and that he spent his leisure time in manly exercise.⁶¹ What the Department expected of teachers like Miss Carroll and Mr. Yabsley only reflected what the respectable people in the community expected of them.

⁵⁹Official form for report on pupil-teachers. For example, see note 60.

⁶⁰"Pupil-Teachers. Teacher's Report upon Miss Mary Carroll". Public School Ashfield 3 April 1890, attached to Memorandum to Chief Inspector from Inspector Allpass 16 April 1890, Records, Archives Box P 1861.

⁶¹"Pupil-Teachers. Teacher's Report upon Mr. Frederick T.D. Yabsley". Public School Croydon 30 January 1895, attached to Memorandum to Chief Inspector from Inspector Dawson 2 February 1895, Records, Archives Box P 1978.

The Department disapproved, for example, if a teacher was officially associated with horse-racing. Following a letter to the Department in November, 1889, Mr. Samuel Gray of Murwillumbah Public School on the north coast, 650 miles from Sydney,

was informed, in accordance with the decision in a similar case, that of Mr. Pearce at Picton, that he must do nothing to which any section of the community might take exception . . .

What had he done ? He had taken "the position of Hon. Sec. to the Race Meeting". As he explained in his reply to the Department, he had imagined he was free to do so after having been Honorary Secretary to several cricket clubs, without any objection being raised at all. But he accepted the official decision.⁶²

Mr. Arthur Yeo, appointed in 1890 as teacher at ~~Alectown~~ ^{Alectown} Public School on the western plains north of Parkes, had a similar experience some years later. After one rebuke for being a jockey at what his Inspector described as a "so-called "Amateur Race Meeting", " Mr. Yeo received another for being Race Meeting Secretary, this time from the Department, which made clear to him its distinct disapproval "of teachers taking such a prominent part in Race-meetings".⁶³

The Department of Public Instruction, then, was responsible to public opinion, which expected teachers and pupils to behave in acceptable ways. Ultimately, the nature of schooling was defined by society, and the Department merely enforced this definition. But what society ? Not that of swagmen or larrikins. More likely it

⁶² Murwillumbah Public School 1873 to 1935. Historical Account, June 1960, pp. 6-7.

⁶³ Alectown Public School 1890 to 1940. Historical Account, July 1960, p. 3.

was that of ladies and gentlemen, people like Mr. Russell from Leichhardt, a Sydney suburb, who wrote to the Minister of Public Instruction on 27 May 1892. He wrote concerning a matter about which he thought the Minister should know. It concerned a visit he had made to Croydon the previous day

with some friends, including Ladies, at the House of Relatives . . . who own and occupy a very valuable Residence fronting the main street and within 100 yards of the Public School . . .

He had been shocked, he said,

by a most disgusting and filthy expression written in chalk on the Gate Post ; and the newly painted boarded fence was also defaced by the children's scribbling in chalk.

In view of "the enormous outlay by the Country on public schools", Mr. Russell deemed it his duty to point out that

the feelings of respectable Residents in the vicinity and of Passers by should not be outraged by vile writings, in addition to the annoyances caused to them by noises . . .

He had first written "the feelings of Residents", but changed it to "the feelings of respectable Residents".⁶⁴

Pupils were expected to be well mannered. When pupils' conduct at Wallerawang, 105 miles due west of Sydney, was criticised in 1907, the Inspector defended it :—

It is customary that the boys raise their hats when I pass them in the street and ... do the same with their teachers ...

The Headmaster defended his teaching of conduct :

⁶⁴ Russell to the Minister for Public Instruction, 27 May 1892, Records, Archives Box P 1910.

I endeavour to encourage courtesy and good manners by my example, by correcting any cases of bad manners or discourteous conduct that may come under my notice, and by the reading of the "Rules of Good Conduct".⁶⁵

Not only pupils could offend respectable residents, but their teachers could as well. In 1900, for example, a complaint was made about a pupil-teacher at Croydon. He was Gostave Evans and the complaint came from Mr. Roxburgh Stark, who alleged that Evans had "slapped his son on the face" and shaken him "so roughly that he was quite sick on reaching home, the mark from the blow on the face then (being) visible".⁶⁶ At first he had written about the matter to the headmaster, Mr. Cuneen,⁶⁷ but when he received a reply from Evans instead,⁶⁸ he felt compelled to write to the Department in ~~protest~~ ^{protest}.⁶⁹ Mr. Cuneen was called upon to explain. He did so by pointing out to Inspector Dawson⁷⁰ that Mr. Stark lived "within a few doors of the School" and that consequently he had thought Mr. Stark might have called on him "if not satisfied". He wrote :

Mr. & Mrs. Stark I fear have not a favourable opinion of the Social Status of Teachers in our Schools, as the replies to printed forms issued by the Department will show . . .

⁶⁵ Wallerawang Public School Historial Account, February 1960, p. 11

⁶⁶ As quoted in Evans to Dawson 14 November 1900, Records, Archives Box P 2094.

⁶⁷ 30 October, 1900.

⁶⁸ 31 October, 1900.

⁶⁹ 3 November, 1900.

⁷⁰ 14 November 1900, Records, Archives Box P 2094.

Here he attached an absentee card and a letter dating from eighteen months before, as proof. The absentee card, which was the standard form sent by teachers to parents when their children were away from school, requested the cause of Marlon Stark's absence from school for two days. On the back of it Mr. Stark had written to the Headmaster : "If you will present this matter as a request I shall be happy to afford information required".⁷¹ The letter came from Mrs. Stark and was a similarly haughty reply to an absentee card. In it she explained that her husband had "written to the Department".⁷² When the official enquiry into the incident was held, Mr. Stark was unable to come.

Many teachers were just as respectable as Mr. Russell or Mr. and Mrs. Stark. Although they may have been unable to aspire to the social pretensions of the Starks, they shared Mr. Russell's concern for decency and morality.

In 1884, for example, an advertisement for tobacco which overlooked the playground at Crown Street School in Sydney was said by some of the teachers to be sure "to have an injurious effect on the minds of the pupils". It depicted, "life size", "a nude woman seated on an eagle". Even after she had been draped in the Stars and Stripes, the teachers protested. Finally, after suggestions for a hoarding and a weathershed had been rejected, the Department paid to have the advertisement replaced.⁷³

⁷¹ 15 May 1899, Records, Archives Box P 2094.

⁷² 25 May 1899, Records, Archives Box P 2094.

⁷³ Crown St. Public School 1849 to 1940 Historical Account, June 1961, pp. 4-5.

At Croydon Mr. Bonynge did not think highly of some parents who failed to pay their school fees. He described one in his report as "a drunkard and wife beater, and never worth anything",⁷⁴ and unsuccessfully recommended that another be prosecuted by the Department on the grounds that he was able to pay and that his wife had boasted that she never paid fees, thus encouraging others to follow suit. As a Wesleyan and a respectable schoolteacher, Mr. Bonynge was perhaps especially annoyed that this woman drank. He reported that she "spends too much in beer for herself. She can always find the money for that".⁷⁵

At Wallerawang, then, the school offended the community. At Crown Street, by contrast, the community offended the school. Both happened at Croydon. What was at stake in each case, however, was the same. It was the ideal of respectable schooling.

The New Education

This view of the school did not change after the publication of the new syllabus in 1904. Early in 1908 Senior Inspector Walter Beavis,⁷⁶ who had been an inspector for sixteen years under the old regulations, spoke to an Inspectors' Conference on the subject of child life in a mining district near Newcastle. He said that the

⁷⁴Mr. Bonynge's report on William Spuchly 28 March 1892, Records, Archives Box P 1910.

⁷⁵Mr. Bonynge's report on William Kirslake 26 April 1893, Records, Archives Box P 1933.

⁷⁶Walter William Kean Beavis was born in 1856, and first appointed to the teaching service at the age of thirteen in 1870. He was made Assistant Inspector at Armidale in 1888, and in 1889 Inspector. His Senior-Inspectorship was conferred in 1904.

children showed "reasonable politeness" if allowance was made for the "absence of refining influence in many homes", and that some of them were particularly courteous, thanks largely to the efforts of their teachers, but he also pointed out that teachers had to be on the watch for "the use of objectionable expressions by many of the boys," and that while parents were outwardly respectful to the teacher, especially if he had "risen from their own ranks", he was not always regarded by them "as a guide in matters social or moral." The greatest achievement, Walter Beavis thought, was to raise the ideals of the lower classes. He trusted it would be brought about in time by teachers and moralists.⁷⁷

As Inspector James Dennis⁷⁸ said in his report for 1909, the example of the teachers in his district of Dubbo on the western slopes was almost always on the side of right living.⁷⁹ It was the same in Young, 250 miles south-west of Sydney, according to Inspector Patrick Connelly⁸⁰ in his 1910 report : many of the teachers there had had a "restraining, wholesome, and refined" influence on their pupils.⁸¹ Senior-Inspector G.H. Hunt⁸² of the Dungog District north of Newcastle, writing in 1910, thought pupils spread the influence

⁷⁷The Public Instruction Gazette 29 February 1908, pp. 222-223

⁷⁸James Dennis was born in 1860, and first joined the teaching service in 1877. He became an Inspector in 1902, a position he still held in 1913.

⁷⁹The Public Instruction Gazette 30 April 1910, p. 109.

⁸⁰Patrick Connelly was born in 1861, joined the teaching service in 1877, and was appointed an inspector in 1901.

⁸¹The Public Instruction Gazette 31 May 1911, p. 159.

⁸²George Henry Hunt was born in 1845, and began teaching in 1866. He became an Inspector in 1897 and a Senior-Inspector in 1909 or 1910. He retired a year or so later.

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of the school to their homes, taking with them a desire for order, neatness, and cleanliness imbibed from the environment of the classroom and playground.⁸³ They also took it into the local town, in the view of Inspector R. Henderson⁸⁴ of the north coast district of Grafton. In a report published in 1910, he pointed to the pupils' behaviour on the streets as one of the best proofs of a teacher's good influence on them. A stranger in a town who was impressed by the children's good conduct need have no doubt about its source. It came from the local school.⁸⁵

Both before and after 1904 the school had a moral purpose. Teachers were expected not merely to instruct their pupils, but to improve them. In the words of Instruction No. 30 of the 1886 Regulations under the Public Instruction Act, it was the duty of all teachers

to impress upon the minds of their pupils the principles of morality, truth, justice, and patriotism ; to teach them to avoid idleness, profanity and falsehood ; to instruct them in the principles of a free Government ; and to train them up to a true comprehension of the rights, duties, and dignity of citizenship.⁸⁶

But between the old and the new systems there occurred a change of emphasis on the moral aim of the school. Under the old system it was subordinated to the primary aim of education, which was to teach the subjects prescribed in the Course of Secular Instruction so that

⁸³The Public Instruction Gazette 30 June 1910, p. 206.

⁸⁴Richard Henderson was born in 1860, began teaching in 1880, and was made an Inspector in 1902.

⁸⁵The Public Instruction Gazette 30 June 1910, p. 202.

⁸⁶1886 Regulations, p. 40

pupils would reach the Standard of Proficiency at an annual examination held by the inspector. The "efficiency of teachers", according to Regulation No. 138 under the 1885 and 1886 Regulations, was to be judged by two standards : the attainments of pupils and their moral improvement. Teachers, it said, should remember results as well as teaching methods.⁸⁷ In practice, results in the examination were what really counted in determining the success of education, which was measured by the percentage of pupils in the Public schools of the State who passed the prescribed subjects each year.⁸⁸

This conception of education was changed by the reforms which came in 1904. Public agitation for reform had begun in 1901, when Professor Francis Anderson of the University of Sydney had publicly condemned the existing educational system. He pointed out that education in New South Wales was neither free nor compulsory, that teachers were the victims of examinations,⁸⁹ and that the top men in the Department of Public Instruction lacked all sense of the need for change.⁹⁰ In 1902 two commissioners were sent overseas to study educational developments : G.H. Knibbs, Lecturer in Surveying at the University of Sydney and J.W. Turner, head of the Fort Street Training College for teachers. The new syllabus for primary schools was

⁸⁷1885 Regulations, p. 51 ; 1886 Regulations, p. 37.

⁸⁸Crane and Walker, pp. 81-82.

⁸⁹Barcan, p. 205.

⁹⁰Crane and Walker, p. 14.

issued in March 1904,⁹¹ but it owed less to Knibbs and Turner than to Peter Board, an inspector in the Department who had toured England and Europe in 1903 and whose brief report on primary education published on his return was much better known to teachers than the lengthy report of the commissioners. In January 1905 Peter Board was appointed to the new position of Director of Education and in June produced an enlarged version of the syllabus of 1904, in which he explained it to teachers in detail. At the end of 1905 the first issue of the Public Instruction Gazette was published as the medium by which departmental instructions and information were to be distributed to teachers.⁹² It was supposed to be seen by every teacher in the State and filed for reference by each school, and it became one of the principal means by which the philosophy and methods of the new education were spread to the Public School teachers of New South Wales.⁹³

⁹¹This date is correctly given by Barcan (p. 206), and by Kenneth Gollan, The Organisation and Administration of Education in New South Wales Sydney Teachers' College Press 1924 (p. 85). Crane and Walker give no exact date, but misleadingly suggest that Peter Board was appointed to a committee to draw up a new syllabus at the conference of April, 1904 (p. 18). By that time the syllabus had already appeared. All that the committee appointed in April recommended regarding the syllabus was that it be retained, and that more detailed directions about it be issued soon. (Department of Public Instruction, New South Wales. Conference of Inspectors, Teachers, Departmental Officers, and Prominent Educationists Held Tuesday, 5 April, 1904, And Following Days Sydney June 1904, p. 18).

⁹²The first issue of the The Public Instruction Gazette Published Under the Authority of the Minister of Public Instruction appeared on 28 November 1905. It was published monthly.

⁹³Crane and Walker, p. 44.

The new system made moral training a vitally important educational aim. "The majority of teachers", wrote Inspector Donald Fraser⁹⁴ of the Yass district 190 miles south-west of Sydney in his report for 1908,

have realised that "a school is not so much a place for making scholars as a place for making souls", and that "our Public School is to be a place of moral education, not merely a school of reading, writing, and arithmetic."⁹⁵

In his view the average bush school was really a church where morality was preached and practised every day of the week.⁹⁶ He was expressing the difference between the old and the new conceptions of education. It was pointed out to teachers that under the new rules for school inspection, inspectors were to examine not only "the intellectual side of the education of the pupils, but also the moral influences" at work on them in school. They were to determine whether the school was building up the character of the children and teaching them to be "useful, self-reliant citizens".⁹⁷ As a Sydney infants' teacher asked rhetorically in 1907,

patriotism
Might not the teaching of ~~patriotism~~ in the right way to children of 7 and 8 years of age be as important as getting them to write at the rate of, say, sixty words a minute ?⁹⁸

Some even put moral aims first. James Dawson, the Scottish inspector whom Peter Board made Chief Inspector in 1905, was reported in the

⁹⁴Donald Fraser was born in 1863, and started teaching in 1877, when he was fourteen. He was made an Inspector in 1903. For further biographical details, see ~~Chapter 2, p. 6, n. 6.~~ p. 54.

⁹⁵The Public Instruction Gazette 30 April 1909, p. 91.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 90.

⁹⁷New South Wales Educational Gazette 1 April 1905, p. 251

⁹⁸The Public Instruction Gazette 25 November 1907, p. 118

Public Instruction Gazette in 1906 as saying that with the change of educational ideals intellectual education "had had its day". He thought "moral and social qualities" were more important than "keen intellect", and he pointed out that the most intellectual race ever known, the ancient Greeks, had "gone out of existence". In his view progress depended on struggle and competition and education should therefore develop all the child's qualities so that he would be fit for the struggle.⁹⁹

In a speech given at Nowra on the south coast in 1909, he said Australians had to make themselves fit and worthy to retain their country by educating the rising generation and building its character. They would find that task easier if life were harder in Australia and required a struggle against difficulty, which would bring out the "grit" of the nation, and if young Australians spent less time in horse-racing, gambling, and two-up schools.¹⁰⁰ Speaking to teachers in the Blue Mountains the following year, he asked whether all pills in life could be gilded, and reminded them that morality consisted mainly "in doing willingly, cheerfully, something that you don't care to do", and that pupils had to learn to face work that could not be pleasant or interesting.¹⁰¹ His stern warning was repeated in the 1910 report of Inspector A. Smith¹⁰² from ^{the} ~~The~~ Albury District on the

⁹⁹The Public Instruction Gazette 27 October 1906, p. 217

¹⁰⁰The Public Instruction Gazette 30 April 1909, pp. 91-92.

¹⁰¹The Public Instruction Gazette 31 December 1910, pp. 437-438 : from an address delivered at the Teachers' Conference, Blackheath on 29 October 1910.

¹⁰²Archibald Smith was born in 1859, and began teaching just before he turned fifteen in 1874, He was made an inspector in 1902.

Victorian border, who pointed to the danger of making school so easy that the struggle which developed grit in the character was avoided.¹⁰³ Both James Dawson and Donald Fraser thought that the primary aim of the new education was to develop character,¹⁰⁴ and even Peter Board was fond of saying that the important thing when a child left school was not what he knew, but what he was.¹⁰⁵

At the same time good character was of national importance. For the Chief Inspector it was the key to national survival, and for the Director the prerequisite of good citizenship. Peter Board looked to the schools of the future to be the

instruments for national purposes, for the cultivation of individual productiveness and intelligent citizenship, the training grounds for national defence, and the nurseries of the nation's morality.¹⁰⁶

Good character entailed good citizenship as a matter of course. There could be no conflict between them. The philosophy of the new education was that in teaching children to be good, the schools were benefiting the whole nation. In the words of a report for 1907 by S.E. Smith,¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³The Public Instruction Gazette 31 May 1911, p. 159

¹⁰⁴James Dawson said the "great aim of present day education was the up-building of character." (The Public Instruction Gazette 30 April 1909, p. 92). Donald Fraser thought the new ideal made "character the great dominant aim of the teacher's life-work". (Thoughts for Teachers, Sydney and Melbourne 1914, p. 156. ~~See Chapter 2, p. 67.~~ See p. 54.)

¹⁰⁵Crane and Walker, p. 191.

¹⁰⁶The Public Instruction Gazette 27 February 1909, p. 33.

¹⁰⁷Stephen Henry Smith was born in 1865 and began teaching in 1879. He was made an inspector in 1903, Inspector of Continuation Schools in 1912, and Director of Education in 1922. For further details of his life, see chapter 4.

the prominent inspector whom Peter Board was to choose as his successor, the schools were fulfilling "their highest function towards the State" by teaching pupils "cleanliness, diligence, truthfulness, obedience, self-control, self-reliance, and a high sense of duty".¹⁰⁸ And Inspector S. Lasker¹⁰⁹ of the Braidwood District in southern New South Wales predicted in 1911 that "the State's primary need for right-thinking and right-acting citizens" would be met when the spirit of the new syllabus was more fully appreciated by teachers and the cultural subjects better taught.¹¹⁰

There was a marked contrast in the treatment of these subjects *Under the old system* between the old and the new systems of education. English, geography, history, and scripture were all taught as separate compartments of learning, each with its own numerical value in the total marks awarded for the examination. When Peter Board wrote the new syllabus, he followed pedagogical fashion by correlating subjects in groups so as to suggest the unity and interrelatedness of knowledge.¹¹¹ Geography was now part of "Nature Knowledge" and history and scripture parts of "Civics and Morals", which also included "moral duties" and

¹⁰⁸The Public Instruction Gazette 30 May 1908, p. 348.

¹⁰⁹Samuel Lasker was born in 1867, started teaching in 1884, and became an inspector in 1910.

¹¹⁰The Public Instruction Gazette 31 May 1911, p. 161.

¹¹¹Crane and Walker, pp. 36-37.

"citizenship".¹¹² English was a group of its own, the primary group in the curriculum. It was regarded as part of every subject.¹¹³ The notes a child made on Nature Study, for example, would be an exercise in clear expression, and the poems taught to younger children were to be "associated largely with patriotism and Nature and Moral lessons".¹¹⁴

No subject educated for character and citizenship more explicitly than the Civics and Morals group. In first and second classes¹¹⁵ the course was scripture and moral lessons, usually in the form of stories which pointed basic morals like politeness, truthfulness, obedience to teachers and parents, kindness, respect for property, and unselfishness. As the child progressed through the school, the moral lessons assumed an increasingly respectable character. In third class he learnt the bearing of temperance on health, in fourth class he was advised as to his choice of friends, books, and amusements, and taught the value of industriousness and honest work, in fifth class he was warned of the evils of gambling, and given lessons on "self-improvement on leaving school, gratitude to parents and teachers, frugality and thrift", and how to use money wisely.¹¹⁶

¹¹²1905 Syllabus, p. iv.

¹¹³Ibid.

¹¹⁴1905 Syllabus, p. 22

¹¹⁵The following prescribed courses are for schools with at least one class for each year of the Primary Course. There was a similar but separate course prescribed for schools under one teacher, which were divided into Upper and Lower Divisions.

¹¹⁶1905 Syllabus, pp. 4-11

From third class these were supplemented by lessons in the two closely allied subjects of civics and history, from which pupils would learn "civic morality" and noble ideals of living.¹¹⁷ Three out of four history and civics lessons were to be in history : in third class Australian history with emphasis on the explorers ; in fourth class the English from the Anglo-Saxons and Alfred the Great to Lord Roberts and the Boer War ; and in fifth class a wider course centred on England and the Empire. Civics dealt with public institutions : the typical town, the flags, local government, the franchise, and Parliament.¹¹⁸

If Civics and Morals were used to "awaken that glorious feeling "Patriotism", according to one teacher writing in 1904, Australia would soon become "a fine manly and purposeful nation".¹¹⁹ That Civics and Morals was being used for this purpose is shown by Senior-Inspector A.D. McKenzie's¹²⁰ report for 1910 in the Wollongong District on the south coast, where he pointed out that children were now being given a training in civics and history which their parents had missed and were being taught the duties and responsibilities of a citizen. The pupils of his district were "intensely patriotic Australians, and at the same time loyal British children."¹²¹ He was describing that dual allegiance

¹¹⁷1905 Syllabus, p. 41

¹¹⁸1905 Syllabus, pp. 41-42.

¹¹⁹New South Wales Educational Gazette 1 June 1904, p. 11

¹²⁰Archibald Daniel McKenzie was born in 1854, began teaching in 1872, and was appointed an inspector in the Wagga District in 1893.

¹²¹The Public Instruction Gazette 28 February 1911, p. 33.

to country and Empire which characterised the patriotism taught in Public schools.

In some lessons this sentiment was fostered by history, as the "old dead, dry-as-dust" topics were replaced by inspiring patriotic stories, accounts of inventions and discoveries, and biographies of empire builders,¹²² and as pupils learnt about the heroic and patriotic pioneers of Australia.¹²³ Inspector S.H. Smith pointed out in an article on local history published in 1907 that pioneers in every part of New South Wales had shown much strenuous endeavour in conditions which called forth "industry, pluck, and physical endurance".¹²⁴ From the story of their lives the teacher could expand his lesson to the story of Australia and of the Empire, showing the origin of present-day civic responsibilities.¹²⁵ In Civics pupils discussed questions like "What does Macaulay say about the Romans recognising their duties as citizens?" and "What does the Bible say about freedom?"¹²⁶ Pupils in the Wollongong District on the south coast were asked in 1909 what their flag was worth. The first response was that it was worth £5. Then a boy suggested it was worth fighting for. After it was agreed that the question really meant "What is Australia worth, with its people, its strenuous past, its prosperous present,

¹²²The Public Instruction Gazette 30 April 1910, p. 112

¹²³The Public Instruction Gazette 31 March 1910, p. 76

¹²⁴The Public Instruction Gazette 25 April 1907, p. 371

¹²⁵Ibid, p. 370

¹²⁶The Public Instruction Gazette 30 April 1910, p. 112

and its future of magnificent possibilities?"¹²⁷ ^{the} ~~The~~ answer was reached that it was worth living for, and if the need should arise, worth dying for.¹²⁸ This was reported by Senior-Inspector McKenzie, who was lavish in his praise of moral training in the schools.

Other inspectors were less satisfied. One thought teachers were making insufficient use of history stories for younger pupils "not of course to teach history, but to inculcate moral principles".¹²⁹ Others criticised the way teachers used stories in history without showing how they were related to modern life¹³⁰ or how they were part of a general historical pattern.¹³¹ And Inspector Henderson¹³² of Grafton on the north coast warned teachers of the grave danger of giving moral lessons which were "wishy-washy", because they only made thoughtful pupils sceptical. He recommended a higher type of moral story.¹³³ These criticisms were directed at how the Civics and Morals course was being taught, not at its ultimate aim of developing private and public morality, although one inspector -

¹²⁷Changes made in spelling and punctuation: "Australian" to "Australia", "it" to "its", and the addition of a question-mark.

¹²⁸The Public Instruction Gazette 30 June 1910, p. 199.

¹²⁹The Public Instruction Gazette 31 March 1910, p. 67

¹³⁰The Public Instruction Gazette 31 May 1912, p. 135: Inspector L. Henry of the Bowral District 80 miles south-west of Sydney.

¹³¹Ibid., and the Public Instruction Gazette 30 April 1912, p. 98: Inspector J. Lynch of the Bega District on the far south coast. Both Lewis Henry and Joseph Lynch were born in 1864 and began teaching in 1879, but Joseph Lynch was made an Inspector two years ahead of Lewis Henry in 1909.

¹³²See above, p. 27.

¹³³The Public Instruction Gazette 30 April 1910, p. 112.

William Cornish¹³⁴ of the Bowral District 80 miles south-west of Sydney - complained in 1910 that teachers dwelt too much on war in their history lessons and forgot the victories of peace.¹³⁵ His was a rare sentiment, although it shows that not all inspectors and teachers were agreed on what public morality and patriotism were. But its rarity confirms that the majority of teachers were officially encouraged to foster the strident patriotism of the school textbooks, the monthly school magazine, Empire Day, and the cadet movement.

Civics and Morals examination papers showed what the subject was really supposed to teach. In 1911 the Qualifying Certificate examination was introduced as a means of selecting fifth-class pupils for high school.¹³⁶ Pupils sitting for History and Civics that year in the Western division were asked

What are the people of Australia doing to defend their country from attack ?
What do you think of the boys' part in the scheme ? What are the duties of a cadet ?¹³⁷

In the South Coast they were asked what benefit the boys of Australia

¹³⁴William Cornish was born in 1856, and began teaching in 1873. He was made an inspector in 1900.

¹³⁵The Public Instruction Gazette 31 March 1910, p. 78

¹³⁶Crane and Walker, pp. 126-127. For 1911 and 1912 the examination took six different forms for different areas of the State, but this was abandoned in 1913.

¹³⁷The Public Instruction Gazette 29 February 1912, p. 54

would get from their training,¹³⁸ and in the Newcastle and Maitland division an essay was requested on "The value of compulsory training".¹³⁹ The paper for the North Coast asked :

How would you answer a boy from a foreign country if he were to ask you why you are proud to belong to the British Empire ?
Give reasons ...¹⁴⁰

Education for character and citizenship was the aim not only of Civics and Morals, but of other subjects too. The main educational value of literature, for example, was its power to build character, according to one contributor to the Public Instruction Gazette in 1907, who showed how the proper teaching of Longfellow's "Village Blacksmith" would make the children admire the honest, independent, patient, and industrious toiler, revere his simple piety, and respect grief over his wife's death. The poem would also teach the virtue of being contented with life.¹⁴¹ It is true that Peter Board suggested in 1905 that teachers should choose poetry for their pupils simply because of its beauty as literature,¹⁴² but not all accepted this concession to non-moral education. The logic of education for character was to say what Inspector Henderson said in his report of 1911 for the Young District in southern New South Wales. He rejected merely aesthetic

¹³⁸Ibid., p. 52

¹³⁹Ibid., p. 49

¹⁴⁰Ibid., p. 50

¹⁴¹The Public Instruction Gazette 25 March 1907, pp. 351-352.

¹⁴²1905 Syllabus, p. 22

criteria of selection, declared that poems should always be taught for some definite purpose, and praised a teacher who taught extracts in this way, some to develop a love of Nature, some to inculcate patriotism, others to bring forth finer feelings, and so on.¹⁴³

Finer feelings were also wholesome ones. Sex, for example, seems to have been a forbidden topic in the Public schools of New South Wales. According to the school magazine, the Commonwealth School Paper, Mozart came into the world carried by a stork,¹⁴⁴ and in 1911 the Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, with its candid descriptions of amorous adventuring, was ordered withdrawn from all schools to which the Department had sent it during the year.¹⁴⁵ As one teacher is reported to have said to his pupils, their minds were God-given gardens in which they should sow only good thoughts. He urged them to learn by heart the short extracts between lessons in their readers so that they would improve their literary taste and always have beautiful flowers blooming in the gardens of their minds.¹⁴⁶

In a public sense, finer feelings were patriotic, and literature implanted there too. As Alice Reilly¹⁴⁷ of the Leichhardt Infants' School said in an article of 1907, teachers should be doing

¹⁴³The Public Instruction Gazette 30 April 1912, p. 92

¹⁴⁴Commonwealth School Paper June 1908, pp. 161-165 : "The Story of the Beauty Poet".

¹⁴⁵The Public Instruction Gazette 31 August 1911, p. 321.

¹⁴⁶Inspector Donald Fraser reported that a bush teacher said this to his upper division. (The Public Instruction Gazette 30 April 1912, p. 92).

¹⁴⁷Alice Reilly was born in 1858, and began teaching in 1884.

more to spread patriotism through literature :

There are those who look into the future, who tell us that before those children we are training to-day to fight the battle of life are grey-headed they are likely to want all the patriotism they have got, and more, too ... We have on all sides hungry nations regarding us with covetous eyes, and we would not be doing our children any harm by teaching them that this, the land of their birth, is a country well worth living in, and when the time comes (as it surely will) worth dying for.¹⁴⁸

Patriotic poetry had its effect. Inspector Henderson described in his report on the Bathurst district for 1914 how a boy who was "filled with military ardour" had recited "The British Flag" to his class with such enthusiasm that one of his classmates stood up after it and told the inspector that "the Germans would never dare touch the Union Jack in Australia".¹⁴⁹

Nature Study could also make children patriotic, as well as thrifty, humble, modest, contented, industrious, happy, and co-operative,¹⁵⁰ and inspire them with a reverence for the Almighty.¹⁵¹ From geography children were to learn

that maps are not meaningless diagrams filled with hard names, but that they represent the work of generations of brave men, who faced dangers unflinchingly, endured toil willingly, and met death with calmness.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸The Public Instruction Gazette 25 November 1907, p. 118.

¹⁴⁹The Public Instruction Gazette 1 April 1915, p. 66.

¹⁵⁰The Public Instruction Gazette 25 October 1907, p. 89.

¹⁵¹The Public Instruction Gazette 28 February 1906, p. 43.

¹⁵²The Public Instruction Gazette 26 January 1907, p. 305

From music would come lessons in patriotism, industry, loyalty, affection, and reverence.¹⁵³ As Mr. S.A. Kenny¹⁵⁴ of the Training College said in 1908, school-music was the best weapon a teacher had to fight the wrong and implant the right.¹⁵⁵ In his report for the following year, Senior-Inspector G.H. Hunt¹⁵⁶ of the Dungog District north of Newcastle thought manual work and the growing of flowers at school helped to create a love of virtue and to strengthen the spirit of self-reliance and restraint that was such a vital element of good character. He also praised the moral ~~training~~^{training} provided by school cadet corps, which gave boys a profound respect for the kind of discipline necessary to prepare them for the defence of Empire and country.¹⁵⁷

Every minute of the school day could be made to develop character in the child and mould him into a good citizen, from the time he arrived in the morning to his dismissal in the afternoon. The ideal organisation, in the view of Senior-Inspector Flashman,¹⁵⁸ was

¹⁵³The Public Instruction Gazette 30 March 1908, p. 252.

¹⁵⁴Samuel Antliff Kenny was born in 1875, first appointed to teaching in 1892, and in 1907 became Teacher of Singing and Voice Production at the Training College.

¹⁵⁵The Public Instruction Gazette 31 October 1908, p. 513.

¹⁵⁶George Henry Hunt was born in 1845, began teaching in 1866, and became an inspector in 1897. He was made a Senior-Inspector a year or so before his retirement in 1910 or 1911.

¹⁵⁷The Public Instruction Gazette 30 June 1910, p. 199

¹⁵⁸Charles ~~Aldrey~~^{Oldrey} Flashman was born in 1845, began teaching at the age of twelve, and became a Senior-Inspector in 1884.

to have a dux of the class as second in command to the teacher. At falling-in, he would check that the other children were properly dressed in ranks, inspect them for neatness, and after the customary military salute, report to the teacher on what he had seen. He would then march them into school and prepare for lessons. Senior-Inspector Flashman found that the boys liked this "touch of militarism" with the polish and finish it gave to school proceedings.¹⁵⁹ That was in 1907. Reporting on the Hay District of south-western New South Wales for 1912, Inspector George Dart¹⁶⁰ drew attention to the practice of children running out of school in the afternoon. It should not be allowed, he thought. Instead, children should march out of school in divisions and exchange salutes with the teacher when they were dismissed.¹⁶¹ Even the school out-houses were important. Keeping them decent was a valuable part of children's moral training, according to Inspector Donald Fraser in his report of 1908 for the Yass District. He was pleased to say that most of them were free of dirt and scribbles.¹⁶²

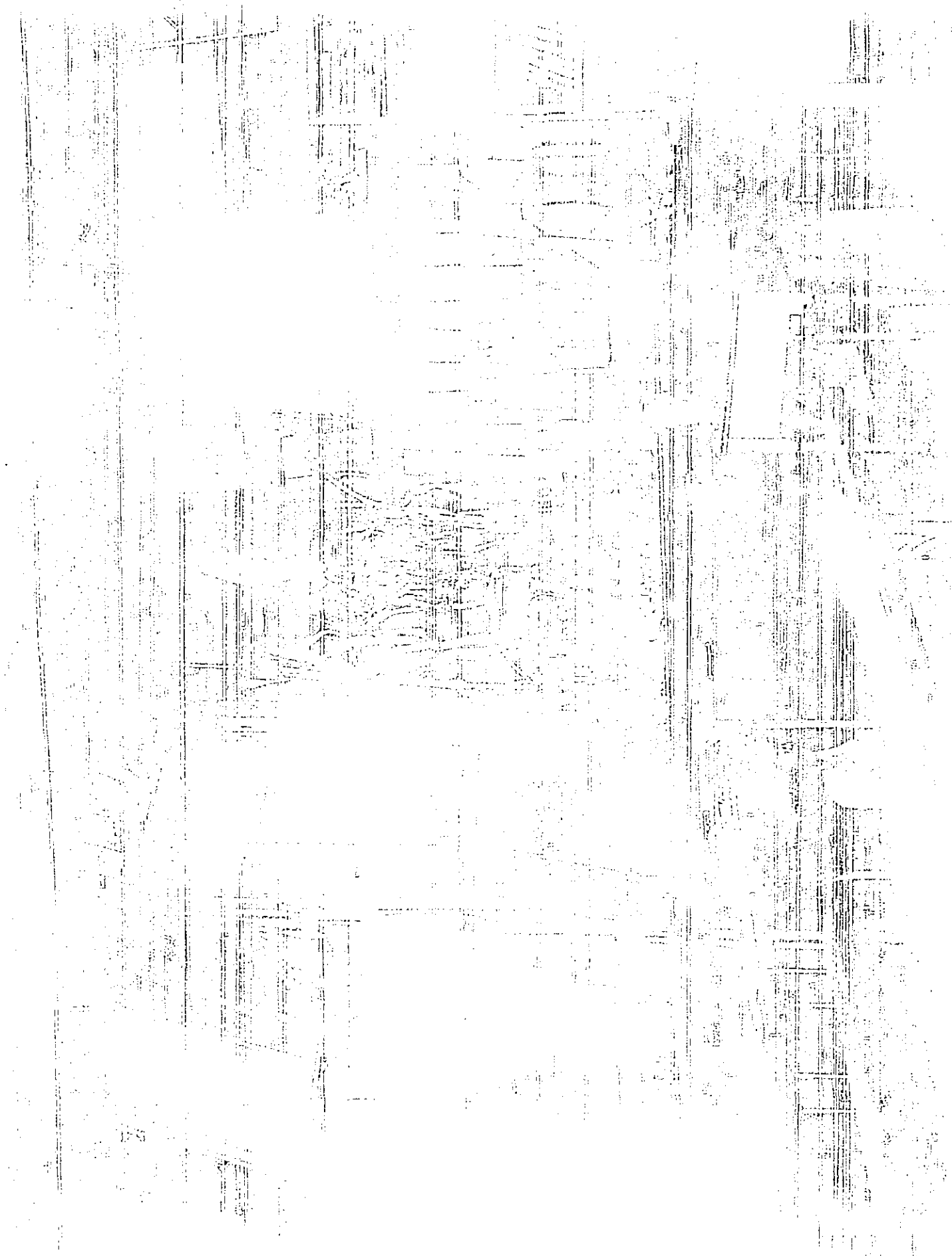
As they sat at their desks in 1909, children of the Bowral District could gaze upon Sir Harry Rawson's farewell message to the children of New South Wales after his tenure as State Governor. It

¹⁵⁹The Public Instruction Gazette 26 February 1907, p. 319.

¹⁶⁰George Dart was born in 1864, began teaching in 1878, and became an inspector in 1910.

¹⁶¹The Public Instruction Gazette 30 April 1913, p. 92.

¹⁶²The Public Instruction Gazette 30 June 1909, p. 176



TO THE SCHOOL CHILDREN, FROM SIR HARRY RAWSON.

SHORTLY before Sir Harry Rawson's term of office as Governor closed, the Minister for Public Instruction wrote asking His Excellency if he would care to give a parting message to the Public School children. Sir Harry readily acceded to the request, and forwarded to Mr. Hogue the subjoined letter.

On receipt of this *Gazette*, Teachers and Mistresses of Departments throughout the State are requested to assemble the children and read the letter to them, calling for cheers for Sir Harry Rawson and the King at the close.

Government House, Brisbane,
Queensland, 26th March, 1909.

"I have been asked by Mr. J. A. Hogue, M.L.A., Minister for Public Instruction, to write a farewell letter to the Public Schools of New South Wales, giving the advice I have uttered at those schools that I have been able to visit, that he might send that advice to the many schools I have not been able to see. As I take an immense interest in the future of the young Australians, both girls and boys, I am happy to comply.

"First, I will alter the advice of King Solomon, 'Fear the Lord and the king,' to 'Love God and be loyal to the King.' Children, you and I belong to a great Empire, of which our King is the head, and he is a man we can all love and be loyal to. You have been born to a great inheritance—a country you may well be proud of—but you also are part of that Empire which we now call Greater Britain, and I want you all to remember that you have a grand history behind you, for the ancient glories of the mother-countries (England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales), their fights, both by land and sea, belong to you as much as they do to me; that you are descended from the men who in old days fought for liberty—that liberty which you and I inherited at our birth.

"You have a splendid flag—the Australian flag—and I am sure you all love it, and I hope you always will do so; but in the corner of that flag there is one which is called the Union Jack. It is the emblem of the Empire, and I want you all, as citizens of that Empire, to keep a warm corner in your hearts for it. I have served under it for over fifty years, and love it as I want you to do.

"Under that flag great battles have been fought by our forefathers and mine, when the liberties of many nations were at stake, and it is a symbol of the liberty we have gained.

"Now, the liberty that your forefathers and mine fought for was not the liberty to do as you like, no matter how it affected other people. No; the liberty they fought for and won was the liberty to serve God in the manner that you each conscientiously believe to be right; and claiming that liberty yourselves, you are bound to allow those who conscientiously serve God in a manner they believe to be right the liberty to do so.

"Now, I should like to add a few words of advice to you boys and girls. In the time when you grow up you will be given the franchise—that is, a vote for those who are to govern and make laws for the people to live under. Let me urge upon you to look upon that vote as a trust, and never to let anything interfere with your recording your vote.

"To you girls: I want you to make your homes happy to your brothers and their boy friends, but chiefly I want you to make them respect you. If you do this, you will be doing a great work for your country, as the boys will grow up to respect all women; and there is no better sign of the civilisation of a nation than the way that the men respect women.

"To the boys: I would give three little maxims, which are very easy to remember, and if you act up to them they will not only save you from many troubles, but also train you to become worthy citizens of your grand inheritance. They are:—

- "1. Never say anything you would not like your mother or your sisters to hear.
- "2. Never do anything you would not go and tell your mother or your sisters you had done.
- "3. Never keep company with anyone with whom you would not like your mother or your sisters to associate.

"I know you all wish, not only to be considered gentlemen, but to be gentlemen; and I tell you there is no more perfect sign of a true gentleman than he who treats all women with respect.

"To little children: I know you love your home and your country now, small as you are. You can add to or take away from its good name. Every mean or dirty act on your part lowers its glory, while the smallest unselfish loving thought and help to another add to it. Do not think I am leaving a lecture behind me, but I love all you young Australians, and I wish to see you grow up worthy of the grand country you are able to call Home.

"May every happiness and success in life be yours is the fervent wish of your Governor.

"HARRY H. RAWSON."

appeared both in the Public Instruction Gazette¹⁶³ and as a fold-out supplement to the 1909 Empire Number of the Commonwealth School Paper.¹⁶⁴

In every Bowral Public school it was framed and hung on the wall, reminding all pupils of the great battles fought under the Union Jack and of the liberty to serve God which they had secured, asking the girls to make the boys respect them, and giving the boys three maxims to guide them on the way to worthy citizenship of their grand inheritance :

1. Never say anything you would not like your mother or your sisters to hear.
2. Never do anything you would not go and tell your mother or your sisters you had done.
3. Never keep company with anyone with whom you would not like your mother or your sisters to associate.

