English Children’s Annuals: Australia
and the ‘British Embrace’

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Abstract

This thesis examines the powerful, partially-concealed discourse of British imperialism that prevailed in the English children’s annual and explores the implications of anglo-centric stories, images and information for Australian readers. This study reveals that imperialist discourse also promoted ideologies about class, gender and race that did not adequately mediate twentieth-century socio-economic developments, presenting evidence that in the generic English children’s annual, what might be termed ‘the twilight of the British Empire’ was perpetuated long after its actual demise.

English children’s annuals were replete with material that invariably presented England and its values and attitudes in idealised, positive ways. Employing the term, ‘the British embrace’, to adopt Stuart Ward’s usage, this work interrogates idealism in the English annual. The central argument of this study is that English annuals were a profoundly middle-class literary form, devised originally to instruct and entertain. Publishers of this popular, yet conservative, genre responded to new trends and my first chapter draws upon publishing and social history to locate annuals in the contexts of historical and technological change. Other chapters trace how and to what extent distinctively Australian audiences and settings were addressed and constructed in the annual genre. Through analysis of class, gender and racial otherness, I investigate how annuals purveyed English middle-class dreams and fantasies. A final chapter on Englishness in the genre analyses some of its effects upon twentieth-century Australian readers.

Children’s annuals were bestsellers and were exported in great numbers to Australia. Adults purchased them as prizes and gifts, especially at Christmas-time. Many older Australians have nostalgic associations with the annual genre and with individual annuals. Twentieth-century Australians were often connected by familial ties to Britain and, like the English suburban households they emulated, Australian households often had English children’s annuals in their libraries. Annuals were considered innocuous texts and were trusted to impart to children knowledge and ideals. Because annuals seldom overtly positioned children as learners they succeeded in this. However, their specific teaching function was problematically ideological.
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Publications generated from this thesis

This thesis has so far generated two published articles. The ideas in these articles have since been developed. Reference to them occurs in the introduction and in chapter three.


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Introduction

The English children’s annual has never been evaluated critically as a distinctive generic form. Children’s annuals were mainstream popular literature and were predominantly English. Attractive, often well-illustrated and colourful hard-cover volumes, they were designed for frequent reading, for giving and receiving as gifts and for collecting and were exported in great number to Australia, among other former colonial outposts. Such reading matter influenced the ideas of Australian children about England and to a certain extent, about Australia. Literature and ideology are closely linked, and Ian Saunders draws attention to this factor.1 Ideological ‘Englishness’ was an imbricated part of the reading experience of twentieth-century Australian children, although their responses to it have not been explored in any detail. Historian Stuart Ward’s most useful term ‘the British embrace’ accurately describes the nature of the Englishness embedded in children’s material which contributed to the construction of ideological Englishness within non-English children.2 A vital part of the politics inherent in the children’s annual was its attractiveness. Annuals were teaching devices designed deliberately to engage the interest of their readers by using colourful or dramatic pictures and print text to present idealised images of the English and of England, which aroused and developed a desire within readers to identify as English. What M. Daphne Kutzer calls ‘issues and questions of empire’ in English children’s literature and reading left lasting legacies in former imperial colonies.3 Elizabeth Webby asserts that for children in Australia’s earlier times, the tone of fictional reading matter was ‘imperialist’.4

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This is to be expected during a period when Australia was considered an outpost of the British Empire. However, after this period and even more remarkably, all through the twentieth century, English annuals transmitted imperialist gender, racial otherness and class ideologies to uncritical child-readers. There are gaps in the history of English juvenile literature. In examining the English children’s annual as published artefact, a history of the annual is offered which links it with the foundations of children’s publishing. In *The Book History Reader*, David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery propose that in taking a long view of history, printed books ‘are a passing phase’. The phase of the children’s annual itself now seems to have passed therefore this study is also a work of retrieval of rare volumes, as annuals are no longer easily available. The children’s annual is also considered as an instructional tool and the material examined is comprehensive, being a representative collection of some 350 English children’s annuals exported to Australia over the course of the twentieth century. Many other volumes have been examined from library archives and from private collections. Though occasional reference to them occurs, two aspects not covered extensively are children’s comics and ‘toddler’s annuals’, those directed at very young children in the pre-reading stage.

In an excerpt from his 1993 autobiography, *Challenging Faith*, John McKenzie describes in detail the reading-matter of his boyhood. McKenzie spent this period of his life in remote Argyle in Western Australia. However, his boyhood reading-matter was not of the Australian environment which, judging from his writing about it he clearly relished, but ‘largely of far-off lands’:

> Action was either deep in English history or on the frontiers of the Empire. At the time half the atlas of the world was coloured pink, and there were exotic settings in abundance where courageous Englishmen ruled and brought civilisation to backward peoples, ‘half-devil and half-child’. We roamed the Canadian pine forests, the snowfields of the Yukon, the north-west frontier of India, the jungles of Borneo, the veldt of Africa, and the sandy wastes of the Sahara.

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7 McKenzie, p. 33, quotes Rudyard Kipling’s poem ‘The White Man’s Burden’.
Tinted with imperial red and strongly seasoned with Ballantyne and Kipling, this was ‘the world’ of McKenzie’s youthful imagination, constructed mainly through contemporary English juvenile literature, both fictional and ostensibly factual. For McKenzie and his contemporaries, material in the fictional topos was reinforced by material from the real world through the authoritative agency of Arthur Mee’s *Children’s Encyclopaedia*, which dealt in what was accepted contemporaneously as factual.  

Although McKenzie writes very descriptively of the actual rural environment of his childhood, he never mentions his native Australia in relation to any of the reading-matter that seized his imagination in childhood. Yet, within the intricate and self-contained mental construct he describes are other highly durable elements, some of which might be so well-recognised by those familiar with them that they could be termed iconic. McKenzie’s description encapsulates the special, seemingly-vast, but neatly-condensed world of the English children’s annual.

In her investigation of the reading matter of Australian children from the 1890s to the 1950s, Clare Bradford argues that school readers were extremely important and were designed to help children imaginatively explore various imperial territories. However, another type of literature was also designed to perform this function and was significant to Australian children during this period. This was the English children’s annual, a phenomenon that, as I have said, has not been explored critically. Although it can be argued that the significance of popular English children’s literature itself has declined in more recent times, it was always significant in Australian culture, especially prior to what Martyn Lyons and Lucy Taksa term ‘the Australianization of the reading public’ which began to occur in the twentieth century. Like English children’s periodicals and magazines, English annuals are compendia of social history. However, I will argue that though related in several important ways to children’s magazines, the children’s annual was a discrete form of children’s literature.

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8 McKenzie, p. 34.
Despite the ‘key role print has played in our culture for the past five hundred years,’ gaps remain in the history of English juvenile literature.\textsuperscript{11} According to Sue Sims and Hilary Clare, English annuals, gift books and short story collections for children are ‘very under-researched’.\textsuperscript{12} Although aspects of the children’s annual have been addressed from time to time, the specific form of imperial discourse it contained has not been examined closely. Two factors account for this, one being ‘the very ubiquity’ of such texts in the past, which perhaps led to them being taken for granted.\textsuperscript{13} The other factor is that from the very inception of writing about literature in Australia in general, writing for children, even that which was popular, was disregarded in favour of poetry, fiction and what was termed ‘general literature’ which was considered mainly to consist of ‘history, biography, and works of travel and exploration’, an adult-centred view which was to persist until well into the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{14} Children themselves are often written out of history, along with much of what is important to them, a situation that has been slow to change. Kate Darian-Smith claims that in twentieth-century Australia ‘the nuclear family and the responsibilities of marriage and parenting’ tended to take precedence over the interests of children \emph{per se} as a public objective.\textsuperscript{15} This claim is borne out by Peter Hunt’s pertinent remark that despite the ‘centrality’ of children’s books to their lives, it has taken much time for these to be regarded as ‘a fit subject for academic study’.\textsuperscript{16} This accounts for many lacunae in the records of children’s literature. In terms of the children’s annual, there is an incomplete record of primary resources. It is unlikely that this record will ever be complete, for many children’s annuals no longer exist. Fundamentally, after all, they were books for children, and, although designed to withstand a considerable amount of handling, were not engineered to last forever. It is a tribute to the quality of their Victorian-inspired production methods that so many still exist. Another reason for the relative rarity of some types of annual is that, as Alan Clark notes in his brief history,
many were pulped during World War II, as part of paper drives and during wartime, many annuals went out of production altogether.¹⁷ Many extant annuals are now in private collections. Thus, annuals have been not been ignored completely. Instead, there has been a tendency for them to be commodified solely for their cultural and commercial value as nostalgic objects. It is interesting to note that a London publisher recently sought to capitalise upon the nostalgia-value of the form, with a facsimile edition of The Girls’ Empire offered for sale in Australia over the 2008 Christmas period.¹⁸ However, in terms of discourse, annuals contained imperial propaganda: their commodification as objects of nostalgia has led to them escaping much serious critical analysis by Australians.

Finkelstein and McCleery refer to the agency of the book in the transmission of values into ‘colonised and connected societies and territories.’¹⁹ The children’s annual is an important case in point. Though facets of the contents of children’s annuals have been addressed occasionally, particularly the annuals of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, little attention has been paid to the annual mode itself. Although its origins were much earlier, the annual developed very strongly as a generic form during the Victorian period at the time when the power of the British Empire was assuming its peak. Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose theorise that during the long period of Empire, ‘…people [thought] imperially…simply assuming [that the Empire] was there, part of the given world that had made them who they were.’²⁰ Empire, it seems, was all-encompassing and therefore, often unremarked by those living within it. With this in mind, it becomes easy to see why M. Daphne Kutzer declares that imperialism was an integral part of British children’s literature.²¹ Imperialism is undeniably highly visible in annuals of the earlier twentieth century. The generic conventions of the annual mode were developed mainly during the long period of Empire, were dedicated purposefully to

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¹⁸ The Girls’ Empire: An annual volume for English-speaking girls all over the world, (Facsimile edition), (1903; London: Short Books, 2007): rear cover blurb maintains that this annual ‘is a wonderfully evocative slice of history’ and notes its mission to ‘entertain, instruct and inspire’.
¹⁹ Finkelstein & McCleery, p. 3.
²⁰ Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose, ‘Introduction: being at home with the Empire’, in Catherine Hall & Sonya O. Rose, (eds), At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 3.
entertainment and instruction and continued with little alteration until well into the twentieth century. Imperialism was thereby ingrained within what might be termed the texture of the children’s annual. Hall and Rose note that the terms ‘empire’ and ‘imperialism’, ‘colony’ and ‘colonisation’ and ‘race’ and ‘racism’ are contested.\textsuperscript{22} It might well be that this will continue indefinitely. However, they rightly assert that Empire is about power and that imperialism is the process of power-building.\textsuperscript{23}

Ian Saunders amplifies this point, stating that ideology is ‘linked most inextricably’ with the concept of power.\textsuperscript{24} It was undoubtedly the case that ideology about racial otherness served the requirements of imperialism, but that it gradually and most unfortunately became widely accepted and ‘taken for granted’ as truth.\textsuperscript{25} Saunders also notes the important fact that ‘components of the ideological apparatus’ frequently assume the status of ‘time-honoured truths’.\textsuperscript{26} The same might be said of ideology about class and gender: transmission of ideology to young readers in places like Australia occurred with their consumption of children’s annuals. Patrick Brantlinger argues that ‘imperialism, racism, and sexism are interwoven, both with each other and with seemingly distinct systems of discourse, particularly those of social class…[and] gender’.\textsuperscript{27} This interweaving certainly occurred in children’s annuals in which a deliberate discursive blending took place. The British Empire encompassed the Victorian period, which added a particular ideological flavour: in children’s magazines, consumed avidly by childreaders, many of what might be termed ‘Victorian’ values and attitudes toward class, race and gender appeared, and as John M. MacKenzie observes, such attitudes were part of the larger field of imperialist discourse.\textsuperscript{28} Because of its book-format, the annual enabled a transmission of ideas that was more reliably cogent than the popular but ephemeral paper magazine, aimed directly at children and designed to last only a few readings. Through

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{22} Hall & Rose, p. 5.
\item \textsuperscript{23} Hall & Rose, pp. 6-7.
\item \textsuperscript{24} Saunders, p. 50.
\item \textsuperscript{25} Hall & Rose, p. 8.
\item \textsuperscript{26} Saunders, p. 50.
\end{itemize}
annuals, a solidified form of magazine-style popular literature, notions of race, class and
gender were given constantly to quite young children when this material was read aloud
to them, and when they began to read for themselves.

For Australian children, the absorption of English attitudes had implications. David Carter asserts that there now exists ‘a renewed sense of the complexity – and originality – of earlier cultural formations in Australia’. 29 Perhaps due to a modern and comprehensive education process to which most have access, many now have a more nuanced understanding of Australia’s early days. As Wayne Hudson and Geoffrey Bolton also suggest, far from being ‘monolithic’ or of single cultural identity, Australia displayed ‘multiple identities’ from the time of its earliest written history. 30 Furthermore, Adele Perry asserts that nuances also were an integral part of colonialism itself as a phenomenon, for far from being ‘the proverbial juggernaut, razing opposition’, colonialism was actually ‘partial, fragile, and vulnerable to local powers and interpretations’. 31 From this point in history, the logic of this seems indisputable. However, Simon Gikandi insists that colonialism undoubtedly ‘shaped the character of the domestic space’. 32 Perry concurs, cautioning that, despite its local contingencies, one must be wary of downplaying ‘the very real power of imperialism to...influence myriad social, political, and intimate arrangements’. 33 Children living in the colonies received imperialist ideas in many forms and dominant ideologies about gender, race and class were reproduced and reinforced for an uncritical readership. 34 Kutzer declares that

33 Perry, p. 135.
34 Pauline A. Farley, ‘Young masculinity and “the others”: representations of ideal manliness for boys in twentieth-century annuals’, in Thymos: *Journal of Boyhood Studies*, 2(2), Mens’ Studies Press, 2008, pp. 154-174. The ideas contained within this article have been developed subsequently and appear in this discussion.
‘British children’s literature incorporates and encourages British imperialism’.\textsuperscript{35} However, as Perry counters, it is salient to remember that for the nineteenth century, imperialism was ‘a way of seeing, organising, and ruling the world’.\textsuperscript{36} Such ideologies about gender, race and class were a crucially-important part of the basis of what Gikandi calls ‘the central narratives established by colonial culture – narratives about selfhood, nation, identity, and history’.\textsuperscript{37} Attachment to such ‘central narratives’ is understandable, being characteristic of human societies as they strive to form a sense of being in relation to other societies. Stuart Ward gestures strongly toward the importance of such attachment in terms of Australia’s ‘reluctance’ to dismantle ‘the old familiar ties to the Mother Country’ even during the post-World War II period.\textsuperscript{38} Ward also notes the fact

\begin{quote}
that it was not until the final decade of the twentieth century that Australians began seriously to discuss an appropriate form for an exclusively Australian head of state, and a new design for a national flag to replace the colonial ensign adopted in the early 1900s.\textsuperscript{39}
\end{quote}

At the very least, it seems fair to maintain that long after the Empire’s demise, in places such as Australia, the colonial cultural narratives referred to by Gikandi ‘still functioned within the epistemology established by the dominant culture of colonialism’.\textsuperscript{40} Further, as Finkelstein and McCleery assert, print culture impacts markedly upon social formations.\textsuperscript{41} It is now well recognized that juvenile literature of the late Victorian period and early part of the twentieth century presented a grand narrative of empire to young readers.\textsuperscript{42} The children’s annual also played a part in this, but for young Australian readers this had implications that did not necessarily apply to English readers. Australian readers, those described by Judith Johnston and Monica Anderson as having been ‘born

\textsuperscript{35} Kutzer, p. 14.
\textsuperscript{36} Perry, p. 148.
\textsuperscript{37} Gikandi, p. xii.
\textsuperscript{38} Ward, \textit{Australia and the British Embrace}, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{39} Ward, \textit{Australia and the British Embrace}, p. 262.
\textsuperscript{40} Gikandi, p. xiii.
\textsuperscript{41} Finkelstein & McCleery, p. 3.
out of sight and sound of the British homeland’, received many of their impressions of England through its exported popular culture.43

Popular culture plays an undeniably powerful role in human life, and as journalist Kate Emery remarks, its consumption can ‘form the basis of relationships and provide important social rituals, as well as the meat of everyday conversation.’44 Joanna de Groot elucidates this point, insisting that consumption itself clearly ‘does not merely meet particular needs, but expresses socio-cultural meanings’ and it can clearly be seen that it is now ‘a dynamic agent in processes of material change since the eighteenth century, rather than just an effect of changes in production or marketing.(emphases hers)45 Like children’s magazines, annuals were important purveyors of cultural material, but where collections of magazines are accessible these have already been the subject of scholarly research. MacKenzie asserts that a ‘great deal of work remains to be done on the juvenile literature of the inter-war years, the period of the Second World War, and the years that followed’.46 MacKenzie theorises that within the ambit of such literature, ‘it is at least possible to suspect strongly that there was a real continuity of fundamental ideas from the late nineteenth century to the 1950s’.47 Such ‘fundamental ideas’ certainly were powerfully present in children’s annuals and were repeated constantly throughout the first half of the twentieth century and even beyond this period. Twentieth-century English children’s annuals were from ‘the diverse and popular periodical press’ and were a specific part of highly-consumable ‘first level’ discourse.48 However, as such, they have so far mostly slipped beneath the Australian cultural radar.

44 Kate Emery, ‘Catch fly with chopstick, accomplish anything’, in *West Australian*, 19/6/10, p. 30, deals with the long and interesting afterlives of popular films of the twentieth century.
The British Embrace

Stuart Ward uses the term ‘the British embrace’ in the title of his 2001 work on the decision during the 1960s of Britain’s Macmillan Government to seek membership of the European Economic Community. Ward examines this decision, maintaining that it disrupted profoundly the attachment of Australians to their British heritage. Ward uses the term ‘the British embrace’, to describe the socio-cultural, political and economic ties that connected Australia to England. These ties incorporated a collection of ‘deeply inscribed assumptions about Anglo-Australian community of identity’ which had a crucial effect upon Australia’s development.49 The ‘ties of blood, language, history and culture’ contributed to what Ward describes as a ‘celebration of organic kinship’ of Australians with the British.50 Ward argues that such ties unravelled after the decision of the Macmillan Government. While such an arbitrary line of demarcation might still be arguable, Ward’s term, the ‘British embrace’ is most useful for examining what scholars describe as ‘Englishness’, which was presented to Australian children in various forms. ‘Englishness’ was built up gradually in Australian children. One of the elements that helped to strengthen the ‘British embrace’ of Australians was the reading of material produced by the British popular press in the mode of the children’s annual, which presented a narrative of England in content and in form.

‘Englishness’ is complex. It is worth noting in passing as does Ian Saunders, an ongoing tendency of people to view ‘personal identity as pre-eminently to do with nationality’.51 However, after Benedict Anderson, Angelia Poon positions the notion of ‘Englishness’ away from ‘programmatic political ideology’ and towards what she terms the ‘more nebulous because less easily charted territory of imagined social and cultural affiliation’.52 Poon demonstrates some of the complexity of defining ‘Englishness’ in opposition ‘to what is arguably a more accurate nomenclature for national identity:

50 Ward, *Australia and the British Embrace*, pp. 2-3
51 Saunders, p. 50.
‘Britishness.’53 Kate Darian-Smith, Patricia Grimshaw and Stuart Macintyre outline the complexities of meaning involved in the term ‘Britishness’, which they define as the ‘global phenomenon’ begun ‘by trade, conquest and settlement’, which led to the ‘formal Empire’ and the ‘diffusion of institutions, practices and values’ that took place in different British colonies.54 Australian children learned to be British, and this is examined briefly in my chapter on class. However, children’s annuals were a mostly-unremarked agency of the diffusion of British ‘institutions, practices and values’. Darian-Smith et. al. assert correctly that the phenomenon of Britishness ‘reworked identities’ in local settings.55 It is with such reworking of identity that my chapters on class and Englishness are also concerned. Poon claims that ‘Englishness’ is more ‘a way of being and seeming that seeps and permeates the political, social and cultural domains.’56 She elucidates this further, declaring that Englishness expresses itself ‘in a grammar of sensate, emotive and moral terms that exceeds the strictly political and juridical meanings traditionally associated with statehood.’57 Darian-Smith et. al. note that, as well as these strict and obvious forms of domination which were imposed by the empire upon colonised territories, there were more ‘subtle forms of domination’.58 ‘Englishness’, itself a phenomenon, was one of these subtle forms, therefore the term is perhaps more appropriate than ‘Britishness’ for examining material in everyday popular texts such as children’s annuals. The kinds of ‘sensate, emotive and moral’ meanings to which Poon refers as being related to ‘Englishness’ are encapsulated neatly by Ward’s term the ‘British embrace’. This term combines an idea of Britishness with the idea of the ‘embrace’, a form of contact which itself can be charged with the precise kinds of meaning to which Poon refers. The ‘British embrace’, then, with its layers of ‘sensate, emotive and moral’ meaning was one that was generally not refused, but was mostly welcomed, but which nevertheless, offered a subtle but powerful variety of Englishness that might here be likened to a iron grip in a velvet glove. Ward’s term seems very useful.

53 Poon, p. 5.
55 Darian-Smith et. al., p. 1.
56 Poon, p. 5.
57 Poon, p. 5.
58 Darian-Smith, et. al., p. 4.
for categorising the type of Englishness that, in varying forms, was presented to Australian children.

English annuals were certainly, and indeed, often literally embraced by Australian children. As Stella Lees and Pam Macintyre put it, annuals were ‘savoured and read again and again’.59 Children clearly loved them, and for the most part probably uncritically. However, for Australian children, the origin of the annuals in the ‘mother country’, their special status as prizes and presents, and the ways in which material was set out and presented in annuals also rendered them highly effective as carriers of magisterial authority. As teaching devices, the English annuals worked so well that their influence has very seldom been remarked by those upon whom they worked their particularised form of didactic magic. Cedric Cullingford notes that ‘[r]eading is a process that combines imaging [and] associating’.60 Because of this, pedagogy has for some considerable time stressed the importance of the deliberate engagement of children’s interest in what is being said, by using both words and images, as an image can often complete, in the imagination of a child, what a word might lack. Annuals were also compendia of creative writing, albeit in a highly-structured format. Recent research into the theory and practice of creative writing stresses the importance in narrative of ‘showing and telling’.61 The annuals both showed and told, for children’s annuals combined both words and vivid pictures. As the adage has it, ‘everything old is new again’, for at the inception of children’s publishing in the eighteenth century, John Newbery used this technique and it was utilised consciously by Cassells in 1871, when they marketed their highly-successful magazine Little Folk, whose preface announced that it ‘sought to [provide] a book which should amuse, and at the same time teach’.62 Images combined with words were clearly attractive to children. MacKenzie states that in most societies ‘there is a particularly powerful urge to consensus in the training of

59 Stella Lees & Pam Macintyre, (eds), The Oxford Companion to Australian Children’s Literature, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 28.
62 Sims & Clare, p. 405.
youth’. Again, the human logic of this is hard to dispute. In England in the nineteenth century with the growth of both Evangelical Protestantism and child literacy, this consensus was very strongly marked, becoming ‘a powerful zone of intellectual, ideological and moral convergence in the projection of state power and collective objectives’. Thus, the idea of ‘entertainment and instruction’ for children within the ambit of literature directed specifically at them, emanates from the powerful evangelical Christianising Victorian tradition that grew along with mass publishing, yet another of the elements in the convergence of historical factors. In this introductory section, the role of children’s magazines vis-à-vis children’s annuals is examined briefly. Despite the fact that the ‘annual’ itself as a separate form of literary product has a long conceptual history, many English children’s annuals were derived from the children’s magazines that originated in Victorian times, with the rise of mass-market publishing. Combined entertainment and instruction was the technique utilised in the English children’s annuals that were exported to Australia. It was also used in children’s magazines as evidenced by Little Folk magazine, in which a ‘page of unrelieved type was rare’ and ‘in practice amusement outweighed instruction from the start’. Perhaps this was the real secret of the magazine’s popularity. However, in the English children’s annuals that were read by Australian children, the amusement or entertainment factor did not necessarily outweigh the instruction factor, although it may have appeared to do so. Such books were especially designed to attract both parents and children, and they did this very successfully. An innate part of the British embrace in this format was its attractiveness.

Through the overarching factor of a shared language, the British embrace had an all-encompassing quality. David Malouf and Christopher Koch are two Australian writers who consistently note the importance to Australia of English language and fiction. In ‘Made in England’, his detailed evaluation of Australia’s British inheritance, Malouf stresses the vital role of a shared language. This would seem indispensable in this

65 Sims, & Clare, p. 405.
context. However, to those in the colonies and Dominions of the British Empire, children’s annuals had a range of meanings, from the deeply personal to the broadly social and communal. They were part of the complex system of ties that bound far-off Australia to England, and as such, their value to their youthful owners was often far more than merely sentimental. For Australian children, through the agency of a shared language, the annuals presented fragments of England that could be linked together in the imagination to form a picture of that other, often ancestral hemisphere, perhaps physically very different from much of Australia’s landscape, but mentally, and even spiritually, so apparently similar, at least in the imaginations of many who read such books. The essays of noted author Christopher Koch bear out the importance of the role of fiction for the child.67 Koch, born in Tasmania, discusses the process of the formation of his attitude toward England, which he believes probably began with his grandfather, who read the Strand Magazine.68 Koch suggests that as a result of being immersed in English culture and living within a deliberate duplication of an English-style landscape, the dominant idea became easily naturalised, (and not only for children) that ‘being Australians was secondary’.69 Australia, after all, was at the bottom of the familiar English map of the world of which London was the central pivot. It was English culture that was ‘Australian’, and to which most Australians of the period related and (often literally, like Koch’s grandfather) subscribed, because it was dominant, therefore most familiar and easily recognised. Children absorbed the fiction designed specifically for them and this fiction linked closely with other cultural products and artefacts of England. One of the enabling devices for the strength of the British embrace at this level was the contemporary juvenile literature offered by children’s annuals. Koch describes his ‘earliest expeditions through London’ as having being made through ‘the pages of Chums’.70 However, Koch does not refer only to Chums magazine itself, but to ‘Chums Annual for 1920’, a book passed on to him by his uncle.71

68 Koch, “Maybe It’s Because I’m a Londoner”, in Crossing the Gap, pp. 26-47.  
69 Koch, p. 29.  
70 Koch, p. 29.  
71 Koch, p. 29.
Finkelstein and McCleery observe the salient fact that in some contexts, '[b]ooks are regarded as carriers of social dissent'. With children’s annuals, quite the reverse occurred. In his discussion of imperialism in popular literature for children, MacKenzie refers to the way in which ‘adult obsessions…[find] expression’ in material published for children. He elucidates the point further in his perceptive declaration that ‘juvenile literature acts as an excellent reflector of the dominant ideas of an age’. Kutzer reiterates this point when she asserts that texts accurately ‘reflect’ the societies in which they are produced in that they ‘provide a cultural mirror for adult fears and desires’. Kutzer argues that children’s texts are ‘important cultural artefacts’ and can produce ‘a lasting effect upon the beliefs of children who read them’. According to Kutzer, cultural reflections can impact powerfully upon future generations of child-readers, for not only do they influence child readers, but continue their influence, in that such readers in their adulthood in turn produce new texts for new child readers. Kutzer asserts that in this way ‘issues and questions of empire linger on’ in popular children’s texts. This certainly seems true of the children’s annual, for it is remembered by many adults, who refer to it, often unproblematically, in their own writings. However, the world presented to readers by the English children’s annual was, to use Kutzer’s term, a ‘cultural mirror’, reflecting not merely adult fears and desires, but also in some measure, adult fantasies and frustrations and projecting these onto children in text and illustration. MacKenzie professes that ‘the values and fantasies of adult authors are dressed up in fictional garb for youthful consumption’, which meant that the works ‘became instrumental in the dissemination and perpetuation of particular clusters of ideals, assumptions and ambitions’ from the adult world. Applying MacKenzie’s ideas to the annual is effective because the annual was a cultural artefact, and had lasting effects upon child-readers. Like the children’s magazine, it was filled with popular culture about which there is a perennial, reassuring quality of ‘sameness’; of the everyday and therefore usually

72 Finkelstein & McCleery, p. 1.
75 Kutzer, p. 140.
76 Kutzer, p. 140.
77 Kutzer, pp. 140-141.
78 Kutzer, p. 141.
unremarked. However, the annual had a unique but thus far little-regarded function in that it was especially designed to last, unlike the popular magazine or periodical. Annuals endured, often remaining on family bookshelves for generations. For this reason, the British embrace endured as well, for annuals influenced child-readers not only of past generations, but often their descendants. Remarkably, throughout the twentieth century, the material in annuals varies only marginally in attitudinal content from generation to generation. Superficial appearances altered, and this is made clear in illustrations, but values and attitudes remained constant. This produced the effect that children were literally reading the same, albeit ‘recycled’, material over and over again in the annuals that had belonged to their older relatives and in the annuals pitched at their own generation. As Kutzer reasons, some of these readers, raised within the British embrace, become writers and thereby contributors in this way to their culture. This certainly was the case for those who read annuals, and not merely in Australia. Sharyn Pearce notes what she terms a broad similarity between the historical narrative of Australia and Canada, both colonised and settled by the British.\textsuperscript{80} The legacy of English annuals is addressed by Canadian poet and novelist Margaret Atwood, in \textit{Murder in the Dark}, her 1983 collection of short prose pieces, in which Atwood drew upon material from an English children’s annual to meditate upon the legacy of the British embrace for colonial descendants.\textsuperscript{81} Australian writers have likewise drawn for their own work upon the heritage of the English children’s literature from their childhood.

Literacy itself, that is, affective literacy, is vitally and extraordinarily empowering for young children. Graham Greene recalls the thrilling impact of literacy when discussing the first reading experience of his childhood:

I remember distinctly the suddenness with which a key turned in a lock and I found I could read. … All a long summer holiday I kept my secret…I did not want anybody to know that I could read. …this was the dangerous moment. …[N]ow the future stood around on bookshelves everywhere


\textsuperscript{81} Margaret Atwood ‘The Boys’ Own Annual, 1911’ in \textit{Murder in the Dark: short fictions and prose poems}, (Toronto: Coach House Press, 1983), p. 11.
Greene’s words suggest the importance of the affective reading experience for children and as Cullingford confirms, it is often imbricated intricately with their first experiences of learning about the world.\textsuperscript{83} The British embrace was an essential part of the affective reading experiences of many twentieth-century Australian children. According to Robyn Sheahan-Bright, publisher Andrew Fabinyi observed that even just prior to World War II, ‘Australian children spend in their books, Christmas amid snow-capped mountains’.\textsuperscript{84} For some adults the world conjured up by English children’s annuals lingers on, still existing as a vital, even central part of their imaginations. From time to time, those who have read such material in their youth attempt to recreate its magic or to retrieve something of its atmosphere in a visible, tangible way, such as Australian artist David Bromley, whose exhibition during February-March 2010 showed works inspired by Bromley’s fascination with ‘the warmth, comfort and optimism of old children’s picture books’.\textsuperscript{85} In an interview with a local newspaper, Bromley discusses in quite specific terms how childhood texts had helped to chart the ‘ebb and flow’ of his own life, explicating his finding of personal ‘metaphors’ in such texts.\textsuperscript{86} In his review of Bromley’s exhibited works, interviewer Stephen Bevis comments upon how Bromley utilises:

the imagery of mid-20\textsuperscript{th} century Boy’s Own comic culture to paint vivid, playful pictures of the spills and thrills of childhood – evocations of bygone days of pirates, lighthouses, boxing matches and running races.\textsuperscript{87}

It seems that the ‘Boy’s Own comic culture’, and its poignant linkage with the everyday of childhood to which Bromley’s work refers, hovers often at the edge of adult consciousness. Some twentieth-century Australian writers have also utilised English

\textsuperscript{83} Cullingford, p. 15 & p. 32
\textsuperscript{84} Robyn Sheahan-Bright, ‘For Children and Young Adults’, in Craig Munro & Robyn Sheahan-Bright, (eds), \textit{Paper Empires: A History of the Book in Australia 1946-2005}, (St Lucia, University of Queensland Press), 2006, p. 278.
\textsuperscript{86} Bevis, p. 8.
\textsuperscript{87} Bevis, p. 8.
children’s popular culture in their work along with references to other British children’s literature, treating this as a kind of ‘touchstone’ of common understanding. In his memoir, *Wildest Dreams*, Michael Wilding referred to ‘flying boats out of Sydney Harbour’ as evoking images from that *Chums Annual* of 1927 his father had bought for him when he had been in bed with scarlet fever; a huge repository of stories and images. Flying boats belonged to that world, the security of a past survived, a nostalgia of convalescence.\(^88\)

Keywords such as ‘security’ and ‘nostalgia’ suggest powerfully what that ‘huge repository of stories and images’ provided for child-readers, some of whose experiences are examined here. The British embrace was a far-reaching phenomenon and the roots of such shared understanding run quietly but powerfully through the twentieth century. Koch alluded to the commonality of the ‘touchstone’ of English children’s literature in his successful and popular novel *The Year of Living Dangerously*, first published in 1978, filmed in 1982, and reprinted recently by Vintage Books.\(^89\) Fairly early in the novel, two of Koch’s protagonists have a conversation. Guy Hamilton is a journalist of English/Australian background and Billy Kwan is a cameraman whose background is Chinese/Australian. Kwan, who has grown up in Australia, initially expresses a thwarted desire to identify as ‘European’ rather than as ‘Chinese’. However, it quickly becomes clear that Kwan’s deeper desire, awakened in childhood, is to identify as ‘English’:

…My heritage isn’t China – my heritage is Europe, just as yours is. Tell me, what books did you read, Ham, when you were twelve years old? Sherlock Holmes? The Saint? The William books?’ [Hamilton replies:] ‘All of those. Used to love them. Why?’ So did I, [replies Kwan] Do you see? I used to want to be William. I suppose you did too. But I couldn’t be – my face wouldn’t let me…\(^90\)

Kwan muses further on the meaning that popular English children’s literature had in his life, claiming that ‘William was part of my family past’.\(^91\) Referring unproblematically,

\(^{91}\) Koch, p. 85.
that is, without other clarification to Richmal Crompton’s popular 1922-1970 series of children’s books, this claim foregrounds the colonisation that took place of child readers by the children’s literature of England. As Ward reiterates, the British embrace had a familial quality, due to a shared ‘organic’ heritage.92 A familial quality seems peculiar to this type of literature, and probably accounts for some of the hold it exercised on the individual and collective imagination of generations of Australian children. Just prior to this part of the Kwan-Hamilton discussion, the idea of ‘Englishness’ itself has featured in the passage: Hamilton identifies strongly with his English heritage, but as Kwan has pointed out to him, this prevents him from being ‘Australian’. A question inheres to this, and Kwan raises it shrewdly, remarking that Hamilton is ‘unable to be Australian because of [his] Englishness. Or is it the other way round?’93 Hamilton, portrayed as a man of ostensibly-phlegmatic temperament who values and appears to have achieved the quality of detachment, finds Kwan’s perceptive analysis bothersome, for it unsettles his complacent self-image, causing him to feel ‘quick irritation’.94 Koch’s handling of the passage gestures toward the issue at the interior of such an exchange: that of the negotiation of the desire to be English, its arousal, and its management.

The subtle phenomenon of Englishness coupled with desire can also work in other ways. When reviewing Nikki Gemmell’s recent book *Why You Are Australian*, David Gilchrist spoke to Australian writer Gemmell, who spent what she terms ‘a mad ex-pat life for many years’ in England. Gemmell refers to the feelings for Australia, the land of her birth, which problematise her complete acceptance of the beautiful English countryside which she maintains ‘will never enter my heart’.95 Gemmell maintains that despite having spent twelve or thirteen years in England she still feels

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<td>93 Koch, p. 85.</td>
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a feeling which she claims grows more powerful and ‘urgent’ with the aging process. Gemmell explores further, describing in terms of a sense of displacement, of ‘not belonging’, how important this particular and hard-to-define emotion was to her: ‘I don’t want to die in England. I don’t want to be buried in English soil. It’s not my land’.  For all this, Gemmell’s book contains a great deal of discussion of her English life. She expresses concern that their time spent in England may have given her own children ‘a very English childhood’ and wonders whether upon their return to Australia her children will ‘always have a yearning in [their] hearts for the green and pleasant land of England’. It is comments such as these, and the journalist Gilchrist’s response regarding these comments, that set up interesting echoes in terms of the study of the effects of Englishness upon youthful readers of the earlier twentieth century in which the ties to England were generally far closer than they are today. If one factor emerges strongly from Gemmell’s book, it is that she herself and her family have far more choice as to where they will pass their lives than did people in past generations. As to the places we live, whether chosen or not, Gilchrist remarks that these tend to ‘wriggle under our skins and find a very central location in our souls’. Material in English children’s annuals presented, from an English perspective, a variety of ‘places’ as well as England itself. For some non-English readers who grew up in the twentieth century, this tended to produce the effect that England was absorbed into their inner lives at what Gilchrist terms ‘a very central location’.

As MacKenzie and Kutzer insist, children’s fiction does seem to reflect ‘adult fears and desires’. Writing about ‘desire’ itself, Catherine Belsey proposes that ‘the tradition of Western fiction is threaded through with desire’. The children’s annual, as part of that lengthy tradition, contains what Belsey terms, in another context, ‘desire’s inscription’.

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97 Gilchrist, p. 7.
99 Gilchrist, p. 7.
100 Gilchrist, p. 7.
101 Kutzer, p. 140.
103 Belsey, p. ix.
For the children’s annual, this might logically be viewed as a binary: the desire of English
adult writers to communicate English delights to children forms what might be termed
the ‘active’ component of desire, while the desire of children to receive such delights
forms the ‘passive’ component of desire. And although writing can be problematic, for
Belsey ‘the pleasures of reading’ are tied closely to those of writing.\(^{104}\) This may well be
so, even when writing is produced for popular market demand, where the exchange is
driven mainly by commerce. Despite the immediate pleasures of reader-writer exchange,
in the case of popular material written for children, MacKenzie and Kutzer’s theory
suggests the difficulty of the balance that must be achieved by writers for children and
possibly indicates why many emphasised the delights of life, probably drawing mostly
upon idealised pleasures of their own and of other people’s childhoods.\(^{105}\) Obviously, an
element of nostalgia is inherent here for writers, and curiously, as suggested by the
research of Martyn Lyons and Lucy Taksa, this element seems also to have been
transmitted to child-readers.\(^{106}\)

And for adults this was not dissimilar. Martyn Lyons explains that during the twentieth
century ‘a distinctly Australian literary culture was emerging’.\(^{107}\) However, in general
terms, between 1890-1930, mainstream Australian culture was still dominated by Britain,
and as Lyons and Taksa put it, ‘the Empire seemed to cast a long shadow over readers
who were often grateful for its shade’.\(^{108}\) In other words, the Australian response to the
British embrace offered by literature and culture was perhaps best described as one
compounded of nostalgia and of desire. The British embrace was offered fraternally, but
aroused in many Australians, particularly those of the late nineteenth and earlier
twentieth century, a desire to be English. In literature from England, this desire was
fostered by the picture presented of England as the ultimate desire, that of ‘home’.
Children’s annuals have a powerful link with notions of private and personal domestic

\(^{104}\) Belsey, p. ix.
\(^{105}\) Cullingford, p. 102 & pp. 104-105, popular children’s writer Enid Blyton was a case in point.
\(^{106}\) Lyons & Taksa. pp. 92-93.
\(^{107}\) Martyn Lyons, ‘Introduction’, in Martyn Lyons & John Arnold, (eds), A History of the Book in
Australia 1891-1945: A National Culture in a Colonised Market, (St Lucia: University of Queensland
\(^{108}\) Lyons & Taksa, p. 8.
peace, which themselves are bound up with deeper human desires for security. Andrew Fabinyi proposes that even in 1939, Australian children were ‘fed almost exclusively with the values and charming provincialism of the British Isles.’\(^{109}\) The English picture of ‘home’ was presented repeatedly in obvious and subtle ways and was offered to children as well as to adults. Stephen Alomes claims that an ‘alienation’ that can affect Australians is ‘in part because of English children’s books which taught a love of England and its country gardens.’\(^{110}\) Though Alomes provides no immediate support for his claim, it is difficult to dispute, because Englishness and the British embrace also extended into the garden which surrounded the middle-class Australian home. Popular books such as children’s annuals unproblematically and specifically did teach a love of the English way of gardening. As well as from ancestral, familial and genetic connections, Englishness was developed within Australians by the regular experience of the British embrace in the constant consumption of English literature. That which pertained to popular culture formed a deeply-important part of the whole picture.\(^{111}\) This had implications for Australian children, especially in the first half of the twentieth century, but was less important as the century proceeded and Australia began to establish confidently its own independent cultural identity. However, before this occurred, Australian society was, and perhaps could not have been otherwise than what MacKenzie terms ‘a colonial middle-class imitative elite’.\(^{112}\)

**Autobiography**

As this work proceeds, my argument will draw upon autobiographical writing about Australian childhoods, writings which will be given close and careful analysis. As Gillian Whitlock puts it, ‘Australian literary biography and autobiography are rich and complex domains…in part due to the establishment of a settler colony here’.\(^{113}\) Due to the fact of emigration and colonisation, ‘notions of self and place’ were challenged profoundly and

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\(^{109}\) Quoted in Sheahan-Bright, p. 278.  
\(^{111}\) Lyons & Taksa, pp. 91-93.  
\(^{112}\) MacKenzie, p. 219.  
an absence of literature was deeply-felt.\textsuperscript{114} In Australia ‘a great deal of writing went on, much of it autobiographical’.\textsuperscript{115} However, Whitlock also notes that much of this had remained in what she terms ‘equatorial zones where fiction, biography and autobiography meet’, leading to a certain marginalisation of Australian autobiographical writing.\textsuperscript{116} This situation is now changing, and autobiography is now regarded with a more serious respect for the human histories and cultural insights it offers. Martyn Lyons and Lucy Taksa in their 1992 survey of Australian reading habits, acknowledge the invaluable contribution of the ‘autobiographical confessions’ of individuals for the detail that they can provide to social historiography.\textsuperscript{117} The use of what must broadly be termed ‘autobiographical writings’ is also invaluable, even indispensable. ‘Autobiographical writings’ are used where appropriate throughout this work, and frequently appear not merely under the generic heading of ‘autobiography’ but in the form of various fictional materials produced by the Australian writers whose material I have explored.

As Joy Hooton notes, cultural critics engaged with themes of identity are especially attracted to autobiography.\textsuperscript{118} More specifically, Hooton, in \textit{Stories of Herself When Young}, asserts that the powerful attraction of autobiography is its ‘uniquely mixed freight of cultural and personal meaning’.\textsuperscript{119} However, autobiographical material should also be treated with caution because nostalgia and personal bias can permeate the recollection of individual autobiographers to the point of undermining the usefulness of this type of writing for scholarship. David McCooey maintains the extraordinary difficulty of defining ‘autobiography’, because narratives of the past all have aspects that render them unstable.\textsuperscript{120} Autobiography as a genre has certain limitations, most obviously that of subjectivity, that can lead to significant gaps and silences in autobiographical texts. For

\footnotesize\textsuperscript{114} Whitlock, p. 233. \\
\textsuperscript{115} Whitlock, p. 233. \\
\textsuperscript{116} Whitlock, p. 245. \\
\textsuperscript{117} Lyons & Taksa, p. 3. \\
instance, Madge Dawson and Heather Radi, in *Against the Odds*, their 1984 collection of women’s autobiographical writings, remark that contributors are ‘reticent’ about certain important aspects of their lives.\(^{121}\) Examining the genre and its conventions, Linda Anderson elucidates the ‘complex relationship between the theory and practice of autobiography’.\(^{122}\)

In this regard, Anderson quotes Paul de Man’s 1979 essay on ‘Autobiography as DeFacement’, in which de Man points to the constructed nature of autobiography arguing that instead of self-knowledge, autobiographers produced ‘fictions or figures’.\(^{123}\) However, a key insight of post-structural literary theory is now widely recognized, in that all texts are constructed artefacts, and therefore all possess limitations in this respect. Anderson also mentions problems with the ‘unified self’, which she acknowledges was probably always ‘a historical and ideological construct’.\(^{124}\) There also exist problematic perceptions of a purely teleologically-based narrative which can also be implicit in autobiography.\(^{125}\) Again, these facets must be considered carefully as part of any text as constructed artefact. Nevertheless, Martyn Lyons rightly terms autobiography ‘precious information’, remarking upon the fact that at, as well as revealing what is unique to each subject, both oral and written forms of autobiographical material usually locate the subject in their social, cultural and professional context.\(^{126}\) Lyons remarks as well that autobiographies reveal ‘broad similarities and patterns of behaviour’ among subjects.\(^{127}\) In the context of my chapter on annuals, ‘childhood’ is the area from which the recollected material is drawn, and commonality of recollected experience is found frequently. Anderson notes a distinction between what might be termed ‘popular’ and

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\(^{127}\) Lyons, p. 341.
‘serious’ autobiography. She speculates that, by the nineteenth century, a socially-determined notion operated as to which type of individual could suitably produce an autobiography, and suggests that such a notion can still operate even at the present time. Anderson also questions the idea that the autobiographical form is ‘debased’ by the writing of what she terms ‘commercial’ autobiographies by people such as ‘pop stars’. Recently, a fashion model, Claudia Schiffer, was quoted in newspapers as having told the British Daily Telegraph that at the age of thirty-seven, she felt she was ‘too young’ to ‘write an autobiography’, claiming ‘that too many celebrities wrote their life stories too early’. Perhaps this demonstrates popular awareness of notions of the type cited by Anderson. Anderson points also to the particular difficulties with autobiography for postcolonial subjects, when notions of ‘location’ and ‘place’ become layered with numerous crossings. However, a lack of inclusiveness in terms of the type of ‘autobiographical voice’ which should be presented to the reading public, and indeed utilized in academic research, perhaps belongs more to the past than to the present, and my work includes the autobiographical voices of Australians from many different backgrounds.

Anderson notes as well that postcolonial subjects can experience what she terms ‘a double sense of being somewhere and nowhere’. My chapters two and five are concerned with this mysterious state of mind, and with what might be termed the postcolonial anxiety to which it gives rise, which appears in autobiographical writings upon which these chapters draw. The opinions of children are often marginalized by adult society. In Stories of Herself When Young, Hooton suggests this in the title of her opening chapter, ‘Invisible Lives?’ whose question mark implies these lives were not actually ‘invisible’ but rather, were ‘ignored’. Children’s literature itself was, until relatively recently, marginalised in a way that was not dissimilar. Writing of his unease at what

129 Anderson, Autobiography, pp. 8-9, certain ‘types’ of individual ‘the few who are capable of sustained self-reflection’ were thought to be more ‘worthy’ than others of writing about the self.
might be interpreted simplistically as an investiture of ‘trite’ magazine literature with ‘unlooked-for significance’, Roger Ebbatson raises the crucial point that it was ‘precisely in such marginalised texts that elements of cultural ideology surface most suggestively’. This is certainly the case with children’s annuals. These were read during the important formative years of childhood, and it is now recognised that the literature and reading of childhood should never be marginalised as lacking in significance. Ebbatson remarks also that a ‘cultural underwriting of empire and colonialisation’ occurred at the turn of the century. The effects of this condition still registered powerfully in popular children’s literature well into the twentieth century. Such reading matter should neither be ignored nor underestimated in terms of its role in the development of these child readers into adulthood. Hooton’s opening chapter encourages a broader inclusiveness of autobiographical writings by those who examine social history. However, difficulties can also be presented by autobiography in terms of contextualizing information in a precise, yet still meaningful way. By using autobiographical writings about childhood, my work attempts to retrieve aspects of youthful opinions and observations that might otherwise be lost to history. Of course, the record remains retrospective and incomplete and these voices are merely a representative sampling. However, this is also the case with the children’s annual in a general sense: a complete record is not possible. Although it has instabilities and limitations, autobiographical material should not be marginalized in the writing of topics such as this one, for as well as supplying interesting detail about individual adult Australian personalities, it yields, as Lyons states, valuable information about both specific and general patterns of subjectivity in Australians.

In Australian Autobiography, John Colmer remarks perceptively that it often occurs that ‘a writer fails to see the significance of details in his own writing’. Colmer cautions as well that readers can ‘generate’ meanings not consciously intended by the author.

136 Ebbatson, p. 90.
137 Hooton, pp. 2-3.
138 Colmer, p. 75
139 Colmer, p. 75.
While bearing this in mind, it must be stated that different meanings become visible with the passing of time, especially when autobiographical writing is examined in new contexts and in the light of new knowledge, which reveals still more about historical and socio-cultural contexts. Children process material they receive not only from reading, but from families, from communities and from wider society, and thus are collectively positioned to accept ideologies uncritically. It is now well recognized that juvenile literature of the late Victorian period and early part of the twentieth century presented a grand narrative of empire to readers.\textsuperscript{140} For young Australian readers this had implications that did not necessarily apply in the same way to English readers. English children’s annuals and gift books were a significant part of a middle-class childhood for many Australian children as well as being what Johnston and Anderson term, ‘first level discourse’.\textsuperscript{141} De Groot claims that ‘…the combination of the domestic…with the colonial…had cultural power and impact’ (her italics).\textsuperscript{142} For children, annuals were an everyday item: Cullingford points both directly and obliquely to the ‘everyday’ in his discussion of children’s responses to the books they choose to read:

Books pass time. They fill up moments that remain forgettable. They gratify simple pleasures. They do not constitute constant revisions of the interpretation of life. Much of what children read is repetitive and familiar.\textsuperscript{143}

The English annual, while fulfilling all the above criteria, also offered the British embrace to children. It contributed to the ‘everyday’ of many Australian children, creating a world for child-readers, a world both endlessly strange and endlessly familiar into which they could enter easily and immerse themselves hour after hour; a world they could return to or depart from at will. As Fraser, Green and Johnston assert in \textit{Gender and the Victorian periodical}, ‘cultural imperialism’ as ideology ‘has its greatest impact at

\begin{footnotes}
\item[142] de Groot, p. 170.
\item[143] Cullingford, p. 3 & p. 9.
\end{footnotes}
the moments…in which it becomes domesticated’.\textsuperscript{144} For this reason, across my work as a whole, attention will be drawn to moments in which Englishness became domesticated for Australian children. Using as far as possible, their autobiographical voices, sometimes filtered through fictional writings, I plan to demonstrate that Australian children during the first half of the twentieth century experienced a strong sense of connectedness to England. Many Australian children received Englishness from books imported from England. Cullingford maintains that ‘books do not merely reflect the taste and embody it; they reinforce it’.\textsuperscript{145} English children’s annuals presented and reinforced Englishness, and by juxtaposing Australian autobiographical writings with material from English children’s annuals from contemporary periods, I hope to demonstrate how middle-class Englishness was both presented and reinforced in this form for Australian readers.

In \textit{Britannia’s Children}, Kathryn Castle asserts that at the turn of the nineteenth century in England, there existed ‘an interactive and cooperative relationship between formal and informal agencies of social control in the dissemination of imperial ideas’.\textsuperscript{146} Such a relationship can be difficult to envisage in today’s more culturally-diverse society in which a wide variety of viewpoints can find relatively free expression. However, even for a less culturally-diverse society, the children’s magazine supplied merely one of the discursive frameworks through which dissemination of social ideologies took place. Within children’s magazine-style discourse, factual and fictional material blended in an effortless manner and was reinforced by middle-class social mores to form a seamless whole for young readers. Indeed, as W.O.G. Lofts points out, much of this type of popular literature was produced by the same writers, who often used different pseudonyms and who were accustomed to producing material to order.\textsuperscript{147} Rosemary Auchmuty remarks further that many such writers wrote for both a male and female

\textsuperscript{145} Cullingford, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{146} Kathryn Castle, \textit{Britannia’s Children: Reading colonialism through children’s books and magazines}. (Manchester: Manchester University Press) 1996, p. 3. Subsequent references to Castle’s study will appear in parenthesis in this chapter.
Such homogenisation had its desired effect upon readers as, through the medium of popular magazines and periodicals, they were exposed ‘to the world of Empire’(3). Juvenile publications in this way played a powerful role in the formation of readers’ attitudes to the entire range of what might be termed ‘life questions’(3). At a time when there was a perceived need to ‘reinvigorate public morale and national pride’(4) publishers seized upon the opportunity to fill out-of-school leisure hours with popular magazines which contained marked themes of ‘social improvement’(5). Such magazines were immensely popular, and circulation figures for the major weeklies and for publications such as The Boy’s Own Annual, ‘topped one million per issue’(4). The commercial rise of Alfred Harmsworth’s Amalgamated Press (a major producer of children’s annuals) is ‘one of the success stories of the era’(6). What Castle terms a ‘crossover’ existed between what children read at school in textbooks and what they read in their leisure hours, which even more significantly, ‘helped to blur and merge the function[s] of ‘instruction’ and ‘entertainment’(6). This also took place in Australia where, as Clare Bradford explains, the school reader was a major source.149 It was this type of blurred and merged discourse, distilled as it were, through the medium of the popular weekly or periodical magazine, which appeared in an even more concentrated form in the annuals, attractive yearly publications couched as treats or rewards for well-behaved children all over the Empire. Such books were presented for children’s birthdays, Christmas, school-prize or other important occasions. Annuals, like children’s periodicals, were devised to engage their reader’s attention and interest, using all the expertise of a vigorous and immensely profitable marketing apparatus. And if words themselves were not sufficient, the authoritative nature of the discourse was reinforced by numerous illustrations, often in full, rich colour, which had become a staple feature of popular children’s books. Australian children, their parents and all those who purchased reading material on the behalf of children, formed a ready-made, even a captive market for English children’s annuals. Marketing of suitable reading matter began when children were very young, for there were also what might be termed ‘toddler’s annuals’, designed

149 Bradford, p. 290.
especially for small children in the pre-reading stage. Because of their extreme youth, such children were included in the marketing schemes of magazine publishers wanting to ‘recruit’ future customers: as Kirsten Drotner demonstrates, by the mid-Victorian period, English children’s publishing had become a highly-competitive market. As both Drotner (245) and Clark note, from the mid-twentieth century, television gradually subsumed the cultural role played by the children’s annual.

According to Drotner (217) the discourse found within children’s periodicals and annuals deliberately blended factual material with fictional material in such a way that the two were not easily separated. In *The Empire’s Old Clothes*, Ariel Dorfman’s 1983 Marxist reading of some aspects of popular culture, Dorfman was highly critical of the *Reader’s Digest* magazine for employing the type of discourse that intermingled facts with fiction. It is interesting to note that in the 1960s, *Reader’s Digest*, scenting yet another potential market for their product issued both the *Reader’s Digest Junior Omnibus* and the *Reader’s Digest Young People’s Annual*. Dorfman maintains that the material in the *Reader’s Digest* had the effect of ‘infantilizing’ the adult reader by literally flattening out important information or ‘facts’ into what might be termed ‘bite-sized chunks’. Such fragments were ‘easily-digestible’ for the reader and presented no challenge to established, conservative social attitudes, of which Dorfman was sharply critical. It must be noted here that English children’s annuals (like the *Digest* criticised so trenchantly by Dorfman) often replicated, in Dorfman’s terms, ‘a fragmented reality’ reproducing the divisions in the world as ‘separate little parcels’, transmitting thereby ‘an

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153 *Reader’s Digest Junior Omnibus*, (London: Reader’s Digest Association, c.1960). Introduced by an ‘Editor’ who informs young readers that the *Junior Omnibus* has been produced because of reader suggestions; *The Reader’s Digest Young People’s Annual*, (London: Reader’s Digest Association, 1965). The format of this volume is identical to that of the *Junior Omnibus*.

154 Dorfman, p. 149.

155 Dorfman, p. 149.
illusion of pluralism’ in which true confrontation of interest could never occur.\textsuperscript{156} Jyotsna Kapur, (after Frederick Jameson and Jurgen Habermas) also theorises about popular culture’s ‘commodification of history, such that the past is conjured up as a series of costumes or styles’, requiring no explanation of itself and therefore inviting no questioning from child-consumers.\textsuperscript{157} There is no doubt that this took place in English children’s magazines and in annuals. However, much of this material was published during a period of social consensus about what was suitable for children, to which Castle refers (3). Dorfman’s exploration into the workings of imperialism as supported by the popular press is compelling. Michel Foucault (1976) maintains that power is not monolithic, but diffuse, and therefore all the more potent.\textsuperscript{158} Foucault suggests that ‘power’ or influence operates in the subtle interconnections and interplay of all points of a given field of discourse. He contends further that the true location of power was not in the places where it might be deemed to be most obvious, but in what he terms evocatively ‘the moving substrate of force relations’.\textsuperscript{159} Although imperial power was obvious in the nineteenth century, it became rather less so in the twentieth. However, the powerful popular press remained, with its influence over three crucial areas identified by MacKenzie, ‘leisure, ideology and social discipline’.\textsuperscript{160} The popular press, with its ongoing and massive ideological influence must be considered a significant part of Foucault’s ‘moving substrate’. In \textit{Propaganda and Empire}, MacKenzie exposes the ‘substrate’ itself to demonstrate the interlocking operations of what he terms ‘the vehicles’ of nineteenth-century popular imperialism, one of which was juvenile literature.\textsuperscript{161} Although it can seem bizarre today, the non-critical, overwhelmingly positive representation of Empire to children was part of a complex and multifaceted ideological construct. Through constant replication and reiteration in numerous areas of life, this ideological construct assumed the force of natural and sometimes absolute truth: a ‘truth’ \textit{per se} that precluded serious questioning of any of its facets. Gift books also

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item\textsuperscript{156} Dorfman, p. 138.
\item\textsuperscript{159} Foucault, p. 93.
\item\textsuperscript{160} MacKenzie, \textit{Propaganda and Empire}, p. 9.
\item\textsuperscript{161} MacKenzie, \textit{Propaganda and Empire}, p. 9 & p. 6.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
consciously and deliberately promoted imperial ideology, and some of these are dealt with in chapter one. Publishers such as Collins, Frederick Warne, Dean, Juvenile Productions and Amalgamated Press all produced numerous children’s annuals during the 1930s, a representative sample of which can be found in the bibliography. As their various ownership inscriptions demonstrate, all these books were thought completely suitable for Australian children, whose copies form the basis of the primary material used in research for this work.

The argument in this work will be developed through close readings of the actual content of various children’s annuals across a number of time-frames and through careful engagement with a range of critical studies of writing for children, on publishing, on the book as artefact, on ‘Englishness’, on imperialism, colonialism, gender and class. A major component of the children’s annual was ‘story’, and stories were usually in the ‘short-story’ form. The short-story aspect is important, for this is what lured children who were not strongly inclined to be ‘readers’ into reading short pieces of interest to them. Literary critic M.H. Abrams asserts that the short narrative ‘is one of the oldest and most widespread of literary forms’. His examples, ‘the fable, the exemplum, the folktale and the fabliau,’ demonstrate the valency of this assertion, for they are the four major precursors of the short story form. All of these generic types except the ‘fabliau’ (which dealt consciously with ribald adult material) can be discerned clearly in the different types of short stories in children’s annuals. The short story as a form is particularly notable for performing a function that is different from longer fictional forms such as the novel. As Michael Cox notes, a major feature of the short-story form, regardless of genre, is its status as a ‘self-contained narrative’. This meant that it was a perfect form for the magazine or periodical, in which the short-story form flourished during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Gerda Charles claims that the short story reflected closely a tendency of mid-twentieth century popular culture to pander to

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163 Abrams, p. 173.
the reduced attention span of consumers who had become ‘used to short snatches and the constant change and flicker of screen and scene’. Indeed, as Drotner (245) and Clark both point out, for children, television gradually subsumed the role of their magazines and annuals. However, this change took some time, and despite the fact that concerns are periodically expressed in Australia about the issue, it is likely that reading will remain popular with children. Sheahan-Bright notes children’s publishing as ‘one of the greatest success stories of the Australian [publishing] industry’. A large market continues to exist for children’s books and the field of children’s publishing is itself vibrant and highly complex and one in which immense change has occurred during the last fifty years. Tom Sharpe identifies the ongoing value of the short story, saying that within its format, it was possible to observe ‘people and manners’ with precision, using this basis as a ‘crude beginning’ for a spreading out into social commentary. Short stories in children’s annuals supplied vignettes of contemporary life, and although they were frequently (albeit unobtrusively) fantasized or idealized, these tales presented children with snapshots of English attitudes towards gender, race and class. As Victor S. Pritchett maintains, the short story is ‘always a disclosure, [and] often an evocation’. Aspects of English life were revealed for Australian readers of annuals, and the attractive qualities and pleasures of England were evoked frequently.

While it may have declined for adult readers, the short story survived longer for children in the form of popular cultural material in magazines and children’s annuals. Although Charles does not use the term ‘popular culture’, she draws attention to the strong relationship of the short story with the ‘era’ of the magazine and the periodical, ‘when periodicals were bought because the public actually wanted to read the stories printed in

166 Drotner, p. 245: transition to picture-stories in the juvenile magazine prepared the way for a far quicker acceptance of visual storytelling by children; Clark, p. 67.
168 Sheahan-Bright, p. 298: Barbara Ker Wilson, one of Sheahan-Bright’s case studies, lists ‘a revolution in printing technology, the continuing era of takeovers, and the advent of computers, with on-screen editing and the promise of electronic books’, as well as the changing role and status of the editor.
them’. It is unclear to which time-frame this ‘era’ belongs. Peter Morton declares that in Britain’s pre-Depression magazine market, there was an ‘insatiable’ demand for literary material from the 1880s onwards, with the reader by 1900 having a choice of ‘well over 2000 monthly and weekly titles on the news-stands.’ Such was the continuation of the publishing boom begun during the Victorian period, and perhaps this is the ‘era’ to which Charles refers. In terms of how markets actually work, in the American context, James L. West III investigates the machinations behind the publication of fiction in such magazines and reveals in an admirably succinct manner, how markets and consumers (perhaps unwittingly) shape such cultural products as magazine-style short fiction:

[m]uch of the material in mass-circulation magazines was written to order...authors...would receive specific instructions from editors about subject matter, structure, tone and length. The editor might even dictate the point of the article, story, or poem; the author would write to these specifications for an agreed-upon price, negotiated by the agent.

In America, there was a highly-profitable partnership between advertising and magazines and publishers became ‘intermediaries between...businessmen and homogeneous groups of readers,’ thereby creating and consolidating markets for fiction. Furthermore,

[w]riters who wanted to publish in mass-circulation magazines and enjoy the financial rewards and wide exposure of such publication had to be ready to tailor their work for those markets [which] usually meant turning out a relatively bland product.

A circular relationship is here shown very clearly between magazine-style popular culture and its consumers. Morton also points out that during the heyday of the English popular magazine, the writers who made ‘a good living’ in Britain were those ‘who could supply what readers wanted.’ In the British context, the relationship was strong between children’s magazines and advertising, which increased, becoming an important source of

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171 Charles, p. ix.
173 West, p. 369.
174 West, p. 370.
175 Morton, p. 264.
publishers’ income in the twentieth century (Drotner, 67 & 125). Periodicals were the popular culture of their times. Cedric Cullingford notes unequivocally that popular literature ‘is there to entertain’, being fundamentally ‘a mass medium’ which offers ‘quick gratification’, responds to the tastes of its contemporary audience, and ‘reflects rather than changes’ the reader’s interests.\(^\text{177}\) This certainly appears to have been the case for children’s annuals, which essentially were a conservative form of literature in that they did not depart from a well-tested format. The idea of reading ‘pleasure’ appeared dominant over the idea of ‘effort’ in the children’s annual – although stories themselves often described situations in which strenuous efforts are undertaken to achieve exemplary or morally desirable outcomes, the child reader could gain vicarious pleasure from the idea of others making the efforts described. Although reading was sometimes done in association with tasks, reading was also an activity that was often associated with the idea of ‘recreation’ or ‘reward’, for example, when chores were completed, reading was done during relaxation time. Short stories were an ideal medium for shorter spells of recreation time. They also had another useful function. Readers could read the short fictional tales, and between stories, peruse the advertising material that was often provided by publishers. In children’s magazines, advertising was an accepted part of the format. According to Clark, London publisher Blackie was ‘the most notable’ post-Edwardian publisher of children’s annuals and gift books.\(^\text{178}\) One of Blackie’s titles from 1909-10 carries some sixteen pages of advertising material for other Blackie books, about seventy of which (in a contemporary example of suggestive selling) are categorized as ‘rewards’ and ‘prizes’.\(^\text{179}\) The book that contains this information is itself a handsomely decorated artefact and was presented to an Australian student in December, 1911.

Pritchett notes a close relationship between periodicals and short stories, claiming that a stylistic break that occurred around the turn of the century was due in part to the conflicting demands of the short and longer story.\(^\text{180}\) This is evident in children’s annuals, for those from the earlier parts of the twentieth century have much longer stories, or long

\(^{177}\) Cullingford, p. 2.
\(^{178}\) Clark, p. 20.
\(^{180}\) Pritchett, p. xii.
stories that are broken up into ‘serial’ form, whereas most of those from later decades have short stories as the dominant form. Serialising of longer tales within the framework of an annual broke them into portions more easily consumable for young readers. In text, image and appearance, there is evidence of considerable alteration in style when comparing annuals from the earlier part of the twentieth century with those of several decades later. Charles also stressed the ‘affinity’ of the short story with the cinema and the television screen, for it was ‘concerned with quick image…the swift glance rather than the slow stare’. For children whose attention span was perhaps not expected to be as great as that of adults, the short story form would have been deemed ideal and its dominance in later twentieth century children’s annuals indicates that at this period, it was perceived as such. Charles refers to the powerful propensity of the short story to be an invariable ‘moral pointer to the good or bad of human conduct’, maintaining that this quality was the mark of ‘permanence’ for a short story. Stories for children as found in children’s annuals followed a conventional Victorian pattern of entertainment and instruction for readers, with stories invariably containing a moral. What was not actually ‘story’ or ‘tale’ in the children’s annual might be termed ‘talk’, and this could be in the form of didactic pieces (that to today’s researcher, sometimes read like sermons) or in the form of discussion of hobbies, often with instructions for projects, such as needlecraft or woodworking. However, didacticism for the most part was submerged in short stories for children as found in annuals. Pritchett, a writer of short stories himself, extols the skill inherent in the ‘succinct’ form, which he maintains must combine the skills of the rapid reporter or traveller with an eye for incident and an ear for real speech, the instincts of the poet and ballad-maker, and the sonnet writer’s concealed discipline of form.

