

# **Packaging the past for children: Australian historical novels and picture books for children since 1945**

**Kylie-Ann Flack**

BA (Hons) Australian National University 1989

MA (with Merit) University of Sydney 1994

MPASR, Macquarie University 2000

This thesis is presented in the fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

**Department of Modern History, Politics and International Relations**

**Faculty of Arts**

**Macquarie University  
Sydney**

April 2018



## Table of Contents

<i>Table of Contents</i> .....	<i>iii</i>
<i>List of Tables</i> .....	<i>vii</i>
<i>List of Figures</i> .....	<i>vii</i>
<i>Abstract</i> .....	<i>ix</i>
<i>Declaration</i> .....	<i>xi</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i> .....	<i>xiii</i>
<i>List of Acronyms</i> .....	<i>xv</i>

<b>Introduction</b> .....	<b>1</b>
<b>Packaging the past for children</b> .....	<b>3</b>
Australian children's historical novels and picture books since 1945: a new intervention .....	6
<b>Principal themes</b> .....	<b>7</b>
Ideas about childhood .....	8
Historical fiction and national identity .....	9
Reframing fictional representations of the past for children: taking a longer view .....	11
<b>Methodology</b> .....	<b>12</b>
How 'fiction inflects the historical' .....	13
A broad survey of historical novels and picture books .....	15
Close readings .....	15
Historiography and audience research: including children's voices .....	16
<b>Thesis Structure</b> .....	<b>18</b>
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	<b>21</b>

## PART ONE: Children's Historical Novels and Picture Books as an Historical and Historiographical Subject

<b>Chapter 1: 'Fictional Historiography': The Research Landscape</b> .....	<b>25</b>
<b>Introduction</b> .....	<b>25</b>
Scholarly interest in public and popular uses of the past .....	27
Children's historical fiction as a form of literature .....	31
Teaching children about the past: pedagogy and politics .....	33
Ideas about childhood: the Australian context .....	37
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	<b>39</b>

## Chapter 2: Placing Australian children's Historical Fiction within the ambit of 'Fictional Historiography' – the Research

<b>Methodology</b>	40
<b>Textual analysis: the idea of a <i>corpus</i></b>	42
Construction of the <i>corpus</i>	44
Analysing the corpus	46
A broad survey of historical novels and picture books	48
Close readings	48
<i>Emotions as a theoretical lens for fictional historiography</i>	52
<b>Exploring social and cultural life</b>	56
The pilot project design	60
<i>The limitations</i>	62
<b>Conclusion</b>	63
<b>Chapter 3: ‘Offered to Children’ – the Emergence of Australian Children’s Literature</b>	69
<b>Introduction</b>	69
<b>Australian children’s historical fiction as historical subject: four critical spaces</b>	70
The emergence of the historical novel as a literary form	70
The emergence of literature for children, including historical novels	73
<i>Australian children’s literature prior to 1945</i>	77
Australian literature for adults	78
Ethics, fiction and childhood	82
<b>Embedding ethical discourses: the formal education system</b>	84
<b>Conclusion</b>	85
<b>Chapter 4: Overview of the Corpus, 1945-2015: Historical Fiction as a Subject for History</b>	87
<b>Introduction: contextualizing the corpus</b>	87
Growth in the number of publications	88
Expansion of the subject scope of the corpus	92
<b>Critical post-1945 developments</b>	106
Development of the publishing industry in Australia since 1945	106
<b>Public and popular history: a ‘passion for the past’</b>	116
<b>Educating children: aspirations for parenting and school-based pedagogy</b>	121
Reconceptualising the child: the 1950s and 1960s	121
Privatisation and protection of childhood: 1970s and beyond	123
<b>Conclusion</b>	127
<b>Chapter 5: Historical Fiction as History-Making: how Fictional Narrative Elements Inflect the Historical Project</b>	129
<b>Locating the past: temporal and physical settings</b>	130
Connecting temporal settings	132
Developing a sense of place	138
<b>Peopling the past: crafting fictional historical characters</b>	141
<b>Imposing order on the past: plot</b>	146



Picture books and plot.....	150
<b>Whose view of the past? Point of view</b> .....	152
An anthropomorphic point of view .....	155
<b>Themes</b> .....	161
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	166