Other wall fixtures at schools were Temperance Wall Sheets,¹⁶⁵ diagrams of the British Empire showing its position of supreme power,¹⁶⁶ and pictures of important people. At Nabiac Public School on the north coast in 1906 these included Tolstoi, Emerson, Stevenson, and Scott in the literary group, the Australian Premiers in another, and a third group showing the military men, in particular Lord Roberts. Outside near the tennis court flew the Union Jack and the Federal flag.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶³31 March 1909, p. 67.

¹⁶⁴May 1909.

¹⁶⁵The Public Instruction Gazette 30 June 1909, p. 187

¹⁶⁶As, for example, at the Public School, Mitchell's Island, on the north coast, in 1906. (The Public Instruction Gazette 27 November 1906, p. 258)

¹⁶⁷The Public Instruction Gazette 28 July 1906, p. 144.

These were some of the positive ways of inculcating moral lessons. Teachers also had to forbid children from doing what was wrong, like being rowdy and boisterous, cheating,¹⁶⁸ spitting on writing slates to clean them,¹⁶⁹ and using slang. But some children had their own subculture of defiance, resisting collectively the schools' attempt to make them respectable. It was apparently becoming more difficult, wrote Inspector F.W. Mannell¹⁷⁰ of the Wellington District on the western slopes in his report for 1914,

for the ordinary boy to speak correctly and at the same time to maintain his self-respect among his fellows. "They done it" denotes in the user a rugged independence which is admirable. "They did it" would indicate namby-pambyism.¹⁷¹

In seeking to produce citizens of good character the Public primary schools of New South Wales were at one with the Catholic schools. At the first Catholic Educational Conference of New South Wales held in January 1911, which brought teaching priests and nuns together from all over the State, Bishop Gallagher of Goulburn moved that "the formation of character and habits of virtue should be the chief aim of our teachers."¹⁷² The Sisters of St. Joseph added that

¹⁶⁸The Public Instruction Gazette 30 June 1910,, p. 199.

¹⁶⁹The Public Instruction Gazette 30 April 1912, p. 99 : mentioned in the 1911 report for the Narrabri district in western New South Wales.

¹⁷⁰Francis Worthington Mannell was born in 1863, began teaching in 1877, and became an inspector in 1911.

¹⁷¹The Public Instruction Gazette 1 April 1915, p. 72

¹⁷²Catholic Educational Conference of New South Wales 17-20 January 1911 Statement Resolutions Proceedings William Brooks & Co. Ltd. Sydney, 1911, p. 38.

for the formation of character patriotism was needed, and that it would be fostered by celebrating both St. Patrick's Day, and Australia Day¹⁷³ on May 24, the Catholic schools' answer to Empire Day. The conference was warned of the "virulent poison for the young mind" contained in books of almost any library and it was resolved to use only approved textbooks of history in Catholic schools. Cardinal Moran, the architect of the Catholic school system, recommended that lessons be given about the martyrs so that Catholic children could imbibe a little of their heroism.¹⁷⁴

It is true that the Catholic conception of citizenship was different from Peter Board's. The conference thought that the child's duty towards God was immeasurably more sacred than his duties to himself and his neighbour. In other words, he was to be trained first for the citizenship of heaven and then for the citizenship of his country, and his country was Australia rather than the British Empire: not only was he to be a Catholic before he was a citizen, but a citizen of Australia before he was a citizen of the Empire.

The best preparation for citizenship, according to the conference, was to teach children to act by the standards of right fixed by God. The safeguard of the home and the State was a combination of intellectual, moral, and religious education.¹⁷⁵ Religion, then, was a vital element of education for character and citizenship

¹⁷³Catholic Educational Conference Proceedings, p. 39 (See Chapter 3, p. 13).

¹⁷⁴Ibid, p. 45

¹⁷⁵Catholic Educational Conference Proceedings, p. 14.

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¹⁷⁴Ibid., p. 45

¹⁷⁵Catholic Educational Conference Proceedings, p. 14.

in Catholic schools. Bishop Gallagher, for example, thought that the noble end of forming character could be achieved most effectively by the frequent reception of the Blessed Eucharist,¹⁷⁶ and was furthered by "the blessings of the little prayer with the hourly task, the saying of the Angelus when the bell rings, the preparation for Confession, for Holy Communion, for Confirmation ..."¹⁷⁷ Together with the good influence of home, companions, and teacher, these religious observances did more to build up character, he thought, than the "dull dry lesson conned from a secular book."¹⁷⁸

Many Public school teachers who welcomed the new education would have agreed with Bishop Gallagher about the puny effect of dull, dry lessons on the child's character, and although they would not have supported explicitly religious rituals as he did, they were heartily in favour of Public school activities which served the same function. They took their pupils into the bush for Nature Study so that they could imbibe the goodness of Nature at the shrine of Nature herself rather than from stuffy books, and they held Empire Day ceremonies to inculcate Imperial loyalty in children through symbolic words and acts.

Public school education was not secular. This was not merely because of the provision made for religious instruction by clergymen and teachers, but also because the Public schools had to employ some kind of attenuated religious belief as a sanction for their

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 38

¹⁷⁷ Souvenir of the Golden Jubilee of The Christian Brothers in Australasia 1869-1919 Sydney: William Brooks & Co. Ltd. 1918, p. 22

¹⁷⁸ Souvenir of Golden Jubilee, p. 22

moral standards, all the more so when education for character and citizenship became as important for them as education for knowledge. Children were taught to believe in two vague entities, both of them standing for the respectable virtues : Mother Nature, who was inherently good and pure, and God, who had so conspicuously favoured the British Empire.

Besides being instructed, children in Catholic and Public schools were made "pawns against the Devil"¹⁷⁹ by the adult generation. For the Church this was the real Devil who would tempt children away from true religion, and for the Department of Public Instruction it was the devil of unrespectability, low ideals, and disloyalty to Empire and country. In both cases protection was provided by rituals and supernatural beliefs.

¹⁷⁹This is the phrase used by D.H. Munro in E.L. French, ed. Melbourne Studies in Education 1963 Melbourne University Press 1964, p.23.

Chapter II

NATURE AND THE SCHOOL

"... Nature never did betray the
heart that loved her."

Inspector Donald Fraser

There was little provision for teaching Public school children about nature before the adoption of the new syllabus in 1904. The study of nature was only part of a subject called "Object Lessons", originally introduced by the Board of National Education in the 1850's.¹ In the new Standards of Proficiency of 1884 each subject was allotted a proportion of total marks for the inspector's examination of the class.² Since the results of the examination helped to determine the teacher's classification and salary, it is likely that subjects worth few marks received correspondingly little attention. Object lessons were never worth more than 9% of the examination - in Second Class under the 1891 Regulations³ - and went as low as 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ % for First Class

¹Barcan, pp. 98 ; 108 ; 170.

²Ibid., p. 168

³60 marks out of 690. New South Wales Department of Public Instruction. The Public Instruction Act of 1880 and Regulations Framed thereunder together with Instructions to Teachers. Sydney : Government Printer, 1891, p. 42.

under the Regulations of 1898.⁴ Few hours would therefore have been spent on them. Those object lessons prescribed from 1885 onwards included lessons "on common Minerals, Vegetables, and Animals",⁵ "Important Manufactures",⁶ "Light, Heat, and Air in relation to Health",⁷ "Properties of common objects and materials ...",⁸ "Familiar objects",⁹ and "the chemical and physical principles involved in agriculture."¹⁰ Each lesson was supposed to be illustrated by some object, usually inanimate, which the pupils observed and analysed. Crane and Walker speak of "stuffed birds and lumps of coal".¹¹ G.T. Spaul says

⁴30 marks out of 680.

The Course of Secular Instruction and Standards of Proficiency for the several classes in Schools, Appendix to the Regulations of 1898, quoted in Board of Education : Special Reports on Educational Subjects Vol. 5 Educational Systems of the Chief Colonies of the British Empire, London: H.M.S.O. 1901, p. 265.

⁵For Third Class under the Regulations of 1885 and 1886, as in New South Wales Department of Public Instruction. The Public Instruction Act of 1880 and Regulations Framed Thereunder ; Together with Instructions to Teachers, Sydney : Thomas Richards, Government Printer 1885, p. 47, and New South Wales Department of Public Instruction The Public Instruction Act of 1880, and Regulations Framed Thereunder together with Instructions to Teachers Sydney : 1886, p. 34.

⁶For Third Class in the third half-year of enrolment under the Regulations of 1885, p. 46, and the Regulations of 1886, p. 35.

⁷For Fourth Class in the first half-year of enrolment under the Regulations of 1885, p. 49, and the Regulations of 1886, p. 35.

⁸For Second Class under the Regulations of 1891, p. 42.

⁹For Second Class under the Regulations of 1898, Board of Education : Special Reports, p. 266.

¹⁰For Fourth Class under the Regulations of 1898, Board of Education : Special Reports, p. 269.

¹¹Crane and Walker, p. 29.

object lessons usually lacked even objects, and were simply lectures.¹² Certainly the architects of the new education regarded them as pedagogically antique. The new syllabus introduced a new subject called "Nature Knowledge" or "Nature Study" which referred to geography, science, and (for girls) "lessons in household economy",¹³ as well as the study of plants and animals. This inclusion of a number of subjects under Nature Knowledge was an example of the "correlation" of the new curriculum which aimed to teach pupils that subjects were not isolated entities but closely related to each other.¹⁴ Nature Knowledge was really a group of subjects, one of which was the study of natural history.¹⁵ When Peter Board issued a new edition of the syllabus with explanatory notes in 1905, he discussed Nature Knowledge, geography, and elementary science under different headings.¹⁶ His suggested "Schemes for Nature Study"¹⁷ dealt with plants, insects, birds, animals, trees, the sun, the air, the surface of the land, water, and soils, and in practice this was what Nature Study came primarily to mean. It also came to embody the spirit of the new education more than any other subject.

¹²Smith and Spaul, p. 192.

¹³To be taught in fifth class at girls' schools. New South Wales Department of Public Instruction, Syllabus of Instruction 1905, p. 11.

¹⁴Crane and Walker, p. 37.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Syllabus of Instruction, 1905, pp. 30-40.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 31.

Through studying animals and plants, said J.C. Champion¹⁸ of the Public School at Spring Hill on the western slopes to members of the Bathurst Teachers' Association in 1907, children could - unconsciously - learn

lessons in thrift, cleanliness, humility and modesty, patriotism, maternal love, contentment, industry, order, adaptation to environment, peace, happiness, and co-operation ...¹⁹

In other words nature study would develop character in the child and prepare him for citizenship, or make him what Peter Board called "a unit in national stability".²⁰ As his Chief Inspector James Dawson said, the "great aim of present day education was the up-building of character".²¹ The old "Intellectual education had had its day."²² It was no use developing a child's intelligence unless he was also taught to be honest.²³

The way nature study was taught largely dispensed with the need for books. Children were to learn by their own "self-activity"²⁴

¹⁸ John Charles Champion, born 1874, first appointed to the teaching service in 1890. In 1909 he held a 24 classification.

¹⁹ The Public Instruction Gazette 25 October 1907, p. 89.

²⁰ Smith and Spaul, p. 198.

²¹ The Public Instruction Gazette 30 April 1909, p. 92 : from an address on "Present Day Education" given in the Nowra School of Arts on the south coast on Friday 26 March 1909.

²² The Public Instruction Gazette 27 October 1906, p. 217.

²³ The Public Instruction Gazette 30 April 1909, p. 92.

²⁴ Preface to Syllabus of Instruction 1905, p. iii.

from Nature itself, in school gardens and on nature study excursions. They were not to be lectured, but to participate actively in learning. As Peter Ecard wrote in the syllabus, "children first gain knowledge of the things around them through their senses, by seeing, touching, examining new objects of experience ...", and teachers should never forget "this fundamental law of the development of the child mind."²⁵ Some teachers concluded from this that self-activity was the only way of learning nature study. It was not a study of books on Nature or a series of lessons about Nature, according to J.C. Champion, but "the study of Nature itself". The book to be read was the "Story-book written in the manuscript of God", whose readers would "be likely ... to become more familiar with its author". He described books as crutches which people were "too apt to run to ... for information". Nature study was "quite divorced from books and even definitions". It was based on first-hand observation.²⁶ Nature study thus came to be identified with the way it was taught as a subject that was non-academic in purpose as well as method.

One inspector saw it as a practical preparation for life. He was Donald Ernest Fraser,²⁷ who had become an inspector in 1903 at the age of thirty-nine. Before the first world war he wrote a series of articles for the Worker²⁸ on educational topics which were published

²⁵Syllabus 1905, p. 30.

²⁶The Public Instruction Gazette 25 October 1907, p. 88.

²⁷Also known as Donald "Dinnie" Fraser, and as "Jimmie Pannikin", his pen-name.

²⁸This was a weekly labour journal first published in the early 1890's. It later became the official organ of the Australian Workers' Union.

in 1914 as Thoughts for Teachers²⁹ by "Jimmie Pannikin". He was described in 1912 by the Lone Hand,³⁰ an illustrated monthly published for the Bulletin, as "an authority on natural history and bush lore, a militant optimist and an exuberant, all-wool Australian"³¹ who preached patriotism to Australians. As one whose patriotism centred on Australia, who thought that Eureka "should have a cosy corner in every real Australian heart",³² and who included a chapter in his book on the Workers' Educational Association, he was probably unique among inspectors, and his comments are therefore of value as those of a critic as well as a supporter of the system.³³

For him, as for J.C. Champion, Nature Study was more than a merely intellectual subject. He compared it with mathematics, which

²⁹"Jimmie Pannikin", Thoughts for Teachers, Australia : The Worker Trustees, Sydney and Melbourne, 1914.

³⁰A literary journal published from May 1907 to February 1921, it represented the same Australian patriotism as the Bulletin. Its political platform was for "an Honest, Clean, White Australia". (The Lone Hand, May 1907, p. xxi).

³¹The Lone Hand June 1, 1912, p. xxxvi.

³²Fraser, Thoughts for Teachers, p. 126.

³³He was born of an Irish mother and a Scottish father at Parramatta in New South Wales on 12 July 1863, and was first appointed to the teaching service in 1877 at the age of fourteen, doubtless as a pupil-teacher. "As teacher, he served in a number of city and bush schools" until he was made an Inspector of Schools on 1 January 1903. "For three years he was inspector of a region containing 60,000 square miles, with Broken Hill as a centre ; then for five years he had the Yass-Gundagai district ... " This was followed by an appointment as Inspector in the Tarce District on the mid-north coast. (Extracts are taken from The Lone Hand 1 June 1912, p. xxxvi).

lacked "the uplifting, inspiring, expanding effect of Nature Study"³⁴
and was directed to the mind rather than the soul.

True, "the world of books" was "a glorious world", he
wrote,

but most of us have to earn our and
others' livelihood in the world of men,
women and things.³⁵

Nature Study "fagged up" from "books bulging with information" was
artificial Nature Study - ~~a~~ thing of little inspiration".³⁶ All
the child got from it was "heaps of ready-gathered information" out
of books that were "man-made". "Natural Nature Study", by contrast,
came from

God's own big, beautiful open book ...
plainly printed for those who have eyes
to see ...³⁷

Its mission was not only to develop intellect and skill, but also to
enlarge the soul.³⁸ It would prepare the child for life, by giving
him not "the poor, sawdusty academic knowledge of the mere office man,
the bookworm",³⁹ but rather the kind of knowledge which came from
being

out-o'-doors and out-o'-books ...
face to face with the mighty facts of our
daily environment.⁴⁰

³⁴Fraser, p. 144

³⁵Fraser, p. 83

³⁶Ibid., p. 145

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Fraser, p. 83

³⁹Ibid., p. 82

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 83

The "successful administrators in all fields of human endeavour" were those who knew more about people than about books, because they had the

firsthand, flesh-and-blood experience gained by meeting and mixing with all sorts and conditions of men ... 41

The school in Donald Fraser's view was not to be a world apart, but a part of the world.⁴² Peter Board thought the same. For him the school was not to be "an artificial thing, lying apart from the world outside" but something which brought the pupil into touch with the world outside the school. Education was to be "vital, rather than academic."⁴³

The belief that Nature Study could play an important part in preparing the child for life rested on similar views about Nature and the child. Both were held to be worthy of respect and reverence. "Nature never did betray the heart that loved her",⁴⁴ said Donald Fraser ; "We take everything from her, and give nothing",⁴⁵ said J.C. Champion ; and C.T. Musson⁴⁶ of the Hawkesbury Agricultural College suggested to Sydney Teachers in 1908 that there be a school

⁴¹Fraser, p. 82.

⁴²Fraser, p. 95.

⁴³From Board's first annual report quoted in Smith and Spaul, pp. 197-198.

⁴⁴Fraser, p. 144.

⁴⁵The Public Instruction Gazette 25 October 1907, p. 88

⁴⁶Charles Tucker Musson was born in England in 1856, was educated at the Nottingham Grammar School, and lectured on Botany at Nottingham University. He came to Australia in 1887, and was appointed Science Master of Hawkesbury Agricultural College when it was established in 1891. He served there until his retirement in 1919, and died in 1928. (The Proceedings of the Linnean Society of New South Wales for the Year 1929, Sydney 1929-1930 Vol. LIV, Part I, p. vii).

festival of Nature culminating in short Cantata of Praise, in which children would show their thankfulness to Nature by a procession showing Nature and her products.⁴⁷ As for the children, it was they who should be thanked for the new education. In the words of a speaker to the Society of Child Study in 1906 :

"A little child shall lead them", said the prophet of old, as he looked forward to a golden age yet to come ... Of those, too, who have ushered in the golden age of the new education it must be said, a little child has led them.⁴⁸

Unlike the old, the new education was to be "Child centred",⁴⁹ according to its champion Peter Board. True education gathered "around the child, his capacities and attitudes, his interests and his future needs".⁵⁰

Crane and Walker say the major source of Peter Board's advocacy of child-centred education was the work of Colonel Francis W. Parker, the "father of progressive education"⁵¹ in the United States.⁵² In his

⁴⁷The Public Instruction Gazette 31 October 1908, p. 497.

⁴⁸The Public Instruction Gazette 28 April 1906, p. 67.

⁴⁹Crane and Walker, p. 37.

⁵⁰Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, 1905, Government Printer Sydney, 1906, p. 27, quoted in Crane and Walker, p. 47.

⁵¹He was called this by John Dewey. He undertook the kind of reforms made by Peter Board in 1905 as early as 1875, in schools at Quincy in Massachusetts. The "Quincy System" became world famous. He later became principal of the Cook County Normal School in Chicago, aiming always to move the child to the center of the educative process and to interrelate the several subjects of the curriculum in such a way as to enhance their meaning for the child, and his curriculum included nature study courses taught by direct observation of nature (Lawrence A. Cremin, The Transformation of the School. Progressivism in American Education 1876-1957. Vintage Books : New York, 1961, pp. 21 ; 128-133. The extract from Dewey is taken from p. 129 ; the second extract is from p. 131).

⁵²Crane and Walker, pp. 46-47.

Talks on Pedagogics, a book frequently used by Peter Board,⁵³ he spoke of the "spontaneous tendencies of the child" as "the records of inborn divinity", which teachers were to understand and foster "in all these directions, following nature."⁵⁴ As understood by one teacher in the Public Instruction Department, who originated the idea of Rural Camp Schools for city boys, the new education meant "Natural Methods of teaching" and the end of the time when the child was seen and not heard, for was it not, he asked, that "expression" was "now recognised as "Education" ?⁵⁵" Implicit in the new methodology, then, was the idea of honouring the child and its needs, because the child itself was part of Nature.

The intellectual origins of this new respect for the child lay not only with Rousseau but also with Darwin. G. Stanley Hall,⁵⁶ one of the founders of the child-study movement, based his pedagogical reforms both on the belief that "childhood, as it comes fresh from the

⁵³Crane and Walker, p. 46.

⁵⁴Cremin, Transformation of the School, pp. 134-135.

⁵⁵Records of the Education Department, New South Wales State Archives, Box P 4048, Bundle "1906-7 School Camps", Albert E. Cradick to Peter Board, 27 January 1906.

⁵⁶Granville Stanley Hall gained the first doctorate in psychology from Harvard University in 1878. After visiting Germany, he became a professor at Johns Hopkins, and in 1889 president of Jonas Clark's university in Massachusetts, which became a centre of child-study in education. What was perhaps his seminal article was published in The Forum in its 1901-1902 issue : "The Ideal School as Based on Child Study". (Cremin, pp. 101-104).

hand of God, is not corrupt ..."⁵⁷ and on the belief that in growing up naturally the child passes through all the evolutionary stages of Man since he first appeared on earth, and that these natural stages of growth were ignored by teachers at the risk of hampering the child's potential.⁵⁸

The teacher in New South Wales, then, who gave his pupils a Nature Study lesson in a paddock near the school was following nature not only in where he taught, but also in what he taught, because this was based on the natural interests of children. As Donald Fraser said, Nature Study "should be as free and unfettered as nature herself ...",⁵⁹ with subject matter and methods of teaching that were infinitely variable.⁶⁰

It was therefore with some reason that Inspector R. Henderson⁶¹ said to teachers in 1906 that

we cannot do better for our pupils, either physically, mentally, or morally, than by regularly taking them into the garden and teaching them to "Consider the lilies, how they grow,"⁶²

and that school gardens were

the most powerful auxiliary any teacher can have to develop an education on the lines prescribed by our Director.⁶³

⁵⁷Cremin, p. 103

⁵⁸Cremin, p. 101-102.

⁵⁹Fraser, p. 81.

⁶⁰Ibid., pp. 81-82.

⁶¹See Chapter I, note 84.

⁶²The Public Instruction Gazette 28 February 1906, p. 43.

⁶³Ibid., p. 42

In them children would come to learn the greatest truths :

that Nature tolerates no waste ; that
the meanest materials have their uses,
the meanest creatures their work ; that
decay is but a relative team

and that "there are -

Sermons in stones, tongues in trees,
Books in the running brooks,
And good in everything " ⁶⁴

said Inspector Henderson quoting from Shakespeare. ⁶⁵ Perhaps

Shakespeare would not have agreed with him about what those sermons
and tongues and books were teaching :

The first lesson taught is patience.
The seed is sown, but Nature does the
rest. The child learns to "labour and
to wait". When the plant appears, he
feels something of the dignity of labour,
and his self-respect increases. His
innate love of beauty is kindled and reflects
itself in his deportment and dress. He
learns to love and cherish flowers, acquires
ownership in them, and a respect for private
property is engendered.

The garden also inspired "love for the Great Architect Who designed"
its glories. ⁶⁶

From the beginning of Peter Board's directorship the growing
of school gardens was vigorously encouraged by the Department. ⁶⁷

⁶⁴The Public Instruction Gazette 28 February 1906, p. 43.

⁶⁵From As You Like It, Act II, Scene I.

⁶⁶The Public Instruction Gazette 28 February 1906, p. 43.

⁶⁷Crane and Walker, pp. 241-242.

In his report for 1907 Inspector A. Smith⁶⁸ of Bega on the far south coast reported that school gardens were common in his district, and were producing

Better manners, an improved spirit, a keener observation trained on right principles, a higher appreciation of Nature and Nature's gifts ...⁶⁹

By 1913 only a few schools had to be satisfied with a mere window garden and many in rural areas had miniature farms, according to an official publication.⁷⁰

Working together in the garden could in itself be morally beneficial, quite apart from undertaking the actual study of nature. This at least was the opinion of a teacher at the provisional school, Bramah Creek, whose "special report on the school garden" was quoted by Donald Fraser :

During a very hot week lately, water was being carried from the creek to the gardens, a distance of nearly 400 yards. One lad did not happen to be at school. Just as the boys were finishing I overheard one, a boy of 11 years, who had looked in the absent boy's garden, call out to his fellows : 'I say, you chaps, we ought to water Alan's garden ; he'll be away all the week "picking up". He'd do us a good turn in the gardens if we were away'. 'Right-oh', replied another boy, and the lot turned to and watered absent Alan's garden thoroughly.

⁶⁸ Archibald Smith, B.A., was born in 1859, first appointed to the service in 1874, and became an Inspector in 1902.

⁶⁹ The Public Instruction Gazette 30 June 1908, p. 368.

⁷⁰ Monograph on Curricula of Schools for General Education : Government Printer Sydney, 1913, p. 15.

The report pointed out that this was only one of many "Practical lessons in co-operation, unselfishness, self-reliance, etc." which the children received every day in the garden.⁷¹

In some districts school children and teachers who laboured with care on the school garden saw their efforts destroyed by those who did not regard Nature with the same reverence as they did. In his report for 1909 Senior-Inspector W.G. Thomas⁷² said children and their teachers in many small schools of the Armidale district on the northern tablelands were "disgusted at the treatment their garden plots receive at the hands of tramps and swagmen ..."⁷³ and in 1912 Inspector A. Noble⁷⁴ reported similar cases in his district of Lismore on the far north coast. Here the culprits were "roving hoodlums", picnickers, and a drover who had kept his stock overnight in a school playground and left a dead cow there. Nature itself was also to blame in this district in the form of wandering pigs and fowls.⁷⁵

Besides gardens, excursions "to places of interest within easy reach of the school", according to the 1905 syllabus, would "prove invaluable in the general scheme of Nature Study" if they were well

⁷¹Fraser, p. 79.

⁷²William George Thomas was born in 1853, joined the teaching service in 1872, and became an Assistant Inspector at Bathurst in 1887. Two years later he was made Inspector, and in 1903 Senior-Inspector.

⁷³The Public Instruction Gazette 30 June 1910, p. 205.

⁷⁴Alexander Noble was born in 1858, was first appointed to the teaching service in 1881, and became an Inspector in 1909.

⁷⁵The Public Instruction Gazette 29 June 1912, p. 168.

organised.⁷⁶ Pupils from Foxground Public School on the south coast, for example, were taken on an afternoon excursion on 6 March 1908, in which they climbed a nearby ridge. Carrying "magnifiers, boxes for specimens, compass, field-glasses, and other accessories", they learnt from a blackberry bush how plants protect themselves, from climbing the hill the use of deep breathing, and at the top how to find the cardinal points with a watch. They also collected butterflies.⁷⁷

Schoolchildren's contact with Nature did not end with Nature Study. There were the ritual days of nature observed each year : Arbor Day, which dated from the pre-1904 system and was revived in 1914, Wattle Day, introduced in 1910, and Bird Day, first celebrated in 1911. There were also the Rural Camp Schools, which began in 1906. As part of Peter Board's new education, all these activities were supposed to embody the more practical, less intellectual training which he sought to establish.

The first official Arbor Day tree was planted in July 1890 at Hyde Public School in Sydney.⁷⁸ In that year schools were given permission to choose "any Friday in the months of June, July and August",⁷⁹ for planting trees, which were provided by the Department of Public Instruction, and in 1891 a single day - 21 August - was made

⁷⁶1905 Syllabus, p. 33.

⁷⁷The Public Instruction Gazette 30 March 1908, p. 262.

⁷⁸Rockley Public School. Historical Account, May, 1960, p. 20.

⁷⁹Ibid. : quoted from the Minister of Public Instruction.

Arbor Day for all Public schools in the State.

One of the Department of Education's historical accounts of schools says the inauguration of Arbor Day was "part of a move to improve school grounds by the encouragement of tree planting",⁸¹ suggesting that its primary purpose was to provide hot and dusty school playgrounds with shade, but if the festival in New South Wales was anything like its American precedent, it had deeper purposes than that. In the United States there was a public holiday in many places, and the celebration in schools took the form of a morning assembly with special lessons, songs, recitations, and speeches, "all having a bearing on the value and beauty of trees".⁸² It had begun in Nebraska in 1871 and within twenty years had spread to more than three quarters of the States and territories of the Union.⁸³

In New South Wales schools the celebration did not die out after the initial enthusiasm of the early 1890's, but there are only isolated reports of it in the first years of the new education. When he inspected the Public School at Canbelego in 1907, Inspector J. Dennis⁸⁴ learnt that a working bee was to be held "in preparation for the approaching Arbor Day",⁸⁵ and in 1909 some Newcastle school-

⁸⁰Tcongabbie Public School 1886 to 1940. Historical Account June 1960, p.6., and Fyree Public School 1860 to 1940. Historical Account August 1960, p. 21.

⁸¹Rockley Public School. Historical Account, p. 20

⁸²W. Catton Grasby, Teaching in Three Continents : Personal Notes on the Educational Systems of the World, London, Paris, and Melbourne 1891, p. 315.

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴James Dennis was born in 1860 and joined the teaching service in 1877. He became an Inspector in 1902 and was still in that position in 1914.

⁸⁵The Public Instruction Gazette 25 September 1907, p. 64.

children marched behind a band to the Federal Park, Plattsburg, where⁸⁶ there was an Arbor Day ceremony in which 422 trees were planted. By 1911 the Superintendent of School Agriculture John Halsted⁸⁷ felt constrained to report that the planting of trees and Arbor Day seemed "to have gone out of fashion".⁸⁸

A month before the outbreak of war in 1914, the Department of Public Instruction officially revived Arbor Day in a circular to teachers. The planting of trees on Arbor Day, teachers were informed, would give shade, beautify the schools, promote the study of trees and plants by the children and, as their surroundings changed, give the children a love of beauty and an interest in nature. On Arbor Day children would first be addressed pleasantly and instructively about plant life and the advantages of planting, and then participate in "planting operations", celebrated in whatever manner desired.⁸⁹

The first and only Arbor Day number of the Commonwealth School Paper was published in August 1914. Here children read that the spirit of Arbor Day was "that of a deep love for trees"⁹⁰ and that Australian boys and girls should love the Australian trees and shrubs most.⁹¹ Donald Fraser was also in favour of showing "pride in our

⁸⁶The Public Instruction Gazette 30 September 1909, p. 320.

⁸⁷Born in 1854, joined the teaching service in 1879, and was appointed as "Instructor in School Agriculture" by Peter Board in 1905. See Crane and Walker, pp. 241-242.

⁸⁸1911 Report, The Public Instruction Gazette 31 January 1912, p. 16.

⁸⁹The Public Instruction Gazette 1 July 1914, p. 238.

⁹⁰Commonwealth School Paper August 1914, p. 26.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 25.

own" and called on teachers to remember "the lovely Australian trees" when planning Arbor Day.⁹² Arbor Day evidently had patriotic value. As part of an "Arbor Day poem" put it :

A nation's growth, from sea to sea,
stirs in his heart who plants a tree.⁹³

Fraser suggested that the complete poem be recited by children as part of the celebrations, and that they sing the "Arbor Day Cantata" by the composer Herr Hugo Alpen.⁹⁴ He defended the planting of trees as one of those "big, brave, beautiful ideas" which characterised the new education, and he predicted the early disappearance of theories favouring more intellectual lessons such as learning how to spell "mighty monsters of words rarely used by the average individual."⁹⁵ Nature Study he thought should more often be used to teach children useful lessons like Australia's need for afforestation, especially in view of the growing back-to-the-land movement.⁹⁶

One school activity was part of this movement. This was the Rural Camp School. Like the later Arbor Day, it was based on a belief in the salutary moral effects of being in close touch

⁹² Fraser, p. 145.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 147.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 146

⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 94-95

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 94

with nature. Probably the earliest⁹⁷ detailed plan was that of Albert E. Cradick, Assistant Teacher at Birchgrove School, Balmain, in Sydney, who suggested to Peter Board in January, 1906, that 144 boys from city schools should go camping on the Hunter River for a week during the following holidays. The camp would be supervised by Departmental teachers. One of its aims would be to give city boys "an admiration for the hard-working countryman", and perhaps lead them to a decision to settle on the land. Ultimately this would help to solve the problem of under-population in rural areas by making boys "look to the hills",⁹⁸ although as Albert Cradick said later, this was quite incidental to the main aim of the scheme, which was to broaden the city boys' mental horizon by teaching them Nature Study at first-hand, developing their ability to observe, and bringing them "into close touch with the wholesomest⁹⁹ aspects of country life."¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷Crane and Walker say that Peter Board was "the founder" of the scheme and consequently was especially interested in it. He had "every reason", they say, "for feeling pleased with his idea". (p. 272) Cradick's letter to Board of 27 January 1906 suggests that the original idea was his, not Board's. He began :

Referring to my letters and interviews during December last and to your promise that the question of Vacation School Camps for City and Country Schoolboys should again receive consideration ... I submit herewith a practical proposition for an inaugural Vacation School for City Boys

(Archives Box P 4048, Bundle "1906-7 School Camps", Cradick to Board 27 January 1906).

⁹⁸Cradick to Board, 27 January 1906. Records, Archives Box P 4048.

⁹⁹Crane and Walker, p. 272, give this incorrectly as "wholesome".

¹⁰⁰The Public Instruction Gazette 26 February 1907, p. 313.

They were to be given "the opportunity of getting "right back to Nature" for a part of their school-training", and the camp would throw them

into close touch with the rugged, bookless nature training which moulded the characters of such men as our Sir H. Parkes, G. Stephenson, Watt, Palissy, Merrill, Armour, Pullman and others.

It would develop "habits of discipline, rifle-shooting, thrift", and "economy", because they would be getting a holiday from Nature for nothing ; it would teach "practical nature knowledge" away from the repressive environment of the classroom ; and it would help the "cadet and citizen-soldier system" by making camp life more popular.¹⁰¹

The plan was accepted by the Department, Albert Cradick was made Organising Officer,¹⁰² and the first series of Rural Camp Schools began at Duckenfield on 10 October 1906.¹⁰³ Military camp equipment was supplied by the Citizens' Military Forces of New South Wales.¹⁰⁴ Schools appear to have been held twice a year, at spring

¹⁰¹ Cradick to Board, 27 January 1906. This last point was also made by the Premier of New South Wales, Joseph Carruthers, in the draft of a letter to the Prime Minister, Alfred Deakin, requesting the loan of military equipment for the school camp. Records, Archives Box P 4048 Carruthers to Deakin (draft), 18 September 1906. Carruthers also spoke of "the development of the broad national sentiment ... "as an expected effect of the Rural Camp School.

¹⁰² The Public Instruction Gazette 28 September 1906, p. 195.

¹⁰³ The Duckenfield camp was not held in 1907 as Crane and Walker say on p. 273. See Public Instruction Gazette 23 February 1907, p. 313 : Albert Cradick's Rural Camp School Report.

¹⁰⁴ Telegram from Alfred Deakin to CMF Military Commandant of New South Wales, 24 September 1906. Records, Archives Box P 4048.

and autumn camps, until stopped by the war.

H.W. Smith, the teacher in charge of the unit from Balmain Superior Public School at the second session in 1906, described his camp as "a little commonwealth" where everyone saw the need for co-operation. "Camp life", he wrote in his report, was "in itself ... a valuable lesson in civics."¹⁰⁵ David Marshall, Assistant Teacher at Crown Street Superior Public School, took his unit to the third session. He was sure the camp had increased the boys' respect for "the rough, horny-fisted farmer", who

often commands more capital with less ostentation than the man of the city, and is really the "true gentleman" after all.

Just as they had learnt to admire the "Country Bumpkin" who laboured, they had learnt to admire labour itself, in any form.¹⁰⁶

A second series of schools was organised at Berry on the south coast in March and April of 1907, and a third at Richmond west of Sydney, in October and November. Some of the Richmond reports described the camp in detail : Reveille was at 5 a.m., followed by a compulsory shower, breakfast at 5.45 a.m., and a military parade at 6.30 a.m. This "awoke the man" in boys and "banished the idea that everything was play, though not crushing the zest..."¹⁰⁷ From 7 a.m.

¹⁰⁵ Smith to Board, 3 November 1906, Records, Archives Box P 4048 .

¹⁰⁶ Marshall to Henry Parkinson, Senior Inspector of Schools, 16 November 1906, Records, Archives Box P 4048.

¹⁰⁷ Report from George Martin, Master-in-Charge of the Auburn-Canterbury Composite Unit at Richmond Fourth Session to Board, 3 December 1907, Records, Archives Box P 4048.



to 3.30 p.m. was Observation. One day it was a tour of the nursery ("Moral lesson :- "Train up a tree in the way it should go" ")¹⁰⁸ on another the meat works were visited, where the boys learnt "economy" ("nothing went to waste ; even the ears, tails, bones etc, being turned to profitable use")¹⁰⁹ on a third they went to Wilberforce Public School and saw that country children could perform "excellent drill"¹¹⁰ just like children from the city. Each day's observation was then followed by two hours of writing home letters and playing. Boys were encouraged to give their tents a "military appearance".¹¹¹ Tea was at 5.30 p.m., and the Last Post sounded at 8.30 p.m.

At the first Spring Rural Camp School held at Nowra on the south coast in October 1908, boys took turns at keeping watch throughout the night, at 10 p.m., 12.30 a.m., and 3 a.m.¹¹² In his report of the camp, R.J. Spiers,¹¹³ the teacher in charge of the Balmain unit, suggested

that the Department supply a good Union Jack for the rural camp school ; and at sunset, when the flags are being lowered at the sound of the bugle, the boys and masters should stand to the attention and salute until the bugle ceases.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁸Report from Harold G. Campbell of Balmain Superior Public School on Richmond Second Session, to Board, 8 November 1907, Records, Archives Box P4048.

¹⁰⁹Report from Hunt, Superior Public School, Stanmore, to Board, 19 November 1907, Records, Archives Box P 4048.

¹¹⁰Campbell to Board, 8 November 1907, Records, Archives Box P 4048.

¹¹¹Ibid.

¹¹²The Public Instruction Gazette 30 November 1908, p. 548.

¹¹³Richard John Spiers was born in 1865, joined the teaching service in 1881, and in 1909 had a 1B classification.

¹¹⁴The Public Instruction Gazette 30 November 1908, p. 552.

to 3.30 p.m. was Observation. One day it was a tour of the nursery ("Moral lesson :- "Train up a tree in the way it should go" ")¹⁰⁸ on another the meat works were visited, where the boys learnt "economy" ("nothing went to waste ; even the ears, tails, bones etc, being turned to profitable use")¹⁰⁹ on a third they went to Wilberforce Public School and saw that country children could perform "excellent drill"¹¹⁰ just like children from the city. Each day's observation was then followed by two hours of writing home letters and playing. Boys were encouraged to give their tents a "military appearance".¹¹¹ Tea was at 5.30 p.m., and the Last Post sounded at 8.30 p.m.

At the first Spring Rural Camp School held at Nowra on the south coast in October 1908, boys took turns at keeping watch throughout the night, at 10 p.m., 12.30 a.m., and 3 a.m.¹¹² In his report of the camp, R.J. Spiers,¹¹³ the teacher in charge of the Balmain unit, suggested

that the Department supply a good Union Jack for the rural camp school ; and at sunset, when the flags are being lowered at the sound of the bugle, the boys and masters should stand to the attention and salute until the bugle ceases.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁸Report from Harold G. Campbell of Balmain Superior Public School on Richmond Second Session, to Board, 8 November 1907, Records, Archives Box P4048.

¹⁰⁹Report from Hunt, Superior Public School, Stanmore, to Board, 19 November 1907, Records, Archives Box P 4048.

¹¹⁰Campbell to Board, 8 November 1907, Records, Archives Box P 4048.

¹¹¹Ibid.

¹¹²The Public Instruction Gazette 30 November 1908, p. 548.

¹¹³Richard John Spiers was born in 1865, joined the teaching service in 1881, and in 1909 had a 1B classification.

¹¹⁴The Public Instruction Gazette 30 November 1908, p. 552.

It was essential for the rural camp school to be organised on military lines according to the Organising Officer, W. Roberts, in his report on the autumn camp school of 1911 held at Richmond west of Sydney, not only because it worked more efficiently that way but also because the boys appreciated the military tone and benefited from it. Going to Richmond that year, the boys had paraded on Central Railway Station in Sydney, falling in to the call of bugles and marching to the train, which they had boarded "in a quiet, orderly manner, worthy of regular troops". At Richmond they had marched in column to camp.¹¹⁵

In the setting of a rural camp, school was practical as well as military. At Morpeth in the Hunter Valley in 1909 boys visited "lucerne farms, potato farms, dairies, orchards, vineyards, bee farms, stud cattle and horse farms, ironworks, brickworks, and coal mines", and spent one day of "practical work on the farm" performing the tasks of the farmer.¹¹⁶

The "boy who went to the camp", wrote one teacher, "was changed". He came back with a broader view of "his country and its resources, culminating in a fuller patriotism."¹¹⁷

A plan to show country children the city was rejected by the Department in 1907 on the grounds that there was no "similar reason" for it as strong as that for the Rural Camp Schools, which had the

¹¹⁵ From the Public Instruction Gazette, 30 June 1911, pp. 217-220 : the Organising Officer's Report.

¹¹⁶ The Public Instruction Gazette 31 January 1910, pp. 10-11. This description may also have referred to an earlier camp at Morpeth in 1908.

¹¹⁷ Martin to Board, 3 December 1907, Records, Archives Box P 4048.

definite purpose of encouraging rural settlement.¹¹⁸ There was 72.
probably a deeper reason for this scheme : the dance-halls and
sophistication of the city did not build a strong moral character and
encourage a "fuller patriotism" ; rustic simplicity and honest toil
did.

Certainly some country children had their share of honest
toil. In his report for 1911, Senior-Inspector T. Pearson¹¹⁹ said
that 200 schoolboys in his district of Mudgee on the western slopes
were employed on night rabbiting work for up to half the year. They
were too tired to work properly at school.¹²⁰ The main problem
was in dairying districts : in some the school timetable had to be
adjusted so that children could be home in time to help with milking.
Either the lunch break was shortened¹²¹ or school started earlier for
part of the year.¹²² Whatever the moral effects of the labour, it
did not make great intellects. As the Headmaster of a country school
wrote in 1901, explaining deficiencies in the performance of his
pupils,

Fully 75% of (them) ... are children of dairy
farmers who are compelled to work several hours
before and after school hours. Consequently
they have little or no inclination to work at
school ...