Pritchett notes further that the task of the short story writer was to catch the reader’s attention immediately and ‘to hold [the reader] by the ingenuity of his design’. This was perhaps even more crucial for writers of fiction for children, some of whom might at first, have been reluctant readers. However, during the first part of the twentieth century,

\[181\] Charles, p. ix.  
\[182\] Charles, p. xi.  
\[183\] Pritchett, p. xiv.  
\[184\] Pritchett, p. xiv.
writers of such fiction shared a sense of ‘mission’, and a consensus as to what was good for society.\textsuperscript{185} The market for which they wrote was virtually guaranteed to be receptive. Popular cultural material in annuals therefore followed the conventional path of other forms of popular culture. Popular literature, as Cullingford notes, is ‘based on the assumption that the audience is understood’, with its appeal resting on what he terms ‘having designs on the response of the reader’, who ‘seeks only what he or she wants; to be entertained rather than taught, to be eased into the obvious rather than cajoled into something new’.\textsuperscript{186} Short stories were the perfect vehicle for conveying ideas to children, who might pick and choose from an annual or magazine, what they wanted to read and when they wanted to read it. Christopher Koch mentions his personal tendency ‘to skip the self-improvement and athletic articles’ in favour of the fiction, in his reading of such material during the 1940s.\textsuperscript{187} Other children might also have done this, perhaps disliking the overt didacticism necessitated by such articles. However, annuals were pitched at a very broad church: other children might have been avid readers of instructional material, especially articles about ‘athletic’ topics. Popular material, though often considered ephemeral, was far from being unstructured or casual. Rather, it was constructed deliberately and carefully by professional writers who shared a social consensus and who had the child reader as intended audience. Popular material could be (and was) treated as ‘ephemeral’ in easily disposable magazines. However, the ‘designs’ upon the reader to which Cullingford refers seem far more obvious today than they might have to contemporary child readers. Similarly, what Elizabeth Webby terms their ‘imperialist and masculinist tone’, a common factor of most children’s fiction of earlier times, would most likely have gone unnoticed.\textsuperscript{188} Nevertheless, this literature was designed deliberately to represent and to reinforce a mythology of British superiority. With hindsight, Koch observes with acuity that such material was ‘tainted with the quaint and objectionable prejudices and myths of their era’ a period during which ‘[h]earty xenophobia, as well as a mystical devotion to the British Empire, were confidently

\textsuperscript{185} Mackenzie, ‘General Editor’s Introduction’, p. vii.
\textsuperscript{186} Cullingford, pp. 2-3.
\textsuperscript{187} Koch, “‘Maybe it’s because I’m a Londoner’”, in Crossing the Gap, p. 31.
\textsuperscript{188} Webby, ‘Colonial writers and readers’, p. 67.
expected of...readers". Several ‘objectionable prejudices and myths’ were propagated deliberately in such literature and are examined below. However, the reason for such confident expectations of readers was an encircling process of representation and reinforcement of British mythology, to which this literature itself contributed strongly.

**Ideology in the Children’s Annual**

Annuals were not merely collections of tales and articles, but were complex artefacts. Their material was predominantly items that could be read at one sitting, or in odd moments of leisure. Annuals also contained colourful illustrations: they offered something similar to the experience of variety that now exists on the television screen. And similarly to televised material, that which appears in annuals can be seen as varied, autonomous, at times confused and often split in aesthetic, discursive and narrative negotiation of complex ideological interests. Just as occurs on television today, entertainment was combined with instruction across numerous discourses. As published artefacts, annuals assumed their familiar form during Britain’s imperial period. Instruction in children’s literature from this period was ideologically-determined by imperialism. However, it has only been with Empire’s final demise that its ideological scaffolding has become so highly visible.

With admirable simplicity and accuracy, Saunders defines ideology as ‘the set of beliefs, values, and assumptions with which we read, or make sense of, our social world.’ However, some slight adjustment is required here and Terry Eagleton lists several more complex definitions of ‘ideology’. For the purposes of my discussion, the definition most useful is Eagleton’s of ‘a body of ideas characteristic of a particular social group or class’. That particular social group or class was the white, ruling class of England and its ideology was very distinctive. As MacKenzie insists, ‘imperial status’ set the British apart ‘and united a set of national ideas’ about what it was to be British. Imperialism as

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189 Koch, p. 30.
191 Saunders, p. 49.
an ideology will be addressed in future chapters with the focus upon the Australian child readership of the annuals. Previous studies of popular juvenile literature such as MacKenzie’s chapter on juvenile literature in Propaganda and Empire, (1984) and Jeffrey Richards’ Imperialism and Juvenile Literature (1989) examine imperialism in popular children’s literature, concentrating upon what Richards terms in his introduction ‘the centrality of the imperial experience and the imperial ethos’. In 1996, Kathryn Castle’s Britannia’s Children dealt with colonialism in children’s books and magazines. In 2000, M. Daphne Kutzer’s Empire’s Children covered imperialism in ‘classic British children’s books’ As has been demonstrated, I have found these various studies invaluable in formulating my own work.

The construction of gender in English children’s annuals has not previously been widely explored. Gender-based studies of popular children’s material include Mary Cadogan and Patricia Craig’s You’re a brick, Angela, (1976), Kirsten Drotner’s English Children and their Magazines (1988) and Joseph Bristow’s Empire Boys (1991). As regards gender-construction in popular juvenile literature, recent works include Penny Tinkler’s Constructing Girlhood (1995) and Martin Crotty’s Making the Australian Male, in which he dedicates a chapter to examining Australian-set boys’ adventure stories from 1870-1920. However, as David Glover and Cora Kaplan note, in-depth gender study is a relatively new field especially in terms of how gender is constructed through a variety of discourses. By deliberately excluding annuals from the scope of her 1988 study, Drotner (13) acknowledged that annuals are a different type of generic literature from magazines. Annuals are different from magazines, because they were designed specifically to be collected, not discarded. Sue Sims et.al. maintain that annuals, generally, are under-researched, a situation this work attempts to rectify. Regarding close reading of short stories in annuals little exists specifically except Castle (2001) who

198 Sims & Clare, p. 351.
deals with the imperial legacy in material from some annuals of the 1960s.¹⁹⁹ So far, little close attention has been given to short tales in popular annuals and even less paid to gender construction in these.

Empire created a specific world-view for the nineteenth-century British.²⁰⁰ English children’s annuals promulgated an imperial world-view as they played a role in the creation of subjectivity in non-English children. Gikandi asserts that ‘affiliation with Englishness’ was common in colonial cultures such as Australia.²⁰¹ De Groot cites ‘ideas of home, community and family’ among reasons for such affiliation.²⁰² Not the least of these ideas was pride in the Empire, which Australian parents understandably might have wished to pass on to their children. As children grow into adulthood, their perceptions of the world are formed gradually. However, for Australian children, the cumulative effect of popular British juvenile literature was to build up, brick by brick, as it were, an efficient ‘conduit’ through which imperialist ideology and its subsidiary notions could easily be channelled. A growth of subjectivity that was powerful and far-reaching received deliberate, systematic irrigation through this conduit. Although each twentieth-century generation had its own set of annuals, they were designed for long usage. In days when a thriftier attitude prevailed toward books than nowadays, annuals were not disposed of, but remained available to several generations on family bookshelves.²⁰³

Scholarship has provided many insights into the mechanics of how problematic ideologies pertaining to race, class and gender entered the consciousness of young readers of popular material. Much of the process is attributable to the centuries-long period of white dominance of western cultural production. Richard Dyer contends that ‘white people have had so very much more control over the definition of themselves and

²⁰⁰ MacKenzie, Propaganda and Empire, p. 2.
²⁰² de Groot, p. 170.
indeed of others than have those others. This is now such an obvious central fact that it is rather difficult to imagine a time when it was not obvious. Given those centuries of white dominance it could hardly have been otherwise. White cultural dominance infuses material aimed at both adults and children during the twentieth century. Henry A. Giroux stipulates that ‘dominant groups seize upon the dynamics of cultural power to secure their own interests’. At the present point in history, the framework of white English cultural dominance and the power furnished by its apparatus is readily evident in the children’s annual, although it is logical to suppose that it was far less evident at the time of the publication of these texts. However, the visibility of the framework is not solely the product of hindsight, but must be assessed as at least partially calculated. Michel Foucault argues that power masks itself, and that its success is ‘proportional to its ability to hide its own mechanisms’. Another salient reason for effective concealment of the framework of cultural dominance is that simultaneous with the process of securing their own interests, such dominant groups attempt ‘to make the political context and ideological sources of such power invisible’. If such sources are rendered only partially visible, or even invisible, then this assists in camouflage and concealment of the framework of cultural dominance. As in architecture, a framework is supposed to be concealed: that which the framework supports in turn conceals the framework.

According to Giroux, concealing behaviours can be identified as part of attempts by dominant groups to ‘politicize popular culture and the institutions that make up daily life’. Control of institutions is, therefore, like control of the means of cultural production, part of the concealed apparatus of cultural dominance. Children’s annuals, as part of the daily life of the Empire’s child readers, transmitted an overall narrative of British supremacy as well as individual narratives of this, such as those found in stories in annuals. Like the magazines to which they were so closely related, in the words of Lyons and Taksa, annuals transmitted ‘traditionalist imperialist values, together with the notion

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206 Foucault, p. 172.
207 Giroux, p. 75.
208 Giroux, p. 75.
of Anglo-Saxon supremacy’. Ideas of English superiority were frequently overt but were also embedded covertly in such stories. Specific notions of race, gender and class were an integral part of English imperialism. However, after Giroux, it is also important to note that in material for children, these notions were stripped clean of political context and presented as ‘given’, in other words, a process took place of naturalizing such notions by constant repetition until they became accepted without question as ‘truths’. This is precisely how ideology functions and in subsequent chapters, I provide examples that show how the process worked in children’s annuals. It is also clear that imperialist notions of race, gender and class continued to be presented in children’s annuals long after the demise of Empire and examples are examined in following chapters. As entertainer and instructor, the popular children’s annual had proven its utility as courier and distributor of ideologies and would survive the children’s magazines with which it had originally been so closely associated.

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209 Lyons & Taksa, p. 93.
Chapter One

A History of the English Children’s Annual

The Beginning: John Newbery and ‘A Little Pretty Pocket Book’

The ‘annual’ itself has a long conceptual history and seems from its inception to have had a strong association with the idea of ‘gift’. According to Humphrey Carpenter and Mari Prichard, the first recorded ‘annual’ was in Zurich in 1645 and was ‘rudimentary’ - it consisted of a single sheet printed with an engraving and some verse to celebrate the New Year. At this point in the history of the annual, the Zurich text did not take the physical form of a book. The type of English gift book that takes the more modern form of the children’s annual originated within the publishing foundation of modern English children’s literature. John Newbery, the innovative eighteenth-century publisher had by 1753 developed a trade in ‘occasional miscellanies, suitable as presents’ with such suggestive titles as Nurse Truelove’s New Year Gift (26). Newbery was one of what David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery term ‘the entrepreneurial and dynamic individuals’ who pioneered long-lasting publishing enterprises. Kirsten Drotner, in English Children and their Magazines, states that by 1751, Newbery already had a ‘monthly miscellany’ particularly for children, named the Lilliputian Magazine although this venture, offering ‘riddles and music, violence, giants, and a tagged-on moral’ was itself short-lived. Drotner cites the Lilliputian Magazine as ‘the first real juvenile periodical’(17). The linkage of gift-book-style annuals with magazines for children could also be said to have originated at this time in publishing history.

Prior even to the Lilliputian Magazine, Newbery’s first children’s publishing venture in 1744 could also be acknowledged as the possible origin of annual-style children’s

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211 Finkelstein & McCleery, p. 2.
literature. In 1932, F. J. Harvey Darton produced *Children’s Books in England*, the first scholarly work on the subject of ‘children’s literature’ (Carpenter & Prichard, 142). Darton devoted considerable space in his opening chapter to Newbery’s *A Little Pretty Pocket Book*. Newbery’s ‘key publication’ appeared in 1744, and Darton’s description suggests that Newbery was determined that instruction for children be leavened with enjoyment. To begin with

> [t]he frontispiece shows a mother or a governess teaching a boy and girl. Underneath is the inscription ‘Delictando monenum. Instruction with Delight.’. (2)

Even more interesting is Darton’s description of the advertising for the new book:

> The expanded title, as given in the first advertisement for the book in the *Penny London Morning Advertiser* of June 18, 1744, states that the Pocket-Book was ‘intended for the Instruction and Amusement of Little Master Tommy and Pretty Miss Polly; with an agreeable Letter to read from Jack the Giant-Killer, as also a Ball and a Pincushion, the use of which will infallibly make Tommy a good Boy, and Polly a good Girl…Price of the Book alone, 6d., with Ball or Pincushion, 8d’ (2).

Samuel F. Pickering argues that these toys were designed specifically with moral education in mind. However, within this short advertising passage is also what Carpenter and Prichard term the ‘mock sententious humour and generally avuncular tone’ that characterised Newbery’s work (375) and even in 1744, a ‘Ball’ might have been attractive to parents of children of both sexes. The promise that use of a ball would ‘infallibly’ make Tommy a good boy, while use of a pincushion would make Polly a good girl is not merely an early example of humorous children’s publishing hype. A ‘Pincushion’ is targeted directly at parental and patriarchal ideas of what should suit young females. It is worth noting the primacy of the young male, already designated ‘master’. Polly comes second, and is simply a ‘pretty miss’. Within this innocuous-seeming sentence is a precise balance that aligns the word ‘instruction’ with the male and

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214 Samuel F. Pickering, *John Locke and Children’s Books in Eighteenth-Century England*, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1981), p. 44: these toys were designed not merely for play, but for moral education: ‘Each toy was divided into red and black halves and was accompanied by ten pins. Every time the child was good, a pin was stuck in the red side of the ball or pincushion; when the child was bad, a pin was stuck in the black side.’ Rewards or punishments were to be issued when the ten pins were used up.
the word ‘amusement’ with the female. At the very inception of modern children’s publishing Newbery’s advertisement is an inscription of ideologically determined active/passive gender roles that would be challenged in some minor respects, but more often reinscribed throughout the growth and development of the children’s annual genre.

John Newbery’s first children’s publications appeared at a significant time in terms of reading history. Reinhard Wittmann cites Richardson’s Pamela (1740) and Clarissa (1747-8) as instrumental in the development of a new and more personal relationship ‘between author, text and reader’. Before these two texts, the dominant model of reading had been academic and authoritarian, but Enlightenment ideas of the social aspects of education had altered it toward ‘a more emotional and individual’ experience. Literature for children was a significant part of this general change in reading, but at its roots, there was also a profit motive. In her 2004 work on the children’s publishing industry, Robyn Sheahan-Bright asserts that ‘from the very beginning, publications for children [were] the products of both altruistic and profit-driven objectives’. Successful children’s publishers are able to balance commerce and culture, usually owing their success to their ability to ‘negotiate between the need to make profits and the desire to create worthwhile cultural products’, and Sheahan-Bright cites John Newbery as a prime example of such successful negotiation. Newbery was influenced strongly by John Locke’s educational ideas, especially Locke’s ideas on the education of children. Laura E. Berk provides a useful summary of these. It should not be assumed that humour and an avuncular tone automatically meant complete frivolity. All

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216 Wittmann, p. 295-296.
218 Sheahan-Bright, To Market, To Market, p. 10 & p. 2.
220 Laura E. Berk, Development Through the Lifespan. (1998, Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 2001), pp. 13-14: Locke (1632-1704) viewed the child as tabula rasa (blank slate), as opposed to the previously dominant Puritan-influenced ideology that viewed the child as repository of original sin and depravity, in need of ‘taming’, which could be harsh and punitive. Locke’s more compassionate view characterised parents as ‘rational tutors’ who could train children through careful instruction, effective example and rewards for good behaviour.
Newbery’s children’s books were to some degree ‘educational’ and this reflected his own belief in ‘books as a means of influencing the rising generation for good’ (Carpenter & Prichard, 375). Newbery clearly also believed that the process of influencing children should be as enjoyable for them as possible, and Darton insists that despite the fact that he was careful in his wording to place instruction before amusement, Newbery ‘deliberately set out to provide amusement, and was not afraid to say so’ (2).

Newbery also targeted a new mass-market by his direct courting ‘of the growing middle classes’.221 Both Darton (6) and Pickering observed that the expression “Trade and Plumb-cake for-ever” (from Newbery’s 1767 publication The Twelfth-Day Gift) could be read as Newbery’s ‘coat-of-arms’ or ‘motto’.222 Indeed, Pickering asserts that in terms of class, Newbery’s books diverged from Locke’s educational ideas, often seeming more like ‘apologies for middle-class commercial activity’.223 Newbery’s publications were aimed at an ‘increasingly leisured middle-class’ (Carpenter & Prichard, 375). This indicates he was shrewdly aware of his target market, the middle-class child in need of diversion, subject to parental purchasing whims, but not without a measure of persuasive potential (Darton, 5). Publishers of Newbery’s time were well aware of the existence of younger readers and were beginning to cater to them as a market (18). Darton inclines to the theory that Newbery himself was the sole author of the Pocket-Book (5). As Darton (7) and Drotner (18) both note, judging by the development of his trade over the next nine years, Newbery was highly successful in marketing his innovations. Drotner asserts that, as ‘an innovator of form’, Newbery was also successful in setting the tone for imitators, such as John Marshall, whose Juvenile Magazine (1788) Children’s Magazine (1798-99) and Picture Magazine (1800-01), were monthly compendia of ‘instructive tales, dialogues…plays, parables and poetry’, in which instruction and entertainment were combined deliberately (18-20). This set the paradigm that was followed by children’s periodicals and magazines of later times. As Drotner argues, in

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221 Pickering, p. 13
223 Pickering, p. 13.
this, which was very much in line with a ‘contemporary trend in juvenile fiction to improve and instruct the young’ (21), output from both Newbery’s imitators and their successors was slightly different from his sturdy original *Little Pretty Pocket-Book*.

Darton remarks that, judging from the appearance and content of the *Pocket-Book*, ‘instruction is dragged in only by the scruff’ and that most of the book seems ‘taken up with pictures of children playing games, and little rhymes not very securely relevant to them’ (3). In a lengthy footnote, Darton lists the ‘games’ (some 32) that are depicted in the *Pocket-Book* (3). In a practice that demonstrated pragmatic husbandry of resources and anticipated the recycling activities of future publishers of children’s annuals, Newbery also re-used printing blocks from the ABC books of previous generations (3). Prior to large scale mechanisation of the printing process, this practice made common sense. However, there is perhaps not the same excuse for twentieth-century publishers such as Collins, who were much given to recycling material from their children’s annuals. Contemporary moralists frowned upon excess frivolity in reading matter for children and Newbery had to skirt carefully around their puritanical strictures with his children’s publications (3). Moral philosophy theorists divide their approaches into ‘action-based’ (i.e. ‘what should one do) and ‘virtue-based’, (i.e. what should one be) and during the modern period in which Newbery’s *Pocket Book* appeared, moral philosophy ‘tended to be action based’. 224 This seems very much in keeping with Newbery’s process of ingenious compromise in his *Pocket-Book*, in which he was able to co-opt violent fairy tale characters such as Jack the Giant-Killer and transform them into agents ‘of conscious virtue’. 225 ‘Action’ in its several senses was a key concept, for the tale of Jack the Giant-Killer is nothing if not action-packed. Pickering maintains that Newbery transformed Jack the Giant-Killer into ‘a benevolent uncle with evangelical leanings’. 226 Later children’s publishers, particularly those of the Victorian period, did not resort directly to this tactic, but countered censorious charges of frivolity by consciously utilising their

225 Darton, p. 3: Newbery’s ‘ingenious compromise’ with the sanctions of moralists against violence and murder (albeit of fairy-tale giants) was achieved by the simple expedient of attributing the authorship of the morals presented in the text to young readers, to Jack the Giant-Killer.
226 Pickering, p. 45.
own publications as a mouthpiece for the teaching of ‘virtues’, which can differ from age to age.\textsuperscript{227} It is interesting to note at this point that in 1901 Darton, whose family business was publishing, took on the editorship of the children’s weekly magazine *Chatterbox* produced by his family company, adjusting the tone of this magazine from ‘blandly benevolent’ to ‘adventurous’ (Carpenter & Prichard, 108). At this time in England’s history, adventurousness was considered a virtue, for as M. Daphne Kutzer puts it, this was the beginning ‘of the so-called Heroic Age of Exploration’.\textsuperscript{228} It seems to have been a successful change, for *Chatterbox* magazine ran until 1948, and its annual had an even longer run until 1956, producing ‘a record of ninety volumes’ (Clark, 11). Still later, in the twentieth century, the Rev. Marcus Morris deliberately and successfully co-opted elements of the lurid visual style of American post-war comics for use in both weekly magazines and annuals to inculcate contemporary virtues, such as good manners and respect for the law, in British children of the 1950s (Drotner, 243).\textsuperscript{229}

Darton’s analysis of Newbery’s *Pocket-Book* also alludes to the fact that it contained elements of fable and of romance and encompassed yet another category, that of ‘conduct and education’ (4). It is worth noting that the *Pocket-Book* was ‘little’, designed literally to fit in a child’s pocket, and be carried about with the child. According to the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* a ‘pocket’ is ‘a small bag or pouch worn on the person’, which suggests how Newbery’s book could also be used as a conduct manual, and consulted at any time during the recreational periods of the day.\textsuperscript{230} In both these respects, the *Pocket-Book* markedly prefigures the children’s annual of more modern times. Children’s annuals were filled with short pieces, designed to be read at any time. Games,

\textsuperscript{227} Alan Clark, *The Children’s Annual*, p. 11: Seeley, Jackson & Halliday’s 1860 publication *The Children’s Friend* was particularly notable for its stern moral tone. See also *The Children’s Friend*. Feb. 1, 1865, which shows an obsessive concern with religion and morality perhaps best encapsulated by a double-plate ‘before and after’ illustration of a boy who has benefited from his entering ‘Dr Guthrie’s Ragged School’. This ‘Lost & Found’ diptych illustrates that a poor unkempt, sinful and ‘lost’ boy has become neat, clean and literate and therefore ‘found’ after his six-month stint in this institution; *Aunt Judy’s Magazine*, 1866:1-2, introduction to this first issue emphasises Victorian virtues, (such as godliness, disdain for ‘mere amusement’ and unctious exhibition of middle-class mores) that seem odd by today’s standards.

\textsuperscript{228} M. Daphne Kutzer, *Empire’s Children*, p. xx.

\textsuperscript{229} See also Clark, pp. 114-117.

\textsuperscript{230} In 2007, I viewed and handled facsimile editions of Newbery’s *Pocket-Book* at the British Library. These measured some 80mmx 130mm, about the size of a small, modern prayer-book.
fairy-tales, romantic or ‘historical’ tales, and the all-important ‘conduct and education’ intermingled cheek-by-jowl within the format of the children’s annual, with what might be termed a ‘softer focus’ upon instruction through games and stories rather than upon the direct teaching of all ideas on conduct and education. Darton acknowledges the fact that, within Newbery’s Pocket-Book, much of the teaching of contemporary ideology on conduct and education was indirect, being embedded in the different texts (5-6).

As Finkelstein and McCleery note, book history is ‘an integral part of the history of human communication’ in this case between publisher, parent and child. 231 From the basic 1744 Newbery prototype, a specific model of literary publication emerged designed to be given by parents to children. Quoting Jordan and Patten (1995), Finkelstein and McCleery point also to the spreading ‘inter-dependent’ and ‘interactive’ nature of publishing in terms of the human relationships it involves. 232 The value of Newbery’s innovation was recognised by many and his form became popular, generating numerous imitations. Newbery’s prototype also generated immeasurable reading pleasure. Despite having petered out in its popular magazine form around the 1960s, the prototype persisted recognisably in children’s annuals until late in the twentieth century. Such results are quite extraordinary from small beginnings. However, Newbery’s business practices were sensible. His production standards were high, and he displayed ‘energy in writing or commissioning new titles’ (Carpenter & Prichard, 375). Newbery also deployed the technique of ‘constant advertising and uninhibited puffing of his own wares’ (375), amplifying the linkage of his earliest output to the ‘annual’ genre, particularly in regard to the publishing house of Alfred Harmsworth in the twentieth century, notable for its aggressive self-promotion. Yet another aspect of Newbery’s Pocket-Book also prefigures the modern children’s annual: the relative cheapness of the price of this original gift book, which Darton describes as ‘well-printed’ and ‘compact’ (4-5). Inexpensiveness, compactness and quality of printing and production are three more characteristics shared by the children’s annuals and gift books of later times. Pickering alleges that ‘to some

231 Finkelstein & McCleery, p. 3.
extent the children’s book industry helped create the general boom in publishing’ and it
seems a logical allegation, given the growth of the English middle-class market.\textsuperscript{233} As a
publisher of children’s books, Newbery was highly successful and Carpenter and
Prichard maintain that it was the luck of his timing ‘to catch the tide of increasingly
leisured middle-class metropolitan life and to produce books suited both to the parent’s
aspirations and the children’s taste’ (375). Newbery’s accurate reading of the public taste
of his times links his work to that of later publishers of children’s annuals who achieved
precisely the same objectives. It is clear as well from the illustrations that accompany
Darton’s description that Newbery’s \textit{Pocket-Book} was abundantly and amusingly
illustrated, which also connects it with the children’s annuals and gift books of more
recent times. The earliest children’s periodicals drew from Newbery’s innovations for
their format, which remained unaltered for many decades. Later, gift books and annuals
for children drew directly from children’s magazines of their times for both their form
and their content. The linkage of the generic children’s annual with John Newbery,
innovative promulgator of entertainment for children, interspersed in varying degrees
with instruction, though complex in its mapping, seems eminently logical.

\textbf{Development of the ‘Annual’ format: ‘Keepsake’ and ‘The Christmas Book’}

From the second half of the eighteenth century, fundamental changes in reading as
cultural practice affected the book trade directly, modernizing products and forms of
communication. Books became a cultural commodity and periodicals and novels took on
important roles in what Wittmann terms ‘extensive reading’ habits.\textsuperscript{234} This paved the way
for startling development in the nineteenth century during which, as Martyn Lyons points
out, ‘the reading public of the Western world achieved mass literacy’.\textsuperscript{235} This significant
step led naturally to further developments in marketing. Simon Eliot observes that by the
late 1830s, the October-December season had increased greatly in importance for

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{233} Pickering, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{234} Wittmann, p. 301 & p. 304, ‘extensive’ reading as opposed to the intensive or scholarly style of reading
that had predominated in previous centuries when literacy was less common.
\textsuperscript{235} Martyn Lyons, ‘New Readers in the Nineteenth Century: Women, Children, Workers’, in Guglielmo
Cavallo & Roger Chartier, (eds), \textit{A History of Reading in the West}, (trans. Lydia G. Cochrane), (Amherst:
University of Massachusetts 1999), p. 313.
\end{footnotesize}
publishers, who began to cater specifically for the Christmas market. Writing early in the twentieth century, Joseph Shaylor declares that prior to the nineteenth century, books published especially for Christmas did not even exist. Shaylor notes that in the earlier years of the nineteenth century, books specifically for women and children were extraordinarily few, despite the fact that those that did exist sold extremely well. Evidently, a large market existed that was not being supplied. This state of affairs did not continue, for as Richard D. Altick states, nineteenth-century publishers united within themselves ‘two of the period’s most powerful forces, entrepreneurial capitalism and technological advances’ and were swift to recognise and colonise many neglected corners of the marketplace. Shaylor also notes that ‘between 1820 and 1830 there came into existence a series of Annuals which caused quite a revolution in the sale of books for Christmas’. During this decade, judging by the eagerness of the reception among adults for these annuals, a taste for books of this particular type, ‘well produced and tastefully illustrated’ became established in the contemporary adult middle-class reading public. However, as Peter J. Manning claims, the ‘hallmark’ of the annuals rapidly became ‘snobbery and concern with fashion’ and their appearance became more elaborate as the nineteenth century progressed. Fisher’s Drawing Room Scrap Book for 1839 is handsomely embossed on what Ruari McLean terms ‘fine green cloth’, yet appears conservative beside the superb ostentation of the 1851 version with its elaborate gold blocking on magenta cloth. The Victorian ‘Keepsake’ book was another style of annual


240 Shaylor, p. 40, lists a number of annuals directed at adults, asserting that these books ‘were the principal publications of the year…[with] much time and consideration…given to their production’.

241 Shaylor, p. 48.


243 Ruari McLean, Victorian Book Design and colour printing. (London: Faber, 1963), Fig. 50A & Fig. 50B, pp. 144-145.
that had originated with Charles Heath around 1825, becoming so popular that by 1828, some twenty-four thousand copies were sold, far recouping publication costs.\textsuperscript{244} One Victorian ‘Keepsake’ from 1832 is a small, neat and relatively unassuming volume that contains a selection of stories, black-and-white plates and poems.\textsuperscript{245} However, for the appearance-obsessed Victorian middle-class, ‘Keepsakes’ became ‘status gifts’ (rather than books to ‘read’) and they increased in physical size from the original pocketbook dimensions, becoming showy and highly-successful consumer durables.\textsuperscript{246} ‘Keepsakes’ became so sentimentalised and decorative, that George Eliot referred to one such version in \textit{Middlemarch} (1871), allowing a character to mock its puerile contents.\textsuperscript{247} Clearly, these types of books were a commodity for middle-class adults. They would have been virtually unavailable to the working-class, some of whom now were part of the reading public. However, these had less disposable income and were more likely to be consumers of mass-produced and cheap popular fiction than of material aimed at the more lavish end of the market.\textsuperscript{248} Annuals were very profitable for publishers and booksellers.\textsuperscript{249} Shaylor lists the annuals of this early period, such as \textit{The Winter Wreath, The Oriental Annual, The Historical Annual, The Drawing Room Scrap Book, The Talisman, or Bouquet of Literature} and \textit{Fine Arts}.\textsuperscript{250} He also mentions \textit{Tom Hood’s Comic Annual} (1830), as significant and popular but relatively short-lived, and cites the appearance of Thomas Crofton Croker’s \textit{The Christmas Box}.\textsuperscript{251} Through their association with adult annuals, a direct connection to children’s annuals with Christmas was established. In his brief

\textsuperscript{244} Shaylor, p. 43, a major expense of ‘Keepsake’ production was that of paying popular writers handsomely for ‘very ordinary [literary] productions’. One instance was the payment of five hundred pounds to Sir Walter Scott for what were (in Shaylor’s opinion) ‘two of his most feeble prose sketches’ for the 1829 volume; Manning, p 52 & p. 61 gives details of large sums paid to contributors such as Coleridge and Wordsworth.


\textsuperscript{246} Manning, p. 45, p. 67 & p. 47, the publishing concept of the Keepsake was serious investment in quality production values and heavy advertising to promote sales.


\textsuperscript{248} Lyons, ‘New Readers in the Nineteenth Century’, p. 314.

\textsuperscript{249} Shaylor, pp. 41-42, supplies a table of cost breakdown for the sale of Annuals for 1829 – after expenses, publishers’ profits were listed at ten thousand pounds. Retail booksellers’ profits came to thirty thousand pounds.

\textsuperscript{250} Shaylor, pp. 47-48.

\textsuperscript{251} Shaylor, pp. 47-48, \textit{Tom Hood’s Comic Annual}, written and illustrated by Victorian poet Thomas Hood, (1799-1845) ran for nine years.
history of the children’s annuals of more recent times Alan Clark notes *The Christmas Box*, which appeared in 1828, as ‘one of the earliest’.  

In the winter of 1823, Ackermanns of London had issued the *Forget-Me-Not*, a form of ‘illustrated miscellany’ that gave rise to a strong public demand for such forms of literature (Carpenter & Prichard, 26). The connection of ‘annuals’ with Christmas is further emphasised by the fact that the full title of this publication was the *Forget-Me-Not, a Christmas and New Year’s Present for 1823*. This book was very successful, having ‘at one time a circulation of about 18,000 copies’. The *Forget-Me-Not* was read by children and adults and it is the term ‘illustrated miscellany’ that suggests that this publication might have resembled Newbery’s *Little Pretty Pocket-Book* in form. Also, ‘[a]nnuals at this time were small, approximately 11 x 17 centimetres, with plain undecorated board covers’ and followed the style of those published for adults (Clark, 8). Some children’s annuals and gift books from the early twentieth century until the 1930s were of the same small size, such as examples from Frederick Warne and Blackie.

Thomas Croker’s *Christmas Box* was pitched directly at children: Croker’s stated intention (in appropriately avuncular tones) was to entertain and instruct his ‘young friends’ by offering a

fund of that remarkable combination, instruction blended with amusement – well calculated to neutralise the contagion of lowering skies, and convert the long hours of a winter’s evening into a “midsummer night’s dream” (Clark, 8).

Croker’s *Christmas Box* annual was over two hundred pages long, and contained ‘tales of orphans, historical adventures and a good deal of verse, with a half dozen or more plates’ (8). Another annual-type volume that appeared in 1829, was aimed at boys and

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253 Manning, p. 44.
254 Shaylor, p. 40.
255 Manning, p. 44, defines the annuals as ‘handsomely produced gatherings of verse, prose, and engraved plates’.
256 Frederick Warne’s ‘Top-All’ series and Blackie’s ‘Lucky Budget’ series were of this size – Warne’s series increased in size around 1935.
produced by a Scottish schoolmaster named Adam Keys. This annual was called *The Excitement* and contained ‘adventure stories founded on fact’ (8). According to Clark, Keys concentrated on exciting ‘role models’ for young people and attracted criticism for his relative lack of attention to the inclusion of religious or pious sentiment into his tales (9). However, despite the fact that Keys’ differences of opinion with influential Church members led to his losing the editorship of *The Excitement*, his idea of ‘role models’ anticipated future developments in popular children’s literature (9). Keys lost no time in joining another publisher, William Innes, the two began a venture called *The New Excitement* and the two annuals ‘ran side by side for several years’ (9). During the 1830s, several other children’s annuals were published, of which Clark supplies a list (9). Of these, the Peter Parley annuals were perhaps the most notable. Drotner terms these ‘adaptations for a middle-class readership of…keepsakes…that had enjoyed a brief vogue with the aristocracy earlier in the century’ (64, fn. 1). Given the financial success of that ‘brief vogue’, publishers no doubt hoped to duplicate it in a publication aimed at middle-class children. Working-class children were, at this time, rather less likely to be literate than those of the middle class, as prior to the various Education Acts of England (1870, 1876 & 1880), ‘[t]he education of the working-class child was always secondary to the needs of the family economy’. Peter Parley was created by an American, Samuel Goodrich (1793-1860), and first appeared in 1827. Demand became immense for these attractive volumes and Goodrich’s work was subjected to unabashed plagiarism by London publishers (10). Carpenter & Prichard maintain that ‘the Parley name…became as much common property in Britain as…Mother Goose’ and provide a list of publishers who plagiarised these books (407). The Peter Parley annuals had a very long publishing run, the final edition appearing in 1892. Clark asserts that the 1846 *Peter Parley Annual* is perceived as a ‘milestone’ in the field of juvenile book production (10). This was because of the innovative use of George Baxter’s patent woodblock colour technique (Carpenter & Prichard, 124 & 407). The high production standard of these annuals made them extraordinarily sought-after (Clark, 10-11) and as Drotner notes, their success ‘proved Christmas to be a prime publishing season’ (64, fn. 1). Children’s annuals followed the trend set by the success of the original *Forget-Me-Not* and those such as *The

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Christmas Box and the Juvenile Forget-Me-Not, both of which commenced in 1828, were independent forms of annual (Carpenter & Prichard, 26). Other annuals associated directly with children’s magazines appeared later, around 1840, and originated as offshoots of popular weekly magazines, at first being merely a full year’s instalments, placed into a permanent binding, sometimes with extra colour plates inserted for visual interest (26). These colour plates could be removed and framed by the owner.

As Stephen Arata and others demonstrate, publication of periodicals and weekly magazines itself had burgeoned with the development of mass publishing technology and the rapid growth of literacy during the nineteenth century. During later Victorian times, periodicals were both cheaper to produce and more diverse in their content. As Hilary Fraser et.al point out, the reduction of stamp duty in 1836 and the abolition in 1855 of the newspaper tax also reduced costs for the consumer. Philip Gaskell explains that paper production itself improved dramatically during the nineteenth century: in 1800 all paper was hand-made, but by 1805, paper-making machines were operating commercially in England and by 1900, nearly all paper was machine-made. Periodical magazines often had a strong moral or religious slant, and, as well as providing entertainment or diversion from the often humdrum daily routine of the modernising, industrial society, were a medium of moral education, even indoctrination, for adults of all classes. Claudia Nelson argues that for children, the ‘Sunday School’ movement taught reading and ‘emphasised character training through religion’. It also produced an even greater demand for periodical literature (Carpenter & Prichard, 331). The success of this programme meant that by 1831, well over a million children were enrolled in such institutions (503). At the height of the ‘Sunday School’ movement, enrolment would eventually expand to nearly

259 Arata, p. 54.
260 Fraser, et. al., pp. 4-5.
six million.\(^{263}\) As well as Bible-readings, children were offered a selection of their own magazines, which followed the earlier ‘children’s magazine’ format established by Newbery and his eighteenth-century imitators.

Lyons insists that most children’s literature of the early nineteenth century was ‘rigorously didactic’, the needs of the child-reader ‘recognized only for the purpose of imposing a strictly conventional moral code’.\(^{264}\) Children’s magazines were no exception and usually contained moralistic overtones similar to those found in adult magazines.\(^{265}\) It is interesting to note also that the condescending tone in a magazine designed for the working-class is very similar to that used in some children’s magazines.\(^{266}\) Some noteworthy children’s magazines of this type which later became associated with annuals were the *Children’s Friend*, (1860) *Chatterbox*, (1866) and *Aunt Judy’s Magazine* (1866) (Clark, 11). Children’s magazines, like similar publications for adults, were exported in considerable numbers to British Empire colonies. The Education Act of 1870 further increased the growth of literacy and a commensurate demand occurred for suitable (and cost effective) reading material. In the earlier part of the nineteenth century, swift growth in literacy had initially led to the turning of children to ‘penny dreadfuls’ produced since the 1830s. Though part and parcel of a Victorian childhood, these were considered unwholesome, as they contained lurid details of real and imaginary crime and criminals, and though not targeted directly at a juvenile market, certainly achieved one easily (Carpenter & Prichard, 401). Children demonstrated a strong appetite for ‘fantasy and magic’ which was fed by the fairy tales that were pitched at them.\(^{267}\) However, for many children there seemed an innate attraction to the darker side of human behaviour: Harry Stone declares that Charles Dickens was influenced heavily by the ‘highly charged lore and images’ contained in such publications as the *Terrific Register* ‘an aptly named periodical that specialized in gore and sensationalism and purveyed many histories of

\(^{263}\) Nelson, p. 73.

\(^{264}\) Lyons, ‘New Readers in the Nineteenth Century’, p. 327.

\(^{265}\) *Aunt Judy’s Magazine*, 1866:1-2, in this, the first issue of this magazine, the editor reassured parents that they ‘need not fear an overflowing of mere amusement’ and that the magazine would contain a plethora of highly worthwhile educational material, for ‘our young friends’.


It is if anything, reassuring to surmise that Dickens was no different from other children (and probably adults) of his time in a prurient appetite for such material. The *Register* appears to have been much in the style of the *Newgate Calendar*, whose main thrust, as Ian Ousby notes, ‘was always salacious and sensational’. However, as Jeffrey Richards argues, respectable literature was only a shade or two different. Penny dreadfuls were also ‘suffused with racism, patriotism and crude imperialism’ and these elements ‘toned down and cleaned up’ found their way into approved literature. In 1866, *Boys of England* (which ran until 1899) was launched by Edwin J. Brett and constituted ‘a token attack’ on the true penny dreadful (Drotner, 73). As an inducement, *Boys of England* offered ‘a prize competition of unrivalled dimensions’ consisting of [f]ourteen hundred trophies’ including a first prize of two Shetland ponies (73). This resulted in the magazine’s becoming ‘an instant success’ and the publishing formula of *Boys of England* was thus: sport, sensation, fun and instruction. Topics with more ‘serious’ overtones, such as science and nature study, lost out to Brett’s ‘breezy’ and extremely rewarding formula (73). In this, stripped of the overtly ‘sensational’, can be discerned the outlines of many children’s magazines, out of which blossomed successful children’s annuals.

Terri Doughty points out that as an alternative to the popular controversial type of reading material supplied by the ‘dreadfuls’, the Religious Tract Society introduced the *Boy’s Own Paper* in 1879. This identified a new market and proved so highly successful that, by the end of the nineteenth century,

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268 Harry Stone, ‘Dickens and Cannibalism. The Unpardonable Sin’ in *The Night Side of Dickens: Cannibalism, Passion, Necessity*, (Columbus: Ohio State University, 1994), p. 31 & p. 64. (In this chapter Stone cites material from the *Terrific Register; or, Record of Crimes, Judgments, Providences, and Calamities*, Vols. 1-2, 1824-25)


270 Jeffrey Richards, p. 4.

children’s periodicals could afford to specialize, aiming at the urban working-class boy or girl as well as at middle-class consumers such as the public-school boy, the Tractarian young lady, even the young vegetarian or Theosophist or anti-smoking enthusiast.  

Magazines were pitched specifically at young people of both sexes, catering for their strongly gendered interests and hobbies, although it is interesting to note that females were enthusiastic consumers of literature aimed at boys. Although there was an economic imperative for editors of Victorian periodicals ‘to make their journals desirable’, the founders of the Boy’s Own Paper also had another clear objective, which was to improve the moral tone of the young generation by offering an appealing alternative to the cheap, sensational and readily available ‘penny dreadful’. As Sheahan-Bright observes, ‘the pioneering efforts’ of Newbery and others had set the tone for children’s publishers, in terms of both ‘shrewd recognition of a viable market’ and enrichment of the lives of young readers. The appearance of Catherine Sinclair’s children’s novel Holiday House in 1838 had marked a new priority in children’s literature itself, previously the purveyor of strictly didactic (and often highly sententious) religious and moral sentiment alone. Holiday House, which attacked contemporary ideals about childhood and children’s literature and has been described as ‘almost revolutionary’ (Carpenter & Prichard, 256), marked a new priority in children’s books, that of entertainment for children, or as Nelson terms it, ‘fun’. John Newbery, it seems, had been slightly ahead of his time. However, education remained a strong priority in the social agenda of the new magazine’s founders, but in order to maintain audience appeal, the strongly didactic intent of this new type of children’s literature was submerged.

The Girl’s Own Paper was founded in 1880, and with the Boy’s Own Paper, began rapidly to dominate the teenage market, becoming the ‘most popular adolescent

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272 Nelson, p. 74.
274 Fraser, et al., p. 77.
275 Nelson, p. 77.
276 Sheahan-Bright, To Market, To Market, p. 2.
277 Nelson, p. 74.
278 Nelson, p. 74.
279 Nelson, p. 74 & p. 77.
periodicals of the late-Victorian age, with weekly sales of around 200,000 copies each, actual readership being considerably higher, since copies were often shared.\footnote{Nelson, p. 77.} As Doughty notes, ‘the Girl’s Own Paper rapidly reached a circulation of over 250,000, ultimately surpassing that of the Boy’s Own Paper.’\footnote{Doughty, p. 7.} Friends and family members exchanged copies and enthusiastic discussion of the content of the magazines, pitched adroitly at their shared hobbies and interests, was, as Drotner notes, a vital and highly enjoyable part of children’s lives. In this way, these two magazines, and their various imitators became an important part of the experience of the world of childhood and adolescence, and were thereby stitched into the popular culture of subsequent generations of adults. Indeed, as Nelson points out, the phrase ‘a Boy’s Own hero’ is still often utilised by present-day writers to describe a ‘hard-bitten, stoic and physical ideal’.\footnote{Nelson, p. 76.} The term ‘Boy’s Own’ has entered the language of contemporary newspaper writers, who use it to categorise written material and to satirise masculine stereotypes.\footnote{See Stephen Bell, ‘Boys’ own bullets and bombs’, in Weekend Extra, West Australian, 28/1/06, p. 9, reviews one of the new ‘Boy Soldier series’, ‘a no-nonsense page turner, filled with...adrenaline-charged action’; Dave Luckett, ‘Total eclipse of the Earth’, in Today, West Australian 3/7/06, p. 10, uses the term ‘Boys’ own story’ to describe Robert Heinlein’s novel Space Cadet; Michelle Phillips, ‘Jocks and socks still a good bet for Dubya’, in West Australian, 5/7/06, p. 24, employs the term ‘the Boy’s own stakes’ satirically in describing the competitive hierarchy of official gifts (often weapons, ceremonial and otherwise) exchanged between world leaders; Tamara Hunter, ‘Riddle of the sands’, in Today, West Australian, 16/11/06, p. 5, reviews a new television production about Egypt, using the term ‘Boy’s Own-style’ to describe the adventure-aspect of British and French incursions into Egypt. Tiffany Fox, ‘Move over, Kardashians’, in Today, West Australian, 14/10/10, p. 5 utilises the term ‘Boy’s Own Adventure’ to describe the daily life of a child growing up on Coolibah Station in Australia’s Northern Territory.} More remarkable still, in something that at first might appear a distortion of the original spirit of the term, it was used in a recent court case involving two State wards, who set fire to an empty building.\footnote{Yasmine Phillips, ‘State wards admit setting port pub fire’, in West Australian, 17/3/07, p. 15. The term was used by the lawyer representing the two youths, who claimed that the destructive blaze ‘started when a “boys’ own adventure” went wrong’. The two youths, out without permission, lit a ‘campfire’ on the wooden floorboards of the building.} However, in a 1947 children’s volume, Nigel Tangye’s introduction is directed at the ‘boy with spirit’ and reinscribes this idea very heavily in several places.\footnote{Nigel Tangye, ‘Introduction’, in W.J. Turner, (ed.), British Adventure, (London: Collins, 1947) pp. 5-9, p. 5-6 & p. 7. In a startling counterpoint to the above incident, Tangye’s introduction states that ‘an insistent fire within the soul of man’ ignites the ‘adventuresome spirit’.} Stories and articles featuring the ideal and utilitarian masculine ‘type’ symbolised
originally by the term, featured in the *Boy’s Own Paper* and in other children’s magazines that followed the literary paradigm set by this popular magazine.

Victorian families were often large, and the circulation enjoyed by the two original magazines, the *Boy’s Own Paper* and *Girl’s Own Paper*, was a significant share of a constantly growing market, for in 1824, there had only been five children’s magazines in England – by 1900 this had increased to one hundred and sixty.\(^{286}\) A policy of carefully submerged didacticism was clearly highly successful and this idea also influenced the publishers of other children’s magazines, who, hoping to emulate this signal success, imitated the basic format and style of these two magazines (Drotner, 125-130). In the annuals, which are the descendants and survivors of this branch of children’s popular culture, a submerged didacticism remained as a major feature, although some other aspects were adapted to changing times and circumstances.

Children’s magazines directly influenced the development of the ‘annual’ for children. In *Britannia’s Children*, Kathryn Castle argues that at the turn of the nineteenth century in England, there existed ‘an interactive and cooperative relationship between formal and informal agencies of social control in the dissemination of imperial ideas’.\(^{287}\) Popular children’s magazines were one such agency and as Drotner remarks, within them, an air of ‘credibility’ prevailed, underlined repeatedly through remarks such as “it is remarkable, but well-authenticated fact” and “it is a sad fact”. Together with proverbial comments and factual details, these direct authorial insertions stressed the truth value of the stories (100).

Asserting their ‘authority’ in this way authors ‘acted as a guide toward a general ethos that was acceptable to adults and adolescents alike’ (100). Within children’s magazine-style discourse, factual and fictional material blended effortlessly and was reinforced by middle-class social mores to form a seamless whole for young readers. At a time when there was a perceived need to ‘reinvigorate public morale and national pride’ (Castle, 4),

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\(^{286}\) Nelson, p. 74.

\(^{287}\) Kathryn Castle, *Britannia’s Children*, p. 3.
publishers seized the opportunity to fill out-of-school leisure hours with popular magazines which contained marked themes of ‘social improvement’ (5). These magazines were wildly popular, circulation figures for the major weeklies and for publications such as the Boy’s Own Annual exceeding ‘one million per issue’ (4).

Popular magazines such as the Boy’s Own Paper and Girl’s Own Paper offered serials, short fiction, articles pertaining to hobbies, illustrations and friendly advice of various types for regular consumption by readers at the weekly cost of one penny. In other popular children’s magazines, serials and short stories at first appeared in print form, but later began to appear as ‘picture stories’, an early form of comic strip. Indeed, by the 1920s

comic strips and story papers existed side by side...[and] story papers ran illustrated stories and serials as well as non-fiction articles’...[t]hough girls’ titles such as Girl’s Own Paper and School Friend were widely read, story papers were mainly for boys and catered for all classes of reader.

Improvement of transportation networks for commercial distribution and the advent of more efficient printing technology had greatly expanded the scope of reading for children during the later part of the nineteenth century. These two factors also impacted on the publication of magazines and this was perhaps particularly so for those that utilised the ‘comic strip’ and similar forms (Drotner, 4). Despite attempts to counter their baleful influence, penny dreadfuls were still causing parental anxiety and Comic Cuts and Illustrated Chips were both produced in 1890 by the pragmatic Alfred Harmsworth, who had a moral and commercial motive in this production. These publications were similar to the popular ‘Ally Sloper’ magazine. Drotner maintains that Ally Sloper was ‘the first-comic strip hero’ (125), although it has since been claimed that the lazy, gin-

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288 Doughty, p. 7.
289 Dorothea Hall, p. 111.
290 Nelson, p. 77.
291 Martin Barker, Comics, ideology, power and the critics, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), p. 8, as well as his concern for the quality of the literature read by children, Harmsworth had been seeking a way to utilise the spare space on his presses; Carpenter & Prichard, p. 401: Harmsworth’s Halfpenny Marvel (1893) was launched with the slogan ‘No more penny dreadfuls’.
drinking Ally Sloper set ‘a low tone for readers’. Whatever readers really felt about Ally Sloper, Harmsworth’s comics were far more attractive to the working-class, being available at half the price.293 These rapidly built a circulation of some half a million readers, giving rise to other low-priced comic-type story papers, The Marvel (1893), Union Jack and Pluck (1894) and Boys’ Friend (1895).294 Improvement of colour printing techniques, which led to the first colour comic, Harmsworth’s Puck, in 1904 (Drotner, 125) would later also prove very useful for children’s annuals.

Sheahan-Bright remarks that ‘in any successful publishing enterprise,’ there has inevitably been ‘a vital and intimate relationship between the forces of commerce and culture’.295 The linkage with magazines and commerce is inescapable. Ellen Gruber Garvey observes that the very word ‘magazine’ is derived from the French term for ‘shop’, and ‘[m]agazines are texts embedded within the world of commerce and the world of their readers’.296 This was certainly so for children’s magazines. Advertising within material directed at children had been occurring since the advent of modern children’s publishing. John Newbery, much of whose income was derived from selling patent medicines, ‘never hesitated’ to use his children’s publications to advertise his other money-making ventures.297 Although overt advertising was not a feature of Aunt Judy’s Magazine (1866), Drotner points out that this magazine ‘promoted’ the work of Hans Christian Andersen in a noticeable way (70). A page devoted to ‘Reviews’ in the 1866 Aunt Judy’s Magazine includes a glowing review of a new Hans Andersen title, What the Moon saw and other Tales, and supplies full publication details.298 From 1855, Samuel Beeton, an entrepreneurial publisher, began to establish himself in the field of children’s

293 John Springhall, ‘Healthy papers for manly boys’: imperialism and race in the Harmsworth’s halfpenny boys’s papers of the 1890s and 1900s’ in Jeffrey Richards, (ed.), Imperialism and Juvenile Literature, p. 108, a ‘very distinct’ social divide existed between those who could spend a halfpenny and those who ‘had a penny to burn’.
294 Dorothea Hall, p. 110.
295 Sheahan-Bright, To Market, To Market, p. 8.
297 Carpenter & Prichard, pp. 374-375, one of these medicines ‘Dr James’ powder’ is referred to directly in the text of Newbery’s Goody Two-Shoes; Pickering, p. 13, ‘[in] 1743, Newbery moved to London, where he was soon wheeling and dealing in books and patent medicines. Nicknamed Jack Whirler by Samuel Johnson, Newbery was an energetic, self-advertising entrepreneur.’
periodicals, personifying what Drotner terms ‘a new professional endeavour to balance moral obligation with commercial remuneration’ (67). This factor became quite pronounced among publishers during the middle and later Victorian period. As Beeton’s *Boy’s Own Magazine* solidified its appeal to pre-adolescent boys, cheap advertising also gained ground, and the number of advertisements within the magazine increased (67). Mid-Victorian periodicals introduced coloured pages especially for advertising (69). Castle notes that the rise of Alfred Harmsworth’s Amalgamated Press (a major producer of children’s annuals) was ‘one of the success stories’ of children’s publishing.299 One of the reasons for this was that Amalgamated Press also made a minor art form of advertising, an example of which was its vigorous promotion of its children’s annuals by advertising them constantly, directly and indirectly, in its weekly magazines, which were then promoted by advertising them in the annuals. One form fed off the other, in a masterly demonstration of what Jyotsna Kapur calls ‘circular’ marketing.300

Annuals directed at very young children in the pre-reading stage were published and as already indicated, will not be addressed in detail. However, these children were also included in the marketing schemes of magazine publishers wanting to ‘recruit’ future customers in what had become by the mid-Victorian period, a highly-competitive market.301 This was merely the ‘beginning stage’, for as Jane Kenway and Elizabeth Bullen claim, due to a ‘fusing of advertising, entertainment and education’ during the later twentieth century, consumption has become ‘a defining characteristic of the lifestyle of the Western world’.302 Given the saturation in media brought about by technological advances that seem to increase daily, it is hard to dispute the truth of this claim. As suggested by the title of Kapur’s chapter, marketing to and for children has become steadily all-encompassing since World War II.303 Utilising the example of the marketing of J.M. Barrie’s *Peter Pan*, Kapur asserts that earlier in the history of children’s

299 Castle, p. 6.
300 Kapur, p. 34, this technique is common today - gigantic corporations such as Disney, utilise multiple media to sell to both children and adults.
301 Drotter, p. 27, fn 8.
303 Kapur, pp. 20-43.
publishing in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a self-consciousness existed among publishers regarding the relationship between commerce and culture, and as she puts it ‘there was a certain embarrassment in profiting off childhood’.  

This assertion seems valid, given that at this period, the moral strictures of Victorian evangelical piety were still strong - literature for children had, from its outset, to be presented consciously as ‘educational and entertaining’ rather than as purely ‘entertaining’. Kapur maintains further that during recent decades, ‘the most significant change in the cultural notion of childhood…was the construction of children as knowing consumers’. However, it should be noted that even at this early stage of developing this particular market, publishers used similar techniques in their marketing to those that were already ‘time-honoured’ and still occur today. It seems that the degree of intensity is all that really differs. Sometimes comics and magazines contained free gifts such as colourful scrapbook materials for children. Vouchers for special or exclusive discounts for magazine readers and later, even free samples of products, further enticed new and existing readers, enabling advertisers to reach an even wider demographic. The reader-gift factor also links the Victorian and later children’s magazines to Newbery’s foundational Pocket-Book so many years before, though Newbery’s ‘gifts’ were included at extra cost.

304 Kapur, p. 24, though pitched at child-readers, Peter Pan first appeared as a novel for adults, titled The Little White Bird (1902) with a publisher’s announcement that profits would go to the children’s hospital in London. In this way, ‘Peter Pan’ was marketed to adults with the child ideally presented as the consumer…the sales pitch promised adults that the book would make the child happy, obedient and loving.’ This is reminiscent of Newbery’s sales pitch for the Pocket Book.

305 Kapur, p. 23, maintains that this new construction overturned ‘two hundred years of thinking of children as innocent receivers of gifts.’ However, she does qualify this with reference to historian J.H. Plumb’s The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982) in which it is suggested that when production became factory rather than home-oriented, ‘the family became the site of consumption’ and that therefore, childhood became ‘both a commercial and a cultural category’.

306 Kapur, p. 28 & p. 27, ‘free gifts’, free samples, ‘special offers’ and discounted pricing for ‘special’ customers are still widely used by marketers. Kapur cites in this latter instance, an expensive photographer’s studio that ‘lured’ her family to try its services in this way. Clearly, these basic techniques are still very effective.

307 Sheahan-Bright, To Market, To Market, p. 137, quotes Hade, Paul & Mason (2003), ‘Newbery is credited with inventing the holy trinity of children’s book advertising: instruction, delight and toys…Even today we would be hard pressed to find advertising for children that doesn’t invoke this “holy trinity”’.

308 Garvey, pp. 21-22, readers found colour ‘enormously alluring’.

309 Dorothea Hall, p. 111.
By late in the nineteenth century, publishers had decided clearly that the market for children’s annual-style gift books was healthy and well worth pursuing, and as Clark notes, by this time, ‘almost every publisher issued an annual of some description’ (11). Publishers such as Dean, Tuck, Cassell, Routledge, Ward Lock, Nister and the Religious Tract Society all produced annuals, the majority of which were associated with weekly or monthly magazines, the best known of which were undoubtedly the market leaders, the Boy’s Own Paper and Girl’s Own Paper. English publishers were not the only ones aware of the market potential of annual-style material. Lees and Macintyre note that Australian bookseller Edward William Cole compiled the first of his Cole’s Funny Picture Books in 1879.  

A glance at Coles Funny Picture Book No 1 shows a miscellany of humorous poems, illustrations, lists, games and tales. It is intriguing to speculate as to whether Coles was satirising generic children’s literature, with his open concentration on humour for children at the expense of instruction. On the cover appears the straightforward if grandiose claim that this is ‘the best child’s picture book in the world’, so whether or not these books might fall into the annual genre is debatable. However, Coles himself produced two Funny Picture Books which have been reprinted constantly, and millions of copies sold. Lees and Macintyre note as well that a book with the title Australian Boys and Girls: An illustrated annual of stories by Australian writers was produced in Australia in 1895, containing ‘a school story, three adventure stories and a family story’. However, at this period, it was far more usual for English annuals to contain ‘stories about Australia’, and this would be the case until the 1920s, although sometimes stories in such volumes were actually written by Australian writers.

**Annuals in the Early Twentieth Century**

By the turn of the nineteenth century ‘annuals’, were published yearly, usually as a Christmas treat for middle-class children. It is now well recognised what marketers have

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310 Lees & Macintyre, p. 102.
312 Lees & Macintyre, p. 102.
313 Lees & Macintyre, p. 28, this annual was edited by ‘Armand Jerome’ a pseudonym for Australian writer Ernest Favenc (1845-1908).
314 Lees & Macintyre, p. 28.
long known, ‘that characters sell products’. Compilers of annuals collected together ‘old’, or what might be termed more accurately ‘perennial’ favourite story or cartoon characters from newspapers. They also used characters from weekly magazines as well as new material produced especially for the annual. This was still the case in the 1920s: a Girl’s Own Annual from 1922 is one such model, having its own colourful, figured fabric and board binding and some additional colour plates that might be removed and framed by the owner. At this period, although not prominent, advertising material appears in its pages. For boys, weekly magazines such as Cassells’ Chums and its yearly annual, also of this type, were extremely popular (Clark, 14). These magazine annuals were ‘tomes’ containing hundreds of pages of material, and were physically very heavy, besides being of excellent value (18). The Girl’s Own Annual referred to above weighs well over two kilograms and volumes in a series of these annuals from the pre-World War I period are also of a sturdy style. The size and heft of such artefacts literally lends weight to the idea that this book-form of literature was meant to be taken seriously by its youthful readers. Other, ‘lighter’ types of annual also existed such as the rambunctious Ally Sloper’s Christmas Holidays. For children there were the annuals from the publishing house of Tuck, aimed at families who wanted to give children ‘something bright and cheerful for Christmas’ (16). Tuck’s annuals were not associated with weekly or monthly magazines, and as the twentieth century approached, publishers began to produce annuals that contained entirely fresh material, rather than that published previously (17). At this time there was a rapidly expanding market that included established and growing colonial markets, such as Australia. Between 1899 and 1953,

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315 Kenway & Bullen, p. 169.
316 Clark, The Children’s Annual, p. 130, as part of the perpetual newspaper ‘circulation wars’, newspapers published features for children – the annuals connected to children’s newspaper characters (such as Rupert Bear (Daily Express, Bobby Bear (Daily Herald) and Teddy Tail (Daily Mail)) themselves constitute a separate genre not covered exhaustively in my work.
318 Klickmann., these are examples of ‘in house’ advertising: p. 9 Klickmann’s own pious-sounding work The Shining Way, (3s. 6d); p. 33, Nettie Rooker’s book of verse, The Streets of Nazareth, ‘published at our Office’ and p. 64, paper dress patterns are available from ‘The Girl’s Own Fashion Editor’.
319 By contrast, a copy of Amalgamated Press’ The Schoolgirls’ Weekly, No. 3 (May-October 1931), weighs only just over a kilogram.
320 This series (commencing with the 1909 volume) was viewed in an antiquarian bookshop in Hobart, Tasmania during October, 2006.
Australia was the largest market for British book exports, and according to Board of Trade statistics, over 25% of British book exports between 1900 and World War II were destined for the Australian market.\(^{321}\) Even immediately following World War II, Australia was still what Lyons terms a ‘colonised book market’ in which ‘little more than 15% of the books sold in Australia were of Australian origin.’\(^{322}\) Other firms such as the Religious Tract Society, Blackie and Cassell and Oxford began to introduce many new annual titles (Clark, 17). Maura Ives explains how ‘the physical form of a book’ constitutes a complex type of ‘packaging’ and is an important factor in a book’s cultural significance.\(^{323}\) Though these annuals are far less than ‘tomes’, the production values of their publishers have enabled them to stand the test of time: some examples are still in very good condition and are beautiful artefacts. Herbert Strang’s *Green Book for Boys* (c.1909) was considered sufficiently excellent when new to be presented as a gift in 1916 to a boy from the Governor of Western Australia, Maj. Gen. Sir Harry Barron (1913-17).\(^{324}\)

Springing from a fertile collaboration of two writers, the ‘Strang’ annuals are interesting.\(^{325}\) Clark maintained that during the immediate post-Edwardian period, the ‘Strang’ annuals rapidly developed a reputation for excellence (21). Herbert Strang was ‘the pseudonym of the partnership of two male writers: George Herbert Ely and James L’Estrange’, who wrote numerous tales for children (21). Though neither ever wrote a complete book or serial alone, their collaborative effort was highly effective, for ‘Ely did most of the actual writing, while L’Estrange (who had travelled extensively) supplied much of the indigenous information.’(21) The facts about ‘Herbert Strang’ are well-noted

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\(^{325}\) *English Catalogue of Books Volume X.* (Jan. 1916-Dec. 1920), (London: The Publishers’ Circular, 1921), pp. 1093-1095, between December 1919 and October 1920, the name ‘Strang’ was appended to nearly one hundred separate children’s publications. Between 1921 and 1925, there is an even longer ‘Strang’ list.
by others.\textsuperscript{326} M. Daphne Kutzer argues that in British literature ‘[a]s the empire began to shrink, the language of nationalism and patriotism became more pronounced’, giving rise to what she terms ‘the Heroic Age of Exploration’.\textsuperscript{327}

Strang’s handsomely-produced \textit{Green Book for Boys} contains numerous stories about the colonies, especially Canada, which had close ties to Britain, as well as school stories, and tales with an historical slant and the tropes of exploration, toughness and adventure are powerfully evident.\textsuperscript{328} Such content was typical by then for children’s annuals and its pedigree can be traced back easily through the developmental history of the annual form – this was a juvenile magazine-derived blend of entertainment mingled with education and in general terms was received without resistance by its consumers. Indeed, as Drotner notes, the novelty of consumerism, the inherent delight in a range of choice, was highly attractive to children during this period (179). In reality, there was not much choice, for a social consensus had existed for a long time about suitable material for children.\textsuperscript{329} It was not until 1939 that George Orwell (questioning the ‘school story’ genre) raised questions about material in juvenile periodicals.\textsuperscript{330}

During the 1930s, the discourse found typically in children’s periodicals and annuals deliberately blended factual material with fictional material in such a way that the two were not easily separated (217). However, given the overarching social consensus, for the English at a time when actual decline had occurred of their once-omnipresent Empire, it was very much in the interests of what Clark calls the ‘rich vein’ of English national pride ‘that the average Briton felt for his country and its achievements’ to present children with a unified picture of stability and prosperity (18). This was not just a popular


\textsuperscript{327} Kutzer, p. xx.

\textsuperscript{328} George Surrey, ‘Among the Blackfellows’, in Herbert Strang, (ed.), \textit{The Green Book for Boys}, no pagination, two boys become lost in the Australian bush and are nearly burnt at the stake by hostile tribespeople. Despite their trials, the two white boys maintain solid British imperial values. Anomalies, such as mistakes about indigenous practices and cultures are blithely ignored.

\textsuperscript{329} Castle, p. 3.


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image, but a vital part of a dominant contemporary ideology.\textsuperscript{331} Although it can seem bizarre today, the positive representation to children of Empire was part of a complex ideological construct that, through constant replication in numerous areas of life, assumed the force of natural and sometimes absolute truth or ‘fact’. Furthermore, in the early part of the twentieth century, it must have seemed as though this image might dominate forever. English annuals were pitched openly at children, though the image was sometimes more broadly familial, for marriage and the family were an integral part of imperial ideology. On the rear cover of an Amalgamated Press annual from 1925, a monthly periodical is advertised called \textit{My Magazine}, aimed at ‘families’. The advertisement made large claims for \textit{My Magazine}, billing it as ‘the most fascinating magazine in the world’, which offered

\begin{quote}
a monthly treasury of interesting and informative articles, photographs from every part of the world and exquisite pictures in photogravure and colour [and]…read by more whole families than any other publication in the world.\textsuperscript{332}
\end{quote}

A glance at the contents of Herbert Strang’s \textit{Green Book for Boys} reveals the deliberate blending of fact and fiction that hallmarked the children’s annual. There are twenty-two items, tales that could be articles and articles that seem couched as tales. Except in one case, no distinction exists between the factual and the purely fictional, and even in this case, the distinction is blurred.\textsuperscript{333} On this basis, youthful readers may have found it difficult to question or to resist the persuasive powers of material. If clear distinction was not made between fact and fiction it could indeed be inferred effortlessly by a young reader, that this did not really matter.

\textsuperscript{333} Anon., ‘Introduction’, ‘An Adventurer in Canada’, in Herbert Strang, (ed.), \textit{The Green Book for Boys}, listed in the annual’s contents as ‘From the Journal of Pierre Esprit Radisson’. In the annual itself, the piece is introduced by an anonymous writer, who gives an explanation of who Radisson was: the energetic French-born founder of ‘a very lucrative fur-trade’. The introduction briefly details Radisson’s Canadian activities and his English connections. The ‘factual’ piece which follows the preface is from a personal journal, therefore necessarily highly subjective, whether or not readers understood this. A scene from Radisson’s piece (a captivity narrative) is illustrated in colour on the annual’s front cover.
The post-Edwardian period produced newer versions of the children’s annual (Clark, 18). The English were leaders in paper production which had increased markedly during the nineteenth century. However, as R.J.L. Kingsford explains, the outbreak of war meant that supplies of the raw, mainly imported materials from which paper was made (rags, esparto grass and wood pulp) were compromised by the loss of merchant shipping by the end of 1915. This was probably why publishers of annuals changed their paper stock, as well as to compete with the weight and solidity of the massive tomes such as those issued annually by Chums, Young England, and the market-leaders, the Boy’s Own Paper and Girl’s Own Paper (Clark, 18). Use of thicker, coarser paper ‘more like thin card than paper’ meant that, though the newer style of annual had far less pages than any of the collected-magazine-style annuals, because its contents were printed on this kind of paper, the resulting book felt ‘heavier’. Clark terms this ‘counterfeit amplitude’, but it was an effective marketing tactic, suggesting value for money (18). Also, the heavier paper was perhaps more appropriate for children, being, though coarser in fibre, ultimately more durable than finer stock. This is one probable reason that annuals of this type have lasted as well as they have, as books that used finer paper are, with increasing age, far more easily subject to damage by tearing of individual pages. During this period, cheaper editions appeared from numerous publishing houses. These were not bound in the traditional cloth, but in board and were designated ‘Budgets’, often having the word in their title, and were destined to have ongoing appeal for an enormous market (Clark, 21). Unlike the more expensive nineteenth-century annuals, these were within easier reach of the working-class.

