

# Civilising Australian Bodies: The Games Ethic and Sport in Victorian Government Schools, 1904-1945

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The construction of a games ethic in the schools serving England's social elites has occupied the attention of a number of sports historians. They have been concerned, in particular, with games playing as a form of leadership education, a means of constructing masculinity, femininity and demarcating social status, and with its subsequent dissemination geographically, as an instrument of colonialism and imperialism. Besides focusing on elite schools, there has been a tendency to concentrate on the period from the 1850s to 1918.<sup>2</sup> Less attention has been paid to the ways in which competitive team games were established in government schools serving the working classes after 1918.

In Australia, competitive team games and the English Public School games ethic had a profound impact on the conduct of sport in both non-government and government schools, and eventually on the meaning of physical education within those schools, from the beginning of the twentieth century and the end of World War II. This influence arrived in the government schools primarily through the voluntary organisation of games as an extra-curricular pursuit following their development in the schools serving Australia's social elites, which were populated by former students of the ancient universities and Public Schools of Britain. This much has already been well documented by Australian historian.<sup>3</sup>

However, relatively little is known about the social and cultural consequences of the arrival of competitive team games in government schools. This issue is significant since the use of a version of the English Public School games ethic as the philosophical justification for games

playing in the government schools of Australia was, in a number of respects, at odds with the ways in which competitive sports were understood and practised among the Australian urban working classes. Of particular interest is the place of games as one strategy of social regulation and normalisation centred on the body alongside other strategies which were prominent in schools of this period.

J A Mangan's work on the dissemination of the games ethic beyond the English Public School is important to the following discussion. Mangan shows that integral to the notion of manliness, which lay at the heart of the games ethic, was leadership and the moral imperative of the British gentleman to command. A later development extended the notion of manliness to include deference, where it was believed that the games ethic's 'inculcation promoted not simply initiative and self-reliance but also loyalty and obedience.'<sup>4</sup> According to Mangan, this dual purpose was well suited to the tasks of colonialism and social class demarcation, since it permitted emulation of and deference to social superiors while at the same time facilitating dominance of and distancing from perceived inferiors.

In *The Games Ethic and Imperialism*, Mangan argued that the diffusion of English Public School ball games, particularly cricket and football, and the inculcation of Christian manliness, was a key strategy by which the British Empire was sustained. The moral imperative which drove the process of colonialism sought to teach respect and deference for a particular version of British culture, while fostering in schoolboys in the various far-flung corners of the globe a sense of their own right to lead. The process was colonialist and imperialist in so far as the instincts nurtured in this future leadership class in each part of the Empire, regardless of local culture, were British. At the same time, local culture could not easily be denied, and Mangan noted the specific cases of the Sudan, tropical Africa, India and Canada, where the games ethic was reconstructed to suit each setting. In Canada, for instance, Mangan argued that the games ethic served complex and somewhat contradictory

purposes, providing a means of loyalist identification with Britain and the British Crown, but also feeding a separate Canadian national identity, while its key tenets were perceived to be threatened by American influences. ‘The outcome’, remarked Mangan, ‘was integration, compromise and adjustment’.<sup>5</sup>

Similarly complex processes can be seen at work in relation to social class. Mangan has argued that in English Grammar Schools of the Victorian and Edwardian eras concerns for social status and prestige became uppermost, and that they modeled themselves on their perceived social superiors, the Public Schools. They also sought at the same time to distance themselves from their perceived social inferiors, and competitive team games played a key role in this process. Games provided schools with a highly visible and dynamic medium in which to display the values associated with manliness. Possession of the material resources required to play games, such as playing fields and other facilities, were prominent symbols of social superiority.<sup>6</sup>

This use of playing fields as highly visible symbols of social superiority, and the use of games playing in processes of social deference, domination, emulation and distancing, were predicated on the hierarchical nature of British society during the Victorian and Edwardian eras. These processes reveal something of the transitory nature of this hierarchy since games playing and the schools themselves were a necessary means of obtaining the moral and other cultural credentials for moving up the social ladder. From this perspective, the diffusion of the games ethic and games playing into the schools at the lower levels of the British bourgeois classes can be seen as an extension of the original purpose of the games ethic in the Public Schools. The consolidation of this ethic in the Grammar Schools, many achieving the status of ‘Public School’ during the late Victorian and Edwardian period, did much to cherish and perpetuate its key values in a living form within the upper strata of the British bourgeoisie.<sup>7</sup>

Dominance and deference, social emulation and distancing: these are key tensions identified by Mangan in his account of the dissemination of the games ethic beyond temporal and spatial boundaries and across the social hierarchies of the middle classes. These complex and somewhat contradictory processes provide a useful framework within which to view the social consequences of the transplantation of competitive team games and the games ethic to Australian government schools. It allows as well consideration of the construction of Australian national identities from a British heritage and the interrelationships of imperialism, nationalism and social class.

This article begins by surveying briefly the development of games playing in elite schools for boys and girls, focusing mainly on Victoria and New South Wales, to reveal the extent to which a games ethic had been adopted in the antipodes. It is then argued that while the dominant version of the games ethic in Australia resembled closely the later English version representing 'neo-Spartan virility as exemplified by stoicism, hardiness and endurance',<sup>8</sup> the pressures of the movement towards Australian nationhood and independence between Federation in 1901 and the end of World War I revealed tensions particular to Australia's changing place in the British Empire and the world at large. The second half of the article explores the emergence of competitive team games in Victorian schools and their influence on a definition of 'physical education', which had begun to crystallise by the end of World War II. The latter sections of the article question the extent to which justifications for competitive sport in government schools between 1901 and 1945, which drew heavily on sentiments constituting the games ethic, were relevant or appropriate to working class children.

It is argued that there were a number of interests at work in promoting these justifications, and a range of possible explanations for the consolidation of a version of the games ethic in schools for the working classes. Professional sports organisations, such as the Victorian Football League (VFL), considered that government schools were a

recruiting ground for their sports. Meanwhile, socially-aspiring groups within the government system, such as the clientele of the high schools, used games as a means of social emulation and distancing. In contrast to this use of games as a symbol of social elitism, it might be argued that, for primary schools at least, a distinctively Australian egalitarian impulse lay behind the use and justification of the games ethic. An alternative explanation is that there may have been a broader and less visible desire of ruling groups to use games as civilising devices, as a means of social regulation of the body and the development of national identity among the working classes of Australia.

### **The Development of the Games Ethic in Australia's Elite Schools**

Geoffrey Sherington<sup>9</sup> has shown how the English Public School games ethic was transplanted to Australian society through the efforts of former pupils of English elite schools and universities who became members of staff of Australia's elite schools. Sherington highlights the role which the Athletic Association of the Great Public Schools (AAGPS) in New South Wales played in the institutionalisation of the games ethic in 1892 within Australian socially-privileged schools. The formation of this Association was the result of a decision by ten non-government schools in and around Sydney to organise interschool competitions in cricket, rugby union, rowing and athletics. From the outset, the Association aimed to perform regulative and normative functions, standardising rules, specifying age gradings, and consolidating the value system in which games playing was embedded.