## **Chapter 6: Packaging the Past for Children: Experimentation and Promotion** .....

<b>Introduction</b> .....	167
<b>New approaches to meaning-making</b> .....	172
<i>Topos/Topoi</i> .....	172
<i>The topos of Indigenous spirituality</i> .....	172
Allegory.....	174
Visual Strategies.....	176
<b>Historical Series</b> .....	181
<b>Paratextual Resources</b> .....	197
<b>Beyond the Commercial Publishing/Bookselling Sector</b> .....	195
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	199

## **PART TWO: Close Readings of Selected Themes – Towards a Richer Understanding of the Complexity of the Historical Projects Embedded within Historical Fiction**

### **Chapter 7: Representations of War in Children’s Historical Fiction since 2000** .....

<b>Introduction</b> .....	205
<b>Purpose of the chapter</b> .....	207
<b>Representations of war in Australian children’s historical fiction in the twenty-first century</b> .....	211
Emergence of war-related discourses.....	211
War-related discourses and the space of childhood .....	212
<b>Representations of war in children’s historical fiction in 21<sup>st</sup> century</b>	
<b>Australia</b> .....	216
The homefront .....	216
Going to war/theatre of war .....	224
Aftermath of war .....	226
Commemorating war .....	230
The production and reception of war-related junior historical fiction: Mark Wilson’s <i>Children of War Quartet</i> ’ .....	232
<i>Contextualizing historical picture books: Mark Wilson’s Children of             War Quartet</i> .....	233
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	241

<b>Chapter 8: The ‘whole camp screamed in anger and dismay’: Emotions in Children’s Historical Fiction</b>	243
<b>Introduction</b>	243
The stories that have not been told	246
Breaking the silence	247
<b>Close Reading</b> – Nan Chauncy (1967) <i>Mathinna’s People</i>	249
<b>Close Reading</b> – Anthony Hill (1994) <i>The Burnt Stick</i>	255
<b>Close Reading</b> – Anita Heiss (2002) <i>My Australian Story. Who Am I? The Diary of Mary Talence</i>	262
Reader Responses	270
<b>Conclusion</b>	272

## **PART THREE: Developing New Approaches to Analysing Fictional Representations of the Past**

<b>Chapter 9: Children’s Voices in Historiographical Research</b>	277
<b>Introduction</b>	277
Connecting children with the past outside of school – how does this take place?	280
Perceptions of learning about the past through historical fiction – what do children think about historical fiction as a way of learning about the past?	287
<b>Conclusion</b>	302
<b>Conclusion</b>	305
<b>References</b>	313
<b>Appendices:</b>	
<b>Appendix A – The Corpus</b>	359
<b>Appendix B – Ethics Approval</b>	384
<b>Appendix C – Child Interview Consent Form</b>	389
<b>Appendix D – ozhistory4kids</b>	393

<b>Appendix E – Participant Response Sample .....</b>	<b>412</b>
---	------------

## List of Tables

4.1 State Grants (Secondary School Libraries) Act 1968 schedule of grants.....	110
--	-----

## List of Figures

4.1: Australian historical novels and picture books published 1945-2015 .....	89
5.1: Welcome to <i>My Place</i> for Teachers.....	137
5.2: Scholastic Australia Brochure – <i>My Story</i> .....	156
6.1: Children Who Read for Pleasure .....	188
6.2: What Makes Frequent Readers .....	190
6.3: <i>Ghost Boy</i> for School Students, Q-Station.....	194
6.4: Tattoo available ‘For Young Supporters’ .....	198
6.5: Visit the Home of the Lighthouse Girl .....	200
9.1: ‘Photographs – WWI’ – image from pilot study website .....	284



## **Abstract**

Historians have considered deeply the nature of historical fiction, and the fictional nature of history, but children's historical fiction has received little of their attention to date. In approaching Australian children's historical novels and picture books as a subject for historical analysis, I interrogate the specific cultural, social, political and intellectual contexts of these texts since 1945. I explore how the texts may be considered historical, rather than literary projects, projects that can work to either contest or reaffirm contemporaneous national historical narratives.