Material in annuals of this period (like other contemporary children’s literature) was laden with imperial themes, and divided sharply along gender lines, with ‘adventure’ stories for boys, and ‘school and historical’ stories for girls (Clark, 18). However, Martin Lyons suggests that Australian girls often expressed a preference for action. Lyons quotes a 1906 article in which Constance Barnicoat asked the question ‘What did the “Colonial

334 Gaskell, p. 229, from between 1821-30, there were some fifty-four paper-manufacturing machines - the number of these increased by 1901-3 to some five hundred and thirty-six.
Girl” read?”, and found that responses to her questionnaire indicated that ‘colonial girls’ of high school age from India, South Africa, Australia, Canada and the West Indies enjoyed reading boys’ stories and adventure books. Both sexes were offered hints and tips on hobbies and interests linked in contemporaneous terms to their sex (Clark, 18). Ostensibly, some children’s gift-books resisted this trend. One such book was Blackie’s Adventures of Girlhood, which offered tales of brave girls in perilous situations and which was presented to an Australian student in December, 1911. However, despite its subject matter, the introduction states baldly that ‘a girl naturally comes less in the way of stirring adventures than boys do’, an ideologically-loaded statement used to justify the fact that there are ‘naturally’ fewer tales of girls demonstrating courage in situations of ‘peril and hardship’ than there are of boys or of men. As Amalgamated Press continued to do later in the twentieth century, publishers during this earlier period often used suggestive selling. Blackie’s Adventures of Girlhood contains some sixteen pages of material advertising their other books.

During the post-war period, children’s annuals were produced that were aimed specifically at colonial markets. For Australia, these included The Empire Annual for Australian Girls. The shadow of the recent war is still evident in that this annual contains many tales of noble sacrifice. During this period, Cassell also published a series of annuals for ‘the outposts of the Empire’. These included The Australasian Girl’s Annual, and The Australasian Boy’s Annual. Later in the 1920s, there were The Australian Boy’s Annual and The Empire Annual for Australian Boys. Lees and

338 Adventures of Girlhood, pp. i-iv, filial devotion is also features strongly. Tales from all over the world are designed clearly to inspire girl readers not merely to be brave, but to ‘display virtue’ as demonstrated by ‘other young heroines celebrated in song and story’. The French Revolution, long a byword of anarchistic iniquity to the conservative English, is a prominent motif.
340 ‘Annuals’, Website address 23/3/07: http://books.littleoak.com.au/boys_annuals_index.htm: Cassell used the titling rubric of ‘The [point of sale] Girl’s (or) Boy’s Annual. This website also contains depictions of various covers of children’s annuals. See also Sims & Clare, p. 353: Cassell published their Empire annuals until 1923, after which the RTS took over publication.
Macintyre term the latter a ‘companion production’ to *The Empire Annual for Australian Girls*. Although the cover of *The Empire Annual for Australian Boys* says ‘Australian’, the inside title page simply says ‘Boys’. The same situation pertains to *The Empire Annual for Australian Girls*, suggesting that the same annual may have been distributed to children in the United Kingdom, but the covers changed for the Australian market. It also suggests a casual inclusiveness that, for the purposes of this work might be termed part of the British embrace of Australia. There is only one tale of Australia in the girl’s volume, but three appear in *The Empire Annual for Australian Boys*. Other material is conventional for the period, in that it is written by English writers and deals with topics of gendered interest for English children. For the purposes of entertainment and instruction, it seems Australian children were assumed to be exactly the same as English children. Indeed, *The Empire Annual for Australian Girls* treats openly of nostalgia for England in its single ‘Australian’ story. Some publishers at this period had little compunction about the recycling of material in annuals under different titles, Collins being particularly noteworthy.

Although many annuals were gender specific, some were pitched at both ‘boys and girls’. Advertising within these children’s books was overt and subtle, the latter in the form of ‘editorials’ that praised the annual’s contents and requested reader feedback –

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343 Lees & Macintyre, p.28.
344 *English Catalogue of Books*, p. 366, lists only one such title from the RTS.
346 *Our Girls’ Holiday Book*, (London: Collins, c.1926) is very similar to *Schoolgirls’ Holiday Book*, (London: Collins, c.1925), possibly a ‘Budget’ style. Front cover identical, but adapted to a smaller format. Several stories are the same and identical format and illustrations are used in these stories; *Our Girls’ Story Book*, (London: Collins, c.1927), also uses much material from *Our Girls’ Holiday Book; Great Stories for Girls*, (Glasgow: Sunshine Press, c.1927) contains one identical story to *The Girls’ Biggest Book*, (London: Collins, c.1932). Sims & Clare, p. 354 give a date of 1936 for this volume, however. a gift inscription in copy is from 1933.
347 *The Greyfriars Holiday Annual 1925 for Boys and Girls*, (London: Amalgamated Press, 1924), has a ‘letters page’ that positions England in a naturalistic manner at the centre of affairs, and boasts correspondence from ‘all parts of the English-speaking world’. 72
always in the interests of pleasing the reader. In the 1922 *Schoolgirls’ Own Annual*, the writer of the editorial presents the new annual ‘with every confidence’ in reader enjoyment; then mentions that ‘thousands of letters’ of praise have been received for the previous volume, then stresses that ‘the greatest pains’ have been taken to ensure the reader’s pleasure in the variety and contrast of the new volume. In the final paragraph, reader opinion is solicited: market research cleverly couched and, judging by the resounding success of Amalgamated Press, highly effective. The ‘Editor’s Letter’ appeared well into the 1930s, and is examined further in this chapter. In Amalgamated Press annuals from the 1920s, ‘how to’ articles and stories appeared dealing with the topic of the publication of a ‘school magazine’. As well as being ‘educational’ in terms of developing writing skills, these were an example of deliberate promotion of ‘magazine-writing’ to children that could be viewed as self-serving for publishers, who might have hoped that some schoolchildren would acquire and apply these skills so well that they would be suitably equipped to choose an adult career in writing for magazines. Such instruction continued to appear for several decades, especially in annuals from Amalgamated Press. Overt advertising occurred as well – *Chatterbox* annual for 1926 advertises a variety of products in its opening and closing pages. Publishers would also advertise their own wares in print and pictorial form on dust-jackets, but these though usually colourful and attractive, were ephemeral and often discarded by child readers. Often the design on the dust-jacket was repeated on the board cover. Following the practice of turn-of-the-century publishers, Amalgamated Press shrewdly and most frequently included advertising pages at the end of their children’s annuals, (often as in

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350 *Chatterbox*, (London: Wells Gardner, Darton, 1926), products appear aimed at parents – Ovaltine, fabric, infant food, bread, gripe water, coffee, dentrifice, coal tar soap, pens, ink and bicycles were advertised in this volume of *Chatterbox*, which also promoted its own ‘Great “Chatterbox”’ competition.
the case of annuals for younger children, such as the *Rainbow* annuals, couched as part of the annual’s text) or even occasionally printed their advertisements on the rear face of the board cover. Most of what was available originated in England, though there was now some minor Australian production. Lyons observes that during this period, which was ‘dominated by imperial connections’, Australian readers generally tended toward conservatism and anglo-centricity. This naturally meant that Australian children were given numerous annuals and gift books from a range of English publishing houses. For English children, there was even more choice and indeed, by the 1930s ‘the child who did not receive the annual version of his or her favourite comic in their Christmas stocking could count themselves underprivileged’. This is a relative term, and might more especially have applied to the middle-class child at this period, considering the larger reality of the Great Depression, during which, as Drotner (212) points out, the gaps widened between ideals and realities of social equality. And children now expected to be entertained by their popular reading matter. Castle maintains that during the 1920s and 1930s ‘[e]ntertainment increasingly displaced a concern for educational or improving features as a primary selling point’ for the children’s popular press. And there was modern technology to contend with, as increased competition from radio and cinema for children’s attention exerted increased pressure for printed matter to remain relevant to children’s lives and leisure time. Popular literature at this time had yet another function. It was expected to help divert the mind from ‘economic depression and the looming clouds of war in Europe’. However, for publishers, this matter was not as straightforward as it perhaps used to be, for there were changes in social consciousness to be addressed. As Castle puts it, in the wake of the terrible carnage of World War I, there were serious questions about the real value of both ‘patriotism and nationalist propaganda’ for a rising generation.

351 Lees & Macintyre, pp. 28-29, 1920s Australian journal *Pals* ‘was annually combined into *Pals Annual: for the Boys of Australasia*’.
353 Dorothea Hall, p. 113.
354 Kathryn Castle, ‘Imperial legacies’, p. 145.
355 Castle, ‘Imperial legacies’, p. 145.
357 Castle, ‘Imperial legacies’, p. 145: *Captain and Chums*, ‘two of the most jingoistic of the boys’ papers’ respectively ceased publication in 1925 and 1933’. 74
The 1930s and 1940s

Though the early part of the twentieth century brought many technological changes, a focus remained upon reading as entertainment. This was due partly to the slower pace of life during the pre-television age during which there were, in general, fewer options for easy entertainment and diversion, which meant that more time was available for reading. Cedric Cullingford makes the sensible claim that for children particularly, reading was (and is still) ‘done when there is nothing else to do’.  

This is also the case for many adults, therefore the market responds to consumers’ requirements. Clark remarks that annual publishing boomed in the 1930s, with most publishers offering at least one or more titles, and annuals were even issued by the British Legion, a benevolent association (24). Another Royal ‘gift book’ The Princess Elizabeth Gift Book was issued in 1935, in the by-now typical style of the children’s annual, a collection of stories, articles and pictures for children.  

Australian publishers also produced more annuals during this period and Lees and Macintyre cite some examples. However, Heather Scutter notes that at this time, Australian children’s reading differed little from that of their British counterparts. Scutter mentions various children’s books from her father’s childhood that remained upon the family’s bookshelves. She also recollects that annuals of her childhood home included a 1925 copy of ‘Mrs Strang’s Annual for Girls’, and another ‘Strang’ volume ‘A Garland for Girls’ both of which had originally belonged to her mother. As well as being useful as ‘gift’ books, many annuals were given as prizes to children for various

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358 Cullingford, Children’s Literature and its Effects, p. 16.
360 Lees & Macintyre, pp. 28-29: ‘Youth Annual’ and ‘Father Time’s Christmas Annual’ both appeared in 1930. Popular comics such as Ginger Meggs and Fatty Finn were also developed as annuals at the same period. Lees & Macintyre also supply a cover picture of ‘John Mystery’s’ ‘Cobbers’ Australian Children’s Annual, from 1938, which presents itself very much in the English style, as ‘a merry budget of fun’.
362 Scutter, pp. 307.
363 Scutter, p. 306. See also Sims & Clare, p. 358 gives the date 1912 for A Garland for Girls.
types of endeavour, and by the 1930s, this was a well-established convention. Publishers frequently used suggestive words such as ‘prize’ and ‘holiday’ in the titles of annuals. With their sturdy mien, abundant illustrations and brightly coloured jackets, English annuals were strongly appealing, especially designed to be very attractive to children. By this time, the annual was usually bound in a larger size than a standard book.

In terms of English annuals, as Clark remarks, the period between the two world wars was the period of the ‘big adventure annual’ for children (23). This is most likely an outcropping of ‘The Heroic Age of Exploration’ referred to by Kutzer. For boys, annuals such as the Oxford annuals remained extremely popular. These were organised by the team behind ‘Herbert Strang’ who had joined the Oxford University Press in the early 1900s (Clark, 22). Stories of Empire were contributed by writers who appear to have been of military background, and the Scouting movement was utilised to provide tales of adventure. Again, these tales blurred distinctions between ‘fact’ and ‘fiction’. From Harmsworth’s powerful Amalgamated Press, there was the popular Champion Annual. Pitched squarely at boys, these annuals offered sporting stories, adventure stories, armed forces stories and articles, interesting ‘factual’ features and coloured illustrations. In 1912, Amalgamated Press had claimed that their boys’ papers encouraged ‘physical strength…patriotism…interest in travel and exploration, and …pride in our empire’ (Carpenter & Prichard, 239). This sums up the post-war formula for Champion annuals, derived from the successful Amalgamated Press English boys’ magazine (1922-1955) of the same name. The format, which included advertising, remained very similar until the demise of both magazine and annual. Another publisher turning out numerous annuals for an avid market was Dean, whose Schoolboys’ Story Book is a typical Dean

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364 Sims & Clare, p. 351.
365 Sims & Clare, p. 351.
366 Kutzer, p. xx.
367 The Oxford Annual for Boys, (London: Oxford University Press, c.1928-35), two tales set in India, ‘Greers and the General’ (Harold Markham) and ‘Indian Shooting Recollections’, (Maj. F.A. de V. Robertson) blur the fact/fiction distinction for the reader, both couched as ‘reminiscences’ of ‘India hands’.
369 The Schoolgirls’ Own Annual 1926, (London: Amalgamated Press, 1922), final pages contain a promotional advertisement for The Champion Annual 1926 as ‘The Christmas present for your brother!’.
product from the interwar years. Boys were encouraged actively in a search for adventure, and if this were not possible in the ‘real’ world of the mid-1930s, then it could be attained vicariously by the reading of magazines and annuals and gift books, such as Thrills of the Seven Seas. MacKenzie notes that such gift books always ‘emphasised contemporary technical developments’ and in this respect could be deemed progressive. However, at the same time, gift books also consciously and powerfully promoted conservative social ideology, one such being Arthur Mee’s Talks to Boys, in which Mee sermonises at book length on the topic of civilisation to impressionable youth. Through the agency of his popular Children’s Encyclopaedia, Children’s Newspaper and other works for children, Mee was a powerful shaper of both parental and juvenile opinion and his work is discussed briefly in relation to children’s annuals in chapter two. Other publishers of the later 1930s also followed closely what might be termed the ‘civilised’ line, such as William Walker (Our Boys’ Yarns c.1937) and Juvenile Productions. The latter publisher produced The Bounty Book for Boys in which fact and fantasy were mixed unproblematically. Publishers such as Collins, Frederick Warne, Dean, Juvenile Productions and Amalgamated Press all produced numerous annuals for girls during the 1930s. For girls, some annuals (particularly those from Amalgamated Press) were based on weekly magazines, but others were independent productions. However, all used a similar range of topics that included school stories, Girl Guide stories, ‘romantic history’ and colonial adventure tales. Hobbies and pastimes also featured as did abundant and attractive illustrations.

370 *The Schoolboys’ Story Book*, (London: Dean, c.1934), contains thirteen tales with several full-page colour plates. Tales were of sport, spies, school, English ‘romantic history’, Empire and ‘the wild west’, an extremely popular location with English schoolboys.

371 *Thrills of the Seven Seas*, (London: Dean, 1936), no writers’ names are supplied in this offering that treats fictionally and factually of the ocean. Photographs and illustrations provide verisimilitude and underscore the truth-factor of this gift book.


374 *Our Boys’ Yarns*. (Otley: William Walker, c.1937) demonstrates subtly that a war with ‘enemies of England’ is a distinct possibility; *The Bounty Book for Boys*, (London: Juvenile Productions, c.1938) is also filled with rousing tales of adventure and conquest, but is not quite so sermonising as *Our Boys’ Yarns*.

375 O.V. Groser, M.A. (Oxon.), “From Oil Field to Road Engine”, in *The Bounty Book for Boys*, (London: Juvenile Productions, c.1938), pp. 81–86, in the midst of obviously fictional material, this prescient article on oil acknowledges in a footnote that the spillage of this developing resource was ‘pollution’ which had implications for ‘sea birds’ and was a problem of ‘the near future’ for ‘all nations’ to solve.
Annuals and gift books for both boys and girls promoted ideas of adventure and exploration, and some were pitched at both sexes. Annuals such as Collins’ Adventure Annual are typical (Clark, 23). A copy of Collins Adventure Annual from around 1934 demonstrates strongly the trope of exploration. Burma, America, equatorial Congo and Canada are all depicted as untamed wildernesses and it can be very difficult to distinguish entertainment from instruction as they are combined in this volume in sometimes startling ways. Tuck’s publishing house, founded late in the nineteenth century, also published annuals for children between 1882 and 1936, and one such is The Big Value Book. The mingling of fact and fiction is very marked in this annual, which seems pitched at ‘children’ generally, rather than boys or girls, as most tales have both sexes represented. Annuals connected closely to other media such as radio and film were also very popular with children. Several of these persisted in publication throughout World War II, despite paper shortages. War-time annuals generally were thinner and lighter than their pre-war precursors. There were fewer stories and articles and tales were included that either depicted war-time directly, or alluded to it in different ways. As Jeffrey Richards explains, the social consensus that existed meant that children’s literature always contained elements of propaganda. Richards asserts that because popular literature directs the will ‘toward certain viewpoints’ and is ‘selective in what it chooses to show’, such process of selection confers ‘status on issues, institutions and individuals which regularly appear in a favourable light’. Children’s annuals were highly selective in what they presented to children, always depicting imperial ideologies favourably, never holding these up to question. Jeffrey Richards contends rightly that generic literature, which constantly reiterates ‘the same elements, characters and situations’ assumes a deeply important role in that it ‘functions as ritual, cementing the ideas and beliefs of

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377 Percy B. Prior, ‘Men With Tails’, in Collins Adventure Annual, p. 120, nature study is a strong motif, as is a type of consciously educational (yet highly speculative) anthropology, demonstrated in this short but intriguing article entitled ‘Men With Tails’, who were supposedly found in New Guinea.
378 The Big Value Book, (London: Tuck?), 1936), though publication details are scant, a biplane illustrated on p. 63 sign-writes ‘Tuck’s Annual’.
379 Jeffrey Richards, pp. 1-2.
380 Jeffrey Richards, pp. 1-2.
society, enforcing social norms". Like the popular magazine, the children’s annual had assumed a ‘ritual’ role in the life of middle-class children and it unequivocally reinforced both the visible and the more subtle social norms of their everyday world. Richards maintains further that popular fiction is ‘peculiarly potent’ in this regard, because it ‘feeds the imaginative life of the reader’. Children’s annuals were designed to do exactly this, but because publishers viewed themselves as also firmly guiding children’s lives, they were shrewdly selective in exactly what was fed to them. However, given that annuals had become ritualised into the everyday, they possibly helped keep up morale during war-time by providing a sense of continuity and stability for children.

Following the war in the 1940s, an Australian annual appeared entitled *The Boy Annual*, an ‘outcome of the journal *Boy*’. Lees and Macintyre praise this annual highly, maintaining that it was one of ‘the best annuals of the 1940s’. They do not supply a list for comparison, but describe instead some of the material contained in this annual, terming it mostly ‘factual’. Neither do they note the instability of the ‘factual’ material that was by now conventional for the annual format, nor is there acknowledgement that, by the 1940s, an unproblematic blend of fact and fiction had become commonplace for children’s annuals. An edition of *The Boy* annual from the later 1940s is introduced by an anonymous ‘Editor’ who touts the values of ‘relaxation’ through reading to an audience assumed to be highly active. There is some distinctively Australian material in this annual, for example, a full-colour frontispiece of Australian cricketer Don Bradman, arrayed for action in cricket whites and a piece on the gold-mining industry in Western Australia. Nevertheless, the values and attitudes in this edition of *The Boy* are derived directly from English values and attitudes. The final tale in the book is set on an Australian peanut farm and contains an unfortunate strain of racist ‘White Australia’
ideology. Lees and Macintyre maintain that *The Girl*, (first edition 1948) was the "feminine counterpart of *The Boy*". The two certainly appear as companion volumes in style. In despite of the claim of an ‘Editress’ that *The Girl* is ‘something entirely new’, this ‘feminine counterpart’ also closely follows the well-established paradigm of the English children’s annual. Although their framework is ‘Australian’, these local annuals utilise iconic English-style images to model action for boys and motherhood for girls in conventional and very English terms. As Lees and Macintyre do note, Australian writers produced some of the content of *The Girl*. However, the form itself of both *The Boy* and *The Girl* is derived completely from the well-established English annual form. To utilise Lyons and Taksa’s term, the annual format was ‘Australianised’. Patrick Buckridge quotes John Nieman, who in recollecting his boyhood reading experience at this period, comments obliquely on this fact, remarking that Australian children’s annuals that he owned, *The Boy* and the *Wonder Annual*, were ‘printed on cheaper paper than their English equivalents’. Nieman speculates that such annuals were what he terms ‘bandwagon books’, the process by which ‘local printers sought to make a quick profit by jumping on the bandwagon of book sales enjoyed by the English publishers’. He adds that ‘[b]y using local stories or rewriting and localising English texts, and then printing them cheaply on whatever paper was available, there was profit to be made.’ Lees and Macintyre mention that some content of the first edition of *The Boy* is Australian. However, in the later volume of *The Boy*, apart from the component of material which is distinctively Australian, most is generic, given that tales could be set anywhere, though

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388 Lees & Macintyre, p. 29
390 Lees & Macintyre, p. 29.
392 Buckridge, p. 357.
393 Buckridge, p. 357.
394 Lees & Macintyre, p. 29.
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having what is best termed an ‘Australian flavour’. It is most likely that the generic nature of the material was the result of the ‘bandwagon’ process Nieman describes, in which the publisher’s prime motive is profit. The generic English style was proven to generate considerable profit. Material in the first edition of *The Girl* also follows this pattern, with only the final story actually set deliberately in Australia. In a later edition of *The Boy*, the English presence is still strongly marked, in tales such as ‘An Old Time Cricket Match’. In this story, the colonials are reminded gently not to become too proud of their remarkable contribution to cricket, as an anonymous and quite possibly English writer retells one of Dickens’ Pickwick tales in a ‘lest we forget’ manner. Also included is Charles Lamb’s ‘Roast Pig’, a condescendingly-English tale about Chinese cooking habits. Australian writer Phyllis M. Power contributes a tale named ‘The Castaway Twins’, which recalls R.M. Ballantyne, and John G. Mason another called ‘The Caves of the Kings’, which alludes to H. Rider Haggard’s *King Solomon’s Mines*. Yet another tale, the final one in the annual, is called ‘Found on the Waterfront’. In this tale by Mavis Thorpe Clark, another Australian writer, football is the subject: not Australian Rules, but ‘rugger’.

**The Fifties and Sixties**

Once post-war shortages were no longer an issue, Clark asserts that the 1950s became another ‘golden age’ for English annual production. As a result of so many new titles appearing, there were changes in the ‘look’ of annuals. As Castle notes, the newcomers ‘squeez[ed] out publications rooted in the past’. As always, weekly magazines with large circulation were popular with advertisers. The *Boy’s Own Paper* magazine was one which declined due, as Castle claims, to being ‘out of touch with the world of post-war

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395 *The Boy*, c.1948-50, tales are adventure/action based and illustrations are line drawings of the contemporary English style. Illustration is generic, rather than distinctively ‘Australian’, even in a tale about being lost in the bush. Photographic illustrations and diagrams are used in hobby-type articles.


However, the decline must have been gradual, for a 1955 copy of The Boy’s Own Paper contains fourteen full pages of advertisements before the ‘contents’ page, and thereafter advertising material appears on almost every one of its one hundred and three pages. It appears that advertisers retained strong confidence in the magazine for at least halfway through the fifties, until its eventual demise in 1967. Popular children’s writer Enid Blyton demonstrated some of the enterprising spirit of John Newbery, when she utilised the annual format, though with perhaps slightly more stress on entertainment than instruction. Using the success of her eponymous children’s magazine, Blyton produced an annual in 1954 and demonstrates a businesslike understanding of exactly how the format operated (8-9). The publisher’s tactic of the ‘Editor’s Letter’ has been mentioned above, and Blyton also used it as part of her own sophisticated marketing strategy. She often prefaced her numerous publications with an introductory ‘Letter to Readers’. This particular epistle, though couched in ‘personal’ terms, is composed of judicious flattery to parents and children, subtle appeal to educational aspirations and canny promotion of her wares. As befits a new venture this letter is quite lengthy, using nearly two pages. Blyton also demonstrates the British embrace, including it adroitly in her market research. Her smiling photograph appears at the top of the page, next to the bold tag-line, ‘Green Hedges’, the name of her house (8). Blyton’s ‘personal’ touch usually included these twin motifs, as well as her highly-recognisable signature. First, she praises her avid readership for wanting an annual then energetically promotes her existing oeuvre and her aim of including in the annual all reader requests (8). She glosses over the impossibility of this then recommends the variety and the relatively low price/high quality of her annual (8). She also reminds readers of the authority and respectability of the book-form, telling them that ‘a book is more lasting’ than a magazine and can ‘go into your book-cases’ for permanent reading pleasure (9). She puffs both her product and what remains of the Empire, informing readers that her annual ‘is going out all over the world’ and supplies a specific list of such places: ‘Australia and New Zealand and South Africa, Singapore,

399 Castle, p. 146.
400 Boys’ Own Paper, (London: Lutterworth Periodicals, 1955). This December issue is geared towards the Christmas market. However, the amount of advertising material is consistent with that contained in other issues throughout the year.
Ceylon, Malay, India’, then broadening her scope to include ‘every place where there are English-speaking children’ (9). Blyton alludes to the British embrace of empire’s children, stating that she is deliberately ‘holding out a friendly hand to all those overseas readers [of hers]…who belong…and are our friends’ calling these readers her ‘family’ (9). Finally, she solicits reader’s suggestions as to future content (9). As noted previously children’s annuals, although not as effusively as Blyton, also included introductory letters on occasion, especially those from Harmsworth, which consciously sought reader feedback. Flattery was an integral part of such editorials and editors, assuming a middle-class audience in which literacy was taken for granted, stressed the value of readers’ personal, written opinions. 402 Blyton’s opening letter genuflects to the traditional values of children’s publishing, justifying the emphasis of her annual on entertainment with the comment that her readers themselves have demanded stories, puzzles and games (8-9). However, despite such a determined beginning, Blyton did not persist with this annual-publishing venture beyond three more Enid Blyton Magazine Annuals and the magazine itself concluded publication in 1959. 403

Another interesting newcomer to the field was Hulton Press, founded by Rev. Marcus Morris. 404 During the later part of the war, the Americans had had a strong presence in Britain, bringing with them aspects of their own popular culture. In 1950, Morris, who had found himself ‘appalled at the violence’ of contemporary American horror comics that had, following the war, begun distribution in Britain, had in response founded the ‘Strip Cartoon Weekly’ (Clark, 115). Morris had done this, because despite deploiring the horror comics, he found their artwork impressive and believed that if used differently, it ‘could be a force for good’. (115) Morris, who clearly espoused Victorian ideals of

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404 Clark, The Children’s Annual, p. 115: Morris founded The Anvil, a religious leaflet that grew into a magazine, attracting some interesting contributors, including C.S. Lewis and future Prime Minister Harold Macmillan.
instruction and entertainment, founded several new children’s magazines in the early fifties, Swift, Robin, Eagle, and Girl. Cadogan and Craig maintain that Girl sought to mark out a new territory of respectability combined with entertainment.  

Drotner (239) utilises the term ‘altruistic’ in terms of Hulton’s Girl magazine, and perhaps this is appropriate in terms of the contrast between the profit motive usually attributed to commerce and the earnest desire to ‘improve’ youth often attributed to religious figures such as Morris. However, as Sheahan-Bright observes, ‘[i]t is where publishers either steer a path paved only with good intentions or one paved entirely with gold that their enterprises generally falter’.  

Combined with the altruistic aim of reaching and influencing a wide demographic, like all publishers Morris wanted his venture to succeed commercially. It certainly did so for according to Carpenter and Prichard (160), Eagle survived until 1969. Morris’s original intention had been to ‘produce a specifically Christian illustrated paper for boys’, but his collaboration with Frank Hampson, a cartoonist, widened the scope of Morris’s original idea, ‘so that Eagle came to be in effect a modern version of the Boy’s Own Paper’ (161) which itself had also originated with what Sheahan-Bright terms the ‘symbiotic partnership’ peculiar to children’s publishing – that perfectly-calibrated combination of altruism and desire for commercial gain.

The Eagle’s success was likely due to the fact that it bridged a gap for readers in ‘that it managed to provide an alternative to the horror comic without losing its appeal’. Girl as a companion paper to Hulton’s Eagle, had similar social and commercial aims and in a 1954 copy of Girl Annual, a methodical approach to pleasure is demonstrated by the contents page in which content is divided neatly into categories, ‘stories’ being the largest, ‘story strips’ and articles with the headings ‘nature’, ‘real life stories’, ‘hobbies’ and ‘interest’. Swift and Eagle annuals also followed this convention. Hulton’s publications were successful in rejuvenating ‘the manly ideals’ promulgated by the Boy’s Own Paper (Carpenter & Prichard, 243). Offshoots of Hulton’s Eagle magazine included gift book-style annuals devoted to a popular police character.

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406 Sheahan-Bright, To Market, To Market, p. 2.
407 Sheahan-Bright, To Market, To Market, p. 2.
408 Castle, ‘Imperial legacies’, p. 146.
‘P.C. 49’, who also had his own radio programme. Amalgamated Press competed directly with both Hulton and with Scots publisher D.C. Thomson, who, from the 1920s had also produced numerous, vivid and popular children’s annuals (Clark, 110-111).

Annuals were generated in Australia by the popular ABC Children’s Hour Argonauts’ Club. 410 One such, from 1965, contains fictional tales by Australian writers (including the editor, T.S. Hepworth), anecdotes from ‘studio people’ who would have been known to radio listeners, songs, tales of general interest and contributions from readers who were members of the Argonauts Club. 411 Another Australian offering from this period was Chuckler’s Annual, derived from Chuckler’s Weekly published from 1954 to 1961. 412 This magazine cost ninepence and was directed at an audience between the ages of five and sixteen years. 413 According to an editorial claim, this volume was ‘especially edited for Australian boys and girls’, however, it follows the established English format with startling exactitude and Englishness is also evident in that Enid Blyton contributes the first tale. 414 Furthermore, an illustration on the annual’s title page depicts members of Blyton’s ‘Famous Five’ engaged in water-sport. Although this illustration is unsigned, it is undoubtedly drawn by one of Blyton’s well-known illustrators, Eileen A. Soper. 415 In a later version of Chucklers’ Annual from 1959, the title page illustration depicts kookaburras and Australian native vegetation. 416 However, in the earlier edition of Chucklers’ Annual, the Famous Five title page illustration is somewhat misleading, for no tale about Blyton’s Famous Five appears in the annual. Instead, her tale bears the very English title, ‘Just a Spot of Bother!’, and features Blyton’s other ‘five’, the familiar Five

410 Anon. ‘The Argonauts’. Website: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Australian_Broadcasting_Corporation, the ABC Children’s Hour included The Argonauts, which commenced in 1933-34 and was revived in 1941. It achieved immense popularity during the 1950s, with literally thousands of children joining.
413 Chuckler’s Annual, (Sydney: Chuckler’s Weekly, c.1956), owner’s inscription shows date of 1957. This is the first issue of this annual.
414 Enid Blyton, ‘Just a Spot of Bother!’, in Chucklers’ Annual, pp. 3-10.
Find-outers, and the obtuse village policeman, Mr Goon.\footnote{Eva Rice, \textit{Who’s Who in Enid Blyton}, (1997, London: Orion, 2003), p. 92, characters from Enid Blyton’s \textit{Mystery} series, published 1943-1961.} A ‘free gift’ is offered to those willing to send a sixpenny stamp and a self-addressed envelope to the publisher’s offices.\footnote{‘Moore Raymond’. \url{http://www.sl.vic.gov.au/hwtports/0/0/2doc/hp002665.shtml}.} \textit{Chucklers’ Annual} featured Australian content in the form of stories about ‘Smiley’, a young Australian bush lad. These are not credited with the writer’s name. Moore Raymond, an Australian writer, created the character of Smiley and a photograph of Raymond appears in Australian archives.\footnote{Lees & Macintyre, pp. 392-393, these were \textit{Smiley} (1945), \textit{Smiley Gets a Gun} (1947) and \textit{Smiley Roams the Road} (1959). See also, Simon Brand, \textit{The Australian Film Book}, (Sydney: Dreamweaver, 2001), pp. 47-48, both \textit{Smiley} films were directed by Anthony Kimmins. Made in 1956 by London Films, \textit{Smiley} with Colin Petersen in the title role, also featured Ralph Richardson and Chips Rafferty. \textit{Smiley Gets a Gun} was made by Canberra Films in 1958 and featured Keith Calvert as Smiley.} Smiley was a new Australian character who entered the public consciousness in a rather larger way than others featuring in contemporary children’s literature. ‘Smiley’ was the nickname of William Thomas Greevins, and Raymond published three books with Smiley as the main character, of which the first two were filmed and became very popular with audiences.\footnote{Lees & Macintyre, p. 64.} In this way, Smiley became part of a stereotype of Australians and Australia for English readers of annuals as well as contributing to the self-image of Australian readers. Younger children especially were addressed here: Smiley was the sandy-haired ‘Australian boy’ par excellence, riding his tame goat, cheerfully inhabiting his snake-infested, dusty and tough Australian outback world with all his Australian friends, animal and human. The stereotype embodied by Smiley is locked into what Lees and Macintyre term ‘the unsophisticated pre-industrial world of rural Australia before World War II’.\footnote{Sharyn Pearce, ‘When Australia Calls: The English Immigrant in Australian Children’s Literature’, in Maureen Nimon, (ed.), \textit{Old Neighbours, New Visions: Selected papers from the first conference of Australian Children’s Literature Association for Research}, (Magill: University of South Australia, 1997), p. 5.} However, this did not reflect reality, for it was hardly a typical environment for contemporary Australian child-readers most of whom lived in what Pearce terms ‘the huge suburban sprawl’.\footnote{Sharyn Pearce, ‘When Australia Calls: The English Immigrant in Australian Children’s Literature’, in Maureen Nimon, (ed.), \textit{Old Neighbours, New Visions: Selected papers from the first conference of Australian Children’s Literature Association for Research}, (Magill: University of South Australia, 1997), p. 5.} And yet the image, with its inbuilt nostalgic qualities, persisted, perpetuated in 1950s annuals. Two ‘Smiley’ stories, this time credited with the writer’s name were...
featured in the 1951 *Collins’ Magazine Annual, Volume 4*. *Moore Raymond, ‘Smiley and Bobble’* appears in 1956 *Chucklers’ Annual*, as does another tale, ‘Smiley and Firsty’. *Other stories in Chucklers’ Annual* are set in various outposts of the Empire and are generic in the same way as the material in the earlier Australian-produced annual *The Boy*. Tales could be set anywhere, though an Australian sheep station features in one, whose other features are almost entirely generic. *The late 1940s also saw the advent of the English-produced ‘wild west’ annual, which became exceptionally popular in the 1950s, particularly titles such as *Buffalo Bill, Swift Morgan* and *Roy Carson* from publisher T.V. Boardman, (The Popular Press) who had been in the 1930s, the London agent for an American publisher (Clark, 106). In 1954, Boardman’s *The New Spaceways Comic Annual* appeared, which combined the genres of ‘space-age adventure’ and ‘wild west adventure’*(Clark, 106).

During the 1950s, there occurred what Castle describes as a ‘lifting of the serious imperatives of empire building’. A change in attitudes, more discernable in what was left out rather than in what was actually stated, occurred in the children’s popular press, especially in the depiction of ‘certain aspects of the colonial relationship’, deemed ‘no longer of interest to publishers or audience’. *Times, it seems, were changing, and old standards were altering commensurately* – in their short article on annuals in *The Encyclopaedia of Girls’ School Stories*, Sims et.al maintain that the post-war successors of the annuals of the earlier part of the twentieth century ‘were of a lower calibre,

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423 Moore Raymond, ‘Smiley and Bobble’ (pp. 42-45) and ‘Smiley Strikes Gold’ (pp. 246-250) both in *Collins’ Magazine Annual, Volume 4*. (London: Collins, 1951): Collins credits both writer and illustrator for both these stories. The two stories themselves may be ‘episodes’ drawn from Raymond’s larger works, or separate short stories. See also *British Juvenile Story Papers and Pocket Libraries Index*, http://contento.best.vwh.net/paper/t186.htm#A6450 in which it appears that Raymond wrote children’s short stories under two pseudonyms, Peter Thorpe and Bill Reed.

424 ‘Smiley and Bobble’ in *Chucklers’ Annual*, pp. 11-19. See also ‘Smiley and Firsty’, *Chucklers’ Annual*, pp. 43-49.

425 ‘The Schoolgirl Detectives’ in *Chucklers’ Annual*, (c.1956), pp. 97-105, two brave horse-riding Australian girls foil a cunning Frenchman’s attempt to steal valuable property. The quest of the two schoolgirls involves mysterious lights, midnight escapades, suspenseful rescue from peril and the ultimate unmasking of a villainous ‘foreigner’.

426 Castle, ‘Imperial legacies’, p. 149.

427 Castle, ‘Imperial legacies’, p. 147, there were few mentions of advantages of British administration, British armed forces achievements and no attempt to explain ‘reasons for changing relations between Britain and her former colonies’.
physically of poor quality and equally low in literary content’. It is true that some English annuals of the immediate post-war period that made their way to Australia were a thinner and less durable product. However, as the 1950s progressed, production qualities improved, and annuals returned to being of a uniformly good standard. Also, many annuals from the period contain far more illustrations than those of the pre-war period and this reflects a change in form – popular literature for children was influenced at this period by the popularity during war-time of the American ‘comic book’ culture.

‘Popular culture’ by its very definition is different from ‘high culture’ and periodicals and annuals for children have been extraordinarily ‘popular’ since inception. Drotner claims, that despite the fact that publishers ‘mold’ the desires of their readers,

[t]he history of British juvenile magazines first demonstrates that children of various age groups have favoured periodicals because the market sensibility of the papers often made them more topical and generally more sensitive to changes in the readers’ needs than were books (237).

It is a point worth stressing that annuals (so often associated directly with juvenile periodicals) were always designed, like those periodicals, to be consumed as popular literature, which as Cullingford so rightly asserts ‘is based on the assumption that the audience is understood’(2). Certainly, by this stage of English publishing history, the publishers understood both their product and their audience, and the habitual reader of popular literature seeks only what ‘he or she wants’ from a text (2). Because of this, a different criterion of ‘quality’ must apply. Cullingford has also shown that reading itself deals with ‘imperfect readers and imperfect texts.’(1) With regard to children’s annuals, the issue of ‘literary quality’ becomes of secondary or even little importance - the act and style of reading are of far more significance and in popular literature ‘lapses of concentration do not matter…[a]ll must be obvious enough for the sensation of reading to be at once rewarding and ephemeral’(3). This applies particularly in the case of children’s

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428 Sims & Clare, p. 352.
429 Film Fun Annual 1945, (London: Amalgamated Press, 1944) and The Boys’ Story Bumper, (London: Children’s Press, c.1949) are two examples of the etiolated style of the 1940s.
430 Martin Barker, p. 9, the work of Rev. Marcus Morris in the 1950s is perhaps the most striking example of this; Drotner, p. 243, 1950s debates on ‘the vicious influence of comics’ had a deep influence on the cultural politics that shaped the post-war Western world for juveniles.
reading experience of popular literature, which if it did not supply these requirements, would cease rapidly to be ‘popular’. As Cullingford puts it, what children tend to require is ‘the generic rather than the episodic, the familiarity of theme and tone, rather than the challenge to their perceptions’ (11). As Richards notes above, with generic literature, the contribution to ‘ritual’ is significant for readers.\[431\] And children especially ‘like to have their expectations and their anticipations met’ (Cullingford, 11). It is indeed arguable whether this is not also the case for many adult readers, given the ongoing appetite for generic material: both Lyons and James L.W. West point obliquely at reader-fondness for ‘pulp fiction’ and for ‘the formula story’.\[432\] However, given the fact that the 1950s constituted such another ‘golden age’ for their production, it certainly seems that children’s annuals delivered according to expectations.

Although the colourful, well-illustrated, often magazine-linked and what might be termed ‘standard annual’ from such publishers as Amalgamated Press, Dean, Renwick of Otley and Hulton continued to be produced in great volume throughout the 1950s, the advent of television during this decade saw a change in readership for some children’s magazines. The magazines themselves also underwent changes in form. Juvenile magazines that had survived the war were superseded gradually ‘by the more popular comics’ or became ‘picture story-papers carrying an assortment of humorous strips and picture stories’ (Drotner, 239) By the early 1950s girls’ story-papers associated strongly with annuals were transformed into ‘comics’ and annuals connected with such comics as Girl, Girl’s Crystal and School Friend were issued from the publishers of these weeklies, which were also read enthusiastically in Australia. At this stage, reader feedback was still sought through the agency of the weeklies, such papers as Princess having a ‘letters’ page, which was even included in Princess annuals.\[433\] In the 1963 annual, letters and

\[431\] Jeffrey Richards, pp. 1-2.
\[433\] Princess Gift Book for Girls 1963, (London: Fleetway, 1962). The ‘Princess Club’ page was hosted in this volume by ‘Marjorie’ whose photograph appeared. New readers were encouraged to join the Princess Club and the faithful were urged to write in with their opinions and stories. Free membership was offered. A publisher’s advertisement on the rear inside cover shows the weekly magazine as a highly desirable commodity. See also Princess Magazine, (London: Fleetway) 7-14 Feb. 1964. This contains a whole page of the ‘Princess Club’ with a competition exclusive to overseas readers.
photographs from Australian and South African readers appeared.\textsuperscript{434} However, by 1967, only contributions from UK readers appeared.\textsuperscript{435} In the 1960s Odhams Press published new annual titles of the comical variety, entitled \textit{Wham!}, \textit{Smash!}, \textit{Fantastic} and \textit{Terrific} (Clark, 149-152). The comic artist Leo Baxendale, who had worked for Scots publisher D.C. Thomson was responsible for the style of these publications. Cartoon-style annuals from D.C. Thomson often do not contain much print text, therefore relate more closely to the ‘comic’ genre, and thus are not covered extensively here. However, Baxendale and other comic artists set the distinctive style for Fleetway’s \textit{Buster} annual.

According to Clark, Amalgamated Press was perhaps the most successful publisher of children’s annuals (Clark, 24). Therefore, a brief explanation is necessary of the evolution of Amalgamated Press into IPC, which is an instance of what Finkelstein and McCleery term ‘the slow trajectory from family to corporate ownership’ of publishing houses.\textsuperscript{436} Carpenter & Prichard explain that from 1890, Alfred Harmsworth’s press issued children’s publications. From the early 1900s, Amalgamated Press, Harmsworth’s hugely successful company, published children’s magazines until the middle of the twentieth century. Amalgamated Press’ London headquarters was named ‘Carmelite House’ but in 1912, was renamed ‘Fleetway House’ (239). Clark continues the explanation, stating that for some of the 1960s, Amalgamated Press (still based at Fleetway House) was known as ‘Fleetway Publications’ (Clark, 150-152). Drotner elucidates that despite the fact that in 1960, Fleetway had been taken over by International Publishing Corporation (IPC), it remained ‘Fleetway House’. The IPC brand only began to appear in annuals in the 1970s and 1980s (Drotner, 239). IPC also published numerous weekly comics, many of which had annuals throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s (Clark, 153) Many of these arrived in Australia. In the tradition of the annuals, IPC and D.C. Thomson also issue ‘Summer’ or ‘Holiday Specials’, thicker versions of the weekly comic (153).

\textsuperscript{434} \textit{Princess Gift Book for Girls} 1963, p. 63.
\textsuperscript{435} \textit{Princess Gift Book for Girls} 1967, (London: Fleetway, c.1966), pp. 64-69, it may well have been that cash prizes offered for reader-contributions in this volume were not easily transferable overseas.
\textsuperscript{436} Finkelstein & McCleery, p. 3.
Readers themselves also changed over the long period of ‘commercialisation of popular reading for the young’ (Drotner, 238). At the outset of this period until well into the twentieth century ‘boys of various ages formed the core readership’ of this kind of popular literature, but from the 1960s, judging from the developments in publications for adolescents, it was girls who offered ‘the most profitable magazine [and therefore possibly, annual-buying] potential’ (238). Also, from about the 1960s there have developed in terms of reading, two slightly different ‘youth cultures’. Armando Petrucci describes these in highly specific terms:

a youth culture attuned to the mass media and focused on rock music, the cinema, television and electronic games (and only secondarily on reading, which is limited, moreover, to contemporary fiction – in particular, science fiction and the comic strips), and a more traditional youth culture founded on reading, books, on seeing plays and high-quality films, on listening to classical music, and on a more strictly complementary use of the new media technologies.437

Gradually television and later the various electronic forms of entertainment would compete heavily with reading for children’s leisure time. The new media could not be ignored, and examples exist of the incorporation of television technology such as film cameras into annuals. Various 1950s Amalgamated Press annuals utilise such new media as an element in print text and illustrated tales, often signalling their usage in the titles of tales.438 In 1959, an annual for younger children used television screens as an artistic device in its endpaper feature ‘Sports Teleview’.439 Television itself began to appear as a naturalised element in younger children’s annuals and the ‘Sooty’ annuals are notable examples.440 There are also other examples of publishers using new media.441

440 Sooty Annual, (London: Daily Mirror, c.1965): Sooty was a television puppet operated by Harry Corbett. In an example of cross-promotion of popular media, Sooty lived in T.V. Town. See also Sooty’s Fourth Annual, (London: Daily Mirror, c.1961), newspaper cross-promotion of Sooty began even earlier. The final pages of this annual exhort readers to ‘follow Sooty’s adventures in the Daily Mirror every day!’.
Technology proceeds apace and Livingstone and Drotner point to ‘the global reach’ of its latest forms and their impact upon children.\(^{442}\) It might be in the future that new forms of mediated technology may replace reading itself as the most significant sedentary form of children’s entertainment. Nevertheless, reading (albeit in differing forms) remains a common and readily accessible form of entertainment for both children and adults and it is likely that this will still be the case for some time yet.

Kapur observes rightly that television has become ‘central to the experience’ of contemporary life.\(^{443}\) Also (and linked strongly to this factor) the attitude of the commercial marketplace towards children and ‘childhood’ has altered markedly. Kenway and Bullen insist that three types of media, consumption, information and communication ‘together hold a powerful and privileged position in today’s culture, society and economy’.\(^{444}\) It would be absurd to deny this, given the saturation with which most are familiar. The assumption that adults decide on behalf of children what is appropriate or desirable has declined markedly and television and children’s marketing now constructs children ‘as knowing consumers rather than innocent receivers of gifts’.\(^{445}\) The early partnership between annuals and television seems not untoward for it must be observed here that television does what children’s magazines and annuals have been doing for years, that is, blend fact and fiction into a particular and complex form of discourse. Kapur theorises that television, by directly addressing children ‘over the heads of their parents’ has appealed to them directly and personally, and by doing so, created ‘a global generation of children’.\(^{446}\) Given Kenway and Bullen’s insistence that ‘child and youth markets are now distinct from and ‘other’ to adult markets’, and that these markets now position children and youth ‘as adult-like consumers’ this seems an indisputable fact.\(^{447}\) Kapur states further that television works by collapsing time and space and that it


\(^{443}\) Kapur, p. 17.

\(^{444}\) Kenway & Bullen, p. 168.

\(^{445}\) Kapur, p. 17.

\(^{446}\) Kapur, p. 18.

\(^{447}\) Kenway & Bullen, p. 169.
achieves this effect ‘by bringing together simultaneously ‘disparate images, both historical and geographical’. The annuals might be said to be an earlier attempt to create what Kapur calls ‘a global generation of children’ by suggesting powerfully through both their form and their content, that such a thing is not merely possible, but logical. In other words, media of this type create their own internal logic (however bizarre), which is readily accepted by both reader-type and viewer-type consumers. Certainly, the annuals collapsed time and space by bringing together disparate historical and geographical images, and publishers recognised rapidly the commercial possibilities of this new medium, which was loved by consumers. In the twentieth century, comics and magazines were published that did not merely cater to the new force of television in children’s lives, but embraced it. Annuals began to appear that fictionalised the doings of television characters and stars, very much in the manner and tradition of children’s annuals that had been linked in the late 1920s and 1930s to popular films and radio programmes.

The seventies and eighties

A noteworthy event in the history of the generic annual occurred in 1969, when publisher Howard Baker, scenting a new and potentially lucrative market of nostalgic collectors of popular juvenile publications, produced ‘iconographs, facsimile editions, and part-works of…pre-war publications’. These publications appear mainly to have been those from Amalgamated Press, to which Clark in his History, devotes the longest chapter. Some of Howard Baker’s productions were facsimiles of annuals, and others facsimiles of the weekly magazines The Magnet and The Gem. The new range of products was reviewed generously by the British and overseas presses. These volumes proffer an unabashed

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448 Kapur, p. 18.
449 ‘Publishers’ Preface’, Anon., in The Howard Baker Greyfriars Holiday Annual for 1928, Anniversary Edition (Abridged), (London, Howard Baker Greyfriars Press, 1971), the motto provided below the preface is ‘Nostalgia in excelsis’; Clark, The Children’s Annual, p. 30-31, not only was it a nostalgic market, but included ‘a new and younger audience reading [pre-war publications] enthusiastically for the first time’.
450 Clark, The Children’s Annual, pp. 25-75. Clark begins this chapter with the final sentence of the previous chapter: ‘But then, AP did everything well…’
451 On the dust-jacket of each Howard Baker publication is a long list of favourable reviews from the London Financial Times, Evening Standard, Sunday Telegraph, Daily Mirror, Observer and Books and Bookmen. From overseas, the New Zealand Herald, Sydney Daily Telegraph, Melbourne Age, Irish Press (Dublin), Belfast Newsletter and Johannesburg Star Literary Review.
celebration of the work of the prolific Charles Hamilton (1876-1961) (under his various pseudonyms) and dust-jackets invariably provide a long list of these works. Clark notes that during the 1960s, there was ‘an unprecedented growth in the market for children’s annuals’ themselves, and that this was linked strongly to the popularity of television. Publishers such as Fleetway (formerly Amalgamated Press) also produced cross-promotional annuals such as The Birthday Book for Boys (1972) that gathered together characters from a variety of Fleetway comic-style magazines.

Television has produced numerous ‘spin-offs’ and some annuals (such as those connected to the cult television programme Dr Who) are highly prized by collectors. Other popular television programmes, particularly children’s programmes, generated annuals, some of which continued at least until the 1980s. In a specifically Australian context, recently Adam Hills, host of popular ABC quiz show Spicks & Specks, used in this programme a rather tattered copy of an annual connected with an early 1980s pop group, ‘Adam and the Ants’. Hills indicated that this annual was his personal possession and made the not-quite-jocular remark that he wanted it back at the end of the show. As mementos of the reading delights of vanished childhood, this is the sentiment these aging artefacts often generate. Hills’ program itself seems to have tapped into a rich vein of Australian nostalgia, for Spicks & Specks deals in a light-hearted, celebratory and often nostalgic manner with pop cultural trivia and, according to television journalist Sue Yeap, has attracted an increasing audience since its inception in 2005.

Magazines for young readers and a large variety of comic-book, cartoon-style English annuals appeared during the 1970s and 1980s (Clark, 148-155). As recently as 2007, an annual called The Boys’

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452 Robert J. Kirkpatrick, The Encyclopaedia of Boys’ School Stories, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), p. 153. In his early years ‘Hamilton produced six stories and serial parts a week, averaging an astonishing 12,000 words a day. Later, he settled down to a steady one-and-a-half million words a year...’; Front dust-jacket, Howard Baker Magnet, Volume No. 36, (London: Howard Baker Greyfriars Press, 1975), on which it is stated that by the time of his death in 1961, Hamilton had ‘written the equivalent of one thousand full-length novels.’


454 ABC TV, Spicks & Specks, episode screened on 14/2/07. The Adam and the Ants annual was used in the sector named ‘Substitute’ in which panel guests must sing the tunes of well-known songs, not their lyrics. Instead, the singers must employ the words of a print text selected by the host, usually a comically-titled or obscure book.

455 Sue Yeap, ‘One big happy family’, West Magazine, in West Australian, 10/2/07, pp. 22-23: Spicks & Specks was ‘the ABC’s most-watched regular program in 2006 for under 40s,’ averaging 1.067 million viewers per week in 2006, a 20% improvement on its debut in 2005.
Annual was published, which utilised on its front cover, a nostalgic rendering of two boys playing football. This annual contains just sixty-one pages, and offers heavily-illustrated stories and songs, activities, jokes, quizzes and puzzles, and in an acknowledgement of changing socio-cultural mores, recipes and hints ‘just for boys’ on what the annual terms ‘saving the planet’. Magazines for children were divided along clear lines of gendered interest and, from the 1960s, girls’ ‘teenage weeklies’ were influenced strongly by ‘the booming music industry’, containing ‘fan clubs, pop gossip and pull-out centrepieces of male idols’ (Drotner, 241). Some girls’ weeklies had annuals. There were also weeklies for boys, and these are remarkable for their continuation of the same storylines that occupied the boys’ weeklies of the pre-and inter-war periods. The dominating theme is battle and war (243). This theme is clear from some covers of contemporary annuals for boys. Magazine titles such as D.C. Thomson’s Commando and Warlord competed directly with IPC’s Valiant and Battle Picture Weekly. Clark contends that annuals of this type from this period contain ‘good knock-about boys’ stories, told both in text and in pictures’ (155). They also contain a great deal of unadulterated aggression. Clark also notes that due to the amalgamation of some weekly comics, the ‘best characters’ sometimes appeared in more than one title (155). By ‘best’, one can only assume Clark means the ‘most popular’. And some characters had an extraordinarily long life, for example, the pilot ‘Biggles’, created some seventy years ago by Captain W.E. Johns, appeared in an annual as recently as 1980 (155). Through the adventure trope, these annuals are linked directly to the children’s adventure annuals of the 1920s and 1930s.

More recently, for Australian children, the form and style of the annual has changed very little – this is exemplified in a 2000 copy of Collier’s Children’s Annual, reprinted from a 1985 version. This annual demonstrates the intact survival of the traditional English

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459 Collier’s Australian Children’s Annual, (1985; Sydney: Collier, 2000).
annual format in an Australian version, whose endpapers show Australian animals and birds drawn by Peter Chapman. This particular annual contains the close mingling of fictional and factual material that characterises the genre, offering a dense ‘miscellany’ of both print text and picture stories, articles, puzzles and tricks. However, despite the notable and full colour artwork, the emphasis in this annual is markedly upon education and information. There are articles on sporting topics, jokes, short poems and ‘history’ with a strong emphasis on Australian material. Great or notable Australian men and women feature, as does a long article on cricket, followed by one on the different football codes in Australia. Perhaps with the imminent advent of the Olympic Games (held in Sydney in 2000) in mind, an article on the history of the Olympic Games features, by sports commentator Norman May. Women’s tennis also features in another article following the one on the Games. Computers and outer space also feature. Wonders of the ancient world are contrasted with wonders of the modern world. Bushrangers, bushfires, canonical C.J. Dennis poetry and material from Henry Lawson also appear, and at the centre of the book, an article about Scouts and Guides, complete with colour illustrations and a section on ‘knots’. This is juxtaposed with articles on ‘Survival for Children’, about safety in the home and outdoors and ‘Cooking for Fun’ which gives nutritional hints and simple recipes. A piece on good manners follows these two articles and underscores the idea of entertainment and instruction.

Some have satirised the annual form. In 1974, English publishers Weidenfeld and Nicholson produced a satirical annual for television favourites ‘The Goodies’, the collective name for a team of three male comedians. This annual is a true miscellany, and, like that other early Australian miscellany offered by Coles Funny Picture Books, might be difficult to categorise accurately. However, with the clear aim of entertaining the reader, it uses pictures, photographs, lists, poems and short satirical articles to present a ‘file’ of absurd information about the comedians. A recent situation that also demonstrates the strong link between different Australian media is that of The Chaser Annual. The ‘Chaser Team’ is the collective name for a group of Australian male

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comedians, whose sometimes controversial television programme is beloved of Australian news media commentators. This rather cosy relationship produces in the local newspaper several references to an annual produced and designed for consumption in Australia: *The Chaser Annual 2006.*\(^{461}\) The ‘Chaser Team’ has compiled this annual that satirises generic current affairs programmes. The ‘Team’ maintains [through a spokesperson] that their annual is pitched at ‘mostly teenage boys’ and the newspaper article notes that the new volume is part of a series.\(^{462}\) This satirical annual both mocks and utilises the generic annual form, containing a collection of ‘the best stories from The Chaser’s website’. It must be observed that from the description of this latest offering that it assumes in its audience a familiarity with the annual format and offers a miscellany of features such as ‘terrible old jokes’, a cut-out ‘dress your own…doll’ feature and a cut-out ‘set of …bumper stickers’. In a perhaps unconscious reference to certain other time-honoured conventions, an endnote to the article advertises yet another ‘collection’-style volume from the same team of comedians and claims that in this volume there exists ‘no overlap with the annual’.\(^{463}\) It appears that the annual format still generates interest, for recently an advertisement appeared in the daily newspaper inviting interested persons to attend a book-signing at a large shopping centre by a member of ‘The Chaser’ team. The book-signing concerned the latest issue of the annual produced by this team of satirists, *The Chaser Annual 2009.*\(^{464}\)

The ‘annual’ itself has been recorded as having existed since about the middle of the seventeenth century. In terms of the ‘children’s annual’ one of the most remarkable facts is the probable length of its pedigree. The children’s annual as it is known today certainly appears to have been very similar to John Newbery’s *Little Pretty Pocket Book*, which appeared at the very beginning of the modern children’s publishing industry. If it is accepted that the form as it is known today originated with Newbery in the eighteenth century, it is even more remarkable that the form has altered so little in the intervening

\(^{461}\) Sue Yeap, ‘No ceasefire in Chaser war’ in *Today, West Australian*, 30/10/06, p. 5.
\(^{462}\) Yeap, p. 5. The article refers to ‘previous years’.
\(^{463}\) Yeap, p. 5. ‘Endnote’ to newspaper article, printed in bold.
\(^{464}\) Anon. ‘Celebrating 10 years of The Chaser at Dymocks Garden City, Booragoon’, in *West Australian*, 1/12/09, p. 4.
years. From the nineteenth century, children’s annuals became literally a perennial source of entertainment for children. Annuals remained on children’s bookshelves for many years and were shared, read and re-read, often becoming beloved objects associated strongly with childhood and with adolescent security. Annuals were, when new, highly desirable and collectable - in what might be termed their vintage years, annuals are now highly collectable as artefacts from the past. This has been the case for some decades as can be seen from the collectors’ price guide in Clark’s brief history (156-158) and from other literature that deals with such topics. The ‘annual’ put the ephemeral popular culture of children’s periodicals into a more permanent and lasting form and is now one of the few concretised reminders of that culture, for surviving copies of children’s magazines themselves are now sequestered mostly in museums and archival libraries. Occasionally, annuals still appear in second hand bookshops, but as the years pass, this too is becoming less common.

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Chapter Two

Learning to be second-class: the English Annual in Australia

R.W. Connell and T.H. Irving observe that Australia has been mythologised as a ‘classless’ society.\textsuperscript{466} This is far from the truth, and ‘class’ in Australia is extraordinarily complex.\textsuperscript{467} Connell and Irving also maintain that a central difficulty with exploring the issue of class in any timeframe ‘is to reconstruct the principles that give shape to a particular social order’.\textsuperscript{468} This chapter investigates the response to popular English fiction as being influential in the shaping of the attitudes of Australian children toward class. George Orwell remarks perceptively that to dismiss cheap popular material is a great mistake, for within its ambit is ‘the best available indication of what the mass of the English people really [feel] and [think]’.\textsuperscript{469} Despite this, Cedric Cullingford notes that there still exists a temptation ‘to dismiss popular literature as purely ephemeral and vulgar’.\textsuperscript{470} By its very nature, popular literature is prolific, aiming at a mass-market, yet simultaneously reflecting its diversity. Orwell notes the vigour and variety of contemporary popular material, particularly for children.\textsuperscript{471} Popular material written for children is important because as Sharyn Pearce rightly asserts, it transmits messages to children and shapes their imaginations.\textsuperscript{472} The English children’s annuals read and cherished by Australian children helped to shape their subjectivity and, like much other English fiction exported to Australia, were strongly influenced by the beliefs and values of the English middle classes. Ken Stewart notes the popularity in nineteenth-century Australia of William Wordsworth, Thomas Carlyle, John Ruskin and Charles Dickens, all

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Connell & Irving, p. 11-14.
\item Connell & Irving, p. 7.
\item George Orwell, ‘Boys’ Weeklies’ p. 117.
\item Orwell, p. 116-117.
\item Sharyn Pearce, ‘Constructing a “New Girl”, p. 229.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
contemporary middle-class English favourites.\textsuperscript{473} Books, however, are a commodity and their marketing highly-complex. In ‘A Feeling for Books’ Janice Ranway indicates some of the nuances involved in middle-class selection of texts.\textsuperscript{474} Although people purchase books for all manner of different reasons, Martyn Lyons refers to what he terms ‘the cultural baggage of earlier British migrants’ that remained on the bookshelves of many Australian households, often in the form of ‘the canonical trio of ‘Scott, Dickens and Thackeray’.\textsuperscript{475} The books that found their way to Australia had already experienced marketplace and social vetting. For Australians who received such books, class was a powerful part of the British embrace and was linked very closely with Englishness.

British reading material was still predominant in Australia during the earlier part of the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{476} John M. MacKenzie remarks that annuals during this period ‘became a particularly characteristic aspect of juvenile publishing’.\textsuperscript{477} The fact that many examples of what the commercial market terms ‘vintage’ English annuals are still extant indicates that children’s annuals were a significant part of what Heather Scutter terms the ‘plethora’ of English material exported to Australia.\textsuperscript{478} Diffusion through social networks also must be considered as a significant part of reading habits.\textsuperscript{479} As well as the public market, English people sent annuals privately as gifts to Australian relatives. Annuals conveniently transmitted an overall narrative of British supremacy. Like the magazines to which they were so closely related, annuals conveyed what Lyons and Taksa call ‘traditionalist imperialist values, together with the notion of Anglo-Saxon supremacy.’\textsuperscript{480} Ideas of English superiority were frequently overt but were also embedded covertly in such stories, and specific ideologies of class, gender and race were an integral part of English imperialism. MacKenzie asserts the ‘changeless’ quality of the literature in

\textsuperscript{475} Martyn Lyons, ‘Reading Practices in Australia’, p. 335.
\textsuperscript{476} Martyn Lyons & Lucy Taksa, \textit{Australian Readers Remember}, pp. 89-93.
\textsuperscript{478} Heather Scutter, ‘Children’s Literature’, p. 298.
\textsuperscript{479} Lyons & Taksa, p. 1; Scutter, p. 298.
\textsuperscript{480} Lyons & Taksa, p. 93.
children’s magazines, which popular writers imbued with ‘middle-class patriotic, militaristic and xenophobic’ ideologies.\(^{481}\) However, he maintains such ideologies, especially from writers such as Frank Richards, Edgar Wallace, Hugh Lofting, Percy F. Westerman, W.E. Johns and ‘Sapper’ [Cyril McNeile] were only ‘occasionally tinged’ with racism.\(^{482}\) This may have been so, but as will be demonstrated in a following chapter, racism was consistently present in tales produced by other popular writers, particularly in adventure narratives. It might be imagined that such attitudes more properly belonged to the period before World War I rather than to the rapidly-changing world of the twentieth century. However, the formulaic structure of annuals perpetuated racist stereotypes and attitudes well into the 1960s and these were transmitted to Australian children through this media. Racist attitudes in annuals were relatively obvious and were cruder in their visibility than attitudes concerning class.

The English middle class broadened after World War I. MacKenzie notes that in the period between the wars, the working class had become ‘incorporated into middle-class culture’.\(^{483}\) Middle-class attitudes toward education and work were embedded deeply in twentieth-century English children’s annuals and were perhaps most powerfully conveyed through regular presentation in annuals of middle-class schooling, most importantly in the school stories with which annuals were filled. Lyons and Taksa draw particular attention to the importance of the English school story for Australian readers.\(^{484}\) They note also that their surveyed readers ‘were very conscious of the British origins of the stories’ in children’s magazines, and this is interesting in that ‘the majority of the group was born between 1910 and 1917, with recollections covering the immediate post-war period and the 1920s’.\(^{485}\) Perhaps this indicates that Australian children had become by this time, partially conscious of Englishness.

\(^{484}\) Lyons & Taksa, pp. 92-93.
\(^{485}\) Lyons & Taksa, p. 4.
One popular annual from this period is very obviously English to a contemporary researcher, and it seems that material of this type also might have seemed so to its young Australian audience. Owned by an Australian child, *The Greyfriars Holiday Annual 1925 for Boys and Girls*, was pitched ostensibly at both sexes.\(^{486}\) As its name suggests, this annual offers tales of Greyfriars, the popular fictional school, invented and developed by the prolific George Hamilton (Frank Richards). The colour cover shows both sexes enjoying a quintessentially English spectacle of a game of soccer on a green English playing field with Greyfriars school, a castle-like establishment, in a background which also features large green trees. Australia had established its own public school system modelled closely upon that of middle-class England. Despite this, to quote Brenda Niall’s observation in *Australia Through the Looking-Glass*, Australia had little to offer in the way of ‘cloisters and ivy-covered towers’.\(^{487}\) English middle-class aspiration was implicit in tales of Greyfriars, which Orwell refers to as having been modelled upon ‘ancient and fashionable foundations of the type of Eton or Winchester’.\(^{488}\) This was far less immediate for young Australian readers, as was what Orwell termed baldly, the ‘snob-appeal’ of Greyfriars to working-class English readers.\(^{489}\) Instead, such annuals began simply by furnishing pictures for the young Australian imagination, attractive images of a different type of everyday landscape from that readily available to the average Australian reader. This encouraged growth of an imaginary and highly-idealised picture of England. In this annual’s rear pages, advertisements remind readers to buy the *Magnet* and *Gem* magazines, also well-stocked with the same imagery, which consolidated the picture further. Although primarily pitched at schoolboys, *Magnet* and *Gem* were very popular with girls.\(^{490}\) Billy Bunter features strongly in the *Greyfriars Annual*, as do the fictional schoolboys of Hamilton’s other invented English schools, Rookwood and St. Jim’s. Despite their awareness of the British origin of stories, it is unlikely that young Australian readers were aware of the strong element of what might be termed ‘English landscape fantasy’ inherent in this material. As Roger Ebbatson so compellingly argues,

\(^{488}\) Orwell, pp. 118.
\(^{489}\) Orwell, pp. 123-124.
\(^{490}\) Lyons & Taksa, pp. 92-93.
from the late-nineteenth century there was an ‘emergent invented tradition of rural England’ in which idyllic country locations, of which Greyfriars is one, were depicted ad nauseum as a reaction to ‘bourgeois anxieties about urban squalor…and a premonitory sense of imperial decline’. 491 Lyons and Taksa assert the even more interesting fact that the British origin of such popular magazines such as Gem and Magnet ‘seemed to furnish “a guarantee” for Australian readers of that most desirable of middle-class virtues, “respectability”.’ 492 This suggests the positioning that had already taken place in children’s minds of at least one middle-class English value: respectability. The neatly-dressed spectators epitomise a contemporary idealised picture of English middle-class respectability, as they stand sedately watching a football match in front of the crenellated stone edifice of Greyfriars with its large clock and its imposing towers. And whether obvious or not to Australian readers, class distinction is depicted on the cover of the Greyfriars Holiday Annual. What is omitted is significant in the illustration, for no workers are visible. All spectators are schoolboys in school uniform, ties and striped school-caps, and teenaged girls who wear hats and gloves with their formal street costumes. It is likely that this type of illustration, which was both idealistic and extremely common in popular material, furnished one of the keys to why the idea had apparently developed in young Australian readers that material with English origins was ‘respectable’.