¹¹⁸Memorandum from Peter Board, 29 October 1907, Records, Archives Box
P 4048.

¹¹⁹Thomas Pearson was born in 1853, appointed to the teaching service in
1868, and made an Inspector in the Wagga District in 1890. He became a
Senior-Inspector either in 1909 or 1910.

¹²⁰The Public Instruction Gazette 29 June 1912, p. 163

¹²¹This was a practice permitted by the Department at Luddenham Public
School near Liverpool west of Sydney in 1898, after it had obtained for
a number of years because of the parents' demands. It is not specifically
stated whether this was a dairying district in the source, Luddenham
Public School 1860 to 1940 Historical Account - October, 1960, pp.14-15.

¹²²As at Pyree Public School, which from 1902 was allowed to open at 9
a.m. instead of 9.30 a.m. in view of "the importance of dairying to the
district". See Pyree Public School Historical Account, pp. 23-24

It was even hard to get "a wakeful attention" from them, according to the school Mistress. Presumably she meant they fell asleep at their desks.¹²³ Children were even denied holidays. In a composition on how he spent King's Birthday in 1908, a thirteen year old boy in the Taree district of the north coast described a day of never-ending work from the moment his father called him to get the cows in at 4 a.m. to his return to bed after tea.¹²⁴

Children exhausted from hours spent rounding up the cows, squeezing them for milk, and cleaning away their dung : this was a problem for country schools in dairying districts before and after the coming of the new education. An inspector¹²⁵ wrote in 1908 that he had "seen children's fingers so swollen with milking that they could not grasp a pen properly", and that pupils in dairying districts frequently arrived at school late and left early, but in the same article he praised the free country life of dairying which kept families united because everyone had something to do. "The rearing and care of animals and the glories of agriculture," he said, had been "sung by poets and extolled by philosophers", and he thought the Rural Camp Schools were doing a good job in encouraging children to turn away from the over-crowded city when they grew up and to seek peace and contentment in the country. The conclusion he drew from his description of the harsh conditions of life on a dairy farm was not

¹²³Quoted in Fairy Meadow Public School 1858 to 1940 Historical Account June 1960, pp. 7-8. Fairy Meadow is on the south coast near Wollongong.

¹²⁴The Public Instruction Gazette 30 June 1909, p. 161.

¹²⁵The Inspector was Archibald Smith, see this chapter, p. 61.

that Nature was to blame, but that conditions must be improved in order to keep the young man on the farm.¹²⁶ It was an aim pursued by Peter Board with particular lack of success. He introduced agricultural courses in country schools¹²⁷ to "show the country child that the intelligent farmer need not regard his occupation as a "dreary drudgery",¹²⁸ but the country child remained unconvinced. The schools continued to present a romantic view of country life which did not ring true to his experience. A "little play for little Australians" called The King's Colonists, for example, which was described by its reviewer in the Public Instruction Gazette in 1910 as suitable for concerts and other functions at school, included a Song of the Milkmaids in which the dairy farm became Elysium itself :

When the sun hangs low on the Wattle boughs,
The Wattle boughs, the Wattle boughs,
We saddle a horse and bring home the cows,
From the clover hillsides where they browse,
And drive them into the bails,
And the dear little calves with their big brown eyes,
Big brown eyes, big brown eyes,
Mutely gaze in mild surprise
Watch from the yard how the rich milk flies
Deftly into the pails.

The play also included a chorus by The Scouts which began :

The swinging years may travel fast,
We'll smile at the war-god's frown ;
We are building a wall to guard the house,
With the brave little boys in brown.¹²⁹

¹²⁶The Public Instruction Gazette 29 February 1908, pp. 226-227.

¹²⁷Mainly at a post-primary level, it seems. See Crane ^{and} Walker, pp. 243-247.

¹²⁸Ibid., p. 243.

¹²⁹The Public Instruction Gazette 31 October 1910, p. 346

The Rural Camp School movement flourished on a vision of the schoolboy as both scout and milking hand, learning to defend his country by working close to Nature.

The patriotic influence of Nature was not confined to Nature-in-the-rough. It was the belief of the supporters of Wattle Day that a spray of wattle could evoke love for Australia in the hearts of men, women, and children, if it were made the Australian national emblem.

The first organisation to honour the wattle as a symbol of patriotism was established in Adelaide in 1890.¹³⁰ Called the Wattle Blossom League, it lasted for about a year as a kind of ladies' auxiliary of the Australian Natives' Association in South Australia, aiming to interest women in the Association and Australian patriotism, and to spread national sentiment "in the household among the rising generation."¹³⁰ Wattle Day itself was probably first celebrated by a Wattle Club in Victoria in September 1899,¹³¹ but it was not until September 1910 that celebrations in Sydney, Adelaide, and Melbourne made it a public festival.¹³² A Wattle League had been formed in Sydney in 1909 and its example was followed in Adelaide and Melbourne in 1910.¹³³

In Sydney on the first Wattle Day wattle was worn by patriotic

¹³⁰Will J. Sowden, Australian Wattle Day League Outline History of the Wattle Blossom Celebration in Australia, Adelaide, 1913, p. 3

¹³¹This, at least, is the earliest celebration recorded by W.J. Sowden (p. 6). Invitations were sent out "for a Wattle Day outing" in that year and subsequent years, but Sowden mentions actual celebrations only in 1904 and 1906.

¹³²Sowden, p. 8

¹³³Sowden, pp. 6 ; 8.

citizens and displayed in shop-windows. In both Sydney and the country schoolchildren observed Wattle Day in the manner of Empire Day, "bursting into Australian song as the Commonwealth flag bellied to the breeze", and planting trees. The Director of Education, Peter Board, spoke at the Wattle Day League's first annual meeting, reminding his audience that wattle symbolised Australian patriotism and that Wattle Day was "the beginning of great things." Another speaker, the Chief Justice, Dr. Cullen, wished the League success in its aims for Wattle Day as

the means of bringing Australians together, cultivating in them a love for the beautiful things of nature in their beautiful land and making them realise the patriotism which should characterise Australians, strengthening the association between States and Commonwealth, and Commonwealth and Empire.¹³⁴

As Agnes L. Storrie,¹³⁵ one of the founders of the League in Sydney, explained in its Leaflet No. 2, the purpose of Wattle Day was to honour the flower which stood for love of Australia, "that complex, yet primitive emotion we call Patriotism". Wattle had been chosen because it was found all over Australia, because it was "especially and typically Australian", and because its blooms were of rare beauty, whether in the form of "golden globes, little fluffy balls, long fingers of yellow down, or tiny feathery tufts". The colour was

¹³⁴ The Sydney Morning Herald 2 September 1910.

¹³⁵ This was the pen-name of Mrs. Agnes Kettlewell, born in South Australia, who became secretary of the Sydney League. She was a poet and published books of poems in 1899 and 1909, as well as verses in the Australasian, the Bulletin, and other papers.

usually "like solidified sunshine". "Here", she wrote,

is the sentiment, authentic, virile,
Here is the flower beautiful, suitable.
Link them together and you have a
combination of which future historians
will have much to say.¹³⁶

In the special Wattle Numbers of the Commonwealth School Paper, which appeared in 1912, 1913, and 1914, children learnt that the sentiment of pride of country symbolised by national flowers was the noblest of all sentiments because it lay at the foundation of the best that humanity had achieved¹³⁷. They were enjoined to foster, protect, cherish, and even worship the wattle as the emblem of their native land.¹³⁸ The special numbers included pictures of wattle, facts about the wattle, wattle poetry, and messages to the children from the President of the Wattle Day League.¹³⁹

The Wattle Day movement, wrote Mr. W.J. Sowden¹⁴⁰ soon after

¹³⁶ Wattle Day League Leaflet No. 2 Sydney, 1910 ? It was received by the Mitchell Library in November 1910.

¹³⁷ September 1913, p. 33.

¹³⁸ September 1912, p. 46.

¹³⁹ Compare South Australia in 1911, where according to Sowden, p. 9, "Enthusiasm had been worked up among the school children by special lessons and articles in their monthly paper, The Children's Hour ..."

¹⁴⁰ William John Sowden was born in Victoria in 1858 but spent most of his life in South Australia. From 1899 to 1922 he was editor of the Adelaide Register, and from 1908 to 1926, president of the National Library, Museum, and Art Gallery in Adelaide. He became chief president of the South Australian board of directors of the Australian Natives' Association. He was knighted in 1918 and died in South Australia in 1943.

(The Australian Encyclopedia Vol. VIII, Angus and Robertson : Sydney, London, Melbourne, Wellington, 1958, p. 225).

he became first President of the Federated Australian Wattle Day League in 1913, was "fraught with vast patriotic possibilities." As a leading figure in the Australian Natives' Association in South Australia and the author of An Australian Native's Standpoint (1912), his patriotism was not centred on the Empire. To delegates at the first Federal Wattle Day League Conference held in Melbourne early in 1913 he expressed his belief that "they could never be wrong in cultivating a higher Australian patriotism," and that the Wattle League would become one of the largest patriotic associations in the world. By patriotism he meant love of Australia, and pride in all things Australian. For him the wattle stood for the golden ore of Australia's mines, the golden grain of her fields, the golden opportunities open to her citizens, and the golden heart of the typical Australian man and woman. He hoped that the date of Foundation Day might be changed from January 26 to August 23, "the date, in 1770, when Captain Cook formally took possession of the eastern part of Australia ...", and that the day be celebrated conjointly with Wattle Day. In this way the memory of Australia's convict origins would not be perpetuated.¹⁴¹

In other words, Australian patriotism should be evoked by the sweetness and purity of Nature rather than the unrespectable tradition of low ancestors. It was a view which found ready acceptance in the schools. In his report for 1911, ~~Mr.~~ Inspector W.E. Black¹⁴² of the ¹⁴¹Sowden, pp. 10-14.

¹⁴²William Earnest Black was born in 1867 and joined the teaching service in 1883. He became an Inspector early in 1910.

Dubbo District on the edge of the western plains criticised teachers for putting too much emphasis on the events of the convict period. He reminded them that most of the ideals found in public life and the most characteristically Australian institutions were "in no wise traceable to", and did not develop from, "the wretched conviction of the early nineteenth century", but were

the direct outcome of that great movement, subsequent to the discovery of gold which brought to these shores capable and enterprising men of all ranks,

who had brought about "the striking social evolution" of Australian life evident in the present generation.¹⁴³ His report for the previous year had described school activities at the time of the first Wattle Day, when older pupils had been given "The Golden Glory of the Bush" as their composition subject, without teachers' explaining what it meant beforehand.¹⁴⁴

Just as the symbol of the patriotism of Wattle Day was respectable - a fragrant wattle blossom rather than a chain-gang - so too was that patriotism itself. Although directed towards Australia, it was not hostile to the Empire. As W.J. Sowden said, on Wattle Day the League encouraged all people to "proclaim themselves as Australians and Australian Britons."¹⁴⁵ Like the supporters of the Catholics' Australia Day on May 24, he felt it necessary to

¹⁴³The Public Instruction Gazette 31 May 1912, p. 134.

¹⁴⁴The Public Instruction Gazette 29 April 1911, p. 110.

¹⁴⁵Sowden, p. 12.

justify Australian patriotism in terms of the Empire : putting Australia first was the best way for Australians to "show their zeal as Britons".¹⁴⁶ And the aims of the Australian Wattle Day League as set forth in their first constitution were "to create, encourage, and maintain an Australian and Imperial sentiment ..."¹⁴⁷ In this the League was like the Australian Natives' Association out of which the original Wattle Blossom League had grown. A toast to the monarch "has been a traditional part of A.N.A. banquet ritual since the very first of these functions".¹⁴⁸ On Wattle Day children learnt a patriotism that was different from that of Empire Day, but not contradictory to it. H.M.A.S. Australia, for example, appeared with equal appropriateness in the Wattle Day Number of the Commonwealth School Paper in 1913, where children read that she had been festooned with wattle blooms on her first voyage to Australia¹⁴⁹ and as an illustration in the Empire Day Number of 1914 accompanying an article which stated that the patriotism of Australians did not begin and end at home.¹⁵⁰

In the Public Schools patriotism meant loyalty to both the Empire and Australia. Until 1910, Empire Day was alone in fostering

¹⁴⁶Sowden, p. 12.

¹⁴⁷Ibid., p. 15.

¹⁴⁸W.C.K. Hammer, "The Australian Natives' Association's Part in Australian Nationalism 1871-1901", A.N.U. Historical Journal Number 4 October 1967, p. 40.

¹⁴⁹Commonwealth School Paper September 1913, p. 37.

¹⁵⁰Commonwealth School Paper May 1914.

this patriotism through the ritual of an annual celebration and holiday. Australia was not forgotten on Empire Day, but the Empire came first. Wattle Day did not challenge the orthodox definition of patriotism but expanded the opportunities for its expression. After 1910 there were two ritual days each year to develop children's patriotism.

Wattle Day brought Australian patriotism to the schools in a form they could accept, not as a programme of radical Utopianism in which Australia's identity came from her opposition to the Empire, but as a genteel recognition that Australia was different because of Nature's beautiful gifts to her. The Australia symbolised by wattle was located in the bush, and it was the Australian bush of which children were now taught to be proud. In the words of a poem called "Wattle Blossom" composed in September 1911,

"Only a bunch of blossoms sold in the City street,
But it makes me long for the Scrubland -
For the Scrubland wild and sweet."

"I long for the wooded hill-tops, the blue unclouded sky
In the Scrubland have I lived in the Scrubland would
I die."¹⁵¹

But for most schools this scrubland was not the bush of swagmen and shearers, who "do the best they can today -

Take no thought of the morrow,
Their way is not the old-world way -
They live to lend and borrow.
When shearing's done and cheques gone wrong,
They call it 'time to slither !' -
They saddle up and say 'so-long !'
And ride the Lord knows whither.¹⁵²

¹⁵¹Signed "Adelaide, S.A., September 11th, 1911", from Charles Elliott, Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand As I Saw Them In 1911-1912, Plymouth, 1912, pp. 126-127.

¹⁵²From "Shearers", by Henry Lawson, quoted Russel Ward, ed., The Penguin Book of Australian Ballads, 1964, pp. 140-141.

The schools' bush was not the bush which men had tainted, but the one inhabited by Nature alone in all her pristine moral purity, a bush of "Gum Trees" with their "clean fresh scent", of "Wattle and heath", and of "the delicate trailing Woodbine and the ferns that grow beneath".¹⁵³

By encouraging patriotism through Nature, then, Wattle Day played a part in education for national stability ; and by tapping Nature's moral resources, it became an element of education for individual character.

On the first Wattle Day in 1910, J.H. Maiden,¹⁵⁴ one of the founders of the Wattle Day League in Sydney, had expressed the hope that members of the League would make Wattle Day an occasion for some act of charity as sweet as the wattle itself and that Wattle Day would become "a day of good will and kind thought towards others".¹⁵⁵ Thus, like Empire Day, Wattle Day was to encourage both patriotism and a higher personal morality. As Public School children learnt in the first Wattle Number of the Commonwealth School Paper in 1912, to the native-born Australian wattle stood for love as well as for "home, country,

¹⁵³ From "Wattle Blossom" in Elliott, p. 126.

¹⁵⁴ John Henry Maiden was born in London in 1859. He came to Australia in 1880. In 1896 he was made Government Botanist and Curator of the Sydney Botanic Gardens, a post he held until his retirement in 1924. He was a member of nearly every scientific society in New South Wales. He died in 1925. (Walter W. Froggatt, "The Curators and Botanists of the Botanic Gardens, Sydney", Royal Australian Historical Society Journal and Proceedings, Vol. XVIII, Part III 1932. Section on Maiden, pp. 128-129).

¹⁵⁵ SME, 2 September 1910.

kindred," and "sunshine".¹⁵⁶ In the second ^{Wattle} ~~Wattle~~ Number they learnt that it stood for sweetness, purity, and beauty,¹⁵⁷ and that "Flowers preach to us if we will hear".¹⁵⁸ The sermon preached by the wattle was explained at the annual meeting of the Adelaide Wattle Day League in October 1912 by Rev. Dr. L.D. Bevan, Principal of Parkin College.¹⁵⁹ According to W.J. Sowden, he said that men should be true to Nature like the Wattle which was a natural flower, grown in Nature's own garden, that they should live for each other's good, remembering how the wattle was a gathering of blooms together in one flower; that their lives should mirror the beauty and fragrance of the wattle in the performance of good deeds, and that Australians should let their patriotic light shine and brighten the world, just as wattle radiated golden sunshine.¹⁶⁰

By 1915 the New South Wales Branch of the Wattle Day League was able to report that the success it had met was something in which members

¹⁵⁶ Commonwealth School Paper September 1912, p. 46.

¹⁵⁷ Commonwealth School Paper September 1913, p. 37.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 39 : the verse is by Christina Rossetti.

¹⁵⁹ Llewelyn David Bevan was born in Wales in 1842 into a middle-class Congregational family. He became a Congregational preacher while still a student at the University of London. After serving as minister of Congregational churches in New York and London, he accepted a call from the congregation of Collins Street Independent Church, Melbourne, and arrived in Australia in 1886. He became Principal of the South Australian Congregational Theological College - Parkin College - in 1910, and died in 1918. (Louisa Jane Bevan (compiler and editor), The Life and Reminiscences of Llewelyn David Bevan L.L.B., D.D. Melbourne, 1920).

¹⁶⁰ Sowden, p. 12.

of the league could "take a legitimate pride and pleasure", and that plans were being made to plant "wattle trees on the graves of Australian heroes who gave their lives so gloriously at Gallipoli."¹⁶¹ The gesture was an appropriate one, for nothing better symbolised Australian patriotism in 1915 than the dead at Gallipoli, but for precisely that reason it marked the inadequacy of Wattle Day as a festival of Australian patriotism. In 1915 W.J. Sowden had said that one reason why the waratah should not become the national flower was that it might be taken for an emblem of blood whereas the wattle was "an emblem of true Australian aspirations, fulfilments, and life."¹⁶² 1915 proved that blood and battles were more powerful symbols of nationality than any flower, and provided the tradition out of which Anzac Day was to emerge as a far more popular celebration of Australia's nationhood than Wattle Day was ever to be. By the 1930's the tradition of the Australian soldier had become synonymous with Australian patriotism, and wattle now stood for him, and his independent spirit. As K.R. Cramp¹⁶³ wrote in Wattle Day and its Significance, published by the New South Wales Branch of the Wattle Day League about 1938,

And we are told that if you want the wattle to thrive, give it its freedom; don't mollycoddle it; don't care for it too much. Isn't that like the Australian who loves to develop a spirit of independence.(?) It was said of the Australian

¹⁶¹ Wattle Day League N.S.W. Branch Annual Report 1915.

¹⁶² Sowden, p. 12.

¹⁶³ K.R. Cramp became Lecturer in History at the Teachers' College in 1906. When Peter Board was Director of Education, K.R. Cramp was one of his most trusted colleagues. He was made Inspector of History in secondary schools in 1923. (Crane and Walker, pp. 92; 167; 332).

soldiers that they didn't submit as tamely as the English soldier to routine and discipline, but when it came to the pinch, the Australian could be depended upon. Let me tell you what Lord Roberts once said of the Australian Lancers who went to the Boer War in South Africa nearly forty years ago ; "All the Colonials did extremely well", he said. "They were very intelligent, and they had what I want our men to have - more individuality. They would find the way about the country far better than the British Cavalry-man could do." This is very high praise of the Australian soldier, coming as it did, from a British General, and it illustrates my point about the wattle. Don't interfere too much with the plant, and it will grow up sturdy and independent like the Australian soldier.¹⁶⁴

Moral fibre and patriotic sentiment were nurtured not only by flowers and trees and farms, but by the birds of the air as well. Bird Day was the festival in their honour and the Gould League of Bird Lovers the instrument of their protection. Like Arbor Day, the Gould League was modelled on a precedent set in the United States, where there had been "Audubon" societies since 1895.¹⁶⁵ These were named after John James Audubon (1785-1851), the American ornithologist, and aimed to protect birds and other wild life from extermination.¹⁶⁶ In Australia, the coming of Nature Study to the schools brought proposals for a similar movement. As early as 1906 the Public Instruction Gazette listed a "bird day" as one of the possible activities to be encouraged by Public School Nature Study Societies,¹⁶⁷ and in an address

¹⁶⁴Cramp, pp. 5-6.

¹⁶⁵The Encyclopedia Americana Vol. II U.S.A. 1963, p. 538. The name was first coined in 1886.

¹⁶⁶Ibid., pp. 537-538

¹⁶⁷The Public Instruction Gazette 28 July 1906, p. 147.

to the Bathurst Teachers' Association the following year J.C. Champion¹⁶⁸ suggested an annual Bird Day as part of the regular Nature Study programme.¹⁶⁹ In "Notes on Nature Study" published in the Gazette late in 1908, C.T. Musson¹⁷⁰ of the Hawkesbury Agricultural College placed a "Bird Day" in his chart showing how Nature Study and other subjects could be related to the different seasons of the year.¹⁷¹ The first successful proposal was made in that year to the Director of Education in Victoria, Frank Tate, by a teacher in his department, Miss Jessie McMichael, who put forward the idea of a society "to interest children in bird-protection."¹⁷² It was established in Victorian State schools in 1909 as the Gould League of Bird Lovers, after John Gould, the English ornithologist (1804-1881) who had pioneered the study of Australian birds and mammals in the mid-nineteenth century, and the first Bird Day was celebrated in Victoria on October 29, 1909.¹⁷³ The League came to New South Wales in October the following year when a branch was formed in the town of Wellington on the western slopes by two teachers from the local Public School, Walter Finigan and Edward Webster, who resolved to spread the bird lovers' movement to all the schools of the State.¹⁷⁴ According to Neville Cayley in What Bird is That? they were "two visionaries" with "the faith that can move

¹⁶⁸See this chapter, note 18.

¹⁶⁹The Public Instruction Gazette 25 October 1907, p. 89

¹⁷⁰See this chapter, note 46.

¹⁷¹The Public Instruction Gazette 30 November 1908, p. 542.

¹⁷²The Australian Encyclopedia Vol. IV, p. 348.

¹⁷³Charles Barrett, The Bird Man. A Sketch of the Life of John Gould, Melbourne 1938, pp. 45-46.

¹⁷⁴Neville W. Cayley What Bird is That? A Guide to the Birds of Australia, Sydney 1931, p. XV.

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¹⁷²The Australian Encyclopedia Vol. IV, p. 348.

¹⁷³Charles Barrett, The Bird Man. A Sketch of the Life of John Gould, Melbourne 1938, pp. 45-46.

¹⁷⁴Neville K. Cayley What Bird is That? A Guide to the Birds of Australia, Sydney 1931, p. XV.

more than mountains".¹⁷⁵ Mr. James Dawson, the Chief Inspector, who had encouraged the pilot scheme in Wellington, became first President of the State League set up later in 1910.¹⁷⁶

Its aim was to protect all harmless birds and "prevent the unnecessary collection of wild birds' eggs" by developing in children and others a knowledgeable interest in bird-life. More generally it was hoped that this interest in the beauty and marvels which lay all around them would give to their lives "a deeper meaning and a nobler dignity", and that it would be "one more means of arousing and strengthening a lasting love of their native land, "a sturdy patriotism" that would fit them "to stand four-square to all the winds that blow" "based on the kind of love for Nature in Australia which ~~show~~^{shone} in the works of Henry Kendall, Amy E. Mack, Veronica Mason, and other Australian writers. It was to be a movement centred on the schools, because it was to the children that Australia had to look for the protection of its natural heritage. Meetings to form school branches would best be held in the open air among the trees, where the children would take the Gould League pledge.¹⁷⁷ The green certificate which carried the pledge was ready for distribution before the first Bird Day¹⁷⁸ on 14

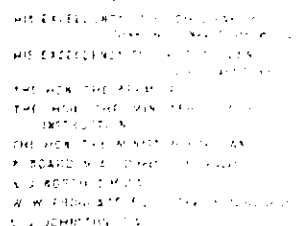
¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid. Crane and Walker say incorrectly that "When the Gould League of Bird Lovers was founded (Peter) Board became its first president". (p. 272). On the first certificate of the League of N.S.W. (1911) he is listed as a patron.

¹⁷⁷ The Public Instruction Gazette 31 May 1911, p. 138.

¹⁷⁸ The Public Instruction Gazette 31 July 1911, p. 242, announced that the Gould League certificate would be ready by August of that year.

NEW SOUTH WALES

[illegible]

This is too obvious

Washed by the sea.

October, 1911.

From then Bird Day became an annual celebration in October, officially encouraged by the Department of Public Instruction, which published Bird-Life Supplements to the Public Instruction Gazette "containing bird photographs and information on the study of bird-life"¹⁷⁹ for the teachers, and for their pupils special Bird Numbers of the Commonwealth School Paper, published from 1911 onwards. Here they could learn how birds fed,¹⁸⁰ found their way,¹⁸¹ and migrated,¹⁸² and about individual birds like the Reed-Warbler,¹⁸³ The Cockatoo,¹⁸⁴ The Spur-Winged Plover,¹⁸⁵ the Grey Shrike Thrush,¹⁸⁶ or Our Australian Larks.¹⁸⁷ They could read bird poetry by British, American, and Australian authors.

The Department suggested¹⁸⁸ that teachers give background lessons to Bird Day in all appropriate subjects. In English, children would read about birds in the Commonwealth School Paper and readers,

¹⁷⁹Cayley, p. xvi.

¹⁸⁰October, 1911, pp. 49-54, and October, 1915, pp. 49-53.

¹⁸¹October, 1913, pp. 56-57.

¹⁸²October, 1911, pp. 58-64, and October, 1915, pp. 55-60.

¹⁸³October, 1913, pp. 57-58.

¹⁸⁴October, 1914, pp. 53-54.

¹⁸⁵October, 1911, pp. 55-57.

¹⁸⁶October, 1913, pp. 59-62

¹⁸⁷Ibid., pp. 49-51.

¹⁸⁸"Bird-Life" Supplement to the Public Instruction Gazette 1912, first page.

and learn poems like "To a Willy Wagtail", "To a Silver-Eye", or Longfellow's "Birds of Killingworth", preaching the folly of killing birds, and his "Emperor's Bird's Nest",¹⁸⁹ which told how the "Emperor Charles of Spain" had once refused to strike his tent after a battle, so that a swallow's nest would not be disturbed. As well as drawing birds and writing about them, children would study them outdoors, either in their natural environment or in a school bird-bath placed in the play-ground.¹⁹⁰ On Bird Day itself children's activities could include¹⁹¹ singing a bird song, listening to a short talk on the birds and why they should be protected, reciting bird poems, forming a local Gould League branch and deciding a bird name for it by a school referendum, receiving the green certificates as tangible reminders of their "friendship for the bonny birds",¹⁹² and even making bird calls.

On Bird Day 1912 children in almost every school of the State were taught about birds. They brought bird pets to school, decorated classrooms with bird pictures, and went on Nature Study excursions to study birds in their natural surroundings.¹⁹³ In their reports for

¹⁸⁹ Longfellow's Poetical Works. Author's Complete Copyright Edition, Routledge, London ? 1894 ? p. 543.

¹⁹⁰ "Bird-Life" Supplement 1912, first page.

¹⁹¹ "Bird-Life" Supplement 1912, first page.

¹⁹² This phrase comes from an item on the Bird Number of the Commonwealth School Paper, 1913, in "Bird-Life" Supplement to the Public Instruction Gazette, 29 September 1913, p. 20.

¹⁹³ New South Wales Gould League of Bird Lovers Second Annual Report and Balance Sheet, in the Public Instruction Gazette 30 November 1912, p. 340.

that year, ~~Mr.~~ Inspector F.W. Mannell¹⁹⁴ of the Wellington district spoke of the "more sensible relationship between the boy and the bird" which the Gould League had brought about,¹⁹⁵ and ~~Mr.~~ Inspector George Dart¹⁹⁶ said that in his district of Hay in south-western New South Wales schools without Gould League branches were considered behind the times.¹⁹⁷ George Dart also suggested that teachers encourage the Australian sentiment of Wattle Day and Bird Day by giving their pupils more Australian poems, especially Nature poems.¹⁹⁸

In other words, ritual days of Nature should be joined by the literature of Nature in the new education's task of making children patriotic Australians. Frank Tate had expressed this idea in the Public Instruction Gazette in 1911, which published part of his preface to An Australian Bird Book by J.A. Leach, the Organising Inspector of Nature Study in the Victorian Education Department. The first generation of Australians, he wrote, had not been taught to love Australian things but had learnt to call England home. Their school books and story books had all been for British boys and girls. They had known how beautiful were "the songs of the Lark, and the Thrush and the Nightingale", but had never read that the Australian magpie was

¹⁹⁴Francis Worthington Mannell was born in 1863, first appointed to the teaching service in 1877, and made an Inspector in 1911.

¹⁹⁵The Public Instruction Gazette 31 March 1913, p. 63.

¹⁹⁶George Dart held a Master of Arts degree when this report was published. He was born in 1864, first joined the teaching service in 1878, and became an Inspector in 1910.

¹⁹⁷The Public Instruction Gazette 30 April 1913, p. 87.

¹⁹⁸The Public Instruction Gazette 31 March 1913, p. 63.

one of the great song-birds of the world. Now this was all changing. Nature Study was making children in Australia aware of the world of Nature around them in their native land and school texts were now written from the Australian standpoint. As a literature of Australian birds came to be written, it would surround them with the wealth of association enjoyed by British birds, which after all owed much of their charm to poets, until the time would come "when even the birds now trying so hard to sing their way" into Australian hearts, "while cursed with the names of "rufous-breasted thickhead" and "striated field wren or stink bird"," would mean to an Australian what " "the throstle with his note so true" and "the wren with little quill" " meant to Englishmen.¹⁹⁹

In New South Wales there were a number of teachers who saw what George Dart and Frank Tate had seen, and who wanted to further the wholesome, patriotic aims of Nature Study through the use of literature.

The task would not have been a difficult one if J.C. Champion was to be believed. "Most of the gems in literature", he thought, had "been inspired by Nature".²⁰⁰ But there were fundamental disagreements among teachers about which were the literary gems and which were not. Peter Board's original view, as expressed in the 1905 syllabus, was that the "poetry relating to Nature" given by teachers in Nature Study lessons should be "real poetry", like Robert Herrick's "To Daffodils" and "The Last Rose of Summer" by Thomas Moore.²⁰¹ This was probably the most common definition of proper

¹⁹⁹The Public Instruction Gazette 31 August 1911, p. 323

²⁰⁰The Public Instruction Gazette 25 October 1907, p. 89.

²⁰¹1905 Syllabus, p. 31.

literature under the new syllabus : that it be an anthology piece by a British or American writer. Of those who pressed the claims of Australian literature in the schools, there were two groups. The first believed Australian children should be reading about their own natural environment rather than the Englishmen's, just as they studied it at first-hand for Nature Study. As a reviewer of Amy E. Mack's Bushland Stories said in 1910, it was time

that the associations of our own land,
the scents of our flowers and trees,
and the songs of our birds should
"flood our hearts abrim" as the hearts
of our brothers and sisters over the
seas are thrilled by -

"English posies - Kent and Surrey May.
Violets of the undercliff, wet with
channel spray". 202

Other teachers wanted Australian literature because they thought children should be learning the traditions of the bush - the bush of shearers, swagmen, and drovers. In an article on "How We Make Australian Poetry Help Us to Teach Australian Geography and Patriotism", published in 1907, Alice Reilly²⁰³ of the Leichhardt Infants' School pointed that "the bush" was

nothing but a vague term to most of our
town children at all events. Have not
some of our own poets, who knew and loved it,
peopled it with our own heroes - the men and
women, too, out back on "the plains of the
Never Never", who face the drought, and the
heat, and the uncertainty, and awful loneliness
of the bush - that life in the towns might be
the easy and pleasant thing it is for us ?

²⁰²The Public Instruction Gazette 31 December 1910, p. 453.

²⁰³Alice Reilly was born in 1858, and began teaching in 1884.

What are any of us doing to teach our
children love for their country through
a love for its literature?

She thought children should be given a picture of New South Wales "as seen through the eyes of Paterson, Kendal, (sic) and Lawson ..."²⁰⁴ but her hope was not to be realised before 1914, except in the case of Kendall. In their choice of Australian literature as in everything else, the Public Schools followed the sure guidelines of respectability. Reporting for 1909 on "Written Composition" in his district of Mudgee on the western slopes, Mr. Inspector W.S. Reay²⁰⁵ described the poetry being written by older pupils as "of a copyish nature and inclined to follow the bush ~~band~~^{bard} jingle". He reminded teachers that Australian poets had written "some beautiful verses" and that they should "direct their pupils more to these and lead them to avoid the coarser metal".²⁰⁶

Some Australian poems, then, were acceptable in schools, others were not. It was true of all genres of literature. In the category of acceptable came "Nature poems", defined by George Dart as "bright, cheery, humanising, and vitalising", and concerned with

birds and other animal life, flowers,
trees, streams, hills and dales, the
golden sunshine and bright moonlight,
the pattering rain and healthful
breezes,

as well as "noble deeds of men, women, and children". These were the poems "with which the youthful mind should be fed,"²⁰⁷ he thought.

²⁰⁴The Public Instruction Gazette 25 November 1907, p. 118.

²⁰⁵William Shakespeare Reay was born in 1861, began teaching in 1876, and became an Inspector in 1901.

²⁰⁶The Public Instruction Gazette 31 March 1910, p. 80

²⁰⁷The Public Instruction Gazette 31 March 1913, p. 63

In other words, Nature poems which included people were as suitable as pure Nature poems provided they had an equally uplifting influence on children. This criterion excluded most of the bush ballads.

It is true that the bush balladists were well represented in the Publications Received section of the Public Instruction Gazette. Victor Daley, John Farrell, Barcroft Boake, A.B. Paterson, George Essex Evans, Will Ogilvie, Henry Lawson, and Will Lawson - all were favourably mentioned in the Gazette's literary reviews at one time or another. But nothing by Henry Lawson ever appeared in the Commonwealth School Paper, and in his book of 1914 Donald Fraser was able to write that "in many of our school-libraries one finds not one Australian book by an Australian author".²⁰⁸ It seems that before the first world war most Australian literature was too radical and too recent to be considered suitable for school-children. As adults, teachers could enjoy bush ballads without being influenced by their working-class values, but their pupils were to be given wholesome literature until they were mature enough to see the "coarser metal" for what it really was. That was the difference between Dorothea Mackellar and Henry Lawson as far as the schools were concerned. Her poem "My Country" was greeted by the Commonwealth School Paper in 1909 as "One of the best poems about Australia that has ever been written."²⁰⁹ Perhaps too, they were Lawson's short stories referred to by the writer in the Gazette who said that Australian boys had had "very little choice outside the

²⁰⁸ Fraser p. 121.

²⁰⁹ Commonwealth School Paper, February 1909, p. 86.

Australian Deadwood Dick type of literature" and (here the writer was certainly not meaning Lawson) "the wishy-washy, goody-goody copy-book - headline style of story". He was reviewing what he considered one of the "few wholesome and inspiring books" with an authentic Australian setting : Fals, by the Rev. Joseph Bowes, which told the story of "healthy, adventure-loving Australian lads, full of fun and frolic" spending their holidays in the bush. The "breezy, open-air" tale of "their adventures through fire and flood, their encounters with bushrangers and blacks, their gold-digging, and cave-exploring and wild brumby hunting expeditions" caught the "spirit of all healthy, happy, robust boyhood" with its "adventurous heroic feelings". The book gave an "outlet" to these feelings in a literary way, just as the growing Boy Scout movement channelled them to the cause of "national welfare", he wrote. He could also have mentioned the Rural Camp Schools. The girls' need for wholesome books about Australia had been filled admirably, he believed, by Ethel Turner.²¹⁰

A few other portrayals of bush life were acceptable in schools, as shown by the results of a survey conducted by the Department of Public Instruction in which teachers in bigger schools throughout New South Wales were asked to list which books their pupils most liked to read. The most striking feature of the results tabulated in the Gazette as "Books for School Libraries"²¹¹ was the paucity of Australian literature. Of the Australian books, some of the most

²¹⁰ The Public Instruction Gazette 30 November 1909, p. 404.

²¹¹ The Public Instruction Gazette 15 October 1913, pp. 307-308.

popular ~~were~~ set in the bush, were written by Amy E. Mack, Ethel Pedley, and Ethel Turner - all women - and were wholesome. Louise Mack was also popular : she wrote wholesomely about Australian school life in the city.

A change may have been under way by about 1914. In that year the Gazette²¹² informed teachers of a series of lectures on Australian authors by A.G. Stephens, a former literary editor of the Bulletin and an Australian nationalist of the fiercely anti-imperialistic kind.²¹³ It marked the beginning of respectability for writers like Lawson, Dyson, and Paterson. Now that they were losing their popularity to the even less literary poetry of C.J. Dennis, who published his first larrikin verse in 1909,²¹⁴ their works could be safely lectured on to teachers under the title of "Evenings with Australian Authors" and heard safely by the delicate ears of schoolchildren. Even Donald Fraser, who meant by "Australian writers" the radical as well as the wholesome ones, thought greater recognition was given to their books in his inspectorial district of South Newcastle in 1914.²¹⁵

The way for this change had already been prepared by the new view of nature which came into the schools after 1904. As part of education by the self-activity of the child, the new subject of Nature

²¹² June 1914, p. 187.

²¹³ S.E. Lee, "The Bulletin - J.F. Archibald and A.G. Stephens", in Geoffrey Dutton, ed., The Literature of Australia, Penguin Books 1964, p. 284.

²¹⁴ Edgar Waters, "Ballads and Popular Verse", in Dutton, p. 270.

²¹⁵ The Public Instruction Gazette 1 June 1915, p. 125.

Study was taught in the school garden and in the bush ; as an element in education for character, it was a character-building subject ; as the subject-matter, Nature herself was inherently virtuous and conferred moral benefits upon those who pressed themselves close to her during Nature Study lessons, or on Arbor Day, Wattle Day, and Bird Day, or at the Rural Camp School. Nature's principal haunt was in the wild Australian bush of trees, flowers, and birds, with all its "sweetness and freshness and bigness",²¹⁶ which children were taught to love, respect, and be proud of. And as the other bush - of wild bushmen - faded from disquieting reality into respectable legend, children were taught to be proud of that too.

²¹⁶Fraser, p. 95.

Chapter III

EMPIRE DAY

As His Excellency Sir Harry Rawson, Governor of New South Wales, passed through the gates of the Woollahra Public School, Sydney, on the morning of 24 May 1905, the school drum and fife band struck up the national anthem.¹ It was the first Empire Day in Australia and Woollahra Public School was the first school in New South Wales at which the State governor was to perform the ceremony of unfurling the flag.² After he had replied to a welcome from the Mayor, His Excellency responded to the invitation of Mrs. Hugh Dixon, President of the Women's Branch³ of the British Empire League in Australia, and ran the flag to the truck. The children cheered. In the speech which followed, he spoke about "the flag" - the Union Jack - which the Women's Branch had given to the school. It stood for liberty, and Australians could be just as proud of its glories as any other descendants of the Empire. His Excellency wanted the children to be as proud of it as he was, who had served under it for 48 years, and to remember that the most important part of the Australian flag was the Union Jack in the corner.

¹ This account of the first Empire Day in Sydney comes from EN 24 May 1905.

² Empire Day. Programme. New South Wales 24th May, 1905. Signed by J.H. Carruthers, Premier.

³ Established in 1905.

At the Victoria Barracks in Sydney that morning, three thousand children from the Paddington Public schools listened to Brigadier-General Gordon explain the meaning of Empire Day. On this day, they learnt, each one clutching a little flag, "a great nation" was gathering to celebrate the fact that it was "the greatest nation in the world". The girls' task in keeping it great was to have purity, nobility, and love of home ; the boys' was to act justly, fairly, and squarely at all times.

At Waterloo Public School in the inner suburbs the local Mayor spoke, two of the aldermen sang patriotic songs, and the cadets fired volleys as the Union Jack was unfurled in the school grounds. Later there was a sports meeting. At both Parramatta South Superior Public School and Double Bay Superior Public School, pupils saluted the flag as it was run out. Parramatta children were then treated to a picnic and those at Double Bay to sweets and buns followed by amusements which occupied the rest of the day.

Besides the schools' celebrations, there were also a Mayoral Banquet at the Sydney Town Hall, a merchants' gathering at the Royal (or stock) Exchange, and a service at St. Andrew's Anglican Cathedral attended by the Governor-General of Australia, Lord Northcote, and Lady Northcote. Workers at the Redfern railway shed decorated it with a sign saying "One flag, one people, one throne, one Empire. Britons hold your own".

Writing his memoirs a quarter of a century later,⁴

⁴Fourscore Years and Seven, Sydney, 1934.

Archdeacon F.P. Boyce⁵ looked back on the first Empire Day with pride. It had been celebrated, he thought, with fervour and enthusiasm, and most of the prominent public men of the time had been in attendance at the Mayoral banquet. He remembered especially the speech given on that occasion by Bruce Smith,⁶ M.P., who had "paid a flattering tribute" to Boyce's work for the Empire Day movement by saying that it made his name a prominent one in Australian history. This tribute to him Boyce had considered "undeserved", but he had appreciated it nevertheless, and he now remembered also that the Daily Telegraph had at that time called him "the pioneer of the movement in the Commonwealth."⁷

Archdeacon Boyce was justified in emphasising his part in starting Empire Day in Australia, for he had been first president of the organisation most active in advocating an Empire Day, the British

⁵ Francis Bertie Boyce (1844-1931) was born in England, and came to Sydney with his parents at an early age. After working in the Union Bank of Australia he began his life's work as an Anglican priest. For 46 years he was at St. Paul's, Redfern, in Sydney. He was made a canon of St. Andrew's Cathedral in 1899, and Archdeacon of West Sydney in 1910. He actively advocated temperance, slum reform, and old-age pensions, as well as Empire Day. (The Australian Encyclopedia Angus and Robertson, Sydney, London, Melbourne, Wellington 1958 Vol II, p. 89).