The invention of the term 'great public school' to describe the Association's membership reveals the efforts the schools made to insulate themselves from other non-government institutions, self-consciously echoing the terminology of the elite English schools, while sharply marking off any association with government elementary ('public') schools. Entry of new schools was rigorously policed by the AAGPS. The only new members to be admitted were The Armidale School and The

Scots College before 1900, and after several unsuccessful attempts, the state-sponsored Sydney High School in 1906. Thereafter, the Association refused membership to other applicants, effectively establishing its members as the most exclusive (and exclusionary) non-government schools for boys in New South Wales. The Association also refused to add other sports to the original four, conceding only to rifle shooting in 1905 and some limited sponsorship of swimming competitions in 1909.

The delimitation of games and sports officially sanctioned by the AAGPS was a clear case of social editing. By acting as it did, the Association was able to attribute to these activities an elite status, deeply embedded in the amateur ideal, and to establish games as effective educational instruments for a leadership class. More than this, 'membership of the Association provided the necessary imprimatur of status. The shortened pre-fix of "GPS" became synonymous with a school which drew much of its status from participation in organised games competitions.'<sup>10</sup> Such was the symbolic power of these (amateur) sports activities among the middle classes that membership of *an athletic* association was the means of demarcating social status. The importance of the exclusiveness of AAGPS membership became even greater when other non-government institutions and state sponsored high schools were able to compete on a (relatively) equal footing with the GPS schools in public examinations.

A similar situation was unfolding in Victoria. The first recorded football match of any kind in Victoria was between Scotch College and Melbourne Grammar School on the 7 August 1858.<sup>11</sup> A cricket match had taken place earlier that year, in February, between Scotch and Geelong Grammar School. From 1885, football and cricket matches were organised on a regular basis between non-government schools in the Melbourne area and, in 1891, six schools organised themselves as the Associated Public Schools, with the intention of regulating the conduct of sporting fixtures.<sup>12</sup> Through the activities of the APS in Victoria, the AAGPS in New South Wales, and similar associations

which had developed in the other states by 1911,<sup>13</sup> the place of competitive team games and the values and beliefs constituting a version of the games ethic had been firmly established within the non-government school system by the beginning of the twentieth century. These associations worked very effectively as a means of disallowing contact with schools considered to be serving less elite members of the community. In similar fashion to the process unfolding in Edwardian Britain, schools serving the lower ranks of the middle classes began to utilise games to emulate their social superiors and distance themselves from lesser non-government schools.<sup>14</sup> In Victoria, and after at least one relatively unsuccessful attempt in the 1890s, eight boys' Grammar Schools followed the six Public Schools' example and in 1921 formed themselves into the Associated Grammar Schools, carrying on regular premiership contests in cricket, football, athletics, swimming and tennis, and thereby consolidating their place in the social hierarchy.<sup>15</sup>

Between 1900 and 1914, the games playing of Australia's social elites became increasingly visible to the general public. The sporting activities of the Public Schools captured the public's interest, but not as symbolic forms of leadership education. While the games ethic was continually reinforced as a system of values, and eagerly repeated on speech nights, the practice of games playing was underpinned increasingly by a different set of assumptions. Interest was in the outcome of the contest itself, as almost daily press reports of sports contests between elite schools for boys reveal. The stakes for the schools concerned were high. Winning the premiership in football, cricket and the Head of the River boat race gave the successful school tremendous prominence in its community. For these reasons, and for all the expressions of higher values by headmasters, there can be little doubt that by the beginning of World War I competitive team games had gathered a cult following in which excessive behaviour was indulged.<sup>16</sup>

As a system of values and a means of demarcating social class status, the games ethic was too valuable to be restricted to boys' schools alone, and in the 1890s games began to gain a foothold in non-government schools for girls. We need to note that women were not expected to adopt the leadership roles of their brothers, husbands and fathers, and so while games playing was promoted in the elite schools for girls, Ray Crawford<sup>17</sup> suggested that it lacked the fervour that was developing in boys' schools. The differences in girls' schools clearly reflected the social roles middle class women were expected to play, mainly as wife, mother, house-manager and home-maker. The effects of games and the games ethic on these schools was nevertheless profound. The most popular games were croquet, tennis and later, hockey, initially organised by the girls themselves. It was only during the first decade of the twentieth century that school administrators began to see the benefits of a more organised approach to games in terms of generating a corporate identity for their schools, a matter which became all the more pressing when the new standards forced on all non-government schools by the Registration Act of 1908 laid them open to competition for pupils from the newly established government secondary schools.<sup>18</sup>

Inter-school competition began to be taken very seriously by some girls' schools, evidenced by the formation of organisations such as the Girls' Schools Hockey Association in 1905. The schools for girls, like those for boys, also began to eulogise the system of values surrounding games.<sup>19</sup> With this growing interest and increasing seriousness about games came expressions of concern in school magazines which warned of the dangers of 'winning at all costs'. The construction of an appropriate form of femininity was of primary importance in these schools, and so the question of boisterousness and unladylike behaviour was continually being addressed. Such concerns created occasional ambivalence towards competitive sport, and the schools themselves were keenly sensitive to charges of over-zealousness.<sup>20</sup> The growing attractions of games did not supplant the other element of 'physical culture' in these schools, which

was a form of Swedish gymnastics. The position of gymnastics alongside games was safeguarded by the influence of several women employed by the non-government schools as teachers of physical culture who had trained in some of the elite women's colleges in Britain.

While the same excesses of the 'cult of athleticism' prevalent in the boys' schools were not replicated in the girls' schools, games playing formed a substantial component in the education of socially privileged girls in a manner similar to their brothers. What was most important was the system of values which surrounded games playing in these schools, where it was widely held – as an ideal, at least, if not always in practice – that:

sport develops the best in us. We have to sink personal feelings for the good of our side. We want to win – why? Not for personal glory but for the honour of our School. This idea of honour is a very high one and if we really learn what it is at school, we carry it with us through our lives.<sup>21</sup>

### **Sport, Nationhood and Social Conflict in Australia**

The diffusion of these versions of the games ethic through the elite non-government schools led, by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, to the wide acceptance of the values surrounding competitive team games by the Australian middle classes.<sup>22</sup> It was believed that the value system supporting team games encouraged proper social conduct and duty, locating various groups and individuals in their proper place within society. However, these codes and ideologies were soon to be exposed by the coming crisis of World War I. According to Michael McKernan,<sup>23</sup> World War I made visible a number of underlying tensions in Australian society, particularly those associated with social class and religion, which found an expression in sport. The conflicts which surfaced during this time show the extent to which some ideas about sport had gained wide currency within Australian society. In effect, the war prompted a more explicit articulation, codification, and legitimisation of these concerns.