Class, ‘respectability’ and language

Between 1890 and 1930, mainstream Australian culture was dominated by Britain, despite the fact that, as Martin Lyons claims, ‘a distinctly Australian literary culture was emerging.’ 493 Like any powerful institution of long standing, the British Empire ‘seemed to cast a long shadow over readers who were often grateful for its shade’. 494 In other words, the Australian response to the British embrace offered by contemporary literature and culture is perhaps best described as one compounded of nostalgia and of desire. The British embrace was offered fraternally, but aroused in many Australians, particularly

492 Lyons & Taksa, p. 92.
494 Lyons & Taksa, p. 8.
those of the late nineteenth and earlier twentieth century, a desire to be English. Careful attention was paid by such Australians to English-style nuances of class. Australian entertainer Barry Humphries in his autobiographical work *More Please* describes the quality of ‘respectability’ as it had established itself in the suburban Melbourne of his childhood. Humphries was one of a group of notable Australians who in the 1950s and 1960s left Australia to pursue their careers in England. When dealing with material from Humphries it must be born in mind that one of the most striking aspects of the performances upon which his career as an entertainer has been built has been his sometimes caustic mockery of what Elizabeth Webby has termed ‘the bigotry and conformist materialism’ of suburban Australian social mores. Many of these were derived from those of middle-class England. However, Humphries offers useful and interestingly detailed insights into Australian suburban culture, and in this instance, uses a landscaping metaphor to describe the quality of ‘respectability’. Humphreys’ metaphor suggests the encircling qualities of the British embrace. The quality of ‘respectability’

began to grow up around us like the garden, putting down its roots and stretching forth its tendrils and branches. We had special words for things which ‘common people’ didn’t use…

As Humphries notes further ‘ordinary’ people who were not ‘respectable’ used words such as ‘wash house’ instead of ‘laundry’ and referred to ‘back yards’ instead of ‘back gardens’. The language used by the ‘respectable’ people of Humphries’ recollected childhood was a factor that distinguished the ‘respectable’ from the ‘common people’, those deemed to be from a lower social class. Such nuances of class distinction were derived from England and were used frequently in annuals such as the *Greyfriars Holiday Annual*, in stories that portrayed working-class people as users of grammatically incorrect or slipshod language. As a way of revealing class for English readers, this was already a highly-developed technique. Orwell refers to Greyfriars’ school porter Gosling who ‘talks in an imitation of Dickens’ dialect’. Another example is Mr Mimble,
husband of Mrs Mimble, tuckshop proprietor of Greyfriars. In *Greyfriars Holiday Annual* from 1928, while speaking to Billy Bunter, Mr Mimble uses the following sentence: ‘Wot I says is this ‘ere-you both imaginated it’!, as opposed to the more correct diction of Billy Bunter.\(^{500}\) Though doubtless entertaining for readers, this was not done merely for comic effect. Bunter himself was known by regular readers to be by no means a stickler for correct language and grammar, which drew even closer attention to the difference in social class between the two speakers. Middle-class British readers, especially those to whom Orwell refers as having been ‘outside that mystic world of quadrangles and house-colours’ would have been acutely alive to such distinctions.\(^{501}\) Australian readers who were avid consumers of this kind of material might also have understood that ‘difference’ was intentionally conveyed in such a pattern of language use. Using difference of language to delineate class distinctions also occurred in other children’s annuals, such as *Blackie’s Girls’ Annuals*. In general, when servants or other members of the working-class are portrayed, their speech was either markedly or subtly different from those of the middle-classes, but differentiation always took place in inter-class passages of dialogue. As well as this, in the rare instance that any kind of disreputable or quasi-criminal activity takes place, it is often associated directly with servants, or with those from the working-class.\(^{502}\) As Mary Cadogan and Patricia Craig note, girls’ annuals of the earlier twentieth century often had tales that were quite markedly concerned with the struggles against poverty of ‘girls of the “lower orders”’.\(^{503}\) However, this kind of tale did not persist. In boys’ annuals, the working-class did not figure largely as such, but working-class characters appeared mainly on the periphery of tales, as servants, trades-people or purveyors of goods or services. Food, clothing and shelter constitute basic human requirements and it is with the refinements of these basic requirements that ideas about class are perhaps most deeply concerned. Clothing was certainly a marker of class, and has been addressed elsewhere in this work. ‘Shelter’ constitutes different types of

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\(^{501}\) Orwell, p. 123.  
\(^{503}\) Mary Cadogan & Patricia Craig, p. 75.
housing, which are certainly class-linked. As the twentieth century proceeded, the annuals dealt more subtly with food, clothing and shelter, seldom referring to them directly, but including them as a ‘given’ in most tales.

**Children, books and the middle class ‘home’**
The desire to be English was linked closely with ideas of ‘home’. In literature from England, a picture was often presented of England as the ultimate desirable destination, and designated ‘home’. Rosemary Marangoly George lists one of the distinguishing features of ‘home’ as being a place ‘built on select inclusions’.\(^5^0^4\) Such inclusions:

> are grounded in a learned (or taught) sense of a kinship that is extended to those who are perceived as sharing the same blood, race, class, gender, or religion. Membership is maintained by bonds of love, fear, power, desire and control”.\(^5^0^5\)

There was a ‘homely’ domestic aspect to the British embrace in which Australian children were included unproblematically, for, as Stuart Ward points out, due to their ‘organic’ heritage many Australians shared familial characteristics with the English.\(^5^0^6\) As Ken Stewart puts it, after P.R. Stephensen (1936), ‘Australian culture is both derivative and local’, and what Stewart terms ‘that distinctive non-Aboriginal Australianness is, whatever else’ it may be, invariably ‘a variant and product of Britishness’.\(^5^0^7\) Australian children were co-opted early as members of the space demarcated as the English idea of ‘home’ and were trained in its manners. Sharyn Pearce asserts that this was a situation that persisted at least until the 1950s, when many Australians still viewed England as “the Mother Country”.\(^5^0^8\) The roots of such sentiment were deeply-implanted. Wryly recollecting his 1930s schooldays, Christopher Koch observes that ‘our teachers made us keep scrapbooks on the doings of “the little princesses”, Elizabeth and Margaret Rose. What chance did we have?’\(^5^0^9\) Koch’s remarks

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\(^5^0^5\) George, p. 9.


\(^5^0^7\) Ken Stewart, ‘Britain’s Australia’, p. 7.

\(^5^0^8\) Sharyn Pearce, ‘When Australia Calls’, p. 1.

\(^5^0^9\) Christopher Koch, “‘Maybe It’s Because I’m a Londoner’”, p. 28.
suggest strongly that children were tethered to ‘home’ subjectively by the bonds to which George refers, one of which is desire.

Here it is worth recalling the remarks of Graham Greene with regard to the importance of the desires awakened in children by their early reading experience. Greene recalls this as a desire for ‘excitement and revelation’ and refers to the ‘missed heartbeat’ and ‘appalled glee’ at his discovery of different, as-yet-unread volumes by popular writers for children.\textsuperscript{510} Such excitement parallels the responses of the Australian children charted by Lyons and Taksa, to the British fiction they eagerly awaited.\textsuperscript{511} Greene was born in Hertfordshire and came from the English middle-class.\textsuperscript{512} In his essay ‘The Lost Childhood’, Greene alludes to the importance of his domestic environment and his ‘large family’ in terms of his childhood reading experience: a large family meant a great many bookshelves from which a young child could select whatever he or she wished. The books of his childhood, which Greene maintains provided both excitement and revelation, were found ‘on the shelves at home’.\textsuperscript{513} This strongly suggests a deeply-important dichotomy for children’s reading, termed by David Rudd ‘security and escape’.\textsuperscript{514} Cullingford calls this ‘the security of fiction’ in which ‘[t]here is excitement, but it is safe’ and ‘[t]here is fear, but it is controlled.’\textsuperscript{515}

Helen Townsend, when writing about the books read by Australian children, remarks that ‘[m]ost of the classics read by Australian children were English books…[which] were often seen by teachers and librarians as intrinsically superior to the Australian product.’\textsuperscript{516} Class itself is maintained through perceptions of social superiority and can be perpetuated by desire for this. For children, adult perceptions have ramifications and Townsend points to some of these. Through English books, patterns of subjectivity that

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\textsuperscript{511} Lyons & Taksa, p. 92.
\textsuperscript{512} Ian Ousby, pp. 391-392.
\textsuperscript{513} Greene, p. 14.
\textsuperscript{514} David Rudd, \textit{Enid Blyton and the Mystery of Children’s Literature}, (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2000), p. 188.
\textsuperscript{515} Cedric Cullingford, \textit{Children’s Literature and its Effects}, p. 28.
\textsuperscript{516} Helen Townsend, \textit{Baby Boomers: Growing up in Australia in the 1940s, 50s and 60s}, (Brookvale: Simon & Schuster, 1989), p. 158.
\end{flushright}
Townsend identifies as not being part of actual Australian life, entered ‘firmly into the Australian imagination’.\textsuperscript{517} Some such ideas were what she terms ‘the tradition of nannies’ and disconcerting ‘seasonal perceptions created by hot Christmas dinners and poems about autumn leaves’.\textsuperscript{518} Such ideas absorbed by children can be, as Townsend also notes, ‘powerfully misleading’.\textsuperscript{519} In some Australian households, practices that slavishly emulated English middle-class style provided an uncomfortable existence for children. In \textit{12 Edmondstone Street}, David Malouf recalls the influence of middle-class Englishness in his early life in suburban Brisbane.\textsuperscript{520} Malouf suggests that this, too, was prompted by desire, that of his English mother for ‘home’. Malouf recollects that his mother clung to what she had left or lost, and was more English than any of her brothers...English for my mother was right. She reproduced in our childhood what she remembered (minus a few housemaids) of her own life in Edwardian London. We ate the same food, heard the same little tags and sayings...and were given the same old-fashioned remedies against winter ills (33).

In a similar fashion to that of many contemporary Australian households, the food was that of the northern hemisphere, defying ‘latitude and the facts of climate and weather’ (55). The middle-class tradition of the Empire lived on in the ‘baked dinners, stews, hot-pots and boiled puddings’ that were reproduced in Malouf’s home in tropical Brisbane (55). This practice was carried out

as if a hundred degrees of humidity constituted a strictly moral challenge, and we had our real existence in a cold place on the other side of the globe. Physical bodies and the actual have nothing to do with it. In a properly British way we ignore them (55).

In retrospect, Malouf acknowledges the oddness of this, and recognises that in following these ‘properly British’ practices, marked out by the canonically fixed hours of the middle-class Victorian English breakfast, dinner and tea, the family are not strictly attending to their own nutrition, but also ‘feeding’ an ancestral tradition which he terms ‘the spirits of our fathers’ (55). However, despite the spiritual aspect, the immediate

\textsuperscript{517} Townsend, p. 158.
\textsuperscript{518} Townsend, p. 158.
\textsuperscript{519} Townsend, p. 158.
physical discomforts of maintaining middle-class English gastronomic tradition cannot be ignored. Malouf offers an agonised litany of the suffering caused by the shibboleth of middle-class tradition:

So we sweat and consume: Steak and Kidney Pudding, Rolled Shoulder of Lamb with Mint Sauce and Potatoes Carrots and Peas, Roast Beef and Yorkshire Pudding, Corned Beef with Cauliflower and White Sauce, all washed down with tea and followed by one of the sweet puddings...Sago Plum Pudding, Ginger Pudding, Golden Syrup Pudding, Spotted Dick (56).

Christmas was another time during which middle-class tradition held sway. Children’s annuals were often given as Christmas presents, and almost always contained material based around Christmas, with as Cadogan and Craig put it, ‘[a]ll the trappings of rollicking good-time, old-world celebrations’.521 Children’s annuals almost always offered special Christmas-style adventures in which northern hemisphere winter sports, snow, holly and gargantuan feasting occurred. Some annuals emphasised Christmas even more than others and ‘[p]ossibly after Dickens, no one succeeded more fully in conveying the spirit of Christmas than the Amalgamated Press writers’.522 This was certainly true in the children’s annuals from this publisher, in some of which, as Alan Clark notes, ‘the addition of holly-bordered comic panels was a traditional feature at Christmas’.523 For many Australian children, whatever the daytime December temperature, Christmas was not ‘Christmas’ without middle-class English Yuletide accoutrements. Ross Terrill recollects that at Christmas time in Victoria, a ‘slavish adherence to British ways’ held sway, with ‘London-derived Christmas cards depicting snow-sprinkled carriages and reindeers’ and the consumption at Christmas dinner of ‘heavy plum pudding covered with hot custard with whipped cream...sixpenny coins secreted in its gluey depths’.524 English-style consumption was not limited to Christmas or to mealtimes:

521 Cadogan & Craig, p. 261.
522 Cadogan & Craig, p. 262.
523 Alan Clark, *The Children’s Annual*, p. 63, mentions the 1938 *Film Fun Annual*: Anon. ‘Laurel and Hardy in their Xmas Adventure’ in *Film Fun Annual 1945*, (London: Amalgamated Press, 1944), pp. 1-4, p.1. By the mid-nineteen-forties, only the title panel was bordered with holly.
The snacks and lollies we devoured were of British type. There were Columbine Caramels and Licorice Allsorts and Fry’s and Cadbury’s chocolates, which we read in Boys’ Own Annual were also eaten by London kids.\textsuperscript{525}

As Joanna de Groot contends, for English consumers, ‘sometimes contrasts and links between locations of colonial production and domestic consumption became powerful images in the marketing of some consumer goods’.\textsuperscript{526} This imagery was shared directly with those in the colonies through the agency of the advertisements on the rear covers of children’s annuals. Images of overseas plantations, workers, crates and ships transporting familiar products such as tea and cocoa across the oceans were common in advertising from such firms as Fry’s and Cadbury’s. This added to the friendly and all-encompassing embrace of Australian children by middle-class England. As well as from ancestral or genetic connections, Englishness was developed within Australians by the regular experience of the British embrace in the constant consumption of English literature, with that pertaining to popular culture forming a deeply-important part of the whole picture.\textsuperscript{527}

This had implications for Australian children especially in the first half of the twentieth century but was less important as the century proceeded and Australia began to establish confidently its own independent cultural identity. However, before this occurred, Australian society was what MacKenzie terms ‘a colonial middle-class imitative elite’.\textsuperscript{528}

\textbf{Class and the Australian imitation of English domesticity}

Noted Australian author Donald Horne spent his childhood in Muswellbrook, a small town in New South Wales in the Hunter Valley region near Newcastle.\textsuperscript{529} Early in his autobiographical \textit{The Education of Young Donald}, Horne described a childhood strongly influenced by Englishness. One instance is his evocation of Muswellbrook, which he presents as strange. Viewed ‘from a distance’, Horne’s home town sprawled

along steep hills, with leafy trees, church spires, and green thickets on the banks of the creek that wound through it [and] looked like something alien that had been set among the bare, brown paddocks….the school and the Church of England…shimmering with heat and drumming with the sound of cicadas (18-19).

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{525} Terrill, p. 6.
\bibitem{526} Joanna de Groot, p. 170.
\bibitem{527} Lyons & Taksa, pp. 91-93.
\bibitem{528} MacKenzie, \textit{Propaganda and Empire}, p. 219.
\end{thebibliography}

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The ‘alien’ quality seems to do with the ‘English’ features in this passage, which tells of ‘leafy trees, church spires and green thickets…the school and the Church of England’ juxtaposed with Australian heat, bare brown paddocks and ever-present insect-life. Horne’s recollections concerning the works of Dickens also suggest the powerful influence of the fiction favoured by the English middle-class upon the imaginations of Australian children. Horne relates that when he was ten years old, he turned an extract from Oliver Twist that he found in a school magazine into a play for classroom performance (79). It seems that Dickens made an extremely strong impression upon Horne. Although he recounts that he was already familiar with one of Dickens’ works, a ‘children’s version of The Christmas Carol,’ when discovering a full-text version of Oliver Twist, he describes his complete fascination: ‘I read it through twice, and daydreamed about its characters for days afterwards’ (79). Horne’s investment was not merely emotional, for he maintains that thereafter, his ‘money-box savings were invested heavily in Dickens’ (79). Horne refers as well in this context, to the bookshelf of his childhood, on which were *Chums* annuals, pirate novels, and Billy Bunter stories (79). In his autobiographical The Road to Gundagai, (1968) Australian writer Graham McInnes recalls the bookcases of his childhood as having been ‘crammed with boys’ books, perhaps six to seven hundred’. These included ‘cheap sets of Dickens and Scott’, and as well as ‘a few school prizes’, books by R.M. Ballantyne, Captain Marryat, Hugh Lofting and John Masefield. This predominantly English material was standard reading matter for Australian boys.

Books are usually, as Greene’s remarks suggest, desirable domestic objects, and therefore usually linked closely with ‘home’, with the secure, cosy and dearly-familiar. English children’s annuals have a powerful link with notions of private and personal domestic peace, which themselves are bound up with deeper human desires for security. In annuals, the English picture of ‘home’ is a middle-class home and is presented frequently, offered to children as well as to the adults who purchased annuals for

531 McInnes, p. 154.
children. Boys and girls are often depicted at home, either after school, or during their holidays and ‘home’ itself is depicted almost invariably as set in a pleasant garden, tidy, well-furnished and comfortable. This reflects an idea of ‘home’ derived from the Victorian period. As Mike Hepworth expresses it, ‘the term “comfort” designates the presence of the more family-centred, even religious values associated with “home”, values emphasising perfect sincerity and moderation in all things’.\(^532\) Furthermore, according to Hepworth, social commentators claimed the idea itself of ‘comfort’ to be a state of mind that was ‘distinctively middle-class’.\(^533\) This almost always meant the presence of a mother and housewife in the home, and was therefore only available to those in the middle-classes who could afford to maintain such a situation. By the 1940s in Australia, access to decent housing had come, says Kate Darian-Smith, ‘to be seen as a democratic right for all Australians’ and ‘the nuclear family’ and its requirements had become ‘integral’ to both ‘official rhetoric and individual understandings of citizenship’.\(^534\) This meant that although many Australian women were in the paid workforce, ideologically-speaking, ‘women’s post-war role was primarily as homemakers’.\(^535\) For the Australian government, it had become a ‘key strategy’ to create ‘conditions favourable to family life and parenthood’.\(^536\) Because of this, children themselves and their requirements were a key part of post-war reconstruction planning.

As what might be termed a twentieth century ‘institution’, childhood, for Australian as well as for middle-class British children, had its various habits and rituals, and many of these involved the reading of popular material for entertainment.\(^537\) For many children this was their introduction to twentieth-century popular culture. Thus, along with information, ideology was thereby domesticated. As Heather Scutter and Donald Horne both note, English children’s annuals were a usual component in what Scutter terms the ‘domestic’ books, those found typically upon the shelves of the Australian suburban


\(^{533}\) Hepworth, p. 25.

\(^{534}\) Kate Darian-Smith, ‘Children, Families and the Nation’, p. 22.

\(^{535}\) Darian-Smith, ‘Children, Families and the Nation’, p. 23.

\(^{536}\) Darian-Smith, ‘Children, Families and the Nation’, p. 23.

\(^{537}\) Lyons & Taksa, pp. 87-102.
home during the 1930s and 1940s.\textsuperscript{538} During this time in Australia, Scutter declares that ‘a new generation of mass readers’ was created following ‘the democratisation of education’.\textsuperscript{539} Publishers, as always, responded amply to the mass market. Typically, children read ‘a mixture of English and Australian comics and papers, penny dreadfuls, annuals, cheap reprints of classic and popular novels, and the ubiquitous reward book’.\textsuperscript{540} Although the children’s annual was designed to educate or ‘instruct’ in an objective sense, it was also an agent of English popular culture and as such, it contributed to the building up of subjectivity for a very broad spectrum of Australian readers, who were part of MacKenzie’s ‘middle-class imitative elite’.\textsuperscript{541} As MacKenzie, Jeffrey Richards and Kathryn Castle all note, popular children’s culture was politicized in the nineteenth century with the very clear intention of instructing young readers in the desirability and the absolute, ontological value of the imperial heritage. For those living outside of England, this had a peculiar resonance. Luisa Del Guidice and Gerald Porter contend that what they term the ‘dreamworld’, a \textit{topos} compounded of nostalgia and imaginative yearning, occurs frequently within colonial and expatriate communities.\textsuperscript{542} If it is accepted that such a ‘dreamworld’ is a significant part of the colonial experience then it is logical to extrapolate that the importance of maintaining the ‘dreamworld’ intact meant that uncritical acceptance of the ontological value of the heritage operated as not merely part of the ‘dream’, but indeed may have been its most necessary component. Colonial insecurity, yearning and nostalgia, then, tended to preclude much questioning of the received heritage, for, if it occurred to one to question the heritage, this might imply an undermining of both its legitimacy and its value.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{538} Scutter, pp. 304-305 & pp. 306-307; Horne, \textit{Education of Young Donald}, p. 79.
  \item \textsuperscript{539} Scutter, pp. 306-307.
  \item \textsuperscript{540} Scutter, p. 305.
  \item \textsuperscript{541} MacKenzie, \textit{Propaganda and Empire}, p. 219.
\end{itemize}
**Children’s annuals: crossing the class divide**

John Martin asserts that the cost of English annuals ‘would have been a significant
determiner of readership’, especially during the early twentieth century.\(^{543}\) Martin
maintains that annual-readers were ‘middle-class’, however, for Australia, the term
‘middle-class’ can be problematic, because Australian society is not stratified in exactly
the same way as English society.\(^{544}\) In Australia, the social profile of ‘middle-
class’ is far more broad and complex than that traditionally associated with England.\(^{545}\) An example of Australian class-complexity is furnished by Heather Scutter, who describes herself as
‘a child of a large poor family living on the postwar suburban edges’.\(^{546}\) Scutter’s
recollecctions confirm that children’s annuals remained on family bookshelves, often
becoming part of the family ‘library’ which passed on to succeeding generations, perhaps
something more surely associated with the comfortable middle-class of the English world
of Graham Greene.\(^{547}\) And yet Scutter also describes her family as ‘a working class
Melbourne family’.\(^{548}\) Martin does not specify what he means by ‘middle-class’, but
merely differentiates this social class by implying that it excludes those to whom he
refers as ‘working-class’.\(^{549}\) Scutter too, gestures toward class as a mere monetary issue,
when she describes herself as ‘a working-class kid short of many things besides
stories’.\(^{550}\) However, when she talks further of her situation as an Australian reader of a
presumably privileged but ‘quaint upper middle-class English world’, Scutter
demonstrates awareness of the complexity of Australian class-definition in relation to that
of England.\(^{551}\) In the revised edition of *The Lucky Country*, Donald Horne notes that
following World War II a flattening occurred of British-derived social mores, and that
from the 1960s onwards, it became ‘popular to see most of Australian society as “middle
class”’.\(^{552}\) Despite the sometimes poignant inscriptions inside the covers of annuals from

\(^{543}\) John Martin, ‘Turning Boys into Men: Australian ‘Boys’ Own’ Annuals, 1900-1950’ in Christopher E.

\(^{544}\) Connell & Irving, pp. 2-3.

\(^{545}\) Connell & Irving, pp. 2-3.

\(^{546}\) Scutter, pp. 306-307.

\(^{547}\) Scutter, p. 306.

\(^{548}\) Scutter, p. 306.

\(^{549}\) Martin, p. 200.

\(^{550}\) Scutter, p. 306.

\(^{551}\) Scutter, p. 307.

which material is drawn for my work, little can be discovered about most of the individual owners of the volumes. According to the research of Lyons and Taksa, it was common at this period to give what might be termed ‘classic’ English children’s books and popular texts as school prizes and often these prizes were children’s annuals.\footnote{Lyons & Taksa, p. 96.}

Indeed, many of the annuals I have investigated have labels affixed indicating that they were received by their owners in this way and might therefore have reached children designated as ‘working class’ or who did not fit precisely a notional social profile of ‘middle-class’. Scutter recalls that the books belonging to her father ‘were all reward or prize books’.\footnote{Scutter, p. 306 & p. 305.} As she also remarks, ‘reward’ books were ‘ubiquitous’ and some of those on the family bookshelves had been acquired from neighbours who had received them as prizes in the early twentieth century.\footnote{Scutter, p. 307}

The books belonging to Scutter’s mother were:

[a] 1924 reprint of Charles Kingsley’s *The Water Babies*... [and] two old Christmas annuals which, like the Kingsley, had been presents to my mother in her childhood...*Mrs Strang’s Annual for Girls* (London, Oxford University Press, c. 1925), and the other was *A Garland for Girls* (Hodder & Stoughton, n.d.) edited by Mrs Herbert Strang.\footnote{Scutter, p. 306.}

Scutter states that all these books were presents to her mother ‘in her childhood’.\footnote{Scutter, p. 306.}

English children’s annuals contained magazine-style literature. Originally, such material was intended to be, as Judith Johnston and Monica Anderson put it, ‘ephemeral and contingent’.\footnote{Judith Johnston & Monica Anderson, ‘Introduction’ in *Australia Imagined: Views from the British periodical press 1800-1900*, (Crawley: University of Western Australia Press, 2005), p. 2.} Presented in book-form, some such literature crossed another divide, that which exists between ‘disposable’ and ‘permanent’. It was preserved intact, while magazines were discarded. In annuals, therefore, it was enabled to convey ideas of Englishness not only to contemporary Australian children, but also to further generations.

Derived from the Victorian period, middle-class ideas concerning work appeared constantly: ‘work’ as in the virtue of hard work and effort, and ‘work’ as in paid employment. Middle-class leisure time pursuits such as hobbies (like stamp or specimen...
collecting) and social and sporting activities (like afternoon teas, garden fetes, fancy-dress balls, boating, tennis and golf) were often important elements of short stories and therefore were presented regularly to readers. There were numerous portrayals in text and illustration of middle-class suburban homes and gardens. The garden was yet another powerful trope in an English-style depiction of class.

Stephen Alomes claims that an ‘alienation’ that can affect Australians is ‘in part because of English children’s books which taught a love of England and its country gardens’.  

Alomes does not supply further details with this statement, but the point he makes is worth further examination as to how such books taught such things. Thomas R. Dunlap refers to the new ‘national vision’ to which consolidation of Australian settlement gave rise, in the form of contemporary ‘urban, middle-class leisure’ pursuits such as ‘hiking and bird-watching’. However, Dunlap refers also to England as ‘the cultural hearth’, and maintains that ‘Australia was viewed by those from the northern hemisphere ‘as a topsy-turvy land’. In order to counteract this ‘topsy-turvy’ quality, English settlers who had imposed English methods of broad-acre farming and agriculture upon the Australian countryside also planted English gardens. According to Katie Holmes, Susan K. Martin and Kylie Mirmohamadi, “[g]arden-making was one of the earliest activities undertaken by new arrivals to the Australian colonies”. Peter Ackroyd draws attention to the Englishness of an idea of the ‘garden’, which he asserts comes from ‘prehistoric’ times. Ackroyd notes the early association of the garden with ‘the very image of defensive privacy’ and cites the signal ideas of ‘privacy and seclusion…enclosure and protection’ linked with pleasure, which, quoting garden historian Jane Brown, he suggests define ‘a native mood’ for the English.

559 Stephen Alomes, p. 8.
564 Ackroyd, p. 411.
Judith Wright, the Australian poet, author and essayist who was born in 1915 and grew up in rural Arundale, in northern New South Wales’s evocatively-named New England, writes of her memories of her childhood home, in which a consciousness of England was a powerful element.\textsuperscript{565} In terms of the limitations of autobiography, it must be remembered that Wright developed a strong political commitment to improving the plight of indigenous Australians, displaced from their tribal lands by English and European settlement and that a consciousness of the imposed nature of Englishness might therefore be very marked in recollections of her childhood. Holmes et. al. maintain that in planting gardens, early settlers sought not to provide themselves solely with food, but also with ‘sensory and emotional sustenance’ as they ‘developed a borderland between the familiar and the strange, the old and the new’.\textsuperscript{566} Such places then become ‘invested with significance’.\textsuperscript{567} This clearly has occurred for Wright, whose ancestor Henry Edward emulated English landscaping style at his New England property. Wright recalls her childhood at this house, a copy of an English property named ‘Swallowfield’ (19-20):

The lagoon, known as the Lake, lay below and nearby was a big orchard bordered by poplars, oaks and other English trees...Swans colonised the banks...and a little island in its waters. English as were its origins, the house had a certain charm and an air of belonging. As an enclave of England...set on either side of a clear river, and the lake and the orchard, were to my innocent eyes examples of settled beauty and success (20-21).

Wright also recalls the garden at another place of residence, Wongwibinda Station, which was ‘spacious’ with an ‘orchard, tennis court and vegetable garden’ (64-65). Holmes et. al. point out that ‘narratives of gender, class and cultural difference...lie just beneath the surface of any garden’.\textsuperscript{568} Wright recognises what they term a ‘hidden text’ within this English-style garden, which was planned and planted by her grandmother and grandfather.\textsuperscript{569} Wright describes it in detail:

front lawn round which the entrance drive circled. ... Its edging garden bed was bright with many coloured verbenas, its centre trellis covered with climbing roses. On the other side of the drive, the

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Patricia Clarke (ed.), \textit{Half A Lifetime: Judith Wright}, (Melbourne: Text, 1999). References to Clarke’s study appear in parenthesis in this chapter.
\item Holmes, et. al., p. 1.
\item Holmes, et. al., p. 2.
\item Holmes, et.al., p. 2.
\item Holmes, et.al., p. 2.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
main garden was heavy with flowers and rose trellises, and in the big laurel tree a deep cool cave had been cut through the branches (65).

This ‘cave’ was supplied with outdoor furniture and was where Wright’s grandmother and her guests ‘sat at afternoon tea facing a great bush of red roses’ (65). Wright remarks that in this garden, indigenous plants were regarded with ‘contempt’ and ‘the ‘English’ flowers in the garden, such as ‘honeysuckle, roses, larkspur, delphiniums, lilies’(69) ‘were valued over native ones’ (66). She recalls as well that ‘within the garden, the pine forest, the orchard, not one Australian tree or plant was to be seen’ (69). From the perspective of the late twentieth century, Wright concludes that, although her grandmother did not see the England of her grandparents ‘until her fifties’ her garden asserted ‘exclusion’, ‘pride’ and ‘nostalgia’ (69). Wright notes that in this garden, the Australian ‘outside’ was ‘excluded’, in favour of English flowers and trees, which were for ‘the enclave surrounded by the garden fences’ (69-70). Further, that England’s ‘fruit trees and walnuts and gooseberries and raspberries and herbs, its vegetables and its tennis court and the rest were not for Outside’ (69-70). Ackroyd’s elevation of the garden as an ‘enclave’, of ‘enclosure and protection’ seems significant, connecting strongly with Wright’s idea of ‘exclusion’. The ‘hidden text’ of this garden, then, is a narrative of cultural difference, a narrative of the difference between Australia and England, difference that was adhered to deliberately and with proud determination. It is significant that her grandmother had, despite never having seen England until well after the planting of her garden, constructed in Australia a facsimile of what an English garden might look like. Wright’s experiences of the English-style garden occurred in rural settings, and while interesting, might hardly be termed typically representative of the experience of most Australian children, who lived predominantly in suburbs. Robin Gerster argues that there is a conventional and long-held Australian dichotomy between the rural and the urban. Ken Stewart notes this as well. Pearce points out that in novels written for children by English writers and set in Australia, a similar dichotomy was maintained until well into the 1950s.
English children’s annuals furnished a picture of Australia that concentrated upon the rural, for tales (usually fraught with natural disasters) of the Australian ‘bush’ and outback were all that ever appeared in such annuals. This was a survival from the Victorian period, of what Martin Crotty terms ‘an English perspective that constructed Australia as a barbarous and foreign land’. 574 This was far from reality, and highly-ironic, for most Australian children reading such tales would have experienced very few natural disasters, but instead more usually experienced reproduced English gardens in the city suburbs in which they lived. Middle-class mores dominated the suburbs of Australia, which Graeme Davison calls ‘a suburban nation’. 575 Although Australia did not ‘invent’ the suburb, Davison declares that it ‘embraced the idea’ with enormous eagerness. 576 In terms of class, Australian suburbia followed the idea of bourgeois English suburbia which, according to Davison, was ‘a mechanism for accentuating and symbolizing the distinctions of a class society’. 577 Suburbs, contends Davison further, tend to encourage the idea of ‘social and residential segregation’ in that people should seek out areas where others lived who were socially of the same class. 578 Most popular of all with the middle-classes was the term first coined in 1838 by English writer John Claudius Loudon, of ‘a suburban residence, with a small portion of land attached’, usually intended for a garden. 579 As Ackroyd notes, gardening had been popular in England for hundreds of years and information was disseminated through journals, magazines and how-to guides which were readily available to Australians. 580 Such information was not only directed at adult readers. A copy of The Girl’s Own Paper from 1905 supplies an article titled ‘Gardening as a Profession for Girls’ that describes in detail, a horticultural college and the career potential for girls as gardeners. English annuals provide many kinds of

574 Martin Crotty, Making the Australian Male: Middle class masculinity 1870-1920, (Carlton South: Melbourne University Press, 2001), p. 139.
576 Davison, pp. 42-52.
577 Davison, p. 46.
578 Davison, p. 45.
579 Davison, p. 44, quotes Loudon’s 1838 work The Suburban Gardner and Villa Companion.
580 Ackroyd, p. 411. See, for example, Mrs Rolf Boldrewood, The Flower Garden in Australia, (1893; Canberra: Mulini Press, 1995). This guide was first published in Melbourne and designated ‘A Book for Ladies and Amateurs’.
growing information including that which pertained to different gardening styles. Information was heavily interspersed with ideology and tales usually clothed moral virtues. Mrs Herbert Strang’s *In the Springtime*, an annual whose very title suggests an atmosphere of gardening, of new life ‘springing’, was owned by an Australian child from the early twentieth century and offers an article (couched as a fictional story) that details the step-by-step construction of an English version of a ‘Dutch Garden’. The moral underpinning of this tale is clear: the protagonists have been left by the previous owners ‘a scene of utter neglect and desolation’, and from this, using the virtues of hard work and thrift, the new garden evolves with its ‘box-edges’ and sundial. Lists of English plants are also provided. A concluding ‘glow of satisfaction’ comes from the worthy result of having wrought this charming garden ‘out of hideousness’. Using a picture of a northern hemisphere garden, this simple homily doubtless intends to provide inspiring advice for all readers, English and overseas. In *The Empire Annual for Australian Girls* from the same period, an article by Raymond Raife, titled “Come and See My Garden!” and subtitled ‘An Article for the Outdoor Girl’ preaches another small sermon about ‘the restful girl’, perhaps the antithesis of the Australian ‘outdoor girl’ suggested in the title. Pearce notes that the ‘New World girl’ created by writers like Canadian L.M. Montgomery and Australian Ethel Turner, was ‘demonstrably more self-sufficient, active, and adventurous’ than her ‘British cousin’. This new paradigm of a young female ‘vigorous, wholesome, happy, and close to nature’ may well have been viewed as threatening by English writers who favoured a traditional and more sedate paradigm. The ‘restful girl’ is lauded in this article, for her quality of ‘sheer repose’ which contrasts to ‘pushful people, who claim and obtain their full share of attention’ (128). Clearly, ‘pushfulness’, (possibly intended as a euphemism for assertiveness) was challenging social mores at this time, for concern is also expressed about the ‘energetic and pushful crowd’ by pseudonymous writer, ‘A Woman of the World’ in a 1920s volume of *The

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584 Pearce, ‘Constructing a “New Girl”’, p. 238.

"Girl’s Own Annual."\(^{585}\) A Woman of the World’ suggests that a more gender-apt conduct for readers might be ‘the calm outlook’, perhaps as a less-energetic antidote to ‘the modern cult’ of ‘keep moving’.\(^{586}\) Although Raife’s article appears in an annual designed for Australian girls, it actively encourages English-style gardening activities, especially in its promotion of ‘the Shakespeare garden’ as a ‘tiny shrine dedicated to the memory of the world’s greatest poet and this Empire’s most gifted son’ (132). Stewart notes Shakespeare’s popularity in colonial Australia.\(^{587}\) Such sentiments as Raife suggests would not, therefore, have been considered untoward in the 1920s. A long list of English plants and flowers is supplied for inclusion in the ‘shrine’ (132). Stewart notes further that ‘the Bard’ was co-opted into usage ‘as an instrument of Empire, patriarchy, capitalism, racism and colonialism’.\(^{588}\) Shakespeare-infused articles directed at young Australian readers performed this in a subtle way, and this one omits entirely from the context of ‘gardening’ any mention of Australian plants and the Australian natural landscape, which contains many variations. It is likely that material of this type was influential in forming an opinion in young Australian readers of the superiority of both the English gardening style and of English vegetation and even in the late 1940s, annuals continue to push these ideas in didactic articles for boys and girls such as one titled ‘Do You Know Your Trees?’, from a copy of the 1948 Empire Youth Annual.\(^{589}\) John M. MacKenzie notes that, despite the various formal endings of the British empire, the Empire Youth Annual remained a ‘popular tradition’ of English publishing, filled with ‘pictures, tales and yarns of the Empire and the Commonwealth’.\(^{590}\) However, it extolled Britain above all and this generously-illustrated article begins by praising the climate of


\(^{586}\) ‘The Vista of the Year’, p. 200.

\(^{587}\) Stewart, p. 28. See also R.S. White, Furphy’s Shakespeare, with appendices by Rebecca Hiscock & Patricia Kotai-Ewers, (Nedlands: Centre for Studies in Australian Literature, University of Western Australia, 1989).

\(^{588}\) Stewart, p. 28.


Britain, whose ‘soil is never parched by the heat’, but instead is unparalleled ‘for the
growth of trees of such an infinite variety’.\textsuperscript{591} Flowers were popular as well, and the
1920s \textit{Blackie’s Annual} offers an article by popular girls’ writer Angela Brazil, titled
‘Flowers and Folklore’ that delineates the ‘familiar’ flowers of Britain in considerable
detail.\textsuperscript{592} It is interesting to note that a girls’ annual from 1975 also offers such material,
in terms of a two-page colourfully-illustrated article titled ‘The Language of Flowers’.\textsuperscript{593} The mid-1920s \textit{Blackie’s Annual} continues the garden theme, offering as well a poem by
Lilian Holmes, called ‘Under the Moon’ that describes the nocturnal enchantment of an
English garden.\textsuperscript{594} There were many elements to the English garden and even up until the
1960s, annuals offered articles on indoor and seaside plants.\textsuperscript{595} They also offered detailed
articles on such categories as fungi and insects.\textsuperscript{596} That these were English varieties went
without saying, although in the case of poisonous fungi, the implications for Australian
readers might have been dire. However, as noted in the chapter on gender, nature study of
sorts was incorporated early into gardening for girls, and \textit{The Girl’s Own Annual} (1923)
features quite a comprehensive article entitled ‘Stocking a Butterfly Garden’, which,
again, naturally, deals only with English butterflies.\textsuperscript{597} Neglect by omission is far more
effective in this context than actual disparagement, for it suggests that Australian plants
(or even butterflies) from elsewhere in the Empire, are simply not worth consideration in
a ‘garden’.

Mike Hepworth argues that ‘privacy, security and respectability’ are essential
components of the ‘ideal’ English home.\textsuperscript{598} It is interesting to note, here, that gardens in

\textsuperscript{591} Hutchinson, p. 393.
\textsuperscript{592} Angela Brazil, ‘Flowers and Folklore’, in \textit{Blackie’s Girls’ Annual}. (London: Blackie, c.1924), pp. 54-59, invokes the writings of Chaucer, Spenser and Shakespeare, and quotes ‘Culpeper’s herbal’.
\textsuperscript{598} Mike Hepworth, ‘Privacy, security and respectability’, pp. 17-18.
suburban Australia were associated with ‘respectability’. Ross Terrill recalls the flowering plum trees and ‘manicured grass’ of the street borders in the Melbourne suburb of Murrumbeena, where he grew up.\(^{599}\) It was an English-flavoured respectability, for Terrill notes further that each suburban block of land ‘was a guarded domain of privacy’.\(^{600}\) In Murrumbeena, the appearance of front gardens, the most visible to the public gaze, was linked with respectability, becoming ‘virtually a religious issue’, for Terrill continues the notion of ‘religious’ conformity, when he remarks that those ‘who did not cut and water their lawn, prune their shrubs and produce a decent show of azaleas or roses or hydrangeas were treated as infidels’.\(^{601}\) It must be mentioned that none of the plants mentioned by Terrill are found naturally in Australia. As it was for Judith Wright in her early years, a ‘garden’ was ontologically an ‘English’ garden. Holmes et. al. cite contemporary Australian resistance to this idea.\(^{602}\) However, for many, such an idea was naturalised with no visible effort. Holmes et. al. note that even despite what they term their ‘Australian’ informality, the gardens of well-known Australian garden designer Edna Walling (active in the 1930s) are ‘reminiscent of English cottage gardens…nostalgic memories of England – or an idea of England’.\(^{603}\) This idea may be partly responsible for the production of a residual effect in that it has taken an extremely long time for a definition of an ‘Australian garden’ to be formulated and accepted. George Seddon provides a list of possible definitions, but asserts that there is still much to learn even about such issues as ‘design and maintenance’ for Australian gardens.\(^{604}\) In a 1991 text entitled Traditional Gardens in Australia, the ‘tradition’ is strongly English-inspired.\(^{605}\) Author Peter Cuffley, in his chapter on ‘choosing an appropriate style’ lists such styles as ‘cottage garden’; ‘landscape and picturesque’; gardenesque’ (another term coined by John Claudius Loudon, author of The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion); ‘Victorian’ and ‘woodland and wild gardens’.\(^{606}\) Only one style is perhaps more distinctively ‘Australian’, that which Cuffley terms ‘the Federation era’, but this too

\(^{599}\) Terrill, \textit{The Australians: In search of an identity}, p. 14.
\(^{600}\) Terrill, \textit{The Australians: In search of an identity}, p. 15.
\(^{601}\) Terrill, \textit{The Australians: In search of an identity}, p. 15.
\(^{602}\) Holmes, et. al., pp. 98-103.
\(^{603}\) Holmes, et. al., p. 163.
emulates the English gardening style of green lawns, flowers and shrubbery. Holmes et. al. note as well, that among Anglo-Australians, there has been considerable resistance to the idea of the ‘uniquely home-grown’ Australian ‘bush garden’, which they maintain clashes with Anglo-Australian cultural understandings ‘of what a garden should look like’. A similar cultural understanding can also be found concerning writing about gardening in rural areas. Journalist Graham Seal, when reviewing *Seasons and Seasonings in a Teapot* by Sarah Evans, maintains that the tradition of Englishness continues in terms of an approach to gardening, in that in Evans’s book, Australian rural experience is filtered in a substantial way ‘through English lenses’. According to Seal, Evans utilises the idea of ‘the old farmer’s almanac’ to gather ‘an eclectic combination of weather lore, planting and harvesting tips, home cures’, but the whole is framed using the works of English or British writers, such as Shakespeare, Blake, Keats and A.A. Milne. A glance at Evans’s text reveals that the section on ‘Gardening’ uses the work of F.W. Harvey, Alexander Pope and Francis Bacon. The perpetuation of the English garden in a 2007 Australian text is most intriguing.

The garden at Wongwibinda recollected by Australian poet Judith Wright had been planted by her grandparents ‘when they came from the heat and droughts of Queensland to the cool and misty eastern edge of New England’ (64). Perhaps it was merely a contrast in climate that enabled an ‘English’ garden to become a reality. Wright recollects the attitude towards the Australian climate that ruled her 1920s childhood. New England’s ‘bracing climate’:

was thought to be good for children who had the misfortune to be born in hot climates: hotter, that is, than the climate of the British Isles, still regarded as the natural homeland and the ideal by most of the descendants of free immigrants (24-25).

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608 Holmes, et. al., p. 193.
This attitude indicates a mindset in which England is ‘central’, indeed as Alomes puts it, ‘at the apex of the pyramid of status’. As Wright suggests, England was an ‘ideal’ to which other things were compared (25).

Even when allowance is made for what might be termed hindsight in certain details of Wright’s recollections, they tally closely with those of Judith Wallace, who also writes of her memories of her early childhood experiences with the cultural values of middle-class England. Wallace was brought up in the 1930s in New South Wales on a property named Ilparran, where the family home followed the imperial ideal, being ‘modelled on the style of an early English manor house’ (1). Wallace recalls an idea from her childhood of England as ‘the past’ and Australia as ‘the present’, and the fact that for her, the two were ‘linked in an unbroken chain’ (1). Wallace was, when very young, made conscious of extremely strong links to English culture:

My mother was English. In fact she had been brought up in the kind of society where anything un-English was “not quite the thing”. She did her best to ignore the fact that she was living in the despised “colonies” by surrounding herself with symbols of English country life, in which she had been helped by her father-in-law who had planted the garden and all the fields around with English trees, and by her husband who had built for her an imitation English manor house…even the seeds for the huge garden were imported from England (35).

The recollections of both Wright and Wallace are similar and suggest an Australian mindset that placed England and Englishness centrally. Judith Wallace’s mother appears to have had an unequivocally negative attitude towards the Australian environment. This attitude, according to Wallace, permeated her mother’s whole life, creating a strong impression upon her daughter as well. Wallace’s mother ‘subscribed only to English magazines’ and their English-style manor house was ‘decorated with tapestries and hunting prints’ also in the traditional English country style (35). When it comes to the autobiographical reading experiences of these two writers, other facets of middle-class Englishness are also revealed.

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611 Alomes, p. 8.
Learning to be second-class citizens: imperial history for Australian children

Many aspects of a middle-class English-inspired childhood were absorbed by Australian children. As Martyn Lyons notes, many older Australians have remarked upon the ‘anglocentrism’ of their history textbooks.\(^\text{613}\) Australian historian Russel Ward, recalling his education in 1920s Perth, expresses having had great affection for such textbooks.\(^\text{614}\) Ward notes, however, the question he recalls asking as to why students were not taught ‘any Australian history’, and the reply that ‘because British people had arrived in Australia such a short time ago, there was no Australian history’.\(^\text{615}\) Other Australian children also received this notion. For Judith Wallace, history was ‘English’, for it was learned from her mother, to whom ‘even Scots and Irish were foreigners’ (59). Wallace recounts that her mother regularly read to them

> an outline of English history entitled *Our Island Story*... It was all about kings and battles in which the English were inevitably in the right and were never defeated except as the result of treachery (59).

The Wallace children received (and had reinforced) the Anglo-Saxon imperial version of the facts from a text that was read repeatedly to them. What was taught at school both formally and informally was of great importance to young Australians. Alomes quotes Shirley Hazzard, speaking of the Australian history lessons of her 1930s and 1940s schooling as having been ‘given once a week only’ and ‘easily contained in a small book, dun-coloured as the scenes described’.\(^\text{616}\) For Hazzard, this was in direct contrast with the teaching of English history designated by her as ‘History itself’. This subject ‘proceeded, gorgeous, spiritualised, without a downward glance at Australia’.\(^\text{617}\) Ross Terrill remarks that, even after World War II, it was still taken for granted that ‘the story of Australia had to be tucked into a pocket of the splendid garment of British Imperial history’.\(^\text{618}\) In his poem ‘Mythologies’, David Malouf makes reference to this factor, possibly peculiar to Australia, that had its origin in the types of textbooks used and teaching practices

\(^{615}\) Ward, p. 31.
\(^{616}\) Alomes, p. 8.
\(^{617}\) Alomes, p. 8.
\(^{618}\) Terrill, *The Australians: In search of an identity*, p. 75.
followed by Australian schools and by parents. Malouf suggests that in Australia, which he terms in the poem, his ‘undiscovered continent’, an automatic cultural diminishment, perhaps even invisibility, resulted because Australia was not deemed to be at the centre of the historical and cultural universe in the way that Britain was for many Australians. In terms of class, this would amount to Australians not merely positioning themselves as second-class, but also beginning to view and accept themselves as such. However, this form of cultural cringe produces a negative effect on the collective self-image. Malouf highlights the issue in his poem in which he maintains that for contemporary Australians it seems that ‘the lives of the brightest of us fitted on a Fantales wrapper’. In this poem, Malouf also uses the line ‘And history happened but we weren’t in it, only kings’. This sentiment reiterates that within the recollections of both Wallace and Hazzard of their childhood learning that ‘real’ history was imperial, rather than Australian. This was the version of English history that appeared without exception in English children’s annuals and gift books. Donald Horne also observes that despite the fact that Australian history was presented to children at school, the British Empire and its history were paramount for Australian students of his generation, which automatically meant that the history of Australia was treated as a secondary, even insignificant matter. Horne maintains that in Australian history, students learned particularly about ‘the disastrous record of exploration’ of Australia, of men struggling ‘across deserts of stone or sandy wastes’ and of how ‘Australia seemed the Dead Frontier,’ a land not of beauty, grandeur, wealth or potential, but rather ‘the land of the dogged gesture’ (59). Negative presentation of Australia also occurs markedly in the children’s annuals of the period, in which, in Crotty’s words, Australia was constructed as barbarous and foreign, ‘the periphery, to be overcome by heroes travelling from the ‘civilised’ European centre’. Australian history, for middle-class Australian students of Horne’s generation, was used, rather, to inculcate virtues such as ‘endurance, commitment, the expression of will’ (59). Horne associates these qualities with ‘the Anzac spirit’, but it is important to note that these were also some of the virtues associated closely with the British Empire, those ‘new virtues’ that were taught purposefully and even forcibly to boys in the great public

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620 Crotty, p. 139.
boarding schools of England during and after the imperial period.\textsuperscript{621} As Dieter Petzold puts it, during ‘the new age of imperialist and economic expansion’ the traditional ‘Christian virtues of piety and humility were no longer sufficient; nor…virtues of honesty and industry’.\textsuperscript{622} New virtues such as ‘ambition and initiative, discipline and team spirit, readiness to take up responsibility and a talent for leadership’, were demanded for the administration of imperial territories.\textsuperscript{623} English boarding schools were favoured in order for such training to occur, as ‘not even ordinary day schools would suffice’.\textsuperscript{624} However, for Australian children according to Horne’s recollection, ‘The Anzac Spirit had its place in the school syllabus, but it did not carry conviction at school’ (61). This was possibly because of the stark contrast between the triumphal ethos that surrounded the teaching of the English version of history with the negative portrayal of Australia in textbooks and popular literature. According to Horne, a curious duality infused this element of Australian culture: ‘We believed in the Anzac Spirit. But we didn’t believe it existed’ (61).

Terrill remarks that what he terms the ‘Anzac legend’ rapidly became for Australians ‘encrusted with nostalgia for a failed or abandoned cause’.\textsuperscript{625} Horne reveals a similar sentiment, maintaining that he associated the ‘Anzac Spirit’ more with ‘failure’, and writes also of the contemporary psychological climate that was engendered by the Great Depression, which, he recalls, ‘seemed to drain the whole country of its spirit’ (60). Because the Depression had about it what Horne terms ‘that sense of inevitable calamity’, pessimism prevailed in the atmosphere (60). According to Horne’s recollection, admiration for the signal achievements of several Australians such as Donald Bradman and Charles Kingsford Smith were the sole cause of ‘contemporary enthusiasm’ for Australians (60). Malouf remarks too, on these shared signals, maintaining that they were greatly important in the recognition of a cultural identity that was ‘Australian’ as distinct

\textsuperscript{623} Petzold, p. 17.
\textsuperscript{624} Petzold, p. 17.
\textsuperscript{625} Terrill, \textit{The Australians: In search of an identity}, p. 70.
from ‘English’: ‘people were very aware of themselves as Australian not English, when it came to such local symbols as Bradman, or the Light Horse, or Phar Lap or Gallipoli’. 626 Horne observes that contemporary young Australians took great pride in certain unique Australian things, such as Australian plants and animals:

We were proud of kangaroos and platypuses and koala bears, gum-trees and flannel flowers. These were ours. The waratah seemed a proud symbol; we celebrated spring by festooning the classrooms with wattle; at Christmas we decorated the table with Christmas Bells and put a sprig of Australian Christmas Bush on the plum pudding instead of holly (60).

There were also other types of cultural learning that strove to emphasise pride in the ‘difference’ of the Australian landscape:

Along with all the English nature verse we also learned poems that boasted that our Australian seasons and countryside were different from those of England (60-61).

Terrill recollects that, as a child, he had a ‘vague’ knowledge that ‘we were Australians’, but maintains such patriotism was ‘unreflective’. 627 However, in his revised version of *The Australians*, perhaps in a now more reflective frame of mind, he comments further on what he seems to have interpreted in childhood as some of the deficiencies of an Australian upbringing:

we even lacked proud, strong creatures like the lion, dragon or eagle to look up to. We only had the rather dumb merinos, with their tendency to run the wrong way. 628

Though recounted with humour, there is poignancy to this indication of a naturalising sense of Australian inferiority. It is interesting to note that Terrill contrasts some denizens of northern-hemisphere fairy-tales and legends, such as ‘the lion, dragon or eagle’, all of which symbolise power, with Australia’s ‘rather dumb merinos’, which are, of course, an imported species.

References to springtime celebrations (yet another adoption of northern-hemisphere tradition), plum pudding and holly, both of which might be termed ‘iconically-English’

627 Terrill, *The Australians: In search of an identity*, p. 3.
are embedded within Donald Horne’s memories. These references powerfully suggest the problematic duality as regards identity that troubled many Australians of his generation. Horne devotes a lengthy and detailed passage to his specific recollections of the school curriculum of the period:

As well as being Australians we were also British, first-class citizens of the Empire, and at school this was what we were most taught to admire. One of the themes of the history curriculum was “The Growth of an Empire Based on Liberty”. In this growth the campaigns of Clive and Wolfe, the Indian Mutiny and the Boer War led up to the climax of the Great War, in which the Imperial Dominions Joined the Mother Country in Fighting For Freedom. A large part of the geography curriculum was given over to the theme of “Australia and the Empire”. Jute in India, huskies in Canada, geysers in New Zealand, springboks in South Africa, rickshaws in Singapore.

Although their citizenship of the Empire might have been ‘first-class’, it is implicit in Horne’s recollections that citizenship of Australia was ‘second-class’. The curriculum of Horne’s day, as he recollects it, also reflected very accurately the instructive and entertaining world of the English children’s annual, just as did Arthur Mee’s famous *Children’s Encyclopaedia*, which, indeed, was in some ways similar to the children’s annual, in that it was issued in weekly instalments, which could then be bound into volumes. Intriguing similarities exist between Horne’s recollections and those of the childhood world imagined by John McKenzie, in which history and popular literature went hand-in-hand:

We ranged far back in time, fought the Trojan War, jousted with King Arthur’s knights, ranged the fens and the Bruneswald with Hereward the Wake, lived in the legendary world of ancient Greece and Rome, and lost our way in the regions of Nordic madness and Celtic twilight. We joined the famous picaresque heroes in their endless journeyings: Christian in search of Celestial City, Odysseus in the long sea-trail to Ithaca, and the wanderings of Don Quixote de la Mancha.

This was the exact blending of history and literature also found in the world of the children’s annual.

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Writing of the 1920s McKenzie also cites the influence of Mee’s work. The Children’s Encyclopaedia was impressive, running (in a 1950s version) to ten volumes. Perhaps McKenzie retains such an extremely strong impression of what might be termed an ‘iconic’ text of early twentieth-century English middle-class childhood, because the material was absorbed in regular, brief instalments. Ideology embedded within popular literature was absorbed by children, with short stories in their annuals performing a function similar to instalments of ‘factual’ material such as the Children’s Encyclopaedia. McKenzie, writing as a much older person, recollects that Arthur Mee’s Children’s Encyclopaedia was an education in itself. It told us about the earth and its neighbours in the universe; there were stories of real men and women, and plant and animal life, and great events of the past that had shaped the nature of the world we lived in. There was a startling pictorial section called ART, from which we learned about the Greeks and Romans, and Renaissance sculptors and painters. There were pieces about all the countries of the earth, stirring poems and stories, and a section on practical things to make and do. For years this encyclopaedia was the life of our mind.

McKenzie’s use of phrases such as ‘stirring poems’ and ‘the life of our mind’, makes him seem keen to convey the strength of the impression which this text made upon him as a child reader. Arthur Mee (1875-1943) was famous principally for The Children’s Encyclopaedia that first appeared in 1908 and was still being reprinted in the 1950s. Mee’s Encyclopaedia was immensely popular with both parents and children. Barbara Stoney notes that famous children’s writer Enid Blyton ‘read all Arthur Mee’s encyclopaedias, memorising some of the more curious facts’. Mee’s Encyclopaedia was a cultural product of the late Victorian period, and its obsession with the categorisation of knowledge. The children’s annual often categorised what must, in this context, be termed ‘knowledge’, by separating it from stories. Mee produced many other works that were, like the Encyclopaedia, steeped in the same kind of imperialist ideology found in the children’s annual. Mee’s Encyclopaedia, like the children’s annual, was part of the British embrace for many Australian children. And, as McKenzie’s

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630 McKenzie, p. 34.  
631 McKenzie, p. 34.  
632 Carpenter & Prichard, p. 347.  
634 MacKenzie, Propaganda and Empire, p. 216.
recollection suggests, again like the children’s annual, it was an intensely-memorable part of the affective reading experience in childhood. Like the annual, the production values of the *Encyclopaedia* were high, conveying to purchasers and readers, by the very fact of their solidity, that these printed texts were serious and of ontological value. The 1950s version, in complete book form, is a handsome series of artefacts with maroon bindings stamped in gold. Like annuals, Mee’s *Encyclopaedia* combined instruction and pleasure. Horne, like McKenzie, admits to a fascination with Mee’s *Encyclopaedia*, in Horne’s case, ‘borrowed from the school library’ (75). This English text and the set of openings it apparently furnished to the broad field of ‘knowledge’ impressed young Australian children, just as powerfully as it did British children.

For children, there were other gift books and Horne recollects that his personal ‘devotion to learning’ was fostered by his obsession with ‘reading and re-reading the eight volumes of Cassell’s *Book of Knowledge*, with their more than 2000 articles and 10,000 photographs and drawings’ (75). In Robin Hughes’ *Australian Lives*, Horne makes the not-quite flippant remark that it was Cassell’s *Children’s Book of Knowledge* that gave him what he terms a ‘great desire’ to ‘know everything’. The Cassell volumes were a gift from his schoolteacher father and Horne recalling his love for these, provides a detailed recollection of favourite articles (75). Further, he maintains that he ‘kept on returning’ to such articles ‘and reading them again’ (75). Stella Lees and Pam Macintyre suggest that this was also the reading pattern followed by readers of annuals. This reading style was encouraged by the annuals’ carefully-composed format of shorter stories, often interspersed with articles on various topics. The annual was not formally-categorised as was the encyclopaedia or book-of-knowledge. Categorisation took place by juxtaposition of the two types of material. Juxtaposition signalled that one was meant to be received as fiction and the other as fact, whether or not it was factual. Annuals thereby presented what could be termed ‘the stuff of empire’, capturing children’s imaginations and holding them within the discursive framework of the annual, which

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636 Lees & Macintyre, p. 28.
encapsulated in a condensed form, all manner of things imperial. Fiction and fact blended together deliberately within this powerful discourse, to the point where adults, not even to mention children, might have found it difficult to distinguish precisely between the two. The adroit blurring of the boundaries between absolute fact and what was taken by readers to be factual, is what marks the discourse so strongly. However, as well as Horne’s ironically ‘capitalised’ version of history from the British imperial perspective, it is important to note, just as Horne does, what was left out:

We learned the names of the British naval stations, the principal sea routes that linked them, the names of the great imperial cities, and we learned nothing about the rest of the world (61).

This clearly suggests the construction of an ‘inner’ world for the reader that was filtered through what Graham Seal calls a ‘lens’ of Englishness. Judith Wallace also recalls that during the long years of World War II, when Ilparran was largely deserted by both farm and domestic staff, she would turn for comfort to the English Victorian novels considered suitable by her mother, ‘by Mary Webb, Scott, Wilkie Collins, Harrison Ainsworth and the Brontë sisters’, which she claims provided ‘a strangely appropriate background’ to a daily routine that, due to the strictures of wartime, ‘was not unlike the way of life portrayed in the novels’. Again, Australian life is perceived through a lens of Englishness, an Englishness that was often equated with higher cultural pursuits. Terrill maintains that Australians realised that they ‘were not standard British civilisation’. In a manner similar to English-style cookery and dining, direct translation of other aspects of English culture did not always fit in as appropriately with Australian conditions as it does in Wallace’s memory. Stephen Banfield notes the willingness of British Empire ‘subjects’ to use music ‘literally to buy into notions of Britishness’. David Malouf recalls the ‘Piano Room’ of his childhood, in which friends would ‘link arms and harmonise from an illuminated sheet’. Malouf remembers his father playing

637 Seal, p. 9.
638 Wallace, p. 67.
639 Terrill, The Australians: In search of an identity, p. 73.
641 David Malouf, 12 Edmondstone Street, p. 31.
‘soldiers’ songs from the Great War’ on the piano. He notes as well that his Aunt Frances was what he terms a ‘real pianist’, and that music was considered ‘one of the accomplishments of a middle-class young lady in the nineteenth century’. Ross Terrill writes of how his mother decided to ‘fend off bush barbarism with “culture”’, a notion she equated with the northern hemisphere. Humphrey McQueen quotes music-writer Roger Covell (1967) in Covell’s direct association of ‘middle-class values’ with the piano. Banfield notes as well, that the piano was particularly symbolic ‘of the British diasporic experience’. Malouf remembers practising the piano ‘for half an hour twice a day’ in his childhood. Terrill’s also recalls hot Australian afternoons struggling to reproduce classical music in a stuffy chamber that appears from his description to be a duplicate of a middle-class English drawing-room. Middle-class respectability seems to have been an aspiration of the enforced sessions endured by Terrill, despite McQueen’s own claim that the piano was not the exclusive ‘preserve of the middle-classes’. Terrill recalls that he was required to play ‘European sonatas and preludes from another century’, while in the ‘stifling afternoon heat the red velvet curtains of the lounge room were pulled closed to make the genteel music-making seem more real’. In the light of all the above, it can easily be seen how Terrill, like other Australian children, grew up believing that ‘London was the centre of the earth’, and that Australia was ‘an outpost of Britain.’ For some, this state of affairs naturalised an assumption of second-class citizenship.

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642 Malouf, 12 Edmondstone Street, p. 31.
643 Malouf, 12 Edmondstone Street, p. 32.
644 Terrill, The Australians: In search of an identity, p. 3.
646 Banfield, p. 65.
647 Malouf, 12 Edmondstone Street, p. 31.
648 McQueen, p. 118.
649 Terrill, The Australians: In search of an identity, pp. 3-4.
650 Terrill, The Australians: In search of an identity, p. 73.
Chapter Three

Racial Others in the English Children’s Annual

In his introduction to *Rule of Darkness*, Patrick Brantlinger drew attention to the importance of the adult colonial adventure tale in imperialist discourse. In English children’s annuals, ‘adventure in the colonies’ was a major and persistent trope for the inculcation of imperialist racial ideologies. Adventure tropes were most obvious in annuals of the early part of the twentieth century in tales of empire and war-time patriotism and inherent as well in descriptions of the colonies, and in attitudes towards them. Annuals were confident in their cultural mission, which was to transmit a powerful sense of British identity to children who lived in Britain itself and to those who came within the ambit of the British embrace in British territories around the world. Sharyn Pearce asserts correctly that ‘extra literary cultural formations shape literary discourse’. In Australia, as Judy Thistleton-Martin puts it, the idea of empire ‘became justifiable under social Darwinism’, which she maintains encompasses ‘the concept of race itself, the idea of a racial hierarchy, and the commonly accepted grading of the world’s people’. As Thistleton-Martin observes further, the literature given to Australian children at this time ‘reflected the attitudes and beliefs of an adult population’. Australian society was, in Pearce’s words, ‘dominated by Anglo-colonial politics of race and nation’. Annuals were designed for white middle-class children. In Australia, it was unlikely that Aboriginal people would have had regular access to such reading matter, especially in the early part of the twentieth century, in which, as Jimmie

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654 Thistleton-Martin, p. 46.
Barker describes, even obtaining basic necessities was extremely difficult.656 John M. MacKenzie argues that in order to further the evangelical mission, contemporary juvenile literature made the world ‘a vast adventure playground in which Anglo-Saxon superiority could be repeatedly demonstrated vis-à-vis all other races, most of whom were depicted as treacherous and evil’.657 It is undeniable that such depiction took place, especially in the early twentieth century. Pearce notes as well, that what she terms ‘Australianness’, had at this time, ‘a particularly Anglo-Saxon configuration’, leading to a ‘monocultural’ viewpoint that precluded difference.658 However, this was not without its problems, for as Kathryn Castle writes, ‘popular diffusion of the imperial ethos’ left a legacy of racially and nationally-contingent ‘images and anxieties’.659 Like all first impressions, these are difficult to erase, especially if received at an early age. They become still more problematic when received continually before readers are capable of assessing them critically, as occurred with popular juvenile literature. Popular diffusion meant that readers were engulfed by unvarying and simplistic imagery. As Castle puts it, a world was fashioned for young readers in which:

There was little difference between the stories in their [school] readers and the papers or annuals they might read for pleasure. Stories by popular adventure writers appeared in both, and it was not uncommon for fiction writers to turn their hand, like Kipling and Henty, to the history textbook.660

What MacKenzie terms the ‘ideological cluster’ of the later Victorian period was made up of several elements, which he lists as ‘a renewed militarism, a devotion to royalty, an identification and worship of national heroes, together with a contemporary cult of personality, and racial ideas associated with social Darwinism’.661 Such ideas ‘constituted a new type of patriotism’ which, according to MacKenzie, was invested with ‘a special significance’ deriving from what Britain viewed as its ‘unique imperial mission’.662 Imperialism, thereby, was an innate part of the British embrace. The new and enhanced

657 John M. MacKenzie, Propaganda and Empire, p. 204.
659 Kathryn Castle, Britannia’s Children, p. 6.
660 Castle, Britannia’s Children, p. 2.
661 MacKenzie, Propaganda and Empire, p. 2.
662 MacKenzie, Propaganda and Empire, p. 2.
discourse of patriotic idealism was obviously attractive to the general public, judging by its success. MacKenzie claims that by the late nineteenth century there existed what he calls an ‘ideological convergence’ in that a wide variety of British government and non-government agencies had developed vested interests in the discourse of imperial patriotism.\textsuperscript{663} Again, it is hard to dispute the truth of MacKenzie’s claim. In \textit{Propaganda and Empire} he provides powerful evidence that the rhetoric of imperial patriotism infused the entire public debate, as well as contemporary theatre, radio, cinema and literature.