⁶ Bruce Smith was born in 1851. He qualified as a barrister in England and returned to Australia, where he entered public life as an M.L.A. in New South Wales in 1882. He was a member of the House of Representatives in the first Federal Parliament, and opposed the Immigration Restriction Bill. His publications included Liberty and Liberalism. (The Cyclopaedia of N.S.W. (illustrated). An Historical and Commercial Review. An Epitome of Progress. New South Wales : 1907, pp. 121-122).

⁷ Boyce, Four score Years and Seven, p. 118.

Empire League in Australia, which had been established in Sydney in 1901.⁸ The original British Empire League was formed in England in 1895, under royal patronage, as an association to further the unity of the Empire.⁹ There had been an Empire Day in Canada since 1899,¹⁰ but it was Reginald Brabazon, the twelfth Earl of Meath,¹¹ who first made the idea popular. In 1902 he suggested an Empire Day on which the first few hours would be devoted to teaching children about the Empire and the rest to a holiday.¹² From Sydney the following year Canon Boyce "wrote to all the leading papers in the dominions"¹³ and to The Times in London suggesting a full holiday for everyone in the Empire on which the

outlying parts might have their hearts stirred in contemplating the glorious traditions of England, the mother of nations, while she in her turn would recognize the vitality and enterprise of her vigorous children,

⁸ Ibid., p. 112.

⁹ Australian Country Life. An Illustrated Monthly, 24 May 1911, p. 10. This was published in Sydney from April 1906 to December 1911. In the first issue, the editors declared that they intended to combine in Australian Country Life the features of both a magazine and a news journal and to include articles about the wool, grain, and stock markets, a "Lady's Page", original poems, sketches, and short stories, articles on "matters of serious import to Australia and the Empire...", and news stories. (Vol. I No. I Sydney 2 April 1906, p. 5). The magazine stood firmly for the Imperial connection.

¹⁰ Boyce, p. 114.

¹¹ Born 31 July 1841, educated at Eton. He became a second secretary in the Diplomatic Service, and was Chancellor of the Royal University of Ireland 1902-1906; made a Privy Councillor in 1887 and a Knight of St. Patrick in 1905. (Debrett's Peerage, Baronetage, Knightage, and Companionship. Revised by the Nobility and Aristocracy London 1908, p. 615).

¹² Australian Country Life 24 May 1911, pp. 15-16.

¹³ Boyce, p. 115.

and on which "patriotism would be aroused and a common love for the the Empire strengthened". Most people, he thought, knew "the value of anniversaries and commemorations in sustaining action". They had only to look at the celebration of Independence Day in the United States. On the precise date for the day, Canon Boyce was fully in agreement with the Earl of Meath. It should be May 24, Queen Victoria's birthday, which people had recently ^{begun} ~~been~~ calling Victoria Day.¹⁴ "The great extension of the Empire in her reign" was by itself enough to justify linking her memory with a celebration of Empire. Canon Boyce was confident that Empire Day, "circling the earth with Britain's drumbeat", would help to keep the race united, and he was insistent that Empire Day be observed by all people, not by school children alone.¹⁵

The agitation of the British Empire League was rewarded with partial success in 1905. When the League asked the Premier of New South Wales, Sir Joseph Carruthers, to bring forward the matter of Empire Day at the 1905 Premiers' Conference, it discovered that he had already acted to do so.¹⁶ The Premiers officially recognised the observance of the day throughout Australia by both adults and children from 24 May 1905,¹⁷ but there was to be no general holiday.

In practice this meant that Empire Day was a day mainly for schools and school children, although the British Empire League strove

¹⁴ Australian Country Life, 24 May 1911, p. 15.

¹⁵ Boyce, pp. 115-117.

¹⁶ Boyce, p. 117.

¹⁷ Australian Country Life 24 May 1911, p. 14

to realise its aim of a universal celebration by calling for patriotic gatherings of citizens on Empire Day, public luncheons, Empire Day church services, and concerts with songs "of a British and patriotic character".¹⁸ Again it saw its aims partially fulfilled. In the city of Sydney, the merchants' celebration at the Royal Exchange and the Empire Day service at St. Andrew's Cathedral appear to have been annual events from the beginning. On Empire Day, 1909, "several thousand loyal citizens" took part in a patriotic demonstration in Martin Place. From the top of a lorry, Canon Boyce reminded them that "they were all there to say as patriots, "We will do our duty."¹⁹ The following year there was a large crowd in Martin Place on Empire Day, singing patriotic songs and listening to patriotic speeches.²⁰ In country areas there were Empire Day church services : at Bathurst on the western slopes there was a united Protestant service held at All Saints' Cathedral on Empire Day 1906 ;²¹ on the Sunday before Empire Day 1908,²² churches held special services in the Taree district of the north coast, at Blackheath on the Blue Mountains, at Cootamundra in the south of the State, at Muswellbrook in the Hunter Valley, at

¹⁸ These suggestions were made by the League's committee for the celebration of Empire Day in a circular letter sent to "The Commonwealth Prime Minister, to the State Premiers, the Ministers of Education, the Chief Justice, Commandants, Archbishops, Bishops, heads of Churches, Mayors of cities and of the principal towns, shipping agencies, bank managers, presidents of Trades Halls," as well as newspaper editors and others. (EN 11 May 1907, and SMH 15 May 1907).

¹⁹ EN 24 May 1909.

²⁰ EN 24 May 1910.

²¹ EN 25 May 1906.

²² 1908 examples are from SMH 26 May 1908.

Bulli on the south coast where the Presbyterians conducted a "military service", at Liverpool near Sydney, at Lismore on the far north coast, and at a number of other centres as well. Businessmen at Parkes on the western plains observed Empire Day 1908 "as a public holiday", and citizens of Bingara in northern New South Wales held a cricket match, "ladies ^{vs.} and gentlemen". On the evening of Empire Day 1909 there was a woolshed ball at Mr. John M'Eugh's property at Spring Gully, Bundarra, not far from Bingara, and at Murrurundi north-west of Newcastle there was a concert and a dance.²³

Despite these examples of citizens' participation in Empire Day, the great majority of those who took part each year were not adults but children. In most places adults led the celebrations - teachers, clergymen, and aldermen predominated - but it was for the children that the celebrations were organised. An Evening News article of 1907 described what was to become the characteristic pattern of Empire Day observance :

The day will not be observed as a public holiday, but the schools will all be closed, and as after all the minds of children are more likely to be plastic to receive deep impression than those of older people, it is fitting that the greater share of attention should be paid to them.²⁴

This was particularly true of the Sydney suburbs and of Newcastle, where the "chief and almost only celebrations of Empire Day" in 1908 were at the different schools,²⁵ and where interest in the day in 1909

²³ EN 24 May 1909

²⁴ SME 15 May 1907

²⁵ SME 26 May 1908

"was practically confined to the school children."²⁶ It is significant that when there were no official celebrations organised by the State government in 1910 and 1911 - because of the death of Edward VII and the coronation of George V - most schools continued to observe the day as normal. As the illustrated monthly Australian Country Life said in 1911, the Government considered "the customary functions in the public schools" a sufficient observance of the day.²⁷

The essential message of Empire Day was well expressed during the inaugural celebration at Woollahra Public School in 1905, by Canon Boyce's successor as President of the British Empire League, Mr. Bruce Smith, M.P. "You have all heard the cry, 'Australia for the Australians'," he said, in reference to the republican Sydney Bulletin, "Well I tell you to-day that the cry should be 'Australia for the Empire'."²⁸ Which of these two slogans the Public schools put first had never been in doubt. The Australia of socialists, republicans, and bush-balladists had made little impact on them. Their Australia was respectable, standing loyal to the Empire and reading "proper" literature. The message of Empire Day was familiar to pupils long before 1905. Pupils had always been taught that the British race was the most powerful, wealthy, enterprising, and civilised race in the world,²⁹ and that as citizens of Greater Britain

²⁶ EN 24 May 1909.

²⁷ 24 May, 1911, p. 16.

²⁸ EN 24 May 1905.

²⁹ Brooks's Commercial Geography of the World and Geography of the British Empire for Fifth Class, Sydney and Brisbane, 3rd ed. 1901, p. 49.

they owed allegiance and loyalty to the glorious Empire of which it was a part. But Empire Day nonetheless brought something new to the schools by making one schoolday different from all the rest, and by making that difference a memorable one in the children's experience. According to the first instructions about Empire Day for the Public school teachers, published in May 1905, its aim was to make children proud of what the British people had achieved and to "increase the groundwork of knowledge on which an intelligent patriotism may be based."³⁰ The memorandum was signed by the newly-appointed Director of Education, Peter Board.

The kind of patriotism that seemed intelligent to Mr. Board, however, was considered stupid and dangerous by the editors of the Bulletin, for whom it was incompatible with genuine loyalty to Australia. As the Bulletin said a few days before the first Empire Day,³¹ children would "mark this official feast-day of St. Jingo" by singing "hymns of blood and battle, in glory of a country which is not their own" and would therefore learn "to neglect and despise the land which is their heritage and trust". As soon as patriotism was identified with the British Empire in the mind of the Australian child - the Empire of Jingo ideals - it was dissociated from a love for Australia. In the Bulletin's view, the Jingo-Imperialists who supported Imperial objects like Empire Day consisted of "Tories, "snobs", and "sweaters", as well as a few sincere but foolish men. Their leaders

³⁰ New South Wales Educational Gazette 2 May 1905, p. 282. With minor differences, these instructions appeared in the Public Instruction Gazette 28 April 1906, p. 78.

³¹ 18 May, 1905.

were anti-Australian because British Imperialism "with its ideals of war, conquest, pillage, and servile labor" stood for all that was opposed to Australia's best interests. True Australian nationalism espoused democratic equality, higher wages, and socialist measures.

There was no such conflict seen in the Public Schools. The motto of the children in his district, wrote Senior-Inspector A.D. McKenzie³² of Wollongong in his report for 1909, was "Loyalty to the Empire ; Love for their Native Land".³³ Loyalty to both Australia and the Empire was what the Public schools meant by patriotism. Empire Day was the occasion for fostering it. Thus instructions about Empire Day issued to teachers in 1908 pointed out that the children's "duty and allegiance to their own country should be the centre round which will gather their best service to the Empire,"³⁴ and similar instructions of 1911 made clear that although the general aim of the celebration was to teach older pupils about the great events in British history, to put clearly before them great British ideals, and to imbue them with a permanent sense of loyalty and responsibility to the great Empire whose citizens they were to be, Empire Day would be a failure if it did not also encourage them to become useful, worthy citizens of Australia.³⁵ The original instructions of 1905 had recommended that both British and Australian flags

³²Archibald Daniel McKenzie : born 24 October 1854 ; first appointed to the teaching service in 1872 ; appointed an Inspector in 1893.

³³The Public Instruction Gazette 30 June 1910, p. 199.

³⁴The Public Instruction Gazette 30 March 1908, p. 262: "Empire Day" - Circular No. 18.

³⁵The Public Instruction Gazette 31 March 1911, p. 95 : "Empire Day" - Circular No. 32.

be flown at schools. In 1907 the Evening News reported that "all public schools" had done so,³⁶ doubtless an exaggeration but an indication of what was done at many schools in the State. In 1908, at Casino on the far north coast of New South Wales the ceremony included the unfurling of the national flags at the Town Hall.³⁷ At Harden in the south-west that year, the Mayor's daughter unfurled the Union Jack and the Federal flag.³⁸ At Millthorpe in the Bathurst district children saluted both flags in the school playground.³⁹ The only flag to be honoured at many ceremonies, it is true, was the Union Jack, but the only one at others was the Federal flag.⁴⁰ The same double character applied to songs. "Patriotic songs", a feature of most celebrations, were both Australian and British. The patriotic songs sung at the 1910 celebration at Mosman Superior Public School in the suburbs of Sydney, for example, were Rule Britannia, Australians All, Advance Australia Fair, and The Flag of Australia.⁴¹ Cheers given at the Marenburn Public School in North Sydney on Empire Day 1906

³⁶ 24 May 1907.

³⁷ SMH 26 May 1908.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ SMH 26 May 1908.

⁴⁰ Take for example country celebrations in 1908 as reported in the Sydney Morning Herald. In at least twenty-two country towns that year only the Union Jack was raised. Probably there were many more, because the reports consistently referred to the raising of "the flag", no doubt meaning the Union Jack. In another four - Binnaway, Cessnock, Eden, and Singleton - only the Commonwealth flag was hoisted aloft. Again there were probably more towns where Empire celebrations took this form (SMH 26 May 1908).

⁴¹ EM 24 May 1910.

were not only for "the King", "the Empire", and "the Visitors", but also for "Australia".⁴² As Sir Harry Rawson said at his first Empire Day ceremony, Australians were quite right to be proud of the Australian flag, while remembering that the Empire came first.⁴³ At Bathurst in 1909, the Empire Day ceremony itself was an expression of this double loyalty to country and Empire. It took the form of laying the foundation-stone of a memorial to local men who had fought in the Boer War, where, as the Mayor said, the Australian soldiers had shown "by their undaunted courage and resourcefulness" that they were fit "to rank with the first in the grim perils of actual war." Now the Bathurst soldiers were to have their names passed on "with honor" to future generations of Australians on a monument which would show "a soldier at the 'Ready'." The Mayor's wish was that this should stand both for the honour given to the soldiers and for Australia's "readiness" to serve the Empire.⁴⁴ Even this Empire Day observance, used to glorify Australian men-in-arms, brought the 1,500 schoolchildren who took part no closer to the larrikin nationalism of the Bulletin. They were taught that the glory of the Australian soldier lay in what he was ready to do for the Empire as much as in the honour he had brought to his native land.

The patriotism of the Public Schools and Empire Day, then, was

⁴²EN 25 May 1906.

⁴³EN 24 May 1905.

⁴⁴EN 24 May 1909.

different from that of the Bulletin tradition. It was also different from that of the Catholics. The sufferings of the Irish and the Utopian visions of Australian republicans were equally unknown in the Public Schools, where the Empire had always meant progress and light.

The attitude of the Catholic Church towards Empire Day was declared at the first Catholic Educational Conference of New South Wales, held at St. Mary's Cathedral, Sydney, in January 1911, which brought together teaching priests and nuns from all over the State.⁴⁵ A motion was passed calling upon teachers in Catholic schools "to celebrate with befitting splendour St. Patrick's Day", in order that Catholic children might recognize how much they owed to Ireland's National Apostle, and establishing the celebration of "Australia Day", "under the auspices of Our Lady, Help of Christians", to be held on 24 May "as a help to the cultivation of the patriotic spirit".⁴⁶ It was unfortunate, said the Very Reverend Father M.J. O'Reilly, C.M., of St. Stanislaus' College, Bathurst, that in Australia patriotism seemed to be identified with the efforts of the British Empire League and that the League taught children to love England instead of Australia. First of all, "everything that was best and noblest in Australia was Irish" and while Australia lacked a tradition of her own, Catholics "had to look to the traditions of Ireland, from which their children mostly sprung."

That was why St. Patrick's Day should be celebrated in every Catholic

⁴⁵Catholic Educational Conference of New South Wales 17-20 January, 1911 Statement. Resolutions Proceedings. William Brooks & Co., Ltd., Sydney, 1911, p. 22.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 16.

school with as great enthusiasm as possible and why "the sacred fire enkindled" on that day should be kept alive for the rest of the year. Secondly, "children should be taught to love the country of their birth, which was the essential idea of patriotism". Hence the need for a patriotic festival primarily Australian in character (although not divorced from the glories of Empire) which would encourage youthful patriotism and answer those who said Catholics were unpatriotic. This, he suggested, would best be held on 24 May, the Feast of Our Lady Help of Christians, and should be called "Australian Day".⁴⁷ The ageing Cardinal Moran, only seven months from his death, also spoke in support of the notion. He was well qualified to do so. Since coming to Australia in 1864, he had dedicated his life both to the proper education of Catholic children and to the cause of what Patrick Ford calls "Christian patriotism",⁴⁸ based on loyalty to the Church, to Ireland, and to Australia. In 1896 he had supported a movement to revivify the "celebration of St. Patrick's Day as a religious, national festival" and to set up an Irish Rifle Corps in New South Wales.⁴⁹ Now in 1911 he called for the same Irish-Australian patriotic feeling. Australians, he said, should be proud both of Australia's own "glorious destiny" and of the "Celtic traditions", since

Australia's faith was engrafted on the faith of the grand old Celtic race, which had suffered, fought, bled and triumphed for the faith ...

⁴⁷Catholic Educational Conference Proceedings, pp. 30-31.

⁴⁸Cardinal Moran and the A.L.P., M.U.P., 1966, p. 183.

⁴⁹Ibid, p. 184.

St. Patrick's Day united "children and their parents in the enthusiasm of religion and nationality", and Australia Day would do the same because it was on the Feast of Our Lady, the Chief Patroness of the Australian Church. As for Empire Day, many of its supporters were "avowed enemies of the Catholic Church, and were identical with those who advocated Primrose Day in England." Empire Day was discredited, ^{thought} he taught, and "even the public schools had a difficulty in allowing flags to be unfurled." ⁵⁰

Although the Public schools and Catholic schools were disagreed on the meaning of true patriotism, the institution of Australia Day in 1911 reflected the success of Empire Day rather than its failure. At least in 1908, some Catholic schools in rural areas of the State had joined in celebrating Empire Day. At Albury on the Victorian border, Grafton on the north coast, Gunning on the southern tablelands, and Dubbo on the western plains, there were united Empire Day demonstrations by children from both Public and Catholic schools. At Albury and Dubbo non-Catholic private schools joined in as well. At Camden, forty miles from Sydney, the Mayor attended an Empire Day function at St. Joseph's Convent. The Catholic school at Cessnock, near Newcastle, followed Public school custom with an Empire Day picnic, and St. Xavier's school at Moree in northern New South Wales organised a patriotic concert. At Wellington on the western slopes pupils of the Catholic school listened to an Empire Day speech by Monsignor Long.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Catholic Educational Conference. Proceedings, p. 38

⁵¹ SMH 26 May 1908.

These celebrations by Catholic schools testify to the social pressure on Catholics to show their loyalty to the Empire like everyone else, especially in small interdependent communities like country towns. So too does Australia Day. Beneath the Catholics' brave rhetoric lay the fear that they would be thought unpatriotic. As Father M.J. O'Reilly said at the Catholic Educational Conference, Australia Day "would be a magnificent answer to the calumniators" who taunted Catholics for "want of public spirit, isolation of policy, and want of patriotism."⁵²

The patriotism of Australia Day took two forms, corresponding to the ambivalent desire of the Catholics to be both loyal to their traditions and accepted as loyal by other Australians. The first was a strident expression of confidence in the Catholics' own conception of true patriotism. As the headline in the Sydney Morning Herald of 25 May 1911, said of the first Australia Day: "NO UNION JACK FLOWN". Instead, St. Mary's Cathedral flew the flags of Ireland and Australia, symbols of Irish-Australian patriotism. The celebration by 400 children in the Cardinal's Hall also emphasised religious loyalty, in the singing of a hymn to the "Lady of Our Help", and in Cardinal Moran's address, where he spoke of the dark races in the Pacific waiting to receive the benefits of Christian civilisation. But even Cardinal Moran had to justify Australian patriotism in Imperial terms, pointing out that by developing Australia Australians were really preparing a

⁵² Catholic Educational Conference. Proceedings, p. 31.

new era of splendour for the Empire which would surpass even its former greatness.⁵³

This defensive posture was adopted also by Cardinal Moran's successor, Archbishop Kelly, who spoke to more than three thousand Catholic pupils from the metropolitan area at St. Mary's Cathedral on Australia Day, May 24, 1913. Only children were allowed inside the Cathedral to take part in the ceremony, which was in the form of a Mass. Archbishop Kelly spoke to the children about Catholic loyalty to the Empire. He asked them :

"Do we believe in the fidelity of the people people who go about shouting Empire Day?" ...

"No", replied the children.

"We leave it to themselves and the newspapers," he went on. "We tell them that we won't go shouting about the streets, but we are not second to them in our service to the Empire."

During the Boer War, he said, it had been a young bugler from Dublin who had faithfully played his bugle even though one of his hands had been blown off. He had held his bugle in the other hand. The help given by Catholics and Ireland to the Empire in that war had been recognised by Queen Victoria, and by the Australian people, who had made St. Patrick's Day a holiday for a short while. But it had not been in their interest to do much for Catholics :

"There must be another war, and you must go again to their relief, before they will recognise that, with our genuine, sterling independence and patriotism, we will defend the British Empire, and that it does not rest with those who go about shrieking 'Empire !' "⁵⁴

⁵³SMH 25 May 1911.

⁵⁴EN 24 May 1913.

Here, then, were Catholic children being taught that they must fight for the British Empire in a future war, and being taught it in a children's ceremony on May 24 which included unfurling the flag, patriotic songs, a procession led by a band, and a free lunch. It was almost as respectable and loyal to the Empire as Empire Day itself. Empire Day had helped to create a social climate in which it was suspect not to make public displays of patriotism, especially in schools.

There were resemblances too in the methods used by Catholic and Public schools to encourage patriotism : the Catholic schools overtly linked religion and patriotism ; less overtly the Public schools did the same.

Before children participated in the crystallising act of Empire Day came a year of learning about the Empire in ordinary lessons. It was the teacher who bore much of the task of imparting patriotism because, as an official circular about Empire Day in 1910 said, the "permanent significance of Empire Day to the pupils must rest mainly on the regular instruction given throughout the year"⁵⁵. Added to this the following year⁵⁶ was the official requirement that teachers devote History and Civics lessons in May to Empire Day purposes. Some idea of what was taught in these lessons may be gained from an examination of the literature available to teachers. In 1907, for example, the official Public Instruction Gazette published an

⁵⁵The Public Instruction Gazette 30 April 1910, p. 126 : "Empire Day", Circular No. 21.

⁵⁶The Public Instruction Gazette 31 March 1911, p. 95 : "Empire Day", Circular No. 32.

open letter about the Empire Day Movement from the Earl of Meath in which he called for a moral form of training in all schools and suggested a programme for Empire Day. The moral training included developing children's patriotism, their obedience to authority and self-sacrifice in the interests of the community, as well as preparing them to perform all duties which the State might be likely to require from them either in peace or in war. This training was to occur on a systematic daily basis.⁵⁷

How the broad aims of the movement were related to Empire Day was explained in a pamphlet reviewed by the Public Instruction Gazette in April 1909 called Empire Day in Australia.⁵⁸ It was by an "Old Public School Boy", and was published by the British Empire League. It deserved "more than passing notice", according to its reviewer, especially as Empire Day was approaching and teachers and others would be looking for suitable lessons for the day.⁵⁹ It included the words and music of patriotic songs and information about the composition of flags, as well as extracts from the Earl of Meath who the author thought was the best person to explain the "extremely pretty, appropriate, and national conception"⁶⁰ of Empire Day. The ultimate aim of the movement, said the Earl of Meath, was

to advance, not only the interests of the
British Empire, but the cause of righteousness
and the general happiness of the human race.

⁵⁷The Public Instruction Gazette 25 April 1907, p. 377.

⁵⁸Empire Day in Australia, by an "Old Public School Boy". Ross Brothers, Ltd., 545 and 547 Kent Street, Sydney. It was published in 1908 or 1909.

⁵⁹The Public Instruction Gazette 30 April 1909, p. 99.

⁶⁰Empire Day in Australia, under the heading "The Objects of Empire Day".

This was to be done by the people of the British Empire showing the world "how righteousness exalteth a nation," which was only possible if they were "united in very deed and truth" and if the Empire were kept free from the canker of "internal decay", the traditional cause of the decline of Empires. As history showed, such decay grew out of "Spiritual and moral atrophy in the body politic", the "growth of enervating luxury and the spirit of selfishness", and ignorance of public affairs. All these must be arrested in time by one great act of education every year which would impress noble and elevating ideas about the Empire on the minds of the young, and which could be held on no more appropriate day than 24 May, the birthday of the "late revered and lamented Sovereign, Queen Victoria", during whose glorious reign "liberty and freedom, prosperity and wealth" and "righteous and equitable government" had grown and grown as her dominions were extended, until the British Empire became universally admired by its friends, feared by its enemies, and envied by the world.⁶¹ The Earl of Meath spoke in a spirit of humility. Previously he had suggested the recitation of Rudyard Kipling's Jubilee Recessional Ode ("Lest we forget !") at Empire Day ceremonies in order to prevent "the subtle approach" of any spirit of national pride which did not see the good in other peoples.⁶² Now he reiterated that it was not a time to boast of Empire, glorious though it was, but a time to realise that "the blessings which an all-wise and all-knowing Providence" had seen

⁶¹ Empire Day in Australia : under the heading "The Objects of Empire Day".

⁶² Public Instruction Gazette 25 April, 1907, pp. 377-378.

fit to bestow upon the people of the British Empire might "take unto themselves wings and fly to other nations" if those people were to prove unworthy of the trust reposed in them.⁶³ Not only the Earl of Meath but also the Department of Public Instruction warned teachers against using the celebration for glorifying the British race at the expense of other peoples.⁶⁴ As circular No. 32 of 1911 said, comparisons with other races should not seek to depreciate their importance but should hint at the time -

"When man to man, the world o'er
Shall brothers be for a' that." ⁶⁵

But ^{Meath} it was from the Earl of ~~Heath~~ alone that teachers could learn about the highest aspirations of the Empire Day movement : that Empire Day was designed to regenerate the moral and spiritual life of the Empire by so ennobling its "youths and maidens" with high ideals that they would have "an almost incalculable effect on the direction of public and private affairs" as they grew to maturity and would hasten the coming of "peace and goodwill between all men upon earth."⁶⁶

There was a further exposition of the Earl of Meath's view of Empire in a postcard Souvenir of Empire published for Empire Day and Coronation Day in 1911.⁶⁷ (Postage was a halfpenny in Australia

⁶³ Empire Day in Australia : first page of "The Objects of Empire Day".

⁶⁴ For example, the first Empire Day instructions published in the New South Wales Educational Gazette on May 2, 1905, p. 282, and repeated in The Public Instruction Gazette 28 April 1906, p. 78, and The Public Instruction Gazette 25 April 1907, pp. 376-377.

⁶⁵ Public Instruction Gazette, 31 March 1911, p. 95.

⁶⁶ Empire Day in Australia : under the heading "The Objects of Empire Day".

⁶⁷ A Souvenir of Empire, Compiled and Copyright Registered in the Commonwealth by T.W. Comyns.

and a penny to the rest of the world). It may have been one of the Empire Day postcards presented to infants of the Petersham Superior Public School in Sydney on Empire Day, 1911,⁶⁸ although it made no concessions to children's levels of comprehension. Empire Day, it explained, was based on four words, according to its founder, the Earl of Meath : Responsibility, Duty, Sympathy, and Self-Sacrifice, upon which were built fifteen "propositions" enjoined upon British citizens. The first was "Love and fear God". The others were

- 2, Honour the King ; 3, Obey the laws ;
- 4, Prepare to advance the highest interests of the Empire in peace and war ; 5, Cherish patriotism ; 6, Regard the rights of other nations ; 7, Learn citizenship ; 8, Follow duty ; 9, Consider duties before rights ;
- 10, Acquire knowledge ; 11, Think broadly ;
- 12, Practice discipline ; 13, Subdue self ;
- 14, Work for others ; 15, Consider the poor and the suffering.⁶⁹

This Empire Day equivalent of the Mosaic Decalogue described how the individual was to achieve the moral and spiritual regeneration symbolised by the Empire Day celebration, which was intended by the Earl of Meath to be what he called "the outward sign of an inner awakening of the peoples who constitute the British Empire to the serious duties which lie at their door."⁷⁰ It was to be, in other words, an Imperial sacrament. If teachers had not read of the sacramental conception of Empire Day in the writings of the Earl of Meath, they could read it in the official Public Instruction Gazette

⁶⁸SMI 25 May 1911.

⁶⁹A Souvenir of Empire : under the heading : "Whence Came Empire Day?"

⁷⁰Ib.d.

of June 1911, where ~~Mr.~~ Senior-Inspector W.G. Thomas⁷¹ of the Armidale District called Empire Day "an outward and visible sign of the inward and spiritual grace of patriotism."⁷²

Other literature about Empire Day also depicted it as a religious festival in which patriotic and religious belief went together. In Empire Day, published in Perth in 1906, T.W. Comyns prefaced his description of "Victoria the Good" with an Old Testament text traditionally applied by Christians to Jesus Christ. Here it was applied to Queen Victoria :

"Thou hast loved righteousness and hated
iniquity : wherefore God, even thy God,
hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness
above thy fellows". - Psalm xlv. 8.⁷³

He ended with an unbiblical, but equally religious, tribute to Queen Victoria, "beautifully expressed" by "an American writer" :

Men will hold her name in honour through
finite time ; and when the prayer that has
arisen in every part of our earth is answered,
when the Saint at the gate shall open the
way, and the voices beyond sing their welcome
in harmonies none of us can conceive, still
will ring on that word -
"VICTORIA !!!" 74

In his A Souvenir of Empire postcard, not merely a Queen but the Empire itself was presented in religious terms. Beneath pictures of three Union Jacks came the motto "FOR GOD, DUTY AND EMPIRE".

⁷¹William George Thomas, born 1853 ; first appointed to the teaching service in 1872 ; appointed an Inspector in 1889 and a Senior Inspector in 1903.

⁷²P. 200.

⁷³P. 2. The verse is Psalm xlv. 7. in the Authorised Version.

⁷⁴P. 3.

Beside another picture of a Union Jack, this time on a flagpole, was a poem apostrophising the "Lord God of our Imperial race" Who had ordained its dwelling-place to be from Britain to the utmost seas, and Who was now called upon to help the British fulfil their Empire's Mission for Him, so that they might

stand before the world upright,
A nation working righteousness.⁷⁵

When the Earl of Meath spoke directly to school children in his messages of 1912 and 1913 "To the Boys and Girls of the British Empire", published in the Commonwealth School Paper,⁷⁶ he made no specific reference to religion and emphasised his moral programme. The 1912 message was headed by the four basic Watchwords of Empire Day and reminded children of their great indebtedness to the British Empire, admonished them to be prepared to think, to labour, and to bear hardships for it in time of need, and wished them excellence in practising

Faith, Courage, Duty, Self-discipline,
Fair-dealing, Even Justice, Good Citizenship,
Loyalty, Patriotism, and Sympathy,

for from individual virtues such as these would flow a general elevation of the British character, strengthening of the British Empire, and consolidation of the British race.⁷⁷ In the 1913 message children read that it behoved each individual to prepare himself or herself for the due performance of the many and grave

⁷⁵A Souvenir of Empire under the heading "A Nation's Crison", by George Davidson Deeping.

⁷⁶Extracts from both of these messages were published in the Commonwealth School Paper, May 1914, p. 163.

⁷⁷Commonwealth School Paper May 1912, p. 145.

duties which accompanied citizenship of the Empire.⁷⁸ Although not explicitly religious, these messages called for nothing less than a Protestant morality applied to Empire : the need to obey the call of duty, to accept responsibility, and to practise self-denial. Sincere Protestant teachers and pupils would have found the Earl of Meath's dialectic of Empire Day a familiar one, in which only a few terms were different from the Christian message itself, for it was based on the faith that the world would be made over anew by the actions of individuals imbued with the right ideals. The sacrament which symbolised their personal ennoblement was Empire Day. The Kingdom they served was the British Empire.

The common practice was for Protestant clergymen to give patriotic addresses on Empire Day, and to hold special services. On Empire Day 1907 five clergymen spoke at Maremburn Public School in North Sydney, as well as the Mayor and an M.L.A.⁷⁹ The following year at Blayney, near Bathurst, the speakers for the Empire Day ceremony were all clergymen, an Anglican, a Presbyterian, and a Wesleyan.⁸⁰ At North Sydney Superior Public School on Empire Day 1911 children listened first to their teachers and then to special addresses of a patriotic character given by ministers from the Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Congregational churches.⁸¹ It was a pattern repeated at most schools.

⁷⁸ Commonwealth School Paper May 1913, p. 145.

⁷⁹ EN 24 May 1907.

⁸⁰ SMH 26 May 1908.

⁸¹ SMH 25 May 1911.

In Empire Day services Imperial patriotism was explicitly given a religious rationale. Behind the preacher at the special service in St. Andrew's Cathedral on Empire Day 1908 was a Union Jack⁸² given to the Women's Branch of the British Empire League by Lord Tredegar, who had

led the remnant of the gallant 600
"back from the jaws of death" in the
valiant charge of the Light Brigade.⁸³

The sermon was based on the text of Deuteronomy viii, 1 :

All the commandments which I command thee
this day shall ye observe to do, that ye
may live and multiply, and go in and
possess a land which the Lord swore unto
your fathers,

and the preacher "illustrated the lessons to be drawn from Empire Day from a religious standpoint." Hymns included the "Te Deum", "Lest We Forget", and "God Save the King".⁸⁴

The Empire Day movement encouraged patriotism not only by giving it religious significance, but also by disseminating the kind of information about the Empire in which children and others could take patriotic pride. In Empire Day, for example, T.W. Comyns recorded that "God Save the King" was sung in twenty languages, that Great Britain was worth ten thousand million pounds, that the Empire occupied the largest part of North America and that if it was only a mile across, it would traverse the entire world 450 times.⁸⁵ It was 53 times the

⁸²SMH 26 May 1908.

⁸³EN 25 May 1905.

⁸⁴SMH 26 May 1908.

⁸⁵Empire Day, Perth 1906, p. 15.

size of France, 52 times the size of Germany, $3\frac{1}{2}$ times the size of the United States, and three times the size of Europe, and included four continents, 10,000 islands, 500 promontories, and 2,000 rivers. The population of the British Empire, outside of the United Kingdom in 1906 was 350,000,000, of whom 20,000,000 were white. In 1800 it had been 100,000,000 with a mere 2,000,000 whites.⁸⁶ Teachers in Public Schools would have found this information useful for Empire Day lessons on "The extent of the Empire", which was the first of eleven "Suggested Topics for the Day" included in the original memorandum of the Department of Public Instruction.⁸⁷ This was reprinted in 1906⁸⁸ and 1907.⁸⁹ Only one of the topics dealt specifically with Australia, and that was "How Australia is connected with the Empire." The others dealt with the Empire itself - its glorious history of "great names" and "heroic deeds", "Its wide Commerce and varied Industries", "Its Navy. Its Merchant Fleet", the King as its head, and the Union Jack as its flag.⁹⁰ By 1911 the Department was suggesting topics more in keeping with the Australian aspect of Empire Day. Of twenty-one, ten concerned Australia, including "The Pioneers of the West", "Notable Australian explorers", "Australia : a land of peace, order, and freedom", "The ideal Australian citizen. Social Service", "The coming Australian Army and Navy", and more traditionally, "What Australia owes to the Motherland."⁹¹ The Department had always

⁸⁶T.W. Comyns, Empire Day, p. 19.

⁸⁷New South Wales Educational Gazette 2 May 1905, p. 282. "Memorandum to Teachers".

⁸⁸Public Instruction Gazette 28 April 1906, p. 78.

⁸⁹Public Instruction Gazette 25 April 1907, pp. 376-377.

⁹⁰Public Instruction Gazette, 28 April 1906, p. 78.

⁹¹Public Instruction Gazette 31 March 1911, p. 95.

intended Empire Day to make "patriotic Australians",⁹² but its intention was now made specific. The change reflected the growing pride in Australia's own nationhood which was expressed in schools after about 1910, in the celebration of Wattle Day, and in the acceptance of Australian history and literature.

* * * *

From the beginning most Empire Day celebrations in New South Wales assumed the basic form suggested by the Earl of Meath⁹³ and the Department of Public Instruction⁹⁴: a short morning ceremony followed by a holiday.

Almost invariably the ceremony included a patriotic address. Many had more than one: at Cocnamble on the north-western plains there were twelve Empire Day speeches in 1908.⁹⁵ To express the glory of the Empire and the virtue of patriotism, Empire Day speakers could do a number of things. They could appeal to the past. As Mr. James Dawson, Acting Director of Education, said to the children of Peter-sham Public Schools in Sydney's western suburbs on Empire Day 1911, the history of the British nation

was replete with brave, noble, and self-sacrificing deeds, and every page of national progress is adorned with the achievements of famous heroes,

⁹²Public Instruction Gazette 28 April, 1906. p. 78.

⁹³Public Instruction Gazette 25 April 1907, pp. 377-378, and Australian Country Life 24 May 1911, pp. 15-16.

⁹⁴In its instructions to teachers.

⁹⁵SLH 26 May 1908.

whose "noble examples of patriotism and personal worth" should be followed by the children.⁹⁶ Mr. Carmichael, the Minister for Public Instruction, also used history to draw a moral in his speech to pupils at Fort-Street School on Empire Day, 1912. Beneath national greatness, he said, lay British courage, and a grim determination and tenacity to never let go, as Great Britain had shown in her successive defeats of Spain, Holland, and France. These great Imperial principles now had to be practised by Australian schoolchildren if they were to build strongly the section of the House of Empire entrusted to them.⁹⁷ At Little Coogee Superior Public School, in the eastern suburbs of Sydney and in "Full view of the sun-kissed South Pacific", four hundred children gathered on Empire Day 1914 to hear about the gallant deeds of Britain's sailors and soldiers from speakers who included an old soldier in uniform.⁹⁸ Pupils of Bondi Superior Public School that year heard a piece of personal history used to make a point about the Empire: the Mayor of Waverley told them of the audience he had had with Queen Victoria in 1893, when she had given him an autographed photograph of herself, in order to show clearly to them "how the uttermost parts of the Empire were linked up by the bonds holding them to the Motherland".⁹⁹

Sometimes Empire Day speakers invoked both past and present in support of their arguments. Empires had existed from time immemorial, said Mr. W.H. Kelly, M.P., at the 1907 Paddington schools' demonstration,

⁹⁶SMH 25 May 1911.

⁹⁷EN 24 May 1912.

⁹⁸EN 25 May 1914.

⁹⁹EN 25 May, 1914.

but the present-day British Empire stood for generosity, for justice, and for prosperity.¹⁰⁰ Sir Harry Rawson's Empire Day address the following year to pupils of the Ashfield Superior Public School, five miles west of Sydney, dealt with the Union Jack, both its importance in history and what it stood for in the present : the Imperial defence of Australia.¹⁰¹

To be true to the purpose of Empire Day the Empire Day address also had to look to the future. In an Empire Day address on the words "Lest We Forget" in 1907, Professor Anderson Stuart pointed out to pupils of the Fort-Street Model School in Sydney that the

boys and girls of Australia were apt to forget, in regard to war, that what had been the lot of boys and girls on the other side of the world might be the Young Australians' lot sooner than they wished.¹⁰²

This prediction was a generalised one. Others were more specific about children's future responsibilities. A speaker at the 1907 Paddington schools' Empire Day expressed the hope ^{that} the boys in his audience would help to defend Australia when they grew up and that the "girls would keep the boys up to that".¹⁰³ At Mosman Superior Public School on Empire Day 1914 the Chief Justice told the boys, who were assembled apart from the girls, that he did not know that he had ever liked them so well as when he saw them standing straight and ready to fight for their country. The older boys, he said, had given a pledge

¹⁰⁰ EN 24 May 1907.

¹⁰¹ SMH 26 May 1908.

¹⁰² EN 24 May 1907.

¹⁰³ EN 24 May 1907.

in starting their military training.¹⁰⁴

These expectations were justified by one of the central ideas of Empire Day, the idea of Australia's obligation to the Empire, based on gratitude for all the benefits of the Imperial connection. As the children of the Ragged School at Surry Hills in Sydney were told on Empire Day 1911, the existence of the British nation was "a priceless boon" to all Australians.¹⁰⁵ At the Fort-Street Model School on that same day, pupils were given lessons emphasising how much Australia owed to the motherland both for trade and for defence.¹⁰⁶ On Empire Day 1914 Public School children assembled in the Petersham Town Hall in Sydney's western suburbs were told that to be good citizens of the Empire was a duty they owed to it.¹⁰⁷

Addresses were only part ^{of} the Empire Day ceremonial. Just as important were the rituals and displays in which children expressed their patriotic feeling. At the hoisting and unfurling of the flag, for example, which was the central symbolic act of many Empire Day ceremonies, children cheered, or saluted, or sang the National Anthem,¹⁰⁸ or marched past¹⁰⁹ and trooped the colours.¹¹⁰ The emphasis was on

¹⁰⁴EN 25 May 1914.

¹⁰⁵SMH 25 May 1911.

¹⁰⁶Ibid.

¹⁰⁷EN 25 May 1914.

¹⁰⁸As at Murrumbidgee Public School on the south coast, Empire Day 1908 (SMH 26 May 1908).

¹⁰⁹As at Fort-Street Model School on Empire Day 1911, when "boys and girls ... marched past the flagstaff, from which floated the national flag, saluting the colours as they drew abreast". (SMH, 25 May 1911).