McKernan argued that two distinct views of sport were articulated by the beginning of the war, one held mainly by country Australians and the middle classes, and the other by the urban working classes. The former group championed an amateur ethic, while the latter group propagated the professional view.<sup>24</sup> McKernan suggested that during the war, tensions between these two groups became focused around the question of the priority that should be given to the defence of the Empire, and the two views of sport emerged as an important element in this conflict. Middle class opinion-makers who subscribed to the amateur view called for sport to be abandoned during wartime. In contrast, the spokesmen for professional sport maintained that sport should continue because it provided some release from the hardships and horrors of the war.

McKernan's work provides a clear illustration of the extent to which the values associated with games playing had been elaborated beyond schooling. Sport exemplified the values which separated the various strata of the middle classes with those they perceived to be their social (and moral) inferiors. As such, in times of extreme social stress like war, the disparate class-based values in which the practice of sport was embedded came to the surface. These differences were largely misunderstood by ruling class policy-makers and by many other middle class Australians, who by 1917 'seemed to believe that a devotion to sport indicated an antipathy or indifference to the real issues of the day'. At the same time, this attitude 'seems to have baffled the working-class devotees of sport, who took a much more pragmatic approach. Sport was seen more as pleasure and entertainment and in a sense, therefore, not taken as seriously. To suggest that a few hours spent watching a football match induced apathy or indifference to higher struggles or duties seemed silly.'<sup>25</sup>

### **Sport and the Games Ethic in Victorian Government Schools**

Since the majority of working class people had never played organised team games in an educational context, these major differences in perspective hardly seem surprising. Until the 1910s, few working class women would have played organised team sport, and the extent of most men's experience of sport would have been spontaneous *ad hoc* games and spectatorship. When working people did become involved in sport, it was something they played, watched and betted on for fun, rather than for moral or spiritual upliftment. Following World War I, this situation began to change as team games increasingly became available to working class children, their place in schools justified by appeal to reconstructed versions of the games ethic.

Between 1905 and 1910, the Victorian Government established eight state secondary schools and they opened the way for the wholesale adoption of the games ethic by government schools. According to Bessant, the 'plan was for the child to leave elementary school at the completion of Grade 6 and having passed the qualifying examination (or equivalent), he/she would enter the secondary school'.<sup>26</sup> The Fink Royal Commission which reviewed Victorian government education provision between 1891 and 1901 recommended the appointment of a Director of Education, whose task was to promote schooling for national efficiency. Frank Tate, the first incumbent of this post, believed passionately in this ideal. His ambitious plans included the desire to bring all educational provision under state control and to introduce vocational and technical education for the masses.

While the new high schools intended to offer some courses identical to those available in the non-government secondary schools, it was assumed by Tate that an industrial course would be most popular among the large numbers of working class pupils who were expected to take advantage of this opportunity. Very quickly it became clear that this expectation would not be fulfilled. Reacting to pressure from socially ambitious parents for their children's success in public examinations,

state high schools soon began to emulate all the practices of the elite non-government schools. The promotion of sport and the games ethic as its major justification was a prevalent part of this process of social emulation throughout the new high schools.

Far from serving the sons and daughters of the traditional working classes who were noticeably absent, the schools broadened the opportunities available to the lower ranks of the middle classes to use education as a means of social mobility and exclusiveness. The state high schools charged fees, lower than the non-government institutions, but still too high for many working class parents, a matter which was compounded by the fact that staying on to secondary school meant deferring the possibility of an additional wage in the family. The establishment of government sponsored secondary schooling in Victoria did little to enhance the class position of more than a handful of working class individuals, and nothing to dissolve class distinctions. On the contrary, the transplantation of the games ethic within government high schools was consolidated as a strategic practice in an ongoing process of social emulation and distancing.

The possibility that the new government high schools might utilise competitive team games to emulate their perceived social superiors was not far-fetched when we consider that these schools were, in several important respects, in competition with some schools in the non-government system. More surprising is that games playing and the games ethic had already begun to make inroads to the government elementary schools in Victoria even before the high schools had been established. Despite the distinctively different cultural orientations of the urban working classes and the middle class and rural groups in Australia indicated by McKernan, the ideals embodied in the Public School games ethic can be detected in state elementary schools soon after 1901.

In Victoria, a State Schools' Amateur Athletics Association (VSSAAA) was formed in June 1904 with 'large number of teachers

present' in the Melbourne Town Hall.<sup>27</sup> Fifteen teachers, all male, formed the inaugural committee. One daily newspaper, the *Herald*, commented that 'it is a matter for sincere congratulation that the enthusiasm for a representative body of State-school teachers has at last recognised the importance of encouraging the primary schools to compete in inter-school matches'.<sup>28</sup> A major motivation behind the establishment of the VSSAAA was the organisation of inter-school and inter-state contests in football and cricket for boys. Games were initially strictly extra-curricular, and it was to take almost thirty years before they became recognised as an acceptable part of the state primary school curriculum.

There was also some keen nationalist and business motivations behind the establishment of the Association. Reporting on the inaugural meeting of the VSSAAA, the *Herald* commented that an upcoming football match between Victorian and New South Wales schools 'will be of great interest to all connected with football under Australian rules . . . [since] in spite of the strong antagonism of Rugby enthusiasts, there are great possibilities for the Australian game if a proper support is accorded to the State Schools' Amateur Athletic Association'.<sup>29</sup> This role of schools in fostering an Australian version of football was based on the ideal that:

footballers of the future are now at school, and probably the majority of them attend the State schools of Victoria and New South Wales . . . we may rely on these players to continue in the game that they have learned at school, when they become active members of League clubs in either State.

Although the VSSAAA was avowedly an organisation for amateur sports, representatives of the professional VFL were in attendance at the inaugural meeting and the VFL gave its 'hearty support' to the enterprise, reflecting their interest in government schools as a recruiting ground for future senior players.

From the outset, the Victorian Government and its Department of Public Instruction lent considerable support to the organisation of inter-school and inter-state sport competitions. In October 1904, the *Education Gazette*, an official government publication, reported in some detail the visit to Melbourne of a Petersham State School team, the New South Wales premiers side. The party was greeted amidst considerable pomp and circumstance at Spencer Street Railway Station by Victoria's Director of Education, Frank Tate, whose presence afforded the visit high public prominence. Petersham played Albert Park, the Victorian state school premiers team, in a game of Australian football in front of 20 000 spectators who had come to watch Fitzroy and Carlton contest the VFL Grand Final. While Albert Park lost the match, the *Gazette* reported in a fashion characteristic of accounts of Public School matches that the 'lads played splendidly and pluckily, but they were altogether over-matched in size by the Sydney team, who, however, played a manly and a good game'.<sup>30</sup> A second game against a combined Melbourne state schools' team still managed to draw a crowd of 5000 spectators even without the attraction of the senior players. In a deft touch by the VSSAAA, and reflecting the amateur status of its youthful players, the proceeds of the second game (about £50) were donated to the Sydney and Melbourne Children's Hospitals. Moreover, the captains of the respective teams – Godbold of Petersham and James of Melbourne – were made life-governors of the hospitals. Revealing their keen interest in the successful establishment of sport in government schools, the VFL president hosted a dinner for both teams, and the guests included delegates from the VFL clubs, Frank Tate, and L A Adamson, Headmaster of Wesley College.