However, the rhetoric seems to have expressed the genuine feelings of many. To paraphrase Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, in the long period of Empire, people thought imperially and assumed that Empire was a ‘given’, making it a specific marker of individual, communal and indeed, larger social identity.\textsuperscript{664} Education was part of the imperial picture and Castle’s study, \textit{Britannia’s Children} declares unequivocally that imperial discourse dominated the world of the learning child.\textsuperscript{665} Reinforcement from the community was allied to ‘the important part played by juvenile publications in the formation of attitudes in the young’.\textsuperscript{666} Although children were not always positioned directly as learners, the children’s annual contributed to their attitudinal education as well as to their general knowledge of such topics as geography. Annuals enabled children to explore the Empire at speed. Robert Dixon comments on the modern world’s mastery of travel, a capability which gave it a ‘spectacular mobility’.\textsuperscript{667} The speed and technological apparatus of modern travel invariably featured in both the fictional and factual material of children’s annuals and contributed to their attraction for readers. Travel imagery made strong impressions, and Australian writer Michael Wilding maintains that even much later in his life ‘flying boats out of Sydney Harbour’ evoked for him ‘images from that \textit{Chums Annual} of 1927’ bought for him to beguile his youthful convalescence from scarlet fever.\textsuperscript{668} Modern modes of travel such as trains, ships and aeroplanes were featured

\textsuperscript{663} MacKenzie, \textit{Propaganda and Empire}, pp. 2-3.
\textsuperscript{664} Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose, ‘Introduction’, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{665} Castle, \textit{Britannia’s Children}, pp. 1-9.
\textsuperscript{666} Castle, \textit{Britannia’s Children}, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{668} Michael Wilding, \textit{Wildest Dream}, p. 2.
often on front covers and in numerous interior illustrations. Stories also used historical means of travel, such as the sailing ship in pirate or pre-modern naval tales. Sometimes, popular texts could be more fanciful in utilizing the idea of flight to instruct and entertain children. Australian writer, Tim Bowden notes the recollections of John Bowden, his father, of having followed carefully the illustrated instructions on how to build a hot air balloon that he found in one such text.\(^{669}\) The motif of modern travel enabled what Dixon calls ‘rapid changes of setting’ which occurred as a predominant part of the overall narrative topos of twentieth century children’s annuals.\(^{670}\) As Dixon remarks, contemporary travel, with its speed and glamour was ‘definitively modern’.\(^{671}\) The motif was seized upon by writers for children with stories set in foreign locations a staple of the children’s annual. In their imaginations, young readers could be transported easily to the utmost reaches of Empire. Richard Dyer maintains that in Western culture since medieval times, ‘sight has been a privileged sense’ and assists white self-definition in many ways.\(^{672}\) The Western visual imagination has always been influenced by artistic representation, and for children’s annuals it was no different. Those readers whose imaginations were not strongly visual were guided by the illustrations which were a vital part of the overall ‘look’ of a children’s annual. For readers, such as Michael Wilding and John Bowden these illustrations (often of very high quality and beautifully reproduced) contributed powerfully to the attractiveness of popular literature. Australian entertainer and writer Barry Humphries remarks upon the appeal to the Australian eye of English artwork of the ‘slightly primitive’ type.\(^{673}\) Annuals were characterized by this type of artwork, with its ‘landscapes, as green as salads, and the castles and thatched cottages’.\(^{674}\) However, the landscapes were not the only aspect of annuals that was peculiarly English. Annuals defined Englishness itself against notions of ‘otherness’ of race, gender and class. In the children’s annual, prescriptive ideas were propagated through text and illustration, and such ‘otherness’ assumed a logic of its own.

\(^{670}\) Dixon, p. 163.
\(^{671}\) Dixon, p. 163.
\(^{672}\) Richard Dyer, p. xiii.
\(^{673}\) Barry Humphries, p. 62.
\(^{674}\) Humphries, p. 62.
The vital role of illustrations and covers in the children’s annual

According to Sara Mills, social identities are not a natural outcome of living, but are constructed by societies within frameworks of various, sometimes competing discourses. Analysis of discursive frameworks reveals their mechanisms, especially in such areas as racial ‘otherness’. In English children’s annuals, there was what Henri Giroux, in another context, calls ‘an unspoken yet legitimating discourse that privileges whiteness, patriarchy, and heterosexuality as the universalizing norms of identity’. The unspoken privileging of whiteness, especially English whiteness, occurred in children’s annuals. Construction of English whiteness frequently took place through the adventure trope, using what Dixon terms ‘the ripping yarn’. Martin Crotty theorises that adventure tales offered ‘rites of passage’ for young readers. This might have been rather more desirable than the actual experience of adventures, especially for the parents of readers. However, regular reading of juvenile literature that presented the world from a socially-Darwinist imperial perspective meant as well, that many readers entered adulthood with contemporary racist attitudes reinforced. In Australia, Aboriginal people, in the early days of settlement had been, according to Australian poet and writer Judith Wright, ‘defined out of existence’ and were therefore marginalised by the dominant white culture. Australian writer Ross Terrill points to long-standing and casual acceptance of racist attitudes in the rural Australia of his youth. As Pearce puts it, the ‘monocultural’ view tended to erase indigenous characters in children’s literature, even in that which was produced by Australian writers. In English annuals from the early twentieth century, Australian Aboriginal people do not appear very often, and when they do, their portrayal, especially against white people, is usually negative. A tale in the Green Book for Boys depicts two English-descended Australian boys trussed up preparatory to being burnt at

676 Henry A. Giroux, p. 82.
678 Martin Crotty, Making the Australian Male, p. 133.
679 Patricia Clarke, p. 6.
the stake by Aboriginal tribes-people. Another tale concerns an exploring party attacked by hostile indigenous tribes-people. It was most likely that such negativity passed unnoticed by readers, since this unfortunate state of affairs reflected the attitudes of contemporary Australian society.

In the quest to provide vicarious thrills, annuals presented role models from the areas of fact and of fiction. Boys are portrayed as adventurous, active and alert, as hunters, fighters and navigators. Annuals presented this attractive paradigm of boyhood until the 1980s. That this was ‘English’ boyhood was abundantly clear, yet not often stated directly. It did not need to be, for annuals were English books. As well as imagery which depicted non-white people, they were laden with what Dyer terms ‘white racial imagery’. In annuals, it literally went without saying that white people were English people, following English customs and doing things in English ways. Annuals illustrated Englishness for child-readers, who were already familiar with many aspects of English culture. Annuals also made Englishness desirable. Quality coloured illustrations were used to present and reinforce the English ideal and to make it attractive. In D.C. Thomson’s *Adventure Land*, an annual from 1924, a full-page colour illustration entitled ‘A Man’s Job’, shows a youth clad in oilskins standing on the deck of a boat in stormy weather. He carries a lantern and, gazing steadfastly at the ocean, he steers the boat capably. However, the youth is very noticeably light-skinned, fair-haired and blue-eyed. This particular piece of ‘white racial imagery’, to use Dyer’s term, is not appended specifically to any story and, with its simple title, seems intended purely as an inspirational piece. Nor does the illustration even require the qualification of being an

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686 Anon., ‘A Man’s Job’, in *Adventure Land*, (London: D.C. Thomson, c.1924), facing p. 164; Alan Clark, *The Children’s Annual*, pp. 78-79. *Adventure Land* was first produced in 1923, was derived from Thomson’s *Adventure* magazine; Douglas V. Duff, *Heroes of the Sea*, (London: Thames, 1946) (cover illustration). This post-World War II image is strikingly similar to ‘A Man’s Job’ from the mid-1920s: a sea-captain holding binoculars surveys a darkening ocean from the deck of a ship.
‘Englishman’s Job’, for in English annuals it often went without saying that Englishmen were ‘white’. Laura Tabili counters this assumption, for like Australian society, contemporary British society was actually far from ‘homogenous’. Nevertheless, with the exception of terms such as ‘white hunter’, usually utilised to further valorise feats of white bravery, English whiteness seems not usually to have been stated as specifically or repeated as constantly as were those terms (sometimes pejorative) that described those of other races. However, in the territory of the children’s annual such statements would have been superfluous. With hindsight it can easily be seen that annuals were the product of an imperial culture with a confident sense of mission, which took its own supremacy very much for granted. White dominance had become naturalised, which lent whiteness a degree of cultural invisibility. As Giroux declares, ‘whiteness as a basis of privilege’ becomes invisible when there is ‘no context to render it visible as a dominant racial category’. This is what occurs in the attractive illustration of the young, white, oilskin-clad sailor. Whiteness, de-contextualised, just as it was in the annual, thus becomes what Giroux terms a ‘mark of power and identity that refuses to call attention to itself’. In this way, whiteness surreptitiously becomes a normative fact against which ‘otherness’ is measured and constructed, even though, as in the illustration of the young sailor, no others are visible.

It is now conventional to acknowledge, as does Elizabeth Webby, that Aboriginal people were the first Australians. Such proper acknowledgement has been a long time in arriving. After consolidation of white settlement, many Aboriginal people were forced to live a marginal existence in what Wright calls ‘more or less clandestine camping places’. The attitudes of white people toward Aboriginal people were very slow to change. Mary Durack was born in 1913 and spent many years in the Kimberley region of Western Australia, where her family ran cattle stations. Durack began to publish work

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688 Giroux, p. 82.
689 Giroux, p. 82.
691 Patricia Clarke, p. 33.
about Australia in 1935, and in her late-1980s interview with Guilia Guiffré, provides
several examples of the unwitting ‘othering’ of Aboriginal people that took place
routinely in Australia.\textsuperscript{692} In a statement which concerns the opening of the Stockman’s
Hall of Fame, Durack talks about the necessity of commemorating Australian pioneers.
The Hall of Fame, she says, will be

a place where there will be art about the outback, and the stockmen, and the various people that
opened up Australia, not forgetting the many remarkable Aborigines [sic] who were
indispensable.\textsuperscript{693}

Implicit in the statement is that those who ‘opened up Australia’ are white people, for
Durack categorises the Aboriginal people separately. To her it seems that Aboriginal
people are ‘characters’, seemingly in a way ‘other’ than or separately from white
people.\textsuperscript{694} When Guiffré questions Durack about her attitude toward Aboriginal people,
there seems no awareness in Durack that discursive othering has taken place, as is now
clearly evident in the information also provided unproblematically by Durack that Durack
daughters were sent south to Perth for their education and for appropriate medical care.\textsuperscript{695}
Guiffré does not interrogate this point, but information is not supplied in the interview
text as to how Aboriginal people on the Durack properties might have received education
or medical care. Even by the late 1940s, as Terrill puts it somewhat crudely, many
Australians ‘were so racist that we were unaware of the possibility of race prejudice’.\textsuperscript{696}

In a precise way (after Dyer) the above reveals how whites were ‘non-raced’.\textsuperscript{697} As can
be seen, this is a position of privilege not conferred upon other races. Whiteness was a
‘given’ for the English, and therefore, they easily transmitted this ‘given’ to the children
of Empire. This meant that illustrations were not always captioned. However, when they
were, this sometimes presented an opportunity to reinforce messages of white superiority
that appeared more openly in the tales’ written texts. English ontological superiority is

\begin{footnotes}
\item[692] Guilia Guiffré, ‘Mary Durack’ (1913-1994), in \textit{A Writing Life: Interviews with Australian women
writers}, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1990), pp. 91-93.
\item[693] Guiffré, p. 91.
\item[694] Guiffré, pp. 91-92.
\item[695] Guiffré, pp. 92-93.
\item[696] Terrill, \textit{The Australians: In search of an identity}, p. 9.
\item[697] Dyer, p. 2.
\end{footnotes}
evident in *Herbert Strang's Annual* from the mid-1920s, in which a colourful illustration constructs and reinforces English supremacy against other races. This illustration belongs to a tale called ‘Good Business’, which deals with British technology and enterprise in contrast to that of the Malays of Borneo. This short tale follows the well-established pattern of ‘the ripping yarn’ as the English outwit their trading rivals and the illustration capitalises upon the exotic location, showing a rickety-looking palm-woven house on stilts and green palm-foliage reflected in a river where a curved rowing-boat confronts a schooner. Under a soft blue sky, a man on the schooner’s deck, clad in dazzling safari whites and a solar topee squirts a jet of water from a fire-engine hose. The caption on the illustration describes in the following words what is occurring in the illustration: “‘The jet caught the half-caste full in the face’”. The text of the story makes it clear that the jet of water from the hose is directed by an Englishman at another man whom the illustration’s caption terms a ‘half-caste’ who is in the curved rowing-boat with two Malay oarsmen. The strong red colour of the fire-engine on the schooner’s deck contrasts sharply with the naturalistic colours of the surroundings. This is a powerfully colour-coded illustration. Although the person designated ‘half-caste’ wears white too, the jet of water knocks off his solar topee, suggesting that he is perhaps not as entitled to wear this as the other white-attired person, the English trader. The captioned illustration makes it abundantly clear who is white and privileged and therefore permitted to humiliate the non-white character. The covert suggestion is strong that such humiliation is justified, for the narrative positions the ‘half-caste’ as a shady, villainous character in what is fundamentally a tale of colonial rivalries. In terms of the presence of covert racialism, the choice and juxtaposition of the words ‘full’ and ‘half’ less-than-subtly reinforce the racial slur implicit in the caption, as does the body language and admiring expressions of the Malays who observe the scene, and who are coded as ‘full-bloods’, as opposed to the ‘half-caste’ receiving the dousing from the hero-figure. There is a racialist hierarchy in this illustration, with the white man, his fire-engine and hose placed in the illustration’s

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699 Anon., “The jet caught the half-caste full in the face”, in *Herbert Strang’s Annual, 17th Year*, facing p. 50.
700 Blundell, p. 51, the ‘half-caste’ is named Gregorio Fernandez, which suggests Portuguese colonial connections. Fernandez is after ‘land and mineral rights’ from the Malay Sultan.
foreground; the two involved in the illustration’s action being coded as whites, with one being not ‘fully’ white. The indigenous Malays, are positioned here as ‘other’, as passive onlookers.\textsuperscript{701} This was an adventure tale, and the covers of annuals frequently depicted versions of a similar basic adventurous masculine role model in full and vivid colour. Depiction of English role models was often implicit rather than stated specifically. It is logical to assume that by the time this annual appeared, in the mid-1920s, the Englishness of the hero is understood, an ideological given, with, as Giroux remarks, no need ‘to call attention to itself’.\textsuperscript{702}

It was a tradition of long standing that girls read these books as well as boys. Indeed, Martyn Lyons draws attention to the particular fondness of Australian girls for boys’ adventure tales.\textsuperscript{703} Australian literary critic Heather Scutter recalls herself as ‘an Empire girl of the 1950s’ devouring ‘tales of derring-do’ in boys’ books on her family bookshelves.\textsuperscript{704} However, as Kirsten Drotner notes, in the books themselves ‘gender differences persist’.\textsuperscript{705} This matter will be addressed more fully in chapter 3. Boys’ annuals from the earlier twentieth century constructed the white Englishman against the racial other by illustrations of young men engaging in adventurous activities with ‘foreigners’. In this kind of material, as MacKenzie points out, illustrations were frequently ‘of a patriotic or military nature’.\textsuperscript{706} Collins’ Adventure Annual from 1934 depicts on its front cover a young airman parachuting from the skies into a group of spear-wielding Arabian horsemen, while his aeroplane plummets to fiery destruction in the sand-hills.\textsuperscript{707} This illustration uses what MacKenzie terms elsewhere, a ‘montage of imperial stereotypes’.\textsuperscript{708} It signals to the reader that this clean-cut youth (English, of course) was about to have an adventure of some sort with bearded and fierce-looking tribes-people. The Bounty Book for Boys from 1938 shows a similar action paradigm as

\textsuperscript{701} See Sara Mills, Discourse, pp. 105-130, pp. 106-118, for further discussion of the implications of ‘otherness’.
\textsuperscript{702} Giroux, p. 82.
\textsuperscript{703} Martyn Lyons, ‘Reading Practices in Australia’, p. 338.
\textsuperscript{704} Heather Scutter, p. 307.
\textsuperscript{705} Kirsten Drotner, p. 239.
\textsuperscript{706} MacKenzie, Propaganda and Empire, p. 222. Stories have been selected from annual material and analysed through various pertinent critiques of similar, but not necessarily the same, material.
\textsuperscript{707} Collins’ Adventure Annual, (London: Collins, c.1934), cover illustration.
\textsuperscript{708} MacKenzie, Propaganda and Empire, p. 222.
another young airman holds his hand-gun, preparing to defend his fallen comrade against spear-wielding loincloth-clad tribes-people.\textsuperscript{709} It is unclear precisely what the geographic location of this scene is, but the generic conventions of the illustration suggest it could be Africa, New Guinea or the wilder portions of Australia. MacKenzie notes the point attached to such conscious ‘ethnic diversity’.\textsuperscript{710} These are not white English people, but ‘tribes-people’ of races other than British and whose natural function is to provide both action-packed adventures for the English and as MacKenzie puts it, ‘pictures of “picturesque and primitive native life”’.\textsuperscript{711} As late as 1944, the cover of Dean’s \textit{Monster Book for Boys} featured a white youth in what might be termed ‘adventure-land’, this time in a jungle setting.\textsuperscript{712} He is clad in the familiar tropical whites, carries a rifle and showing the dichotomy that perhaps publishers wished still existed in technologies (even if this were now only so in ‘adventure-land’) the youth is backed by a young African tribesman who carries a spear. This illustration makes it clear that the white youth is at the forefront of the action, and the African at the rear, in a secondary position. Only occasionally do annuals depict girls engaged in the same kinds of action-packed pastimes as boys.\textsuperscript{713} However, more to the point, participants in these activities are all white, and white girls are also depicted with horses and dogs, strongly suggesting domestic rather than overseas action. Stories in annuals for girls rarely dealt with race. The ‘girl’ targeted by publishers was white and, as Tinkler confirms, ‘[g]irls from other racial groups were only occasionally represented.’\textsuperscript{714}

During the post-war period of the 1950s, there was a strong revival of the children’s annual genre.\textsuperscript{715} Many of the cover illustrations for boys’ annuals showed heroic feats on the sporting field as well as a markedly-increased usage of new technologies. Young

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{709} \textit{The Bounty Book for Boys}, (London: Juvenile Productions, c.1938), cover illustration.
\textsuperscript{710} MacKenzie, \textit{Propaganda and Empire}, p. 222.
\textsuperscript{711} MacKenzie, \textit{Propaganda and Empire}, p. 222.
\textsuperscript{712} \textit{Monster Book for Boys}, (London: Dean, c.1944), cover illustration.
\textsuperscript{713} R. Brandon (ed.), \textit{Hutchinson’s Girls’ Annual}, (London: Hutchinson, c.1934). Cover shows three girls skiing downhill at speed. See also \textit{The Conquest Book for Girls}, (London: Juvenile Productions, c.1938). Cover illustration depicts two girls climbing a mountain, being attacked by a large bird of prey, which one girl beats off with a walking stick.
\textsuperscript{715} Clark, \textit{The Children’s Annual}, pp. 100-117.
\end{footnotes}
white men are depicted smiling confidently as they use modern machinery and the technologies of the new ‘space-age’. In 1968, Dean’s New Leisure Book for Boys supplies a full-colour version of the athletic, technologically-aware male role model who is always depicted as white. Australia at this time was still dominated by white cultural attitudes, and Robert Bropho’s discussion on the poor living conditions of indigenous Western Australians indicates this dominance. Bropho remarks that ‘there was little done for Aboriginal people’, who, he claims, were not looked upon as human beings, but as part of a ‘black problem’. Life for these unfortunate people would probably not have encompassed much reading for pleasure. Nevertheless, all societies contain differing levels of disadvantage and another perspective is furnished by Australian tennis champion Evonne Goolagong Cawley. In her autobiography, Goolagong Cawley, who lived in rural Barellan in New South Wales, recounts her recollections of a family life provided by parents who she maintains had decided that ‘living like white folk in a white town’ was the way to attain advancement in society and thus divided their time between the town and ‘the family camps at Griffith and Condobolin’. Goolagong Cawley indicates that there are nuances to racial discrimination when she voices her suspicion that her family was considered by Barellan’s white citizens to be ‘a class apart from the mission Aborigines [sic] they saw in Griffith’. However, the racism that proceeds from white cultural dominance shadows her recollections as she mentions the fact her mother had a particular fear of ‘the Welfare bogey man’, commenting further that neither of her parents ‘ever overcame totally a basic fear and distrust of those who could exercise power over them’. Goolagong Cawley, who for her primary schooling attended Barellan Central School, referred to her reading of an early 1960s Princess magazine:

I was not exactly a voracious reader but I would sometimes pick up girls’ magazines at the Smiths’ general store. In one called Princess I read a fairy tale story about a young tennis player who came from nowhere to win fame and fortune at a place called Wimbledon.

716 Dean’s New Leisure Book for Boys, (London: Dean, c.1967), cover depicts white boys surfing, boating, building model ships and photographing African wildlife.


719 Goolagong Cawley & Jarratt, p. 43.

720 Goolagong Cawley & Jarratt, p. 45.

721 Goolagong Cawley & Jarratt, p. 79.
It is perhaps ironic that this story seems to have featured one of what Mary Cadogan and Patricia Craig term ‘exceptional’ girls.\(^{722}\) Goolagong Cawley herself might also be termed ‘exceptional’ for her sporting talent.\(^{723}\) Princess magazine was one of many picture story-papers that superseded the juvenile magazines of the post-war period and was distributed in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. Its annual was titled Princess Gift Book for Girls and contains the usual mixture of Anglocentric print text and picture stories intermingled with features and articles on ponies, cooking, theatre and ballet and hobbies.\(^{724}\) A publisher’s advertisement on its rear inside cover promotes the weekly magazine as a highly-desirable commodity, and a 1964 copy of Princess magazine contains the same type of material.\(^{725}\) This can be defined, to use Goolagong Cawley’s term, as ‘fairy tale’ stories, pleasantly-escapist fantasy for young readers. However, for many Aboriginal people, as late as the 1970s, even basic housing was still proving to be a difficult issue, for as George Morgan points out, the issue itself had come to be viewed largely in the ‘racist terms’ that grew from a dominant pattern of white cultural attitudes and the consequent marginalisation of those not perceived to fit in with these.\(^{726}\) Annuals, like other forms of children’s literature, presented and reinforced numerous images that underwrote white cultural dominance, thereby naturalizing it further for children.

In annuals, othering of non-whites continued in that other racial groups are seldom depicted for girls, except in occasional tales of Africa or of the ‘exotic’ east. As Dyer notes, ‘since the mid-nineteenth century the photographic media have become central and authoritative means of knowledge, thought and feeling.’\(^{727}\) Annuals utilised the technology as it developed, and photographs appear in children’s annuals from the

\(^{722}\) Mary Cadogan & Patricia Craig, p. 325.
\(^{723}\) See Home!, rear dust-jacket, Goolagong Cawley won 92 professional tournaments and was a finalist in 18 Grand Slam events. She won Wimbledon twice, the Australian Open four times and the French Open, once. For four successive years, she was runner-up for the US Open.
\(^{725}\) Princess Magazine, (London: Fleetway, 14/2/64).
\(^{727}\) Dyer, p. xiii.
earliest twentieth century, usually as illustrations to articles, and differentiating these from fictional material, which usually had conventional artist’s illustrations. Photographs reinforced the notion that articles were ‘factual’. During the 1960s, photography superseded conventional illustrations on the covers of many children’s annuals. This continued into the 1970s: on the cover of *The Sun Annual for Boys 1974* are four large and smaller coloured photographic images of the idealised sporting/action/technology white masculine paradigm. Contemporary girls’ annuals present a white female paradigm involved in conventional sporting, domestic and leisure-time pursuits. Occasionally, professions would appear on cover illustrations, especially air-hostesses and nurses. This working-woman role model was invariably a young white woman with no allowances made for the changing composition of England’s population at this period. In girls’ annuals generally, white people are not, as Dyer puts it, ‘seen’ racially. This made whiteness what he terms ‘the human norm’…in that ‘[o]ther people are raced, *we* (italics mine) are just people.’ For girls there is very scant depiction of races other than white, so there is no variation in the pictures of what ‘people’ did. Whiteness thus was absorbed into the background, subsumed through being taken for granted and the disappearance of whiteness led in practical terms, to its invisibility as a racial category.

The trope of adventure was perhaps the most popular draw-card for the youthful reader of annuals. Within this broad scope, young people who belonged to an imperialist culture could be instructed about their privileged place in the world. Annuals were of the type of children’s literature that Pearce notes are ‘imbued with the notion that children and young adults can be “moulded” into adults of desired ideological orientation or social conditioning’. Such specialised modes deliberately ‘created and intended to edify and entertain the young’ are, according to R. Gordon Kelly, ‘illuminating’ because they constitute

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730 Dyer, p. 3.

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one important way in which the adult community deliberately and self-consciously seeks to explain, interpret, and justify that body of beliefs, values, attitudes, and practices which taken together, define...a culture. 732

Because such defining of culture is an adult responsibility, material produced especially for a mass market of children is a significant site of investigation as to how adults perceived the state of that culture. It is interesting to note after Giroux, that although annuals consistently presented a certain ‘body of beliefs, values, attitudes and practices’, they themselves rarely sought to define the surrounding culture to which they yet referred so constantly. As noted previously, Dyer maintains that dominant white culture is ‘invisible’. 733 In children’s annuals, the mechanics of such invisibility might be termed a disappearing trick. The nature of the trick itself suggests a cloak of invisibility which worked effectively because in a British-based and highly derivative culture, familiarity with that culture could be assumed to a large extent. Certainly, Martyn Lyons and Lucy Taksa’s readers understood ‘the British origins’ of the magazines they devoured, with one respondent referring to the ‘respectability’ of Gem and Magnet and their stories of ‘British school life’ as opposed to ‘trashy comics’. 734 It is likely that readers, when children, were unaware of the deep element of fantasy that inhered to the material in Gem and Magnet. However, the strong awareness of such readers is notable, even in late adulthood, of the ‘respectability’ attached to this picture of England, which tends to bear out MacKenzie’s remark about the ‘imitative’ tendencies of those who read this material. 735 Gikandi refers also to ‘identification with the culture of Englishness’ that yet did not ‘negate...specific and local institutions’. 736 Despite this it is interesting that although Lyons and Taksa’s readers recognised and perhaps sometimes partially decoded the idea of ‘British’, they appear not to have noticed the inherent ‘whiteness’ of the material. In this respect it could be said that the arguments of Foucault, Dyer and Giroux concerning the invisibility of white cultural dominance are justified. The pleasant habit of semi-conscious and regular consumption of this material by child-readers was an

733 Dyer, p. 3.
734 Martyn Lyons & Lucy Taksa, p. 92.
important way in which the putative rectitude of the culture that produced these magazines was reinforced. Giroux refers to the ‘affective investment’ that consumers make in popular texts such as films.\textsuperscript{737} It is clear that Lyons and Taksa’s readers had also developed an ‘affective investment’ in the type of English culture available to them through regular reading of English material.\textsuperscript{738}

Stories set in overseas locations in which indigenous cultural and value systems were juxtaposed with those of the white world were also used to transmit information about white cultural attitudes and values. Examples from the 1920s indicate that some attitudes had not shifted markedly from those held during the late Victorian period. In ‘The Red Trail’, a boy who has both indigenous and white ancestry is ‘rescued’ with some bloodshed and violence from an indigenous Canadian tribe in order to live in the white way, coded naturalistically as superior to the indigenous way of life, which itself is positioned as ‘other’.\textsuperscript{739} There is no direct mention of English supremacy here but the unquestioned assumption is that the boy belongs properly to the white Anglo-Saxon settler-community, coded as ‘civilised’ and juxtaposed with the indigenous community, designated as primitive and barbaric.\textsuperscript{740}

Not insignificantly, this tale appeared in an annual designed for colonial children. Another tale uses a more overt method of instruction and a predominant hunting motif and is set in Greenland and titled ‘Chums of the Frozen Fields’.\textsuperscript{741} In this tale, an Inuit community suffering serious jaundice is cured by white man’s medicines, and must be supplied with extra winter stores. The lesson here is that it is proper to assist the needy by providing the kind of conspicuous and obligatory Christian charity that was part of ‘the

\textsuperscript{737} Giroux, p. 80.
\textsuperscript{738} Lyons & Taksa, p. 93.
\textsuperscript{740} See also Annette Kolodny, \textit{The Land Before Her: Fantasy and Experience of the American Frontiers, 1630-1860}, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1984), p. 77 & p. 31. Kidnapped white children ‘rescued’ from Native Americans sometimes chose to remain with their so-called uncivilised foster families.
\textsuperscript{741} R.M. Fraser, ‘Chums of the Frozen Fields’ in \textit{Adventure Land}, (London: D.C. Thomson, c.1923), pp. 5-22; See also W.O.G. Lofts & D.J. Adley, p. 144, who list an ‘R.M. Frazer’, possibly the same author.
white man’s burden’ (to use Kipling’s term from his famous 1898 poem). There is an implicit Darwinist assumption that without such extra help, these communities would simply suffer and die out ‘naturally’. Whether or not this is true, white ways are presented unvaryingly as far better than the ways of the indigenous community. However, in children’s annuals, utilitarianism usually triumphed with a positivist bent: tales often conveyed that, in its place, the indigenous community had its own uses and skills. This too, is a difficult notion to shift for as Kay Anderson notes, an ‘oversimplified’ view about the ‘proper place’ of Aboriginal people still tends to prevail in Australia, in which ‘White Australian history and culture’ sets the policy agenda.\textsuperscript{742} Aboriginal people are ‘othered’ by this white view, which continues to position them as ‘inferior peoples’, who deserve to live in what used to be called ‘a state of nature’, that is, in remote rural areas without the modern facilities to which white people are accustomed.\textsuperscript{743} In earlier twentieth-century annuals, a similar message that reinforced this myth was presented to children. Such tales implied that it was the duty of the white man and his superior technology to enhance the usefulness of the skills of indigenous people living in their own separate and always rural communities. However, beneath the white benevolence in ‘Chums of the Frozen Fields’ was the unstated fact that a vital contemporary aspect was trade. In exchange for an entire cargo of ‘skins and horn’ an English sea-captain presents the Inuit leader with a hunting rifle and ‘[enough cartridges] to blow the heads off all the [bears] in Greenland.’\textsuperscript{744} Although such phraseology was often devised expressly to pander to the blood-lust of certain youthful readers, it suggests a similarly cavalier attitude to the environment to that which prevailed in the nineteenth-century hunting tale. Ballantyne’s 1856 tale, \textit{The Young Fur-Traders} perhaps exemplified best a regrettable and repetitive commitment to what Castle terms ‘the indiscriminate slaughter of wildlife’.\textsuperscript{745}

\textsuperscript{743} Anderson, p. 130.
\textsuperscript{744} R.M. Fraser, p. 22.
\textsuperscript{745} Castle, ‘Imperial legacies’, p. 148.
Readers received constant instruction about the excellent qualities of the imperial English. This is obvious in the story referred to earlier, titled ‘Good Business’, which was set in Borneo and which gave an unequivocal demonstration of white technological superiority, this time, the English fire engine.746 The story’s message is that to make friends with the English and their culture is good business for everyone. Children from other cultures often provided raw material for indefatigable writers. For example, ‘Brahim the Coolie’ is set in Baghdad and deals with the virtues of scouting, describing the recruiting of young Brahim to the ‘Haidariyeh Troop’, local boys who have changed what the writer terms their former ‘dirty or slovenly’ way of life for the ‘bright, happy’ English scouting life.747 The tale criticises the eponymous Brahim’s lifestyle in a way today’s reader would find pointedly racist, the writer portraying the boy as lazy, dirty, a bully and a ‘good-for-nothing rogue’.748 The purpose of the text is to present the hope that exists for Brahim in terms of the white way of life, by the clear implication that his indigenous way of life is vastly inferior. The writer could rely upon the familiarity with scouting of readers at whom this story was pitched, for scouting was a formative part of white English culture. The authoritarian stamp of the dominant culture is camouflaged neatly in this tale.

As noted previously, the issue of race was largely absent in popular material for girls.749 However, it figured occasionally in the inculcation of white English values. An attempt to nuance such values appears in a long tale from 1924, titled ‘Melita of the South Seas’.750 This tale sets the tribal and natural values thought to characterize indigenous people as ‘authentic’ against ‘the proud monument of “the city”’, to apply Kay Anderson’s

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748 Prater. n.p.
749 Tinkler, p. 185.
750 Julia Storm, ‘Melita of the South Seas’ in The Schoolgirls’ Own Annual, 1924, (London: Amalgamated Press, 1922), pp. 101-127. Subsequent references to this story appear in parenthesis in this chapter. See also Robert Kirkpatrick, p. 126: ‘Julie Storm’, (in this annual credited as ‘Julia’ Storm) was a pen-name of children’s writer Gilbert Floyd, who wrote many children’s stories set at sea. ‘Melita of the South Seas’ is one of his ‘Schoolgirl Crusoes’ tales. Floyd also wrote tales about a ship of schoolboys, called collectively ‘The Boys of the Bombay Castle’. These appeared in annuals from Amalgamated Press.
The tale is laden with instruction for readers about the superiority of white, urbanised Anglo-Saxon culture. Melita, daughter of a Solomon Islands chieftain, attends school on a ship with white classmates. Julia Storm’s text implies that, thanks to her contact with urban white people, Melita (coded as ‘primitive’ by what the writer terms ‘her frizzy wig of hair’), has ‘developed in the most extraordinary fashion during her residence in the civilised circles of Melbourne, Adelaide and Brisbane’ (102). The inference is clear that Melita’s indigenous environment is not nearly as ideal as these civilized, urban places. Melita is ‘the other’. Storm offers one of what Mills terms ‘global statements about…indigenous peoples’. Melita retains the abilities of ‘all the savage races’, one of which is, according to Storm, a great gift for mimickery (104). Storm has employed yet another of what Robert Dixon describes as the nineteenth-century ‘character stereotypes deployed by the authors of ripping yarns’ that persisted well into the twentieth century. Melita’s antics are described in detail and these arouse the antagonism of two of her white classmates, who call her (and I quote verbatim) a ‘nigger girl’ and a ‘black savage’ (104). No direct exception is taken to this terminology by the other girls, indicating tellingly the unfortunate attitudes of the time. However, it is clear from the development of the tale’s plot, that these two abusive white girls are the tale’s ‘villains’ and they receive their comeuppance in what then becomes a standard and quite lengthy recital of schoolgirl rivalries. In what might be read as ‘the square-up’ in the tale’s final passage, it falls to Melita and two indigenous Solomon Islanders to rescue these two white girls from watery peril (127). Melita (having received ‘development’ from white contact) displays forgiveness and compassion to her two abusers (127). Also, during the actual rescue, the author is careful to maintain the stereotype of the ontological inferiority of the Solomon Islanders and their culture, pointing out that the superb ocean skills of the two indigenous boatmen are obvious despite ‘all their queer childishness and superstition’ (127). In another story entitled ‘Ranger Bell and the Loup Garou’, an indigenous Canadian masquerades as a werewolf in order to protect two white girls from

751 Kay Anderson, p. 130.
752 Mills, pp. 106-118.
753 Mills, p. 113.
754 Dixon, p. 119.
vicious poachers.\textsuperscript{755} This brave and clever act elevates his status with the father of one of the girls who then terms the indigenous Canadian ‘white’.\textsuperscript{756} There was no questioning or qualification of such terminology. Such racist features only become obvious with hindsight and analysis. At the time such popular texts were being produced and read, it is logical to suppose that, given its unproblematic inclusion in the text, terminology of this type was taken entirely for granted.

In annuals pitched at a mixed audience, the socio-cultural attitudes were similar, and one example of this is ‘The Wild Man of Borneo’ which appeared in \textit{The Greyfriars Holiday Annual 1925 for Boys and Girls}.\textsuperscript{757} This long tale is credited to ‘Duncan Storm’, another of the pen-names of Gilbert Floyd, and it deals with the boys of the school-ship \textit{Bombay Castle}. The tale contains the kinds of casual and categorising name-calling that appear in ‘Melita of the South Seas’. The eponymous ‘Wild Man of Borneo’, kept cruelly in a circus cage, is ‘a Gilbert Islander, a Kanaka [sic] of the Pacific’ (177). This prisoner is being tormented by a ‘nigger’, [sic] who carries a sword-stick (177). The writer makes it clear that here is the villain of the piece: this character has a ‘greasy, oily smile on his black face’ at the misery of the victim of his torment (178). The reader is told at this point that ‘[t]here is nothing that pleases many niggers [sic] more than the sight of pain inflicted’ (178). However, the boundless villainy of this non-white character, or more correctly ‘caricature’, provides the white boys with a chance to show both compassion and boldness. Quite frequently, this was the real function of non-white participants in short stories in annuals of this period. Contemporary cultural attitudes meant that stereotyping of this nature was acceptable to a mass audience.

It must be mentioned also that very young children received racist ideology from popular material, as a 1930s example reveals. The tale ‘Black Sambo’ from \textit{Warne’s Happy Book}


for Children is attributed to E.M. Whitaker and set in a child’s nursery with dolls as the characters.\(^{758}\) Warne’s Happy Book was designed for an audience of children between the ages of approximately three and seven years. Doubtless Whitaker drew for her title upon the well-known 1899 text of Little Black Sambo, written and illustrated by Helen Bannerman, which during the 1970s gave rise to protests of racism.\(^{759}\) Whitaker’s version is distinctly racist. A doll named Black Sambo recounts dramatic tales of woe to his nursery companions, using the word ‘nigger’ six times during a short passage of text.\(^{760}\) The text itself, some of which is reproduced below, is startlingly violent, and makes explicit reference to the treatment of black people by ‘white folks’:

“I tell you, white folk,” he went on, “us niggers[sic] is a down-trodden race. Us niggers[sic] is treated like dirt under the uvver people’s soles of dere feets! Us niggers [sic] had better all be dead, wiv our heads smashed in, and us’s legs pulled off, and us’s arms all broken. Us niggers [sic] had better be.”\(^{761}\)

The violence of the language could conceivably be justified here by the fact that Black Sambo is speaking of dolls rather than of human beings and the writer utilises a patois to convey that the speaker is non-white.\(^{762}\) Utilisation of patois was intended to mark difference, chiefly that caused by lack of conventional white English education, and it occurred frequently in passages of mixed-race dialogue in children’s annuals.\(^{763}\) However, far from intending to arouse pity in the reader, the writer is trying for comedic effect, for it is made clear at the outset (in the story’s second sentence), that Black Sambo is a habitual ‘groaner’ and loves to exaggerate his various woes.\(^{764}\) This builds upon the African music-hall stereotype to which Castle refers in Britannia’s Children.\(^{765}\) Because of his alleged misery, Black Sambo threatens more violence, saying that he will burn

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\(^{759}\) Humphrey Carpenter & Mari Prichard, pp. 313-314.

\(^{760}\) Whitaker, n.p.

\(^{761}\) Whitaker, n.p.

\(^{762}\) Castle, pp. 95-102.


\(^{764}\) Whitaker, n.p.

\(^{765}\) Castle, pp. 97-102. The ‘staged “Nigger Show”’ was popular during the 1930s.
himself in the nursery fire. However, bathetic self-immolation is thwarted for at this moment, the little girl who owns the toys enters the nursery, carrying with her ‘a beautiful new doll, with shiny face, frizzy hair, and a gorgeous red and yellow dress’. An illustration makes it clear that the new doll’s skin is the same colour as that of Black Sambo and that she also corresponds to him in certain points of dress. This new doll is named ‘Topsy’ and is a gift from the little girl’s ‘Uncle Tom’, meant clearly to replicate Topsy from Beecher Stowe’s famous novel *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* and drawing upon yet another racial stereotype. The little girl contrasts the new doll’s smart appearance with that of Black Sambo, and takes him away to clean him. When the little girl leaves the nursery, taking Black Sambo with her, the new doll begins to talk immediately. The writer states that the new doll gives the other toys ‘no chance’ to address her first, which builds subtly upon the initial portrayal of Black Sambo as a garrulous, domineering talker, reinforcing a stereotype of black people as rude or bad-mannered. The new doll states that she intends to marry Black Sambo, in order to ‘teach dat nigger [sic] to be clean’. This reinforces yet another unfortunate stereotype for very young readers or listeners, of blackness as ‘unclean’ and as inferior, needing assistance to keep clean.

Terrill remarks that such racist stereotypes were also prevalent in contemporary Australia. Furthermore, Anderson’s article suggests how the racist stereotyping proceeding from dominant white culture is itself passed on without serious question, from generation to generation. Generational inheritance is specifically the issue with regard to children’s annuals, which remained on family bookshelves, or were bequeathed to younger relatives. *Warnes’ Happy Book for Children*, which contains Whitaker’s ‘Black Sambo’ was presented to an Australian girl in 1931 by a Perth Sunday School teacher, which may have been construed as a guarantee that material in it was socially, even theologically-approved. As part of what Mills terms ‘the production of knowledge’,

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766 Whitaker, n.p.
767 Whitaker, n.p.
768 Castle, pp. 94-97. Harriet Beecher Stowe’s popular 1851-2 anti-slavery novel, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* was the basis of the patois spoken by those who burlesqued Africans in contemporary theatricals.
769 Whitaker, n.p.
771 Kay Anderson, pp. 130-132.
colonialist discourse was written from a standpoint of immense power by those who had claimed high status.\textsuperscript{772} Parents or nursery staff might have read this material to children as a daily or bedtime treat, conferring upon it an extra degree of authority. Though not always positioned as learners, children were positioned to derive knowledge from annuals. As Pearce argues, children’s literature operates as a powerful shaper of imagination, and transmits cultural messages whether or not these are really desirable or true.\textsuperscript{773} This copy of Warne’s Happy Book is attractive, colourful and well-handled. As well as the name of the original recipient, the name of a subsequent owner, a boy, is inscribed inside. Distinguished Australian author Christopher Koch notes that his 1920 Chums Annual was ‘inherited’ from his Uncle Gordon, who had owned it when young.\textsuperscript{774} Heather Scutter’s recollections of her childhood reading note, as well, that she avidly read material that had been devised for children ‘from the late nineteenth century to the period between the world wars’.\textsuperscript{775}

**Education in racial stereotypes**

While multiple examples exist, a close reading of just one annual among many will demonstrate how ideologies of racial otherness were variously inculcated. The later 1930s were little different in their presentation of racialist ideas. The one annual that shows this in marked degree is The Bounty Book for Boys.\textsuperscript{776} This annual was published by Juvenile Productions, which produced a wide range of reading material for children, including reprints of children’s classics and fairy tales. Juvenile Productions also offered a considerable variety of annuals aimed at a broad cross-section of readership across two decades, 1937-1959. This publisher offered annuals specifically for girls, specifically for boys and for other groups such as younger children and fans of cinema.\textsuperscript{777} Juvenile Productions utilised numerous writers, such as Arthur Groom, F.A.M. Webster, Mabel Esther Allen and Bertha Leonard, all of whom were popular with contemporary

\textsuperscript{772} Mills, p. 115.
\textsuperscript{773} Pearce, ‘Constructing a “New Girl”, p. 230.
\textsuperscript{774} Christopher Koch, “Maybe It’s Because I’m A Londoner”, p. 29.
\textsuperscript{775} Scutter, p. 307.
\textsuperscript{776} The Bounty Book for Boys, (London: Juvenile Productions, c.1938).
\textsuperscript{777} JuvenileProductionsLtd.:http://bookprice24.co.uk/Search?title=&author=&publisher=juvenile%20Productions%20Ltd&Keyword=
readers.\textsuperscript{778} Juvenile Productions was clearly predominant in annual production. The choice of this particular annual is to demonstrate material highly typical of the period and to underline the point that this type of material was not exceptional, but the rule, from a publishing house with extensive output. According to the inscription on a bookplate inside the front cover, this annual was a gift to an Australian boy. Kutzer writes that ‘colonial spaces…provide[d] a landscape of opportunity, of escape not only from home, but from adult responsibilities and from adulthood itself.’\textsuperscript{779} Colonial tales always had a special appeal and Brantlinger and Dixon note, too, that adult readers were immersed deeply in these.\textsuperscript{780} It is unsurprising that boys’ annuals all contain such tales, along with the usual school and sporting tales. Considering that war threatened, it may well have been even more necessary that tales ‘of empire, adventure and colonization’ provide a fantasy of self-sufficiency for young readers.\textsuperscript{781} As Kutzer puts it, ‘British children’s literature incorporates and encourages British imperialism’.\textsuperscript{782} Given the war-threat to Britain, it could safely be assumed that the \textit{Bounty Book} contains extra layers of imperialist intentionality to shore up, as it were, the national interest. The \textit{Bounty Book} is of special interest, however, because it is abundantly clear in this case that the form or format of the annual has been utilized to construct a clear narrative of white English superiority \textit{vis-à-vis} all non-white colonized people.

The opening tale in this annual is called ‘In Peril of their Lives’ and initially depicts a servant/master relationship between two white English brothers and their indigenous African servant.\textsuperscript{783} The word ‘white’ does not figure at all in this tale, but whiteness is superior by association. The African servant, Barbi, is characterised as meek, obedient and proud of his mastery of the English language, delighted that the fortunate fact of his association with the English brothers allows him to tinker with the engine of a motor car, which the writer informs the reader is ‘a very old Ford that rattled and clanked as it

\textsuperscript{780} Brantlinger, p. 11. See also Dixon, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{781} Kutzer, p. 23.
\textsuperscript{782} Kutzer, p. 14.
went’ (9). To the English boys, used to superior white technology, this car is merely ‘a method of conveyance’, but to Barbi, it is ‘a thing of wonder’ (9). Barbi’s function in the tale is not merely to assist his young masters, but to admire them and their accoutrements, to be subservient and to call them ‘Bwana’ (a term equivalent to ‘sir’ or ‘master’ that in this context, unequivocally acknowledges white man’s superiority) which he does numerous times in the tale.  

Barbi’s subservience diminishes him as an individual next to the two English boys. He is a convenient indigenous African ‘other’ and therefore an inferior, placed in the tale to show the superior qualities of white Englishmen. When the group is charged by a rhinoceros, it is Barbi who panics, ‘jibbering’ as he calls out for help, whereupon one of the young English boys shoots the marauding beast and saves the day (10-11). Barbi admires ‘Bwana’s’ shot, calling it ‘lovely’ (11). Later in the tale, if it were not so already, it becomes abundantly clear that its focus is on the heroism of the English boys as Barbi is sent to fetch the police, removing him from the action of the tale (13). He has already been relegated to the position of an indigenous character of inferior status, and now he himself vanishes from the tale, demonstrating that he has no importance whatsoever to the larger narrative, the real focus of which is the heroic actions of the white English characters.

Another tale slightly further along in the annual is called ‘The Ghost Rocks’, and is set in South Africa. Though much shorter than the previous colonial tale, it features the casually-racist attitudes of the period and continues the narrative theme of English superiority. Whiteness is not overly prominent, but is nevertheless present in the text by contrast with ‘othered’ indigenous Africans. The writer makes passing but direct reference to a ‘dirty Kaffir’ [sic] kraal’ and a ‘witch-doctor’, as though a young audience will understand these references instantly. The tale concerns a boy whose father has been killed by poisoned water and who must, with the help of a trustworthy Zulu servant, fend for himself. It appears that Zulus had been embraced by the British, for as

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786 Ivor Evans, p. 599. ‘Kaffir’ was the term applied to Africans who were non-Moslem, however, British and Europeans ‘restricted the term to the Bantu races’. 

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Castle notes, they had special status in English mythologising of Africa: they were viewed as a ‘proud, virile and disciplined people,’ and were ‘unlike the pitiable slave’, a more common African stereotype in children’s literature. The two characters in this tale are on a quest for diamonds. As well, the tale concludes with a sentence that positions women as secondary as well as indigenous Africans, to the heroism of the ‘white boy’. This final sentence, which acts like an epilogue is separated from the rest of the tale by six small stars and reads:

Mrs Wilson wore her diamond necklace proudly, quite unaware of the human lives it had cost, or that she owed its possession to a white boy and a faithful Zulu.

Whiteness did not always vanish quietly into the text, nor was it merely a subtext in tales for children. A third tale in this annual is called ‘Such Freedom’, and is set on a mission in the South Seas. As Patricia Grimshaw notes, nineteenth-century evangelists ‘had justified colonialism on the grounds that the British could bring the Christian gospel, education and Western ways of living to indigenous peoples’. However, as she also notes, such endeavours produced unlooked-for consequences that remain problematic long afterwards. The Australian reminiscences of both Jimmie Barker and Glenyse Ward show that the mission was an important part of the lives of Australian Aboriginal people, well into the twentieth century. The idea of ‘mission’, according to Castle, was also vitally important for the empire in presenting a picture not merely of ‘the African’, but of other non-white races. Australian children were expected to contribute to the welfare of the missions through church and school collections, and were thus, at least by

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787 Castle, Britannia’s Children, pp. 73-74.
788 Watts, p. 80.
789 F.A.M. Webster, ‘Such Freedom’, in The Bounty Book for Boys, (London: Juvenile Productions, c.1938), pp. 85-95. Subsequent references to this story appear in parenthesis in this chapter. See also Lofts & Adley, pp. 346-347: Captain Frederick Annesley Michael Webster wrote many books and wrote also for all the leading magazines; Robert J. Kirkpatrick, p. 334,Webster was a sport specialist, and wrote on ‘the science of athletics’.
791 Grimshaw, pp. 184-185.
793 Castle, Britannia’s Children, p. 87.
proxy, familiar with what Castle calls ‘the missionary perspective’. According to this, missions, always run by whites, charitably helped the disadvantaged. Anderson suggests that, in the larger scheme of things, Australian Aboriginal people were othered doubly by being positioned as disadvantaged by the self-serving white culture responsible for their original dispossession. Of this factor, the ‘missionary perspective’ took no account whatsoever, especially in works for children. This tale, though containing an undeclared but ever-present cultural hierarchy, functions in the Bounty Book’s larger narrative by simplistically presenting yet another facet of white English superiority. By contrast with previous tales, whiteness is very prominent in this tale, but it is the ‘godly’ or righteous heroism of the whites that is presented, and this is intended clearly to produce an exemplary effect. It was crucial to inspire ongoing financial support for missionary work, as well as to attract new recruits, and Castle maintains that a ‘bold, energised and aggressive approach’ made ‘the missionary story’ popular in material intended for children. Yet another aspect of the missionary story was the British ‘legacy’ of having saved others from ‘the horrors of slavery’. The tale ‘Such Freedom’ carries on this tradition faithfully, but also presents in a matter-of-fact way the inferior status of those who are rescued. In its very first paragraph, the tale refers casually to one young servant as a ‘Kanaka [sic] boy’ (85). This term is utilised again during the tale (92). Other indigenous South Sea Islanders are termed ‘fuzzy-headed’ (85). However, the real villain of the piece is a renegade white man who is ‘blackbirding’, a contemporary slang term utilised in the text to refer to impressing indigenous labour for plantations (88). The tale contains a certain degree of evident latent British resentment toward America, as this slaver is an American, not an Englishman. The story tells of two heroic young English men, who rescue the ‘mission boys’ from their captors and return them to the white ‘padre’ at the mission station (95). The perils of the civilising mission are apparent, but cannot be shirked by white English men. The tale becomes very violent, with references to ‘white man’s rifles’, ‘savages’ and ‘black devils’, and even the English ‘padre’ joins in the fray, wielding ‘a huge felling axe’ (94).

794 Castle, Britannia’s Children, p. 87.
796 Castle, Britannia’s Children, p. 87-88.
797 Castle, Britannia’s Children, p. 87-88.
This tale is a 1930s exhibition of the Victorian concept of ‘muscular Christianity’ for public schooling had produced many ‘muscular Christian’ missionaries.\footnote{Castle, Britannia’s Children, p. 87.} The term ‘muscular Christianity’ was connected in the Edinburgh Review of January, 1858, to the teachings of Charles Kingsley and Ivor Evans defines it as ‘hearty or strong-minded Christianity, which braces a man to fight the battle of life bravely and manfully’.\footnote{Ivor Evans, p. 738-739.} However, as Claudia Nelson suggests, ‘muscularity’ juxtaposed with traditional Christian gentleness is inevitably incongruous.\footnote{Claudia Nelson, Boys Will Be Girls: The Feminine Ethic and British Children’s Fiction, 1857-1917, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991), p. 202.} It was in part due to the popularity of Rudyard Kipling’s work that militaristic elements of conquest became added to the notion of muscular Christianity.\footnote{Kutzer, p. 17, p. 21 & pp. 27-38.} Dyer also points out that the ‘built’ or muscular white male body contrasted to the bodies of others in colonial adventures, replays ‘the notion that white men are distinguished above all by their spirit and enterprise’.\footnote{Dyer, p. 147.} Pearce notes, too, that in terms of the construction of desirable national identity, (in this case, English) ‘gender plays a key role in the mythologizing process’.\footnote{Pearce, ‘Constructing a “New Girl”’, p. 229.} Centralising of the energetic, conquering white male was paramount even in children’s tales. The spirit of muscular Christianity continued boldly into the twentieth century, for instance, the missionary padre in ‘Such Freedom’ (c.1938) is a ‘Blue’ (a university-educated champion sportsman) (88). Further along in the tale, in the same spirit of ‘muscular Christianity’, the point is made that even bishops engage in fisticuffs when doing the Lord’s work (95). However, the conflict has a high death toll of the South Sea Islanders who have been co-opted by the villainous American slaver, who also meets a violent end (94-95). The avenging Englishmen survive the fray, and having slaughtered the enemy, re-present the ‘padre’ with his flock, in an atmosphere redolent of ‘colonial benevolence’.\footnote{Dixon, p. 125.} Stressing the theme of the so-called ‘White Man’s Burden’, the tale makes concluding reference to the ‘church militant on earth’ and to the hymn ‘Onward Christian Soldiers’ (95).

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\footnote{Castle, Britannia’s Children, p. 87.}{Castle, Britannia’s Children, p. 87.}
\footnote{Ivor Evans, p. 738-739.}{Ivor Evans, p. 738-739.}
\footnote{Kutzer, p. 17, p. 21 & pp. 27-38.}{Kutzer, p. 17, p. 21 & pp. 27-38.}
\footnote{Dyer, p. 147.}{Dyer, p. 147.}
\footnote{Pearce, ‘Constructing a “New Girl”’, p. 229.}{Pearce, ‘Constructing a “New Girl”’, p. 229.}
\footnote{Dixon, p. 125.}{Dixon, p. 125.}
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Another 1930s tale in which the virtues of missionary whiteness are well to the fore was written by F. Harold Gilling and is called ‘For Auld Lang Syne’, having the subtitle ‘An African Experience’. The juxtaposition in The Bounty Book for Boys of these four colonial tales supplies a steady, narrative continuity in ideological education that can be seen easily when comparing the four. As Castle notes, children’s leisure time was co-opted for educational purposes. All these tales have points in common, and motifs are repeated in an educational framework that is primarily didactic. Like Jay Watts’s ‘The Ghost Rocks’, discussed above, this fourth story is a short colonial tale, and concerns a boy who must fend for himself in his father’s absence. ‘For Auld Lang Syne’ is set on a mission station, again hinting strongly at ‘white man’s burden’. Donald Leslie is a thirteen-year old boy whose missionary father has been taken ill and ferried to the nearest hospital. Donald has lived all his life on the mission, a fact revealed subtly to the reader early in the tale. His father gone temporarily, he is alone there with his mother. Although the point is also made early that ‘[t]he natives are now under British rule’, the throbbing of jungle drums presages trouble (107). Donald is unworried, for he believes in the omnipotence of British rule and knows that a patrol is on its way up the river, sent by his father as a precaution. This hints that all may not be well, despite Donald’s youthful confidence.

Though by and large, women were absent from boys’ annuals, adventure-fiction writers occasionally gave younger teenage boys mothers. It is clear that mature white women had their uses in the African context: Donald’s mother does not share the boy’s confidence for ‘[s]he knew better than Donald how little the natives could be relied upon’ (108). Because the reader knows that Donald has lived for thirteen years on the mission, Mrs Leslie is positioned neatly here as the wise, responsible, experienced missionary wife. Though she does not alarm her son by expressing her thoughts, her two reasons for uneasiness are supplied carefully by the writer: ‘[n]ative memories are short, and the fear of the white man’s wrath is quickly forgotten when savage natures are inflamed by native

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806 Castle, Britannia’s Children, pp. 5-7.
beer’ (108) This sentence serves the dual purpose, of informing and reinforcing in the reader a sense of the ontological inferiority of ‘savage’ African ‘natives’ to white men (whose ‘wrath’ is to be feared) as well as to give the morally and socially-useful tip that alcohol (the demon drink) is about to fuel serious disorder. The fact that it is ‘native beer’ hints at deeper instability, suggesting that such beer is strongly ‘inflammatory’ and brewed under unhygienic conditions. This heightens the atmosphere of panic as Gilling builds up the suspense, shifting the scene to far ‘up the river’, where Senusa the king sits ‘amidst his councillors,’ plotting the destruction of the mission (108). Senusa sends seven of his men downstream in a canoe to ‘the god-man’s kraal’ (108). One can only assume from this point in history that the term ‘god-man’ refers to the missionary’s position (so to speak) vis-à-vis the Almighty, not to any personal god-like qualities the missionary himself might possess. The warriors beach their canoe and, armed with spears, ‘move stealthily towards the house’ (110). As Mills asserts, after Edward Said, certain types of writing about colonised peoples ‘serve to mark off the Other from the realms of humanity’.807 Gilling hammers home the point about the savagery, wickedness and innate cowardice of Senusa’s warriors:

Their fierce eyes gleamed, for an easy task lay before them. The cold-blooded murder of three helpless whites, with perhaps a little torture before they finally finished off the woman and boy, was exactly suited to their taste. The man they would slay first, lest he should prove troublesome (110).

This passage reiterates for the reader the premises on which the previous three tales in this annual have been based, but escalates the implicit violence. The writer hints juicily at rapine and slaughter, characterised here baldly as the natural preserve of the indigenous uncivilised, those with a ‘fierce’ and ‘savage’ mentality. Stuart Hannabuss draws attention to the salient fact that writers of adventure tales have known for centuries that ‘[s]avages make good copy’.808 Though this factor is a given in commercial writing of this nature, an attendant negativity is also, as Mills explains, ‘a discursive feature of

807 Mills, p. 114.
writing produced within the colonial context’.\textsuperscript{809} Within this discursive structure, that which was frequently sensationalistic and derogatory, but which, by discursive conventions appeared as factual knowledge could be produced and reinforced with ease for uncritical readers.\textsuperscript{810} However, within contemporary gender/hero conventions, the man is the prime target. The final sentence of the above passage suggests itself as an analogue for the bold but often solitary Englishman in the wilder parts of the colonised world: the symbol of he who stood bravely but awkwardly to thwart the savage lust for murder and torture. However, despite having built up an atmosphere of considerable suspense and terror, Gilling’s resolution is low-key, almost as though he has suddenly remembered the tale concerns a young teenage boy and a helpless female, and is meant to be for children. No bloodshed occurs. Donald tricks the warriors with quick wits. He plays a gramophone disc that has a recording ‘the St Andrew’s Day celebrations in Edinburgh’, in particular a noisy rendition of the song ‘Auld Lang Syne’, and hearing this, the warriors run back to their canoe, believing the mission-house is full of people singing (110-111). Apparently, though fearsome, they are infantile, which reinforces what Castle terms ‘the damaging stereotype of the childlike African’.\textsuperscript{811} Donald’s mother faints, displaying feminine sensibilities that echo a Victorian-period stereotype (111). Donald’s father, returning to the mission station with the Commissioner and a troop of ‘native soldiers’ tells the boy proudly that ‘nerve and imagination’ are needed ‘when dealing with natives’ (111). This further infantilises indigenous Africans, reinforcing the idea that, although tribal Africans may look fierce and require ‘nerve’ to confront, they are really readily ably to be ‘dealt with’ like children, by children, using one’s imagination and superior intelligence to distract and control them as Donald has done. Tales with this kind of motif continued to occur even following World War II.\textsuperscript{812}

A fifth tale is an interesting variation on the theme, in that it deals with what might be termed in this context, an African indigenous product of superior English civilisation.

\textsuperscript{809} Mills, p. 114.  
\textsuperscript{810} Mills, pp. 114-115.  
\textsuperscript{811} Castle, Britannia’s Children, p. 90.  
\textsuperscript{812} Kathryn Castle, ‘Imperial legacies’, p. 151.
The tale is written by W.H. Morris and is called ‘The Flying Ghost’. It is a fairly short tale, some seven pages long and is set in Africa. The tale tells of Bosambo, ‘a gigantic young negro’, who is ‘paramount chief of the Minshi’ (113). Bosambo’s father has died, leaving him suddenly ‘ruler of some 50,000 people’ (113). Bosambo has experienced the benevolent side of the British embrace, for he has been ‘educated in England’, which the writer implies augurs well for the bright future of the Minshi (113). The village is portrayed as being literally awakened to life by the descent from the skies of Chief Bosambo in a ‘silver-winged biplane’ (113). One presumes this is meant to be read as a welcome harbinger of modern technology, for ‘the entire population turned out to gape’ (113). With his co-pilot and friend, a likely young English lad called Bill Travers, Bosambo has returned to his people, having heard that a ‘demon’ is mysteriously troubling them (114).

The author here represents the British as having had, as Castle suggests, a long-established habit of working ‘white magic in the far-flung reaches of the globe’. As well, royalty is respected in the racialised other, as Castle notes in her discussion of the figure of Hurree Jamset Ram Singh. As one of their educated men, and a respectable British ‘agent’, Bosambo seeks a rational explanation to the mystery. It is interesting to observe that at first Bill appears subordinate to Bosambo, the latter positioned by the writer as the ‘authority figure’ in the tale. This is done by having Bosambo use much more formal language than Bill (who uses slang) and having him take charge competently of the situation of his suffering people (114). However, the fact that Bosambo is an intelligent, educated and high-status African male does not stop the two from finding themselves in a perilous situation with an evil American villain, this time, a gun-runner. Again this offers further evidence of continued anti-American bias in the pre-war period. Despite his ‘gigantic’ physical size and strength, the African chief is knocked

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814 Kathryn Castle, ‘Imperial legacies’, p. 150.
815 Castle, *Britannia’s Children*, pp. 43-46, character famous as part of Harry Wharton’s superior school group in Frank Richards’ well-known Billy Bunter tales. Here, race is subsumed by class, although the character’s name is a typical ‘schoolboy’ joke of the period.
out by the villains. It is Bill who discovers what the ‘demon’ is: the siren of a paddle-steamer. It is also Bill who overhears the gun-runners’ plans and devises a cunning plot to free himself and Bosambo from their clutches. The point is not over-stated, but it is clear to the reader that the large, powerful African chief would be doomed without Bill’s assistance at this crucial moment. But Bosambo has other vital qualities. The relentless stereotyping of the popular literature of the period coded the African as a natural source of ‘primitive energy’, a component of which was brute strength. Sure enough when he regains consciousness, the ‘burly chief’ uses his ‘great hands’ to squeeze the neck of a villain ‘till he was insensible’ (119). The pair then escape and working together shoot their way out of danger, using ‘the twin Lewis guns which the biplane mounted’ (119). Perhaps this tale is an early example of what Castle notes as a spirit of conscious cooperation between the English and colonised peoples in the post-war period which she maintains produced a new form of ‘British advice and mentoring’. Considering that the spirit which had prevailed since Victorian times was paternalist, one of naturalised dominance and control based on racialist assumptions, this one 1930s tale perhaps signals a future more positive trend.

However, according to racialist ideology, not all races are equally capable of such assimilation of white English values. Another story in the same annual praises English persistence, determination and courage as opposed to the wildness and lack of proper discipline inherent in those from a non-English racial background. Again, the type of ‘othering’ that Mills describes takes place in this tale, with the discursive feature of negativity about ‘the other’ being both prominent and presented as ‘factual’, that is without question or qualification. Pugilism was a common trope in popular children’s literature. The tale “Fight on!” uses a pugilistic motif to encapsulate what MacKenzie calls ‘the aggressive militarism of juvenile literature’. Somewhat reminiscent of John Buchan’s Richard Hannay tales for adults, the story recounts how Bill and Jim, two

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816 Castle, Britannia’s Children, p. 84.
818 Mills, p. 114.
819 See my article, ‘Masculinity and the “others”’, for more extensive discussion.
820 MacKenzie, Propaganda and Empire, p. 34.
schoolboy rivals in the boxing-ring, join the military services and, later in their careers, serve in India.\textsuperscript{821} The two encounter a ‘snaky-haired wild-eyed mullah’ in Afghanistan, who is fomenting what the writer terms ‘a very pretty little holy war’ (182). The British troopers, a mere ‘handful of men’ are ‘alone in a mud fort’ facing the Afghans, who are characterised as ‘sneaking marauders who had dared to strike at the might of the British Raj’ (182-183). Showing calm and cheerfulness in the face of adversity, Bill sets his men to strengthening the fort, to wait for the attack (183). Bill then takes an opportunity to brave impossible odds and is able to rescue Jim from capture. The two then shoot their way out of an encounter with ‘an Afghan patrol’ the tactics of which are comparatively ill-disciplined and the attitude of whose members is described as ‘sullen’ (184-185). Yet again, a negative presentation of ‘the other’ is reinforced quietly for youthful readers by being compared directly to a positive presentation of the British.

It can easily be seen how an overall narrative of white English superiority emerges from just this one annual. Even though these tales might not have been read in any particular order, it is quite likely that methodical readers would have consumed them in the order in which they are set out. Other readers may have been less methodical, for popular literature read for pleasure, has, as Cedric Cullingford puts it, aspects of a ‘secret world’ into which children enter readily upon their own terms.\textsuperscript{822} This volume, like most children’s annuals from this period, has a ‘well-thumbed’ look – certainly each tale would have been read at some stage, and the order of reading is probably immaterial. The racialist ideas at the heart of each tale are identical and are re-inscribed each time for the reader in an all-important ‘constant repetition of the central ideas’.\textsuperscript{823} To utilise an architectural metaphor, central ideas are repeated like motifs might be in a section of decorative ironwork, with an overall narrative pattern proceeding firmly with each tale. The pattern repeats the following ideas: non-white colonised peoples need the English; the English are superior to those they colonised; those colonised by the English are

\textsuperscript{821} Michael Annesley, ““Fight On””, in The Bounty Book for Boys, (London: Juvenile Productions, c.1938), pp. 179-185. Subsequent references to this story appear in parenthesis in this chapter. See also footnote 137: there seems a reasonable chance that this is a pen-name of F.A.M. Webster.

\textsuperscript{822} Cedric Cullingford, Children’s Literature and its Effects, p. 192.

\textsuperscript{823} MacKenzie, Propaganda and Empire, p. 3.
properly grateful; those who refuse to be ‘civilised’ in the English way are savages and it is justifiable to take stern measures with them. The series of ideas listed in the foregoing sentence encapsulate the civilising mission of the white imperial English. Cullingford notes as well that ‘[a]ll children develop a theory of mind and a moral understanding very young’.\(^\text{824}\) Material in children’s annuals contained the series of ideas outlined above and transmitted it to readers who were young and uncritical, therefore highly vulnerable. As well as what might be termed the quietist jingoism of individual narratives of white English superiority, an overall narrative of English supremacy is presented in this annual, which is by no means an extreme example of its type for this period. Each tale reinforces the basic message of white English virtue and righteousness, deliberately building through text and illustrations, a powerful image of English superiority in the mind of the reader.\(^\text{825}\) In general, one of the hallmarks of Englishness was that a high value was placed on traditional white Anglo-Saxon virtues such as ‘service, athletic prowess, honour, courage, and fair play.’\(^\text{826}\) Stories often served a dual purpose in preaching naturalistic English ontological supremacy, for this was bound up closely with ‘civilised’ virtues.\(^\text{827}\) All was confidently justified by a sense of mission, and underpinned firmly with ‘Christian sensibilities’.\(^\text{828}\) The British embrace implied much that was considered valuable, and it must be remembered that at this period, children were still being trained in what MacKenzie calls ‘the much larger craft of the Empire itself’.\(^\text{829}\) Contemporary Australians had what Stuart Ward terms ‘ties of blood, language, history and culture’ that provided for most a ‘deep sense of attachment’ to Englishness.\(^\text{830}\) As Christopher Koch observes, this can be difficult to understand nowadays.\(^\text{831}\) Perhaps it is only with hindsight that it is discoverable, as he also notes, that early twentieth-century juvenile material is ‘tainted with the quaint and objectionable prejudices and myths of [the] era’.\(^\text{832}\) It is now clear children’s annuals are also steeped in what might here be termed

\(^\text{825}\) MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, p. 34.
\(^\text{826}\) Castle, *Britannia’s Children*, p. 6.
\(^\text{827}\) MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, p. 34.
\(^\text{828}\) Castle, *Britannia’s Children*, p. 6.
\(^\text{831}\) Koch, “Maybe It’s Because I’m A Londoner”, p. 32.
\(^\text{832}\) Koch, “Maybe It’s Because I’m A Londoner”, p. 30.
‘foundational’ ideologies of the Victorian period. Nevertheless, after Thistleton-Martin, the adult population had (and still has) a profound influence upon what children are given to read. Australian children received British literature from those they respected and loved, and, as Ross Terrill puts it, were probably quite unaware of the inherent racism of their society.  