Fictional representations of the past are an identifiable sub-genre within Australian children's literature, with an estimated 160 historical novels and picture books, on Australian subjects by Australian authors, published since 2000. Building upon a foundation that emerged slowly in the decades following World War Two, contemporary Australian authors are creating fictional narratives for children that encompass an increasingly diverse range of historical subjects and that push at the boundaries of the historical fiction genre. There have also been profound changes in the presentation and marketing of historical novels and picture books, changes that offer an opportunity to understand more about uses of the past in the context of conceptions of childhood in Australian society.

My thesis traces the volume and nature of historical novels and picture books published since 1945, explores representations of war, Indigenous history, and emotion through close readings of selected texts, and considers ideas of spectatorship and audience through analyzing the results of a pilot study involving interviews with fourteen children. In doing so, I contribute to conversations about uses of the past beyond the academy and methodologies for researching popular/fictional historiography. I also demonstrate that fictional representations of Australia's past created for children are worthy of historians' attention.



## **Declaration**

I certify that the work in this thesis entitled ‘Packaging the past for children: Australian historical novels and picture books for children since 1945’ has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of the requirements for a degree to any other university or institution other than Macquarie University.

I also certify that the thesis is an original piece of research and that it has been written by me. Any help or assistance that I have received in my research work and in the preparation of this thesis itself has been appropriately acknowledged.

In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated and acknowledged in the thesis.

.....  
Kylie-Ann Flack

Student Number: 31331386

Date: 6 April 2018





## **Acknowledgements**

I sincerely thank Associate Professor Michelle Arrow, my dedicated and supportive Supervisor; Dr Hsu-Ming Teo, my insightful Associate Supervisor; and the professional, knowledgeable and energetic Department of Modern History, Politics and International Relations at Macquarie University.

I acknowledge the assistance of Dr Sandey Fitzgerald in the preparation and editing of the final copy of the thesis. Any errors remain my own.

As is usual, but necessary, I also thank my long-suffering family and friends for supporting me on this long journey.

Kylie Flack

April 2018



## **List of Acronyms**

ABA	Australian Booksellers' Association
ABPA	Australian Book Publishers' Association
ABC	Australian Broadcasting Commission
ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ACARA	Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority
ACLA	Australian Children's Literature Alliance
ADCC	Anzac Day Commemoration Committee
ADCCQ	Anzac Day Commemoration Committee (Queensland)
AFL	Australian Football League
ANZAC	Australian and New Zealand Army Corps
CBCA	Children's Book Council of Australia
DEC	Department of Education and Communities (NSW)
DVA	Department of Veterans' Affairs
HSIE	Human Society and Its Environment (NSW Board of Studies Syllabus K-6)
MCG	Melbourne Cricket Ground
NHMRC	National Health and Medical Research Council
NMA	National Museum of Australia
NPWS	National Parks and Wildlife Service
NRL	National Rugby League
RAAF	Royal Australian Air Force
SL	State Library (NSW)



## Introduction

The Young People's History Prize, a category of the New South Wales Premier's History Awards, may be awarded to fictional or non-fictional historical writing, subject to the condition that all entries 'must be based on sound and accurate historical research and encourage further exploration of the past.'<sup>1</sup> In 2001, the judges declined to shortlist any books for the Children's History category.<sup>2</sup> Media coverage of the judging panel's decision ran under provocative headlines: 'Children's history books so dull judges leave them on the shelf' and 'Why the Premier said "No" to children's history.'<sup>3</sup> On talkback radio, children's authors were, as author Nadia Wheatley notes, 'evidently slammed again.'<sup>4</sup>

The media response to the judges' rejection of Australian history being published for children at the time propelled the packaging of the past for children into the public spotlight for only a short time, but the reverberations were felt in history circles well into the next year. In 2002, the History Council of New South Wales convened a Children's History Forum 'amidst great anxiety for the future of children's history writing in Australia.'<sup>5</sup> Speakers and participants at the Forum included secondary school students, authors, publishers, editors, a librarian, a reviewer of children's literature, teachers and historians.<sup>6</sup> Their involvement demonstrated broad interest in children's historical fiction and non-fiction as a conduit for informing children about Australia's past.

---

<sup>1</sup> [http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/sites/default/files/2018\\_pha\\_guidelines\\_entries\\_open\\_19\\_feb.pdf](http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/sites/default/files/2018_pha_guidelines_entries_open_19_feb.pdf). Accessed 22 July 2018.