While the establishment of extra-curricular sports competitions had the full support and backing of the upper levels of the educational bureaucracies in Victoria and other states, enthusiasm among sections of the teaching profession to assist in the organisation of school sport varied from school to school, a matter communicated with some regret

by Secretary of the VSSAAA, George Dean. His report indicated that by 1909 there was also some attention being directed towards the participation of girls:

In some schools, there is an absence of interest in the doings of the boys. Children go to the matches unattended by a teacher and have to coach themselves. In other schools, there are three or four always ready to help the boys. Now that the rounder rules are printed, it is hoped that more women will take an interest in the games. In some schools, women teachers take a keen interest in the game, and at these places the games are always followed by afternoon tea for the players, thus making the games social functions.<sup>31</sup>

Despite this unsurprising mixed response from teachers and general neglect of girls, there can be little doubt that the provision in government primary and secondary schools of competitive team games from its inception found general support. In practice, there were barriers to participation by anything more than a minority of boys and girls. For instance, the VSSAAA was primarily concerned with the organisation of competitions. There was no provision made for the teaching of games in state elementary schools. Moreover, few teachers would have had the expertise beyond their own experience to teach even the rudiments of the major team games, since none of the teacher training courses of the time recognised games as part of their curriculum.

An equally serious problem was a lack of facilities and space needed for games. We are rather forcibly reminded by Mangan<sup>32</sup> that possession of open spaces for games playing was a very obvious mark of wealth and privilege. This is one reason why games were so effectively used by successive networks of non-government schools and state high schools as a means of emulation and distancing from institutions higher and lower in the social pecking order. Before the end of World War I, lack of appropriate facilities for team games in government schools represented a serious barrier to the wider dissemination of the games

ethic among the urban working classes, since it was only a minority of pupils who were able to play games. This issue was elaborated in the letter columns of the *Argus*:

**SCHOOL PLAY-GROUNDS.  
TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARGUS.**

Sir – I had occasion to visit the Victoria Park State School to-day, and I found there a most incongruous condition of things – a large building in a very small area of ground. The playing space is so small that the boys have no room for free running about, except at peril of injury. Serious accidents through collisions have already happened. Yet, right opposite the school is the spacious area known as the Victoria Park recreation ground. This ground is used once or twice a week by a score or two of men playing cricket or football, with the accompanying attendance of spectators. Yet this seldom used reserve may not be used by the scholars opposite, not even by the boys for cricket and football. This seems an anomalous and ridiculous state of affairs. Reserves and recreation grounds are set apart for the good of the community and should be utilised to the greatest possible extent towards that end. Is it not therefore wrong that about 1000 children should have to play in a small pocket-handkerchief asphalt allotment, surrounded by backyards and sanitary conveniences, while this magnificent ground lies unused week after week? A movement is afoot to open school playgrounds as playing spaces for children of the community. Surely the reserves of the city should be opened up where necessary to the school children in cramped-up schools. – Yours, &c., INTERESTED.<sup>33</sup>

Lack of instruction in games, inadequate training and facilities and limited interest among teachers set limits on the extent to which inter-school sport could progress in Victoria's elementary and high schools. Nevertheless, the *idea* that working class children had a right to play games after the fashion of their socially privileged counterparts had taken firm root in the government education system by the end of World War I.

With more open social conflict and reactionary politics in the post-war climate marked by deepening economic gloom and profound social pessimism,<sup>34</sup> the arguments most consistently advanced for the expansion of sport in Victorian government schools drew heavily on the games ethic. In a fashion increasingly typical of the period, J H Warren, Headmaster of the Horsham High School, wrote in 1919 that:

the development of well-supervised sport among the boys and girls attending our high schools is important, and should show effect at no distant date; for sport has come to stay in the schools. Our boys and girls will go forth physically better equipped and socially more adaptable than in the past, and should take with them ideals that will gradually place sport in the State on a very high level, and it is not unreasonable to hope that they will so influence sporting public opinion that little of the undesirable will be left in popular contests and displays.<sup>35</sup>

Warren's remark that 'sport has come to stay in the schools' proved to be prophetic, though his optimism that participation in games would produce the above desirable effects was less well founded. Despite the limitations facing schools,<sup>36</sup> participation rates after the war continued to grow in a widening range of activities, including football, cricket and baseball for boys, rounders and basketball for girls, and athletics and swimming for both.<sup>37</sup> Advocates of the amateur ideal consistently argued, viewing the elite schools' uses of competitive team games and sport rather uncritically in the 1920s in a similar fashion to Warren, that children in state schools should be permitted to develop the qualities sport purportedly produced in the privileged youth of Australia. However, these advocacies continued in the face of growing evidence that as sports participation increased, government schools were suffering some of the same excesses of the cult of athleticism similar to counterparts in the non-government system.

Writing in 1925, the Minister of Education in Victoria reported that the VSSAAA was continuing to promote inter-school sports contests with the aim of developing 'a love of sport for its own sake and a

subordination of self for the sake of the team'.<sup>38</sup> However, the report acknowledged that it did so in the face of competition having 'a tendency to develop a cult of athleticism'. The lust for victory and the use of sport to legitimate unruly behaviour became increasingly visible in inter-school sport in the government schools. The Minister's report for 1932 suggested that a gap between the amateur ideal and the realities of competitive team sport was widening. The Minister remarked that while representative competition had grown considerably to include more frequent interdistrict and inter-state matches in a wider range of games, he felt the need to reiterate the moral and spiritual values of 'wholesome amateur sport' since it was only 'minds filled with the spirit of true play (that) are unsuitable breeding grounds for what is unwholesome'.<sup>39</sup>

These less wholesome aspects of competition were enough to ensure that support for inter-school competition was not unanimous. What had begun as *extra-curricular* sport was increasingly taking pupils and teachers away from the school during timetabled lessons. In May 1929, and after some years of prevarication, the Victorian Education Department finally issued guidelines advising that pupils' and teachers' involvement in extra-curricular sport at the expense of class work should be minimised. Besides expressing concern over school time lost to inter-school competition, the Department warned Head teachers that pupils should not be permitted to attend sports fixtures unaccompanied. Likewise, some teachers had clearly been using sports fixtures to obtain illicit time off, with some 'absent during official hours at the recent test match', a matter of which the Director of Education took a particularly dim view.<sup>40</sup>

Perhaps it was because of these anomalies between the practice of inter-school sport and the professed values of the games ethic that advocates for games felt the need to make continuing and frequent recourse to the amateur ideal as a justification for games playing in government schools. By the late 1920s, extra-curricular inter-school sport had grown to such prominence in Victoria that the games ethic

began to exert a powerful influence on conceptions of the nature of physical training offered within the school curriculum. The games ethic became the rhetorical core of a definition of 'physical education'.