Heather Scutter, who lists English children’s annuals as having been on her childhood bookshelves, remarks that, due to the reading of popular British literature, she was ‘an Empire girl’ even in the 1950s.  

For other Australian children, notions of white English superiority would also have been quite palatable and consequent notions of the ontological inferiority of non-whites, very simple to reinforce. 

In the late 1940s, following the end of World War II, the British Empire formally ceased to exist. However, it is arguable that in English children’s annuals, its cultural framework never ceased entirely. In the 1950s, the children’s annual genre took on something of a new lease of life, which for some publishers, such as the Eagle group, became a new ‘Golden Age’.  

However, MacKenzie’s argument holds: the same values and attitudes continued to appear within the children’s annual mode until its own final demise late in the twentieth century. Post-World War II material continued to reveal the kinds of racial stereotyping presented in the stories of the 1930s. In the African hunting tale, the ‘othered’ males are still indigenous, even with the demise of Empire and the new political realities of Africa. South Africa was particularly prominent in this regard, for since the 1960 Sharpeville shootings, resistance had been steadily growing to the policy of apartheid (established shortly after World-War II). However, as late as 1968, Africa was still being utilised as a location for young white men to perform daring feats. ‘Guy Bridges the Gap’ is a tale from *Dean’s New Leisure Book for Boys*, and demonstrates the genre’s innate conservatism.  

The author of this tale carefully points out to readers that the eponymous Guy has honed his superior athletic skills (crucial to the tale’s outcome) 

834 Scutter, p. 307.  
835 Clark, *The Children’s Annual*, p. 117.  
836 See my article, ‘Young masculinity and the “others”’, p. 159.  
at home in England ‘on the ropes in the school gym’. Despite Castle’s claim that at this time, British ideology was directed toward advising and mentoring their former colonial subjects, superior athletic skills are still utilised to exemplify British excellence. The 1960s generally was a period of significant historical change, so perhaps in a conservative field of generic writing, it was more important to stress, as this tale does, explicit details of race. It could also demonstrate author-nostalgia for a vanished past, for although this tale deals with a conservation motif rather than that of the ‘bagging’ of prey or of treasure, the two English youths are twice termed ‘the white hunters’. The tale’s narrative itself sets up a direct athletic rivalry between two racial groups, with the white race coming out on top. Africa, the useful setting of thousands of previous generic tales, is still co-opted as a colonial location of adventure narrative for an implied English readership. This tale may well be an example of recycled material merely updated in some aspects for a 1960s readership.

English annuals demonstrate that the white race-based model of ideal masculinity discussed in this chapter was prominent even as late as the 1980s. Tales of hunting in exotic locations remained very popular in annuals, with white, usually English, characters often the major exponents of heroic action and conversely, members of non-white races and ethnic groups portrayed as inferior in their attitudes and behaviour. A typical example is a tale called ‘The Quest for the Diamond Egg’, from Action Annual 1983, which portrays the English as far superior to both Europeans and to indigenous people. Gradually, hunting tales were also updated as science fiction. Outer-space and interplanetary settings provide opportunities for young, white English heroes to display their courage in alien territories which are often constructed as colonies.

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838 Waterhouse, p. 61.
839 Castle, ‘Imperial legacies’, p. 151.
840 Waterhouse, p. 60 & p. 65.
841 Waterhouse, p. 61.
842 Castle, ‘Imperial legacies’ p. 147.
843 See my article ‘Masculinity and the “others”’, pp. 159-161.
845 See my article ‘Masculinity and the “others”’, p. 164.
Chapter Four

Gender Ideology and the English Children’s Annual

In his summation of the topic of boys’ annuals, Robert J. Kirkpatrick does not examine in any detail the ideological thrust of such material, but in some accompanying remarks that concern short school stories in collections for children, notes that these in general ‘were fairly whimsical’, and were intended to be ‘light reading with no serious purpose’. 847 This is very far from the case: as Jill P. May observes ‘[f]ew authors simply write to while away the time’. 848 Such tales were heavily loaded with various ideologies. This chapter argues that although material in children’s annuals may have seemed ‘whimsical’ and was certainly designed for ‘light reading’ such material did have a serious purpose. Though I do not concentrate specifically upon school stories (which were plentiful in children’s annuals) I contend that stories contained in both boys’ and girls’ annuals served a distinctive ideological purpose. This was to inculcate English belief systems about gender, race and class within the children who read them.

Through the close reading of short tales, I examine some of the active ingredients utilised in ideological constructions of male and female gender. In 1976, Cadogan & Craig broke new ground in their analysis of girls’ popular fiction; Drotner (1988), through magazines, examined gender diversities in the lives of children and Tinkler in 1995 explored the contribution of popular magazines to the social construction of female gender. This chapter examines their arguments and conclusions about girls’ fiction against a wide exploration of a variety of short stories in English children’s annuals, and finds them largely compelling. However, nuances exist that come to light with close reading of such short tales. Overall, perhaps the most interesting aspect that is revealed is that, even while some tales at first appeared to be unconventional or radical, they always reinforced

847 Robert J. Kirkpatrick, p. 357.
conventional ideas about gender. Close reading reveals the structural and narrative strategies that guided readers toward unquestioning acceptance of the status quo within the particular timeframe of the tale.

David Glover and Cora Kaplan assert that ‘gender is a much contested concept, as slippery as it is indispensable, but a site of unease rather than of agreement’. However, it seems practical to accept that ‘gendered identity’ is thought widely to be made up of ‘cluster[s] of attributes’ although these may vary widely in cultural and social terms.

Cedric Cullingford reiterates ‘the importance of the reader’. Hilary Fraser and R.S. White also note, although ‘…gender is constructed by writers…readers are equally instrumental in the process’ of gender construction, as they often receive messages uncritically. This would have been the case for many young readers of children’s annuals. Different styles of male-female interaction are common to these stories.

J.S. Bratton maintains that at the turn of the nineteenth century, the ‘female function’ had two aspects, the spiritual and the biological. In Bratton’s words

the middle-class girl, in particular, had to learn to be wife and mother to the pioneer and the soldier, and therefore the depository of the ‘home values’ and the guarantor of ‘higher’ feelings and motives for the men’s conquests. The ladies at home were both the motive for fighting and striving in themselves – in their need for protection, and their ability to offer rewards to the victor – and the guardians and transmitters of a more abstract justification, of ideals, a sense of purpose and rectitude. They were both the warrior’s prize and the embodied ideal.

It is useful to bear in mind Bratton’s succinct analysis of the ‘clusters of attributes’ that were believed to belong ontologically to each sex. Sharyn Pearce declares that the influence of what she terms the ‘peculiarly nineteenth-century doctrine of the polar differences between the sexes’ was ‘pervasive’, for it was an innate part of Victorian-

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849 David Glover & Cora Kaplan, p. ix.
850 Glover & Kaplan, p. 3.
854 Bratton, p. 196.
Edwardian cultural and nationalistic idealism, itself tied to ‘the prevailing quasi-religious belief in the importance of the British Empire’. Like Pearce, Kate Darian-Smith draws attention to the fact that in ‘colonial frontier societies’ such polarised views of gender also served well the interests of white English men in regard to, as Darian-Smith puts it, ‘other racial groups and from the increasing political independence and activism of white women’. For all these reasons, it was important that imperialistic gender ideology continue to be conventionally-accepted as truth. This makes it abundantly clear why it was conveyed through contemporary children’s literature that although males might concentrate single-mindedly on being pioneers, soldiers and conquerors, females must be concerned primarily with the needs of others. This ideology prevailed in Australia well into the twentieth century, and in her memoir of Australian childhood, Jill Ker Conway outlines a rural Australian variation of the ‘female function’: ‘the ideal woman…could care for the sick, help fight a bushfire, aid a horse or cow in difficult labor’. Conversely, outback men ‘made great soldiers’ but, revealing the strength of the prevailing stereotype, Conway asserts that despite having been brought up to stoicism, their ‘daughters lacked such a calling’. This is hardly to be wondered at, for as Veronica Brady notes in her biography of Judith Wright, ‘the house’ was considered the woman’s domain and the role of little girls was to be ‘good’, learning ‘to sew and knit, help with the housework and play with dolls and keep scrapbooks’. Catharine Vaughan-Pow notes that in girls’ magazines during the 1890s, matrimony was definitely considered ‘a possible, or probable event in a woman’s life’, but that by the early 1900s, the discussion in magazines had shifted slightly toward ‘consideration of the institution of marriage’. Such a shift was probably more visible in magazines, for it is not highly-visible in early twentieth-century English girls’ annuals, in which there is strong editorial

856 Kate Darian-Smith, ‘Images of Empire: Gender and Nationhood in Australia at the Time of Federation’, in Kate Darian-Smith, Patricia Grimshaw and Stuart Macintyre, (eds), Britishness Abroad: Transnational Movements and Imperial Cultures, (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2007), p. 156.
858 Conway, p. 9.
awareness of the importance of conventional matrimonial ideology and a desire to transmit it to young readers. Penny Tinkler asserts that popular literature encouraged girls to ‘regard the winning of a husband as essential to their future happiness and security’.  

For girls, marriage was a key goal. In *The School Girl’s Annual, Vol. III*, owned by an Australian girl, there is a tale called ‘Elizabeth’s Match’ which tells how the eponymous Elizabeth forgoes a hockey match, instead assisting a poor family, and as a result of which kindness, meets a young man to whom she becomes engaged to be married.  

Other stories in this volume also concern courtship and marriage. Sharyn Pearce argues that popular stories ‘are persuasive tools of socialization whereby girl readers are prepared for their later married lives.’ Whether tales in annuals prepared girls for married life is debatable but there is no doubt that they offered soft-focus romance as a prelude to marriage, with images of brides and weddings still a standard part of the girls’ annual genre until late in the twentieth century. In girls’ annuals the glamour of the altar was far more powerfully-present than the aftermath. *The Schoolgirl’s Annual, Vol. III* also features colour plates with romantic subject matter, in direct contrast with the action scenes of the colour plates of contemporary boys’ annuals. Similar ideological demarcations between maleness and femaleness persisted in the children’s annual until its demise in the late 1980s.

Adventure stories were a major feature of the children’s annual genre, and often these were highly romantic, with some utilising Australia as a setting. Sharyn Pearce notes that the ‘Outback battler’ figure has always been romanticised.  

This was evident in the usage of cattlemen as romantic figures in children’s annuals. Australians responded enthusiastically to romantic stereotypes, and Jack Davis alludes to the wild popularity of the American cowboy-heroes of films in his childhood.  

Mary Durack maintains that in

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Australia, such ‘real’ working-figures as stockmen, unlike American cowboys, resisted the romanticisation of themselves.\footnote{Guilia Guiffré, ‘Mary Durack’ (1913-1994), in A Writing Life, p. 91.} Despite this, Pearce notes that the valorised and romanticised figure of ‘the Australian bushman’ was still presented unproblematically in literature of the 1950s as the ‘“typical Australian”’.\footnote{Sharyn Pearce, ‘When Australia Calls’, p. 3 & p. 6.} However, adventure stories were rather more concerned with reinforcing traditionalist gender roles than with romanticism. Pearce notes the salient fact that Australian boys in the comparatively recent past ‘had really only one example of manhood to aspire to.’\footnote{Pearce, ‘Secret Men’s Business’ p. 50.} A traditionalist paradigm, this was what Pearce terms a ‘monolithic concept’ of masculinity.\footnote{Pearce, ‘Secret Men’s Business’, p. 54.} It took no account of the fact that masculinity is culturally constructed. In paraphrase, Pearce’s own list of ideal masculine qualities provides a useful definition of the relevant masculine paradigm: from good Anglo-Saxon stock, no intellectual, but honest, practical and self-reliant; brave, gallant, responsible and conscious of his destiny as a man and as an Englishman.\footnote{Pearce, “Proper Little Ladies” p. 111.} This masculine paradigm was a contemporary version of the English ‘hero-figure’, which Susan Bassnett asserts was England’, epitomizing ‘Englishness and English values’, and which, she maintains, was manipulated deliberately to ‘serve a specific social purpose’.\footnote{Susan Bassnett, ‘Lost in the Past: A Tale of Heroes and Englishness’, in Christopher E. Gittings, (ed.), Kunapipi 18.1 (1990):54; 47-61.} The paradigmatic figure was presented in annuals aimed specifically at boys and in boys’ adventure stories, in which boys interacted almost exclusively with other males, and females were conspicuous by their absence. In tales in girls’ annuals, and significantly in annuals for younger children, a great deal more interaction took place between females and males. This reflects Australian reality for Conway. Because of the efforts of a diligent mother with feminist convictions, she had a time of equal relationships with her older brothers in her early childhood.\footnote{Conway, pp. 34-36.} However, for others, despite the fact that Australian children tended to have more freedom in their childhoods, it was likely that the old idea persisted that to be born female was to be born into ‘submission, passivity
and dependency’. Perhaps this explains why the equation of the interests of girls with those of young children persisted in annuals all through the twentieth century.

Penny Tinkler comments that girlhood as a cultural construct is historically ‘variable’ perhaps rather more so than the cultural construct of ‘boyhood’. Studies as diverse as E.S. Turner’s Boys Will Be Boys, W.O.G. Lofts and Derek Adley’s The Men Behind Boys’ Fiction, Joseph Bristow’s Empire Boys and even Jeffrey Richards Imperialism and Juvenile Literature focus particularly upon the boy in English popular literature. Pearce’s forthright assertion that ‘in the good old days, males had a pretty clear vision of what a man was’ bears out Tinkler’s comment. In comparison, the figure that Pearce calls ‘the imperial “ideal” girl’ has been neglected. With this in mind, I have chosen to concentrate mainly upon the construction of girlhood in children’s annuals, although contrasts and comparisons with gendered constructions of boyhood will also be invoked. In contrast with adventure tales aimed at boys in which traditional gender roles were reinforced firmly and unequivocally, gender roles frequently appeared to be challenged in adventure tales directed specifically at girls. These stories were usually set either in England or in parts of the world deemed ‘wilder’, such as Canada, Africa or Alaska. Later in the twentieth century, some were set in outback Australia. Girls situated in these parts of the world demonstrated courage, initiative and proficiency in activities such as sleigh-driving, horse-riding and even shooting. Davis recalls that shooting, particularly, was considered in Australia to be ‘a man’s sport’. However, in order to reinforce the status quo in action tales for girls, writers used the strategy that girls in general were not pitted directly against boys doing the same things. Nor were these active, capable females ever self-sufficient, but always on properties or involved in ventures run by adult males, usually fathers, grandfathers, uncles or older brothers. However, such stories were escapist reading, and necessarily so. Pearce notes that ‘strongly gender-differentiated

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873 Pearce, “Proper Little Ladies”, p. 112.
874 Tinkler, p. 183.
878 Jack Davis, p. 21.
destinies’ were an inherent part of the imperial worldview. Kerry M. White remarks, quoting Lilian Turner’s 1906 novel, *Betty the Scribe*, that the most likely lot of contemporary Australian females was ‘a life of cooking, of mending and making, of dusting and children-minding’. Interestingly, domesticity and escapism are combined in a copy of the 1924 Amalgamated Press’ *The Schoolgirls’ Own Annual* owned by an Australian reader, which contains articles on cookery and household hints, but also depicts an appealingly-green England filled with friendly schoolgirls and agreeable English activities such as Girl Guides, enormously popular in England. Most of the stories and articles from Amalgamated Press were produced by male writers, who analysed their target market with precision. Magazines from Amalgamated Press were far more popular with the targeted audience than magazines of other types. Adventures in twentieth-century girls’ annuals occurred as well in the context of the school story, and the Girl Guide story, strong generic features of the annual.

### The school story and the sporting arena

The twentieth century saw an increase in the potential marketing and scope of the school story for girls. School stories were gender-specific and appeared not only in annuals, but were very popular in book-length versions. Sarah J. Sneddon argues that, far from being puerile or ‘anachronistic’, school stories for girls ‘were, rather, in advance of many of the developments of our age’. Sneddon maintained that the longer girls’ school story was radical, and therefore provoked fear among social conservatives, as during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, ‘school story writers presented female characters in a way which was far from the conventional norm’. According to Sneddon, school stories contained unconventional ideas about ‘female education, religion, woman’s role in society and war’. However, this claim is contested through

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882 Kirsten Drotner, p. 191.
884 Sneddon, p. 197.
885 Sneddon, p. 304.
close reading of short school stories in girls’ annuals. These are revealed as not unconventional, but rather formulaic, reinforcing gender boundaries.

When ‘sport’ was the topic, this was also the case. Sport appeared frequently in the girls’ school story either as a motif or as a central plot point. In girls’ annuals, writers of this type of fiction in the early twentieth century unproblematically linked ‘healthy-mindedness’ with ‘enthusiasm for games’ which strongly suggests an ideological slant. It was well-accepted by the twentieth century that ‘girls were capable of physical activity just as much as boys’. This should never have been at issue, for women have always had to apply themselves to arduous physical work. For Australian women, it was no different, and the commentary of both Judith Wright and Conway upon middle-class twentieth-century household routine demonstrates amply the energy required by Australian housewives. However, there was a gender divide and Australian writer, Elyne Mitchell remarks that her own adventurous life which included sheep and cattle-droving and skiing, was prior to World War II, considered very unconventional. Nevertheless, things were beginning to change for women at this period, for some tales even pitted girls directly against boys on the sporting field. At a first glance, such tales might themselves be considered ‘unconventional’ in the context of sport. However, such tales followed a strict formula and writers used structural and narrative strategies to undermine any real challenge to gender ideology. Three such tales from girls’ annuals are examined in chronological order in the section below.

‘Cameron’s Kid Cousin’, from the mid-1920s is about a group of schoolchildren who, to pass their holiday-time, organise a friendly ‘males v. females’ cricket-match. This is a tale with a ‘twist’, for although the boys defeat the girls by forty-one runs, it is discovered at the end that the most successful with the bat for the boys’ team is actually a disguised

886 Mary Cadogan & Patricia Craig, p. 188.
887 Cadogan & Craig, p. 190.
888 Patricia Clarke, pp. 41-48; Conway, p. 23 & pp. 25-29.
girl, giving the lie to their initial claim that females know nothing about cricket. This tale, by using a ‘straw man’ premise, appears unequivocally to challenge the idea that female cricketing skills are secondary. However, the writer’s strategy is to set the tale during the informal context of holiday-time. Such a challenge to assumed male cricketing superiority is permitted in this context when boys might be expected to be relaxed and not treating such a challenge seriously. When school is in, the formulaic rules are rather less flexible. Two later school stories reinforce conventional ideas and are remarkably similar in their genuflexions to contemporary patriarchal orthodoxy. In an annual from 1927, a tale appears in which Alison, a girl disguised as her twin brother who has fallen ill, wins a tough, all-male cricket match with her excellent bowling skills. Alison is clearly what Cadogan and Craig term an ‘exceptional’ girl. This was one formulaic aspect of tales that appeared to challenge convention, the writer drawing on the adage of the exception which ‘proves’ the rule. The writer of ‘How Alison Won the Match’ ultimately contests the notion that female skills and achievements in this arena are equal with those of males, by stressing the fact that ‘real’ cricket is male territory. This is indicated in the tale’s final line, in which Alison observes without apparent irony, that she has the satisfaction of ‘knowing I once played in a real cricket match’ (37). This has the effect of undermining her achievement as does the fact that her prowess must be concealed by a pledge of secrecy (36). In reality, Alison has, from beginning to end, performed the conventional self-sacrificing role of the female, which is coded early in the tale and at its end as being the more important role (30 & 37). A tale in an annual from the mid-1930s reveals similarly strategic authorial narrative ploys. In R.S. Lyons’ story ‘Katie-Cricketer!’ , a girls’ cricket team competes against a reluctant boys’ team. Much is made of the boys’ reluctance to play against a team of girls and the girls win the match only by a single run (144-145 & 149). The girls’ team wins, not because it is superior in skill, but because it is captained by Katie Breenway, whose father is ‘Tom Breenway, the

891 Kerr, p. 86.
893 Cadogan & Craig, p. 325.
894 R.S. Lyons, ‘Katie-Cricketer!’, in R. Brandon (ed.), Hutchinson’s Girls’ Annual, (London: Hutchinson, c.1934), pp. 141-149; Lofts & Adley, p. 228: R.S. Lyons was a male writer working at this time. Subsequent references to this story appear in parenthesis in this chapter.
County cricketer’ (141). Katie’s paternity is the device connecting her to a family-skill tradition that is clearly still considered masculine, thus blunting any notions of a girl having in her own right sufficient natural cricketing ability to defeat a boys’ team. The writer points out on the first page of the tale that Katie, whose remarkable bowling skills enable the girls’ team to be victorious, is ‘a chip off the old block’ (141). This constructs Katie both as an ‘exceptional’ girl and as her father’s daughter, not as a skilful individual in her own right, a construction that is reinforced at the tale’s end, when Katie’s father arrives (149). The captain of the boys’ team is revealed on this last page as the son of another County cricketer, but no mention of his parentage has been made at the story’s beginning, by contrast with Katie’s. The writers of these two later short school stories certainly presented the idea that girls occasionally might be cricketers equally competent with boys. However, while ostensibly challenging the convention that girls were unequal in this area with boys, the writers use formulaic, structural and narrative strategies to reinforce the convention. Constant reiteration of the idea that girls were secondary to boys in this way contributed to the conditioning of girls into acceptance of the naturalness of their secondary role. Betty Roland, who was born in 1903, remarks that Australian women of her generation readily accepted a secondary role, but does not point to the conditioning that caused such acceptance. Boys, on the contrary, received conditioning that naturalised them as primary. Tales in which girls played sport against boys did not, in general, appear in annuals for boys.

However, a trend of cautiously questioning other conventional gender assumptions can be seen in school stories that appear in annuals from the early twentieth century. Cadogan and Craig note that ‘sport and speed were keynote features of the early 1930s’. Flight and the aeroplane became integral components of the ‘adventure’ trope in children’s annuals for both sexes. The cover of Collins’ Adventure Annual from the mid-thirties shows a youth descending in a parachute as an aeroplane crashes nearby, and the cover of The Bounty Book for Boys shows two young men juxtaposed with an aeroplane, as they prepare to defend themselves from hostile tribes-people. Australia, with its wide-open

896 Cadogan & Craig, p. 264.
spaces was also forging its own aviation history, but in annual tales with Australian settings, flying rarely appears. However, in terms of gender, flying was not just for boys, for during this period, ‘aviation history was made repeatedly’, perhaps most notably by ‘the exploits of Amy Johnson, Amelia Earhart and Jean Batten’ which were celebrated ‘in prose, poetry and song’. 897 The children’s annual also celebrated this glamorous new female figure: *The Golden Annual for Girls* has a female aviator (in goggles, a flying suit and somewhat-incongruous high heels) who is surrounded by admiring schoolgirls as she signs their autograph books. 898 In tales for girls, female characters drove cars, went mountaineering and flew aeroplanes, often within the context of the generic school story. Tales such as Frances Cowen’s ‘Betty Takes Wings’ appears to attempt to ground schoolgirl fantasies in ‘reality’. This tale takes very seriously the basic concept of girls learning to fly. 899 It also deals with male prejudice in a matter-of-fact way. However, ultimately, like all such tales, it is formulaic and predictable in outcome. Betty sets up a mock cockpit in the study at school, to ‘practise aviation’, with a view to becoming a pilot (59). Wishing to further her ambition in a practical way, she writes to a local flying ace, but receives the reply that he believes that ‘apart from the favoured few’, (presumably, Amy Johnson, Amelia Earhart and Jean Batten) he does not believe ‘in aviation for women’ (62). Nevertheless, he agrees to meet Betty and some of her friends and when this happens, reiterates his opinion that “[f]ew women are capable of practical knowledge necessary to guide an aeroplane; and very few women can keep their nerve in an emergency.” (63-64) However, Betty’s parentage, like that of Katie Breenway, proves useful at this point in the tale. When the flying-ace realises that Betty’s father is a friend of his from the armed services, Betty is able to persuade him to teach her to fly – one afternoon during a flying lesson, she has to take over, when her instructor becomes ill at the controls (65-66). This event cements Betty’s determination to follow a flying career, but the tale itself has followed yet another well-established formula, that of the ‘exceptional’ girl making her way patiently around male obtuseness. Betty is also

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897 Cadogan & Craig, p. 264.
furnished with a helpful father figure to smooth her path. Ultimately, unless one was ‘exceptional’ and was blessed with the right parentage, one’s chances of following Betty’s example were probably pretty slim.

The Girl Guide movement of the early twentieth century, with its ‘pioneering vigour’ also provided a context for girls to have adventures. Numerous stories involving Girl Guides and their activities appeared in annuals of this period as well as during earlier times. To maintain sales in a highly competitive market, publishers earlier in the century also needed to appeal to what Kathryn Castle terms ‘the ‘modern’ reader.’ In guide stories and school stories, sporting and physical activity were frequently emphasised. Female health and vigour was praised either directly or by extension, with lengthy descriptions of competitive games, such as hockey matches, which often had illustrations showing ‘action shots’, usually performed in front of cheering schoolfellows. Articles in girls’ annuals also dealt in considerable detail with techniques for individual sports, including judo, and team sports such as swimming, lacrosse and cricket. Tales in annuals were mostly accompanied by illustrations that reinforced various points made by the written text. In the forum of the shorter school story of the early twentieth century, the female was certainly being encouraged to cultivate her physical health with a view to an active and adventurous life.

Was a new ‘type’ of girl emerging? Possibly, in children’s magazines it may have appeared that way to readers. However, lest this picture of the modern girl seem straightforward or even simplistic, it is important to note that in annuals, it was balanced very solidly with closely-detailed attention to other aspects of what was deemed appropriate behaviour and practice for females. It is crucial to pay attention to the ‘form’ or ‘format’ of the annual. As well as containing entertaining stories for children, annuals contained instructive articles dealing with what might be termed almost literally, the ‘material’ or ‘fabric’ of everyday middle-class life. For some readers, especially those

900 Cadogan & Craig, p. 140.
901 Kathryn Castle, *Britannia’s Children*, p. 168.
902 Drotner, pp. 135-139.
with a more practical turn of mind, such articles might even have held more enduring fascination than the fictional material in annuals. Girls from poorer backgrounds generally were too busy working to have much leisure time for reading.\textsuperscript{904} And as Drotner so rightly points out, working-class girls were the very last group to be ‘introduced to full-time schooling and a future-oriented upbringing’.\textsuperscript{905}

**Gender Construction**

White notes that when visiting Australia early in the new century, American missionary Jessie Ackerman maintained that despite their signal opportunity to initiate reforms for females, that Australian girls were still following ‘the same old disgustingly false and unreal social highway of the past’.\textsuperscript{906} Children’s annuals contributed to this by providing for Australian readers, what might be termed a template for imitation. Tinkler asserts the powerful ideological role of appearance in girls’ magazines in which girls ‘were clearly told that their posture, voice, clothes and body were reliable indicators of personality.’\textsuperscript{907} Drotner notes as well that ‘emphasis on personal appearance’ was reinforced by illustrations in popular girls’ magazines.\textsuperscript{908} Through numerous illustrated articles, girls were taught how to read four notional components ‘facial beauty, dress, posture and voice as clues to the character of a woman, be she real or fictional’, thus, the significant role of dress as an element of the construction of femininity.\textsuperscript{909} Clothing was thereby assumed to be a topic of perennial interest for female readers. In one magazine-style annual, *The Girl’s Own Annual* (c.1923-24), which comprises eleven issues of the highly-popular *Girl’s Own Paper and Woman’s Magazine*, the final four to five pages of each monthly issue are devoted solely to the topic of dress, supplying comprehensive illustrations of the newest styles, not only for girls and women but also for male and female children.\textsuperscript{910} These illustrations are both line-drawings and photographic.

\textsuperscript{904} Drotner, p. 148.
\textsuperscript{905} Drotner, p. 237.
\textsuperscript{906} Kerry M. White, p. 74, quoting Jessie Ackerman, *Australia From a Woman’s Point of View*, (Cassell, 1913)
\textsuperscript{907} Tinkler, p. 160.
\textsuperscript{908} Drotner, p. 165.
\textsuperscript{909} Tinkler, p. 160.
and dress patterns are also recommended, patterns for simple craftwork are supplied as are hints on trimming and on fashionable accessories that might be purchased or more often made or decorated at home. Patterns for dresses are supplied by mail order to be addressed ‘to the “Girl’s Own” Fashion Editor’ at its London office.\textsuperscript{911} In a period prior to large scale mass-produced fashion, it was safe to assume that such information would be received eagerly by a middle-class readership and as an added incentive, the \textit{Girl’s Own} states in heavy print that ‘[t]he price of all our Patterns is now reduced’.\textsuperscript{912} For girls, then clothing was constructed as extremely important and was often presented in annuals, as in magazines, as the passport to social success. If she had known of this, Jessie Ackerman’s concern for the social path of the Australian girl might have been even greater. One can only wonder what the American missionary would have thought had she seen that in the 1921 \textit{Australasian Girl’s Annual}, readers were openly offered frivolous ‘flapper’ stories.\textsuperscript{913}

In her discussion on the cultural significance of dress, Linda Grant observes that ‘[h]ow people are dressed is the most reliable indicator of differing periods in history’.\textsuperscript{914} Grant stresses that clothing, rather than other factors such as architecture, points very specifically to one’s location in time.\textsuperscript{915} The truth of Grant’s observation is seen clearly in children’s annuals in which illustrations also visibly marked changes in the appearance of women and girls. In post-World War I annuals, the appearance of women and girls undergoes a significant change. In the earlier 1920s, in such annuals as \textit{The Empire Annual for Australian Girls} (c.1919), \textit{In the Springtime} (1921) and \textit{The Australasian Girl’s Annual} (1921) female appearance and attire has a strongly Edwardian flavour. Long tea-gowns and travelling-dresses, sashes, picture hats and elaborate hairdos feature regularly in illustrations. By the end of the following decade, these styles have altered markedly and only appear on older women, such as great-aunts or grandmothers, who

\begin{footnotes}
\item[911] Klickmann, (ed.), \textit{The Girl’s Own Annual}, p. 64.
\item[912] Klickmann, (ed.), \textit{The Girl’s Own Annual}, p. 64.
\item[914] Linda Grant, ‘The Traveller in Time’, in \textit{The Thoughtful Dresser}, (London: Virago, 2009), p. 120.
\item[915] Grant, p. 120.
\end{footnotes}
indeed, are often marked out by their adherence to what are now coded in annuals as the styles of yesteryear.

It is interesting to note that the cricketing story of ‘Cameron’s Kid Cousin’, which appears above is juxtaposed with a poem called ‘When Granny Made a Dress’. This poem contrasts the ease and simplicity of more modern dressmaking with the laborious process of the past as it lists the fabrics and complex styles from which ‘granny’ had to choose. Class was an element in such pieces. Granny evidently had the leisure to pore ‘over fashion-plates’. Her choice of tarlatan, jaconet, merino, poplin, cashmere, watered silk and grenadine and the fact (made clear in the illustrations that accompany the poem) that the gown she has chosen to make is elaborate, indicate that granny was not working-class but comfortably middle-class. Consumption is also an element. As Pearce points out, even as late as the 1950s, girls were constructed as consumers and thus encouraged to secure emotional happiness ‘through material well-being’. This poem, as it quietly constructs females as consumers over the centuries, reveals that such construction has a long history. However, the poem dwells also upon the pleasures of dressmaking for women, suggesting that this was a shared female and family tradition and hinting strongly that such collective delights are still available to women of the mid-1920s. It is as though two aspects of the feminine, the sporting and the domestic, are being presented by the editor, with a view deliberately to drawing reader attention to both aspects, to emphasise and commend the wide and ‘progressive’ scope of social change. This type of juxtaposition camouflaged the genre’s innate social conservatism.

Sometimes, in the interests of showing ‘progress’ in annuals of the mid and later 1920s, well-illustrated articles would appear that deliberately drew attention to alterations in female dress and behaviour patterns, in a more direct way even than ‘When Granny Made a Dress’. In The Schoolgirls’ Own Annual, 1926, (produced in 1922) a short article titled ‘When Grandma went to School’ has contrasting illustrations of two young girls, one wearing a crinoline and a long hairstyle and the other in a 1920s party-frock and a short

917 Pearce, ‘When Australia Calls’, p. 8.
hairstyle. The writer of this article commends one unnamed female ‘reformer’ for having ideas ‘ahead of her time’, being ‘one of the very few to advocate games for girls’ (169). However, the writer describes other aspects of 1840s girlhood as ‘severe’, making the statement that ‘I am rather glad that I was born in the twentieth century’, because girls of Victorian times ‘did not enjoy the privileges that we enjoy’ (170). However, the article concludes with the sweeping assumption that that ‘Grandma’ despite her underprivileged life ‘was quite happy and contented’ (170). Perhaps the writer felt here that it was not wise to appear too critical of ‘Grandma’, who might well have been the one who purchased the annual for her grand-daughter. Interestingly, the next tale in this annual is titled ‘The Old Fashioned Frock’. This deals with a young schoolgirl and is not merely a sentimental, nicely-illustrated and Cinderella-themed tale of a Victorian dress but constitutes as well a sharp critique of some snobbish outdated social attitudes. Sneddon’s assertion of a more radical gender ideology contained in girls’ school stories has some relevance in this instance. However, the tale itself still follows a conventional formula of a sweet young girl melting the stony heart of an old man. Blackie’s Girls’ Annual of the mid-twenties covers strikingly similar territory to ‘When Grandma went to School’, going even further back into the past with an article titled ‘A Hundred Years Ago’, which describes in detail the dress and conduct of girls ‘of the reign of George IV’, comparing these directly to those of the mid-1920s and concluding that even in that time, women and girls (especially of the wealthier classes, although, again, this aspect is elided over) led interesting lives. However, the article criticises quite trenchantly the ‘moralizing’ tendencies of the parents of the girls of Georgian times, indicating a perception that things have in this respect, probably begun to change permanently for the better. Later, in the same annual, a short poem by Natalie Joan draws attention to at

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920 In the tale, Sir Robert Tarrington, who is cruelly-prejudiced against those he views as his social inferiors, is made to mend his ways.
921 Sneddon, p. 304.
923 Smith, p. 23.
least one stark difference between the times of ‘great-great-Granny’ and the 1920s.\textsuperscript{924} The poem describes a girl who is about to play in a cricket match, and who realises suddenly that her ancestor would have understood neither her desire to play cricket, nor her desire to succeed in the match. It is interesting to view this poem in the light of what was really occurring in certain other cricketing tales that appeared in girls’ annuals. By earmarking what seemed to be ‘progress’ in this way, annuals instructed their readers in appreciation of the privileges of contemporary modern females. Nevertheless, the self-conscious applauding of progress masked a conservative social agenda. By the 1920s and 1930s, popular magazine literature had become ‘an age-and gender-specific’ organiser of childhood.\textsuperscript{925} In other words, it was an innate part of middle-class English culture. Furthermore, childhood itself had by then become a construct defined by the social values of ‘bourgeois manufacturers and religious devotees more than a hundred years earlier’.\textsuperscript{926} An identical self-perpetuating cycle was set in motion in children’s annuals.

Illustrators and writers of stories and articles of this period continually fed readers what might be termed an ontological interest in dress of varying kinds. Editors juxtaposed their material for the most educational effect. For instance, in \textit{Great Stories for Girls}, a 1920s annual, an article on fancy-dress declares that nothing holds ‘a greater fascination for young people’ than “‘dressing up’”.\textsuperscript{927} To utilise the ‘dressing-up’ theme for instruction, the article is juxtaposed with a well-illustrated and extremely socially-conservative tale about a Yuletide celebration.\textsuperscript{928} The tale stresses the importance of ‘traditional’ good manners as opposed directly to hoydenish ‘modern’ manners, in that it rewards a girl (of impoverished but aristocratic background) whose manners are coded as the more socially-appropriate. Agnes Crevell is adopted by a millionaire couple, because she is a ‘nice quiet old-fashioned little lass’. In contrast to the elaborate costumes of some of her nouveau riche school-friends, Agnes has arrayed herself in ‘a white woollen blanket and

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{925} Drotter, p. 191.
  \item \textsuperscript{926} Drotter, p. 191.
  \item \textsuperscript{928} Katharine L. Oldmeadow, ‘Oh, The Mistletoe Bough’, in \textit{Great Stories for Girls}, (Glasgow: Sunshine Press, c.1927); Sims & Clare, pp. 253-256: Katherine L. Oldmeadow (1878-1963) was a prolific writer of girls’ fiction.
\end{itemize}
some linen’ as a Dominican nun. The article, which follows the tale, stresses that fancy-
dress costumes were a form of creative handcrafting, but elides tidily over the fact that
even the simplest costume requires access to at least some spending-money, as well as to
basic resources (such as white woollen blankets and linen) more often found easily in
middle-class homes than in those of the working-class. The article also alludes casually to
large bath towels, chef’s suits, old lace curtains, disused bead necklaces, bracelets and
anklets, as though these might be lying about in all homes. And, although times might
have been changing, the ‘dressing-up’ motif did not disappear, for even up to the late
1960s, it was still utilised similarly, as middle-class girls agonise and slave diligently
over their costumes. 929 Tales of fancy-dress balls also exhibit the perennial social theme
of middle-class young people of both sexes meeting one another and the costume ball
was a frequent motif in tales for girls. In boys’ annuals of the same period, dress was
seldom alluded to in any more specific way than in illustrations that visually set the
‘period’ of any given tale.

What was often termed ‘needlecraft’ was presented in girls’ annuals as an admirable skill,
with one article on ‘hand-embroidered underwear’ being addressed to ‘the girl who is
clever with her needle’. 930 In another annual from about the same period, an article
appears on how to make a knitting apron, which assumes that its readers will be familiar
with knitting, yet another type of ‘needlecraft’. 931 And middle-class girl-readers had
leisure for all these pursuits and were expected to put their time to effective use.
According to Drotner, the role of magazine-style literature became very important in this
regard:

> [f]rom its inception The Girl’s Own Paper provided a central forum for advice that was of
> common interest [and] emphasized mental and practical usefulness along with methodical work.

delves on the exquisite detailing of an heirloom Victorian gown; Anon. ‘The Beatnik Ball’, in Girl Annual,
(London: Longacre, 1964), pp. 132-135, less anguish for the girl involved, because her improvised
‘beatnik’ costume is very simple. Conversely, this tale hinges on the discomfiture of the beau, who is
inappropriately-dressed for the ball in immaculate suit and tie; Hazel Pike, ‘Hallowe’en High Jinks!’ in
habits – activities that were seen as necessary bulwarks against feminine dissipation and inactivity. Further, the ‘middle-class elevation of women’s cultural mission’ was endorsed by editorial policies. What Tinkler terms ‘the servicing of others’ was ‘central to femininity’ as constructed in girls’ magazines. Aspects of this can be seen in the sporting tale of Alison as discussed above. Girls were encouraged to be ‘helpful’ in articles of this type and this article concludes with the suggestion that such an apron might be good for a Christmas gift. In 1924, The Schoolgirls’ Own Annual featured three articles in which needle-work was utilised. The first of these, ‘With Needle and Cotton’ is introduced with a question:

Have you ever considered, girls, what dainty little trifles you can make yourselves for presents to sister, mother, aunt, or cousin and even for father, out of little things that at first appear to be of no value at all?

Tinkler maintains that in magazine articles ‘[p]aid work was…most usually employed as a backdrop for the real business of girlhood which revolved around relationships’. However, articles in annuals also demonstrated, in an understated manner to readers, that it was possible for girls to develop interesting careers in the ‘feminine’ arts. For example, Blackie’s Girls’ Annuals from the early to later twenties featured articles by a writer called Anne Knox Arthur, underneath whose name appeared in brackets the phrase ‘Glasgow School of Art’. These articles instructed readers how to form various decorative stitches on items of apparel or on items for home and garden usage, which could also be hand-crafted. Drotner writes that in the Girl’s Own Paper, detailed pictures added ‘an aesthetic beauty to the periodical’s firm instructions in traditional female pursuits’ which illustrations made the pursuits themselves seem much more attractive. The articles in Blackie’s Girls’ Annuals utilise this convention just as effectively with

932 Drotner, p. 150.
933 Drotner, p. 150.
934 Tinkler, p. 115.
936 ‘With Needle and Cotton’, p. 69.
937 Tinkler, p. 115.
938 Drotner, p. 155.
colourful photographs as well as black and white illustrations. Collars, neck-ties and baskets were popular, made and decorated with a variety of materials. The earliest of these articles is written simply as a series of instructions on how to construct ‘dainty collars’.939 The second of these articles was pitched rather more consciously at its readers: after introducing the idea of the charm of working with raffia, Arthur refers to the helpfulness and daintiness of the work of ‘skilful fingers’, creating an attractive word-picture of specifically ‘feminine’ creative potential, domesticity and industriousness:

Hats, bags, table-mats, tea-cosies, baskets, slippers, and dress embroideries, all are possible and interesting to the needle-worker who has good taste and likes to spend her leisure time in making pretty things for herself and others.940

This article bears out Tinkler’s point that relationships were the cornerstone of girlhood, in its neat combination of the idea of service to others with the pleasure of creativity in needlework. Girlhood for Australian girls was assumed to be no different in this respect. The annual in which this article appears was given as a ‘first prize’ to a girl from Gnowangerup in rural Western Australia.

**Serving others**

As noted, many articles emphasised for girls the importance of serving others. An article from *The Australasian Girl’s Annual* of 1921 deals with the collecting of old brass and copper.941 The emphasis is upon collecting for the home of the contemporary period and for the enjoyment of those who live in it and those who visit it, rather than for the female collector herself. In this article, praise is also applied to ‘[t]he old housewives…who thought a great deal of their cooking spoons, their great meat forks, and the instruments they used to stir up and lade out savoury concoctions’.942 This type of writing with its admiration of the power inherent in a sturdy command of the ‘tools of the trade’ seems designed to inspire girls toward the housewife role. Another article from 1924, titled ‘Household Hints for Girls’, is pitched at girls ‘who aspire to become the handy girl

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942 Burgess, p. 146.
about the house’ and deals in quite some detail with various domestic areas, including the ‘sick room’.Earlier in the same annual, there is also a lengthy article on cooking. There was a double standard in what was permissible for both sexes, but cookery was an area in which minor negotiation took place regarding what was gender-appropriate. In tales such as ‘The Family Secret’, in the absence of ‘Cook’, children of both sexes take to the kitchen to bake a special cake which wins a prize at a fete. However, when such tales appeared they usually occurred in annuals pitched at girls or at children. Gender-based ideology persisted in the annuals. Cookery for boys usually appeared in the context of tales such as those which involved outdoor, camping or scouting activities, and as a rule, it did not appear very often. Scouting annuals for boys tended to concentrate heavily upon adventure tales, either within or outside of the context of a troop of scouts and Collins Boy Scouts’ Annual from the early thirties contains only one article that is concerned directly with the training of scouts to be helpful to others. A scouting annual from the 1970s reveals exactly the same format and again contains only one article concerned directly with helpfulness. Two scouting annuals from the early seventies contain rather more tales and articles that pertain directly to helping others but these are pitched at the younger scout, so perhaps younger boys, still designated as ‘children’, were assumed to be more receptive to direct training toward helpfulness to others. And still later, a scouting annual from 1982 pitched at younger scouts has only one article about assisting others, and this concerns the St John Ambulance organisation, rather than the scouts themselves.

945 Cadogan & Craig, p. 326.
946 Aimée Le Poidevin, ‘The Family Secret’, in The Lucky Girls’ Budget, (London: Blackie, c.1925-1935), pp. 75-87, the ‘family secret’ is that cough-mixture is used to flavour the prize-winning cake.
By contrast with girls’ annuals, in boys’ annuals from similar timeframes, articles that deal with hobbies and crafts are directed almost solely toward the enjoyment of the hobbyist as an individual. Consumption of such articles sometimes led active Australian children to put into practice what they read, occasionally with unexpected results. John Bowden, born in 1906 in Tasmania, describes his recollection of a boyhood experience. His family possessed an under-house workshop, and:

we built all kinds of things in there, even a hot air balloon. We had seen the design in a Boys’ Own Paper or some such. It showed you how to cut the paper out and paste it up into this big balloon…the idea was that you heated the air in it and it rose up to the skies…

However, instead of the tissue paper specified, newspaper was used, and the wrong kind of ‘gas’. Bowden remarks that it was only by quick action that a major fire was averted. Another article from 1921, by G.E. Hopcroft, supplies a detailed plan and deals with the construction of a model boat powered by strands of rubber elastic. This article contains no suggestion whatever of how the pleasure of this might be shared with others. The emphasis is, rather, on the meticulous process of building, and, more obliquely, upon the science of physics, with remarks about the ‘tremendous force rubber exerts’ and upon the ultimate aim of producing the fastest possible craft. The article itself is presented using four headings, which signals to readers that it is a ‘factual’ rather than fictional treatment of a topic. Another of Hopcroft’s articles from the mid-1920s deals with the construction of a model armoured car, something used in battle, still considered at that time, of course, to be primarily a masculine domain. However, there is not the slightest suggestion that the construction of this model is for the interest and pleasure of anyone but its constructor. Doubtless, contemporary boys were assumed to be as docile to the following of conventional social patterns as girls were assumed to be and perhaps to have absorbed through osmosis the ultimate expectation that they would one day marry and support a family. At any rate, a boy was expected to devote some time to considering his future

career. *The Blazed Trail Adventure Book* (c.1923) contains an article by F.J. Camm, on the building of a model aeroplane, couched in similar terms to the previous article, but with the added suggestion that interesting careers might lie ahead for expert model-builders.\(^{954}\) The article emphasises that the building of models is a ‘science’, and the article itself, like the previous one, is sectioned neatly under headings, with plans and diagrams supplied to illustrate the process. *Collins’ Boy Scouts’ Annual* from the early thirties likewise contains a lengthy and detailed article called ‘The Construction of a Motor Car’, which is divided into four sections with a concluding ‘List of Mechanical Terms’ and also features two pages of detailed diagrams.\(^{955}\) The tone of such articles is always direct, matter-of-fact and almost self-consciously no-nonsense with little of what might be termed the ‘feminine’ aspects of socialising, which appears in the more chatty articles in girls’ annuals. Such articles directed at boys construct both their writers and their readers as doers, learners and solvers of mechanical and technical problems in the traditional Victorian ideological terms formulated by Ruskin and perpetuated well into the twentieth century.\(^{956}\) Again, although there is no mention of consideration of others, Camm’s article concludes with the suggestion that an understanding of the physics of aircraft construction by a ‘diligent’ reader ‘may perchance help him to attain a good position in the flying world’.\(^{957}\) Since marriage was such a central social ideal for both men and women,\(^{958}\) this might be read as a code for the earning of a high income and the prospect of becoming an attractive ‘catch’ for some lucky girl.

### Science

It is truly remarkable that in the children’s annual, a medium which would have seemed ideal for their dissemination, science-related topics appeared rarely, and indeed could be said to have been marginalised. Thousands of annuals were published, containing thousands of stories, pictures, articles, poems, games and puzzles, but very few were

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\(^{957}\) Camm, n.p.
\(^{958}\) Tinkler, pp. 35-36 & p. 154.
about science and scientists. Perhaps earlier writers and editors had little interest in such
topics. Quite possibly some felt uneasy about the inherent physical dangers of scientific
research, especially for curious children. Perhaps it may have been that twentieth-century
science was proceeding at such a pace that it was beginning to defy easy categorisation.

‘Science’ was once defined simply as ‘knowledge’. Lately, it is defined more precisely
as ‘the intellectual and practical activity encompassing the systematic study of the
structure and behaviour of the physical and natural world through observation and
experiment’. ‘Science’ however, has always implied a quest for new understanding,
and so has a way of challenging or subverting settled categories. Given that unsettling
quality, it may even be that science was viewed by some as challenging conservatism. If
science-related topics appeared at all, they were categorised unobtrusively under sub-
headings such as ‘archaeology’ or ‘nature study’.

Some of the rare ‘scientific’ articles from the earlier decades of the twentieth century
demonstrate the gendered aspects of children’s annuals. For example, popular interest in
natural history or ‘nature study’ had been well-established by nineteenth-century
popularisers such as Philip Gosse, G.H. Lewes and others. Revealing a continuation of
interest in this Victorian occupation, a 1916 boys’ annual contains an article titled ‘How
to become a Naturalist’. The writer, constructing himself as a naturalist (but perhaps
not), even points out with mild disapproval that often boys discard natural history in
favour of ‘athletic sports’ as recreation. Perhaps this demonstrates a perception that
contemporary ideological guidance of boys toward ‘action’ was functioning all-too-well
and here the writer seems to challenge it on behalf of boys. This article sets out in clear
detail what steps must be followed by boys in order to pursue natural history as a career.

By contrast, an article in a 1920s English girl’s annual deals with the observation of the

960 ‘Science’, in Oxford English Dictionary Online: http://oxforddictionaries.com/view/entry/m_engb0741060#m_en_gbo741060, 16/8/10
962 Step, n.p.
habits of small native birds. Female readers are encouraged ‘to study the natural lives and habits of wild birds’. Yet such study is not couched directly as a scientific or nature study project. It is certainly not couched as the lead-in to a career, for it is clear that it is intended to be done locally, especially within the framework of the suburban garden. Observers are encouraged to feed the birds, and through such nurturing, to foster delightful friendships.

For contemporary boys, it was very different: action was further afield as in their annuals they were encouraged to participate in heavy, dirty industries, such as mining and dredging. Articles about exciting careers in dredging and salvage also appeared occasionally in English boys’ annuals well beyond the 1920s. The sheer activity, toughness and crudeness of such industries is emphasised in the 1920s article, which also has an underlying theme of moral virtue, that of perseverance. The children’s annual made no distinction between applied science and research science. What might be termed in this context ‘applied science’ was equated in small print, almost as an afterthought, with industry and, stressing male co-operativeness in the workplace, the article includes ‘the engineer, the railway builder and the chemist’, along with robust and action-packed descriptions of their working-lives. Though girls read boys’ annuals and vice versa, the annual in which this article appeared was pitched specifically at Australian boys. The article and its context leave no doubt that these are jobs for men. Such articles as these latter two reflected and reinforced dominant gender ideology: it was considered highly unlikely that girls would choose to fossick through ‘rubbish heaps’ when they could have

964 Tetley, p. 13. Author’s emphasis.
965 Tetley, p. 12, sub-heading reads ‘The Possibilities of a Suburban Garden’, in which birds might be observed and fed.
966 Frederick A. Talbot, ‘Winning Wealth From Rubbish Heaps: there is nothing that is no good-is the axiom of modern science and industry!’, in Eric Wood (ed.), The Australasian Boy’s Annual, (London: Cassell, 1921), pp. 121-127.
968 Talbot, p. 123-126.
a nice house and garden and friendships with sweet little birds. The annuals containing these articles were pitched at older teenagers on the verge of the adult world and are commensurately serious in tone. Such articles were rare and their ideological demarcation and categorisation was very distinctive. However, occasionally, the importance of research-related science was stressed for boys. For instance, *Herbert Strang’s Annual* from 1924 contains an article called ‘Measuring an Electron’.\(^ {969}\) Articles of this nature were most generally not found in contemporaneous girls’ annuals.

In *From Faust to Strangelove*, her seminal study exploring the representation of the scientist in Western literature, Roslynn Haynes underscored the power of the ‘image’ in popular culture, observing that a marked gap exists between the day-to-day actuality of the scientist and the image of the scientist in popular belief.\(^ {970}\) Using print text and pictures, children’s annuals deployed ‘science’ mainly as a fictional motif or trope and by doing so, presented and represented an image of ‘science’ and ‘scientists’ to children. Science tropes, when they did appear, performed an ideological function in children’s annuals. Literary tropes are often utilised to express the anxieties, concerns and obsessions of the adult world that find their way into children’s literature. Indeed, Kutzer argues that children’s texts written by adults provide ‘a cultural mirror for adult fears and desires’.\(^ {971}\) Although the literary science trope was popular in adult fiction, its rarity in English children’s annuals indicates a marginalisation, especially in the early twentieth century. Marginalisation of the science trope in children’s annuals had a role in the transmission of the dichotomised gender ideology that dominated the twentieth-century British adult world. Such ideology was transmitted through popular children’s literature in children’s annuals. Annuals such as *Chatterbox Annual*, when alluding to science, use colourful images conveying a sense of the apprehensive mystique attendant upon what might be termed ‘the shock of the new’. Such images are weirdly-lit and bizarre.\(^ {972}\)

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\(^ {971}\) M. Daphne Kutzer, *Empire’s Children*, pp.140-141.

\(^ {972}\) Anon. “‘At the bottom of the deep blue sea’”, in *Chatterbox*, (London: Wells, Gardner, Darton, 1925), facing p. 144. This illustration shows an undersea scene using new scientific technology: a diver in a dark,
*Chatterbox* was intended for younger children of both sexes and science-related topics did appear in it, with the likely intention of copying the general-knowledge and educational paradigm of Arthur Mee’s popular *Encyclopaedias* to attract serious-minded adult purchasers. In terms of children’s annuals, *Chatterbox* annual, with its earnest devotion to instruction and entertainment, is close in spirit to Mee’s encyclopaedia, which aimed to fill this dual function for children. A copy of *Chatterbox* from 1926 shows what might be termed a ‘Victorian’ aesthetic in its title page, its heavy emphasis on ‘factual’ content, its numerous dense black and white illustrations that have the look of woodcuts, and in its serializing of longer stories.\(^973\) Again, like Mee, *Chatterbox* took care with its contents pages, though *Chatterbox* did not attempt the rigid categorizations of Mee’s encyclopaedia, but merely alphabetized its contents pages, separating the list of contents into ‘poetry’, ‘illustrations’ and ‘coloured plates’. However, the subject matter of *Chatterbox* is modern, as are its coloured illustrations. In annuals pitched at a slightly older audience, the treatment of science was different. In the 1920s and 30s, the popular *Greyfriars Holiday Annuals* were published by Amalgamated Press, a market leader. In 1928, an illustration of a notional career-map appeared on which possible career options are depicted.\(^974\) Allowing for certain elements of escapist fantasy, it can still be seen that all but one (the artist) are heavily involved with masculine-style ‘action’. Some career options are realistic and achievable, making oblique reference to the cutting-edge technology of the late 1920s, but images of scientific paraphernalia and scientists are absent.

Haynes maintained that in literature there are six recurrent ‘scientist’ stereotypes, all but one, negative.\(^975\) With this in mind, it is perhaps unsurprising that a sinister or ‘weird science’ stereotype was deployed in children’s annuals. When putative scientific and technological advances actually appeared, as they occasionally did in a fictional context,

\(^973\) *Chatterbox*, (London: Wells, Gardner, Darton, 1926).
\(^974\) Anon. ‘When Schooldays End!’, in *The Howard Baker Greyfriars Holiday Annual for 1928, (Abridged Edition)*, (1927, London: Howard Baker, 1971), p. 101, a schoolboy is shown centrally positioned in an armchair, as he contemplates various future career options represented around him, such as fire-fighting; exploring; motorcycle riding; a career in the navy or as a pilot, or as an artist.

\(^975\) Haynes, pp. 3-4
there was a dismaying ambivalence to their depiction. From *Greyfriars Annual 1932*, comes a tale of a visit to an imagined future in which scientific progress holds sway, and its portrayal is disconcerting.976 One illustration in this tale shows a class group being taught by an eerie-looking figure on a flat screen, and the students wear close-fitting helmets which are wired to a central place in the classroom roof (223). Perhaps some of this speculation was accurate considering how current society collectively connects to the internet to receive information and knowledge. But the overriding impression is that this future is not entirely pleasant. As though to confirm this unpleasant impression, the next illustration links technological progress unmistakably with corporal punishment: class members have all their thoughts recorded and these are transmitted to a ‘Central Discipline Signal Box’ (224). Those whose thoughts are transgressive are sent immediately to ‘the Electric Birching Room’ and the illustration shows this place of punishment in which students are pilloried and birched by mechanical means (224).

Science has produced this for the school of the future: not an entirely positive outcome! The guide in this future-world has ‘penetrating eyes…an expressionless face, [wears] a metallic skull-cap and strange, unfamiliar clothes’ (222). This tale possibly suggests a projection of adult anxieties about a rapidly-changing world. *Greyfriars* annuals were immensely popular with girls and boys, material from them being reprinted for decades. A humorous article about a statistician originally from the early forties, reappeared in a 1966 version of a *Greyfriars* annual.977 The article takes up the top third of one page and is used as comical ‘filler’. Scientific snippets sometimes appeared as filler in other annuals, a literal example of the marginalisation of science-related topics.978

Like Amalgamated Press, other publishers (when tales involving scientific research or inventions did occasionally appear) sold a stereotypical depiction of weird science and mad scientists. In an early 1930s boys’ tale, a mad monk appears on the battlements of a

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ruined castle.\footnote{E. Maslin Kearsey, ‘Midnight Magic’, in The Lucky Boys’ Budget, (London: Blackie, c.1930-2), pp. 15-27.} The monk terrifies two hikers, who later find out that he is what the tale terms ‘a bit of a scientist’ from a nearby monastery, and is experimenting with electricity.\footnote{Kearsey, p. 27 & p. 25: Brother Lorrimer, has a ‘strange laboratory’ in the tower at the top of an ancient, ruined ‘Gothic’ monastery.} Inventive tinkerers often get into strife in children’s annuals. In Dean’s \textit{Monster Book for Boys} from the late 1930s, one young scientist gets himself into serious trouble when a burglar alarm he has invented disrupts a dignified prize-giving ceremony.\footnote{David Morris, ‘Baker’s Burglar Alarm’, in \textit{Monster Book for Boys}, (London: Dean, c.1938), pp. 68-79, p. 73-75. See also Arthur Groom, ‘Tubby’s Wonderful Wind’, in \textit{Boys’ Storyland Annual 1958}, (London: Renwick of Otley, c.1957), no pagination. The ‘invention’ trope continued to appear in various forms.} For two 1930s schoolgirls, there was the unusual task of interviewing a scientist, who turns out to be ‘an angry gentleman with a regular mane of silvery hair very much awry…[and] hard, irritable eyes’.\footnote{Wallace Carr, ‘The Young Reporters’, in Mary England, (ed.), \textit{Warne’s Pleasure Book for Girls}, (London: Frederick Warne, 1935), pp. 59-69, p.61.} This mad scientist is Professor Juxpole, who hoaxes the girls, telling them false tales of a new discovery.\footnote{Carr, p. 65.} The professor uses the good-natured but naïve schoolgirls to revenge himself upon a scientific rival, who is even more malicious.\footnote{Carr, pp. 67-68.} A notion of scientists as highly-eccentric, even cruel and unusual, is presented in this tale. During the war years, children’s annuals were in diminished production, tending to concentrate heavily on an adventure paradigm for boys \textit{and} girls, though science occasionally is mentioned in passing.\footnote{Eunice Close, ‘Land Girl Laura’, in \textit{The Modern Book for Girls}, (London: Birn Brothers, c.1945), pp. 9-23, p. 14-15: Miss Amelia, who could have trained as an engineer, has chosen instead to be a Nazi spy, and is discovered in her ‘elaborately arranged workshop’ by Laura. Miss Amelia has used her scientific bent for evil purposes. See also Anne Fisher, ‘One Minute Too Late’, in \textit{Chatterbox} (London: Dean, c.1945), pp. 41-52, pp. 44-45: Phyl is in trouble over some vital, missing scientific plans.} In the 1950s, science and scientists as a literary trope became somewhat less marginalised. However, tales based exclusively on science tropes remained relatively rare in relation to the number of tales of action and adventure that used other tropes. In boys’ annuals, fiction using science tropes assumed a more noticeable and increasingly-positive role, beginning as it were, to consummate a more direct post-war relationship of science with technology and with male career prospects. In the early 1950s, a tale called ‘Peril
the Laboratory’ recounts the adventure of Dick Howard, a budding bacteriologist, as he saves the vital notebook of his kindly supervisor, Dr Cardew from a wicked traitor-scientist. In 1952, Rockfist Rogan, a popular Amalgamated Press hero-figure volunteers for a crucial, secret scientific experiment which involves another positive portrayal of a scientist, called Professor Higgins. A tale called ‘The Disc’ deals with a mysterious flying saucer, in which a scientifically-talented boy and his science teacher take an exciting overnight flight. With such positive (albeit rare) adult mentoring and role-modelling, perhaps boys could now look forward to careers in futuristic-looking technological industries such as those depicted on the cover of The Triumph Book for Boys, which offered tales about different careers for boys. According to the cover of The Triumph Book for Girls, which offered tales about future possibilities for contemporary girls, the lives of these might be better spent in the world of fashion and beauty. This kind of conditioning was clearly not intended to encourage girls to choose science-related careers: Haynes cites the large discrepancy between male/female numbers in science careers even much later in the twentieth century, linking it directly with girls’ problematic image of science. It seems that such careers were still viewed in the fifties as too dangerous or fearful for girls. In children’s annuals, other options for careers outside the home were presented to girls with reasonable frequency but never a career in science. During the mid-1950s, in which the space-age could be said to have begun, more frequent use of science tropes began to appear for boys in the form of speculative science fiction. Given that writers like H.G. Wells popularised such fiction in the early

990 The Triumph Book for Girls, (London: The Thames Publishing Co., c.1955), cover image of girls and women at a fashion parade. Both Triumph books offered specific career options for boys and girls. Though some tales deal with more ‘outdoors’ kinds of work for girls, dressmaking and fashion also figure largely.
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twentieth century for the English, it is most surprising that more of it had not occurred earlier in children’s annuals. However, in the 1950s, tales appeared such as ‘The Reluctant Spaceman’, about a young language translator who finds his ideal career as a space pilot.\textsuperscript{993}

In the 1950s, the look of children’s annuals began to change. As noted earlier, during the war, English children had been exposed heavily to American comics and this influenced the way their popular culture was presented in annuals. Comic-book style picture stories, often coloured, began to appear more frequently. Science tropes began in this way to emerge from the margin: for boys’ annuals, the space age provided a strong impetus for the tropes, although never equalising them with more traditional tropes. Instead, two were merged, science and action, with science co-opted into action-packed tales while simultaneously demonstrating career-options for boys. Annuals used fantastic depictions of space ships of the future in tales and on their covers.\textsuperscript{994} Haynes argues compellingly that during periods of what she terms ‘scientific optimism’, another of the scientist stereotypes, the ‘heroic adventurer’ usually appears often.\textsuperscript{995} This is certainly the case for the children’s annuals of the 1950s. Another ‘pilot of the future’ was Dan Dare from the \textit{Eagle Annual} and the highly-competitive ‘space race’ was his career-zone in which the conventionally-corporate male-dominated nature of the space-age future is depicted.\textsuperscript{996}

Now that the space-age had arrived, an increased scientific realism went along with a more marked presence of science-related tales, usually encompassing a great deal of action.\textsuperscript{997} Using pictures and printed text, annuals educated children informally: in terms of the formal education of Australian schoolchildren at this point, science was also assuming a rather higher public profile, in that in 1964, federal science grants were given

\textsuperscript{995} Haynes, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{997} Anon., ‘Space Suit’, in \textit{Collins Boys’ Annual}, (London: Collins, c.1956-1958), pp. 60-61. See also Reginald Brown ‘A Promise on the Moon’, in \textit{Chatterbox Annual}, (London: Dean, c.1955), pp. 61-68, p. 64: Nora Avery walks on the moon, but she is in the company of two boys, one of whom is her brother, and she still prepares the breakfast. And although Nora rescues her brother, she shows correct ‘feminine’ behaviour by offering to keep her heroism a secret in order to salve his ego.
to each school. However, despite the steadily-increasing presence of science and new technology in the everyday world, remarkably, even towards the middle of the twentieth century, in some English gift books that dealt exclusively with knowledge-related topics, science was still under-represented.

In the fictional field Captain Condor’s career-trajectory could be followed by readers and he appeared in a 1960s incarnation. The cover of the 1965 Eagle Annual strove after artistic if not strictly scientific realism in its depiction of a space-ship. This was the period of the Cold War, which was perhaps why 1970s adult writers revived the worrying figure of the mad scientist in bizarre characters like Dr Diamond with his beak-like nose and wild hair. Girls were more generally expected to do their bit during the Cold War by looking after their pets and similarly nurturing mad scientists when they occasionally came to visit, as did Julie’s Uncle Lionel, a mad scientist whose inventions always cause trouble and who in one tale, invents a pet food that makes Julie’s dog grow to gigantic size. It was extraordinarily rare for schoolgirls to solve cases of missing scientific inventions as did the ‘Silent Three’ in 1971. Mad scientists for 1980s boys were often foreign, like Professor Igor Stasky with yet another version of the mysterious Z-Ray and Dr Wolfgang Stranger with dark and beady eyes that stare intently from behind thick glasses. The blatant foreignness of the latter two characters was a foil for the sturdy, manly Britishness of the hero-figure in each tale. Girls had to read their brother’s annuals

999 Raymond Fawcett, (ed.), Empire Youth Annual 1948, (London: P.R. Gawthorn, c.1947), contains some articles on nature study. See also Colin Clair, (ed.), Commonwealth and Empire Annual, (Leavesden: Bruce & Gawthorn, c.1957), even a section called ‘Riches of the Mind’ pays little attention to science; The Living World of Knowledge, (1965, London: Collins, 1966), contains some fifty articles pertaining to ‘knowledge’, only two of which deal with pure sciences, those of geology and archaeology. However, there were honourable exceptions to this, such as Look and Learn Book 1964, (London: Fleetway, 1963), which contains many articles dealing with scientific topics.
for science fiction tales, for their annuals had scant reference to science of any kind. Fantasy sci-fi tropes, such as time-travel, only began later to appear regularly in English girls’ annuals during the 1980s, often in the form of picture stories like ‘Mother Martin’s Recipe’ in which a girl travels backward through time.¹⁰⁰⁷

Even in the later decades of the 20th century, British imperialist discourse was still operating as, driven by the new-style heroic adventurer, the old-style colonial adventure/quest plot returned in a new guise. Jason January, ‘Space Cadet’, belonged to Britain’s ‘glorious Royal Space Force’ which made her ‘queen of space, just as she had once been queen of the seas’.¹⁰⁰⁸ Jason, exactly like the leader of the Argonauts from ancient Greek maritime mythology, went boldly into danger with true English pluck, rescuing Nelson’s flagship the Victory, stolen by space pirates.¹⁰⁰⁹ In this tale, the forms of the past are transported literally into a new cultural zone, updated for a new generation of readers. However, there was still not a female in sight in this modern version of an ancient myth. In girls’ annuals, the topic of science had much lower visibility, a situation that never altered.