<sup>2</sup> Previously called the Children's History Prize. The panel had also declined to award a prize in the Children's History category in 1999. See [http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/about/awards/premiers\\_awards/nsw\\_premiers\\_history\\_awards/premiers\\_history\\_awards.html](http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/about/awards/premiers_awards/nsw_premiers_history_awards/premiers_history_awards.html) Accessed 3 December 2015.

<sup>3</sup> Nadia Wheatley, "Culturally and Linguistically Disparate: The Politics of Children's Literature," in *A Future for the Past: The State of Children's History* (Sydney: History Council of New South Wales, 2004), 48-9.

<sup>4</sup> Wheatley, "Culturally and Linguistically Disparate," 48.

<sup>5</sup> Bruce Scates, ed., *A Future for the Past: The State of Children's History* (Sydney: History Council of New South Wales, 2004), 6.

<sup>6</sup> Scates, *A Future for the Past*, 6.

The published papers arising from the Children's History Forum expressed the participants' deep commitment to producing good quality, relevant and accessible, written Australian history for children. They also reflect the valuing of hearing directly from children, historian Bruce Scates describing the contribution of students from two Sydney high schools as 'compelling.'<sup>7</sup> Another presenter at the Forum, history education academic Tony Taylor, drew attention to the importance of how the past is packaged for children, indicating clearly that historical fiction for children is meant to educate:

History is not merely about understanding what happened in the past, it is fundamentally about using that past to develop an informed, moral, political and social view of the world we inhabit.<sup>8</sup>

Assigning this role to History implicates children's history writing, including fiction, in broader debates about the nature and purpose of academic and non-academic history.<sup>9</sup> Children, moreover, conceptualized as needing ethical guidance to support them in their journey to effective citizenship in adulthood, are implicated in this as *recipients* of lessons about the past.

This thesis takes the concerns of this forum as a jumping-off point from which to consider the ways children's historical literature is packaged for the child's consumption, what this implies about the conception of the child being operationalized, and what children might think about this. 'Consuming history' in childhood, from passive reading of historical fiction to agentive games of make-believe, takes place in many ways, all of which represent uses of the past.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> Scates, *A Future for the Past*, 6.

<sup>8</sup> Tony Taylor, "John Lenin's little known part in the Bolshevik Revolution: from history horror stories to historical literacy" in Scates, *A Future for the Past*, 12-13.

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, Keith Jenkins, *Re-Thinking History* (Oxon: Routledge, 2003); Keith Jenkins, Sue Morgan, and Alun Munslow, *Manifestos for History* (Oxon: Routledge, 2007); Ann Curthoys and John Docker, *Is History Fiction?* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2010); *Rethinking History: the Journal of Theory and Practice*, <https://www.history.ac.uk/history-online/journal/rethinking-history-journal-theory-and-practice> Accessed 14 February 2018.

<sup>10</sup> Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory. Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London and New York: Verso, 2012); Jerome de Groot, *Consuming History. Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Popular Culture* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009); Jerome de Groot, *The Historical Novel* (Abingdon, Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2010).

Yet, Australian academic literature has reflected little interest in the historical experiences of children outside school or museums, and little acknowledgment that children may see the past as an interesting, somewhat mysterious, perhaps even magical, place, brought to life through the narratives and artefacts they encounter. As one way of understanding more about approaches to packaging of the past for children, this thesis takes historical novels and picture books published since 1945, by Australian authors, on Australian historical topics, as a case study.

## Packaging the Past for Children

Academic interest in children's historical novels and picture books has been largely confined to research within the domains of pedagogy, literature, or librarianship.<sup>11</sup> However, the research underpinning this thesis is – to borrow Australian historian Tom Griffith's term – concerned with the *historical tasks* carried out by such texts, and the way these draw on, and construct, particular images of what it means to be a child.<sup>12</sup> Essentially, identifying the historical task in each text provides a way of understanding more about how historical imagination functions within historiographical spaces, and how fictionalized versions of the past operate within the personal and public spaces inhabited by, or focused on, children. This perspective on children's historical novels and picture books sits within a body of scholarship that postulates that historical fictions are important to study within the History discipline as