### **The Reconstruction of the Games Ethic and the Invention of 'Physical Education'**

Between 1911 and 1929, physical training in government schools had been organised by the Commonwealth Department of Defence under the auspices of the Junior Cadet Training Scheme.<sup>41</sup> Lessons were based on *the Junior Cadet Training Textbook*, which drew heavily on the version of Swedish gymnastics outlined in the various British Syllabuses of Physical Exercises, supplemented by some marching and drilling activities. Increasing through the 1920s, this drilling and exercising form of physical training came under attack. Among the strongest critics were the physical training instructors employed by the Victorian Department of Public Instruction. As the influence of team games and the ideology in which they were embedded began to be consolidated in government schools, there was a tendency to identify the term 'physical training' as applying narrowly to drilling and exercising, and to refer instead to physical *education*.

By the end of the 1920s, the Victorian Minister of Education was acknowledging this trend, commenting that physical education 'includes not merely formal physical exercises, but swimming, organised games, rhythmic exercises, folk dancing, practical hygiene, and remedial exercises based on the medical assessment of the needs of each child'.<sup>42</sup> When the Federal Government withdrew support for the Department of Defence's involvement in the organisation of school physical training in 1929 the reaction was predictable, with the State Governments protesting vehemently.<sup>43</sup> However, the end of the military's involvement presented an opportunity for new developments which the emerging civilian physical education profession in Victoria grasped enthusiastically.

The trend to acknowledge team games as a legitimate part of the school curriculum and not merely an extra-curricular adjunct continued. By 1934, the Victorian Education Department formally recognised sport as a legitimate part of the curriculum in its own right (that is, besides its incorporation in physical education programs), and issued advice in its *Course of Study for Schools – 1934* advocating the House System as the best means of stimulating interest in intra-school sport. This system was based on the ideal ‘that every child will take part in at least two sports for recreative purposes, and will play in house teams, although he [*sic*] may be unable to qualify for inclusion in the school team’.<sup>44</sup>

The new concept of physical education which came to the fore during the late thirties was supported by the growing influence of the national fitness movement which led, in 1941, to the passing of the *National Fitness Act*. In 1935, the National Council of Women in Victoria and the Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER) had sponsored a survey of physical education provision in Victoria to discover whether it might be possible to establish training courses for specialist teachers of physical education.<sup>45</sup> On the basis of their review, Ramsay and Johnson strongly supported the establishment of a specialist training course for teachers based at the University of Melbourne.

Meanwhile, prompted by growing tensions in Europe and the prospect of war, questions were being raised in Federal Parliament in December 1936 concerning the possibility of establishing a national physical training scheme which would improve the level of national fitness. A campaign for national fitness was under way in Britain at this time, fuelled by a startling growth in a diverse range of locally initiated and organised physical recreational activities such as camping, walking and ‘Keep Fit’ classes for women. The passing of the 1937 *Physical Training and Recreation Act* in Britain was used by the Opposition in Parliament to force the Federal Government to act on the question of national fitness, since popular interest in physical recreation was also high among Australians.<sup>46</sup> The Government finally responded in 1939 by establishing a National Council for Physical Fitness which led to the passing of the *National Fitness Act* in 1941.

The National Fitness Council (established by the Act) had wide ranging concerns which included health, nutrition and physical rehabilitation for people with disabilities but, nevertheless, physical education emerged as a key component of their scheme to boost the fitness and health of the Australian population.<sup>47</sup> Indeed, a major portion of money from the fund established by the Act was allocated to each of the six universities, who were required to set up diploma courses in physical education. This move had already been anticipated in Victoria by the Ramsay and Johnson report. This was also instrumental in securing the appointment of Fritz Duras to the post of Director of Physical Education at the University of Melbourne.<sup>48</sup> Duras was a strong advocate of national fitness arguing consistently for a form of physical education in schools run by specialist teachers which would be central to the promotion of the health of the individual and the population.<sup>49</sup> The physical education training of the new specialist teachers contrasted starkly with the militaristic form of the subject which had dominated for more than sixty years. Remedial gymnastics along the lines of the Swedish system was to continue to play a large part in the training of these teachers but, significantly, games, swimming, dancing, fencing along with general science, anatomy, hygiene, body mechanics and principles of education and of teaching were to form the bulk of the new course.<sup>50</sup>

Through all of this activity, physical education in schools received a massive injection of resources. In Victoria, these developments supported the establishment of a Physical Education Branch of the Department of Education and a considerable increase in numbers of physical education instructors.<sup>51</sup> Specialist staff servicing primary schools rose in numbers from two in 1935 to twenty-two in 1938, and the swimming branch leapt from one to thirteen permanent instructors. In the State-controlled secondary schools, there were an additional twenty specialist physical education staff. Specialist teachers of physical education very quickly saw their main role as developers of the skills pupils would use to

participate in the team games offered by schools. From the late 1930s, physical education began to be positioned as the 'foundation stone' for children's participation in sport, as the site in which the skills required for sports participation should be developed.<sup>52</sup> In the process of this expansion, which was to continue through the following three decades, a definition of 'physical education' was being invented which involved a consolidation under this heading of a range of activities previously organised separately, such as swimming, competitive games and sports, and aspects of health and hygiene. By the end of World War II, the key elements of the subject we recognise today as physical education were in place.

A number of shifts and accommodations in the games ethic in accord with local conditions were required before this new notion of physical education, with team games at its core, could be fully accepted in government schools. According to Crawford, the Public Schools of Australia retained some elements of the British version of the games ethic, but during the first three decades of the twentieth century added their own virtues to provide a distinctively Australian flavour:

If the Australian public schools had sought in the nineteenth century to imitate a major strand of English educational life and mirror the ideals of middle and upper class sport, they were in the twentieth century to assert a value system which was inimitably of strong native invention. Teamwork, comradeship, leadership and courage would remain as indelible qualities to be drawn from playing games but the distinctive Australian ethos of self-reliance and manliness came to have equal importance. The image of the tough, independent, strong and passionate winner in sporting contests endeared to the wide cross section of the sporting community found its own niche in the Public School and produced its own stereotypes.<sup>53</sup>

While this reconstruction of the games ethic in the Australian Public Schools may indeed have reflected some indigenous qualities of Australian manhood, these virtues did not necessarily apply to the working classes.