¹¹⁰As at Waterloo in 1911 when some children saluted while others "trooped the colours" (SMH 25 May 1911). The colours were also trooped there at the celebration in 1912 (EN 24 May 1912).

military rituals. At Kogarah, a southern suburb of Sydney, on Empire Day 1908,¹¹¹ cadets fired a feu-de-joie and the children marched four abreast in a procession half a mile long through the streets. At Glen Innes on the northern tablelands, the celebration in 1908 included laying a wreath on the soldiers' memorial and forming a procession in which cadets and other school-children joined with the local band and mounted military. Two thousand children marched in West Maitland on the north coast that year; at Bathurst there were fifteen hundred marching; at Gundagai in southern New South Wales more than a thousand school-children marched in procession, headed by the band. The children of Singleton, north-west of Newcastle, carried flags and banners with patriotic designs and inscriptions as they marched behind the band and the cadets on their way to the show-ground.¹¹² For the 1910 celebration at the Cleveland-Street school in Sydney, the muster of children included not only cadets but members of other patriotic organisations formed on military lines, the Boy Scouts and the Girl Aids.¹¹³ The Empire Day ceremony at Fort-Street School in 1912 was "given a martial aspect", according to the report in the Evening News. Four hundred fine-looking cadets formed a guard at the school's entrance, drums were rolled, bugles were blown,

¹¹¹ All the following examples of Empire Day celebration in 1908 are taken from SMH 26 May 1908.

¹¹² Children at Rose Bay on Sydney Harbour also carried banners as they marched on Empire Day, 1913 (EN 26 May 1913).

¹¹³ EN 24 May 1910.

According to an article called "The English Genius in War", published in The Public Instruction Gazette 30 June 1910, pp. 216-217, "Patriotic institutions, such as our Training Corps, Church Lads' Brigades, Boy Scouts, Rifle Clubs, &c." were "already doing a great work" in developing further that English genius in war. The reference was to Great Britain.

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and there was a march past the Union Jack.¹¹⁴ On Empire Day 1914 children from Paddington Superior Public School marched along Oxford Street, the main artery of the eastern suburbs, with hundreds of Union Jacks flying, to their customary Empire Day meeting place, the Victoria Barracks, where they assembled in the drill square to be addressed by the Director of Education, the District Commandant, and the Mayor of Paddington.¹¹⁵

Often there was an Empire Day display in which the children performed physical exercises. At the Redfern Park close to Sydney in 1908,¹¹⁶ for example, fifteen hundred children executed "physical drill exercises under the direction of Captain Lamb." At the St. Peters School a few miles south, the girls used wands and the boys rifles in their exercises. Musketry drill was also a feature of the boys' display at Naremburn, North Sydney. On the south coast at Bulli that year, in the Bulli brick paddock, children gave displays of maypoles, dumbbells, and wands and school cadets gave a military exhibition. Mass displays of this kind were performed at the Sydney Cricket Ground on Empire Day 1909 by 7,100 children from metropolitan schools,¹¹⁷ who also formed tableaux representing the Empire, the Union Jack (in colour), and the words "One Flag, One Fleet". 6,500 of them performed flag drill, the cadets were reviewed, and twenty-one flags from elsewhere in the Empire were unfurled. These had been received in exchange for

¹¹⁴ EN 24 May 1912.

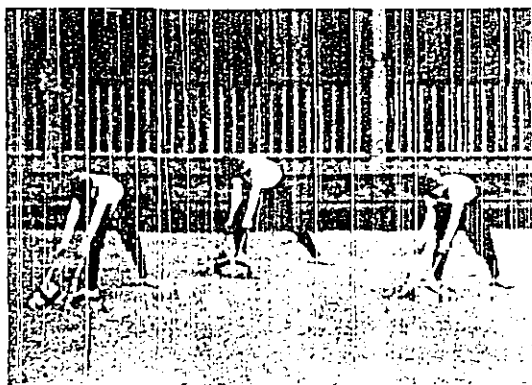
¹¹⁵ EN 25 May 1914.

¹¹⁶ All the following examples from 1908 are to be found in SMH 26 May 1908.

¹¹⁷ The Public Instruction Gazette 50 April 1909, p. 94.



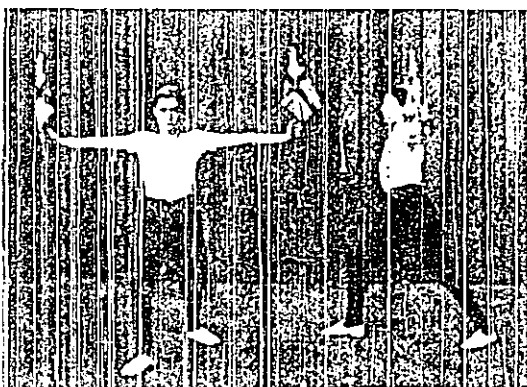
23rd Exercise, 1st Part, to 1.



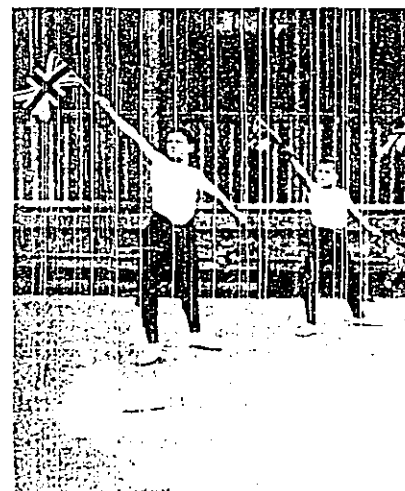
24th Exercise, 1.



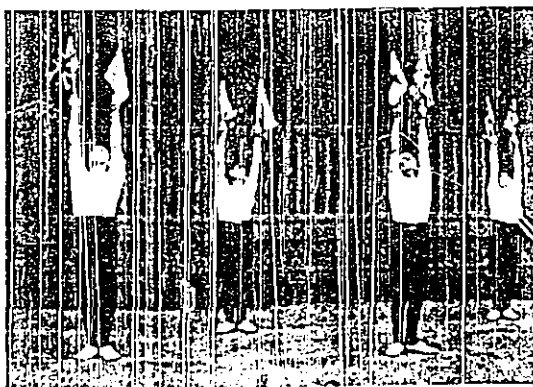
25th Exercise, 1st Part, to 2.



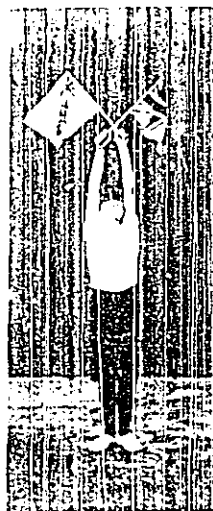
26th Exercise, 2nd Part, to 1.



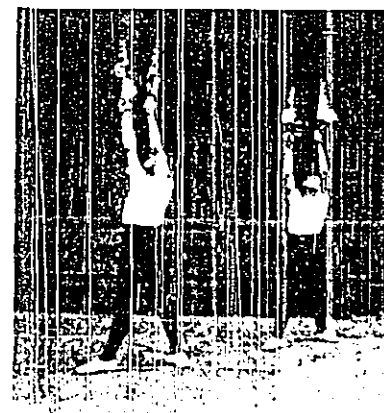
27th Exercise, 1st Part, to 1.



28th Exercise, 2nd Part, to 1.



29th Exercise, 1st Part, to 1.



30th Exercise, 2nd Part, to 1.

flags sent by Public Schools in New South Wales.¹¹⁸

Flag exchange ceremonies were a special feature of many Empire Day celebrations. The flag received by the Cleveland-Street Superior Public School in 1910 from Hill Head School, Glasgow, was reported to be the 170th flag exchanged "in this way".¹¹⁹ Probably this meant it was the 170th flag exchanged between schools in the Empire, because a publication of the British Empire League had put the total Empire figure a year or so before at "about 100",¹²⁰ referring to Union Jacks. It appears that the intention of the League in starting the scheme had been to encourage the exchange only of Union Jacks, but in practice some New South Wales schools sent Australian flags in return for Union Jacks. In May 1908, the Public Instruction Gazette reported that £1/16/3 had been spent by Albury school on the Victorian border for a Commonwealth flag to be sent to Albury, Hertfordshire, England.¹²¹ The flag sent by the Matraville Public School in Sydney in an exchange with Frome, Somersetshire, was a Commonwealth Flag. The Premier of New South Wales, Mr. J.S.T. McGowan, was in Frome to see it unfurled. He told his audience that there were lots of children in Australia and they were "just as white" as the English were.¹²²

The usual practice was an exchange of flags between schools with

¹¹⁸ Public Instruction Gazette 31 March 1910, p. 84 : Extracts from the Twenty-first Annual Report of the Council of the Public Schools' Amateur Athletic Association.

¹¹⁹ Id. 24 May 1910.

¹²¹ ¹²⁰ 30 May 1908, p. 357.

¹²⁰ ¹²¹ Empire Day in Australia (1909?), third page of the text.

¹²² The Public Instruction Gazette 30 Sept. 1911, p. 339.

something in common. Cleveland-Street school was the nearest school to Sydney University, and exchanged flags with the school in Glasgow closest to the University there - Hill Head School.¹²³ More frequently the exchanging schools were namesakes : Canterbury, Greenwich, and Ryde in the suburbs of Sydney all exchanged flags in time for Empire Day 1907;¹²⁴ at Marrickville, another suburb, the Mayoress unfurled a flag on Empire Day 1908 which had been "sent by the children of the village of Marrick, near Yorkshire" ;¹²⁵ on the same day at St. Ives in the northern suburbs, the flag to be sent to St. Ives in England was unfurled by the Premier of New South Wales.¹²⁶ In his report for 1910, Senior-Inspector L. Blumer¹²⁷ of the Bathurst district said that his schools at Bathurst, Eglinton, Kelso, Lucknow, and Wimbledon all flew flags received in exchange from other places in the Empire bearing the same name.¹²⁸ Both Kelso's flag from Scotland and Lucknow's from India had been unfurled on Empire Day 1908.¹²⁹ As late as 1915, the Chief Inspector Mr. Dawson was congratulating the headmaster of Culcairn school near the Victorian border on a flag exchange with Culcairn in Scotland, which sent a Scottish standard. "These little ceremonies", he said, "are golden hints in the chain that binds us to the home lands".¹³⁰ This exchange does not appear to

¹²³ EM 24 May 1910.

¹²⁴ The Public Instruction Gazette 30 June 1908, p. 371.

¹²⁵ SMH 26 May 1908.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Luke Blumer : born 1854 ; first appointed to the teaching service in 1868 ; became an Inspector in 1886, and a Senior Inspector about twenty years later.

¹²⁸ The Public Instruction Gazette, 30 June 1911, p. 201.

¹²⁹ SMH 26 May 1908.

¹³⁰ Culcairn Public School 1882 to 1940. Historical Account June, 1960, p.11.

have been held on May 24, but it followed the Empire Day pattern with patriotic songs and addresses, the unfurling of the flag, and an afternoon display by the children.¹³¹

In keeping with the emphasis of the new syllabus on Nature Study, some Empire Days included tree-planting. As early as May 1906 the Public Instruction Gazette was reporting that supplies of trees from the Sydney Botanic Gardens for ordinary planting at schools were being more than usually disrupted because "a large number of schools" needed them for Empire Day ceremonies.¹³² On Empire Day 1908, for example, children of Sutherland School twenty miles south of Sydney planted one tree each in National Park.¹³³ At other celebrations the choice of tree was significant: at least three ceremonies at Sydney suburban schools on Empire Day 1908 included the planting of an English oak tree in the school grounds. At Hillgrove Public School on the northern tableland the tree was a memorial oak commemorating the South African soldiers and at Nowra on the south coast it was an "Empire tree" planted by the Mayor in Nowra Park.¹³⁴

At many Empire Day ceremonies children sang patriotic songs; at some they recited patriotic poems. These too could assume a ritual character, especially when performed in chorus and at regular

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² The Public Instruction Gazette 28 May 1906, p. 94.

¹³³ SMH 26 May 1908.

¹³⁴ SMH 26 May 1908.

intervals¹³⁵ between patriotic speeches, like hymns and chants in a Protestant church service. As a Sydney Morning Herald report said in 1911, the most effective item on the programme of Empire Day at Forest Lodge Superior Public School, a few miles west of the city, came when the Union Jack was being hoisted to the masthead of the flagstaff : nine hundred children joined in reciting "with action" the poem beginning

"It's only a small bit of bunting".¹³⁶

There had been something of the same ritualistic quality in the Cleveland-Street School's Empire Day celebration in 1907, when children had performed a tableau expressing their loyalty. Gesturing, they had intoned

"I give my mind to my country to think for it ;
I give my heart because I love it ; I give
my hands to my country to work for it ; and,"

the boys had added in unison,

"to fight for it".¹³⁷

¹³⁵This happened, for example, at Leichhardt West Superior Public School on Empire Day 1910 when patriotic addresses by an M.L.A., clergymen, and aldermen, were "interspersed with choruses by the pupils." Individual recitations were also given : "The Flag's Watchword", "The Flag of the Free", and "The Flag" (EN 24 May 1910).

¹³⁶SMH 25 May 1911.

This was probably the poem about the Union Jack quoted in Frank Cayley, Flag of Stars, Rigby Limited : Adelaide, 1966, p. 9 :

You may say it's an old piece of bunting,
You may call it an old coloured rag,
But Freedom has made it majestic,
And time has ennobled the flag.

¹³⁷EN 24 May 1907.

After the ceremonial of Empire Day came a holiday designed to make the day memorable to children, as the Evening News explained in a description of how Empire Day would be celebrated in 1907 : first the children would listen to speeches and watch the unfurling of the flag,

and then (what will probably help to fix the event in the youthful memory) a holiday will be given them, and a picnic or some other merry-making arranged in their honour.¹³⁸

As Mr. Senior-Inspector W.G. Thomas of the Armidale District wrote in his report for 1908, at many of his schools on Empire Day

something was done to throw the day into marked prominence, by associating its thoughts and sentiments with those forms of enjoyment most relished by the young.¹³⁹

By 1910 it had become "a red-letter day" in the school life of his district.¹⁴⁰

At some schools the granting of a half-holiday was enough to make Empire Day memorable, but at most there were further organised activities. A typical pattern was a lunchtime picnic followed by athletic sports in the afternoon held in the school, or at a local oval, park, showground, or beach. Whatever was organised, the emphasis was on indulging the desires of the children. The pupils of Watson's Bay Public School near Sydney Harbour, for example, were treated on Empire Day 1908¹⁴¹ to a boat trip to the Parramatta River.

¹³⁸ SMH 15 May 1907.

¹³⁹ The Public Instruction Gazette 31 July 1909, p. 207.

¹⁴⁰ The Public Instruction Gazette 30 June 1911, p. 200.

¹⁴¹ All the following examples from 1908 are from SME 26 May 1908.

On board, as they steamed up the Harbour, they could obtain refreshments and listen to music played by a band. Also on the Harbour at Rose Bay that year, schoolchildren sang as they marched to a local beach where sports were held. At night came fireworks, a bonfire, and presentation of prizes. After planting trees at National Park that day, pupils from the Sutherland school watched an evening "lantern entertainment". At Gulargambone on the north-western plains there was a juvenile dance in the Mechanics' Hall on Empire night 1908, and at Trundle in the west the children went to a ball. Bathurst children who took part in Empire Day 1906 each received an Empire medal and a bag of sweets. At Botany in Sydney that year the local council handed out cakes and lollies.¹⁴² There were medals for children of the Kiandra Public School in the Snowy Mountains on Empire Day 1908,¹⁴³ and on Empire Day 1911 each child at the sports for the Double Bay Superior Public School in Sydney was given a bag of lollies and a bun provided by friends of the school, while infants of Petersham Superior Public School in the western suburbs received sweets, Empire Day postcards, and music copies of "Advance Australia Fair".¹⁴⁴ What would have been one of the best Empire Days for children had to be cancelled because of the rain. In 1912 the wet weather prevented children of the Glebe area in Sydney from enjoying a sports programme with sideshows including "Merry-go-round, razzle-dazzle, Punch and Judy, Blondin" and others. The organising committee, which planned to hold the

¹⁴¹ All the following examples from 1908 are from SMH 26 May 1908.

¹⁴² SMH 25 May 1906.

¹⁴³ SMH 26 May 1908.

¹⁴⁴ SMH 25 May 1911.

celebration on a local racecourse, was described by the Evening News as having "laid itself out to have Empire Day kept up in a fitting manner."¹⁴⁵

With such entertainments on offer, it was no wonder that some schools experienced an abnormal influx of children on Empire Day. On Empire Day 1908,¹⁴⁶ for example, there were a thousand children attending Drummoyne Public School in Sydney instead of the usual 620. Of the 800 children at Smith-Street school only 700 were actually enrolled there. At West Leichhardt the excess was 200, most of whom were no doubt playing truant from Leichhardt Superior Public School, which was missing 200.¹⁴⁷ Perhaps this was because West Leichhardt's Empire Day included a procession to Leichhardt oval behind a brass band, and sports meeting with refreshments provided, whereas Leichhardt Superior's programme was restricted (it seems) to speeches, songs, and a flag unfurling ceremony. But the truants did not miss hearing the serious lessons of Empire Day. Here as elsewhere fun in the afternoon made the entire day memorable.

Speaking "as an Australian" to the lunch-time crowd in Martin place on Empire Day 1909, C.W. Oakes M.L.A.¹⁴⁸ said that if the time

¹⁴⁵ EN 24 May 1912.

¹⁴⁶ EN 26 May 1908.

¹⁴⁷ Leichhardt Superior : average attendance 1400 to 1500 ; Empire Day 1908 1200 to 1300.

¹⁴⁸ Charles William Oakes was born at Wagga Wagga in 1861 and educated at the Superior Public School, Paddington, in Sydney. He was apprenticed to the jewellery and watchmaking trade. For four years he was alderman of the Paddington municipal council, and in 1901 was elected State member for Paddington in the Legislative Assembly. (Cyclopedia of N.S.W. 1907, p. 97).

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should come for Australians to show their loyalty in a moment of peril to the Empire, they would be ready to the last man and the last shilling.¹⁴⁹ The same words were to be used by the Prime Minister of Australia, Andrew Fisher, a few days before Great Britain's declaration of war in 1914, when he said that

Should the worst happen after everything
had been done that honour will permit,
Australians will stand beside our own to
help and defend her to our last man and our
last shilling.¹⁵⁰

Andrew Fisher thus gave to the familiar rhetoric of Empire Day a reality it had never before possessed. To a schoolboy before the war it meant that his country promised to help England; in 1914 it was to mean that he himself would help England as a soldier on the field of battle.

When "the time" came which so many young Australians had heard about on Empire Day, they gladly volunteered to go to war as they had been told to do. This was true of Catholics as well as Protestants, partly because the virtue of loyalty to the Empire had gone increasingly unquestioned in Australia between the turn of the century and the war, forcing the Catholic minority to make their patriotism acceptable to the community as a whole. Empire Day was both a manifestation and a cause of this growing patriotic fervour.

In August 1914 "patriotism" meant helping the Empire and being a true Briton, the kind of patriotism that had been preached and

¹⁴⁹ HN 24 May 1909.

¹⁵⁰ The Argus, 3 August 1914, quoted in Sources of Australian History, ed. M. Clark, London, O.U.P. 1957, p. 523.

symbolised at countless Empire Day ceremonies since 1905. It did not mean Australian republicanism or loyalty to the Catholic Irish traditions of Australia. In the view of C.E.W. Bean, "very many" of the tens of thousands of Australians who went to war thought of it in the same way as Private Charles Stanley Forster, who was killed at the age of nineteen at Lone Pine on Gallipoli. Private Forster wrote home to Sydney of his great confidence "that we shall uphold the traditions of the British race."⁵¹ The message of Empire Day had been that true patriots should be required to do no more than that, for that was sufficient to take them to the supreme sacrifice of death.

⁵¹ C.E.W. Bean, The Story of Anzac. From the Outbreak of War to the End of the First Phase of the Gallipoli Campaign, May 4, 1915. Australia 7th Edition 1937 (1st edition 1921), p. 18.

Chapter IV

THE COMMONWEALTH SCHOOL PAPER.

The Conference of the New South Wales Department of Public Instruction which met in April 1904¹ recommended that a monthly school paper be introduced into the schools.² An earlier publication edited by S.H. Smith, called the Children's Newspaper, had been unpopular with the Department and had been abandoned, but the newly favourable official attitude encouraged the production of two more school papers in the winter of 1904. The Australian School Paper, also the work of S.H. Smith, appeared in June, and The Commonwealth School Paper in July. The first was discontinued after a few months when the Commonwealth School Paper was given the official imprimatur of the Department for use in Public Schools as a supplementary reader.³

The ordinary readers were to teach children to read. The supplementary readers were for enjoyment and broadening of the mind, so that children would come to like reading. They were not to be used, for example, in dictation lessons.⁴ Although teachers were informed in 1907 that the Commonwealth School Paper met the requirements of the Department for supplementary reading from second to fifth classes,⁵

¹ See Chapter I.

² Smith and Spaul, p. 194.

³ S.H. Smith, Brief History of commercially produced school papers 1901-1916 Typescript deposited in the Mitchell library, Sydney, 1957? Original copy in records, Department of Education.

⁴ 1905 Syllabus, pp. 21-22.

⁵ The Public Instruction Gazette 27 January 1907.

an article published in the Public Instruction Gazette in 1909 drew a distinction between the function of the supplementary or "continuous" readers which the Department had begun to supply to schools and those of school papers. The school papers, the writer said, supplied general information of a kind not to be found in supplementary readers, and supplied it "in a more flexible and varied form . . ." He pointed out that they published many selections of poetry from standard authors which dealt with family affections, noble deeds, and the beauties of nature, they informed children about current events, and they had the novelty value of appearing every month. But they were like supplementary readers in that they were not for drilling children in reading, but were to give them pleasure. The children's interest was to be directed to the papers' "thought contents".⁶

The Commonwealth School Paper was not free like its successor in 1915, the School Magazine,⁷ but it was cheap (only one penny per copy in 1904) and was easily available. For these reasons the paper was being read in a "considerable number of schools" in the Armidale District on the northern tablelands, according to the inspector's report for 1907.⁸ The same was true of the Young District in southern New South Wales that year,⁹ and at Bega on the far south coast the Paper was "found in nearly all schools".¹⁰ In some places teachers bought

⁶The Public Instruction Gazette 31 March 1909, p. 60.

⁷Crane and Walker, pp. 185-186.

⁸The Public Instruction Gazette 30 April 1908, p. 280.

⁹The Public Instruction Gazette 30 April 1908, p. 295.

¹⁰The Public Instruction Gazette 30 April 1908, p. 300.

the paper for children too poor to buy it themselves.¹¹ It was one of the few articles, teachers were informed in 1914, which they were allowed to ask children to buy.¹² As a circular published in September 1913 said, the School Paper should be the pupils' own property, and teachers should encourage them to read it at home.¹³

Editing the Paper was always under the strict supervision of the Department of Public Instruction. Every issue was checked by the Chief Inspector before publication,¹⁴ and the editors themselves were teachers or inspectors. For eight of its eleven and a half years' existence, the Paper was edited by S.H. Smith, from the beginning of 1908 until the end of 1915.¹⁵ He was born in 1865, the son of a teacher, and became a pupil-teacher at the age of thirteen in his father's school at Grafton on the north coast of New South Wales. After teaching at Bourke in the far north-west and Wollongong on the south coast, he came to Sydney in the late 'nineties, where he wrote a series of eight history and geography textbooks for primary schools. He was only thirty-seven when made a country inspector in 1903, and as a supporter of the new education, he was brought to Sydney in 1906 with other young inspectors to counteract the influence of the die-hards in the Department.¹⁶ Peter Board appointed him an Inspector of the new Continuation Schools, designed to provide post-primary education of a

¹¹The Public Instruction Gazette 30 April 1910, p. 105.

¹²The Public Instruction Gazette 1 August 1914, p. 272.

¹³The Public Instruction Gazette 29 September 1913, p. 289.

¹⁴The Public Instruction Gazette 31 March 1909, p. 60.

¹⁵S.H. Smith, Brief History of school papers.

¹⁶"Obituary. Stephen Henry Smith, C.B.E." Royal Australian Historical Society Journal and Proceedings. Vol. XXIX Part 2. Sydney, 1943, p. 129.

less academic kind than high schools, for pupils proceeding to trade apprenticeships.¹⁷ He pioneered education by correspondence for children in isolated areas.¹⁸ Although he received some teacher training in 1884, S.H. Smith never obtained a university degree. He was said to love literature, especially the poetry of Browning and Wordsworth.¹⁹ Browning, in an article published in the School Paper in 1913,²⁰ was described as one of the greatest of English poets, and Wordsworth was among the ten most frequently quoted authors in the Paper. His ode on British freedom, in various forms, was published four times during S.H. Smith's editorship, in 1908,²¹ 1909,²² 1912²³ and 1915.²⁴ What was contained in the pages of the Paper from 1908 may reflect the personal views of S.H. Smith about the ideas which children were to be fed. In the hands of an Inspector like Donald Fraser, the Paper would probably have been very different. But Donald Fraser's Paper would not have been acceptable to the Department. S.H. Smith was the epitome of the successful Inspector, appointed by Peter Board as Director of Education in 1922. His very success shows that his personal view of education coincided closely with those of the Director and the Chief Inspector. The Commonwealth School Paper therefore represents the official ideal of the world in which the new generation

¹⁷ Crane and Walker, pp. 222-233.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 238.

¹⁹ Royal Australian Historical Society Journal. Vol. XXIX Part II. P. 131.

²⁰ CSP May 1913, pp. 150-151.

²¹ CSP May 1908, p. 149.

²² CSP May 1909, p. 138.

²³ CSP December 1912, pp. 94-95 (four lines only).

²⁴ CSP November, 1915, p. 71.

was supposed to believe, especially since it was specifically designed to provide children with thoughts and ideas rather than mere practice in reading. The following analysis is of the Commonwealth School Paper for classes V and VI from 1904 to 1915.²⁵ Separate editions were also published for classes I and II (together), class III, and class IV, but the Paper for senior classes was chosen because it was intellectually more sophisticated.

The Paper's world was one of certainty, certainty about the British Empire, British military might, pride of race, honour, duty, self-sacrifice, the Victoria Cross, God, General Gordon, hard work, the flag, wattle, the poor savages, Shakespeare, noble deeds, adventure, exploration, heroes, and in the end the Great War. Certainty was often expressed in rhetoric rather than reason because there was no need to prove something that was beyond doubt. There was no need, for example, to prove the "stubborn tenacity of the British soldier",²⁶ or logically to demonstrate that an Englishman's fists had "a persuasive force peculiarly their own";²⁷ and there was confidence that this would continue to be true. As the Paper said of the death of General Gordon: "Gordon may die - other Gordons may die in the future - but the same clean-limbed brood will grow up and avenge them".²⁸

²⁵Omitting the issue of October, 1912, which was not available in the Mitchell Library. There also appears to have been an issue of January 1914, judging from the continuous page numbers. That is also excluded.

²⁶CSP May 1909, p. 143.

²⁷CSP March 1910, p. 127.

²⁸CSP December 1907, p. 83.

was supposed to believe, especially since it was specifically designed to provide children with thoughts and ideas rather than mere practice in reading. The following analysis is of the Commonwealth School Paper for classes V and VI from 1904 to 1915.²⁵ Separate editions were also published for classes I and II (together), class III, and class IV, but the Paper for senior classes was chosen because it was intellectually more sophisticated.

The Paper's world was one of certainty, certainty about the British Empire, British military might, pride of race, honour, duty, self-sacrifice, the Victoria Cross, God, General Gordon, hard work, the flag, vattle, the poor savages, Shakespeare, noble deeds, adventure, exploration, heroes, and in the end the Great War. Certainty was often expressed in rhetoric rather than reason because there was no need to prove something that was beyond doubt. There was no need, for example, to prove the "stubborn tenacity of the British soldier",²⁶ or logically to demonstrate that an Englishman's fists had "a persuasive force peculiarly their own";²⁷ and there was confidence that this would continue to be true. As the Paper said of the death of General Gordon: "Gordon may die - other Gordons may die in the future - but the same clean-limbed brood will grow up and avenge them".²⁸

²⁵Omitting the issue of October, 1912, which was not available in the Mitchell Library. There also appears to have been an issue of January 1914, judging from the continuous page numbers. That is also excluded.

²⁶CSP May 1909, p. 143.

²⁷CSP March 1910, p. 127.

²⁸CSP December 1907, p. 83.

The characteristics of the enemy were similarly stereotyped : the Zulus of the war of 1879 were "fanatical" and "bloodthirsty",²⁹ the Soudanese of the war of 1884 "brave as ever men were", but it was "cruel, bloodthirsty bravery" born of the "fatalism of their race",³⁰ and the Tibetans who attacked a British expedition in 1904 were possessed of a "savage lust for blood".³¹ Not that epithets such as these were always derogatory. Those same Zulus were elsewhere described as having "marvellous skill and bravery",³² and what was called the Boers' "unparalleled obstinacy"³³ was probably seen as a point in their favour. These minor wars of Imperial expansion still had an aura of chivalric romance surrounding them, and they were significant not only because they showed the victory of the British, but also because they were thrilling clashes of arms in which the men of both sides were living lives of adventure and enterprise. It was not until the Great War came that the enemy was unconditionally hated.

Symbols of Empire and country, such as the flag, were particularly suitable objects of rhetorical description. In the words of an article on the Union Jack in May 1905, "Every Australian boy and girl has heard of the Union Jack, or, as the poet Campbell calls it, 'the flag that's braved a thousand years, the battle and the breeze.'"³⁴

²⁹CSP May 1909, pp. 141-142.

³⁰CSP March 1910, p. 126.

³¹CSP September 1908, p. 38.

³²CSP June 1906, p. 171.

³³CSP May 1910, p. 156.

³⁴CSP May 1905, pp. 170-171.

It was under this flag, "the conquering ensign of his own people",³⁵ that General Gordon was buried at Khartoum, according to the issue of December, 1907. Here too the writer personified the flag, describing it as "tugging eagerly at his reins, dazzling gloriously in the sun, rejoicing in his strength and his freedom."³⁶ Imagery such as that used in the issue of May, 1912, to describe the forces uniting the Empire, could well be construed as religious: "one King, one Flag, and one Navy".³⁷ And what was the aim of the British at Mafeking? To "keep the flag flying".³⁸

Pedagogically, the Commonwealth School Paper was well adapted to education for morality. Not only was its language heavy with the special pleading of rhetoric, but each kind of item in the Paper was itself used for moral purposes. Poetry, for example, was designed to edify as well as please. Thus the point of the poem "The Mother and Her Sons" was left in no doubt by the editors in the issue of May, 1905. In the final stanza the poet, addressing the Motherland, forecast that "the sons that are bone of thy bone" should soon "war for England's own". Beneath the poem came the note:

The despatch of the New South Wales Contingent in 1883 (sic), to assist the British troops in the Soudan, was the first example of colonial armed support given to Britain. The assistance rendered by the whole of the Colonies to the Mother Country during the Boer War is a matter of recent history.³⁹

³⁵CSP, December 1907, p. 86.

³⁶Ibid., p. 84

³⁷CSP May 1912, p. 145.

³⁸CSP July 1906, p. 14.

³⁹CSP May 1905, p. 62.

Wordsworth's ode on British freedom had again been published, wrote the editor in May 1909, because of its

special application at the present time. Australians, like other Britons, must realize that upon them rests the duty of preserving intact what their forefathers gained for them.⁴⁰

And the glowing eulogy of John Greenleaf Whittier which appeared in the issue of July, 1908, described him as committed to "all that is noblest and best in manhood," a poet who was "for duty, for self-sacrifice, for God and for country."⁴¹ The implication was that good poetry was poetry which encouraged just those ideals.

Moral canons applied to poetry were also applied to literature in general. As the Paper said of Charles Dickens, "His writings present very vividly the wants and sufferings of the poor, and have a tendency to prompt to kindness and benevolence."⁴² This is at least partly the reason why the most popular sources of prose literature included Nathaniel Hawthorne as well as Dickens and Sir Walter Scott. "Samuel Johnson",⁴³ one of Hawthorne's stories, told how Johnson repented of a youthful sin late in life; another was "Daffydowndilly and Mr. Toil",⁴⁴ a tale of industriousness and its virtue. There was also a quasi-historical story about Oliver Cromwell, which showed that he "rose because he fought for the rights and freedom of his fellow-men".⁴⁵ Significantly, it was prefaced by a note

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CSP May 1909, p. 138.

⁴¹ CSP July 1908, p. 5.

⁴² CSP June 1905, p. 188.

⁴³ CSP July 1905, pp. 3-9.

⁴⁴ CSP February 1912, pp. 107-111.

⁴⁵ CSP April 1905, p. 152.

explaining that the question of its empirical authenticity was not of overriding importance, because it was "at all events ... an interesting story, and ... (had) an excellent moral."⁴⁶ This was a view of literature and history which placed them both in the same category, for neither was bound to the facts. What had been written of classical stories in the first issue of the Paper held for history too, albeit to a lesser degree :

The stories are not all true, of course, nor half of them ; ... but the meaning of them is true, and true for ever, and that is - "do right, and God will help you."⁴⁷

King Arthur's invasion of Rome⁴⁸ and the story of Wulf, the Saxon boy who helped to make England,⁴⁹ were of the same order of truth as Drake's defeat of the Armada,⁵⁰ or the "Attack on Waggon Hill" during the Boer War.⁵¹ The "Story Number" of October 1909 included not only the historical "Story of a Noble Act" and "Story of a Great Invention", but also a classical legend. In this the Paper accurately reflected the official theory of teaching history as it appeared in the Public Instruction Gazette. An article on the study of history published in 1909 suggested that the ethical value of history, which it shared with literature, might be more important in primary school than its intellectual value. Although they may not be able to develop a sense

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 147.

⁴⁷CSP. July 1904, p. 6.

⁴⁸CSP July 1908, pp. 7-15.

⁴⁹CSP April 1907, pp. 130-138.

⁵⁰CSP October 1906, pp. 49-51 (poem) ; May 1914, p. 167.

⁵¹CSP May 1910, pp. 153-156.

of history, children could be made through history to admire heroism, and love wisdom, gentleness, and self-sacrifice. At least in the lower classes, teachers should not distinguish between stories and poems dealing with history, and those which were purely fictional. They should not raise the question of truth and falsehood until later in the child's school-life.⁵²

On occasion this led to a failure to distinguish between the great event in history and the minor aside which demonstrated some general moral truth. History was gleaned for didactic pickings like "An Incident of Gettysburg (July, 1863)", which told how a Southern general went to the aid of a Northern general ;⁵³ "An Incident in the Life of Li Hung Chang", which showed the difference between a gentleman and a Chinese ;⁵⁴ "The Ride That Saved Rome", described as "one of those fables that teaches so grand a lesson of self-sacrifice that it will never be forgotten" ;⁵⁵ "A Night Attack on the Mission", showing British courage and victory in battle against the Tibetans ;⁵⁶ "Chivalrous Deed of a Veteran Tar", the story of an old British seaman who risked death at Acre in 1799 to give an enemy general a decent burial, demonstrating how God helps the courageous⁵⁷ ; "A Victorian Hero", telling how Captain Wilson won his V.C. at the siege of El Tob

⁵²The Public Instruction Gazette 31 December 1909, p. 416. The article was taken from a memorandum issued by the Education Department of Scotland.

⁵³CSP September 1908, pp. 39-41.

⁵⁴CSP March 1909, p. 111.

⁵⁵CSP November 1907, p. 69.

⁵⁶CSP September 1908. pp. 33-39.

⁵⁷CSP July 1910, p. 10.

in 1884⁵⁸ ; and "A Boy's Glorious Deed", which depicted "The Master's loving smile and His welcoming "well done !" " after a young Scot's heroic death in the sinking of the Birkenhead in 1852. The inscription on his memorial "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori" was, as the Paper put it, "indeed a fitting motto" :⁵⁹

There was hardly a living Englishman that day who did not feel his pulses beat quicker ; for was he not one of this splendid race that had thus showed the world how to die nobly ?⁶⁰

For the moral purposes of the Commonwealth School Paper, history of this kind merged imperceptibly with fiction. Often it was history written with the indefinite article, suggesting that what was described was only one of many such inspiring occasions.

Music could inspire too. At least a quarter of the Paper's selection of songs had patriotic themes. These were songs like Rule Britannia,⁶¹ The Sea is England's Glory,⁶² A Song to the Flag,⁶³ Advance Australia Fair,⁶⁴ Australia. Hail !⁶⁵ The Song of Australia,⁶⁶ The Star-Cross Flag of Australia,⁶⁷ Awake ! Awake ! Australia,⁶⁸

⁵⁸CSP March, 1910, pp. 125-127 and May 1910, pp. 156-158.

⁵⁹CSP May 1909, p. 138

⁶⁰CSP May 1909, p. 136

⁶¹CSP September 1904, p. 48.

⁶²CSP October 1905, pp. 63-64.

⁶³CSP May 1908, p. 160.

⁶⁴CSP January 1905, p. 112.

⁶⁵CSP September 1905, p. 48.

⁶⁶CSP July 1906, pp. 15-16.

⁶⁷CSP May 1907, pp. 159-160, May 1911, pp. 159-160.

⁶⁸CSP June 1910, pp. 175-176.

Australians All !⁶⁹ God Bless our Land (An Australian Anthem)⁷⁰ The
Song of the Wattle,⁷¹ The Empire Flag,⁷² A Song of Empire,⁷³
A Sprig of Wattle,⁷⁴ Sunny New South Wales⁷⁵ and God Save the King.⁷⁶

In illustrations, finally, the message of the Paper was given graphic form. A picture accompanying J. Brunton Stephens's poem "My O-ther Chineee Cook" showed the Chinese in an ape-like caricature.⁷⁷ The special colour cover for Christmas, 1909, showed a schoolboy cadet standing at attention in front of the Australian flag with a rifle in his hand : of the other ten colour covers which appeared⁷⁸ all except one portrayed the symbols of Empire, country, and defence. The designs varied, but the theme was the same. There were flags : the Australian flag, the Union Jack, the Royal Standard, and even the United States' flag, when the American Fleet was visiting Sydney in August, 1908. There was Britannia, standing on an island in the sea and bearing aloft an Australian shield. There were cadets and kangaroos and warships and there was even the royal orb, surmounted by a Crown, and surrounded by symbolically intertwining oak and gum leaves. The cover of May, 1915, depicted an Australian soldier equipped for battle on his horse

⁶⁹CSP June 1911, pp. 175-176.

⁷⁰CSP May 1912, p. 160.

⁷¹CSP August 1912, p. 32.

⁷²CSP May 1908 (Musical Number), pp. 7-8.

⁷³CSP (March 1906 pp. 127-128.
 (April 1906, pp. 143-144.
 (May 1906, pp. 158-159.

⁷⁴CSP September 1913, p. 48.

⁷⁵CSP September, 1907, p. 48.

⁷⁶CSP June 1915, p. 176.

⁷⁷CSP February 1905, p. 121.

⁷⁸CSP May 1908 ; August 1908 ; December 1908 ; May 1909 ; June 1911 ;
 May 1912 ; May 1913 ; June 1913 ; May 1914 ; May 1915.

and carrying the Australian flag.

The first orthodoxy of education for citizenship was that good citizens were patriotic. In the pages of the Commonwealth School Paper children in New South Wales Public Schools learnt what patriotism meant, as the following analysis will show.

A special time

Patriotism meant, first of all, the need to be increasingly vigilant in the defence of country and Empire. As an important article on "The Spirit of Patriotism", (May 1914), pointed out, there may never have been "so many appeals to the patriotic feelings and aspirations of our people as is the case in our time".⁷⁹ The idea of a special time, threatened by an impending crisis, occurred elsewhere in the Paper.⁸⁰ An article published in June, 1911, pointed out that by the following year "we shall have twenty Dreadnoughts", and by 1913 twenty-five, as well as "the two Colonial ships" :

Britain must maintain her sea supremacy, and she looks like doing it in earnest. The Navy Estimates of 1910-11 attain the unparalleled figure of £40,603,700 ... The increase is prudent and inevitable. Our naval policy is dictated by considerations of our national and imperial safety, against which nothing can weigh in the scale.⁸¹

In his 1912 Empire Day message, reproduced in the Paper, the Earl of

⁷⁹CSP May 1914, p. 161.

⁸⁰The idea was also expressed in the Public Instruction Gazette (see Chapter I), and in the New Australian School Series Fourth Reader (see Chapter V). It appears to have been a commonplace of Empire Day addresses.

⁸¹CSP, June 1911, p. 174.

Meath reminded children that the Empire looked to them to be ready in time of need⁸² for the sacrifices of patriotism. That this time of need would be a war was suggested by an increasing number of articles on defence after the middle of 1913, which included photographs of H.M.A.S. Australia⁸³ and of "The Coming of Our Fleet : The Naval Squadron's First Entry into Sydney Harbour, 3rd October, 1913."⁸⁴ The July, 1913, issue reported a schoolboys' visit to H.M.A.S. Melbourne, "Australia's First Cruiser",⁸⁵ when 180 boys from 90 Sydney schools "were given a splendid object-lesson in patriotism ..."⁸⁶, the idea being that they should be

"stirred up with high hopes of living to be brave men and worthy patriots" ("in the words of Milton")⁸⁷

and that they should regard it as "their duty to report to their comrades all they saw and heard."⁸⁸ In this way the patriotic message would be spread throughout the schools. The boys were pictured inspecting the ship's guns,⁸⁹ but it was made clear that the authorities had not intended "to inculcate any spirit of militarism ..."⁹⁰

⁸²CSP May 1912, p. 145.

⁸³CSP May 1914, p. 161.

⁸⁴CSP May 1914, p. 165.

⁸⁵P. 1.

⁸⁶P. 3.

⁸⁷P. 4.

⁸⁸P. 4.

⁸⁹P. 3.

⁹⁰P. 4.