---

<sup>11</sup> See, for example, Clare Bradford, ed., *Writing the Australian Child: Texts and Contexts in Fictions for Children* (Western Australia: University of Western Australia, 1996); Fiona Collins and Judith Graham, ed.s, *Historical Fiction for Children: Capturing the Past* (Great Britain: David Fulton Publishers, 2001); John Foster, Ern Finniss and Maureen Nimmon, *Bush, City, Cyberspace: the Development of Australian Children's Literature into the Twenty First Century. Literature and Literacy for Young People, Volume 6* (Wagga Wagga: Centre for Information Studies, Charles Sturt University, 2005); Brenda Niall assisted by Frances O'Neill, *Australia Through the Looking-Glass. Children's Fiction 1830-1980* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1984); Maurice Saxby, *Offered to Children: A History of Australian Children's Literature 1841-1941* (Gosford: Scholastic, 1968); Maurice Saxby, *The Proof of the Puddin': Australian Children's Literature 1970-1990* (Sydney: Ashton Scholastic, 1993); Maurice Saxby, *Images of Australia: A History of Australian Children's Literature* (Lindfield: Scholastic Press, 2002); Maurice Saxby, *A History of Australian Children's Literature 1941-1970* (Sydney: Wentworth Books, 2004); Kim Wilson *Re-visioning Historical Fiction for Young Readers. The Past Through Modern Eyes* (New York and Oxon: Routledge, 2011); Kaya Yilmaz "Historical Empathy and its Implications for Classroom Practices in Schools", *The History Teacher* 40, No.3 (2007): 331-337. (2007); Suzette Youngs and Frank Serafini "Comprehension Strategies for Reading Historical Fiction Picture Books", *Reading Teacher* 65, no.2 (October 2011): 115-124.

<sup>12</sup> Tom Griffiths, *The Art of Time Travel. Historians and Their Craft* (Carlton, Victoria: Black Inc., 2016), 19.

well. As Raphael Samuel showed in his pioneering research on ‘the unofficial knowledges’ that give form to the popular articulations of the past and the present, rather than being wary of the multiplicity of representations of the past beyond the academy, historians can and should embrace these representations as a way of developing a broader understanding of how societies construct and ‘use’ the past.<sup>13</sup>

To identify the historical tasks undertaken by such material, these texts need to be considered as *evidence* of the past – primary sources positioned in time and influenced by the prevailing social, cultural, economic and political factors. Analysis of the texts in this light enables the construction of a history of this form of cultural production in post-1945 Australian society and provides support for the argument that children’s historical fiction and the realm of childhood are important to consider within the same historiographical space as other public and popular uses of the past. The realm of childhood is, as historians and other scholars have argued, socially constructed and historically contingent. As such, concerns about the ethical guidance of the younger generation in Australia can be identified in varying degrees in various cultural, social and political spaces since 1945.<sup>14</sup> As a case study, then, the use of children’s historical novels and picture books provides a point of connection between the construction of childhood in Australia in the post-World War Two era and Australian academic and non-academic historiography.

Moreover, the construction of the child as a *consumer* of history can be seen in the surge in publication of children’s historical novels and picture books since the turn of the twentieth century which has been mirrored by the expansion of commercial and non-commercial (government and non-government) historical products, services and programs targeting a child

---

<sup>13</sup> Bill Schwarz, Foreword in Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory. Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London and New York: Verso, 2012), ix.

<sup>14</sup> Public expression of these concerns in Australia includes the banning of certain comic books in the 1950s, debates concerning school curricula throughout the period, the Australian ‘history wars,’ the mobilization of ‘Anzac’ as a commercial entity and a nation-building rallying point, and more recent questioning of the impact of technology on children and the nature of childhood.



audience, bringing about a ‘commodification’ of the past which can intersect powerfully with the engagement of children in national historical narratives.