Games as a form of leadership education was not a key concern in the education of the working classes in the way that it was for the middle class boys who would go on to take up positions of responsibility in government, business, the professions and the armed services. Nevertheless, notions of manliness containing key features of appropriately masculine behaviour were prominent in early justifications of games for boys in government schools. Following the carnage of World War I there was, according to Crawford, an emphasis on physical development through games and other physical activities in an attempt to repair ‘the national physique’.<sup>54</sup> Later, through the 1920s, we find greater attention being paid to values such as co-operation, courage, and playing for the sake of the team, as much a means of counteracting undesirable behaviour, like cheating, than as positive virtues in themselves. Later still, in the 1930s and 1940s, under the influence of the progressive movement in primary school education and perhaps in more conscious consideration of girls in addition to boys, concepts such as self-confidence, enjoyment and play begin to be added to the list of positive qualities games were claimed to foster.

The process of reconstructing the games ethic for use in government schools can be seen in an important series of articles by L G ‘Huck’ Hamilton, Organiser of Physical Education in Victoria, which appeared in *the Education Gazette* in 1941. Hamilton addressed directly the ‘cult of athleticism’ advocating his preference for the idea that games are the means by which every child can be given an interest in physical activity. He developed the notion that children should be taught to gain satisfaction from seeing their own improvement in performance and not necessarily from competing:

it must not be thought that the object of games practice is to produce champions in sport . . . There is a tendency in many large schools to concentrate on the instruction of the few already competent and gifted children allowing this limited number to reap the benefits of participation in inter-school

competitive games . . . One of the chief aims (should be) to ensure that each and every child is given an opportunity to learn games and to become to some degree skilled in them. In this way he is assured of a healthy physical exercise with a definite motivating interest.<sup>55</sup>

Some mention has already been made of the fact that some groups had a substantial stake in the successful growth of team games in government schools. The VFL, for instance, lent considerable support to inter-school sport. However, their interest was not entirely altruistic. As an organisation of professional sportsmen the VFL, and its professional counterparts in other states and other football codes, regarded the state schools as a prime breeding ground for stars of the future. The final crystallisation of the notion that government schools could provide the raw materials for elite sport appeared in the 1940s when increasing numbers of specialist instructors in physical education were employed by the Physical Education Branches in various States. Physical education lessons became the place to teach basic sports skills. Through this innovation, the state's involvement in providing a base to a scheme which prepared games players was complete. It should be acknowledged that the interest and support of professional sports associations played a key part in sustaining the work of the various State School Amateur Athletics Associations, and there was regular contact and some cross-membership of school and community organisations. At the same time, it should be remembered that these professional sports organisations were interested mainly in the talented performers who could fill their senior ranks, and other children only in so far as they provided a broad base to the pyramidal structure of elite sport.

It has also been noted that the government high schools, in a manner similar to the English Grammar Schools of the Edwardian era described by Mangan, were able to use the games ethic and games playing to some effect in a process of social emulation and distancing. This use of games was of less relevance to the government primary schools of the inter-war period, since they were not in direct competition

with the non-government schools in the same way as were the high schools. Nevertheless, before the expansion of mass secondary education in the post-World War II period, the state high schools were the flagships of the government school systems, and their influence on the primary sector cannot be dismissed. Particularly in the country areas where we have noted that the values inherent in the games ethic received considerable support, the high schools' approach to sport had a significant impact on primary schools. For the urban working classes, this influence may have been less noticeable since the high schools serviced the lower strata of the middle classes.

In 1946, a new textbook for physical education had been prepared for use in Victorian schools, known as the 'Grey Book', which crystallised the new concept of physical education. One of the purposes of the Grey Book was to break away from British influences in physical education by presenting material that was appropriate, not merely for Australian but, more specifically, for Victorian schools. The following statement, which appeared in the foreword, provides a glimpse of the new vision of physical education in government schools. The Grey Book promoted a vision which was substantially informed by a reconstructed version of the Public Schools games ethic:

Formal exercises are artificial, unrelated to life situations, and generally lacking in interest; they also completely ignore the very important influence that the emotions exert on the physical well-being of the individual. Enjoyment and enthusiasm are necessary if the exercise is to have a stimulating and beneficial effect. We therefore insist that every child has the right to play, and that this right must be restored to all children who have lost it. The only logical approach to this ideal is to adopt the method of providing physical education by teaching participation in games . . . Physical values aside, the spirit of the game is invaluable as a means for developing social and moral character. The boy who learns to 'play the game' will be modest in victory and

cheerful in defeat. Selfishness and cheating have no place in properly conducted games, while co-operation, courage, and self-confidence are developed.<sup>56</sup>

### Conclusions

It is open to question whether the use of the games ethic to justify working class children's right to participate in games was an expression of profound egalitarian sensibilities. As part of the popular mythology of Australian national identity:<sup>57</sup> egalitarianism may have been a factor in the use of the games ethic to justify sport in government schools. Daly has suggested that 'Australian sport has always catered for the masses. Community sport is available to anybody and everybody. Few sports are class orientated and the climate and natural facilities encourage most to participate from an early age.'<sup>58</sup> The evidence presented in this article, particularly of a lack of available facilities for the urban working classes during the inter-war period and beyond, calls into question the accuracy of this egalitarian view of sport.

In the context of such a powerful mythology,<sup>59</sup> there is no actual requirement for egalitarian sentiment to be widespread in Australian society, but simply the belief that *it was widely believed* that it was right that Australians should, by and large, have 'a fair go'.<sup>60</sup> The strategic use of rhetoric by games enthusiasts which appealed to such sentiments would have made sense if egalitarianism was likely to resonate with the sentiments of government and educational policy makers. In some cases, it may indeed have done so. However, in the socially conservative climate of the 1920s and 1930s in Australia, where the extension of charity to other less privileged social groups became less likely,<sup>61</sup> this factor cannot completely account for government and bureaucratic support for games playing during the inter-war period, though it may explain why ordinary Australians, teachers among them, considered that 'every child had a right to play'.

While the various shifts in the ways in which the games ethic was applied to sport in government schools can be noted, it is also clear that the development of social and moral character of working class children was a matter of enduring concern throughout this period. The use of games for this purpose is entirely consistent with a range of other strategies deployed in schools which aimed at social regulation and normalisation by working on Australian children's bodies. School medical services, inaugurated in most Australian states around 1910, utilised medical inspection and anthropometry to collect systematic data which it was believed could provide the basis for medical, public health and educational interventions to improve the Anglo-Celtic stock.<sup>62</sup> School physical training, introduced to Australian government schools in 1911 under the auspices of the Commonwealth Department of Defence, is another example of attempts to regulate children's bodies.<sup>63</sup> Both schemes met with mixed success, World War I intervening decisively in each case to radically alter the social context in which these practices could be legitimated. Nevertheless, it might be argued that the introduction of competitive team games into government schools and their legitimation by appeals to a version of the games ethic was one other strategy aimed at civilising the urban working classes of Australia.