Children reading the issue of July 1914 were reminded that universal military training had been introduced in that same month three years before,⁹¹ and learnt about "The Flying Boat" in an article which referred to "the war of the future".⁹²

When that war came, the prediction of a time of crisis came true : "... self-sacrifice is needed at all times", wrote a contributor to the issue of November 1914, "but especially when the summons comes to defend the Empire".⁹³ In the same issue, an "Indian Poem" was published, "Death or Glory", describing how an Indian "received the news of the challenge to England."⁹⁴ By May 1915, the full implications of the emergency had been explained to New South Wales schoolchildren in the words of Lord Roberts, who declared that there was

but one duty for the British citizen
at the present time - men and women,
young and old, rich and poor, all alike
must place everything at the service of
the State. Nothing must be kept back -
time, energy, money, talents, even life
itself, must be freely offered in this
supreme crisis.⁹⁵

A Dual Patriotism

The Paper's article on the spirit of patriotism, May 1914, drew a distinction between "patriotism which is concerned solely with the country in which we live" and "that wider patriotism which embraces

⁹¹This was one of the "Events in Australian History which Happened in the Month of July", CSP July 1914, pp. 11-13.

⁹²Ibid. p. 3.

⁹³CSP. November 1914, p. 68.

⁹⁴Ibid. p. 78.

⁹⁵CSP May 1915, p. 158.

the whole Empire."⁹⁶ This notion of two loyalties - one to Australia and the other to the Empire - was a familiar one in the Paper, implicit in the way it described the Imperial connection : Britain was the Mother,⁹⁷ the Colonies her sons ;⁹⁸ the Empire, tied together by these bonds of loyalty,⁹⁹ was properly called "Greater Britain",¹⁰⁰ a brotherhood united by one King, one Flag, and one Navy¹⁰¹. There was no conflict between local and imperial patriotism, as the Paper explained:

Local patriotism, indeed, if it be worth anything at all, should not only strengthen our love for our own country, but should stimulate the national interest in all that pertains to the Empire.¹⁰²

In its simplest form, the idea was conveyed by the Paper's Empire Day covers : crossed flags, one Australian, the other a Union Jack ;¹⁰³ Britannia carrying an Australian shield ;¹⁰⁴ a blue orb with oak leaves on one side and gum leaves on the other ;¹⁰⁵ and cadets in front of two shields, a British and an Australian.¹⁰⁶ As the songs put it, Australia was "most fair of Britain's daughters fair"¹⁰⁷ and

⁹⁶CSP May 1914, p. 161.

⁹⁷As in the poem "Australia's Mother", CSP November 1912, p. 76.

⁹⁸As in the poem "The Mother and Her Sons", CSP May 1905, pp. 161-162.

⁹⁹As in the words "... do honour to Australia, and knit still closer the ties that bind us to the motherland", CSP August 1911, p. 26.

¹⁰⁰As in Sir Harry Rawson's farewell message to the children of New South Wales : supplement to CSP May 1909.

¹⁰¹CSP May 1912, p. 145.

¹⁰²CSP May 1914, p. 161.

¹⁰³CSP May 1908.

¹⁰⁴CSP May 1909.

¹⁰⁵CSP May 1912.

¹⁰⁶CSP May 1913.

¹⁰⁷CSP July 1906, pp. 15-16 : "The Song of Australia".

Australians "would die her banner to save",¹⁰⁸ but they were also

ready when the Empire calls
To meet her foes once more.¹⁰⁹

Metaphors describing this double loyalty varied. The song "A Sprig of Wattle" spoke of flowers :

With Rose, Thistle, Shamrock, let Wattle entwine ...¹¹⁰

Tennyson invited Britons outside the Homeland to a marriage of lasting fidelity :

Shall we not thro' good and ill
Cleave to one another still ?
Britain's myriad voices call,
"Sons, be wedded each and all,
Into one imperial whole,
One with Britain, heart and soul !
One life, one flag, one fleet, one throne ! ..." ¹¹¹

This was almost suggesting that local patriotism be forgotten in favour of loyalty to Britain. A song called "The Empire Flag" suggested it explicitly. From Australia, Africa, and Canada came "the patriot song" :

In peace or strife, in death or life,
We boast of English blood ;
And England's Empire flag we'll bear,
Through field and fire and flood (...)
Nor Scot, Colonial, Kelt are we,
But Britons one and all.¹¹²

Other items in the Paper, by contrast, emphasised pride in all things.

¹⁰⁸ CSP May 1907, pp. 159-160 ; also May 1911, pp. 159-160.

¹⁰⁹ CSP June 1911, pp. 175-176 : "Australians All !"

¹¹⁰ CSP September 1913, p. 48.

¹¹¹ CSP May 1905, p. 161.

¹¹² CSP May 1905, pp. 175-176.

Australian : Australian history, "as glorious as that of any country on earth",¹¹³ the Australian climate (regarding winter in Scotland, the comparison was all in favour of Australia¹¹⁴) ; the Australian girl, who "has a beauty all her own" ;¹¹⁵ the aborigines, "our Australian blacks",¹¹⁶ native birds like "Our Australian Larks",¹¹⁷ Australian poetry ; the Australian flag ; and the Australian flower, wattle. All these were symbols of "Australia" as an object of the children's reverence and love, but especially the flag and wattle, for with them the symbolising role was conscious and articulate. The song "The Star-Cross Flag of Australia", for example, published in the 1911 Empire Number, asserted the importance of the flag :

'Tis the flag which we Australians ever boast,
'Tis the flag we will drink in ev'ry toast,
'Tis the flag we prize and dearly love the most,
'Tis the Star-Cross Flag of Australia.

It was important because of what it stood for, Australia and the Australians :

There's a land in the South so fair and so free,
With a kindred both loyal and true ;
'Tis the land of Australia crowning the sea ...
She claims sturdy yeomen and sailors brave,
Who ride the lone forest or dare the wild wave,¹¹⁸
They proudly would die her banner to save - ...

Wattle too stood for this "Australian national sentiment".¹¹⁹

¹¹³ CSP April 1913, p. 133.

¹¹⁴ CSP August 1911, p. 193-195.

¹¹⁵ CSP October 1911, p. 64.

¹¹⁶ CSP July 1906, p. 15.

¹¹⁷ CSP October 1913, pp. 49-51.

¹¹⁸ CSP May 1911, pp. 159-160.

¹¹⁹ CSP September 1912, p. 45.

Australian : Australian history, "as glorious as that of any country on earth",¹¹³ the Australian climate (regarding winter in Scotland, the comparison was all in favour of Australia¹¹⁴) ; the Australian girl, who "has a beauty all her own" ;¹¹⁵ the aborigines, "our Australian blacks",¹¹⁶ native birds like "Our Australian Larks",¹¹⁷ Australian poetry ; the Australian flag ; and the Australian flower, wattle. All these were symbols of "Australia" as an object of the children's reverence and love, but especially the flag and wattle, for with them the symbolising role was conscious and articulate. The song "The Star-Cross Flag of Australia", for example, published in the 1911 Empire Number, asserted the importance of the flag :

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¹¹³ CSP April 1913, p. 133.

¹¹⁴ CSP August 1911, p. 193-195.

¹¹⁵ CSP October 1911, p. 64.

¹¹⁶ CSP July 1906, p. 15.

¹¹⁷ CSP October 1913, pp. 49-51.

¹¹⁸ CSP May 1911, pp. 159-160.

¹¹⁹ CSP September 1912, p. 45.

The message of the Paper, however, was not that loyalty to Australia and loyalty to the Empire were competing, but that they were complementary. One entailed the other as a matter of course. In 1911, for example, the Paper reported how "the pride of Australia was roused" as cadets leaving to see the Coronation marched down from the Victoria Barracks to Dalgety's wharf in Sydney. It was roused not only because the boys "would do honour to Australia", but also because they would "knit still closer together the ties that bind us to the motherland" and would "have visions of some of the Greatness of the British Empire ..."¹²⁰ The common nature of the two loyalties came from a common historical experience, as Sir Harry Rawson pointed out in a supplement to the issue of May, 1909. It was his "Farewell Message to the Children of New South Wales" after seven years as State Governor, which had also been published in the Public Instruction Gazette of 31 March. Teachers in Public Schools throughout the State were asked "to assemble the children and read the letter to them calling for cheers for Sir Harry Rawson and the King at the close."¹²¹ The children were reminded that they had a grand history behind them, "for the ancient glories of the mother countries (England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales), their fights, both by land and sea", belonged to them as much as they did to him, an Englishman. They were to remember that they were "descended from the men who in old days fought for liberty", the same liberty which they had inherited when they were born

¹²⁰ CSP Aug. 1911, p. 26, from "Departure of the "Themistocles" from Sydney", pp. 26-29.

¹²¹ The Public Instruction Gazette, 31 March, 1909, p. 67.

just as he had.¹²² In the 1914 article, on "The Spirit of Patriotism", this was called "the glorious heritage" that belonged to Australians "as a part of the British people". It was something Australians should not forget. Together with pride in one's native land should always go "Pride of race".¹²³

Pride of Race

Pride of race meant pride in being British. It was part of Imperial patriotism. Its justification in history went back as far as Beric the Briton and Wulf, the Saxon boy who helped to make England. Wulf was their ancestor, children read, and it was he and the other "Angles, Engle-men, or Englishmen" who had made Britain become England. These men had had many manly virtues which had been handed down to their present-day descendants, and for which the children could feel justly grateful, even though they no longer took the Anglo-Saxons' delight in war.¹²⁴ Beric was a "brave British lad"¹²⁵ who saved a faithful Christian girl from death in the arena by overpowering the lion bare-handed. In his view it was God who had kept

¹²² Supplement. Farewell Message to the Children of New South Wales from His Excellency Admiral Sir Harry Rawson on Relinquishing the office of State Governor, CSP May 1909.

¹²³ CSP May 1914, p. 161.

¹²⁴ CSP April 1907, p. 138, from "The Story of Wulf, the Saxon Boy, Who Helped to make England," pp. 130-138.

¹²⁵ CSP May 1907, p. 147, from "The Christians to the Lions. Adapted from Henty", pp. 146-150.

them safe.¹²⁶

The story of "The Funeral of Gordon, September 1898", showed in modern form the same characteristically British faith in God and might. Fourteen years after his heroic death (it was explained) General Gordon, "The Christian soldier," had had "Christian burial". The delay itself had even been a kind of "triumph" for the British :

We may be slow ; but in that very slowness we show that we do not forget. Soon or late we give our own their due.

His due was that he should be "buried . . . after the manner of his race", that is, "with Maxim-Nordenfeldt and Bible". "His bones, lying in majesty" beneath the Union Jack, were "the bones of murdered civilisation."¹²⁷

Civilisation stood in judgment on inferior races. As an extract from the late Victorian conservative historian W.E.H. Lecky put it,

Remember what India had been for countless ages before the establishment of British rule. Think of its endless wars of race and creed ; its savage oppressions . . . its barbarous customs . . .

and then think of the manifold blessings of civilisation and progress

¹²⁶The exact words of the passage in the Commonwealth School Paper, p. 150, were "Ernia", he said, "God has saved us ; the lion is helpless now." " In G.A. Henty's Beric the Briton. A Story of the Roman Invasion, from which the story was adapted, the passage reads : " "Ernia", he said, "our gods have saved me ; the lion is helpless". " (G.A. Henty, Beric the Briton. A Story of the Roman Invasion, Blackie : London and Glasgow, n.d., p. 259). In the school version, therefore, Beric is not only a brave British lad but also a Christian one. Henty's Beric is still a pagan at this point in the story, although he is eventually converted.

¹²⁷CSP December 1907, pp. 82-86.

brought by the British.¹²⁸ But civilisation's judgment was a sympathetic one. An article adapted from The Growth of the Empire by the Australian Arthur Jose pointed out that the British held India "for its own sake"¹²⁹ much more than for theirs. The same was true of Egypt, according to an article in the issue of May 1908 : the development of the Land of the Nile was "all the more glorious because the work was done on behalf not of British subjects" but of the Egyptians themselves. All the money spent under Lord Cromer's administration, "every penny of it", had been used for the benefit of the Egyptians. The happy effects of British civilisation and government had "borne testimony to the truth that "righteousness exalteth a nation"."¹³⁰

Arthur Jose explained that the story of the British Empire was the story of

how Britain, having set her own house in order, sought and found a great work ready to her hand which she alone could accomplish, ...¹³¹

In India the great work for civilisation was establishing what Lecky called "the greatest and most beneficent despotism in the world", which had made "The Hindu farmer or tradesman ... free to live his simple life of toil and contentment under the shadow of a great security."¹³²

Englishmen should show pride in their "great Indian Empire", children read in February 1908. "Pride of race", they learnt, "is a good thing

¹²⁸ CSP May 1905, p. 167.

¹²⁹ CSP May 1905, p. 163.

¹³⁰ CSP May 1908 "The British in Egypt", pp. 145-149.

¹³¹ CSP May 1905, p. 164.

¹³² CSP May 1908, pp. 156-159.

for a nation." It did not mean that they should "shriek and gesticulate. That would be un-English." But they should be interested in their Imperial possession.¹³³

The British race stood for more than civilisation. It also stood for honour, and the word of a gentleman. This was shown by "An Incident in the Life of Li Hung Chang",¹³⁴ the Chinese Generalissimo charged with putting down the Tae-Ping rebellion of the 1860's, whose "first real lesson of the difference between a foreign gentleman and a Chinese nearly cost him his life". The gentleman was Major Gordon, later to die with honour at Khartoum, who promised the Tae-Ping chiefs on Li's behalf that they would be safe if they surrendered. When they did so, Li decapitated them, and "nine headless bodies were seen floating down the river." Gordon's sense of honour was so affronted that "if he had found Li, he would have killed him on the spot," and he contemptuously refused money as compensation. Honour demanded that the Englishman make no concessions to less civilised customs if they affronted his sense of loyalty to his Queen, as in the case of Harry Parkes, who refused to kow-tow when captured by the Chinese in the 1860's.¹³⁵

Inferior races also lacked British qualities like level-headedness, courage, and willingness to work. Obvious examples were the Chinese and the aborigines in Australia. On the track to the

¹³³CSP February 1908, p. 108.

¹³⁴CSP March 1909, pp. 110-112.

¹³⁵CSP March 1909, pp. 101-105.

goldfield, children learnt in one story,¹³⁶

some Chinamen and their cart were
hopelessly bogged. Somehow or other John
is always helpless in an emergency ...
but if energy in the shape of chattering
uproar could avail them, they must have been
very soon out of their difficulties.¹³⁷

Brunton Stephens's poem "My Other Chinese Cook"¹³⁸ was illustrated by
an ape-like caricature of the Chinese. It told the story of a lazy,
cheeky, dirty, sly "Johnny" with a "lemon-coloured face" who was
revealed as having made "rabbit pie" for the narrator from dogs' flesh.
As he put it in his broken English : "Last-a week-a plenty puppy ;
this-a week-a puppy done !" The narrator forcibly ejected him from
the house, and never saw him again.

Less amusing were the poor qualities of the aborigines. A
story published in March, 1905,¹³⁹ told how a lubra vowed revenge
on a country station when her husband was killed by the overseer. She
threatened to murder Captain Leslie, the "fine, burly, red-headed
country gentleman", who owned the station, to take away Mrs. Leslie's
"only child, a sweet girl of about five years of age" and bring her up
"as a savage", and to burn down the homestead. All these plans
failed because the hero of the story was able to exploit the weaknesses
of the "savages". He "knew them to be cruel and revengeful, but at

¹³⁶CSP June 1905 : "The Story of a Goldfield", pp. 178-185.

¹³⁷Ibid., p. 183.

¹³⁸CSP February 1905, pp. 120-122.

¹³⁹CSP March 1905 : "The Lubra's Revenge", pp. 135-143.

the same time real cowards", so that when he confronted them boldly after playing dead,

not a single one of them was man enough to hurl a spear or throw a boomerang or waddy. They turned tail and ran for the scrub ... The savages, brave enough now that they were hid behind the scrub again, hurled a shower of missiles ...

Mrs. Leslie had been kind to a few of them, but then they had brought all their relatives, and when she stopped giving goods away, they started to steal them : "To them stealing was no crime ; perhaps, in their uncivilised code of morals, a positive virtue." The explorers Frank and Alex. Jardine, "Two Sturdy Young Australians",¹⁴⁰ struck even worse trouble from the aborigines in 1863 and 1864, as children learnt in an article by Earnest Favenc.¹⁴¹ The "Cape York natives" had seemed to rejoice that they had another party of white men to dog to death. They showed "unappeasable enmity ... equalled before only by the Darling natives" and they made "numberless treacherous attacks" which were nevertheless repulsed in a "prompt and plucky manner." In the final battle on 14 January 1864 "the whites were not in patient humour" and it was therefore "brief and severe".

In other countries blacks could at least be used benevolently for the white man's benefit. As children learnt in an article about the Kimberley mines of South Africa,¹⁴² the Kaffir natives were working

¹⁴⁰

CSP February 1910, pp. 97-102.

¹⁴¹ Borr. in London 1845 ; came to Australia 1863 ; an explorer ; died 1908.

¹⁴² CSP September 1911 : "Kimberley", pp. 33-39.

there

Merely that in some far-away country the
sunshine may flash forth from the jewel on
my lady's finger.

The Paper took its readers on a tour of the mines :

Let us go next to a compound - the very interest-
ing enclosure where the natives are housed ...
here the Kaffir learns more of the comforts of
life than he ever knew before.

It was explained that "the only reason" that "hungry natives" did not
"seek a home in the compounds" was that they had a "natural aversion to
anything in the line of exertion". Those who did go in were to work
for "at least three months". If they then wanted to leave, they were
"thoroughly searched." Escapes or attempted escapes were rare because
the compound was quite securely enclosed. In Papua too native labour
was "plentiful and cheap", the Paper explained in September 1913,¹⁴³
and the native received "Just treatment, good food, and payment for
his labour," which had made him "an excellent servant". The Papuan
savages were "protected at every turn", and it was only "right that
that should be so." They were "only children" and wanted "taking
care of", although they did not lack initiative ; they kept "a sort
of black list" of bad employers and gave them a hard time. But if a
man gave his "boys" good conditions, he would always be able to get
labour.

"The Natives of Java" were described as "a kind people, full of
good nature and laughter, although jealous, revengeful, and apt to be
treacherous."¹⁴⁴ The Russian peasants were "much like children"

¹⁴³ CSF September 1913 : "Papua", pp. 40-46.

¹⁴⁴ CSF June 1910 p. 170 from "The Natives of Java", pp. 169-173.

together with the Papuans. They venerated the Czar as their father, and did not appear to care for the future, trusting in God and the Czar to provide if hard times should come. But they were "gradually growing more and more independent" and would one day make a mighty nation.¹⁴⁵

Occasionally the Paper accorded genuine respect to the inferior races. Thus an article called "Moshesh, a Great Basuto Chief"¹⁴⁶ described him as "Truly a grand old man !" and a piece on Sir George Grey,¹⁴⁷ "a master-builder of the Empire", described the Maoris of New Zealand as "a far superior race to the Australian blacks with whom he had hitherto been dealing". It told how Grey had quickly discovered that the Maoris

were not mere "naked savages", as people contemptuously called them, but a nation of men, whose intelligence and skill made them formidable foes.

Until 1914, formidable foes of whatever race were usually admired for their masculine virtues, as has been shown above.¹⁴⁸ When war came, this admiration disappeared, although the Turks were hated less than the Germans. The Turks were "wanton, ... corrupt, and greedy", but they were after all "semi-savage".¹⁴⁹ The Germans, on the other hand, were "renegades against their own civilisation,"¹⁵⁰ and hence had become

¹⁴⁵CSP September 1905, pp. 43-44, from "A Peep at Russia and Its Peasants", pp. 36-45.

¹⁴⁶CSP August 1911, pp. 19-24.

¹⁴⁷CSP May 1909, pp. 129-135.

¹⁴⁸See this chapter.

¹⁴⁹CSP June 1915 : "The Rise and Fall of the Ottoman Empire", pp. 161-164.

¹⁵⁰CSP October 1915, p. 61.

"inhuman."¹⁵¹ by willing the war against it.¹⁵² Against these two foes, it was explained, there was an "alliance of Anglo-Saxon, Frank and Slav,"¹⁵³ in other words, the civilised white races.

Thus the rationale for Imperial expansion which had been taught to generations of school children remained intact despite the war between the white races. The Germans' behaviour did not mean that civilisation was morally questionable, and therefore unworthy of its mission to civilise, but that somehow it had spawned a traitor to itself which sought its destruction. No longer was every superior race a civilised one, but every civilised one was still superior. Civilisation now stood in judgment not only on inferior races, but also on renegade ones. The British race, fighting the Germans, remained both superior and civilised.

Defence, physical and moral

Before the war, the Paper impressed on children the importance of defending Imperial civilisation. Defence of Australia and defence of the Empire went naturally together. As Brigadier-General Gordon said to cadets leaving Sydney to see the coronation of George V,

"I hope ... that you will come back determined that our country must be kept for ourselves, and must be kept by you, because it belongs to you, and must be retained as a portion of the Empire which you are going to see".¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ Ibid, p. 62

¹⁵² CSP November 1915 : "How Germany Willed the Great War", pp. 72-73.

¹⁵³ CSP October 1915, p. 61

¹⁵⁴ CSP, August 1911, p. 29

The defence of Empire and country required weapons of war. The "British weapon par excellence"¹⁵⁵ was the bayonet, according to a story about the war in the Soudan, but children also learnt about torpedoes, among "the most deadly and destructive of machines used in naval warfare",¹⁵⁶ the "Sims Armour-clad Motor for Coast Defence",¹⁵⁷ and warships. Naval defence was especially important. Children read in the May 1905 issue that

For all those who enjoy the privileges
of the Civitas Britannica naval defence
ranks as the first of all civic duties.

It was the Empire's "first and only line of defence."¹⁵⁸ If it failed, the Empire would perish. An article of 1906¹⁵⁹ pointed out that the history of Britain's Navy was one of progress and

marvellous growth from the frail craft of our
British forefathers of a thousand years ago, to
the terrible present-day engines of destruction
represented by such vessels as the Dreadnought.

The Dreadnought was "the result of over three hundred years' experience in naval construction". With its burden of 18,000 tons it dwarfed the "first ship of the English navy", the Great Harry (a mere 800 tons), and "our largest ship at the Armada" (1,000 tons), and even Nelson's Victory (2,100 tons). It was "the world's greatest battleship", in the building of which there appeared "at length to be some elements of"

¹⁵⁵CSP March 1910, p. 127.

¹⁵⁶CSP June 1908, p. 172.

¹⁵⁷A picture of this was included in an article on "Explosives", CSP April 1910, pp. 136-138. It showed "Maxim Guns and Pom-Pom Guns in Action".

¹⁵⁸CSP May 1905, p. 167.

¹⁵⁹CSP May 1906 ; "The Empire's First Line of Defence", pp. 146-152

finality". Between June 1911 and the war articles appeared on "Our Latest Ironclads",¹⁶⁰ H.M.S. Drake,¹⁶¹ H.M.A.S. Melbourne, which was "Australia's First Cruiser,"¹⁶² the training ship H.M.A.S. Tingira,¹⁶³ "His Majesty's Australian Fleet, December, 1913"¹⁶⁴ "The Story of Australia's Navy",¹⁶⁵ and "The Coming of Our Fleet".¹⁶⁶

The development of armaments, according to the 1914 article on "The Spirit of Patriotism", was "not militarism, but patriotism",¹⁶⁷ a distinction also drawn in the story of the schoolboys' tour of H.M.A.S. Melbourne. It was morally defensible, in other words, to be proud of British weapons of war, and perfectly appropriate to illustrate W.E. Henley's poem "England, My England" with a picture of battleships, as the editors did in the May 1915 issue.¹⁶⁸

There were other means of defence besides weapons of war, as a 1913 article on "The Heroes of the Navy" pointed out : the ultimate defence of the greatness of a nation was "the strength and fortitude and manly character of the great mass of its people."¹⁶⁹ Military power was only secondary. In November 1914 the Paper declared that

¹⁶⁰ CSP June, 1911, pp. 170-174.

¹⁶¹ CSP June 1912, pp. 161-162. The "Drake" was the "flagship on the Australian station" (p. 161).

¹⁶² CSP July 1913, pp. 1-5. This article included a photograph of boys inspecting the ship's guns (p. 3). An article about this ship was also published in the August 1914 issue, pp. 17-21. It was "A Visit to the H.M.A.S. Melbourne" by John Stephens, a Sydney schoolboy.

¹⁶³ CSP August 1913, pp. 17-20.

¹⁶⁴ CSP December 1913, pp. 94-95.

¹⁶⁵ CSP May 1914, pp. 167-171.

¹⁶⁶ CSP May 1914, p. 164.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 162.

¹⁶⁸ CSP May 1915, pp. 147-149.

¹⁶⁹ CSP May 1913, p. 148.

there was a way of defending the British heritage which lay "above and beyond" the "well-trained battle-line", the "swift fleet", and "counsels of peace". It was that of

keeping the race clean and fit and stalwart,
and ... cherishing undimmed those nobler
enthusiasms that are the truest life of both
man and nation.¹⁷⁰

Thus the children were taught that the best Imperial defences were the superior physical and moral qualities of the British race. The story "A Victorian Hero", ¹⁷¹ published twice in the Paper in 1910, showed how true this had been in the past. The hero was Captain Wilson, who had won his Victoria Cross during the war in the Soudan by fighting off a number of Arabs with almost nothing but his bare fists :

It was, in fact, for a time, a case of
"one down, 't'other come on", only sometimes,
in Captain Wilson's case, two went down
together, ...

This superiority the Paper attributed both to "the healthy training" he had had, "characteristic of English boys", and to his exemplary

170

CSP November 1914, p. 68

171

CSP March 1910, pp. 125-127 ;

May 1910 pp. 156-158 :

The article was reprinted verbatim except for an additional final sentence "Captain Wilson now occupies the position of First Lord of the Admiralty".

courage.¹⁷² The "Heroes of the Navy" were like this too, because their training for the defence of the Empire had traditionally made them self-controlled and heroic. The British bluejacket was "not a mere fighting machine".¹⁷³ As a brief history of the British Navy published in the Paper showed, he was heir to a tradition of "bravery, devotion to duty, and patriotism handed down ... from Drake, Blake, and Nelson."¹⁷⁴ The illustrations accompanying an article which appeared on the centenary of the Battle of Trafalgar¹⁷⁵ symbolised both parts of the tradition: flags spelling out "England Expects That Every Man Will Do His Duty" and contrasting pictures of Nelson's flagship and a modern warship.¹⁷⁶

The power of duty and courage to bring victory was seen in Sir Frederick Roberts's "famous march to Kandahar" in Afghanistan, when the British soldiers demonstrated

¹⁷² A better example of this idea occurred in the Victorian School Paper for Grades VII and VIII (Melbourne), May 1, 1915, p. 53., in an article called "The War: Some Cheering Aspects", in which it was explained that

If the British soldier has proved himself a better man than the German soldier, it is partly because the Briton has been trained in the playing-fields as well as on the drill-ground. Our men do not need to sing songs of hate to make them hit hard. They play the game as the greatest game their race has ever played. This keeps them keen, and helps to keep them "fit"; while, on the other hand, the hate that the German soldier nurses in his heart actually - so science tells us - poisons his body and clouds his brain.

Here British training is shown to produce soldiers who are better both physically and morally. The Empire's enemies are physically weakened by their moral inferiority.

¹⁷³ CSP May 1913, p. 143.

¹⁷⁴ CSP May 1906, p. 152

¹⁷⁵ CSP October 1905, pp. 49-57.

¹⁷⁶ The modern warship was H.M.S. Euryalus, in 1905, flagship of the Australian station.

Such bravery ... that the Afghans, although largely superior numerically, were utterly routed, and their camp, baggage, guns and ammunition were captured.¹⁷⁷

It was also seen in the number of victories gained by the British "in countries such as Egypt and India" where they faced "conditions of climate and locality ...utterly unfavourable" to them. This spoke "eloquently for the endurance and pluck of British troops",¹⁷⁸ according to a 1910 article. In Africa, a good example was the "heroic Defence of Rorke's Drift"¹⁷⁹ during the Zulu War of 1879, when 140 Englishmen had defended themselves against 3,000 Zulus.¹⁸⁰ Although "many fell victims to the furious onslaught of the blood-thirsty Zulus", not one British soldier "flinched in that terrible crisis". Indeed

The fire of devoted patriotism burnt in their bosoms, and they were heroes all, ready to die for their Queen and country should such a supreme sacrifice be necessary.

Because of this "stubborn tenacity", they "won the day" and wrote "another glorious victory" on the "Roll of Fame".¹⁸¹

Poetry also showed how a sense of duty helped British soldiers to fight. In "Vital Lampada", by Henry Newbolt, soldiers are roused to duty when all seems lost by a call to "play the game", in true British fashion :

¹⁷⁷CSP June 1908, pp. 169-170.

¹⁷⁸CSP March 1910, p. 126.

¹⁷⁹CSP June 1906. "The Hero of Rorke's Drift", pp. 171-175. This phrase occurs on p. 171.

¹⁸⁰CSP May 1909. "The Heroes of Rorke's Drift", pp. 139-143. This was a different account of the same battle.

¹⁸¹Ibid., pp. 142-143.

The sand of the desert is sodden red -
Red with the wreck of a square that broke ;
The Gatling's jammed and the Colonel dead,
And the regiment blind with dust and smoke.
The river of death has brimmed his banks,
And England's far, and Honour a name,
But the voice of a schoolboy rallies the ranks,
"Play up ! play up ! and play the game !" 182

An American poem called "There's Something in the English After All " explained why "the scanty numbers of the thin red British line" were able to make their enemies afraid. It was because the enemies knew

... that from the colonel to the drummer in
the band,
There is not a single soldier of them all,
But would go to blind destruction, were their
country to command,
And call it simply duty - after all. 183

A 1910 article on "The King's Funeral" described Edward VII as "one of God's great men !" and pointed out that despite Parliament's abrogation of the Divine Right of Kings, "no man-made law" could prevent "thousands of people" from "feeling that the King is God's representative on earth".¹⁸⁴ When war came, the Paper looked to the supernatural at it had in time of death. It called upon the ultimate power in battle, beyond that of guns or patriotic courage : the help of God. In the October 1915 issue, the song "Litany for Army and Navy" was published, pleading with God for "Britain's cause on land and

¹⁸²CSP October, 1905, p. 54.

183 CSP August 1911, p. 25.

184 CSP August 1910, p. 30

sea." The request for help was justified both by the past and the present : the past because they were asking Him

Whose grace hath made our Empire strong,
and the present because it was

Not for the lust of war we fight,
But for the triumph of the right ;
The strife we hate is on us thrust,
Our aims are pure, our cause is just.¹⁸⁵

Earlier in 1915 children read Lord Roberts's advice to "preach" to all their friends

the 'glorious right' of this war, in which we
had to take our part or else for ever hang our
heads in shame ...¹⁸⁶

Behind the expectation of God's help, then, stood the firm conviction of being in the right, just as it stood behind the power of British courage to defeat the enemy. Thus the story of the great victory at Rorke's Drift was prefaced by a verse by Thomas Campbell :

Our bosoms we'll bear for the glorious strife,
And our oath is recorded on high,
To prevail in the cause that is dearer than life,
Or crushed in its ruins to die.¹⁸⁷

In other words, these soldiers believed in the British cause, the "cause of Freedom and of Right",¹⁸⁸ as a later poem in the Paper called it. In fact, they believed in it without doubting. That was the secret of their amazing victory.

¹⁸⁵CSP October 1915, p. 64.

¹⁸⁶CSP, May 1915, p. 158.

¹⁸⁷CSP, May, 1909, p. 139.

¹⁸⁸CSP March 1911, p. 119, from "Old England", by Horace Smith, pp. 119-120.

Australian History and Literature

The place given to Australian history and literature in the Paper is an index of the Public Schools' response to distinctive Australian patriotism before the war. At best that response was a weak one. The primary tradition was always British - symbolised by the fact that Australian children learnt about the Empire from an Australian historian, Arthur Jose,¹⁸⁹ and about the Empire's hero Captain Scott of the Antarctic from an Australian poet Will Lawson.¹⁹⁰ and the native tradition, built mainly on pride in the explorers and the bush, was respectable and Imperially loyal. But at least for Australian history there was a marked change of emphasis. The bulk of Australian history items in the Paper were published after the beginning of 1913. The growing interest in Australian history, as the Paper said in 1914, was an example of Australia's new "broader patriotic spirit". It was a history of which Australians had no cause to be ashamed. The new interest in it, the Paper said, was shown in the annual celebration of Cook's landing at Botany Bay, the 1913 centenary celebration - of the crossing of the Blue Mountains by Blaxland, Lawson and Wentworth - and the steps taken by the Minister for Public Instruction to honour the memory of "our own poet", Henry Kendall. He had done this by arranging to fence in and preserve a

¹⁸⁹ CSP May 1905, pp. 162-164. Arthur Jose was born in England in 1863 and came to Australia in 1882. From 1904 to 1915 he was the correspondent in Australia for The Times of London. He died in 1934.

¹⁹⁰ CSP March 1915, p. 124 : "The Lost Explorer". Will Lawson was born in England in 1876 and came to Australia. He died in 1957.

rock at Gosford on the Central coast which Kendall had inscribed with his name and about which he had written a poem. At Milton on the South coast schoolchildren

had quietly - "without any ostentation, but with a true Australian patriotic belief in their country" - made an expedition to the poet's birthplace, and there erected a cairn to his memory.

It was "well to remember our famous men and famous places", to take "a pride in our past", "honour the men who laid the foundations of our progress", "emulate their example", and keep Australia "inviolable and strong". Teachers had gladly used the Blue Mountains centenary in May 1913 to teach children how much they owed "to the brave undaunted pioneers of this land".¹⁹¹ But there was a note of defensiveness in the Paper about Australian history. The Paper felt it was necessary to oppose the idea that Australia was a country without a history. As far as it was possible for a young country to make history, Australians had made it.¹⁹²

History in Australia was the story of the nation builders. There were articles about "The First Ministry under the Constitution of 1855,"¹⁹³ Sir John Robertson,¹⁹⁴ the Federation Convention,¹⁹⁵ and the "Opening of the First Australian Federal Parliament",¹⁹⁶ but the most

¹⁹¹CSP May 1914, pp. 161-163.

¹⁹²CSP May 1914, p. 162.

¹⁹³CSP November 1913, pp. 72-78.

¹⁹⁴CSP August 1913, pp. 25-27.

¹⁹⁵CSP April 1913, pp. 139-141.

¹⁹⁶CSP June 1911, pp. 156-170.

important nation builders were the "heroic explorers".¹⁹⁷ Captain Cook¹⁹⁸ was the favourite, and there were items on Flinders,¹⁹⁹ Ensign Francis Barralier,²⁰⁰ "The Pioneers of the Blue Mountains,"²⁰¹ Allan Cunningham,²⁰² Count Strzelecki,²⁰³ Frank and Alex. Jardine,²⁰⁴ Burke and Wills,²⁰⁵ and "Australian Explorers, 1813-1880."²⁰⁶

Beginning in August 1912, a section in each issue was devoted to reminding children of days to be celebrated during the month. These included British festivals like Waterloo Day or even Irish (St. Patrick's Day), but the overwhelming emphasis was on events in Australian history.

Less clearly, there was an increasing acceptance of Australian literature. Wattle Day and Bird Day created the need for appropriate stories and poems, and a greater number of Australian poets appeared in the Paper between September 1912 and the end of 1914 than had appeared from 1904 to 1912. Perhaps this change in the schools' attitude to

¹⁹⁷ CSP April 1913. This phrase was used in the article "Captain Cook Lands in Australia", pp. 129-133.

¹⁹⁸ CSP November 1911 : picture of "Captain Cook's Landing Place, Kurnell", p. 79 ; March 1913 : "Cook's First Voyage", pp. 121-123 ; July 1913 : "Cook's Voyage", pp. 12-15; April 1914 : the "Shakespeare - Captain Cook Number" of the Paper : "H.M.S. Endeavour, " pp. 152-155, and Captain Cook", a poem by William Cowper p. 155.

¹⁹⁹ CSP June 1905 : "Flinders", a poem by J.B. O'Hara, p. 177.

²⁰⁰ CSP 1914-1915 : "Ensign Francis Barralier's Blue Mountain Exploration in 1802", September 1914, pp. 43-46., October 1914, pp. 60-62, November 1914, pp. 73-77, February 1915, pp. 108-111.

²⁰¹ CSP May 1913, pp. 153-157.

²⁰² CSP March 1914 : "Allan Cunningham's Explorations" pp. 129-134.

²⁰³ CSP 1912 : "Count Strzelecki's Explorations, "August 1912, pp.29-30; November 1912, pp. 77-78. This may also occur in the October 1912 number, which is not in the Mitchell Library collection.

²⁰⁴ CSP February 1910, pp. 97-102.

²⁰⁵ CSP April 1913, "An Ill-Fated Expedition", pp. 141-143.

²⁰⁶ CSP November 1913, pp.65-69.

Australian history and literature, slight as it was, reflected a change in respectable adults' attitude to Australia. The working class tradition, epitomised in the literature of the Bulletin, had been since the 1880's to embrace Australia and spurn England. Now the respectable people were beginning to be proud of Australia too, although England was still the beloved Homeland. As respectable institutions in the community, the schools were faced with a problem. Children could be taught to be proud of Australian history, but Australian literature was different. Much of the most popular poetry, for example, expressed entirely the wrong sentiments and ideals. Careful choices within Australian literature had to be made.

It is not surprising that the most popular Australian writer in the Commonwealth School Paper was Henry Kendall. Not only did Kendall write "proper" poetry like Englishmen, and not only did he write mostly about Nature in Australia, but he was long since dead as well (he died in 1882). His series of poems on "The Austral Months" was published by the Paper during 1907. Kendall's kind of poetry set the tone for Australian literature in the Paper, which mainly dealt with Nature and patriotism and expressed respectable rather than radical sentiments about Australia. There were verses about the wattle, for example, by traditionalists like Robert Richardson²⁰⁷ and J.L. Cuthbertson,²⁰⁸ and also one by the socialist Bernard O'Dowd,²⁰⁹

²⁰⁷CSP September 1912, pp. 37-38, September 1914 p. 37. He published a book of poems Willow and Wattle (Edinburgh, 1893).

²⁰⁸CSP September 1912, pp. 37-38, September 1914 p. 37. Born in 1851; died in 1910.

²⁰⁹CSP September 1912, pp. 37-38. Born in 1866; died in 1953.

the Victorian poet who thought poetry should make the masses aware of the injustices they suffered. The children's only acquaintance with O'Dowd, then, was as one of "The Poets Amid the Wattle" looking forward to Spring, and not as a radical at all. Adam Lindsay Gordon was quoted at least three times in the Paper on the subject of wattle,²¹⁰ and another time on "Bush Delights".²¹¹ None of his ballads was published.

The work of one of the most famous radical poets, Henry Lawson - a socialist and a heavy drinker - was completely absent from the Paper, which preferred less famous but more reputable writers : women for example. There was no poem by Henry Lawson but one by Mollie McNutt,²¹² about the song of the magpies, and others by Veronica Mason ("Cooee !"),²¹³ Ethel Castilla ("An Australian Girl"²¹⁴), Ada A. Holman ("Australia ! Sighs My Heart"²¹⁵), Agnes L. Storrie ("A Patriotic Song"²¹⁶), and Dorothea Mackellar.²¹⁷ There were two poems

²¹⁰ CSP September 1912, p. 34 ; pp. 37-38 ; September 1914, p. 34.

²¹¹ CSP July 1904, p. 1 A.L. Gordon was born in 1833, came to Australia in 1853, and committed suicide in 1870.

²¹² CSP October 1914, pp. 55-56. She published a book of poetry Songs of Bushland in 1918. (North Sydney)

²¹³ CSP July 1912, p. 14. She published a book of poetry I Heard a Child Singing in 1907 (London)

²¹⁴ CSP December 1907, p. 95. She published a book of poetry The Australian Girl and Other Verses (Melbourne 1900 ; also London 1914).

²¹⁵ CSP August 1915, p. 24. She published My Wander Year in 1914.

²¹⁶ CSP February 1914, p. 119.

²¹⁷ CSP February 1909, pp. 86-87 ; February 1914, pp. 126-127 ; May 1914, p. 175. Born in Sydney, she died in January 1968 at the age of 82.

²¹⁸ ("Flinders" and "Our Dead at Gallipoli"²¹⁹) by the earnest conventional poet J.B. O'Hara²²⁰ and three ("My Other Chinese Cook",²²¹ "Cape Byron",²²² and a patriotic piece written in 1877²²³) by the colonial poet James Brunton Stephens.²²⁴ It is true that the bush balladists were not totally ignored. A.B. Paterson appeared twice, with a story, "Buffalo Hunting in Australia",²²⁵ and a short extract in praise of Australia.²²⁶ But Paterson the balladist was not encountered by readers of the Paper, at a time when he was more widely read than most other Australian poets. Edward Dyson,²²⁷ the radical Bulletin writer, was represented once in a poem from Rhymes from the Mines.²²⁸ Will Ogilvie²²⁹ contributed a nature article on "Wild Life in a City Suburb,"²³⁰ but there was nothing from his book of ballads Fair Girls and Grey Horses²³¹. John

²¹⁸ CSP June 1905, p. 177.

²¹⁹ CSP November 1915, pp. 73-74.

²²⁰ Born in Victoria in 1862; died in 1927.

²²¹ CSP February 1905, pp. 120-122.

²²² CSP March 1909, pp. 105-106.

²²³ CSP February 1914, p. 121.

²²⁴ Born in Scotland in 1835; came to Queensland in 1866; died in 1902.