**Challenging gender assumptions**

Sometimes children’s annuals contained not merely stories, but articles that directly challenged the assumption that all women would marry, make a home, and produce children. Interestingly, titled women figured prominently in such articles, perhaps lending weight to the idea that social class was a determinant of what could and could not be stated in public. Nevertheless, despite the fact that these articles might have seemed to issue a radical challenge to patriarchal norms, they reveal innately-conservative leanings. As early as 1903, an article by Lady Henry Somerset outlines the importance of discerning one’s gifts, and making the most of these in other forms than homemaking and marriage.¹⁰¹⁰ However, Lady Somerset still states that marriage is ‘the most desirable

goal of a woman’s life”. 1011 This article is juxtaposed with one about the remarkable career of Florence Nightingale, which stresses in strongly-emotional language, what it terms “the ministering angel” qualities inherent in nursing, concluding with the adapted adage “England expects every woman to do her duty”. 1012 This was a useful adage to bear in mind as World War I approached. As Vaughan-Pow correctly points out, this catastrophe ‘necessarily impinged upon the ways in which girl’s magazines and annuals interpreted female participation in society’, but although the war itself had to be acknowledged, magazines and annuals tended to restate conservative attitudes and ideals. 1013 In the Empire Annual for Australian Girls, (c.1921), an interview appears with Lady Mackworth who was Director of National Service for Women in Wales. 1014 It must be noted here, that the article presents Lady Mackworth as ‘the only daughter of Lord Rhondda’ to whom it then refers as ‘her distinguished father’, a British government financier (73). Nevertheless, the article is titled ‘Why Not Business Careers for Girls?’, Lady Mackworth discusses the possibilities of the ‘new spheres’ for women, stressing that ‘temperament and character and special ability’ should be more important than gender in determining what a woman can do with her life (75 & 78-79). She declares that it is ‘a great pity’ that girls of ability accept without question what she terms “under” posts’, such as teaching or secretarial duties (77). She then encourages such girls to strive for positions as organizers, leaders and workers in the world of what she terms ‘big business’ (77). As Tinkler points out, the construction of girlhood in popular material was part of the negotiation of a range of complex cultural needs and interests. 1015 Social and economic changes in England had prompted recognition of what was termed ‘the widening sphere’ for women. 1016 In the light of Lady Mackworth’s strongly-worded interview, this seems to have been reflected in magazines and annuals for girls. Indeed, Lady Mackworth almost appears to celebrate on behalf of women, what she terms the ‘eye-opening’ aspect of the Great War, saying that it has caused ‘utter revolutions of

1011 Lady Henry Somerset, p. 31.
1013 Vaughan-Pow, p. 205.
1015 Tinkler, p. 186.
1016 Tinkler, p. 71.
thought’ in how women are viewed (75). She continues to sound quite radical, as she concludes her interview with the statement that it would indeed be ‘foolish’ for a woman with what she terms ‘special abilities’ to ‘stay at home all day to make pies and to scrub the floors’ (77). Despite her own high social status, Lady Mackworth reveals knowledge of the everyday realities of women in a less exalted sphere than her own. However, she shows a more conservative and hierarchical social view, when in the same statement, she maintains that menial jobs can be performed by ‘others’, presumably women, who are more suited to being what she terms ‘excellent servants’ who lack ‘commercial powers’ (77). This reveals further that Lady Mackworth is speaking from a position of privilege which is likely to have relied quite heavily upon the domestic services of others. Although what she says seems radical, it is quite clear to today’s reader that Lady Mackworth’s privileged social position might well have determined her career choice, just as it often did the choices (or lack of choice) of others. Later in the same annual another article appears that deals openly with the potential of women as highly-visible workers in the Army. Tinkler notes the importance of newer, positive female images at this period. ¹⁰¹⁷ This is clear in such articles which appeared during the wartime phase. However, elements of propaganda underlay such articles now that women were needed, as, clearly England once again expected that all would do their duty and Australian readers were considered part of the Empire. Expectation is clear in the tone of this article, which deals with the remarkable contribution to the British war effort of the Y.W.C.A. and begins with a rallying quotation from Lord Kitchener: ‘England will not put forth her full strength until the women are doing nearly everything done by men’. ¹⁰¹⁸ However, although the newer female image embodied change, it also stressed continuities. ¹⁰¹⁹ Vaughan-Pow notes that what she terms women’s ‘traditional nurturing and domestic skills’ were ‘crucial to the war effort’ and this article continues to highlight these skills. ¹⁰²⁰ It is divided into three sections, each dealing with an aspect of the Y.W.C.A.’s war work, which itself consists of traditional female duties in feeding, housing and

¹⁰¹⁷ Tinkler, p. 711
¹⁰¹⁹ Tinkler, p. 71.
¹⁰²⁰ Vaughan-Pow, p. 207.
entertaining the female workers who undertook agricultural work and staffed munitions and textiles factories during World War I. The tone of the article is laudatory, praising the efforts of the Y.W.C.A. and further describing its vast scope, in England and in European locations. It concludes, again using strong elements of propaganda to persuade readers that the female war effort is an indispensably worthwhile matter of life or death, in that the efficiency of the British Army depends upon the support of its ‘women soldiers’. 1021 It even suggests that men and women are equalised in war work, in that ‘[t]he lives of our heroes in the trenches are in the hands of our heroines in the munition shops’. 1022 Tinkler alludes to the power of Victorian concepts of femininity. 1023 Deborah Gorham’s summation in The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal is well worth repeating in paraphrase: the ideal modern female represents an adaptation, not a repudiation of powerful older values. 1024 With this in mind, it can be seen how the article also reiterates older ideas of femininity, implying that the ‘delicate operation’ of shell-making can only be done satisfactorily by women, and that such women in turn need other women to undertake the role of sustaining them physically, mentally and spiritually, for their duties. The article then states that without the ‘noble’ efforts of all women, the war could not have been won. Despite their elements of propaganda, and an innate social conservatism, these two articles present female capability in an optimistic and positive light, an attitude that continued all through the 1920s in girls’ annuals.

**War and Violence for Girls**

Tinkler points further to the precarious path negotiated by girls’ magazines in their representation of females during World War II. 1025 Cadogan and Craig assume that during World War II, perhaps the war ‘was considered unsuitable as a background for girls’ stories’. 1026 Tinkler notes a possible reason for this, being that although popular fiction was ‘harnessed to the war effort’ some magazines which actively promoted war work for women were compromised, presenting a ‘misleading impression of Service

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1021 Raymond, p. 239.
1022 Raymond, p. 239.
1023 Tinkler, p. 71.
1025 Tinkler, pp. 108-112.
1026 Cadogan & Craig, p. 313.
life’.\textsuperscript{1027} Considering the competitive market and the all-important sales figures, it was a most difficult balance for editors. Drotner concedes that they would have found the harsh realities of war perilous to the credibility of their material, dealing as it predominantly did, with ‘unspoiled English girls’\textsuperscript{1028} The confusion was evident in that magazines responded to the crisis in different ways. Romance magazines used the war as an occasional ‘backcloth’ and others made only passing reference to it.\textsuperscript{1029} However, some magazines actively encouraged girls to join women’s Services, through presenting ‘careers advice, propaganda fiction, and by featuring colour photographs of smiling uniformed girls’\textsuperscript{1030} Girls’ annuals did not follow such a direct path as this, but differ slightly from magazines, having instances in which modern warfare itself appeared as an actual theme. Tales set during the better-known wars of English history occur often in annuals, and these tales invariably follow certain easily recognisable formulae and tend toward using ‘war’ as a backdrop. Even so, it was comparatively rare for tales to be set in theatres of more recent conflict, in the late 1920s, a writer called Lena Yovitchitch produced a tale set during World War I, of Mileva, a Serbian girl who ransoms a group of Scottish nurses who are caught behind enemy lines when the Germans invade and occupy Serbia.\textsuperscript{1031} Perhaps Mileva simply fits the mould of ‘exceptional’ girl for the reader is told early in the tale that she ‘had many of the instincts of a boy’ and that she ‘undoubtedly…should have been a boy’, for she ‘exelled her brother in almost everything, even being a better shot than he.’ It could well also have been that Mileva, a Serbian girl, is coded as an outlandish foreigner, whose behaviour must be viewed with a requisite touch of suspicion. However, Mileva is twice described as admiring the nurses that she rescues, who are in this context referred to as ‘British’. Perhaps this tale might be termed propaganda fiction, for it seems likely that female readers were intended to find themselves inspired by Mileva’s courage as was also perhaps the intended result of the appearance of two tales just prior to the outbreak of World War II. In annuals from Juvenile Productions, the tale of Anna Leskov, a Russian volunteer girl-soldier, appears

\textsuperscript{1027} Tinkler, pp. 108-109.  
\textsuperscript{1028} Drotner, p. 216.  
\textsuperscript{1029} Tinkler, p. 109.  
\textsuperscript{1030} Tinkler, p. 108.  
twice. \textsuperscript{1032} Anna Leskov disguises herself as a male, joins a Cossack regiment and wins a medal for her bravery. \textsuperscript{1033} Again, it is difficult to state flatly that this is propaganda fiction. Young readers were probably not expected literally to follow this example of courage, but merely to find it inspiring in respect of the approaching war. It is likely that this sentiment best explains ‘Escape’, yet another tale in \textit{The Bounty Book for Girls} (c.1937), also from Juvenile Publications. \textsuperscript{1034} This tale is set in World War I when young Valerie, a schoolgirl, is given a message by an English secret agent in Germany. Upon this message may depend ‘the whole fate of the British Empire.’ \textsuperscript{1035} The reader is never told what the actual message is, but Valerie succeeds in her perilous journey across the war-zones back to England. Again, this seems intended as an inspirational tale, indeed it is told in such a highly-emotional style that it is most likely the case that rather than being a tale intended for direct physical emulation, it was designed to infuse readers with patriotic sentiments. In this sense, it could perhaps directly be termed propaganda. Contradictions certainly arose for girls ‘between the messages of war-propaganda and prescriptions of femininity’. \textsuperscript{1036}

A less-emotive and more realistic approach to killing appears in another tale from around 1938 which deals with the boldness of Stella Cameron, whose father is a British Colonel, serving in Finland near the Russian border. \textsuperscript{1037} Stella shoots a Russian soldier who crosses the border to capture her father and ‘the Russian collapsed screaming horribly, for the bullet had torn its way into his stomach’. As Tinkler notes, heroines were not

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\item Anon. ‘Russian Women in Combat’ in Marvin Perry, Matthew Berg & James Krukonnes, (eds), \textit{Sources of Twentieth-Century Europe}, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000), pp. 74-76, from 1915, many accounts began to appear of Russian women from all social classes joining the soldiery, disguised as men. Though no official statistics were kept, there were frequent reports of such volunteer women winning the St George Cross for bravery.
\item Annesley, p. 68.
\item Tinkler, p. 111.
\end{itemize}
portrayed as ‘intent on killing’. To emphasise this point of ideal femininity, the writer is careful to stress that before the event ‘Stella had never before in her life contemplated the killing of a man…[but] did not hesitate when her father’s life was at stake.’ Violence of this nature was extremely rare in girls’ annuals, and, given the publication year of 1938, the titling of the annual, ‘Conquest’, might well suggest a consciousness of the European conflict to come. Contemporaneous with this, and possibly with a similar idea, Juvenile Publications produced an annual titled *The Victory Book for Girls.*

Cadogan and Craig observe rightly, that for girls’ tales generally, ‘[t]he war years had their own quality’. Certainly, these years left their mark in some tales in annuals for girls for however unsuitable it may have been deemed for girls, serious violence against females occurs in some striking examples in annuals from the war-years. Two such tales by C. Bernard Rutley use a war-time background and contain violence and terror. Other tales by Rutley which occur in contemporary annuals pitched at both sexes are not at all violent. However, in Rutley’s *Saved By A Hair*, in a girls’ annual, the violence is quite marked, when two schoolgirls rescue their teacher, Miss Wren, who has been kidnapped by a Nazi spy. The girls discover Miss Wren, trapped in a secret room, in which there is ‘a huge open grate with iron dogs upon which burned a bright fire’ (117). Poor Miss Wren is in great difficulty:

The young woman’s face was taut with pain, and one glance at her arms drawn above her head and tied by her wrists to a stout hook, so that only the tips of her bare toes could touch the floor, was sufficient to tell the watcher the agony she must be enduring (117).

And Rutley does not stint on horror as Miss Wren’s captor torments his helpless victim:

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1038 Tinkler, p. 111.
1039 Sims & Clare, p. 355.
1040 Cadogan & Craig, p. 313.
1041 Kirkpatrick, p. 288: Cecil Bernard Rutley ‘specialised in school stories where the school, or a House, is under threat’ and is known to have published two book-length works in 1928 and 1929 respectively. However, Rutley also produced a number of short stories for children’s annuals.
The Professor sighed. “You are stubborn, Miss Wren, and your display of courage is so useless. I have only to place one of these bars,” he drew a rod of red-hot iron out of the fire, “under the soles of your pretty feet, and you will be telling me everything you know within a few minutes, so why not save yourself this additional suffering…(117-118).

This episode is accompanied by an illustration which shows black shadows leaping around the imperilled teacher as she is threatened with the hot iron bar (117). Before this episode in the tale, the two schoolgirl-rescuers have been menaced in the darkness by ‘two large, shadowy shapes, with flaming red eyes’, which turn out to be vicious guard-dogs (111). In this tale, one of the schoolgirls is constructed as ‘exceptional’, for she has shown the uncanny ability to tame the guard-dogs (111-112) a most helpful skill under the circumstances.

Rutley produced another tale for the same annual, this time featuring a Japanese villain. This tale has the same kind of patriotic theme as Saved By A Hair, and this time, could easily be termed propaganda fiction. During the Second World War, the USA had supplied Britain with massive financial aid, while itself remaining neutral. England had been at war since 1939, but the USA did not enter the conflict until 1941, following the attack on Pearl Harbour. It may well be that this delay still rankled with the British, for this story is called Miss Britain Intervenes. The implication in the tale is that without the intervention of ‘Miss Britain’, the American war effort would have suffered severely. The English heroine, Honor Blake, is constructed as a loyal Englishwoman, visiting a friend in America before returning to England to join the Wrens. She worries about the trustworthiness of the Japanese butler at the home of her friend Sadie Rogers, making the following observation:

You know what the Japs [sic] think of themselves. A chosen nation. The sons of gods. Can any man belonging to a race with such ideas become a faithful citizen of another country? (175).

Sure enough, the butler, Togo, turns out to be a traitor, as the girls discover when one night, they follow him to a boat-house. Togo is in league with several other enemy spies. The girls are captured and the tale proceeds, employing such racial stereotypes as the

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‘square-headed’ German (179) and the cruel, inscrutable Oriental, who threatens serious violence against the girls, now captured, gagged and bound (178). Sadie Rogers’ father is head of an aeroplane factory and Togo wants secret information from him:

If he will not supply the information we want, one of Miss Sadie’s slender fingers or one of Miss Honor’s pretty ears will be sent to him, and he will receive a similar reminder every time our demands are refused (179).

The girls recognise their peril, turning ‘cold with terror as they listened to the harsh voice, and saw the eyes of their captors fixed upon them.’ (179). The two girls realise that there is ‘no pity in any of them, only cruelty and hate, and-yes, pleasure’ (179). Honor realises, ‘with a sick feeling’ that such men ‘would actually enjoy torturing them’ (179). In this case, the construction of the two girls as helpless females is temporary, for even in the face of such apparently powerful and implacable foes the girls escape and manage to thwart the spies’ plan to destroy a convoy and sabotage a vital stretch of highway. The tale concludes with reader gratification, in the form of a paragraph that describes rescue by American servicemen, gratitude and generous American admiration of British courage:

“The bullet grazed the side of your head, and knocked you backwards into some bushes. There’s nothing to worry about. By the way, you’re English, aren’t you?” “Yes.” “Well, if the men are like the girls I don’t wonder the British whacked the Huns in 1940. Brains and pluck, you can’t beat them.” (188).

Honor is constructed here as a plucky, wounded heroine, who bravely disregards her pain. What she symbolises, the ‘honor’ of Britain, is unsullied as a doctor patches them up after their heroic act. Although Australian children were mostly spared the war-time suffering endured in other parts of the world, Christopher Koch notes the tremendous sympathy generated in Australians for the tribulations of England during World War II. Reading of such material by Australian children was likely to have been one of the reasons that they had the affectionate solidarity with ‘Mother’ England to which Ross Terrill also refers.

1045 Christopher Koch, “‘Maybe It’s Because I’m A Londoner’”, p. 31.  
Despite the violence of these tales and transatlantic location of the latter tale, the girls involved are still on friendly territory, making the situations that arise essentially ‘domestic’ although with powerful Freudian overtones: the invader is monstrous and to be detested and resisted. Demonisation of the enemy by harsh racialist stereotyping is probably logical given the war. However, racist epithets continued to be hurled until long afterwards in tales in annuals, particularly in those for boys.\textsuperscript{1047} As Cadogan and Craig note, when the war was ‘safely over…the wartime heroine in occupied France [and Holland, Belgium and Norway] quickly became a stock figure.\textsuperscript{1048} One such figure was ‘Mam’selle X,’ who continued to appear in \textit{Girls’ Crystal} annuals as late as 1974.\textsuperscript{1049}

In his brief entry on C. Bernard Rutley, the children’s author of race propaganda tales, Robert Kirkpatrick does not mention that this writer seems to have had a penchant for writing about violence against the female body. Another tale in which such violence featured is \textit{The Spider}, from the 1945 \textit{Monster Book for Girls}.\textsuperscript{1050} The tone of this tale is in marked contrast to the often studied jollity of the more conventional tales in annuals, and tends to the serious and adult. Nineteen-year-old Tessa Cardew, an orphan brought up by her wealthy grandmother, is determined to become a journalist. Tinkler explains that middle-class girls’ magazines, as well as presenting what she terms ‘the staples of “women’s work”’ to readers, ‘were quite pioneering in the range of careers they suggested’ and journalism was one such career.\textsuperscript{1051} However, for women, it was not easy to become a journalist, and Rutley’s story opens with Tessa alone in a seedy Bloomsbury lodging, down to her last pound-note and facing the prospect of having to return to her grandmother, and confess her failure (41). The construction of femininity is interesting in \textit{The Spider}, with grandmother presented from the outset as a powerful, controlling figure and Tessa as dependent upon her. Grandmother’s views on femininity are conservative

\textsuperscript{1047} Drotner, p. 243, the new picture story-papers for boys continued the theme of war; \textit{Valiant Annual 1968} (London: Fleetway, 1967); \textit{Valiant Annual} (London: IPC, 1974), racialist epithets were employed frequently in both these annuals, particularly in tales of a character called ‘Captain Hurricane’.
\textsuperscript{1048} Cadogan & Craig, p. 313.
\textsuperscript{1051} Tinkler, p. 102.
and her power utilised directly to establish the dichotomy between older and newer attitudes towards what was appropriate for females. Though female herself, Grandmother represents the patriarchy: she is very much a traditionalist and with a resolve to match Tessa’s own, has stated ‘that journalism is no career for a lady, especially one so extremely good-looking as her granddaughter’ (41). Grandmother (who is clearly as determined as Tessa) cannot see why a pretty girl wants to take up a profession, and sets out the reasons for her opposition to Tessa’s desire for a career:

[t]here was plenty of money. She would give Tessa a good allowance. She could have her own car, indeed all she need do was to enjoy life until she married and had a home of her own, as all properly brought up young ladies should (41)

Tinkler claims that following World War I, girls’ magazines ‘assisted the patriarchal cause through their production of sexual difference and, more specifically, their encouragement to girls to maintain a feminine appearance’.

Grandmother’s attitude does precisely this, with her ideas about proper behaviour for pretty girls. Though males are not mentioned, the phrase ‘properly brought up young ladies’ with its intentional stuffiness, begs the question of difference between the sexes as do the ideas of marriage and a home of one’s own. However, in this instance, in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, Tessa resists grandmother, telling her that anyone who merely enjoys life is ‘a drone’(41). After their argument, which ‘had continued all day’ grandmother relents and writes Tessa a substantial cheque, ordering her to try her ambition in the ‘bitter school’ of experience (42). Perhaps this is why Rutley makes the senior relative a grandmother, rather than a grandfather, who might have had different ideas about subsidising Tessa’s career ambitions. Prevailing codes of masculinity might have made it less plausible that a grandfather would back down, whereas a grandmother might be permitted to do so. Although subsequent events in the tale undermine, to a certain extent, her conservative ideological position, grandmother proves to be correct in her anticipation of the ‘bitter school’ and Tessa struggles to find a journalistic post. Girls’ magazine tales about journalism showed awareness of contemporary discrimination, even

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1052 Tinkler, p. 155.
‘outright prejudice’ against females.\textsuperscript{1053} This is in direct contrast to a contemporaneous tale for boys.\textsuperscript{1054} In ‘Fleet Street, Here I Come’, a young man called Michael Fowler is the junior reporter, and although the veteran newspapermen tease him,\textsuperscript{1055} Fowler is already on the staff of the \textit{City Echo}, unlike Tessa, who must struggle for the position she wishes to achieve. Both these tales deal with youthful reporters who solve a string of police-baffling burglaries, so they are directly comparable at several points.

Dejectedly reading the paper over breakfast, as she contemplates her financial difficulties, Tessa sees that a prominent jeweller has been burgled (42). She scents a newsworthy story and decides to investigate a lead she has discovered, in order to offer a scoop to the \textit{Daily Post}, a major newspaper (43). Here Tessa is constructed as a girl with a mission, for she rejects the ‘easy solution’ of simply alerting the newspaper to her suspicions (44). It seems that Tessa is a true grand-daughter of a strong-minded grandparent, though Rutley does not mention this point. By contrast, Michael Fowler finds his clue to the mystery burglaries in the display window of a philately-shop in an alley-way near his workplace (91-92). He is able to pursue his investigations with much less hazard than Tessa, and is never in the slightest danger of losing his life. Fowler virtually solves his case while seated in a railway-carriage and from his news-desk, simply by decoding the clues he has copied from a pattern of stamps left in the display window by the crooked owner of the philately-shop (93-94). Tessa, however, has a much more difficult task. Following her lead to a house in Hampstead after dark, she realises she has discovered the lair of ‘The Spider’:

So she was right! This was the Spider’s web; one of the men must be the Spider; and those were John Thornton’s jewels. Well, she had got her story. All she now had to do was to get to the \textit{Daily Post} as quickly as possible (45).

However, before she can escape, she is discovered by the gang and experiences a considerable degree of rough handling. Michael Fowler, by contrast, has one brief

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{1053} Tinkler, p. 102.
\textsuperscript{1055} Hewitt, p. 90. Subsequent references to this story appear in parenthesis in this chapter.
\end{flushleft}
personal encounter with the villain in broad daylight, and runs no risk to his personal safety, but is portrayed in the tale as being completely in control of the situation by using his brains (94-95). The tale of Tessa, however, is far more deeply-nuanced and at this point could now be viewed as cautionary: Tessa has carefully considered her options as to how to seize the scoop, and through a combination of desperation and doggedness, chosen the most risky. More timid female readers might detect the cautionary message in the tale (for Rutley none-too-subtly repeats the same message twice) and consider what they might have done under the same circumstances. For Tessa, it becomes most unpleasant from this point, for as she turns to flee the scene, a hand is ‘clamped firmly over her mouth, while another’ catches hold of her and she is then ‘flung face downward upon the gravel path.’ (45). No such harm befalls Michael Fowler as he calmly and coolly solves his case with schoolboy knowledge of stamps, and using the telephone to call the police at the opportune moment (98-99). As Tessa struggles face-down on the gravel path, her assailant kneels on her back, forces a handkerchief between her teeth and ties it behind her head (45). After this, he drags her arms behind her, grips her wrists with ‘one powerful hand’ while with the other he jerks her roughly to her feet (45). She is brought to the leader of the gang, who interrogates her harshly as she becomes ‘desperately afraid’ (46). Tessa thinks herself a fool to have believed she ‘could manage a thing like this by herself’, the first iteration of the tale’s cautionary message (46). Reading her consternation, the Spider cruelly menaces his captive:

“I’m afraid Evans has been rather rough...I see that your stockings are cut and your knees bleeding. But they will not trouble you long. I fear, young lady, that you have discovered too much for our safety. Evans,” turning to her captor, “gag her, and tie her up, and take her down to the docks in the car. The Esmeralda will be going out with the tide early to-morrow morning. Tell Captain Stark from me that he’s to take her well out to sea, and then drop her overboard with a weight round her feet.” (47).

Tessa, naturally appalled by this prospect, is gagged and thrown onto the floor ‘her arms bound with thin strong rope’ as the Spider and his companion view her ‘with impassive faces.’ (47). She is by now ‘numbed with terror’ as she asks herself the question ‘could men be so cruel?’ and this leads her to reflect briefly a second time as to why she could not have been ‘content with her first discovery’ for if she had been so, she now would not be in imminent danger of an awful death (47). Here, the tale’s cautionary aspect is
reiterated. Tessa temporarily becomes the helpless female, and her sufferings continue as she is flung, tightly-bound, into the back of a car, taken aboard ‘a dirty little tramp steamer’ and locked into a tiny, dimly-lit cabin (47-48). An illustration shows her hapless plight at this point (49).

It could well be that this mid-1940s illustration was influenced by what Ron Goulart terms ‘the anxious, industry-wide retooling for new product’ that swept through the American comic-book publishing industry at this time. However unusual it may seem for an English annual pitched at a teenage female readership, there is no escaping the fact that tied-up and despairing, Tessa resembles one of the many depictions of what Goulart terms ‘good girl’ art that appeared in comic-books at this time. Goulart points to the enormous increase in sales of comic books during the 1940s and to the increase in sex and violence in comics in response to changes in taste caused by the fact that ‘the millions of new adult readers of comics were servicemen’. It was this that underpinned the importation of large numbers of American comics to England at this period. These were also read by children and included the graphic horror comics which would cause such concern to the Reverend Marcus Morris and result ultimately in his own highly-successful post-war ventures into the publication of more suitable material for children.

Although gender rather than sex features in this tale, violence is paramount. The captain of the *Esmeralda* is as callous as the rest of the gang and his words “‘Tell your chief I’ll see that she don’t never come up again,’” despite their double negative, make Tessa’s blood ‘run cold’ (49). She makes up her mind to escape. On a table in the cabin is a cigarette lighter and she manages to make her way to this, using it to burn the rope around her wrists, tied behind her (49). This takes great courage and persistence and

\[1057\] Goulart, p. 162.
\[1059\] Alan Clark, *The Children’s Annual*, pp. 115-116: Morris persuaded London’s Hulton Press that his idea was viable, and edited the hugely-successful *Eagle* children’s magazine and annual, as well as *Girl, Robin* and *Swift* magazines, all of which had annuals; Drotner, p. 243.
results in ‘a nasty burn’ on one wrist (49). Ultimately, Tessa escapes and carries her sensational story to the *Daily Post*, having the final satisfaction of proving her grandmother wrong, when the newspaper offers her a job (54).

Tessa has got what she wanted, but has been through a most harrowing experience to get it. There seems no equivocation: the writer wishes to transmit the message to female readers that the man’s world of investigative journalism is tough, dangerous, uncompromising and perhaps still, no place for women. It is pertinent here to quote, as Tinkler does, a short passage from a tale in the January 1945 issue of the *Girls’ Own Paper*. In this tale, Patsy is told by her newspaper boss the ‘reasons’ for the paper’s policy of excluding women as reporters:

> A newspaper reporter has no easy life – he may be called out to an incident at any hour, and very often he encounters unpleasantness in the course of his work which he would rather spare a woman. And if you were a reporter, you know, you would have to interview people who do not want to be interviewed; to be prepared to give up some of your free time to do the work if it should be required of you – and you would have to write a good newspaper story.\(^{1060}\)

The final three ‘reasons’ are by today’s standards, proven to be simply absurd, and in the light of the tale of Michael Fowler, the primary claim that a reporter ‘has no easy life’ also appears subject to strong question. However, like those of magazines, editors of annuals had the difficult task of representing believable modern girls while not directly repudiating older ideals of femininity.

The situation was similar in Australia, where writer Kylie Tennant remarks that women’s writing, other than fiction, was not taken seriously.\(^{1061}\) Poet Judith Wright notes her struggle for acceptance as a ‘literary figure’.\(^{1062}\) And those who aspired to journalism were no better off. In his foreword to Australian journalist Mary Marlow’s autobiography, Lionel Hudson notes that Marlow, who also wrote ‘about contemporary life in Sydney, the Blue Mountains, the South Pacific and Lord Howe Island’, was in

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1060 Tinkler, p. 102.
1062 Clark, p. 187.
1920s and 1930s Australia, ‘a phenomenon’. However, one of Marlow’s major writing roles between the 1930s and 1950s was that of ‘Dorothy Dix’, the agony aunt of the women’s pages. Nancy Cato recalls that as a young journalist, she was ‘stuck’ in the ‘social room’, made to ‘write up social notes’ and given only ‘human interest stories’. It took many years for women to achieve access to areas of journalism that were not ‘weddings and charity functions’. Rutley’s tale acknowledges this difficulty obliquely: there is only one ‘lady reporter’ on the Daily Post, who does the ‘woman’s page’ (52). By contrast with Tessa’s life-or-death struggle to get her story, young Michael Fowler has wound up his case with two telephone calls to the police and some minor assistance from others (99-100). Though his effort has been rather less than dramatic, like Tessa, the junior male reporter gains enormous kudos from his scoop, for wish-fulfilment was conventional in such tales. However, because of its violence, the tale of Tessa Cardew is in marked contrast to the often anodyne tales more usually presented for female readers, and in a curious reversal of form, makes the tale of Michael Fowler seem almost passive, because violence usually figured in tales for boys. Perhaps the harsh realities of wartime had made a more tough-minded approach acceptable for a female readership in girls’ annuals. It was important to convey to girls that they had to be self-reliant, courageous and resourceful in the face of serious difficulties. It is likely that Tessa has been constructed as such in the light of the fact that given war-time exigencies, and the consequent loss of males in a post-war context, there might not always be a reliable male to assist girls in perilous situations.

During the post-war period, the general rule is that contemporary girls’ annuals by contrast to those for boys, have cover illustrations that suggest gentler pastimes, such as interaction with other girls at picnics, afternoon tea-tables and school and leisure occasions. Some exceptions exist to this rule, such as covers that show girls engaged in more active pastimes, especially engaging cheerfully in conventional sporting activities.

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1063 Lionel Hudson, ‘Foreword’, in Mary Marlow, That Fragile Hour, (North Ryde: Angus & Robertson, 1990), p. 5: Marlow, (1884-1962) was a journalist, novelist and broadcaster.
1064 Giuffré, ‘Nancy Cato’ (1917-2000), in A Writing Life, p. 159, this was in despite of Cato being told that she would experience ‘no discrimination’.
1065 Tinkler, p. 102-103.
or with horses and dogs. Physical activities of several kinds are modelled attractively for girls and suggest the value of ‘vigour’, of good health and strength. The subtly-sexual implications for this kind of role modelling are not accidental, and are possibly connected with the need to re-populate after the war. However, a book cannot always be entirely judged by its cover: in girls’ annuals themselves, stories often appeared showing that since the war, there had been some social changes. Prior to the war, girls knew that their adult choices were limited. However, during the 1940s and following the war, many stories in children’s annuals deal with a somewhat increased range of options for girls. But these stories were inside the illustrated covers, which themselves remained far more conservative in their depiction of the kinds of activities and company considered appropriate for middle-class girls.

Both Cadogan and Craig and Drotner observe a marked alteration in magazines for children during the 1950s. Cadogan and Craig note a ‘reinforced conservatism’ during this decade, which coincided with the demise of the traditional girls’ papers ‘at least in the format in which they had been evolving since the 1920s’. It became more problematic to fuse entertainment value and respectability during the 1950s, and Cadogan and Craig cite a ‘deterioration’ into which fitted ‘all the worst aspects of the decade’ such as ‘princess worship, vapid romanticism, a teenage dreamworld more gaudy than glossy’, observing that two new adolescent enthusiasms, ‘fashion and pop music’ jarred uneasily with the previous world of ‘well-bred fantasy’. This was highly-visible in the girls’ annuals of this period, in which tales of Ruritanian princesses, gypsies, hockey-matches and circuses mingled oddly with new elements of popular culture such as television. The picture story began in this decade to supervene the written tale. The teenager had arrived. For girls, the magazines that survived the post-war period began more and more to resemble comics, with picture-stories predominating. Many of these, such as School Friend and Girls’ Crystal had annuals, as did later incarnations such as Bunty, Judy, Mandy and Debbie, from various different publishers.

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1066 Drotner, p. 238.
1068 Cadogan & Craig, p. 329.
1069 Cadogan & Craig, p. 329.
Although expanding markets for children’s magazines had succeeded in flattening class distinctions during the twentieth century, Drotner claims that gender differences persisted and ‘could even be said to have been reinforced in the twentieth century’. If the short picture-tale of ‘Bobby Dazzler’ in *Mandy for Girls 1984* is any guide, Drotner’s claim may well be correct. Bobby is ‘the only girl at Westbury College’ and the tale follows the identical paradigm of earlier tales in which girls must dispute with boys for recognition of their talents. When Bobby suggests that she might try for the prize in an aeroplane modelling contest, she is laughed at by two male schoolfellows who tell her to ‘stick to feminine pastimes…like flower-arranging.’ However, Bobby constructs a model aeroplane, and protects it from sabotage by the boys. She then obediently arranges some flowers in a vase for the school hall, and while she does so, is locked in by the jealous boys. But Bobby, clearly a girl of ‘exceptional’ talents, makes another model plane out of flowers and wins the competition, for her ‘delightful and imaginative model’. And in a further demonstration of how remarkably little attitudes had changed since the early twentieth century, articles in this annual deal with bridesmaid dresses, cookery, decorative and useful paper-craft and how to make a ‘needlework carry-all’. However, by 1987, *Mandy for Girls* no longer contains any articles, but rather, seems very childish, being a collection of picture-stories about magical trees, ghosts, mermaids, jungle girls, sick pets and ponies, a couple of anodyne poems and a crossword puzzle.

As Bratton observes, from the earliest part of the twentieth century writers of fiction for girls were presented with a very difficult task in the transmission of ‘a blend of aspirations and restraints’, and walked a sometimes precarious line in setting up ‘new narrative and character models, which would maintain the old values but offer a more modern standard of activity for girls’. If popularity and sales figures are anything to go by, it seems they were quite successful in this complex, delicate task. Tinkler put it

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1070 Drotner, p. 239.
1072 Bratton, p. 197.
more baldly than Bratton, remarking that a key component in the discourse ‘on adolescence and prevailing ideals of femininity and of girlhood’ was to avoid challenging ‘patriarchal interests in girls as future wives, domestics, emotional and sexual servicers’. As Tinkler concludes, ‘the world of girlhood which was represented in different magazines was the product of attempts to address reader’s interests, a need motivated by the commercial imperative’ as well as catering to established patriarchal interests in the female of the species.

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1073 Tinkler, p. 186.
Chapter Five

Englishness in the Children’s Annual

Englishness and Australia

Simon Featherstone insists that the issue of ‘English national identity’ is still vitally important to the English themselves.\textsuperscript{1074} Although Featherstone acknowledges ‘the difficulty of its definition and expression’, he readily admits the fluidity of the notion of Englishness which has a ‘complex interaction’ with popular culture and tradition.\textsuperscript{1075} For Australians the issue of national identity is equally important and a component of Englishness within Australian national identity, however diminished by time and circumstance, cannot safely be ignored. ‘Englishness’ was built up gradually in Australian children and reading annuals was one of the elements that helped to strengthen the ‘British embrace’ of Australian children. For the purposes of this chapter, the primary definition of ‘Englishness’ used is that supplied by Judy Giles and Tim Middleton in \textit{Writing Englishness 1900-1950}. Englishness is:

\begin{quote}
    a nexus of values, beliefs and attitudes which are offered as unique to England and to those who identify as, or wish to identify as, English. In other words Englishness is a state of mind: a belief in a national identity which is part and parcel of one’s sense of self.\textsuperscript{1076}
\end{quote}

Australians, in particular those of British descent and in the early part of the twentieth century, often wished to identify as English, and therefore often accepted the ‘nexus of values, beliefs and attitudes’ presented by English purveyors of cultural material. Furthermore, as Darian-Smith et. al. note, ‘shared traditions and common loyalties were strenuously maintained’.\textsuperscript{1077} However, for Australians there was an ambiguity at the heart of the desire to identify as ‘English’, and Ward’s term ‘the British embrace’ seems appropriate for describing a relationship that could be viewed by different groups in


\textsuperscript{1075} Featherstone, pp. 3-4 & p. 8.


\textsuperscript{1077} Kate Darian-Smith, et. al., \textit{Britishness Abroad}, p. 1.
different degrees either as supportive or as restrictive. Ward remarks that through ‘ties of blood, language, history and culture’ a ‘deep sense of attachment to a wider British community’ prevailed in Australia during the first half of the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{1078} For Australian children, ties of language and culture reinforced those of ‘blood’ and of ‘history’. This chapter concentrates chiefly upon elements of language and culture and maintains that the ‘sense of attachment’ to which Ward refers was absorbed by Australian children from their earliest youth through their close engagement with popular material imported from England.

Sharyn Pearce identifies the 1950s as ‘a turning point in Australian life’, although she admits that this is contested, given the contemporary insularity of Australian society.\textsuperscript{1079} Perhaps somewhat less controversially in historical terms, Ward identifies the 1960s as crucial to the disruption of English influence over Australians.\textsuperscript{1080} However, even as late as the 1960s, contemporary commentators Donald Horne and Craig McGregor both write of the pervasiveness of English influence in Australian society. Horne points to the willingness to adopt a London-centred world view of those he terms ‘Australian intellectuals’, who utilised ‘newspapers and weeklies from London’ that in contemporary belief, furnished ‘quality’ news reporting and commentary.\textsuperscript{1081} He alludes also to a distortion of Australian political activism which he attributed to ‘[d]eriving inspiration from London’.\textsuperscript{1082} Horne hints at the complex duality of Australians when he claims that although ‘Australians were not merely transplanted English’, they

liked the idea of the British, the pomp of empire and the historical and cultural heritage to which they felt they had as much right as their contemporaries in the British Isles.\textsuperscript{1083}

Horne’s remarks suggest the emotional freight of ‘the idea of the British’ as linked to ideas of ‘pomp’, ‘empire’ and ‘heritage’. Ken Stewart gestures toward the elasticity that

\textsuperscript{1078} Stuart Ward, \textit{Australia and the British Embrace}, p. 10 & p. 2.
\textsuperscript{1079} Sharyn Pearce, ‘When Australia Calls’, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{1080} Ward, \textit{Australia and the British Embrace}, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{1082} Horne, p. 100
\textsuperscript{1083} Horne, p. 99.
Australians demonstrate in regard to themselves and Britishness, in that in different timeframes, they can (sometimes covertly) maintain ‘various forms of behaviour inconsistent with new national ideals’. This implies that at other times, such behaviours are not covert. It seems that, given the Australian response to the 1954 Royal Tour of Australia, Australians certainly not only liked the idea of the British, but adored as well, the ideas of pomp and ceremony, acquiescing to what Jane Connors calls a ‘climate of joyful celebration’ that accompanied the Tour. Pearce also notes what she terms ‘hyperbolic and hagiographic’ newspaper coverage of this event, and ‘rapturous and tumultuous crowds’ both which suggest adoration rather than mere approval. On this occasion, Australia seems to have been determined to demonstrate pride in its English connection. Pearce notes the 1954 Royal Tour as ‘the apogee of identification with Britain’. Ward insists that enthusiasm affected not merely the general public, but ‘Australian politicians of all political shades’, claiming that the occasion was ‘the greatest public expression of British race patriotism since Queen Victoria’s Diamond Jubilee in 1898’. However, Horne’s use of the phrase ‘the idea of the British’ perhaps anticipates the notion of Englishness as a ‘state of mind’, as defined by Giles and Middleton, and is significant in the context of this chapter. Craig McGregor mentions directly the emotional significance of connections to England when he writes that 1960s Australia still felt itself ‘tied emotionally to Britain’ and that both formal and social structures in contemporary Australia are powerfully of ‘the Anglo-Saxon tradition’. McGregor contends at the outset that ‘Australia is an Anglo-Saxon country becoming less so’, however, perhaps revealing what might be termed a vestige, or ‘trace element’ of Englishness himself. McGregor refers to ‘the Mother Country’, unqualified by quotation marks, when describing Australia’s ongoing propensity for ‘importing’ from England ‘its Governor-Generals [sic] its Archbishops, its private school Headmasters and even its

1086 Pearce, ‘When Australia Calls’, p. 2.
1087 Pearce, ‘When Australia Calls’, p. 2.
newspaper Editors’. Peter Craven, David Malouf, Peter West, Ross Terrill and Stuart Ward all writing much later, perhaps reveal this same vestige when they, too, use the same term in a similarly unqualified manner. The ‘British embrace’ was both overt and subtle and it affected the Australian people powerfully, although the precise nature of its effect is still the subject of debate.

The idea of ‘national identity’ has long been a vexed issue in Australia. Richard White maintains that ‘national identity is an invention’ and that each different variation is an intellectual construct and ‘necessarily false’. He adds that the construction of a ‘national image’ is attributable to three major forces, those of European ‘cultural baggage’, a self-serving ‘intelligentsia’ and powerful economic forces, which operate in tandem with the ‘intelligentsia’. Although White states that he does not believe that a ‘real’ Australia exists, he concedes that ideas of what ‘national identity’ might be are ‘continually being fractured, questioned and redefined’. Geoffrey Stokes also maintains that the formation of identity is ‘inherently a dynamic, interactive, social process’ and points to what he terms a ‘rudimentary’ problem with identity assertion, which he claims is to define and construct oneself against ‘others’. Ann Curthoys maintains that multiculturalism has reshaped the public debate on ‘national identity’ to the point where the desires of Australians are ‘increasingly multicultural, republican and post-colonial’, a very different outlook from previous times, which cherished older concepts of Australian society as

1090 McGregor, p. 54 & p. 55.
1093 Richard White, pp. vii-ix.
1094 Richard White, p. x.
a kind of British museum, a theme park where the aspirations of the old world are to be preserved and realised, protected by the monarchy and inherited British institutions.  

Curthoys argues convincingly that a search for a ‘completed, unique and distinguishing Australian character and set of [cultural and political] values’ has become unfruitful, even counter-productive and that it would be better to focus upon how present day Australians ‘fit into a larger world history’. However, despite the pragmatism of Curthoys’ approach, the issue of ‘identity’ for Australians continues to stir public debate and to provoke analysis. David Malouf’s 2004 essay Made in England, in which he evaluates Australia’s British inheritance is one such instance. In his introduction to Malouf’s essay, Peter Craven alludes to the “made in England” marking. For English manufacturers, such ‘marking’ was a guarantee of the durability and longevity that characterised a ‘quality’ manufactured product. During the early years of the twentieth century, British toy manufacturers printed on boxes containing their wares ‘the firm stricture: Don’t buy worthless copies of our English models. None genuine without our signature on box.’ And as Malouf remarks in his essay, “Made in England” was an indisputable guarantee of quality. However, perhaps his title ‘Made in England’, while acknowledging the durability and longevity of Australia’s relationship with England, is also deliberately provocative, forcing his readers to engage with the whole national identity debate.

In Made in England, Malouf argues that Australia is ‘a bit of the motherland set down in a new place and left to develop’ (64). The ‘British embrace’ has been highly influential in the development of Australian identity and here it seems useful to refer to Malouf’s own observations about ‘identity’. Malouf remarks that in terms of ‘identity’, no country in the world has a ‘fixed’ or ‘unconditional’ place, but that, given the historical sweep of invasion and settlement, the question of ‘identity’ is subject frequently to negotiation and

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1097 Curthoys, p. 36.  
1098 David Malouf, ‘Made in England’, p. 64, notes the triangulated, often problematic relationship that Australia has with the USA and with England. Subsequent references to Malouf’s essay will appear in parenthesis in this chapter.  
1099 Craven, p. v.  
1100 Dorothea Hall, p. 124.

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change (58). This is no less true for the English, and was one of the introductory points made by Robert Colls and Philip Dodd in *Englishness. Politics and Culture 1880-1920.*

Benjamin Anderson, in *Imagined Communities,* points also to the limitations of ‘nationality as a socio-cultural concept’, suggesting instead that it be seen as belonging more to ‘kinship’ and ‘religion’.

Noting the historical significance of mass migration, Paul Gilroy suggests a different way of viewing identity, in terms of motion and of ‘hybridity’.

According to Antony Easthope, ‘nation’ can be understood as a ‘particular discursive formation’ but has so far only been defined in the narrow terms of three different and problematic ideas of what ‘nation’ is.

The term ‘identity’ is similarly problematic, but that which ‘at a less conscious level incites identification with nation is [also] a particular and distinct discursive formation’, rather than a ‘natural’ process.

‘National identity’, the complex product of combining the two terms ‘nation’ and ‘identity’ is a ‘discursive effect’ and therefore perhaps belongs more properly to culture than it does to nature.

Essentially, ‘national identity’ is a cultural construct, not a natural state and ‘Englishness’ is a learned ideology, drawn from numerous and often highly complex discursive practices. Easthope supplies a short but comprehensive list of defining ‘procedures of the national discourse’ as might appear in a brief conversation between two people from the same country and suggests that these delineated the territory of ‘national identity’ as something that is ‘shared’.

Gilroy suggests that ‘placeless imaginings of identity’ supersede more traditional ideas of ‘soil, roots and territory’.

Roger Ebbatson further questions ideas of ‘soil, roots and territory’ as markers of Englishness when he asserts that

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1104 Antony Easthope, *Englishness and National Culture,* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 6-12, nation as class dominance, nation as ‘imagined community’ and nation as ‘real’ versus nation as ‘spirit’.
1105 Easthope, p. 18.
1106 Easthope, p. 32.
1107 Easthope, p. 6, includes assignment of thematic and discursive priorities; strategies for managing agreement/disagreement; presumed notions of truth; serious and less serious subjects; control of tone and transition between topics; tropes and figures used and jokes.
a complex process of signification of national identity based in binary tropes and a sense of stable cartographic models is perpetually undermined by cultural uncertainties and disorienting fragmentations. 

It certainly appears valid, as Giles and Middleton remark, that the ‘construction of a monolithic national identity is never complete’. Ebbatson’s comments suggest even more importantly, that the concept of ‘identity’ is far too complex to be thought of any more as ‘monolithic’. Michael Wood reiterates this point in In Search of England as does Peter Ackroyd’s Albion, The origins of the English imagination, whose titles also suggest the complexity of the issue of identity. To add still further to the complexity, Easthope maintains that it is most likely that ‘human groups are organised on a basis which is unconscious as well as conscious’. I would argue that for children this began early, with reading popular English material larded with visual imagery that, as Darian-Smith et.al. observe, was ‘gendered and racially inscribed’ and which ‘constructed the relationships between the British colonies in familial terms’. The reading of annuals, laden with imperialist images also helped to inculcate conscious and unconscious ideas of who was included in that ‘family’ and who was left out. For Michael Wood, the past is not ‘literal’, but composed of ‘images…often as highly structured and selective as myths – imprinted…on our sensibility.’ Malouf proposed a similar idea to that of Gilroy, in that for Australians the identity question seems based not in what he terms ‘blood and soil’, (which might be seen as ‘literal’ or even ‘concrete’ qualities) but rather in terms of more abstract qualities, which he defines as ‘the social and emotional ties between individuals based on shared experience – shared occasions, ceremonies, symbols’ and the emotions produced by these (58-59). These qualities might be seen as being related closely to Anderson’s ideas of ‘kinship’ and ‘religion’. They suggest also Giles and

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1110 Giles & Middleton, p. 6.
1112 Easthope, p. ix.
1113 Darian-Smith et.al., Britishness Abroad, p. 10.
1114 Wood, pp. 3-4.
1115 Anderson, Imagined Communities, p. 5.
Middleton’s idea of ‘a state of mind’. Malouf’s essay highlights the ineluctable fact that through the historical circumstance of intentional ‘founding’ by Britain (37) and through the subsequent shared experiences of Australians, the roots of certain strands of Australian society are English. Malouf’s family background is Lebanese and English and his reflections in Made in England, examine some of his childhood experiences and suggest how certain aspects of ‘Englishness’ took such strong hold within Australian society. It seems that ‘Englishness’, that particular ‘state of mind’ as defined by Giles and Middleton, was responsible for the formation of the ‘deep sense of attachment’ to the British, to which Stuart Ward refers. This prompts the question of how the ‘deep sense of attachment’ was formed and cemented in some Australian children.

As Judith Johnston and Monica Anderson assert in Australia Imagined, from its earliest settlement, ‘Australia’ was a construct – an ‘antipodean site in relation to its superior island opposite, Great Britain’, and although Australia has since developed what they term ‘an independent “Australian” political and cultural identity’ this ‘identity’ is tied inevitably to notions of ‘Britishness and ‘Home’. Johnston and Anderson highlight the role of the British popular press ‘at the first level of discourse’ in shaping perceptions of Australia and of Australian people both for overseas and for Australian readers. Although awareness of the ‘ephemeral and contingent’ nature of such material is important, the term ‘first level’ suggests that this type of discursive material has immediacy, even an urgency that might not occur at other levels. This was certainly true of material from the contemporary English popular press. As Nancy Armstrong observes, a ‘radical democratization of the public sphere’ took place during the Victorian period, as English popular culture became ‘empowered’ by print and photography, and by ‘all the technologies of spectacle that bombarded the national readership from within with sensations, images, narratives, and ideology’. The word ‘bombarded’ is significant –

1116 Giles & Middleton, p. 5.
1119 Johnston & Anderson, p. 2.
saturation of the readership took place from which there was little surcease, making the term ‘first level’ even more meaningful. Material from the popular periodical press, with the immediacy and freshness implied by the term ‘first level’, was both highly attractive to and highly consumable by a mass market, and therefore influential in the formation of political and cultural identity in Australia.\(^{1121}\) Popular cultural material provided entertainment and information about Australia for readers, from ‘both mainstream and radical points of view, and any number of shadings in between.’\(^{1122}\) And people living in Australia were enthusiastic consumers of English reading matter as opposed to local material. Although she notes that, due to strong commercial backing, ‘local newspapers flourished from almost the beginning of settlement’, Elizabeth Webby also remarks that from the earliest times in Australia, resistance which ‘was a long time dying’ existed to other forms of local cultural production such as magazines.\(^{1123}\) Cultural cringe seems to have begun very early in Australia, and Webby notes, furthermore, that such prejudice ‘may still not have completely disappeared.’\(^{1124}\) Less ephemeral material was also popular with Australian readers and Peter Morton remarks that ‘by the 1920s a quarter of Britain’s entire exportation of books was shipped to Australia, and long continued to be so.’\(^{1125}\) Consumption of English material was avid and material from the popular periodical press so strongly influential that it also ‘inevitably affected the sense of identity both of Indigenous people and of the colonizers themselves.’\(^{1126}\) As the title of Johnston and Anderson’s work suggests, through regular consumption of material from the popular periodical press, the English constructed an imaginary picture of Australia and of Australians.

As settlement became more established in Australia during the nineteenth century, the process of imagining was not limited to the English in England. This chapter presents the argument that many young Australians, those to whom Johnston and Anderson refer as ‘the children born out of sight and sound of the British homeland’, internalized a
collection of ‘fictions and fantasies’ about England and the English.\textsuperscript{1127} Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, children born in Australia, who were descended from settlers from the northern hemisphere constructed ideas and pictures of the northern hemisphere, and particularly of England, through material that they received through the agencies of both serious and popular literary material. Morton notes that many, especially those from ‘well-educated bourgeois stock were ‘steeped in English history and literature from birth’.\textsuperscript{1128} However, others from working-class backgrounds were also exposed to the popular literary image of England. Martyn Lyons quotes John Ewers, who, in the 1920s was a Western Australian scholarship student at Perth Modern School. Ewers, the ‘son of an unskilled labourer’, constructed an image of English schools through his reading of ‘English comics like \textit{Gem} and \textit{Magnet} and \textit{The Boys’ Own Paper’}.\textsuperscript{1129} Lyons quotes Ewers as also having remarked upon the cultural prominence of ideas and images of England in relation to those of Australia, which ‘in a literary sense’ was what Ewers termed ‘unmentionable’.\textsuperscript{1130} However, the image of England that children received, however attractive it might have been to them, was problematic. In a discussion of Kenneth Grahame’s popular work, \textit{The Wind in the Willows}, (1908) Sharyn Pearce follows Tony Watkins’ 1992 analysis when she maintains that Grahame’s text, far from describing the reality of contemporary England, actually:

\begin{quote}
represents a widespread nostalgia on the part of the professional middle classes for a lost rural arcadia, an unchanging England uninfluenced by contemporary events such as the agricultural depression and social unrest in the cities, together with the concurrently alarming changes to the traditional social hierarchy.\textsuperscript{1131}
\end{quote}

According to Pearce, the image presented of the English countryside by texts such as \textit{The Wind in the Willows} is misleading because it presents:

\textsuperscript{1127} Johnston & Anderson, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{1128} Morton, p. 271.
\textsuperscript{1129} Martyn Lyons, ‘Reading Practices in Australia’, p. 340.
\textsuperscript{1130} Lyons, p. 340.
myths of English national identity which are essentially backward-looking, embracing an idyllic past of a static, rural, non-industrial, properly hierarchical society in secure, thatched-cottaged surroundings situated somewhere in the South of England.\textsuperscript{1132}

This, then, was a heavily idealized rather than a realistic portrayal of England, but nevertheless, it was one that was presented and reinforced through children’s literature. Martin Lyons and Lucy Taksa suggest that ‘the pastoral nostalgia of The Wind in the Willows was perhaps too English to permeate the Australian consciousness’.\textsuperscript{1133} This is not so in all cases. Noel Henricksen remarks that, for Christopher Koch, one of the stimuli to authorship came from Koch’s father’s reading of The Wind in the Willows to his sons.\textsuperscript{1134} As material in this chapter demonstrates, there were also many other works of English fiction that presented a similar image of England for children. Armstrong remarks that the rise of the popular press meant that the public sphere became something ‘to which anyone could have access’.\textsuperscript{1135} Despite this factor, material in children’s annuals was produced mainly by professional writers, and was formulated deliberately to reinforce prevailing English cultural values such as the idealization of England referred to by Pearce. During the period of Australia’s settlement by the British, a particular cultural condition prevailed in England, which must be noted especially in the context of this chapter. Ebbatson argues persuasively that the

expansive project of empire is accompanied, dialectically, by a narrowing and intensification of an Englishness predicated in terms of landscape, a trope of naming that unifies and smooths out regional and topographic difference.\textsuperscript{1136}

In other words, at the time of Australia’s settlement, Englishness of a particular style had become culturally dominant and was therefore more concentrated than ever before. It seems that Kenneth Grahame, who was born in 1859, was merely subscribing to a mythology about England that had achieved dominance during the Victorian period. Elizabeth Helsinger claims (quoted in this instance by Ebbatson), that popular Victorian poets such as Tennyson, ‘quite consciously fostered the development of “nationhood”’ in

\textsuperscript{1132} Pearce, ‘Literature, Mythmaking and National Identity’, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{1133} Lyons & Taksa, p. 90.
\textsuperscript{1134} Noel Henricksen, Island and Otherland: Christopher Koch and his Books, (Burwood: Educare, 2003), p. 25.
\textsuperscript{1135} Armstrong, p. 317.
\textsuperscript{1136} Ebbatson, pp. 1-2.
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terms of ‘landscape’. The image presented to readers of England was itself highly eulogised. The contrast of this idealised English landscape to the sometimes forbidding landscape of Australia was therefore probably far more marked than it otherwise might have been. During the Victorian period, England was in the process of forming what Helsinger termed a ‘great single nationality’. It was also during this period that the popular press burgeoned, with its attendant armoury of, as Armstrong so succinctly puts it, ‘sensations, images, narratives, and ideology’. The use of professional writers allied to all the new ‘technologies of spectacle’ meant that popular literature for children was therefore even more influential in positioning Australian children from earliest childhood to acquire the quality, or state of mind, of Englishness. Australian children acquired this state of mind with minimal awareness that they were doing so, because a culturally dominant and highly-concentrated form of Englishness was naturalized throughout Australian society by constant and repeated exposure. Ebbatson uses the phrase ‘fetishised Englishness’ in the final chapter of his work. This suggests that Englishness, itself a carefully constructed ideal (especially in terms of landscape), that had had its genesis during the nationalistic ferment of the Victorian period, had become a commodity by the turn of the century. Commodified by artists and writers, with the good of the empire at heart, Englishness was then packaged and marketed to Australians in popular literature. Material from ‘the first level of discourse’, to use Johnston and Anderson’s term, is influential in shaping the perceptions of numerous receivers. The sense of connectedness to England of Australian children has not been much examined in terms of what they themselves believed and experienced in childhood about England and an Englishness that was both presented and reinforced by material in the popular periodical press. English children’s annuals as first-level discourse, contributed to the acquisition of Englishness by Australian children.

1138 Quoted in Ebbatson, p. 2.
1139 Armstrong, p. 311.
1140 Ebbatson, p. 190.
The Question of National Identity

In English children’s annuals and magazines that arrived in Australia, the amusement or entertainment factor appeared to outweigh the instruction factor. This material was designed especially to attract both parents and children, and did this very successfully, becoming a significant part of the domestic experience of Australian childhood. Joanna de Groot claims that ‘consumption does not merely meet particular needs, but expresses socio-cultural meanings’ (italics hers).\textsuperscript{1141} In other words, there is more to the act of buying goods than the obvious need for them. Consumer goods conveyed a sense not merely of well-being, but of belonging in a society, and the goods one possessed sent messages to others. Lyons and Taksa note that in the early part of the twentieth century, a bookcase was ‘an Australian status symbol.’\textsuperscript{1142} Status reveals its connection with Englishness in that one of their respondents mentions the fact that the English \textit{Boy’s Own Paper} was found together with ‘sets of books like Dickens’ and ‘very pious books’ in the large, imposing glass-fronted bookcase in her grandfather’s Sydney home.\textsuperscript{1143} The socio-cultural meaning is plain. English literature had social status and was therefore displayed in the glass-fronted cabinet. Ownership of the cabinet also conferred status upon the owner, and would have conveyed to visitors the desirable impression of solid middle-class culture. Even the \textit{Boys’ Own Paper} had social status, most likely in this case, to have been connected with its English origin. And yet, it was a mass market periodical and readily available in Australia, as were other English periodicals. Australian writer Tim Bowden chronicles the life of his Tasmanian-born father, John Bowden who, in recollecting his near-disastrous building of a hot air balloon inspired by an English children’s magazine, remarks that he ‘had seen the design in a \textit{Boys’ Own Paper} or some such’.\textsuperscript{1144} This recollection illustrates the casual acceptance of an older Australian that the information that furnished the raw material for this memorable childhood experience was derived from an English children’s magazine, although the exact title of this mass-market periodical might not be recalled with precision. In her autobiography, evocatively titled ‘\textit{Home!}’, tennis champion Evonne Goolagong Cawley refers to \textit{Princess} magazine, in

\textsuperscript{1141} de Groot, ‘Metropolitan desires’, p. 166.
\textsuperscript{1142} Lyons & Taksa, p. 88.
\textsuperscript{1143} Lyons & Taksa, p. 88.
\textsuperscript{1144} Bowden, p. 9.
which she found a tale of a Wimbledon-bound young tennis player. Goolagong Cawley notes this as a ‘fairy tale’, but it is interesting to analyse the terms in which she couches her response. According to her recollection, the tennis player in the tale ‘won fame and fortune’ at Wimbledon, and ‘lived happily ever after’. These are both tropes of the traditional English-style fairy tale. Goolagong Cawley remarks further that what she read in the magazine ‘was what I wanted too, so Wimbledon became my Holy Grail.’ Stories in magazines designed to attract children, clearly provided inspiration as well as entertainment for them, as well as a strong element of Englishness, suggested by Goolagong Cawley’s use of the phrase ‘Holy Grail’ in connection with England’s famous tennis centre of Wimbledon. The term ‘Holy Grail’ signif/ies a quest narrative. In hindsight, recalling her experience as a child reading an English children’s magazine, Goolagong Cawley couches her life goal in terms of a profoundly English quest narrative, with a goal as its summit that happened to be in England. According to an even more recent newspaper article, she still cites her early reading experience in motivational speeches to younger tennis players, telling them of her dream of winning on ‘that magical centre court’ encountered first in the pages of Princess. Goolagong Cawley achieved her goal, winning the Wimbledon tennis championship twice, once in 1971 and again in 1980. Goolagong Cawley’s experience speaks of yet another moment of the domestication of Englishness that occurred through the reading of English children’s magazines. By the early twentieth century, English magazines were accepted readily as part of Australian life. De Groot notes as well, that ‘products have both physical and social properties’ and consuming activities are ‘embedded in the whole range of economic activity’. This was the case for popular literature. As Lyons and Taksa explain, children developed their own ‘borrowing networks’ for the English weeklies that had long been readily available from newsagents. They quote one of their respondents who showed sufficient ‘commercial enterprise’ to commodify the commodity by not

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{Goolagong Cawley & Jarratt, p. 79.}{1145}
\footnote{Goolagong Cawley & Jarratt, p. 79.}{1146}
\footnote{Goolagong Cawley & Jarratt, p. 79.}{1147}
\footnote{Anon., ‘Darling of tennis court has No. 1 spot lobbed up belatedly’ in West Australian, 28/12/07, p. 3.}{1148}
\footnote{de Groot, pp. 167-168.}{1149}
\footnote{Lyons & Taksa, pp. 91-92.}{1150}
\end{footnotes}
merely ‘swapping’ but by selling comics ‘for one penny’.\textsuperscript{1151} Certainly in the case of children’s magazines, consumption was ‘an active element’ interacting with ‘labour, skill and entrepreneurship’.\textsuperscript{1152}

Lyons and Taksa’s research demonstrates that Australian children’s reading of popular literature had a range of meanings from the broadly social and communal to the deeply personal and was often associated in their minds with ‘home’.\textsuperscript{1153} The idea of ‘home’ has a deep importance within most human cultures. In \textit{Empire’s Children}, M. Daphne Kutzer remarks on the importance of ‘a search for and definition of a national home’, observing further that ideas of ‘home’ were ‘linked to another common metaphor for empire, that of family, with Queen Victoria and England as mother, and colonized peoples as children’.\textsuperscript{1154} Margaret Anderson, Julia Clark and Andrew Reeves note the prevalence in Australian and English colonial discourse, of pictorial images of ‘Australia as a child’.\textsuperscript{1155} Kate Darian-Smith draws attention to the fact that the ‘allegorical female form’ is utilised to serve patriarchal interests, while masking the cultural and political limitations placed upon women.\textsuperscript{1156} It seems, however, that the concept of Australia as ‘daughter’ was widely accepted, although on occasion, the term ‘mother country’ was contested.\textsuperscript{1157} The material read by children in annuals and magazines was part of the complex system of ties that bound far-off Australia to England, the ‘mother’ country. This material formed part of the British embrace and as such, particularly for the annuals, their value to their youthful owners was often far more than merely sentimental. As Johnston and Anderson point out, the published material of the popular press was ‘both ephemeral and contingent’.\textsuperscript{1158} Despite this, annuals, the solid, sometimes costly volumes with their high production values, were not ‘swapped’ among children, (except perhaps for temporary loans). However, it is clear from Lyons and Taksa, that ‘swapping’ occurred commonly

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{1151} Lyons & Taksa, pp. 91-92.
\bibitem{1152} de Groot, p. 168.
\bibitem{1153} Lyons & Taksa, pp. 93-101.
\bibitem{1154} M. Daphne Kutzer, \textit{Empire’s Children}, p. 16.
\bibitem{1155} Margaret Anderson, Julia Clark & Andrew Reeves, \textit{When Australia was a Woman: Images of a Nation}, (Perth: Western Australian Museum, 1998), p. 6 & pp. 21-22
\bibitem{1156} Kate Darian-Smith, ‘Images of Empire’, p. 159.
\bibitem{1157} Johnston & Anderson, p. 12, a nineteenth-century New Zealand Premier, Julius Vogel, rejected the metaphor, calling it ‘hackneyed’ and ‘wanting in reason’.
\bibitem{1158} Johnston & Anderson, p. 2.
\end{thebibliography}
for the more ephemeral magazines. English children’s annuals were a form of magazine-
style literary material that had, through being produced in book-form, crossed the divide
between ‘disposable’ and ‘permanent’, and were therefore preserved intact, while
magazines were discarded. Their content was thereby also preserved and ideas of
Englishness were passed on to further generations of Australians who also read and
absorbed this material.

As Luisa Del Guidice and Gerald Porter observe in their introduction to *Imagined States*,
cultural self-identification is a ‘process’, whose ‘organising and empowering
metaphors…are ‘the imagined states,’ by which humankind constructs and locates itself
in those worlds, places, and territories of the mind’.\(^{1159}\) Benedict Anderson, (to whose
work in this respect, Del Guidice and Porter acknowledge their debt,)\(^{1160}\) defines the
nation as ‘an imagined political community…conceived as a deep, horizontal
comradeship’.\(^{1161}\) This idea suggests once again the British embrace in which Australia
was held as it began slowly to develop self-image and identity. In *Crossing the Gap*,
Christopher Koch maintains that,

Those who have not been subjects of a global empire, who have not been made aware from
infancy of what were then called ‘ties of blood’, will never understand these far-off things. No
English man or woman will ever be able to experience what a colonial Australian or New
Zealander of British or part-British descent felt about England.\(^{1162}\)

Australia, in the early period of settlement, imagined itself as British and one of the
means by which this imagined state was consolidated was through popular culture.
Popular culture provides what might be termed ‘bridges’ that closely link real and
imagined states. These ‘imagined states’ are usually idealized, and Del Guidice and
Porter stress the notion that they are often constructed by communities of what they term
‘exiles’, who have ‘the purpose of humanly sustaining themselves’ in this way.\(^{1163}\)
During the period of nineteenth-century Australian settlement, this was certainly the case

\(^{1159}\) Del Guidice & Porter, pp.1-2.
\(^{1160}\) Del Guidice & Porter, p. 1.
\(^{1161}\) Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp. 6-7.
\(^{1162}\) Koch, “‘Maybe it’s because I’m a Londoner’”, p. 32.
\(^{1163}\) Del Guidice & Porter, p. 2.
for the many English immigrants, who kept a connection with England through the reading of material from the popular periodical press. Del Guidice and Porter comment that ‘[d]reamworlds set us free’.\textsuperscript{1164} Perhaps this was the case for those who found Australia a difficult environment compared with that of England. However, the ‘dreamworld’ of England was transmitted, partly through the medium of popular culture also to the descendants of those immigrants, and whether it set \textit{them} free is quite another matter. Koch draws attention to the delicate yet powerful bondage in which Australian children were nurtured:

\begin{quote}
[w]e were subjects of no mortal country; hidden in our unconscious was a kingdom of Faery…a Britain that could never exist outside the pages of Hardy, Kenneth Grahame, Dickens and Beatrix Potter.\textsuperscript{1165}
\end{quote}

As can be deduced from the above quotation, popular literary culture is particularly effective in providing material with which to build a picture in the imagination. As John M. MacKenzie observes, it is a ‘potent’ media, with a ‘self-generating ethos reinforcement’.\textsuperscript{1166} The picture initially presented is valorised by the constant presence of the same material, presented and re-presented perpetually, as it was in the weekly magazine or children’s annual. Children born in Australia received material in both magazines and annuals that provided them with numerous English fragments. These could be pieced together in the imagination to form a ‘dreamworld’, a picture of that other, often ancestral hemisphere, perhaps physically very different from much of Australia’s landscape, but mentally, and even spiritually, so apparently ‘similar’, at least in the imaginations of those who read this material. Children’s annuals reinforced in a concrete and permanent form for child readers, exactly the same English cultural material that was found in the relatively flimsy magazines. The ‘dreamworld’ of England may have been of genuine sustenance to early settlers of Australia. However, for some Australian children of the twentieth century, constant exposure to English culture generally, a significant part of which was habitual reading of children’s literature produced in England, led to the formulation in their minds of a serious question – how

\begin{flushright}\textsuperscript{1164} Del Guidice & Porter, p. 4. \\
\textsuperscript{1165} Koch, p. 32. \\
\textsuperscript{1166} John M. MacKenzie, \textit{Propaganda and Empire}, p. 3.\end{flushright}
did one identify where and what was actually ‘home’? Peter Morton suggests that for earlier Australians the term itself was both fraught and contested.\(^{1167}\) Twentieth-century Australians who have felt this question sufficiently important to warrant close attention include prominent professional writers such as David Malouf, C.J. Koch, Judith Wright and Donald Horne.