Concerns over racial degeneration and the survival of a white race in the southern hemisphere were taken seriously by many educated Australians during the three decades prior to World War I, as they were in the United States and Britain also, and these concerns fed ongoing debates over Australian nationhood.<sup>64</sup> The social tensions which surfaced during the war show that the fears of the educated classes over the lack of a stable national identity were not entirely groundless. The project of social regulation through medical and other interventions fell out of favour after the war. However, it is not inconceivable that politicians, government bureaucrats and other social leaders, themselves educated in

the elite non-government schools and their imitators, considered that some form of control over the recreations of the urban working classes might bear fruit by reducing potential class conflict.

Given the considerable class division centring on sport and the working class use of games as a form of release from onerous responsibilities and duties in particular, we might pause to wonder at the relevance of some of the high sounding ideals surrounding games designed for the benefit of a majority of children. The consistently bold statements of the games ethic in official government papers through the 1920s and 1930s, such as the annual Reports of the Minister of Education in Victoria, need to be set beside the regular references in these statements to the need to counteract negative dimensions of sports participation. These references provide some indication that attempts to civilise the working classes through the benign influence of middle-class defined games were, at least, incomplete. The continuation of public and private concerns over inappropriate behaviour connected with sport in the Public Schools cannot have helped the case of games in the government schools.<sup>65</sup>

Nevertheless, the endurance of the games ethic over considerable spans of time and distance, and its durability within a range of different social and cultural conditions, is indicative of the immense power and appeal of the notion that participation in team games has, in ideal circumstances, a benign influence educationally and socially. It is of some significance that, in Victoria, a version of the games ethic was incorporated within a definition of physical education following World War II, which continues to form the basis of physical education programs some fifty years on. It is a matter of great interest for future studies to determine what further reconstructions of the games ethic have taken place in government and non-government schools since the end of World War II in Australia, and how changes in schools' use of games and sport articulate with changing forms of corporeal regulation in contemporary culture more broadly.

## NOTES

- 1 A freelance historian based in Melbourne.
- 2 For instance, J A Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Ideology*, Cambridge, CUP, 1981; Kathleen E McCrone, *Playing the Game: Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women, 1870-1914*, Routledge, London, 1988; J A Mangan, ed., *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism: British Culture At Home and Abroad, 1700-1914*, Cass, London, 1988; David W Brown, 'Athleticism in Selected Canadian Private Schools for Boys to 1918', PhD dissertation, University of Alberta, 1984.
- 3 Geoffrey Sherington, 'Athleticism in the Antipodes: The AAGPS of New South Wales', *History of Education Review*, vol. 12, 1983, pp. 16-28; Cliff Tumey, 'The Advent and Adaption of the Arnold Public School Tradition in New South Wales', *Australian Journal of Education*, vol. 10, 1966, pp. 133-44; Ray Crawford, 'A History of Physical Education in Victoria and NSW 1872-1939: With Particular Reference to English Precedent', PhD thesis, La Trobe University, 1981; John A Daly, *Elysian Fields: Sport, Class and Community in Colonial South Australia, 1836-1890*, the author, Adelaide, 1982.
- 4 J A Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal*, Viking, Harmondsworth, 1986, p. 18.
- 5 Mangan, *The Games Ethic*, pp. 142-65.
- 6 J A Mangan, 'Grammar Schools and the Games Ethic in Victorian and Edwardian Eras', *Albion*, vol. 15, 1983, p. 330. See David Kirk, *Defining Physical Education: The Social Construction of a School Subject in Postwar Britain*, Falmer, London, 1992, for an account of the reconstruction of the games ethic for use in British government secondary schools after World War II.
- 7 The term 'middle classes' is used in this article in preference to bourgeoisie to denote the contrasting constitutions of the social groups in Britain who used the elite schools as a means of social demarcation, and the groups in Australia who used the Public and Grammar Schools for similar purposes. It should be noted, nevertheless, that the various strata of the Australian middle classes are linked through their use of education as a key strategy of social aspiration, and that these schools and this varied class grouping supplied a disproportionately larger number of religious, social, political, economic and military leaders than the working classes. See Robert Connell and T Irving, 'Yes, Virginia, There is a Ruling Class', in H Mayer and H Nelson, eds, *Australian Politics: A Fifth Reader*, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1982.
- 8 Mangan, *The Games Ethic*, p. 147. For accounts of the complexities of this view of games playing applied to girls and women, see Jennifer A Hargreaves, "'Playing Like Gentlemen While Behaving Like Ladies": Contradictory Features of the Formative Years of Women's Sport', *British Journal of Sport History*, vol. 2, 1985, pp. 40-52; and Lois Young, 'Feminism and the Physical: Sex Education, Physical Education and Dress Reform in Victoria, 1880-1930', MA thesis, Monash University, 1984.
- 9 Sherington, 'Athleticism in the Antipodes'.
- 10 Sherington, 'Athleticism in the Antipodes', p. 21.

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- 11 *Argus*, 27 Jan. 1934.
- 12 Ray Crawford, 'Athleticism, Gentleman and Empire in Australian Public Schools: L A Adamson and Wesley College, Melbourne', W Vamplew, ed., *Sport & Colonialism in 19th Century Australasia*, ASSH, Adelaide, 1986, pp. 42-64.
- 13 C E W Bean, *Here, My Son: An Account of the Independent and Other Corporate Boys' Schools of Australia*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1950, p. 168.
- 14 See Mangan, 'Grammar Schools and the Games Ethic'. We should note, along with Bean, one important difference between the Australian adoption of games to fulfil this purpose, and practice in the English setting. The formation of associations to organise sport in Australian elite schools contrasted with the English practice of school matches being arranged between individual schools. Australian school sports associations also established premiership competitions, which were studiously avoided by their English counterparts, see Bean, *Here, My Son*, p. 169.
- 15 *Argus*, 27 Jan. 1934.
- 16 See for example, the report of a football match between Wesley and Geelong Grammar in the *Argus*, 12 Aug. 1911. As Greg Denning suggests, in his centenary portrait of Xavier College, there was little of the higher ideals of the games ethic in evidence when it came to the business of keeping score. Denning, *Xavier – A Centenary Portrait*, Melbourne, 1978, p. 178.
- 17 Ray Crawford, 'Sport for Young Ladies: The Victorian Independent Schools 1875-1925', *Sporting Traditions*, vol. 1, Nov. 1984, pp. 61-82.
- 18 Bob Bessant, 'The Influence of the 'Public Schools' on the Early High Schools of Victoria', *History of Education Review*, vol. 13, 1984, pp. 45-57.
- 19 See, for example, Lindsay Gardiner, *Tintern School and Anglican Girls' Education 1877-1977*, Wilkie, Melbourne, 1977, p. 77.
- 20 Gardiner, *Tintern School*, p. 26.
- 21 In *The Brook* (Tintern School magazine), Aug. 1918, quoted by Gardiner, *Tintern School*, p. 79.
- 22 While it can be argued with some confidence that the values associated with the games ethic had wide currency by the beginning of the twentieth century, there were nevertheless vocal opponents of the excesses of games playing and the use of the values associated with games as a means of legitimating or ennobling what were, at times, clearly questionable activities. See David W Brown, 'Criticisms Against the Value-Claim for Sport and Physical Ideal in Late Nineteenth Century Australia', *Sporting Traditions*, vol. 4, no. 2, May 1988, pp. 150-61.
- 23 Michael McKernan, 'Sport, War and Society: Australia 1914-18', in R Cashman and M McKernan, eds, *Sport in History*, UQP, St Lucia, 1979, pp. 1-20.
- 24 McKernan, 'Sport, War and Society', p. 1.
- 25 McKernan, 'Sport, War and Society', pp. 17, 18.
- 26 Bessant, 'The Influence of the "Public Schools"', p. 50.
- 27 (Victorian) *Education Gazette and Teachers' Aid*, July 1904.
- 28 *Herald*, 29 June 1904.
- 29 *Herald*.
- 30 (Victorian) *Education Gazette and Teachers' Aid*, Oct. 1904.
- 31 Victorian Parliamentary Papers (VPP), *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction*, 1908-9, p. 70.