²²⁵ CSP February 1907, pp. 98-105.

²²⁶ CSP June 1914, p. 191.

²²⁷ Born in Victoria in 1865; died in 1931.

²²⁸ CSP August 1904, pp. 17-18; "The Rescue" Rhymes from the Mines and Other Lines was published in Sydney in 1896.

²²⁹ He was born in Scotland in 1869, came to Australia in 1889, and returned to Scotland in 1901. He is regarded as an Australian poet.

²³⁰ CSP October 1913, pp. 52-53.

²³¹ Published in 1898.

Farrell,²³² one of the first Bulletin balladists, was represented in patriotic strain.²³³ Victor Daley, a romantic radical, was quoted on the subject of "Christmas in Australia."²³⁴ But more popular than any of these was George Essex Evans²³⁵ with his conventional poems about "The Nation Builders",²³⁶ the birds,²³⁷ Australia,²³⁸ and "The Women of the West".²³⁹

The Public Instruction Gazette of May 1914 reviewed, among other books, "An anthology of short English and American poems, selected for the use of young Australians"²⁴⁰ by S.H. Smith, and Donald Fraser's Thoughts for Teachers. S.H. Smith declared that the principle he had followed in selecting poems was to

gather those poems which I read with most interest when I was myself a schoolboy. I have tried to remember the poems which most appealed to me in those far-off days ...²⁴¹

Donald Fraser, in his book, drew up a list of Australian books by Australian authors for Australian school libraries.²⁴² It is a list

²³²Born in 1851 ; came to Australia in 1852 ; died in 1904.

²³³CSP June 1914, p. 181.

²³⁴CSP December 1912, pp. 94-95.

²³⁵Born in 1863, died in 1909.

²³⁶CSP September 1904, pp. 33-34.

²³⁷CSP October 1913, pp. 52-53.

²³⁸CSP May 1914, p. 175.

²³⁹CSP April 1910, pp. 135-136.

²⁴⁰The Commonwealth Poetry Books, No. II (Senior) William Brooks and Co.

²⁴¹The Public Instruction Gazette May 1914, p. 149.

²⁴²Thoughts for Teachers, pp. 79-80.

which shows what the Commonwealth School Paper could have been like under the editorship of Donald Fraser rather than S.H. Smith. It also shows that not everyone in the Public Schools was satisfied with the selections of literature being made for school children. The reason why there was so much more British literature than Australian in the Paper was not that there was little Australian literature from which to choose, but that much Australian literature espoused ideals contrary to those acceptable in the Public schools. Donald Fraser listed the works of Henry Lawson, A.B. Paterson, Will Ogilvie, Marie Fitt,²⁴³ the socialist Mary Gilmore and Victor Daley, as well as more respectable ones like Amy Mack, Dorothea Mackellar, Ethel Turner, Louise Mack, Ethel Pedley, and Mary Grant Bruce. A Commonwealth School Paper edited by Donald Fraser would have included not only different writers (Henry Lawson) but also different works by the same writers. It would have been the Paterson of "Saltbush Bill", the Will Ogilvie of "We've Been Droving Too", and perhaps the Victor Daley of "A Ballad of Eureka". Henry Kendall would probably have been replaced as the most popular Australian poet by someone more distinctively Australian. But it was in the nature of respectable schooling that the Donald Frasers of the Department were not entrusted with the editorship of the official school paper.

As it was, literature in the Paper was predominantly British. There were more British authors contributing, and they contributed more than the Australians and Americans put together. Shakespeare

²⁴³Born in Victoria in 1869, she later lived in the mining areas of Tasmania, and was politically in sympathy with the workers. She died in 1948.

was the most frequently quoted author, but of the next ten, all except one came from the nineteenth century - Longfellow, Sir Walter Scott, Harry Kendall, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Dickens, Wordsworth, Tennyson, Byron, Cowper and Washington Irving - and all except one (Cowper) were in the romantic tradition, whether it was English, American, or Australian colonial. Only a few Australian writers were represented as much as the British writers Thomas Campbell, Goldsmith, Macaulay, Carlyle, Thomas Moore, Milton, Charles Kingsley, Charles Mackay, Henry Newbolt, and W.E. Henley, or as much as the Americans Oliver Wendell Holmes, James Fenimore Cooper, James Russell Lowell, and John Greenleaf Whittier.

The Prudent Virtues

The public moral drawn by the Commonwealth School Paper was that Public schoolchildren should be patriotic school children. Its private moral was less clear because it recommended virtues which in some ways were contradictory.

There was no doubt, however, that the child should regard his body "always as the temple wherein dwells an immortal soul",²⁴⁴ "a temple to be kept pure"²⁴⁵ which they should not allow to fall into ruins.²⁴⁶ It should be built up as "an edifice sound and strong and sweet, a fit abode for the Divinity within".²⁴⁷ In "Why Boys Should

²⁴⁴CSP March 1913, p. 117, from the article "Physical Culture", pp.114-117.

²⁴⁵CSP March 1913, p. 120, from "Analysis of 'The Living Temple'," which interpreted a poem about the body by Oliver Wendell Holmes.

²⁴⁶CSP March 1913, p. 117.

²⁴⁷Ibid.

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²⁴⁶CSP March 1913, p. 117.

²⁴⁷Ibid.

Not Smoke", children learnt that tobacco was bad for the brain, and that

Boys who smoke don't give themselves a chance of getting on at school or in life afterwards.²⁴⁸

Here the incentive to virtue was the prospect of worldly success, of "getting on". It was also suggested as an incentive to other prudent virtues.

Children should "Rise early, be punctual, reliable, honest, economical, industrious and persevering,"²⁴⁹ and be provident²⁵⁰ as well, according to the Paper. They should realise that gambling was a vice.²⁵¹ Most important was to work hard. As the Scottish poet Charles Mackay said in his poem "Daily Work",

Who lags for dread of daily work,
And his appointed task would shirk,
Commits a folly and a crime ;
A soulless slave -
A paltry knave -
A clog upon the wheels of time.²⁵²

To work meant not to waste time. In Carlyle's words,

So here hath been dawning
Another blue Day ;
Think, will thou let it
Slip useless away ?²⁵³

Horace Mann, the mid-nineteenth-century American educational reformer,

²⁴⁸CSP December 1911, p. 94.

²⁴⁹Ibid, in the article "Max O'Rell on Luck".

²⁵⁰For example, CSP September 1905 : "Ironical Eulogy of Debt", pp.45-47.

²⁵¹CSP September 1904, pp. 39-40 ; and August 1915, pp. 25-26. "The Vice of Gambling".

²⁵²CSP August 1904, p. 21.

²⁵³CSP August 1909 : "Today", a poem by T. Carlyle, p. 31.

depicted the time already wasted :

Lost yesterday, somewhere between sunrise
and sunset, two golden hours, each set with
sixty diamond minutes. No reward offered,
for they are gone for ever.²⁵⁴

"Let us work !"²⁵⁵ "let there be no drones in the hive",²⁵⁶ "Satan
finds some mischief still for idle hands to do"²⁵⁷ - in phrases like
these, in poems, stories, articles and homilies, the message was
preached that work is virtuous. Although "as brave and hardy as any
in Europe", the 17th century soldiers of Gustavus Adolphus "were quite
accustomed ... to make their own clothes and mend their own linen."
This was by command of Gustavus himself, who never allowed any of his
men "to be idle" because he knew the value of keeping them wholesomely
employed.²⁵⁸ Work must be "Honest Work"²⁵⁹ and must be done in a
spirit of cheerfulness,²⁶⁰ in the Paper's view. If one was tired
of working hard the answer was to keep working and hoping, said Ella
Wheeler Wilcox in her verse :

Is the work weary and endless the grind,
And petty the pay ?
Then say, "Something better is coming my way",
And keep doing.²⁶¹

There was to be no dreading work, because it was "Nature's plan" :

²⁵⁴ CSP, March 1912, p. 123. This was one of four "Memory Gems".

²⁵⁵ CSP August 1904, p. 21.

²⁵⁶ CSP June 1914, p. 191.

²⁵⁷ CSP October 1908, p. 61.

²⁵⁸ CSP October 1908, p. 61.

²⁵⁹ CSP August 1909, p. 31.

²⁶⁰ CSP December 1905, p. 95 : "Work", an article by John Ruskin :
"all wise work ... is honest, useful, and cheerful".

²⁶¹ CSP June 1914, p. 191.

Who toils, as every man should toil,
 For fair reward, erect and free ;
 These are the men -
 The best of men -
 These are the men we mean to be.²⁶²

On the virtue of prudence, frugality, and industriousness the Paper spoke with one voice. About the rewards of such virtue, however, it put forward a number of theories. Some items suggested that the reward of hard work was worldly success:

The more we work, the more we win.
 Success to trade !
 Success to spade !
 And to the corn that's coming in !²⁶³

The exultant words are Charles Mackay's. In another poem, he pictured "The Festival of Labour"²⁶⁴ as the nations gathered to celebrate the beneficent effects of science, invention, industry, and skill in a "Jubilee of toil". The poem was illustrated by photographs of Thomas Alva Edison and William Marconi, as well as of Mackay himself. Bad luck, according to an article of December 1911,²⁶⁵ was merely missed opportunity. If children wanted "to be lucky in life", they would have to "force luck" and make it themselves by practising all the prudent virtues. They could take the author's word for it that if they did that, they would be more lucky than they could imagine. But they had to believe in themselves first. This

²⁶²CSP August 1904, p. 21.

²⁶³ibid.

²⁶⁴CSP June 1906, pp. 161-162.

²⁶⁵CSP p. 94.

sentiment was echoed by an item published in November 1912 :

I believe in working - not weeping, in
effort and not in dreaming, and in
the pleasure of my job. I believe in
to-day and the work I'm doing, and in
to-morrow and the work I'm hoping to do.
I believe there's something doing for
every man who's ready to do it ;²⁶⁶
I believe I am ready here and now.

And Charles Mackay's poem "My Good Right Hand"²⁶⁷ told the story of
one who lifted himself out of sorrow and misfortune by trusting only
in God and himself :

To trust to the world is to build on the sand
I'll trust but in Heaven and my good Right Hand.

His good right hand had fed him and clothed him "again and again", and
made dependence upon friends unnecessary. A confident belief in one-
self together with hard work, in other words, would lead to success.
And success here meant personal material gain, success of the most
worldly kind.

The same formula applied to other sorts of worldly success.
Articles on Michaelangelo showed that artistic success came largely
from hard work. It was he who said that "Genius is eternal patience",²⁶⁸
and proved it by his long life of "patient, steady work."²⁶⁹ As well
as "genius for poetry, architecture, painting, and sculpture," he had
"the genius of hard work without which all other gifts are useless."²⁷⁰

²⁶⁶ CSP November 1912, p. 76.

²⁶⁷ CSP September 1905, p. 45.

²⁶⁸ CSP November 1908, p. 72.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ CSP March 1910, p. 122.

Learning to play the piano was the same, according to a poem by Frances Ridley Havergal. Before the "mysteries of beauty" in playing the "Moonlight Sonata" could be known, there had to come hours of "toiling time", of "aching hand and puzzled head".²⁷¹ A successful life of service to the Empire was also based on hard work. Sir Stamford Raffles, for example,

found his reward in honest work, not for
his own advancement, but for the benefit
of posterity.

This was a different ethic of success from Charles Mackay's, however. As Raffles said at the time of Singapore's foundation, "though I may personally suffer in the scuffle, the nation must be benefited".

The Paper's comment was a saying of Robert Louis Stevenson :

" "our business in life is not to succeed", ... "but to continue to fail cheerfully."²⁷² If this applied to the patriot, it applied also to

the poor, whose reward for toil was success in even more spiritual garb. James Russell Lowell expressed it best in his poem "The

Heritage of the Poor Man's Son", published twice in the Paper.²⁷³

The fourth stanza was :

O, poor man's son, scorn not thy state !
There is worse weariness than thine
In being merely rich and great ;
Work only makes the soul to shine,
And makes rest fragrant and benign :
A heritage, it seems to me,
Worth being poor to hold in fee.

²⁷¹ CSP March 1908 : "After Playing the "Moonlight Sonata", pp.116-117.

²⁷² CSP August 1909, p. 22.

²⁷³ CSP August 1904, p. 25, and November 1906, pp. 78-79.

Thus it was worth being poor to be able to enjoy both the spiritual advantages bestowed by sweat and toil, and the greater sense of rest and relief when the work stopped. Another poem, anonymous, explored the paradox that the poor who are satisfied with their portion are richer than those who "have too much, yet still do crave."²⁷⁴ Even Charles Mackay himself paid homage to the traditional Christian strictures against being discontent with one's lot :

We have no quarrel with the great,
 No feud with rank,
 With mill, or bank -
 No envy of a lord's estate,
 If we can earn sufficient store
 To satisfy our daily need ;
 And can retain,
 For age or pain,
 A fraction, we are rich indeed.²⁷⁵

A couplet by Pope expressed the idea in classical form :

Honour and shame from no condition rise ;
 Act well your part ; there all the honour lies.²⁷⁶

Within the same Paper, then, and even within the works of the same poet, radically opposed views of the purpose of human existence were taught to children : on the one hand, that they should be ambitious to "get on" in life ; on the other, that they should be satisfied and humble. In both cases hard work was indispensable, whether to make a fortune, or (and this was why the poor should work hard) for its own sake.

Thus the children in pre-War Public schools of New South Wales learnt from the Paper the respectable morality of their time,

²⁷⁴CSP November 1905, p. 71 from "My Mind to Me a Kingdom Is", pp.70-71.

²⁷⁵CSP August 1904 : "Daily Work", p. 21.

²⁷⁶CSP March 1912, p. 128.

contradictions and all, from the twin sources of nineteenth century British Protestantism and American Puritanism. In that programme of moral virtue, hard work was recommended to everyone, regardless of whether it would improve their material condition.

The child who came to believe in the world of the Commonwealth School Paper would be a hard worker, fiercely patriotic, ready to die for his country and Empire and aware that he might be called upon to make that sacrifice soon, proud of belonging to the British race and of the civilisation which it was taking to inferior races, confident that British courage was the secret of British victory, and convinced that most good literature was from Britain.

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Chapter V

SOME TEXT BOOKS

Except for the Bible, the most widely read books in the United States in the nineteenth century were school textbooks.¹ The same could be said of New South Wales between 1880 and 1914, ignoring perhaps the qualification about Bible-reading. How the Public school and Catholic school textbooks differed has much to say about the divisions of society in New South Wales before 1914.

Both State and Catholic systems of education in New South Wales sought to control what was taught in their schools by determining the nature of school textbooks. The first regulations under the Public Instruction Act of 1880 prescribed "for ordinary instruction" only such books as were supplied or sanctioned by the Minister,² and succeeding regulations laid down much of the course in close detail. Under the regulations of 1891, for example, history lessons in the first half-year of third class were to proceed to page 21 of Nelson's Brief History of England, and in the second half-year to page 44.

¹Ruth Miller Elson, "American Schoolbooks and "Culture" in the Nineteenth Century", Mississippi Valley Historical Review. Vol. XLVI (December, 1959), p. 412.

²New South Wales Government Gazette for the Year 1880, Vol. II. Sydney : Gov't. Printer 1880. Wednesday 12 May, p. 2244.

The end of the book was finally reached after two years.³ Catholic schools at this time were using Catholic books, such as the Irish Christian Brothers' books, but the calls made by the First Plenary Council of the Australian Hierarchy in 1885 and the Sydney Synodal Conference in 1890 for Catholic School books adapted to Australian conditions produced no response. American Catholic Texts were therefore imported at the turn of the century.⁴ Fogarty describes the Catholic Irish books being used as "strongly nationalistic in their outlook and to that extent anti-British".⁵ A series of "Approved Readers for the Catholic Schools of Australasia" finally

³New South Wales Department of Public Instruction The Public Instruction Act of 1880 and Regulations Framed thereunder together with instructions to Teachers Sydney. Government Printer 1891, pp. 43-44.

The new Standards of Proficiency for compulsory education were issued at the end of 1884. Under the 1885 Regulations, the primary school course was divided into half-years: three in first class, three in second class, three in third class, two in fourth class, and two in fifth class. This was changed in 1891, when second class was reduced to two half-years, and third class increased to four. The others remained the same. Under the new syllabus, the child spent from one and a half to two and a half years in first class, and one year in each of the others to the end of fourth class. Fifth class finished when the pupil had satisfactorily completed the course.

Before 1904, the highest distinctly primary class was fourth class, because the fifth class course was determined by the requirements of examinations set by the University. Peter Board's syllabus made fifth class the end of the primary course, and the Qualifying Certificate for entrance to high school introduced in 1911 was awarded on the results of an examination in fifth class work.

⁴Ronald Fogarty, Catholic Education in Australia 1806-1950 Melbourne University Press, 1959, Vol. II, p. 410.

⁵Ibid., p. 410, note 2.

appeared about 1908, bearing the imprimatur of Cardinal Moran, Archbishop of Sydney.

In this chapter school textbooks from three periods will be chiefly examined : a reader prescribed for Public schools in the 1880's and 1890's ; the history and geography books for Public schools published by S.H. Smith between 1898 and 1901 ; and two sets of readers, Public school and Catholic, published between 1908 and 1910,⁶ which will be compared. At the end come two short comparisons dealing with Public school and Catholic attitudes to race, and with changing Australian content in Public school books.

Until 1898, readers published by the Irish National Board of Commissioners for education continued to be prescribed as alternative reading books for the Public schools.⁷ The Irish National System, in which government schools provided a common secular course with provision for denominational instruction, was the model for State schooling in New South Wales, first established in 1848 alongside a separate system of Church schools. As soon as the National Board in New South Wales met in that year it ordered school books from Ireland,⁸ and I.N.B. Scripture books were still being read by Public school children as late as 1909.⁹ At the end of the nineteenth

⁶As far as can be determined. See p. 205.

⁷The others were the "Australian School Series".

⁸Smith and Spaul, p. 39.

⁹The Public Instruction Gazette 30 June 1910, p. 199.

century, then, children in both Public and Catholic schools in New South Wales were reading books prepared for Irish children. But the traditions those books represented were two radically different ones, even though the Irish Commissioners included Catholics : on the one hand a tradition of English ascendancy, on the other a tradition of Catholic Irish resistance. The whole national system in Ireland had been condemned by the Irish bishops in 1863.¹⁰ The I.N.B. Books were part of it. However unsatisfactory the I.N.B. books were to the Catholic Church, especially when it emerged during the 1860's that an Anglican member of the original Irish National Board had hoped to weaken the Catholics by influencing the writing of the textbooks,¹¹ the books were not unchristian. This was recognised in Victoria in 1876 when the Minister of Education ordered that the Irish readers be replaced because their religious content was inconsistent with the ideal of secular education.¹² Lesson II in I.N.B. Book II, which was prescribed for first and second class children,¹³ asked the question "Who Made All Things ?" and answered :

It was God. That is His name.
We must not speak of that great
name in play, or when we are not good.¹⁴

Lesson III, "Who Made You ?" gave the same reply, and added

¹⁰Fogarty, Catholic Education in Australia, p. 177. Barcan wrongly gives this date as 1868 (p. 135).

¹¹Fogarty, p. 177.

¹²A.G. Austin, Australian Education 1788-1900 Church, State and Public Education in Colonial Australia Melbourne 2nd Ed. 1965 (1st ed. 1961), p. 240.

¹³1885 Regulations, pp. 45-46 ; 1891 Regulations, pp. 41-42.

¹⁴Second Book of Lessons for the Use of Schools Published by Permission of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland. Sydney : John Ferguson, 426 George Street, n.d., p. 6.

If you are bad He will not love you.
 Though He is out of your sight, He
 can see all that you do. If you tell
 a lie He knows it. It is God Who
 takes care of you by day, when it is
 light ; and by night, in the dark.¹⁵

Other lessons were "How the world was made", "Adam and Eve", "Cain
 and Abel", "The Flood", and "The Tower of Babel", "The Call of Abram",
 "The Parting of Abram and Lot", "Lot Taken Prisoner and delivered by
 Abram", "The Destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah", "Our Father Who Art
 in Heaven", "The Works of God", and "God's Family".

This last lesson told children how the world is ordered.¹⁶

First there is the family :

The father is the master thereof. If the
 family be numerous, and the ground large,
 there are servants to help to do the work :
 all these dwell in one house.

Then there is the village :

Many houses are built together ; many families
 live near one another ... the sound of the
 bell calleth them to the house of God in company

Or perhaps it is a town. If so, "it is governed by a magistrate".

Next comes the kingdom :

The inhabitants thereof are fellow-countrymen ;
 they speak the same language ; they make war
 and peace together ; a king is the ruler thereof

Finally, there is the world ; which God governs :

God is the Sovereign of the king ; his crown is
 of rays of light, and his throne is in heaven.
 He is king of kings, and Lord of lords ; if He
 bid us live, we live ; and if He bid us die,
 we die. His dominion is over all the worlds,
 and the light of His countenance is upon all His works.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁶ Second Book of Lessons, pp. 93-96.

Children reading this book could not be said to be receiving secular education. The world of the Irish National Board books, if the Second Book of Lessons is any indication, was clearly Christian and at times almost medieval, suited no doubt to the purposes of educating the rebellious Irish, but irrelevant in late nineteenth century New South Wales. It was perhaps a realisation of this that led the Department of Public Instruction to prescribe only the "New Australian School Series" of readers in the Regulations of 1898.¹⁷

In the same year in which these readers were prescribed, S.H. Smith began writing his eight textbooks on History and Geography.¹⁸

¹⁷Board of Education. Special Reports on Educational Subjects London 1901, p. 264, and Brooks' New Australian School Series : 101 Certificate Tests in Arithmetic. A Pupil's Guide to the Standard required by Inspectors from the 3rd, 4th and 5th Classes in the Public Schools of N.S.W. (1899?), p. 2.

¹⁸The following eight books were probably the textbooks Smith mentions at the beginning of his Brief History of commercially produced school papers 1901-1916, but he may not have counted the concise histories, in which case two are missing from the list :

- (1) English History Stories for Third Class. Brooks's New Australian School Series. The New Standard Histories, No. 1 Sydney and Brisbane, (1899?).
- (2) English History Stories for Fourth Class. Brooks's New Australian School Series. The New Standard Histories, No. 3. Sydney and Brisbane, (1899?).
- (3) English History for Fifth Class. Brooks's New Australian School Series. The New Standard Histories, No. 4. Sydney and Brisbane, 1899.
- (4) Brooks's Concise History for Third Class No. 1. A Short Outline of English History. From the Earliest Times to 1199 A.D. Sydney and Brisbane, 1901.
- (5) Brooks's Concise History for Higher Third Class, No. 2. A Short Outline of English History. From 1199 to 1603. Sydney and Brisbane, 1901.
- (6) Brooks's Geography for Third Class (1899?).
- (7) Brooks's Geography for Fourth Class. Sydney and Brisbane (1899?).
- (8) Brooks's Commercial Geography of the World and Geography of the British Empire for Fifth Class, Sydney and Brisbane 1901 (3rd ed.), 1st ed. 1899.

Children born in the early 1890's would have been the first to read his English History Stories for Third Class. If they had started school at the age of six,¹⁹ they would have been eight and a half when they reached Third Class and ten and a half when they left. This book appears to have been first published in 1899. It was followed two years later by two outline histories : for Lower Third Class, From the Earliest Times to 1199 A.D., and for Higher Third class, From 1199 to 1603. These followed the 1898 requirements for twelve simple stories for each half-year, starting with the ancient Britons and ending with Elizabeth I. In the last six months of Third Class pupils were also supposed to study the "History of Australia to 1808."²⁰

The introduction to English History Stories for Third Class was called "Why You Learn English History".²¹ The pupil read that he was learning English history so that he would know "how the English-speaking races have gradually come to hold such an important position in the world". People such as the English in Australia, he learnt, "are called civilised", unlike the "tribes of blacks" who were there when they arrived, living a "very wretched kind of life" without any knowledge of agriculture or mining or money. People like this "are called uncivilised". "What a difference there is", Smith exclaimed to his readers, "between them and the race to which Australian boys and

¹⁹ This is the age suggested by Crane and Walker, p. 58, n.2. Barcan says that children who reached fifth class were about 14 years of age, suggesting an entry age of eight or eight and a half (p. 193).

²⁰ Board of Education. Special Reports on Educational Subjects Vol. 5. Educational Systems of the Chief Colonies of the British Empire, London. HMSO 1901, pp. 267-268,

²¹ pp. 5-6.

girls belong !" This progressive race were continually "improving their condition, and making their new country richer ..." And they belonged to the "leading nation of the world", whose history taught children why Australians lived "in one of the freest countries in the world", and why they should be proud of it.

After two years the pupil progressed from Smith's 3rd class stories to his English History Stories for Fourth Class. Here he expounded further "On the Value of Historical Study".²² In Third Class, he wrote,

You read the story and studied it because you felt curious to know something of the great men of our race. As you read on you felt proud, no doubt, to think of the noble progress that the race made ...

S.H. Smith was sure that the children of New South Wales schools who had used his book had felt proud that their self-sacrificing and patriotic ancestors had mastered new environments, borne witness to what was right, defended their country, and fought for "political and religious liberty". But now in Fourth Class the time had come to look beyond English History merely as "a story of the progress of a great nation ...", and to see its deeper significance. From it they should now be able to learn tolerance, self-control, manliness, patriotism, and the ability to exercise wisely their coming responsibility as voters "under the freest form of government the world has known".

The fourth class topics which would teach these "useful and

²² pp. 5-6

valuable lessons"²³ began with the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 and ended at "the present time".²⁴ The Regulations also specified the "History of Australia from 1837 to 1855."²⁵

Smith's frontispiece illustrated one of the final Fourth Class history lessons, the Crimean War. It depicted a scene from the battle of Inkerman.²⁶ The text itself explained that the Turks were

²³English History Stories for Fourth Class, p. 6.

²⁴Board of Education Special Reports Vol. 5, p. 270. The 1898 Regulations called for at least twelve "simple stories or biographies" in each half-year of Fourth Class. Smith's choices, which closely followed official suggestion, were :-

First half-year : 1. The Gunpowder Plot ...

2. Raleigh.
3. The Petition of Right.
4. The Civil Wars of the 17th Century.
5. John Hampden.
6. Oliver Cromwell.
7. John Milton.
8. The First Earl of Shaftesbury.
9. William of Orange and the War of the Grand Alliance.
10. Marlborough and the War of Spanish Succession.
11. The Union of England and Scotland.
12. Manners and Customs of Stuart Times.

Second Half Year:

1. The Jacobites.
2. Robert Walpole.
3. The War of Austrian Succession.
4. The Great Commoner and the Seven Years' War.
5. Robert Clive.
6. The War of American Independence.
7. The French Revolution and the War Against Napoleon.
8. Nelson.
9. The Industrial Revolution.
10. The First Reform Act.
11. The Indian Mutiny.
12. The Crimean War.

There were appendices on "Queen Victoria's Reign", "The British Empire of To-day", and "Dates to be learned by Fourth Class" (English History Stories for Fourth Class, p. 2).

²⁵Board of Education : Special Reports Vol. 5, p. 270.

²⁶This was also depicted in the Fifth Reader (New Australian School Series), p. 165, which was prescribed for Fourth Class in 1898.

"a cruel and barbarous race"... one of the most barbarous and ignorant of Mohammedan races", who had been fanatical in waging war against the infidel. Indeed, the ferocity of "the unspeakable Turk" in gaining converts was unsurpassed by any other race.²⁷

Immediately following this lesson the pupil could read under "Queen Victoria's Reign (Since 1837)"²⁸ about the progress and enlightenment of his own race, especially during the previous sixty years. Victoria's reign had been "the longest and by far the most glorious" in England's history. Indeed her personal influence had ensured an increase of "wealth, progress, and prosperity ... to an extent unequalled in the history of human progress," as well as purifying the lives of the people, and improving the condition of the lower classes "to a marvellous degree". Whereas both masters and servants had been selfish in the early nineteenth century, they were now in the most cases mutually sympathetic and respectful, and were motivated by "a feeling of brotherliness" towards each other. Much of this change had been wrought by the Queen and the Prince Consort, who had taken such a deep and sympathetic interest in the welfare of the masses and in the freedom of the people that the tone of the higher classes had been raised and great men who thought as their sovereign thought had gathered around the throne.

The progress of the century was then described in detail : how the English farm labourers at the beginning of the century had become "more downtrodden than ever before" by the landlords who were

²⁷ English History Stories for Fourth Class, pp. 75-76.

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 78-81.

mostly "selfish, grasping, and mean spirited" ; how the factory workers had suffered from the Industrial Revolution and from the "rough, uneducated, hard men of business" it had spawned ; and how, "when the farming and artisan population had thus sunk to this deepest depth of degradation," they had found a champion whose "fierce and fiery denunciations roused the higher classes to a sense of their duty to their poorer fellow-countrymen". His name was Thomas Carlyle. He had not asked that the "working classes" be especially favoured, but simply "that they should have justice, and that they should be treated just as their masters were treated". After him had come other champions of the poor : pre-eminently John Ruskin, who had persuasively appealed to rich men to be unselfish, but also Charles Dickens and Charles Kingsley, who had "demanded that love and brotherliness should be shown by all men, and especially that masters should show kindness and sympathy to their servants". Robert Browning, Alfred Tennyson, and Matthew Arnold had played their part by setting up a high ideal of what society should be like. These efforts had not been unrewarded. They had had a practical result : Peel's Factory Act of 1844, Shaftesbury's Acts, and Cross's Factory and Workshop Act of 1878. The franchise had been extended, and trade unions established by which workers had "helped themselves to a better social position". Progress in standards of living had been accompanied by great progress in invention, especially in transport and communication, and by progress in the State's conception of its responsibilities, which now extended to solving social problems like inequalities of wealth. "Men generally", Smith concluded, were

now (1899)²⁹ "recognising the duty of striving to be good and true, and of assisting their fellows to be the same". Nineteenth century dates to be learnt were 1815 - Battle of Waterloo, 1820 - George IV, 1830 - William IV, 1832 - First Reform Act, 1837 - Victoria, 1854 - Crimean War, 1857 - Indian Mutiny, 1867 - Federation of Canada, and 1877 - "Queen became Empress of India".³⁰

Here, then, is the history of Victorian England as a story of progress both material and moral. It culminates in a period of enlightenment not far short of a golden age. The progress is made by individuals - Queen Victoria, Carlyle, Ruskin, Kingsley, and a few others - whose influence causes a change of heart in the English people. Such a picture not only gives to the English a uniquely superior place in human history, but also suggests that noble individuals play a unique role in historical change, which is seen to be the result of their decisions to do right, not of mass forces acting on society. Strikes and riots are not the important things, but high ideals. S.H. Smith applied this view of change to the past. The Earl of Meath applied it to the future in his vision of a morally regenerated Empire. In both cases it suggested that school children should be good.

The glory of England and the Empire was also taught in geography, sometimes visually. The frontispiece of Smith's geography book for Fifth Class³¹ was a fold-out map entitled "The World, showing

²⁹The dates given in the book for the Hanoverian Period are 1714 to 1899 (p. 96).

³⁰English History Stories for Fourth Class, p. 86..

³¹Brooks's Commercial Geography of the World and Geography of the British Empire for Fifth Class. Sydney and Brisbane, 1899 (3rd ed. 1901).

the British Empire (coloured red) and Intercontinental trade-routes". The rest of the world was a dull grey. The Soudan and Afghanistan were pink. Half the text of the book dealt with the British Empire, as laid down in the 1898 Regulations.³² The other half was devoted to "Commercial Routes" ("The British is now the greatest trading nation in the world"),³³ "Forms of Government" (The British system "is the freest form of government the world has known"),³⁴ "Important Manufacturing and Mining Centres", and "Products of Different Countries". The British Empire section, sub-titled "An Empire on which the sun never sets", began with a distinction between the "great empires of antiquity", which had been based on subjection by force, and the British Empire, which was governed by "a form of delegation from the supreme government".³⁵ This modern Empire consisted of the United Kingdom, Greater Britain, which included the colonies, and the Indian Empire.³⁶ The United Kingdom was home to the race which was "first among the nations of the earth in wealth, in education, in enterprise, in civilization, in influence, and in power". This "enterprising and progressive people" had built the largest cities in the world, the largest factories, and "splendid ships ... manned with a race of hardy seamen."³⁷ An Australian lad

³²Board of Education. Special Reports. Vol. 5, pp. 271-272.

³³Brooks's Commercial Geography, p. 6.

³⁴Ibid., p. 35.

³⁵Brooks's Commercial Geography, p. 46.

³⁶Ibid., p. 48.

³⁷Ibid., p. 49

going to Britain would indeed feel pride in "the heritage which belongs to us in common with many millions of the British race ..." when he saw the places where invaders had been repelled or where great fights for political liberty had been fought.³⁸ As for Greater Britain, ever since the capture of Jamaica in 1655, England had used every great foreign war to conquer more colonies.³⁹

The detailed descriptions of some colonies made reference to current events in the 1901 edition. Under "Cape Colony" came notes on its principal towns : for example,

Kimberley (30,000), a great diamond-mining centre, in Griqualand West, north of the Orange River, connected with Capetown by rail. Made a gallant defence during its siege by the Boers in the war of 1900. Relieved by General French 16th February, 1900.

Mafeking (9,000), the frontier town on the River Molopo, on the border of Bechuanaland. Gallantly defended by Colonel Baden-Powell from 15th October, 1899 to 18th May, 1900, when besieged by the Boers. The relief of the town by Colonel Mahon caused immense rejoicing throughout the Empire.⁴⁰

Under "Natal" was a piece on Zululand, which had become part of Natal in 1898 :

though only 1,200 of its 200,000 inhabitants are white, it loyally supported the British cause during the Boer war of 1900-1901.⁴¹

There was little doubt in S.H. Smith's mind, then, as to what view of England and the Empire his young readers should take, whether they

³⁸ Ibid., p. 51.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 56.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 74.

⁴¹ Brooks's Commercial Geography, p. 74.

derived it from history or geography. And he was equally sure of what they should think of the Boer War. The colonial historian and geographer was no less staunch an English patriot simply because he lived 12,000 miles from England.

* * * * *

The New Australian School Series Fourth and Fifth Readers and Books 4 and 5 of the Approved Readers for the Catholic Schools of Australasia were alike in a number of ways. All were published at about the same time, between 1908 and 1910,⁴² by the same firm,

⁴² All the books were received by the Mitchell Library on 9 August 1910. The Catholic books bear an imprimatur dated 24 May 1908. The fifth Catholic reader contains an explanatory note to the poem "The Star-Spangled Banner" dated 1908 (pp. 163-164).

The New Australian School Series are more difficult to date. These readers were prescribed under the Regulations of 1898, and an advertisement for them exists in an arithmetic text book which almost certainly dates from the pre-1904 system. It says they are in use in the Public Schools of New South Wales (Brooks's New Australian School Series "101 Certificate Tests in Arithmetic" (1899?), back cover). Certainly the readers boldly announced on their title pages that they had been adopted for use in the Public schools of New South Wales. Since the 1905 Syllabus prescribed the "Australian Readers", it would seem that the New Australian School Series were not used under the new education.

But other evidence suggests the opposite. Kenneth Mackay's poem "The Song That Men Should Sing" which appeared in the fourth reader, was also published in his book of 1908, Songs of a Sunlit Land. It seems likely that the compiler of the reader got it from that book. (He may have taken it from a newspaper or journal where it had been published previously. Mackay did not say which of his poems was being published for the first time in his book and which were not).

Again, both Catholic and Public school readers were given by William Brooks and Company on the same day in 1910. This may seem mean they were published at the same time.

Perhaps the original versions of the New Australian School Series appeared about 1899, and were slightly altered later without a new edition being declared.

William Brooks and Company Limited, and all had the same format : stories, articles, poems, and short quotations. "Articles" refers to lessons which were primarily factual and analytical. The two sets of readers had a number of these in common too : both fourth readers included the articles "Coal and Sunbeams",⁴³ "The Planets",⁴⁴ and "The Story of a Butterfly's Egg",⁴⁵ in a series entitled "Nature and Science" ; both included the same articles on Broken Hill⁴⁶ and on New Guinea ; both published "The Spartan Three Hundred"⁴⁷ which described Xerxes' defeat of the Spartans in 480 B.C. and their gallant example to future generations :

So fell these noble heroes, but their constancy
and self-sacrifice gave an example which was not
without effect upon the rest of Greece ; and
thousands of men, in after ages, have been nerved
by this old-time story, to do deeds of heroic
valour.⁴⁸

And both fourth readers quoted Sir Walter Scott's poem praising "Love of Country".⁴⁹ Each fifth reader had the same "Glimpses of Science" articles on sunbeams⁵⁰ and the Portuguese man-o'-war,⁵¹ and the same ones on the landing of Governor Phillip,⁵² the explorer Edward John

⁴³NASS 4, pp. 74-77 ; ARCSA 4, pp. 67-70.

⁴⁴NASS 4, pp. 114-117 ; ARCSA 4, pp. 87-90.

⁴⁵NASS 4, pp. 205-209 ; ARCSA 4, pp. 113-117.

⁴⁶ARCSA 4, pp. 94-99 "The World's Greatest Silver Mine"

NASS 4, pp. 268-272 : "The Greatest Silver Mine in the World"

⁴⁷NASS 4, pp. 60-63 ; ARCSA 4, pp. 91-94.

⁴⁸NASS 4, p. 63 ; ARCSA 4, p. 94.

⁴⁹NASS 4, p. 64 ; ARCSA 4, pp. 90-91.

⁵⁰NASS 5, pp. 61-63 ; ARCSA 5, pp. 53-56.

⁵¹NASS 5, pp. 94-96 ; ARCSA 5, pp. 76-78.

⁵²NASS 5, pp. 53-56 ; ARCSA 5, pp. 120-124.

Eyre,⁵³ and the goldfields.⁵⁴ And both fifth readers quoted James Shirley's poem "Death's Final Conquest".⁵⁵

Public and Catholic school children, then, were allowed to agree about simple, mostly empirical knowledge about nature and geography. They were allowed to agree that self-sacrifice and constancy are marks of heroism, that it is good to be patriotic, and that death conquers every man. There were even some stories from Australian history which they could learn together. But beyond that the readers taught them differing values. Even as they recited Scott's words,

Breathes there a man with soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said,
This is my own, my native land ?⁵⁶

they thought about different lands. Both may have thought of Australia first, but the native Motherlands which were an inseparable part of their patriotism were Ireland for the children in Catholic schools and England for those in Public schools. The Motherlands, for example, provided much of the readers' poetry. In the Public school readers there were poetic extracts by Shakespeare,⁵⁷ Ben Johnson,⁵⁸

⁵³ NASS 5, pp. 230-235 two lessons ; ARCSA 5, pp. 69-75 two lessons.

⁵⁴ NASS 5, pp. 68-74, two of three lessons ; AFCSA 5 pp. 98-105, two lessons.

⁵⁵ NASS 5, p. 64 ; ARCSA 5, p. 75.

⁵⁶ NASS 4, p. 64 ; ARCSA 4, pp. 90-91.

⁵⁷ NASS 4, pp. 299-303 : "Arthur and Hubert" (from King John)
NASS 5, p. 210 : "The Seven Ages". pp. 299-304 : extracts from King Henry the Eighth, Julius Caesar, Richard II, Henry V and King John.

⁵⁸ NASS 5, p. 30 : "Cynthia's Revels".

Lovelace,⁵⁹ Herbert,⁶⁰ Milton,⁶¹ Gray,⁶² Collins,⁶³ Wordsworth,⁶⁴ Coleridge,⁶⁵ Leigh Hunt,⁶⁶ Keats,⁶⁷ Macaulay,⁶⁸ Browning,⁶⁹ Matthew Arnold,⁷⁰ and Kipling,⁷¹ none of whom were represented in the Catholic readers. The Catholic readers had poems by the Irish or Irish-descended writers Gerald Griffen,⁷² Rev. Francis Sylvester Mahoney,⁷³ R.D. Williams,⁷⁴ Rev. Abram Joseph Ryan,⁷⁵ Thomas Moore,⁷⁶ James Clarence Mangan,⁷⁷ Rev. William Kelly S.J.,⁷⁸ Eleanor C. Donnelly,⁷⁹

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 182 : "To Lucasta on Going to the Wars".

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 52 : "Virtue".

⁶¹NASS 4, pp. 240-241. "L'Allegro".

⁶²NASS 5, p. 190 : "Sonnet on his Blindness".

⁶³NASS 5, pp. 227-230 : "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard".

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 242 : "Ode".

⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 176-177 : "Sonnets".

⁶⁶Ibid., pp. 261-262 : "Kubla Khan".

⁶⁷NASS 4, pp. 149-160 : "Abou Ben Adhem".

⁶⁸NASS 5, pp. 291-292 : "To Autumn".

⁶⁹NASS 4, pp. 16-25 : "Horatius" (from "Lays of Ancient Rome") ;

⁷⁰NASS 5, pp. 155-157 : "The Armada".

⁷¹NASS 4, pp. 72-74 "How They Brought the Good News From Ghent to Aix" ; pp. 198-205 ; "The Pied Piper of Hamelin".

⁷²NASS 5, pp. 86-89 : "Hervé Riel".

⁷³NASS 4, pp. 122-127 : "The Forsaker Merman".

⁷⁴NASS 5, pp. 22-24 : "The English Flag" ; pp. 117-120 ; "The Ballad of East and West".

⁷⁵ARCSA 4, pp. 23-27. "Orange and Green".

⁷⁶Ibid. pp. 70-73 : "The Bells of Shandon". Rev. Mahoney was a popular writer known as "Father Prout". He was born in Cork in 1804 and died in 1866. (p. 70).