Kutzer refers to the problematisation of the concept of ‘home’ by colonialism, which she links in this context with an equally problematic sense of ‘nationalism’, stating that ‘[d]efinitions of home, in a nationalistic sense, are complicated by empire’.\(^{1168}\) In terms of Australia, this appears to have been the case. Perhaps, as Malouf’s *Quarterly* essay title suggests, Australia was simply ‘made in England’ (64). However, the issue is far more complex, for as Del Guidice and Porter note, ‘the mythic homeland, with the further passing of time, increasingly becomes imagined as well, for nostalgia and longing play parts in such cultural constructs.’\(^{1169}\) In his 1985 novel *The Doubleman*, Christopher Koch writes of growing up ‘in the half-light of that Empire the ultimate end of whose bridge of boats was Hobart.’\(^{1170}\) Koch continues that

\[\text{Tasmanians…were rather like the prisoners in Plato’s cave; to guess what the centre of the world was like – that centre we knew to be twelve thousand miles away – we must study shadows on the wall: *Bitter Sweet* at the Hobart Repertory; *Kind Hearts and Coronets* at the Avalon Cinema; the novels of A.J. Cronin and J.B. Priestly and Graham Greene; shadows, all shadows, clues to the other hemisphere we might someday discover.}^{1171}\]

The ‘half-light’, or perhaps extended twilight of the British Empire created many intriguing shadows for Australians. Koch asks questions that are poignant and seem not entirely rhetorical: ‘Who were we, marooned at forty-two degrees south? Why were we here, and not there?’\(^{1172}\) For David Malouf, a duality, or dividedness also seemed apparent. In terms of startling similarity to those used by Koch, Malouf ponders a possible malaise at the heart of colonial life, consisting of a

\(^{1167}\) Morton, p. 257.
\(^{1168}\) Kutzer, p. 16.
\(^{1169}\) Del Guidice & Porter, p. 3.
\(^{1172}\) Koch, *Doubleman*, p. 24.
haunting suspicion that nothing here was quite real; that it was only outside Australia...[in] that perfect Platonic realm called “England” – that the world was solid and experience authentic and real (29).

There was, continues Malouf, ‘a sense that life here was somehow thin and insubstantial’ (29). In contrast to the jejune lack of substance that these writers experienced in Australia, constant exposure to English culture endorsed the assumed solidity of England. As I noted at the outset, Giles and Middleton term Englishness a ‘nexus of values, beliefs and attitudes’.1173 This cultural nexus, accepted by Australians as ‘English’, was presented as highly desirable and certainly as superior to anything Australia had to offer. As Malouf notably suggests, during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many judged ‘that Australia was inferior’ (7). In cultural material that flowed into Australia and was consumed by both adults and children, there was, as Koch intimates, a privileging of England as indispensably ‘central’, and as Malouf and Koch both suggest, as ‘real’ as opposed to ‘shadow’ or lack of substance. Antony Easthope’s observation bears repetition here about the ‘conscious and unconscious’ basis of human group organization.1174 The privileging of England and of English culture was rendered far less visible through a process of naturalization which occurred through the constant action of both conscious and unconscious absorption of cultural material that always placed England literally at the heart of world affairs. Writing in 2009, Peter Morton draws attention to the ongoing significance of this issue.1175 For some Australian children in the earlier part of the twentieth century, it seems the bonding and attachment process that might under other circumstances have automatically identified Australia as ‘home’, was destabilized. This was because of the idea received from constant exposure to English cultural material, that a ‘home’ in England was properly to be considered more ‘real’ or ‘genuine’ or ‘true’ than a ‘home’ in Australia. At the beginning of an essay, titled ‘The Lost Hemisphere’, in Crossing the Gap, first published in 1987, Koch frames three questions about identity and home:

1173 Giles & Middleton, p. 5.
1174 Easthope, p. ix.
1175 Morton, p. 256.
Where does an Australian writer belong? Is he or she actually the product of a distinct culture? Is ours, in other words, a society that’s different in any real way from the... source?1176

Despite Koch’s belief that Australians had begun to forge a different culture ‘whose differences from the source are real’, his title suggests that this other hemisphere might be thought of as ‘the lost hemisphere’.1177 The term ‘lost’ denotes that which was previously possessed, and is now missing. It is, at the very least, an acknowledgement that a ‘loss’ has been noted, if not yet fully comprehended. Australian poet, author and essayist Judith Wright began her 1999 autobiography with two questions about identity and home that anticipate later critiques of the same questions. Wright puts it this way: ‘To begin with, in Australia, who am I? None of my genes is indigenous. How did I get here and why?’1178 She then offers a way to seek answers to these two questions:

The place to find clues is not in the present, it lies in the past: a shallow past, as all immigrants to Australia know, and all of us are immigrants. The history of our arrival…begins in another hemisphere.1179

‘Another hemisphere’ is also Koch’s ‘lost hemisphere’.

In Empire’s Children, Kutzer raises the same important questions about identity and ‘home’ with which Koch and Wright had wrestled:

Is “home” merely England, or is it also the further-flung empire? Are colonials…always looking towards the “home” of an England they perhaps have never seen, or does the colonized country become “home”? In what ways is England re-created in colonial lands as an echo of “home”?1180

For Australians, so Johnston and Anderson claim, ‘the issue of national identity remains a fraught topic’.1181 An inescapable part of that topic concerns the problematic element of Englishness as part of Australia’s cultural composition, that to which Malouf refers as ‘our own Britishness’, which is ‘difficult to track down and confront’ (65). ‘Englishness’

1179 Wright, p. 3.
1180 Kutzer, p. 16.
itself, as Julian Wolfreys asserts rightly, ‘cannot be thought of as a fixed object’.\textsuperscript{1182} The past, because it has gone, is impossible to recuperate.\textsuperscript{1183} However, by exploring the assimilation of Englishness into Australian culture through children’s consumption of popular cultural material, my work attempts to track down and confront these issues. Using autobiographical writings produced by a range of Australians, questions raised by Koch, Wright and Kutzer can be explored in terms of the descriptions of these Australians of their childhood responses to popular cultural material of different kinds that originated in England.

England itself had a magnetic attraction for Australians. Peter Morton draws attention to London-bound travel during the twentieth century, and notes that collectively, the percentage of ‘creative and artistic folk’ among these travellers ‘added up to a considerable number’.\textsuperscript{1184} However, others who were content to do their writing in Australia, remark on the Australian tendency to see ‘home’ as located elsewhere. In her interview with Giulia Guiffré, Australian writer Marjorie Barnard (1897-1987) remarked upon the strong tendency of Australians in her childhood to perceive England as ‘home’.\textsuperscript{1185} Dora Birtles, who was born in 1903, was asked the direct question by Guiffré, ‘Do you see yourself as an Australian?’ Birtles replied in the affirmative, but when asked whether she had ever thought of England as ‘home’, though answering in the negative, qualified her response with the remark that in her childhood, ‘about 70 years ago’, ‘everybody called England “home”’.\textsuperscript{1186} Helen Heney, born in 1907, and interviewed by Guiffré in the same study talks of the ‘apologetic attitude’ of Australians, what she terms the ‘great Australian cringe’ which meant one ‘always talked about England as “home”’.\textsuperscript{1187} Elyne Mitchell, born in 1913 also recollected that her ‘mother and father spoke of England as “home”’.\textsuperscript{1188} The idea of England as ‘home’ was a significant factor of Australian life in the early part of the twentieth century, and was one obvious way in

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{1183} Wolfreys, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{1184} Morton, p. 259.
\textsuperscript{1185} Guiffré, pp. 145-146.
\textsuperscript{1186} Guiffré, p. 58.
\textsuperscript{1187} Guiffré, p. 117.
\textsuperscript{1188} Guiffré, p. 212.
\end{flushleft}
which children had an idea reinforced for them that ‘home’ was not necessarily tied to their immediate, visible geographical location, but was elsewhere.

The experience of Helen Lyndon Goff was one case in which this idea found a notable expression. Goff was born in 1899 in Queensland, but found fame as P.L. Travers, the creator of English fantasy nanny-figure Mary Poppins.\(^{1189}\) Valerie Lawson devotes a whole chapter to the examination of Travers’ childhood experience in the New South Wales town of Bowral, a town whose street names ‘Ivy, Myrtle, Holly, Elm, Daphne, Shepherd…contained the essence of the English countryside’. The Bowral of Travers’ childhood was a

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\text{toy town, swathed in the transplanted trees and flowers of England: poplars, willows and peach blossom...a patchwork of every shade of green...[which ‘[u]nlke] the coastal towns, sweating through endless summers...enjoyed real seasons, with snow and copper-coloured leaves, tulips and daffodils. The town...resembled a hill station in colonial India, a place where homesick Englishmen and women could retreat from the heat of the coast.}\(^{1190}\)
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Lawson titles this chapter ‘Old England in Australia’, and credits this formative experience with cementing the foundations of Travers’ creative imagination. However, Travers’ initiation into the powerful world of the imagination appears to have begun earlier than the time in Bowral, for she was eight years old when the family moved there.\(^{1191}\) Travers’ father, with whom she had a close relationship in childhood, nurtured her in early childhood upon fantasies of ‘the Celtic Twilight’.\(^{1192}\) Describing Travers’ experience as one who self-defined as having been ‘never culturally at home’ in Australia, Brenda Niall quotes from Travers’ own words in Only Connect.\(^{1193}\) Travers maintained that although she dwelt physically in the southern hemisphere, her ‘inner world had subtler colours, the greys and snows of England where little Joe swept all the crossings and the numberless greens of Ireland’.\(^{1194}\) According to Lawson, because of this

\(^{1190}\) Lawson, p. 40.
\(^{1191}\) Lawson, p. 41.
\(^{1192}\) Lawson, p. 18.
\(^{1193}\) Brenda Niall, p. 290.
early experience, ‘Australia never seemed to be the place where [Travers] wanted to be’.\textsuperscript{1195} For Travers, English-Australian duality only had one solution. Having absorbed from her earliest childhood the idea that the northern hemisphere was ‘home’, Travers left Australia in 1924 and would later tell a large American audience in the 1960s that she had been born in ‘the southern wild’ and because of this, viewed herself as a ‘displaced’ woman.\textsuperscript{1196} This may seem an extreme case of rejection of ‘Australianness’ in favour of the attractions of the lost hemisphere. Perhaps Travers was a harbinger of what Stephen Alomes, writing of the post-World War II ‘expatriation of Australia’s creative artists to Britain’ called a ‘rising wave of ...movement to Britain’.\textsuperscript{1197}

**Learning to be British**

As can be deduced from Australian autobiographical writings, in the early part of the twentieth century, a grand narrative of empire was a vitally important element in the creation and building of English subjectivity in youthful Australians. As Kathryn Castle remarks, due to the interactive nature of the history textbook and the popular press an ‘imperial discourse dominated the world of the ‘learning’ child’ in England.\textsuperscript{1198} Because of the close relationship between England and Australia, a similar situation prevailed for Australian children. The grand narrative of empire was a foundation of the British embrace for Australian children, and an extra level of reinforcement was provided for this by the Australian sense of inferiority, termed by Alomes ‘colonial cultural cringe’.\textsuperscript{1199} For many Australians ‘English and British originals [were] at the apex of the pyramid of status’.\textsuperscript{1200} A major reason for this state of affairs was the reading matter that was consumed by Australian children, for as Maureen Nimon points out, until some ten years prior to the twentieth century:

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
  \item Lawon, p. 18.
  \item Lawson, p. 14
  \item Stephen Alomes, p. 2.
  \item Kathryn Castle, *Britannia’s Children*, p. 7.
  \item Alomes, p. 7.
  \item Alomes, p. 8.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
fiction for children in Australia was overwhelmingly British and even those titles written by authors resident in the Australian colonies followed the dominant patterns set by British writers… In the nineteenth century, children in Australia read books and magazines published in Britain.\textsuperscript{1201}

As well as the socio-cultural implications, there are specific literary implications to this, for Nimon states further that it ‘is the single most important fact about the roots of Australian children’s literature’.\textsuperscript{1202} Alomes mentions Australian novelist Shirley Hazzard, who described the English literature taught during her schooldays of the 1930s and 1940s, as having ‘placed Australia in perpetual, flagrant violation of reality’.\textsuperscript{1203} For Hazzard, as for other Australian writers, the realities of the Australian landscape were rendered less real by their literary encounters with an English view of landscape and by constant literary evocation of the northern hemisphere. Hazzard’s comments denote an acceptance by readers of the idealized image of the English landscape that appeared in much English material. The process of teaching Englishness, of offering the British embrace, began well before schooldays for many Australian children. Life’s most mundane aspects are perhaps some of its most mysterious. Laurie Langbauer asserts that ‘the mystery of everyday life remains the hardest to solve’.\textsuperscript{1204} What is certain is that the everyday builds subjectivity. As will be readily evident from other material I have explored, in matters related to life’s basic requirements, a powerful narrative of empire permeated the everyday life of many Australian children. However, for developing children, the life of the mind and spirit is as important as food, clothing and shelter. As Jill P. May observes, the affective aspects of reading and of books are enormously important to children in their formative years:

before children go to school, they hear stories that delight them with their events, characters, and resolutions…When they hear stories that are accompanied by illustrations, they observe the artist’s interpretation of the plot and characterization as they listen…They are exploring the pleasures of stories, and are using the illustrations to entertain themselves…\textsuperscript{1205}

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item Nimon, p. 1.
\item Alomes, p. 8.
\item May, p. 14.
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Publishers of annuals had been providing material for pre-school children since the late nineteenth century. Annuals for pre-school children also came to Australia with their textual and pictorial images of England and, during the period to which Shirley Hazzard refers, transmitted these ideas to children. *Warne’s Happy Book for Children*, presented as a Sunday School prize in 1931 is one such annual.\(^{1206}\) It contains English fairy tales and short stories of a suburban and bucolic England. The colour cover of this book depicts two smiling, young children attired in neat, middle-class English-style clothing, riding scooters in front of a white picket fence, behind which bloom English-style delphiniums and hollyhocks in a green garden. On the rear cover, in a green background, is a smiling golden-haired child holding a small spray of flowers and the book’s spine depicts a young boy blowing bubbles. These illustrations are clearly designed to suggest to a potential child-reader, that the pleasures to be found between the book’s covers relate exactly to their pre-school age group. Inside, the opening page has a full-colour illustration, titled ‘Fairy Tales’ of a small, neatly-dressed girl sitting on a green lawn in front of a deep green shrubbery and trees, surrounded by English-style elves, toadstools and woodland creatures. This girl is deeply absorbed in her book, for she does not appear to notice the various fauna that have appeared around her. According to stage theory on child development, this girl is at the age during which the attention span has become more sustained, and awareness of meaningful features of written language is developing.\(^{1207}\) The print text in this book is large, and the stories simple and short. The young reader is clearly carrying out a process akin to May’s description of the pre-school reading experience in that she is ‘exploring the pleasures of stories’, for although she is very young, she is seated in a garden-like area under a parasol looking at a book all by herself. Role-modelling is implicit in this picture of a contented child alone with a book, which suited the publisher’s commercial purpose of selling more books, as well as the educational aim of encouraging reading in the child. For an Australian recipient of this kind of English material at the pre-reading stage, what May terms ‘exploring the pleasures of stories’ was combined with absorbing a picture of a landscape produced in the northern hemisphere, a landscape that was essentially, yet another ‘fairy tale’. In such

\(^{1206}\) *Warne’s Happy Book for Children*, (London: Frederick Warne, c.1930).

\(^{1207}\) Berk, pp. 275-276.
annuals, instruction and entertainment combined for pre-school children, but for Australian children, a sub-textual layer was added in terms of introducing them without any explanation or qualification to an artist’s impression of an English landscape in terms of incidental greenery, English-style flowers and clothing. Often in children’s texts, as Peter Hunt remarks, ‘we might reasonably conclude that it is the covert rather than the overt which will have power’ and that the ‘subconscious meaning’ comes ‘more potently from the subtexts’. Children’s annuals such as *Warne’s Happy Book for Children* had an overt appearance of innocence, even blandness. The quality of ‘happiness’ was overtly signified by the title, but one of the covert or sub-textual elements of such a text was the pleasantness of ‘Englishness’, associated directly with the ‘happiness’ signified by the title. This example lends further weight to Alomes’ assertion that English children’s books taught Australian children to ‘love England and its country gardens’. However, the image that was absorbed was essentially yet another fairy tale, an element of a larger fantasy of England that had as one of its own aspects an image of England as a country garden. Like annuals for children, girl’s annuals also dealt with their material primarily from an English point of view. For example, *Blackie’s Girls’ Annuals* are profoundly anglo-centric in the thrust of stories, plays, poems and illustrations. At times this anglo-centricity is open and at times, covert. Girls’ annuals from Blackie contain English school stories, poems and colour plates of English seasons, house-boatting and camping in the English countryside, that suggest, on the part of the publishers, a subscribing to and continuation of the elaborate mythology of rural England that had been expanded during the Edwardian period. A variety of other material features London and other English locations. Two of these volumes feature detailed material about Oxford University, one treatment of which is couched as a short story, the other as an article. Both of these treatments are openly anglo-centric in their eulogizing of Oxford. In ‘The Idyll of a Day’, four schoolgirls, under the supervision of their History teacher, visit Oxford. In this tale, Oxford is characterized as a kind of heaven on earth, a place of ‘old and gentle

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beauty, where in gardens and quadrangles and among tall trees’, numerous ‘young and adorable people were radiantly happy and gay’. O111 Oxford is eulogized further toward the end of this tale, as Magdalen Tower, in a fine example of purple prose, rises ‘like a golden lily above the flowing river, the great trees motionless,’ and the ‘perfect High Street’ soars ‘sublimely to the pinnacle of St. Mary’s spire’. O112 This annual was a first prize award to an Australian student. Another treatment is from a slightly later annual, attributed to ‘An Old Student’ and titled ‘A Fresher at Oxford’, and while less breathless, presents Oxford iconography in terms of the ‘privileges and traditions’ of University life. O113 This article (which is also interesting for its strong, but subtle advocacy of university education for women) contains detailed descriptions of the riparian charms of Oxford, with its ‘green, shady’ nooks overhung with willows. O114 It also describes the scenery to be viewed from ‘the roof of the Bodleian’ and the writer makes the Anglocentric observation that this is the ‘most famous library in Europe’, to which ‘everything published in England has to be sent, including all newspapers, pamphlets and even menu cards’. O115 In an aside, the writer talks of observing copies of children’s magazines ‘Puck and The Rainbow’ which are catalogued by the librarians at the Bodleian. O116 Advocacy of female university potential appears again in a third Blackie’s Girls’ Annual which includes a tale featuring a schoolgirl who must, for undisclosed medical reasons, give up the playing of hockey for one year and to whom it is recommended by the headmistress of her school that she compete instead for an Oxford scholarship. O117 The university town, called ‘Arnold’s dream city’ is eulogized briefly in this tale. O118 Anglo-centricity of a slightly less conventional kind is also found in a tale called ‘One Touch of Nature’, which is set in Germany at a girl’s finishing school, ‘in the

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1211 Shepherd, p. 24.
1212 Shepherd, p. 24.
1215 ‘A Fresher at Oxford’, p. 143.
1218 Ensdaile, p. 170, in ‘Idyll of a Day’ and in “A Change of Game”, both families have a tradition of scholarship, in which the females of each are encouraged to follow.
days before the Great War”. Kutzer noted that a stereotype of the Irish ‘as outsider within English society’ and characterised as ‘animalistic and alien’ had been common in Victorian times. However, it seems that some rehabilitation had taken place of this view, for in this story Jeannetta O’Shane, an Irish girl, shows consciousness of the larger importance of the Empire, when she notices that the flag of the British Empire is not at the local celebrations. Jeanetta then flies the flag at the top of her finishing school. The tale contains an ironic commentary about ‘the German sense of humour’ as opposed to the British sense of humour.

Articles that dealt with practical topics such as ‘Christmas Entertaining’ and ‘First Steps in Acting and Make-up’ were also anglo-centric, although in a lesser degree. In ‘Christmas Entertaining’ a fancy-dress activity utilizes only characters from English history. In ‘First Steps in Acting and Make-up’, readers are informed that ‘the British are a reserved race’. British reserve is tested in a tale, which alludes to Australia’s contemporary relationship with England. ‘Rose on the Ranch’ tells of Rose, a young English girl who is visiting from England, staying on an ‘Australian cattle ranch’. In this story, English courage is lauded as Rose learns to conquer her fear of steers. Given her developing relationship with her tough, bronzed Australian cousin, a Freudian reading is possible of this tale, in which female English delicacy in the person of the English ‘Rose’ is contrasted with male Australian vigour in the person of Tom, her cousin with his ‘strong colonial voice’, who as Rose puts it is ‘so big, and rough, and grown-up, and different from…English boys’. The cousinship of the two alludes to the familial bonding between Australia and England, and the growing friendship between Rose and Tom hints at the possibility of formalizing the relationship. However, it must also be noted that this characterization of a young Australian man as ‘big and rough’ and

1220 Kutzer, p. 20.
1221 Pollok, p. 104.
1225 Pocock, p. 60.
‘different from…English boys’ might not have been particularly positive for Australian female readers, neither might the ranch environment have been particularly attractive to them in contrast to the pretty English countryside depicted in other tales in this annual.

Early experiences of reading left strong impressions upon Australian children. Christopher Koch notes in ‘Maybe It’s Because I’m a Londoner’ that English books were read aloud to him from when he was three years old.\textsuperscript{1226} David Malouf writes in \textit{12 Edmondstone Street} of long, drowsy afternoons during which his mother was occupied with sewing and mending, and the family’s domestic assistant Cassie, would read aloud from English books such as \textit{David Copperfield}, \textit{John Halifax, Gentleman}, \textit{The Channings}, \textit{The Manxman} and \textit{Jane Eyre}.\textsuperscript{1227} Malouf remarks that he was named after \textit{David Copperfield}.\textsuperscript{1228} Koch makes a similar point in ‘Maybe It’s Because I’m a Londoner’, mentioning that he was named after A.A. Milne’s Christopher Robin.\textsuperscript{1229}

A return to the English-inspired reading material of childhood is very evident in the writing of John A. McKenzie.\textsuperscript{1230} His autobiographical writing is from a 1993 autobiography called \textit{Challenging Faith}, but is drawn, in this instance, from a somewhat unconventional collection of autobiographical writings titled \textit{Blokes: Stories from Australian Lives}. Although it has an ‘editor’, this book carries no editorial introduction, but instead invites readers to compare and contrast ‘stories from Australian lives’ in a less mediated way. The title ‘\textit{Blokes}’ references Australian masculinity and suggests that the collection purports to enable the telling of the stories of what might be termed ‘ordinary’ men. However, some of the contributors are women, so the term ‘bloke’ seems in this context, to be more of a generic term, and not exclusive to males. At the end of the book, brief biographical details are supplied which undermine the idea that these are ‘ordinary’ people, for some contributors are A.B. Facey (\textit{A Fortunate Life}), well-known Western

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\item\textsuperscript{1226} Koch, “‘Maybe It’s Because I’m a Londoner’”, p. 28.
\item\textsuperscript{1227} Malouf, \textit{12 Edmondstone Street}, p. 38.
\item\textsuperscript{1228} Malouf, p. 38.
\item\textsuperscript{1229} Koch, “‘Maybe It’s Because I’m a Londoner’”, p. 28.
\item\textsuperscript{1230} B.R. Coffey, \textit{(ed.)}, \textit{Blokes: Stories from Australian Lives}, p. 189: John McKenzie was a foundation member of the Secondary Teachers’ College and first head of the Social Sciences Department, Western Australia.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Australian writer T.A.G. Hungerford, and Sally Morgan (My Place), and yet another is Ronald Morley, who in 1983-84 under the nickname of ‘Greybeard’, robbed seven Western Australian banks.\(^{1231}\) The blurb on the book’s rear cover draws attention to the varied backgrounds of contributors, and states that the purpose of the book is to move and to entertain the reader. As a retrieval of lost historical time, this type of material is both useful and informative, and is possibly, except for oral history, (which can also present a range of problems for the researcher) the only remaining source of such details of social history.

John McKenzie, who later became a school teacher, describes his childhood in the 1920s, part of which was passed in rural Argyle, south of Perth, ‘a hamlet of about twelve or fifteen families’.\(^{1232}\) McKenzie lived for a time with his aunt, who was a teacher in the district and who encouraged his reading practices, which he describes in considerable detail, recalling:

> Kingston, Henty, Strang and Ballantyne; we went to sea with Jack Easy and Peter Simple, scoured the world’s underwaters with Jules Verne, or with Percy Westermann the endless regions of the sky. We hunted gorillas in Africa, trapped and traded furs in Hudson’s Bay, were lost on the ice with Peter the Whaler, and went with Alan Quartermaine in search of King Solomon’s mines. \(^{1233}\)

Tom Sharpe observes that the ‘literary influence of Aunts in the Age of the Empire…was clearly of major importance’.\(^{1234}\) This is evidenced from McKenzie’s reminiscences. The moral education of the children in her care was taken in hand by McKenzie’s Aunt Mildred and McKenzie recalls his Aunt’s disapproval of the cinema, known as ‘the pictures’, at that time very popular in Argyle.\(^{1235}\) Instead, Aunt Mildred subscribed to English-inspired Victorian educational ideals in providing children with ‘a firm grounding in the Bible’.\(^{1236}\) Martyn Lyons notes that what he terms ‘this older reading practice’ persisted into the twentieth century and that family Bibles were ‘valuable and

\(^{1231}\) Coffey, pp. 187-190.
\(^{1233}\) McKenzie, pp. 33-34.
\(^{1234}\) Sharpe, p. 8.
\(^{1235}\) McKenzie, p. 32.
\(^{1236}\) McKenzie, p. 32.
treasured’ possessions for Australians. Nevertheless, McKenzie remarks that his own exposure to the Bible was ‘selective’. As well as providing traditional spiritual grounding, McKenzie’s Aunt ‘subscribed to Arthur Mee’s *Children’s Encyclopaedia*…in monthly instalments, until we finally had them all.’ In McKenzie’s childhood, reading itself was a reward for often after the daily work was finished, by the light of a kerosene lamp, novels were read aloud ‘chapter by chapter’. This was another ‘familial’ reading practice, as Lyons notes. McKenzie recalls that he ‘read far more books than most kids’ and ‘gained a lasting love of literature.’ For some, the English-Australian duality was not as apparent or troubling as it was to others. Though McKenzie’s writing reveals a consciousness of the English nature of some of what he read in his youth, he does not apply the specific designate to ‘literature’. In what seems to have been a type of incentive scheme that mirrored the school prize-giving, McKenzie’s Aunt Mildred gave books as gifts:

Once, she bought me *Martin Rattler* for my birthday, read me the first chapter, then gave me the book to finish. This became a regular practice.

**Adventure narratives and Empire**

Annuals were part of the range of British juvenile literature offered to Australian readers, and were what Australian writer Michael Wilding terms ‘a huge repository of stories and images’. Many of these concerned what M. Daphne Kutzer calls the ‘Heroic Age of Exploration’. In *The Green Book for Boys*, among the school stories and those set in notional historical timeframes, adventure and action on the various frontiers of the empire are major and recurring tropes. Stories about England’s colonial possessions appear,

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1238 McKenzie, p. 32, one student, to entertain the rest, would search for risqué parts of the Bible.
1239 McKenzie, p. 34.
1240 McKenzie, p. 33.
1242 McKenzie, p. 33.
1243 McKenzie, p. 32.
1244 Wilding, p. 2.
1245 Kutzer, p. xx.
1246 Herbert Strang (ed.), *The Green Book for Boys*. 

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some presented as factual rather than as fictional. Unlike Arthur Mee’s carefully separated categorizations of factual and fictional material, the demarcation is not always clear in annuals. Brenda Niall notes that ‘types’ of conventional tales within Australian children’s literature were derived from various nineteenth-century British colonial literary paradigms, and she terms one of these types ‘semi-documentary’. The documentary form, once accepted as unproblematically factual or truthful has been subjected to analysis that reveals its highly problematic nature. Niall’s category of “semi-documentary” seems most appropriate for such tales in respect of their surreptitious blending of fact and fiction. The ‘Strang’ annuals were very popular, and contained similar collections of tales and articles. Herbert Strang’s Annual, 17th Year, is a copiously illustrated volume containing, as well as tales of hunting, fishing, shooting and stargazing, English school stories and factual articles (with black and white photographs) on popular topics for boys such as railways, whaling and treasure hunting beneath the sea. Photographs reinforced what could be termed the truth value of such articles, though the articles themselves were often highly subjective. More often, however, print-text descriptions were supplied in articles, which also had illustrations, such as an example from The Blazed Trail Adventure Book, whose Australian owner’s inscription gives a date of Christmas, 1924. In this annual, which features nine tales of adventure directed at boys, is a tale of Australia, from ‘the year 1898’ and details are supplied to make this tale seem authentic. The tale concerns ‘a prospecting and exploring party’ which is attacked by unfriendly indigenous tribes-people. The author has letters of qualification after his name, suggesting authority, and Australia is depicted as hostile, dreary, waterless and ‘disheartening’. Although, as John McKenzie’s reminiscences

1248 Niall, pp. 2-3, identifies four major types of tale: ‘settler’ tales; adventure stories; ‘missionary’ tales and ‘semi-documentary’ stories.
1250 Herbert Strang (ed.), Herbert Strang’s Annual, 17th Year, (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1924).
suggest, some Australian children might have enjoyed the adventure aspects of tales such as this one (those using Niall’s descriptor, which might be termed ‘semi-documentary’), it might in other respects have been discouraging reading.

Although annuals sometimes had titles that seemed to indicate Australian content, these were produced in England and the material was produced by English writers. For example, *The Australasian Boy’s Annual* is simply a collection of English school and adventure stories and articles that are highly conventional for the period.\(^{1254}\) Given the annual’s title, Australian content is represented with astonishing brevity, merely by one section of an article on ‘Some Strange People and Their Homes’, an Anglo-centric piece, which begins by comparing the numerous palaces of King George V to the tent of ‘the Sultan of Morocco’ and in which an indigenous Australian features in a two-paragraph treatment.\(^{1255}\) There is slightly more Australian content in a contemporary volume, in which two pieces feature Australia. Cassell’s *The Australian Boy’s Annual*, has an article concerning a crossing of the ‘Never-Never’ land in Australia’s north, and a school story. The tale of the northern crossing, again, to use Niall’s term, a ‘semi-documentary’, deals with ‘roadless plains, desert and sun-baked scrub’ and a narrow escape from ‘death by thirst’.\(^{1256}\) Whether or not young readers enjoyed these tales or found the idea of such adventures pleasing, this was hardly a positive picture of Australia. However, as Clare Bradford points out, ‘writing for children is always informed by socialising agendas, overt and covert’.\(^{1257}\) Intention was present in annuals because, as Nimon asserts, British literature was ‘considered to be the right material for “British” children to read’.\(^{1258}\) Nimon declares that the idea of England as ‘home’ persisted well into the twentieth century, therefore it is logical to claim, as she does, that in earlier times, ‘the colonies were first and foremost British’, their very existence being ‘owed to their place in the


\(^{1257}\) Bradford, p. 282.

\(^{1258}\) Nimon, p. 2.
British empire”. Because of this, there was no requirement to present Australia from any other perspective than the English perspective. Running beneath this was a fundamental notion that:

Australian settlement was the outcome of British expansion, and the inhabitants of the continent were British citizens. For young Australians, immersion in British children’s literature was part of their induction into their own culture.

Other stories indicate the persistence of this notion and some clearly reflect the fact that England was considered ‘home’. The school story in this annual concerns an Australian boy who returns ‘home’ to England, to complete the final years of his schooling at an English school. Niall argues that during the second half of the nineteenth century, newly-established Australian schools had to struggle against the conviction of the Anglo-Australian gentry that only English schools really counted: those who could afford to do so would send their sons ‘home’ for a gentleman’s education.

However, this tale is from the 1920s, demonstrating the persistence of such an attitude. The tale depicts Australia without demur as a place in which English people made money then return ‘home’ to live in England. Peter Morton notes many aspects of what he terms ‘the return home’ to England, which could be both physical and psychological for Australians.

*The Empire Annual for Australian Boys* continues the pattern of a negative depiction of Australia as an ontologically hazardous land, very unlike England. Although the cover says ‘Australian Boys’, the inside title page simply says ‘Boys’ suggesting that the annual offered generic material. This annual is a collection of adventure tales set (to utilise John McKenzie’s terminology) on the ‘frontiers of the Empire’ as well as school stories and

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1259 Nimon, p. 2.
1260 Nimon, p. 2.
1263 Bird, p. 124.
1264 Morton, pp. 256-266.
articles on such topics as sports and stamp collecting. Three tales about Australia are featured, one of which is set on Sydney Harbour and deals with a boy who becomes ‘sick and cold with fright’ when he must swim to rescue a girl from sharks. Another tells a story of bushrangers, and supplies many authentic-sounding details of lawlessness in early Australia. The third is a first-person narration called ‘The Haunt of the Bunyip’ and subtitled ‘An Adventure in Central Australia’. In this tale, a prospecting and hunting party falls into thirsty peril, and despite what the author terms ‘the glorious brilliancy of the Australian sun’, a lurking monster (possibly a giant crocodile) decimates the party. This pattern of convention, even cliché continued, and was what Frederic Sinnett, writing in the 1850s, termed the ‘fiction fields of Australia’. Even in the mid-1920s, English volumes such as the Boys’ Story Book, offered not only clichéd stories but seemingly-factual articles for young readers. For example, ‘An Extract from a Hunter’s Diary’ seems neither to have been pure fiction nor factual material, but a seamless blend of both, again, a ‘semi-documentary’ tale. The adventure and danger of Australia both feature once again in a story called ‘At the End of the Trail’, in which children discover a cave in which there are Aboriginal artworks. However, there is a rather more positive depiction of Aboriginal people in this tale than those in some of the previous tales. For instance, a tale in The Green Book for Boys (1909) depicts two English-descended Australian boys trussed up preparatory to being burnt at the stake by Aboriginal tribespeople, also a cliché of adventure tales set in other parts of the world. Frederick Sinnett had rejoiced in the fact that Australia offered ‘fresh scenery, fresh costumes, and fresh machinery’ for writers of the colonial experience. However, English writers were relying by this later stage upon various hackneyed tropes so well-established that

1273 Sinnett, p. 28.
they were instantly recognisable as ‘Australian’. One such trope was the bushfire, useful because of the genuine threat it presented to the domestic, to the success of the colonial enterprise, and also to life and limb. The trope of the Australian bushfire appeared throughout the twentieth century in the English children’s annual and is especially notable for the way in which it reveals steady continuity of a narrative of Australia that had its roots deep within the Victorian period.

As John McKenzie’s reminiscences suggest, religious instruction was becoming more associated with classroom teaching than with the children’s magazine. As the religious aspect of children’s weeklies declined and their fictional aspects were increasing, D.C. Thomson ‘innovated’ the boys’ weekly magazine.\textsuperscript{1274} As opposed to other contemporary story-papers such as \textit{Magnet} and \textit{Gem}, which specialized in school stories, this meant that the boys’ weekly became filled with popular and somewhat more markedly sensational material.\textsuperscript{1275} \textit{Adventure Land} annual is a combination of stories, photo-articles, colour plates and vivid illustrations, pitched at adolescent boys.\textsuperscript{1276} According to Clark, stories were often the result of staff collaboration, and the writers pseudonymous.\textsuperscript{1277} The use of slang is vigorous, but as Philip Warner remarks, ‘slang was universal’ even in more ‘respectable’ popular literature, such as the \textit{Boy’s Own Paper}.\textsuperscript{1278} However, the title \textit{Adventure Land} and the subtitle on the spine ‘Every Boy’s Annual’ suggests a concentration on boys’ adventure as a dominant trope, therefore less attention to areas such as sport and hobbies. Joseph Bristow’s \textit{Empire Boys} examines in detail the pervasive and persistent way in which world-wide empire-building was linked to boy’s literature. In \textit{Adventure Land} annual, short tales of manly exploits still reflect Kutzer’s ‘heroic age of exploration’ and are set in notional historical timeframes, in the skies, in the American West and in exotic settings such as the frozen wastes of Alaska and the Arabian desert. John M. MacKenzie details the persistence of the imperial

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{1274} Drotner, p. 183.
\textsuperscript{1275} Clark, \textit{The Children’s Annual}, p. 78.
\textsuperscript{1276} \textit{Adventure Land: Every Boy’s Annual}. (London: D.C. Thomson, c.1925).
\textsuperscript{1277} Clark, \textit{The Children’s Annual}, p. 79.
\end{footnotesize}
worldview in Britain itself. Reading matter of the type found in Adventure Land is one of the reasons for the persistence of the imperial worldview. There was a clear nexus between the subject matter considered suitable for school time reading and the reading material of leisure time, both of which, as Kathryn Castle puts it, ‘worked together to fashion an Empire for the young’. Australian boys, like British boys found popular literature highly attractive, for, as Clark notes, these ‘were vigorous, imaginative tales about ordinary lads in extraordinary situations’.

John McKenzie’s recollections reveal a retrospective consciousness of the civilising mission that was a feature of the children’s annual. McKenzie recalls ‘courageous Englishmen who ruled’ and their role in spreading what he terms ‘civilisation’, as depicted in the literature that was available to him in his youth. Australian scholar Martin Crotty maintains that ‘English authors imagined Australia as the foreign land to be tamed, known and settled’. Crotty refers to the work of W.H.G. Kingston (1814-1880), an English writer who never actually visited Australia, but who produced juvenile adventure tales about Australia. Although Kingston produced his tales in the 1870s and 1880s, his work was part of the foundation of a narrative of Australia for children that would persist well into the twentieth century. Crotty claims that Kingston’s tales typified ‘an English perspective that constructed Australia as a barbarous and foreign land’ and were, as Crotty puts it, a ‘narrative about the contrast between British society and the unmapped wilds of Australia’. This was the predominant narrative of Australia within the English children’s annual. Remarkably, the narrative was to persist until the demise of annuals in the later decades of the twentieth century. The narrative had twin strands, which are a narrative of Empire and a narrative of home, an enduring early paradigm that was never to be altered. As late as 1929, an Empire Annual For Boys

1280 Castle, Britannia’s Children, pp. 5-6.
1281 Clark, The Children’s Annual, p. 78.
1282 McKenzie, p. 33.
1283 Crotty, pp. 138-139.
1284 Kirkpatrick, pp. 205-207, Kingston was inspired in his fiction writing by ‘contact with fishermen, sailors, smugglers and other seafaring men’. Though he ‘always wanted to go to sea’ he instead worked for his father’s business in Portugal, after which he returned to England and settled there, becoming involved deeply in the emigration and colonisation movement.
1285 Crotty, p. 139.
owned by an Australian reader has articles about the spreading of English ‘civilisation’ entitled ‘Britain in the Southern Seas: How Australia and New Zealand became part of the Empire’ and ‘The Winning of Canada: How a Bright Jewel was added to Britain’s Crown’. These titles, which strongly suggest the spread of Empire into both hemispheres, are couched in terms that foreground the territorial dominance of the English homeland.

John McKenzie’s use of the pronoun ‘we’ when he wrote of the ‘roamings’ of his youthful imagination also indicate absorption in and identification with the juvenile literature of the period, most of which was produced by English writers. It is worth remembering Nimon’s words in this context, about the assumed ‘British’ citizenship of Australian children. Boys were encouraged to identify with the courageous young characters depicted in such material who almost invariably were white, English boys. This is where annuals were instrumental in what Darian Smith et. al. term a ‘reworking’ of identity. To paraphrase the observations of Geoffrey Stokes, a rudimentary element of identity construction is to define what one is, in terms of what one is not, and this involves the creation, either conscious or unconscious, of ‘the other’. Roger Ebbatson also notes this tendency, which he terms ‘paradoxical’, in the activities of reconstitution and definition of ‘the England of the imaginary’. For Australians, the paradox had yet another and more problematic aspect, for this type of literature for Australian children encouraged a construction of identity that rendered Australia as ‘other’ and focused attention on values and qualities that were either directly stated to be English, or coded as English. The attention of child readers was in this way focused away from a direct identification with Australia and towards identification with England. Australian boys would have found it both easy and natural to identify with the attractive role models that were provided and to assume the same cultural identity. In particular, annuals of this

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1287 Nimon, p. 2.
1288 Kate Darian-Smith, et. al., p. 1.
1289 Stokes, p. 5.
1290 Ebbatson, p. 1.
period offered far fewer role models that could be considered to be positive representations of Australians, than they did of positive English role models and Australia was depicted in harsh terms that worked to characterize it as a place of punishment. Indeed Niall refers to a view in the late nineteenth century of ‘colonial life’ as ‘guaranteed to kill or cure a cad’. This view clearly persisted among English writers of Australian tales. However, juvenile literature constantly presented depictions of a far more positive male role model for young readers, one that had an English cultural identity that was always inherent, whether stated in a direct manner, or to be found within the various codes that operated in the discourse. Sometimes the direct and indirect pointers to Englishness were mingled. In ‘A Perilous Ride’, a tale from the early 1920s, a man visits a childhood home, and partakes of a meal around ‘the old oak table, which fairly groaned with the weight of good things, which only a Yorkshire farm-house can supply’. The idea of the English ‘home’ is inherent in this scenario, and the exclusive situation of the Yorkshire farm-house suggests what Ebbatson terms a ‘fetishised Englishness’, the deliberate idealizing of rural England that had persisted from the Victorian period. Later in the tale, in a passage that is further redolent of a ‘fetishised Englishness’, an interior scene is described that is both historicised and sentimental: ‘when the cosy red curtains have been drawn across the heavy mullioned windows, to shut out the sight of the driving snow that…whitened the glistening panes’. A tale within this tale is then told, of the ‘days of adventure and peril’ and the role of two extremely brave men:

Hugh Weatherby and John Beaver…two of the first Englishmen who pushed their way beyond the farthest settlements west of the Alleghany…[risking] their scalps amongst the Iroquois, the fierce Dakotas, the Ojibways, and the Algonquins, and even in the far-off lands of the Winnebagoes.

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1291 Niall, p. 155.
1292 Rowland Walker, ‘A Perilous Ride’, in The Blazed Trail Adventure Book. (London: Collins, c.1923), n.p.; Kirkpatrick, pp. 327-328: Rowland Walker was well-known as a writer of adventure stories. Kirkpatrick cites Walker’s Shandy of Ringmere School (1924), as embodying in several passages, ‘the whole essence of the [English] public school ethos’, and a ‘distillation of the underlying spirit [of] the twentieth-century public school story – a harking back to the past, with an eye, often half-closed and often fearful, on the future’. This description of the contemporary zeitgeist is remarkably akin to Ebbatson’s summing up of the spirit that consolidated the development of the idyllic, pastoral picture of rural England during the Edwardian period.
1293 Ebbatson, p. 190.
This tale, which is merely one example drawn from numerous stories of this type, demonstrates in a typical manner the way that literature in annuals repeatedly combined the positive depiction of a specifically English role model with attractively triumphalist imperial themes of courage and conquest.

Nor were contemporary Australian girl-readers neglected, with offerings from ‘Mrs Herbert Strang’, such as *In the Springtime*, which presents the charm of England in both text and illustrations to Australian readers. The *Australasian Girl’s Annual*, like the contemporary boy’s edition, also did this, while simultaneously presenting a negative view of Australia as a land of fire and hazard, with one tale depicting an out-of-control bushfire. Another tale in the same book concerns an adventure with a gigantic cuttlefish, experienced by two girls hunting seashells to make saleable necklaces for their English cousin. The strong connection to England is emphasized at this period. The *Empire Annual for Australian Girls* has a story about an Australian bushfire, titled ‘The Bush-Fire Bride’ which stresses the strong familial link between Australia and England. In this tale, a ‘good marriage’ issues from a drought and subsequent bushfire. ‘The Bush-Fire Bride’ treats baldly of nostalgia for England and a bonding of Australia and England that might be termed formal is signified by the bridal suggestion of the title. Stories about marriage for girls occurred commonly at this period, as both Australia and England had suffered population depletion during World War I, and this was yet another point of mutual identification. During this period in England, there was a notable increase in mass consumption of this type of literary product, marking the inclusion of working-class British children into the reading and consuming public. Drotner observes that Britain’s economic structure no longer allowed for child-labour, which despite the fact that it had provided many young people with ‘variety and self-

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1300 Drotner, p. 193.
worth’ ‘was denounced as a symptom of social deficiency’, and suggests that these magazines, with their focus on the delights of school life provided a substitute for what was lost to working-class children. For Australian consumers of English popular culture, who were perhaps feeling deprived of England, popular and well-illustrated annuals from Amalgamated Press were focused strongly on the doings of English schoolgirls and Girl Guides, but also contained adventure stories with notional historical and colonial settings. However, at this period there was little on offer in annuals in terms of attractive Australian role models for girls. The role models and the values were, like those presented to boys, predominantly English.

The adventure trope for girls was not always combined with budding romance. At this period, Clark asserts that Blackie ‘made the ‘Budget’ very much its own’. The term appeared constantly in the titles of these lower-priced annuals, which offered tales of girls experiencing adventures in exotic settings, such as Serbia and what was termed ‘Arabia’. The Religious Tract Society published *The Empire Annual for Girls*, which also provided tales of adventure in exotic settings for girls. Annuals from publishers such as Collins, Wyman, Thomas Nelson and Amalgamated Press were also popular as prizes and gifts for Australian readers. This form of literature typified what was on offer for children, as part of the British embrace. However, this was also a literary world created, embellished and re-inscribed repeatedly by English writers, an ‘English’ world.

Citizens of Empire

The power of a world view filtered through Englishness was demonstrated by Australia’s wholehearted response to England’s need for troops both in the Boer War and then, during World War I. Peter West’s article ‘Sons of Empire’ reveals how important the factor of Englishness was in the Australian town of Penrith, in its response to the call for

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1301 Drotner, p. 193.
1302 Clark, p. 20.

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troops. West notes that the time prior to World War I was a time in which ‘the most important connections were with England’ and in which boys were reminded frequently ‘how lucky they were to grow up as sons of one of the greatest Empires the world had ever seen.’ West’s choice of the word ‘sons’ is significant, for this was a view which stressed what Stuart Ward describes as a ‘celebration of organic kinship’ of Australians with the British. World War I was represented strongly in gift-book material. King Albert’s Book was a wartime gift book produced to raise funds for Belgium, invaded by Germany, and The Queen’s Gift Book also appeared. These were aimed chiefly at adults. However, West explains that the world for Australian children was one in which they ‘looked at a map of the British Empire’ and ‘were proudly told that it was an Empire on which the sun never set.’ Further, this was a world in which children were taught, as Nimon declares, that they owed their very existence ‘to their place in the British empire’. This idea was reinforced in many ways in daily life. Joanna De Groot refers to the patriotic associations implicit in the everyday use of the vast array of empire consumer goods in daily domestic activities such as dressing, eating and cleaning. Reading was also important, and children were offered material thematically steeped in World War I. One such annual was The Triumph Adventure Book. In this annual, few of the tales do not relate in some way to the war. The theme is signalled clearly by the front cover, a colour insert showing an alert, youthful soldier against a blackened, devastated landscape. Black and white illustrations continue to portray the conflict, showing numerous pictures of soldiers of various types in action. Ideas of honour, courage and loyalty to the empire are sprinkled throughout. Advertising was also important in the daily lives of both adults and children, and West quotes a 1909 advertisement for the Dreadnought Fund that appeared in the Nepean Times, stressing the

1306 West, p. 215.
1307 Ward, Australia and the British Embrace, pp. 2-3
1309 West, p. 215.
1310 Nimon, p. 2.
1311 de Groot, p. 170.
need of Australians ‘to be loyal subjects’ of the empire. \footnote{West, ‘Sons of the Empire’, p. 216.} West quotes the advertisement text as declaring that ‘the privileges and freedom’ of the ‘sunny land of Australia’ were because of ‘England’s supremacy on the seas’. \footnote{West, ‘Sons of the Empire’, p. 216.} The daily lives of most children were dominated by schooling and as the twentieth century proceeded, government education increased its important function of the formation of most middle-class young Australians. It was common practice at schools to ‘raise the flag’ each morning. Describing her time spent during wartime days at Tara, a school for infants at Harris Park in New South Wales, Susan Dorsch recalls this practice. \footnote{Susan Dorsch, ‘An opportunity presents’, in M. Dawson & H. Radi, (eds), Against the Odds: Fifteen professional women reflect on their lives and careers, (Sydney: Hale & Ironmonger, 1984) pp. 98-113, p. 100.} As West remarked, religion also encouraged devotion to the empire. \footnote{West, p. 216.} The Misses Waugh, who ran Tara, combined religious feeling with patriotic fervour, for each new school day:

began with raising the Union Jack, which we saluted as we sang ‘God Save The King’. This was followed by prayers and some of the more martial hymns from the Ancient and Modern. \footnote{Dorsch, p. 100.}

Instead of developing a specifically Australian identity, children were positioned through popular culture such as their reading matter, through the consumer goods and advertising that were part of their everyday lives, through their formal education and through public celebrations such as those of Empire Day, to accept gratefully and gladly the British embrace which offered them a role as part of a British project, or a grand design.

As Luisa Del Guidice and Gerald Porter note in Imagined States, cultural self-identification is a ‘process’. \footnote{Del Guidice & Porter, pp.1-2.} The essays in Imagined States draw upon popular print culture, such as the ‘broadside’ ballad and live performances (another form of popular culture) to demonstrate how such culture provides what might be termed ‘bridges’ that closely link real and imagined states. Such states are usually idealized, and often
constructed by exiled communities to sustain themselves. This was so for many English immigrants during the period of nineteenth-century Australian settlement. It is, however, quite surprising how long this situation persisted. Through the medium of the English annual, it was reinforced by the attitude of the English toward those in the colonies. An article from *The Girl’s Own Annual*, entitled ‘The Conventions of Christmas’, supplies an English view from the 1920s:

Perhaps the most appreciated of all our Christmas remembrances are those which go overseas. You recall Mr. Kipling’s wistful question – “And at Home they’re making merry, ‘neath the white and scarlet berry, What part have India’s exiles in their mirth?” …Therefore one would fain choose well that which goes out to Canada or Australia, South Africa, or the Colonies. The carefully selected book; the offering that shows its recollection of personal tastes; the indefinable something that will recall old times… …And when the remembrance comes out - often something small and not very valuable, for Customs restrictions have to be considered - they are welcomed and treasured with a deeper sentiment than far more costly gifts will be in the nearer circle.

This passage, which masquerades as a treatise on good manners in gift-giving is at its heart, remarkably condescending. It might be thought of as a manifestation of the British embrace, albeit a somewhat chilly one. Its title characterises Christmas as an English feast with an indispensable set of English conventions. The pseudonymous writer lists things that could be considered as ‘iconically’ English in contemporary terms, such as Kipling, his poetry, the English custom of ‘making merry’ and ‘the white and scarlet berry’, presumably mistletoe and holly. The writer then positions those not in England as being ‘wistful’; as being ‘exiles’. The passage then evokes nostalgia for ‘old times’, which plays upon the idea that such times were better. It recommends that not too much money be spent upon ‘remembrances’, for overseas recipients will treasure these, no matter how small and ‘not very valuable’ they might be. The first suggestion for gift-giving is, interestingly, ‘the carefully selected book’. Further along in the annual, in an example of tactful but pragmatic suggestive selling, another short article appears entitled

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1319 Del Guidice & Porter, p. 2.
‘Some Books Worth Buying as Christmas Presents’.\textsuperscript{1321} Finally, the writer of the quoted passage reiterates the idea of those in the colonies as ‘exiles’, by positioning them outside ‘the nearer circle’, therefore excluded from the mirth and merriment of the English Christmas celebration ‘at Home’, to utilise Kipling’s capitalised ‘H’. Such writing privileges England not merely as ‘Home’, but as indispensably central to all those connected with England but not sufficiently fortunate to be in England at Christmas time. The annual from which this passage is quoted was given as a school prize to an Australian student.

Conclusion

In an Australian context, Barry Humphries makes reference to the type of cultural linkage with England that inspired ‘a yearning’ that was simultaneously inspired and nourished by English children’s annuals, particularly by the artwork contained therein. It must be remembered that Humphries is a successful entertainer, many of whose career highlights have been achieved by mocking Australian suburban values, linked to class and wealth, which originated in England. Humphries recollects an uncle producing for the family’s entertainment

a pack of Belisha, a new card game inspired by British traffic signs. Each card had a picturesque view of England, Scotland or Wales painted in bright colours in a slightly primitive, Lowry-ish style. Although the cars in the pictures looked quaintly out of date, the landscapes, as green as salads, and the castles and thatched cottages, filled me with a yearning to go there.\[1322\]

Despite the flavour of cynicism in some of Humphries recollections in *More Please*, the autobiography from which this recollection is drawn, his evocation of the bucolic charm of salad-green landscapes, castles and thatched cottages contains a strong shading of nostalgia. Humphrey’s nostalgia is ironic, for his image of England is a fantasy. In his book on children’s writer Enid Blyton, David Rudd points obliquely to the fantasy, writing that in Blyton’s work ‘it is the countryside, rather than the town, that is seen to epitomize the true England’.\[1323\] However, when Blyton’s writing, like other children’s literature produced in England, was read by children who were not English, the quality of ‘Englishness’ it contained was, in all probability, not consciously noticed by them. Nevertheless, the subtext of Englishness was very strongly present. Rural scenery, cottages and large country houses were well known and highly mythologized through magazines such as *Country Life* which as Rudd notes, was founded in 1897, the year of Blyton’s birth.\[1324\] Like other English magazines, *Country Life* was available in Australia\[1324\]

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1322 Humphries, p. 62.
1323 Rudd, p. 91.
1324 Rudd, p. 91.
and according to a newspaper article celebrating its anniversary, remains popular. It did not simply inform readers about life in the English countryside, but consciously produced an ‘Arcadian’ view of Britain. It seems that deliberate idealizing of this type, which Ebbatson maintains occurred during the Victorian period, was now a widely-accepted English way of viewing England. In a centenary issue, journalist Roy Strong draws attention to the magazine’s visual style of deliberate ‘lyrical romanticism’, and openly admits that in the early days of his career, he aspired to the attractive lifestyle presented by Country Life. Publications such as Country Life performed the same function as Kenneth Grahame’s The Wind in the Willows would perform a few years later. Here, it is helpful to list also some of the larger socio-political issues that were occurring at the time of the founding of Country Life. Despite the hard realities of the contemporary socio-political scene in England, or perhaps more truly as an escape from these, such writing extolled, for a burgeoning and aspirant middle-class, a ‘belief in the “beauty and moral worth of England”’, which was Arthur Mee’s term for the discursive eulogizing that had become, by the end of the nineteenth century, a standard feature of popular national literature. Strong’s brief, lavishly illustrated article stresses belief in ‘the significance of the place that a sense of rural belonging has in our national consciousness’. Ideologically, the celebration of nature and the ‘country life’ served a useful function, because ‘it helped naturalize middle-class aspirations by linking them to older aristocratic values’ in which the country was ‘seen to capture the true character of the English’. Thus, a clear ideological link

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1325 Pam Casellas, ‘Oh, for the Country Life’, in West Weekend Magazine, 1/12/07, p. 46. This article is mildly satirical about the Englishness of Country Life, but assumes knowledge in its readers of markers of iconic Englishness, such as tweed skirts, twin-sets and pearls, brogues, shooting-sticks and the Burghley Horse Trials.
1326 Rudd, p. 91
1328 Felix Gilbert & David Clay Large, The End of the European Era, 1890 to the present (Fourth Edition), (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991), pp. 52-54. The suffragette movement, class struggle caused by disillusionment with public institutions and contentious social reforms were some of the ‘big’ socio-political issues from which magazines provided distraction.
1329 Rudd, p. 91.
1330 Strong, p. 75.
1331 Rudd, p. 91.
was forged for a wide audience, of the countryside as a formative essential for authentic ‘Englishness’.

The idea of England described by Humphries is more akin to that found in publications such as *Country Life* and in the tourist brochures published and distributed by travel agencies.\(^{1332}\) Annuals offered a similar image of England, one which relies heavily on what Raymond Williams, in *The Country and the City*, terms ‘pastoral innocence’.\(^{1333}\) As Williams argues so acutely, this picture of England is highly problematic and has been so since the Industrial Revolution, for England was one of the earliest countries to transform from a rural to an urban society. Despite this, as Williams notes:

> English attitudes to the country, and to ideas of rural life, persisted with extraordinary power, so that even after the society was predominantly urban its literature...was still predominantly rural; and even in the twentieth century, in an urban and industrial land, forms of the older ideas and experiences still remarkably persist.\(^{1334}\)

Ebbatson’s work reveals even further the artifice or, what might better be termed the literally ‘constructed nature’ of such a presentation even for the English who subscribed willingly to this highly attractive image.\(^{1335}\) Ebbatson gestures further at the nature of the image, calling this version of England ‘an impossible space’ even for those who eulogise it in words.\(^{1336}\) Humphries’ idea of ‘England’ was clearly an imaginary one. However, this was the image of England formed by Australian children and for some it was reinforced strongly.

According to Christopher Koch, an imaginary England was reproduced in Tasmania during the early period of its settlement.\(^{1337}\) Koch writes of how the landscape of Tasmania was transformed by nostalgic English settlers.\(^{1338}\) For Koch, growing up in

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\(^{1332}\) Anon. *The Europe and Britain Book 2007*. (London: Trafalgar Co., 2006). As might be expected from a purely commercial venture, this 211-page tourist brochure has numerous images of the rural charms of Britain.


\(^{1334}\) Williams, p. 2.

\(^{1335}\) Ebbatson, pp. 166-171.

\(^{1336}\) Ebbatson, p. 166-171.

\(^{1337}\) Christopher Koch, ‘The Lost Hemisphere’, pp. 91-105.

cool-climate Tasmania, what he termed the ‘duplication’ of England and of English ways seemed eerily complete in a way that may not have occurred for all contemporary Australian children. As he notes, the mainland climate is rather different from that of Tasmania:

The entire land-mass of Australia – most of it flat and very dry – lies north of latitude forty. Tasmania, filled with mountains and hills, and containing more lakes than any comparable region except Finland, lies south of latitude forty…It genuinely belongs to a different region from the continent…

Though Tasmania had been settled as ‘Van Diemen’s Land’, a prison-island, the ancestors of Koch and others had gradually put together what Koch terms ‘the lost totality of England’ which rendered Tasmania ‘a perfect recreation of the lost home’. Koch likens the process to the construction of gigantic ‘stage sets’ which ‘for the free settlers’ of Tasmania, reproduced in a naturalistic manner ‘another Kent, another Dorset, another Cumberland’. Rural England was duplicated with:

freestone cottages with mullioned windows; hop fields and orchards; hawthorn hedges; climbing roses around outdoor privies; brutal boarding schools; Cockney sparrows to perch on slate roofs; rabbits to eat the crops; churches, brothels, and a thieves’ kitchen by the Hobart docks called Wapping Old Stairs…the gentry mulled their claret in winter and rode to hounds…

This is a word-picture from the hindsight of years of cultural formation and from a highly-successful professional writer. Nevertheless, Noel Henricksen notes that it was only in his adolescence, when he took to painting and sketching the countryside, that Koch discovered Tasmania was not what he terms ‘an inverted England’. However, Tasmania had an environmental aspect that made a deeper impression from the point of view of a growing child. Koch describes the childhood experience of weather patterns and of seasons that:

1339 Koch, ‘The Lost Hemisphere’, p. 92; Koch, Doubleman, pp. 23-24. In this essay, Koch re-uses material from The Doubleman.
1342 Henricksen, p. 43.
English subjectivity would have seemed even more naturalistic for a child growing up in such a climate, and in Crossing the Gap, Koch includes an essay that made marked reference to the development of such subjectivity in children in his native Tasmania. Koch’s essay is titled suggestively ‘Maybe It’s Because I’m a Londoner’. Peter Morton demonstrates that for Australian writers, the city of London was always central to the imagination. However, few have explored in the depth to which Koch does, precisely how such a feeling for London grew and developed for an Australian child during the first half of the twentieth century. To begin with, as Koch explains, he grew up living within a duplication of an English-style landscape in an English-style climate. Englishness was bolstered by both language and culture, and Koch refers to Tasmania in his childhood as having been ‘an island state that prided itself on being a “second England”’. It is easy to see in hindsight how a dominant idea became easily naturalised, and not just for children, that as Koch puts it, ‘being Australians was secondary’ (29). Australia, after all, as Koch elucidates further, was at the bottom of the familiar English map of the world, and Tasmania was ‘the little red shield’ on that English map (29). When writing of Asia in his 1995 novel Highways to a War, Koch observes that an Australian-centred perspective of the world is markedly different from an England-centred perspective in which Asia is designated as the ‘Far East’. However, for Australians, Asia is not east, but rather, north. For Koch as a child, at the top of the England-centred world map, ‘in the south of that dragon-shaped island we had never seen, the great web of London waited for us to come to it’ (29). Morton notes that both Miles Franklin’s Ignez Milford in Cockatoos: A Story of Youth and Exodus, and journalist Arthur Adams (1906) utilise a similar metaphor in which London, for them,

1344 Koch, ‘Maybe It’s Because I’m a Londoner’, pp. 26-47. Subsequent references to Koch’s essay will appear in parenthesis in this chapter.
1345 Morton, p. 257.
1348 Koch, Highways to a War, p. 32.
appears spider-like, entrapping victims and draining their life-force. Koch’s blending of the fearsome image of the dragon with the ‘great web’ suggests ambiguity towards London.

However, it seems London exerts a horrid fascination. Koch writes that certain short stories that dominated his attention and intrigued him as a child were those ‘stories whose background was the city of London’ (31). He talks of his being drawn to England as to a kind of ‘lodestone’ of reality (32). To the youthful Koch, London was ‘a metropolitan Valhalla’ where ‘glowing through the fog’ existed ‘pockets of warmth and enviable snugness’ (27). London appeared in Koch’s imagination as a kind of power-house, where ‘in rooms where great fires blazed in open fireplaces that were larger and more efficient than ours, men in dinner suits gave low-voiced directions for the running of the world’ (27). To this impressionable child of the colonies, London:

was the City: the capital of the world. There was no other city that mattered; Melbourne and Sydney were mere towns, and New York was rumoured to be a brash monstrosity. London was both the city of cities, and the all-wise, half-forbidding Friend (27).

Like numerous other Australians, Humphries and Koch would eventually travel to England. In When London Calls, Stephen Alomes writes of Australian expatriates and the ‘divided self’ that could result from a yearning to be elsewhere, linking what he terms ‘distaste for Australia’ directly with ‘English children’s books which taught a love of England’. The linkage between Australia and England was profound and powerful and was forged and reinforced deliberately through cultural material of various types, one of which, as Koch’s writing reveals, was the children’s annual.

Koch describes his ‘earliest expeditions through London’ as having being made through ‘the pages of Chums’, which he calls ‘an ancient British boys’ paper’ (29). However, Koch is not referring strictly to the magazine itself, but to ‘Chums Annual for 1920’, a book passed on to him by an uncle ‘who had owned it when he was my age’ (29). This

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1350 Alomes, p. 10 & p. 8.
indeed is the ongoing British embrace, encompassing a ‘familial’ sense of connection. Describing his inherited Chums, Koch recalls his delight:

Boys must have read more in the 1920s, I decided, as I gloated over the sheer size and weight of this big red book – understanding for the first time the full, pregnant meaning of the word ‘volume’ (30).

Annuals were popular culture in book form, whose ‘sheer size and weight’, to use Koch’s term, lent them a magisterial authority not found in the children’s magazine. However, Chums was an annual in the style of the early twentieth century, and clearly showed its direct linkage with the weekly magazine. Koch notes that Chums Annual 1920 was actually:

a bound collection of weekly papers, giving off a delicate scent of age…[e]ach yellowing newsprint page contained three columns of tiny type, with old-fashioned headings, black and white illustrations occurred, but they did little to interrupt the marvellous, almost limitless fields of print (30).

Koch recalls sensing that the Chums Annual, with its ‘almost limitless fields of print’ and relative dearth of illustrations ‘would take years to exhaust’ and indeed, he recalls that when his uncle returned from war service, there were stories in Chums that remained unread by his nephew (30). As Koch notes, this annual contains ‘pirate stories, heart-of-Africa stories [and] Canadian backwoods stories’ (31). It also contains a selection of other standard children’s favourites, such as a school story, a tale of pugilism, a French Revolution tale and a detective tale.1351 Koch recalls having found enormous delight in stories that ‘terrified’ him, particularly one pirate tale in Chums Annual, called ‘The Night Rovers’ (29-30). The excerpt seems strongly redolent of Robert Louis Stevenson’s Treasure Island. This seems typical of the derivative style of much of the writing in the children’s annual, which borrowed freely and liberally from what have come to be known as the ‘classic’ texts of English fiction. In this way, children received, and internalised, many of the familiar stereotypes that today seem so clichéd. In his essay, Koch quotes directly from ‘The Night Rovers’, which indicates that he still possesses this children’s annual from his early boyhood. In personal correspondence (2008), he notes that this is

indeed the case, and that furthermore, many of what he terms such ‘artefacts from an earlier era’ survived in the houses of parents and relatives. Koch remarks in the same letter, that he ‘sometimes furtively browsed through’ his ‘mother’s girlhood copy of Girls’ Own Annual’.

However, writing as an adult, Koch also notes that what he received in his childhood and youth was culture at second-hand. In ‘The Lost Hemisphere’, he maintains that there was an unreality about the duplicated landscape and culture of his homeland that he found troubling even in childhood, and to which unreality he returns frequently in his writing. ‘Doubleness’, or what Noel Henricksen terms ‘dualism’ and its many implications is a strong trope in Koch’s work. Another important trope for Koch is suggested in the title of Henricksen’s critical work Island and Otherland. Henricksen terms this an ‘aching awareness of an Otherland’. Koch himself calls it ‘a pathos of absence’. Like David Malouf, Koch alludes to Australians as being similar to the ‘prisoners in Plato’s cave’, who could only guess at the reality of a far-off and central civilisation from what Koch terms in this context, the ‘shadows’ that were produced by that civilisation. Many of these ‘shadows’ were the cultural and literary products of England and appeared all over Australia. For Koch, the ‘shadows’ were mere ‘clues to the real world’ discoverable only ‘in the northern hemisphere’ (94). Koch maintains perceptively that cultural material from England portrayed ‘a Britain that could never exist outside the pages of Hardy, Kenneth Grahame, Dickens and Beatrix Potter’ (32). However, Englishness, that set of values, attitudes and beliefs so important to identification, entered children’s consciousness at an early age through such texts, and was reinforced by their other reading matter and through socio-culturally normative processes such as education and home life. The absorption of Englishness had profound

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1352 Christopher Koch, e-mail letter to Pauline Farley on 23/5/08.
1353 Koch, 23/5/08.
1355 Henricksen, p. 19.
1356 Henricksen, p. 48.
1358 Koch, ‘The Lost Hemisphere’, p. 94.
implications for Australian children, in producing them as citizens of a land and nation not their own, and in undermining their sense of national identity and national pride.
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