- 32 Mangan, 'Grammar Schools and the Games Ethic'.
- 33 *Argus*, 15 May 1913.
- 34 See Stuart Macintyre, *The Oxford History of Australia*, vol. 4, *The Succeeding Age, 1901-1942*, OUP, Melbourne, 1986.
- 35 (Victorian) *Education Gazette and Teachers' Aid*, Aug. 1919.
- 36 Older inner city schools continued to suffer from lack of space in which to play games well into the 1920s and beyond; see, for example, a report in the *Argus*, 1 Aug. 1929.
- 37 Regular, typically positive and optimistic, reports of the progress being made in the provision of games in government schools appear in the Victorian Parliamentary Papers, *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction*, through the period from 1920 to 1935.
- 38 VPP, *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction*, 1924-5, p. 7.
- 39 VPP, *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction*, 1931-2, p. 50.
- 40 (Victorian) *Education Gazette and Teachers' Aid*, May 1929.
- 41 Crawford, 'History of Physical Education in Victoria and NSW'.
- 42 VPP, *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction*, 1928-9, p. 8.
- 43 David Kirk and Karen Twigg, 'The Militarization of School Physical Training in Australia: The Rise and Demise of the Junior Cadet Training Scheme, 1911-31', *History of Education*, vol. 22, 1993, pp. 391-414.
- 44 (Victorian) *Education Gazette and Teachers' Aid*, Nov. 1933, p. 498.
- 45 A Ramsay and M Johnson, *Physical Education in Victoria*, Australian Council for Educational Research, Melbourne, 1936.
- 46 *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Representatives, 19 May 1938, Commonwealth Government Printer, Canberra, p. 1317.
- 47 Minutes of the National Committee of the Council for Physical Fitness, 2d Meeting, May 1939.
- 48 Gertrude Kentish, *Fritz Dutas: The Father of Physical Education in Australia*, ACHPER, Adelaide, 1983.
- 49 For example, see his paper in the *Medical Journal of Australia*, 11 Feb. 1939.
- 50 A Ramsay and Johnson, *Physical Education in Victoria*, p. 18; Kentish, *Fritz Duras*.
- 51 See, for example, VPP, *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction*, 1939-40, p. 4.
- 52 Robin K Gray, 'From Drills to Skills: Changes in Physical Education in Australian Schools 1945-1970', *National Journal of the Australian Council for Health, Physical Education and Recreation*, vol. 107, 1985, pp. 50-4.
- 53 Crawford, 'History of Physical Education in Victoria and NSW', p. 400.
- 54 Crawford, 'History of Physical Education in Victoria and NSW', p. 378.
- 55 L G Hamilton, 'Games Practice: Its Place and Value in the School,' (Victorian) *Education Gazette and Teachers' Aid*, July 1941.
- 56 H P Kelly, *Physical Education for Victorian Schools*, Education Department of Victoria, Melbourne, 1946, Foreword p. vi., popularly known as the 'Grey Book'.
- 57 On the subject of Australian egalitarianism, see Robert Connell, 'Images of Australia', *Quadrant*, vol. 12, 1968; Richard White, *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity 1688-1980*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1981; Russell Ward, *The Australian Legend*, OUP, Melbourne, 2d ed., 1966.

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- 58 John A Daly, 'Structure', in *Australian Sport: A Profile*, AGPS, Canberra, 1985, p. 15.
- 59 Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, Noonday Press, New York, 1972.
- 60 A recent articulation of the link between Australian egalitarianism and sport appeared in the column of sports writer Jeff Wells, 'Play the game hard but fair. Help your mate. Work for your team. Don't bung on side. Give the other mob a fair go too. No low mongrel acts. And have a couple together after the game', in *Weekend Australian*, 28-9 April 1990.
- 61 Bacchi notes increasing resistance among the middle classes following World War I to providing any form of economic support to the 'wastrels' they believed constituted the growing population of poor and unemployed, in Caroline L Bacchi, 'The Nature-Nurture Debate in Australia, 1900-1914', *Historical Studies*, vol. 19, 1980, pp. 199-212.
- 62 The establishment of school medical inspection was based on the premise that the careful monitoring, treatment and care of children's bodies would lead to more efficient and productive generations of adults, workers and citizens, see David Kirk and Karen Twigg, 'Constructing Australian Bodies: Social Normalisation and School Medical Inspection, 1909-1919,' *Journal of Australian Studies*, no. 40, 1994, pp. 57-74.
- 63 See David Kirk and Barbara Spiller, 'Schooling the Docile Body: Physical Education, Schooling and the Myth of Oppression', *Australian Journal of Education*, vol. 38, 1994, pp. 78-95, and Kirk and Twigg, 'Military Training of School Physical Training'.
- 64 See Geoffrey R Searle, *Eugenics and Politics in Britain 1900-1914*, Noordhoff, Leyden, 1976; Mark H Haller, *Eugenics: Hereditarian Attitudes in American Thought*, Rutgers University Press, New Jersey, 1963; Mary Cawte, 'Cranometry and Eugenics in Australia: R J A Berry and the Quest for Social Efficiency', *Historical Studies*, vol. 22, 1986, pp. 35-53.; Stephen Garton, 'Sir Charles Mackellar: Psychiatry, Eugenics and Child Welfare in New South Wales, 1900-1914', *Historical Studies*, vol. 22, 1986, pp. 21-34.
- 65 The behaviour of schoolboy spectators continued to attract public criticism into the 1930s when the Heads of the six schools of the APS in Victoria were forced to ban 'frog dancing' and 'crocodile marching' at sports meetings (*Argus*, 21 June 1938). Further misbehaviour prompted calls to consider scaling down competitive sport due to the antics of supporters and the time lost to academic work for those boys involved in preparation for competition (*Argus*, 10 July 1939).