⁷⁷Ibid., pp. 131-134 : "The Sister of Charity". Richard Dalton Williams was an Irishman who migrated to America in 1851. He became Professor of Literature in Springfield College, Mobile, and died in 1862. (p. 131).

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 143 : "My Beads", ARCSA 5, pp. 105-106 "In Memory of my Brother". Father Ryan was an American Catholic priest, born in 1839. He died in 1886 (p. 105).

⁷⁹ARCSA 5, p. 27 "The Lighthouse" ; pp. 110-112 : "The Last Rose of Summer" ; pp. 112-113 : "The Shamrock" ; pp. 119-120 "The Meeting of the Waters".

⁷⁰ARCSA 5, pp. 62-64 : "Dark Rosaleen", a poem addressed by Hugh to Ireland promising to restore her to former glory.

⁷¹Ibid., pp. 176-179 : "Three Noble Hearts" (Robert Bruce, Don John of Austria and Daniel O'Connell).

⁷²ARCSA 4, pp. 41-43 : "The Catechism of the Clock" ; ARCSA 5, p. 152 : "The Morning Star".

Denis F. McCarthy,⁸⁰ and J.B. O'Hara,⁸¹ none of whom appeared in the Public school readers. Thomas Campbell, among others, was represented in both sets of readers : "The Exile of Erin" for the Catholic schools with the rousing call of "Erin go bragh !" or "Ireland for ever !",⁸² and for the Public schools "Ye Mariners of England",⁸³ a naval ode celebrating English sailors, whose flag had braved a thousand years, the battle, and the breeze. It was like choosing different extracts from Scripture to justify existing ideas.

The difference in values was religious as well as national. Both sets of readers, for example, had stories about Columbus and the discovery of America.⁸⁴ The Public school lessons were narrative accounts of his life and his voyage, concerned primarily with the fact of his discovery ; the Catholic school lesson was concerned primarily with the fact that his discovery was Catholic. Columbus and his men took the "Sacrament" before leaving on their voyage, according to the Public school version.⁸⁵ The Catholic school version, written from a religious point of view, called it the "Blessed Sacrament."⁸⁶ His

⁸⁰ ARCSA 5, pp. 50-53 ; "The Pillar Towers of Ireland".

⁸¹ ARCSA 4, p. 7 : "An Australian Anthem". J.B. O'Hara is described here as "a well-known Victorian journalist of Irish descent". (p. 7).

⁸² ARCSA 4, pp. 57-58.

⁸³ NASS 4, pp. 233-234.

⁸⁴ NASS 4, pp. 92-98 "Columbus", two lessons ;
NASS 5, "The Discovery of America", by Washington Irving, pp. 193-203, two lessons ; ARCSA 5, "The Discovery of America", by Thomas D'Arcy McGee, pp. 19-23.

⁸⁵ NASS 4, p. 96.

⁸⁶ ARCSA 5, p. 20

speech just before reaching land, Catholic school children learnt, was "one of the most Catholic orations ever delivered in the New World."⁸⁷ Public school children merely read that he gave thanks to God with tears of joy when he landed,⁸⁸ Catholic school children were able to read the actual prayer he used, "which, after him, all Catholic discoverers were wont to repeat".⁸⁹ They also learnt that the names he gave to places in the new world were Catholic,⁹⁰ that Queen Isabella who helped to sponsor the voyage is called "The Catholic",⁹¹ and that the Catholicity of the discovery of America was placed beyond all doubt by the fact that the Sovereign Pontiff himself was officially involved.⁹²

Religious apologetics of this kind are to be expected from the Catholic readers. Religion was after all the raison d'être of the Catholic schools. Their readers included dogmatic religious teaching : pictures of the High Altar at St. Mary's Cathedral, Sydney,⁹³ and of "The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin",⁹⁴ for example, and poems about the faith : "My Beads",⁹⁵ and "The

⁸⁷Ibid.

⁸⁸NASS 5, p. 201.

⁸⁹ARCSA 5, p. 22.

⁹⁰Ibid.

⁹¹ARCSA 5, p. 19.

⁹²Ibid., p. 23.

⁹³ARCSA 4, p. 9.

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 77.

⁹⁵ARCSA 4, p. 148.

Catechism of the Clock".⁹⁶ In this last poem a girl was depicted learning theology from the striking of a clock : one for the number of Gods, two for the number of His natures, three for His persons, four for the Cardinal Virtues, five for the Lord's chief Wounds, six for the Precepts of the Church, seven for the Sacraments, eight for the Beatitudes, nine for the Choirs of Angels, ten for the Great Commandments, eleven for the Apostles when Christ ascended into heaven, and twelve for the Fruits of the Holy Ghost. The readers were written from the standpoint of faith. As one article described Raphael's painting "Madonna of the Chair", it

depicted our Blessed Lady's protecting care and affection as well as the loving trust and confidence of her divine Infant.⁹⁷

And in the Catholic schools religion was shown to be indispensable to morality. Without religion, children learnt in the fifth reader, "few men are honest". Experience proved it. But if men derived their honesty from religion, all was well.⁹⁸

As explicitly religious reading books, the Catholic ones could comment on the defects of Protestantism as well as the virtues of Catholicism. In "The Demon of Drink", a bad husband was described :

He had been brought up as a Protestant, and looked upon religion very much as a Sunday dress, to be put on when necessary for appearance' sake ...⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 41-43.

⁹⁷ ARCSA 5, p. 44.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 134.

⁹⁹ ARCSA 5, p. 35.

A Wesleyan Methodist school in early Western Australia run by "a half-instructed teacher," was notorious for its disorderliness. When the Sisters of Mercy established their school in 1846, many Protestants sent their children there, even though Protestant bigots tried to stop it.¹⁰⁰ And, the fourth reader asked, how could the understaffed Protestant mission stations of Queensland compare with the work being done for aborigines by the fathers and lay brothers at Beagle Bay in Western Australia?¹⁰¹

The Public school readers were designed for a "secular" system of education. In practice this did not mean that they ignored religion, but that their religion was undogmatic and unsectarian. They were not specifically Protestant and they were not anti-Catholic. God was seen in the role of Providence rather than Saviour of Sins. As the fourth reader said of the woman who rescued her child from an eagle's nest,

she knew that God had delivered her
and her child in safety into the care of
their fellow creatures.¹⁰²

In Marcus Clarke's story "Pretty Dick", children learnt that the little boy found dead in the bush had been taken home by God.¹⁰³ And Longfellow's God was one who helped men if they helped themselves :

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., pp. 118-119.

¹⁰¹ ARCSA 4, pp. 140-142.

¹⁰² NASS 4, p. 257.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 53.

Trust no future, howe'er pleasant !
 Let the dead Past bury its dead !
 Act, - act in the living Present !
 Heart within, and God o'erhead.¹⁰⁴

As for morality, it was not necessarily tied to religion. Public school children were meant to learn morality from the lives of great men in literature and history and from a patriotic tradition, not merely from religion. From John Bright's thoughts on "National Morality", published in the fifth reader, children learnt that although the British had no oracles to guide them, they did have "the unchangeable and eternal principles of the moral law,"¹⁰⁵ which, if followed, would keep them a great nation and a happy people. The moral law, in other words, stood by itself as something to be obeyed for its own sake.

The tone of the Public school readers, especially of the fourth reader, was one of strident confidence, just like that of the Commonwealth School Paper and the books of S.H. Smith, because they drew upon a tradition of progress and achievement in exploration, colonising, and war. It did not matter whether the story was based on real life or fiction, if the moral of it was true. In "Nelson at the Battle of Trafalgar", from Southey's Life of Nelson, for example, pupils could learn of a continuing tradition of courage in battle, a tradition which included even them:

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 91

¹⁰⁵NASS. 5, p. 257.

Nelson could scarcely have departed in a brighter blaze of glory. He has left us a name and an example, which are at this hour inspiring thousands of the youth of England - a name which is our pride and an example which will continue to be our shield and our strength. Thus it is that the spirits of the great and the wise continue to live and to act after them.¹⁰⁶

In "Bloodhounds and Mastiffs", from Charles Kingsley's adventure story

Westward Ho!, pupils learnt a similar lesson :

The fire of the English was as steady as it was quick ; and though three-fourths of the crew had never smelt powder before, they proved well the truth of the old chronicler's saying (since proved again more gloriously than ever, at Alma, Balaklava and Inkerman) that "the English never fight better than in their first battle".¹⁰⁷

These were from the fourth reader. In the fifth there appeared a series of literary extracts under the heading "In Praise of England".¹⁰⁸ which included three by Shakespeare - "This royal throne ...", "Once more unto the breach ...", and

This England never did, nor never shall,
Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror
But when it first did help to wound itself ...

and William Watson's "To the Colonies" :

... Britons that past the Indian wave advance
Our name and spirit and world-predominance ...
By your prompt voices ringing clear and true
We know that with our England all is well ...

¹⁰⁶ NASS 4, p. 233.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 246.

¹⁰⁸ NASS 5, pp. 303-304.

Rudyard Kipling's "The English Flag" reminded Public school pupils of the glories of the Union Jack,¹⁰⁹ and "The Battle of ^{Inkermann} ~~Inkerman~~" told of the great English victory over the Russians during the Crimean War, the most "extraordinary contest maintained by our army since it acquired a reputation in the world's history,"¹¹⁰ in which

our old supremacy, so rudely assailed, was triumphantly asserted, and the battalions of the Czar gave way before our steady courage and the chivalrous fire of ~~France~~ ^{France}.¹¹¹

In the Public school fourth reader there were stories about Captain Cook,¹¹² Captain John Smith (the Jacobean adventurer in Jamestown),¹¹³ and the Spartans,¹¹⁴ who were thus assimilated into the English tradition, and stories about a lion hunt in Africa¹¹⁵ and the Matabele War of 1893.¹¹⁶ This last one was called "Men Whose Fathers Were Men". Like "The Spartan Three Hundred", it told of military defeat, physical courage, and moral victory, the defeat of courageous and victorious British soldiers by "thousands of well-armed savages".¹¹⁷ The soldiers were led by a Major Wilson.

¹⁰⁹NASS 5, pp. 22-24.

¹¹⁰NASS 5, p. 167.

¹¹¹Ibid., p. 163.

¹¹²NASS 4, pp. 160-164, and pp. 224-228.

¹¹³Ibid., pp. 262-267.

¹¹⁴Ibid., pp. 60-63.

¹¹⁵Ibid., pp. 32-36.

¹¹⁶NASS 4, pp. 29-31.

¹¹⁷Ibid., p. 29.

No white man lived to tell the story of that fight - a fight which every man in the gallant band knew could have but one ending. The tale of how they died comes from the lips of the Matabele, who have never forgotten the heroism of Wilson's last stand. Thirty-four men, poorly supplied with ammunition, stood grimly at bay, resolutely facing thousands upon thousands, and picking off from behind trees or dead horses every black head that chanced to show itself. Their firing must have been deadly. The killed among the Matabele had nearly all been shot through the brain, and for every Englishman at least ten of the natives fell.

The fight continued for something like two hours. The ranks of the small band grew thinner, but even the wounded did what they could, loading the rifles which they were no longer able to fire. At one time, says the Matabele account, they began to "sing". What this means we shall never know. Perhaps a cheer or some song dear to Englishmen, which recalled to them about to die the sweetness of their island home

As they gazed upon the dead heroes, a kind of awe seems to have fallen upon the savage warriors. It was their habit to mutilate the corpses of their foes, but when their general had surveyed the field, he issued this never-to-be forgotten order -

"Let them be ; they were men who died like men, men whose fathers were men".¹¹⁸

The physical courage of the English soldiers was sufficient to awe savage warriors. That was the measure in this story of its moral power. But it was identified here not merely with what was right and good and true. It was also identified with the idea of masculinity and sexual maturity. This theme was best represented in the fourth reader in Lesson XXVII, "The Song That Men Should Sing",¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ NASS 4, pp. 30-31.

¹¹⁹ NASS 4, pp. 100-103. This appeared, perhaps for the first time, in Mackay's Songs of a Sunlit Land Sydney : Angus and Robertson Ltd. 1908, pp. 20-23. In his preface, Colonel Mackay mentions that some of the poems in the book had been previously published in newspapers and journals.

a poem by Kenneth Mackay. Colonel Mackay had published a novel in 1895 called The Yellow Wave ; A Romance of the Asiatic Invasion of Australia.¹²⁰ In 1900 he went to the Boer War with the 1st Imperial Bushmen and made the acquaintance of Cecil Rhodes, Rudyard Kipling, and Lord Milner.¹²¹ He was well equipped by experience and calling to find an urgent contemporary message for Australians in their traditions of physical courage and readiness to fight. He begins by lamenting the passing of the old days :

The cohorts who fought when the world was young
Have their blood-red legends told,
For a hundred poets have bravely sung
The deeds of the days of old.

The story is writ of the men who fell
In desert and sun-scorched track :
The legions who served their country well, -
The heroes who marched "Out Back".

They have told the tale of a battle flag
That floated all seas above,
When the tattered folds of this crimson rag
Was dearer than life or love.

But they tell us now, in their lifeless lays,
These knights of the stool and pen,
We must boast no more of the stirring days
When they fought and fell like men.

Here patriotism manifested in exploration and battle is invested with a sense of vitality and masculinity, which is a sharp contrast to the effeminate weakness of unpatriotic intellectuals. The poet soon shows where he himself stands :

¹²⁰ London, 1895.

¹²¹ Cyclopedia of N.S.W. N.S.W. 1907, p. 81.

But the tale is best that has oft been told,
 If it love of birthland bring ;
 And the song they sang in the days of old
 Is the song that I will sing.

He sets himself sternly against the decadent influence of prosperity :

For a people rot in the lap of ease,
 And trade, be it all in all,
 Breeds the canker worm of a fell disease,
 The germ of a Nation's fall.

It is physical strength which alone can keep Australia safe from her
 enemies :

We won our land from a nerveless race,
 Too mean for their land to fight ;
 If we mean to hold it we too must face
 The adage that "might is right".

It matters nothing what dreamers say,
 When they prate that wars must cease,
 For the lustful war-god holds his sway
 In these piping days of peace.

Nations, says the poet, are formed in blood :

We know there was never a country yet
 In the East or in the West,
 That was worth the winning, but has been wet
 With the life blood of its best.

There follows an extended analogy of war with sport, both of them
 physical, masculine activities involving individual courage and team
 discipline. Sport, however, is shown to be ultimately trivial
 beside the serious concerns of war :

So our lads must learn there's a sterner task
 Than playing a well-pitched ball ;
 That the land we love may someday ask
 For a team when the trumpets call.

A team that is ready to take the field
 To bowling with balls of lead,
 In a test match grim, where if one appealed,
 The umpire might answer "dead !"

It is well to collar and kick and run
 In a fierce fought football match,
 Where to grass his man is the full-back's fun
 While the "barrackers" breathless watch.

But a time will come when the forwards' rush
 Will be on the tongues of flame,
 And the man in the scrums will faint and flush
 In the heat of a bloodier game.

It is brave to ride in a strong-run race
 When the rails are lightly struck,
 And you drive your horse to a winning place
 In front of the weary ruck.

But never forget that you yet may face
 A wall that is built of steel,
 In a death or glory steeplechase,
 With squadrons that sway and reel.

Even the bushman, symbol of physical vigour, is not prepared:

On the falling ground where the stallions fling
 The foam from their sweat-drenched manes,
 There the bushman feels that he is a king,
 Sole lord of the pine-clad plains.

But a day may come when the scarlet bloom
 Will blossom on sabres bright,
 And the sombre isles of the scrublands' gloom
 Be lit with the battle's light.

So the bushman's wrist must be taught to swing
 A sword, not a silken lash,
 When the cheery notes of the stockwhip's ring
 Give place to the rifle's crash.

The prophetic call to fight goes out to all Australians:

Far from mine and city and bushland track,
 When the eagles hover high,
 We must march to the sea to beat them back,
 Or to die as freemen die.

We ask for no foot of the old world's face,
 No part of the new want we,
 But we mean to hold for our future race
 What is circled by the sea.

For the sake of the race, then, patriotism must be nurtured and the old

patriotic values resurrected :

So the tale is best that has oft been told,
If it love of birthland bring ;
And the song they sang in the days of old
Is the song that men should sing.

Perhaps because physical action was valuable in the service of the nation, descriptions of violence and brutality were not expurgated from the Public school readers, even though the children for whom they were intended were only in primary school. Getting used to the idea of killing was part of their education. In "The Adventures of an Early Settler", from the fourth reader, the narrator described how he was chased by aboriginal "savages". He found refuge in the hollow of a tree :

As my foot reached the bottom, it encountered some soft object, which I quickly discovered to be an opossum, which asserted its rights by attacking my legs with tooth and claw.

I was not in the humour to argue the matter with my new assailant, so, with my thick bush shoes, I trampled the creature to death.¹²²

Later he shot dead one of his pursuers :

Drawing one of my pistols from my pocket, I fired, the bullet crashed through the face and skull, and I heard his dead body fall heavily to the ground.¹²³

Or again, from the story of the Matabele War of 1893 :

....at last a bullet struck the Englishman on the thigh, and brought him to the earth. Thereupon they rushed in, and finished him off with their short assegais.¹²⁴

¹²² NASS 4, pp. 188-189

¹²³ ibid.

¹²⁴ ibid., p. 31.

In the fifth reader's description of the Battle of ^{Inkermann} ~~Inkerman~~,¹²⁵ children read of men and tethered horses being killed and mutilated,¹²⁶ and of parts of the battlefield where "every pace was marked by a corpse".¹²⁷ Fighting against pirates in another story, the "white Britons" were "spotted like leopards with blood, their own and their mates' ..."¹²⁸

In the Catholic readers, adventure stories often carried religious morals. In the fourth Catholic reader, "A Hunter's Adventure" described how a young Breton pushed over a cliff in Switzerland attributed his safety to having called out "Blessed Virgin, help me!"¹²⁹ "A Perilous Run For a Priest" told how Lord Roberts had sent a special train for a Catholic priest during the Boer War so that a dying Catholic soldier could be given the last Sacraments, and how the Boer General, Christian de Wet, had let the train pass.¹³⁰ The fifth Catholic reader contained the story of Parcisius the Christian who was martyred while conveying the Divine Mysteries to Christians about to be thrown to the lions.¹³¹

The achievements of the Catholic readers' heroes were mostly

¹²⁵Spelt "Inkermann".

¹²⁶NASS 5, p. 163.

¹²⁷Ibid., p. 164.

¹²⁸Ibid., p. 14.

¹²⁹ARCSA 4, pp. 59-63.

¹³⁰Ibid., pp. 102-110.

¹³¹ARCSA 5, pp. 147-152.

those of piety, fidelity, and noble suffering under persecution, unlike the Public school heroes, whose achievements were more tangible and secular. Catholics could agree with the Public Schools in eulogising the Australian explorers¹³² and Lincoln¹³³ but they did not follow them in praise of the Empire-builders or even Isaac Newton,¹³⁴ Washington,¹³⁵ and Shakespeare.¹³⁶ Instead space was given to the martyrs like St. Lawrence,¹³⁷ St. Dorothea,¹³⁸ St. Pancratius,¹³⁹ and Father Damien of Hawaii,¹⁴⁰ and to inspiring models of faith like St. Brigid, the chaste head of the nuns of Erin,¹⁴¹ St. Agnes,¹⁴² Sir Thomas More, who refused to compromise with "the cruel tyrant Henry VIII,"¹⁴³ Mary, Queen of Scots,¹⁴⁴ Archbishop Polding,¹⁴⁵ the first

- ¹³² NASS 5, pp. 204-206 : "A Hero of the Australian Desert" (Sturt)
NASS 5, pp. 230-235 : "Between Sea and Desert", Parts I and II (Eyre)
ARCSA 5, pp. 69-75 : "Between Sea and Desert", Parts I and II (Eyre)
ARCSA 5, pp. 8-14 : "The Discovery of Gympie" (James Nash)
¹³³ NASS 5, pp. 60-61 : "On the Death of President Lincoln", a poem by Walt Whitman.
ARCSA 5, pp. 179-180 : "Dedication of Gettysburg Cemetery".
 According to the accompanying note, Lincoln "adhered unswervingly to what he believed to be right" (p. 179).
¹³⁴ NASS 4, pp. 78-83.
¹³⁵ Ibid. pp. 144-149.
¹³⁶ NASS 5, p. 298 : "The Genius of Shakespeare", by W. Haslitt.
¹³⁷ ARCSA 4, pp. 20-22.
¹³⁸ Ibid., pp. 134-137.
¹³⁹ ARCSA 5, pp. 78-82.
¹⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 14-18
¹⁴¹ ARCSA 4, p. 146, from "St. Brigid", by Cardinal Moran, pp. 144-147.
¹⁴² ARCSA 5, pp. 172-176
¹⁴³ ARCSA 4, p. 35, from "Sir Thomas More's Twenty Years", pp. 35-36.
¹⁴⁴ ARCSA 5, pp. 64-69
¹⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 57-61.

Sisters of Charity in Australia,¹⁴⁶ the Sisters of Mercy in Australia,¹⁴⁷
and the Oblate Missionaries in Canada.¹⁴⁸

Physical violence was in Catholic readers too, but it was
inflicted on saints rather than soldiers or savages, and had
spiritual compensations. Of St. Dorothea children read that

when the executioner came with hooks and
red-hot pincers to tear her flesh, she
only smiled with joy to think that she
was counted worthy to suffer for her
Divine Spouse.¹⁴⁹

The persecution which occurred before Constantine took many forms:

Young and old were broken on the wheel and torn
on the rack ; some were cut to pieces, others
flayed alive ; some were roasted in red-hot
ovens, and others again were rolled in pitch and
burned like torches in the public gardens.
But the favourite mode was to expose them to
be torn in pieces by wild beasts.¹⁵⁰

For St. Brigid the gift of God was physical deformity, according to the
fifth Catholic reader : a girl of beauty, she "had vowed her virginity
to God at an early age" and refused to marry as her father wished her
to. She therefore

prayed earnestly to God to take away from her
that rare comeliness which was so pleasing to
men, but such a source of trouble to herself.
Her prayer was answered, for one of her eyes
began to swell, and in a short time she was
terribly deformed.

¹⁴⁶ ARCSA 4, pp. 126-131

¹⁴⁷ ARCSA 5, pp. 114-119.

¹⁴⁸ ARCSA 5, pp. 138-144.

¹⁴⁹ ARCSA 4, p. 135, from "St. Dorothea", pp. 134-137.

¹⁵⁰ ARCSA 5, pp. 78-79.

After she became a nun, God made her beautiful again.¹⁵¹

In contrast to the Public school readers, the Catholic readers drew largely on a tradition of defeat, of being the conquered rather than the conquering race. In the fourth Catholic reader there was a photograph taken in 1867 of an illegal Mass being celebrated in the mountains of Donegal, "reproduced as a relic of the Penal Days when it was treason for a Catholic priest to celebrate the rites of his religion."¹⁵² and the Irish street ballad "The Wearing of the Green" was quoted :

1. ...I met with Napper Tandy, and he took me by the hand,
And he said, "How's poor old Ireland, and how
does she stand ?"
She's the most distressful country that ever yet
was seen,
For they're hanging men and women there for the
wearing of the green.

2. And if the colour we must wear is England's cruel red,
Let it remind us of the blood that Ireland has shed ;
... 153

There was also the story of Jemmy O'Connor, the poor blind Irishman whose fiddle was dashed to pieces by the "cruel hoofs" of horses on the hunt.¹⁵⁴

Ireland had not always been a defeated land, as Cardinal Moran reminded children in "Ireland the School of the West",¹⁵⁵ Between the

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p. 145.

¹⁵² ARCSA 4, p. 49.

¹⁵³ ARCSA 4, p. 125.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 28-35.

¹⁵⁵ ARCSA 5, pp. 185-188.

fifth and the ninth centuries it had been the centre of culture, learning, and piety in Christian Europe, and had attracted students "from all the European nations". Anglo-Saxons had come too, from the seventh to the eleventh centuries, and had been especially welcomed by the Irish monasteries. But as pupils learnt elsewhere in the fifth reader, the glory of Ireland had fallen "before the invasions of the Saxon and Norman spoilers".¹⁵⁶ The Irish in Australia had to go back a thousand years to find the golden age which vindicated their patriotic pride ; the English found it in the present.

As Ireland had suffered from occupation by England, so did the Irish in Australia suffer at the hands of Englishmen. From an article by Cardinal Moran in the fifth Catholic reader children learnt that up to 1820, the Church in Australia had been the object of "open persecution", as had the early Christians in the catacombs. It had been one of the lowliest beginnings for any Church in the history of Christendom. Then had come a time of "partial tolerance", followed by one of "nominal religious equality" (1850-1880), when some political leaders had tried to bring back persecution of the Catholic Church and the Irish colonists. But the Church's sons, like those of ancient Israel, had "multiplied in bondage" and she was now strong, even though animosity against Catholics still existed.¹⁵⁷

The Catholics in Australia were conquered in two ways : by race and by class, as Irish and as workers. One poem promised that

¹⁵⁶Ibid., p. 62.

¹⁵⁷ARCSA 5, "Four Periods of Australian Church History", pp. 56-59.

"The Toilers of the City" would find in heaven above the holy rest which the world denied them.¹⁵⁸ Other items in the Catholic readers suggested an earthly solution to poverty : material success, children learnt, was the reward of piety. "Honesty Rewarded" was the story of the youthful Jean Baptiste Colbert, whose early honesty enabled him to get a job with a banking firm and eventually to become Finance Minister under Louis XIV.¹⁵⁹ "Grace Before Meals" told of a "rich and highly esteemed" gentleman who owed his happiness, fortune, and life to having said grace before eating a piece of bread he had begged.¹⁶⁰ An article on "Thoroughness" had some practical advice :

Being ashamed of one's humble origin is an obstacle to thoroughness, and stands in the way of success as really as getting above one's business. Humility is not only a gateway to heaven, but also the gateway to the highest worldly success.¹⁶¹

The Public school and Catholic school readers were at one in recommending to children the prudent virtues of thrift and hard work. In the Public school fourth reader were the mottoes "Of all pleasures the fruit of labour is the sweetest",¹⁶² "Unless a man works, he cannot find out what he is able to do",¹⁶³ and (from Ovid)

As water, if it be not stirred, grows foul,
So ease impairs an idler's strength.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁸ ARCSA 4, p. 52.

¹⁵⁹ ARCSA 4, pp. 43-47.

¹⁶⁰ ARCSA 4, pp. 118-124.

¹⁶¹ ARCSA 5, pp. 180-185.

¹⁶² NASS 4, p. 86.

¹⁶³ NASS 4, p. 257.

¹⁶⁴ NASS 4, p. 90.

In the Catholic fifth reader pupils were told that if they wished to relish food, they should labour for it, if they wished to feel at ease in their clothes, they should pay for them before wearing them, and if they wished to sleep soundly, they should go to bed with a clear conscience.¹⁶⁵ They also learnt that those who aim at perfection and persevere

will come much nearer to it than those whose laziness and despondency make them give it up as unattainable.¹⁶⁶

* * *

Two further comparisons remain. The first is of Public and Catholic School attitudes to aborigines. One attitude encouraged in the Public schools we have already seen in the Commonwealth School Paper, where the aborigines were described as cruel, revengeful, and cowardly savages.¹⁶⁷ A less severe judgment was that of Stories from Australian History, published in its first edition in 1908.¹⁶⁸ This was written by E.J.M. Watts, Headmaster of the Cleveland Street Superior Public School, and appears to have been for the use of Third Class under the Syllabus of 1905, which prescribed lessons on the "natives and their customs"¹⁶⁹ in the course. The book pointed

¹⁶⁵ ARCSA 5, p. 26.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 96.

¹⁶⁷ CSP March 1905, p. 137. See Chapter 4, pp. 163-164.

¹⁶⁸ E.J.M. Watts, Stories from Australian History Brooks's Australian School Series, William Brooks & Co. Ltd., Sydney and Brisbane. 2nd ed. n.d. (1st ed. 1908).

¹⁶⁹ 1905 Syllabus, p. 42

out that the natives who accompanied explorers had been

of the utmost service to their masters. Men like Warburton, Hume, Sturt, and the Forrests ... knew that Tommy and Jacky and Charley and the rest were after all only big children, and that by kindness alone could their fidelity and affection be won and retained.¹⁷⁰

The Catholic fourth reader neither condemned the aborigines nor condescended to them. Instead it had words of praise and respect, pointing to the aborigines' "fine sense of manliness" and fairness, their harmonious personal relationships,

their respect for the aged, their ready care for the sick, and their warm affection for their children ...¹⁷¹

Before they were influenced by "the vicious elements in our civilisation",¹⁷² children learnt, the aborigines were honest and trustworthy. It is true that in both Catholic and Public school readers children were told that the natives of New Guinea were savages and that

the Papuan, although he is straight and agile, is not attractive in appearance. His frizzled hair seems to grow in tufts, standing out above his head like a great mop, his lips are thick, and his nose flat and broad.¹⁷³

But the Catholic children did not go on to learn that savages were inferior to their own race, as the Public schoolchildren did.

¹⁷⁰ Watts, *Stories from Australian History*, p. 205.

¹⁷¹ *ARCSA* 4, p. 138.

¹⁷² *ARCSA* 4, p. 157

¹⁷³ *NASS* 4, p. 132 ; *ARCSA* 4, p. 83.

Perhaps the Catholic view of aborigines was sentimental. At least it saw them as human beings. This difference in racial attitudes may be accounted for by the strict Catholic belief that all souls were equally in need of salvation, irrespective of race. Religious universalism like this played no part in the Public school view of man. It was grounded instead in national traditions in which the British nation and race were accepted as superior.

The final comparison is between the New Australian School Series fourth reader, and its revised equivalent the New Australian School Series Fifth Reader (Revised Edition) published in either 1915 or 1916.¹⁷⁴ The new edition was prefaced by a note explaining that it had "distinctive Australian characteristics".¹⁷⁵ In other words the increasing pride in Australia which had begun to appear in Public schools after about 1910 was now finding expression in the readers. Whether many children read this revised edition is uncertain, because the Department of Public Instruction stopped using set readers at the end of 1915 in favour of the new monthly school paper, which was now distributed freely.

The only Australian poems in the original reader were Kenneth Mackay's "Song That Men Should Sing"¹⁷⁶ and Henry Lawson's "Ballad of the Drovers",¹⁷⁷ one of the few Lawson poems acceptable in Public

¹⁷⁴It was donated to the Mitchell Library by the publishers on 14 November 1916, and includes an account of the Anzacs' landing at Gallipoli in 1915.

¹⁷⁵The New Australian School Series Revised Edition Fifth Reader. William Brooks & Co. Ltd., Sydney and Brisbane, n.d., p.3.

¹⁷⁶NASS 4, pp. 100-103.

¹⁷⁷Ibid., pp. 157-160.

schools before the war. Both these were retained in the revised reader; and many more added as well, for example, Mollie McNutt's "The Birds of Australia",¹⁷⁸ Henry Kendall's "Bell-Birds",¹⁷⁹ Adam Lindsay Gordon's "The Sick Stockrider",¹⁸⁰ Arthur H. Adams's "Australian National Song",¹⁸¹ Dorothea Mackellar's "My Country",¹⁸² and gleanings from six Australian poets - Kendall, Gordon, Paterson, Stephens, and Lawson.¹⁸³ There were also extracts by George Essex Evans.¹⁸⁴ The gleanings from Lawson was not Lawson the socialist but Lawson the patriot, writing of the brave Australian boys ready to

... fight for Right or a Grand Mistake
As men never fought before.¹⁸⁵

Australian stories in the original reader were few: Marcus Clarke's "Pretty Dick",¹⁸⁶ "The Running of the Brumbies",¹⁸⁷ "The Adventures of an Early Settler",¹⁸⁸ "The Haunt of the Lyre-Bird",¹⁸⁹ and "Incidents of Cook's Voyage Along the East Coast".¹⁹⁰ As well there were geographical and nature articles and an article on keeping healthy in

¹⁷⁸ NASS 5 (Revised), p. 57.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 128-129.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 140-142.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 159-160.

¹⁸² Ibid., pp. 217-218.

¹⁸³ Ibid., p. 313.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 70; 311.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 313.

¹⁸⁶ NASS 4, pp. 39-53.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 134-139.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 182-191.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., pp. 153-157.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 224-228.

Australia. The revised reader contained "Beleck Beleck",¹⁹¹ a legend of the lyre-bird, "Boorunda",¹⁹² a legend of the black swans, "Pretty Dick",¹⁹³ "Why the Jackass Laughed",¹⁹⁴ by Mollie McNutt, "Incidents of Cook's Voyage...",¹⁹⁵ "The Finding of the Nugget"¹⁹⁶ set in the Bathurst gold-fields, "The Running of the Brumbies",¹⁹⁷ "Australia's Emblem",¹⁹⁸ about the wattle, "A Bush Fire",¹⁹⁹ "An Encounter with Blacks",²⁰⁰ "Sleeping Out"²⁰¹ (in Australia), "The Anzacs' Landing near Gaba Tepah, 1915",²⁰² and a few nature articles. In rituals and in reading matter, then, the Public schools expressed a newly respectable interest in Australia - through Wattle Day, Bird Day, and Arbor Day, and in the changing emphases of the Commonwealth School Paper and (eventually) the readers. Perhaps this reflected growing patriotism for Australia in society at large even before Gallipoli provided a focus for it.

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¹⁹¹ MASS 3 (Revised) pp. 9-12.

¹⁹² Ibid., pp. 26-29.

¹⁹³ Ibid., pp. 74-89.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 130-136.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 153-159.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 176-182.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., pp. 200-206.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 249-251.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., pp. 252-259.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., pp. 289-296.

²⁰¹ Ibid., pp. 304-311.

²⁰² Ibid., pp. 314-324.

The difference between the Public school textbooks and those used in Catholic schools reveal basic divisions in Australian society. Catholics wanted their children to be taught differently from other children, to learn a different history, to read different literature, to owe their loyalty to a different Motherland, and to be good and true and honest for different reasons. Whereas Public school children learnt that they were heirs to a tradition of invincible English superiority, Catholic school children learnt that their forefathers had suffered under the English yoke ; whereas the heroes of Public school children were the builders of the British Empire, those of Catholic school children were saints and martyrs building the Faith ; and when Public school children were learning that they lived in a golden age, at the apex of human progress, the children of Catholic schools were learning that the golden age had been a thousand years ago, when Ireland was at the height of her glory. As Public school children read Shakespeare, Browning, and Kipling, their peers in Catholic schools read Thomas Moore, "Father Prout", and Rev. Abram Joseph Ryan. As one group of children gazed upon a picture of the Battle of Inkerman, the other looked at a picture of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. And if one group tried to be good children because they were British, the other tried to be good because they were Catholics and because goodness was the mark of true religion. But children in both kinds of schools were taught the same facts about nature and geography, and, more significantly, they were all taught the virtue of being hard-working, thrifty, and prudent. Respectability in personal behaviour, in other words, had universal appeal.

CONCLUSION

This study of schooling has been written on the assumption that the historian can conclude what was learnt from what was taught, that the boys who marched away in 1914 to save the British Empire, for example, did so cheerfully because they had learnt the virtue of patriotic self-sacrifice from teachers, school-books, and Empire Day rituals, or that the uniquely Australian preference for living in suburban garden plots may be traced in some measure to the Public schools' emphasis on the virtues of being close to Nature. But equally it could be said that some pupils reacted against what they were taught at school. C.J. Dennis's Songs of a Sentimental Bloke were greeted in 1915 and 1916 with an enthusiasm that almost suggests the tasting of forbidden fruits by people who had found the "proper" poetry of school oppressively respectable and innocuous. If, as Edgar Waters says, "large numbers of respectable Australian men have always like to feel that they are really larrikins at heart",¹ the earnest school poems about birds, flowers, and trees taught to generations of Australians may have served only to make that kind of poetry and literature seem intellectual and effeminate pre-occupations, unworthy of the true Australian. There were influences other than schools in the formation of values, as teachers worried about the effect of the home knew very well.

¹Geoffrey Dutton, ed. The Literature of Australia, p. 271.

Perhaps the school had its greatest impact on the young in fostering attitudes which they found confirmed by popular approval outside the school. The patriotic fervour and anti-intellectualism of the Public schools were in this category. The Public school pupil did not find his loyalty to the Empire scorned when he left school, but applauded. And his preference for learning about things in a practical way rather than from books, which he had been taught in Nature Study Lessons and at the Rural Camp School, was a preference shared by many who looked on too much education as a trapping of privilege and had achieved success without it. Thus the schools may have discredited "proper" literature in two ways, which illustrate the perverse problems of tracing the influence of formal education. First, they created a reaction against "proper" literature by courting respectability and ignoring the vigorous popular literature which more truly expressed the realities of contemporary Australian society. Second, they undermined their own teaching about literature by siding with society against an education emphasising books and literary enthusiasms.

A further methodological difficulty is the gap which exists between the stated aims of education and the actual practice of the schoolroom. Inspectors' reports in the Department of Education records reveal that not everything prescribed for teaching was taught,² and that everything was not always taught well. This is obviously true of any education system, and it places a limit on what

²See for example in the records of Croydon Superior Public School 1896, Miss Fleckman's explanation of poor results in Inspector Dawson's regular inspection of 20 February 1896. Records, Archives Box P 1999.

can be concluded from a study of official aims. But much could be gleaned from a survey of all the existing records, including those of individual schools. They would even throw light on that shadowy area of educational history, the pupils' view of the school. Marlon Stark, pupil in Lower Third Class at Croydon school in 1900, for example, gave evidence at an inquiry held in that year into allegations that he had been slapped on the face by his pupil-teacher, Mr. Evans. His statement was recorded :

My class was in the shed being taught by Mr. Evans ... the lesson was reading. We were passing down the books before beginning to read : I didn't pass them down properly. Mr. Evans made us pass them back. He told us to pass them again, and then I passed them as well as I could. Mr. Evans then told the whole of the seat I was in to pass them back again. He then hit me on the face. I was sitting at the end of the second seat from the front. He hit me with his open hand on the right side of the face : He hit me on the other side too. The second hit was a little bit after. He told us to pass the books, and we passed them. He didn't tell us to pass them back any more Mr. Evans did not touch me after the reading commenced. It was after 11 o'clock play that this took place.

He explained to the Headmaster that he had not gone home crying :

I cried in the shed. I went home alone. I remember being sent a week after by Mr. Evans to you for correction for putting my foot up on the seat, so that a boy standing up would sit on my boot when he sat down. After you sent for Hayes (another pupil) I admitted that it was true I did so.³

Although Marlon Stark's evidence remained uncorroborated by his

³Minutes of evidence of inquiry 6 December 1900. Records, Archives Box P 2094.

friends and his teacher, it remains of value as a view of school life in which authority is the supreme reality. Multiplied many times, examples such as this could be used to construct a picture of school as it was for the pupil.

Despite these problems of method, a number of conclusions about schooling in New South Wales from 1880 to 1914 and about the society which organised it emerge from this study.

First, both Public and Catholic schools inculcated values and attitudes in children as well as imparting knowledge to them, and both achieved their ends in similar ways, by controlling the content of lessons and by arranging for pupils to participate in ritual acts which symbolised their commitment to certain beliefs. Being educated was learning what to think and how to live as much as it was learning facts and skills.

This was true of the Public schools especially under the new syllabus introduced by Peter Beard, in which education for character and citizenship became as important as (and in some inspectors' eyes, more important than) education for knowledge. Catholics always put moral education first in their schools since they saw it as inseparable from religion. In different forms, religion was part of moral education in both systems of education : in the Catholic schools dogmatic religion was the ultimate and only sanction for morality ; in the Public schools, an attenuated Protestantism expressed in worship of Mother Nature and respect for the God of the British race was one of the sanctions for private and public morality, along with broader notions of how a true Briton

should behave.

Second, the society in which children were educated in this way was a divided one. For all their similarities of method, the Catholic schools and the Public schools did not teach the same patriotism, the same literature, or the same version of history. Catholic schools existed to make good Catholics; Public schools to make good citizens. In the manner of majority groups, the people who controlled the Public schools saw the good citizen as an embodiment of their own particular values, even though those values had no greater claim to universal validity than the ones espoused by Catholics or by larrikins. But the Public schools had the power of a majority to define what was respectable and what was not, and their influence extended even to children in Catholic schools. What was taught to the Public school pupils may therefore be a useful way of describing contemporary notions of respectability.

It was not respectable in pre-war New South Wales to be a republican, a socialist, a larrikin, or even a Catholic, although Catholics were gaining in respectability. Catholic children were being taught the prudent virtues too, and on Australia Day, May 24, they learnt that Catholics would fight for the Empire just like everyone else.

The respectable man was more patriotic than the Catholics, nevertheless. He was especially proud of that product of British superiority, the British Empire, and he allowed himself a becoming pride in Australia and her wonderful bounty of Nature - her wattle, her bird-life, her trees and flowers, her clean bushland. But he

was not proud of Australia's convict ancestry and of the low ideals which it symbolised. Nor did he applaud the popular bush balladists and larrikin poets who seemed to want those low ideals to be perpetuated in Australian life. He preferred to fill his mind with the ennobling sentiments of the best in English literature and of the Nature poets in Australia. In personal life, he aspired to be hard-working, thrifty, and honest. Above all, perhaps, he was ready to respond to the summons of Empire and country in time of need, and fight to the death in the defence of freedom and right.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

Note : A large proportion of the original materials used in this thesis are deposited in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.

I. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

These were the Records of the Department of Education deposited in the New South Wales State Archives.

(i) Records of individual schools :

Archives Boxes Nos. P 1761
P 1788
P 1816
P 1829
P 1846
P 1861
P 1886
P 1910
P 1933
P 1978
P 1999
P 2094

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fact a January 1914 issue was published, as
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Melbourne : May 1, 1915.

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