The commodification of Anzac in recent years, described by Australian historian Carolyn Holbrook as ‘Anzac porn,’ constructs children as consumers of the past. It is packaged within a longer tradition of concern for Australia’s image of itself as a nation.<sup>15</sup> Australian historian Anna Clark also observed this phenomenon in relation to the Centenary of Federation in 2001, commenting that while immediate factors can be identified to explain the ‘wealth of education-related literature and materials’ for ‘the implementation of federation-related activities in schools ... it’s much harder to tease out the relationship between the public and political anxieties over the past.’<sup>16</sup> Also harder to tease out are the reasons for the increased commodification of the past as a commercial enterprise at a time when a variety of leisure pursuits and curriculum demands would seem to work against such an investment. Clark’s research with students around Australia, conducted in 2006, identified a lack of engagement with their nation’s history, at least as taught at school. It was ‘repetitive’ or ‘boring’ or both.<sup>17</sup> Students’ perceptions that a knowledge of Australia’s history was important echoed the comments of the students at the Children’s History Forum, yet stood in stark contrast to apparently low levels of knowledge about events considered pivotal in Australian history, such as Federation.<sup>18</sup> These countervailing tendencies – an apparently largely apathetic or disinterested target audience, alongside a thriving historical industry – raise compelling questions about how and why the past is packaged for children in contemporary Australian society. It is these questions that suggested the intense focus on one type of historical product in this thesis as a possible approach to understanding more about the public and political anxieties associated with children and the past, one which is consistent with developments in scholarship about public and popular historiography.<sup>19</sup> As such, the thesis advances the

---

<sup>15</sup> Quoted in <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-04-15/critics-disgusted-by-vulgar-commercialisation-of-anzac-day/6395756> Accessed 17 February 2018.

<sup>16</sup> Anna Clark, *History’s Children* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2008), 26.

<sup>17</sup> Clark, 141.

<sup>18</sup> See Clark, 2.

<sup>19</sup> Historical scholarship engages with a variety of representations of the past beyond the academy, including film, television, historical novels for adults, re-enactment, heritage sites, museums, multimedia infotainment and games, and public celebrations and commemorations. Raphael Samuel and Jerome de Groot’s work remain the most comprehensive surveys of historical endeavours beyond the academy but the body of

proposition that exploring the historical work that children's historical novels and picture books perform can tell historians much about the social, political and cultural life of a society.

### **Australian children's historical novels and picture books since 1945: a new intervention**

Scholarship emanating from the History discipline on non-academic uses of the past has expanded considerably since Samuel's work in the 1990s, yet there remains little engagement with the production and consumption of historical fiction for children. Nevertheless, such an engagement, particularly when coupled with developments in public and popular history, the development of children's literature, pedagogical approaches to representing the past, how fictional elements are harnessed in representations of the past, historical fiction and national identity, and changing ideas about childhood, can yield insights into how societies construct and use the past for multiple purposes. In exploring this research landscape, looking at the points of similarity and points of difference between the specific fictional use of the past and that of academic historiography in Australia over the period since 1945, the search in Australia for a coherent and cohesive national identity alongside changing conceptions of childhood emerges as a key cultural context within which to situate such research. An initial mapping of this under-explored space indicated that this aspect of audience reception could yield understandings about the historical work that children's historical novels and picture books

---

work focusing on selected examples is extensive. Australian examples include: Michelle Arrow, *Friday on Our Minds* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2009); Michelle Arrow, "The Making History Initiative and Australian Popular History," *Rethinking History* 15, no. 2 (June 2011): 153-174; "Broadcasting the Past. Australian Television Histories," *History Australia* 8, no.1 (2011): 223-246; Michelle Arrow, "'I Just Feel It's Important to Know Exactly What He Went Through': In Their Footsteps and the Role of Emotions in Australian Television History," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 33, no. 4 (2013): 594-611; Ruth Balint, "Soft Histories. Making History on Australian Television," *History Australia* 8, no.1 (01 January 2011): 175-195; Jan Kociumbas, "Performances: Indigenisation and Postcolonial Culture," in *Cultural History in Australia*, ed.s Hsu-Ming Teo and Richard White (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2003); Iain McCalmain, *Historical Re-Enactments. Should We Take Them Seriously? Annual History Council Lecture 2007* (New South Wales: History Council of NSW, 2007); Anja Schwarz, "'Not This Year!' Reenacting Contested Pasts Aboard the Ship," *Rethinking History* 11, no. 3 (September 2007): 427-446; Hsu-Ming Teo, "Literature, History and the Imagination of Australianness," *Australian Historical Studies* 118 (2002): 127-139; Hsu-Ming Teo, "Popular History and the Chinese Martial Arts Biopic," *History Australia* 8, no. Number 1 (2011): 42-66; "History, the Holocaust and Children's Historical Fiction," *TEXT*, Special Issue Website Series, no.28 (April 2015): 1-21 [www.textjournal.com.au/speciss/issue28/Teo.pdf](http://www.textjournal.com.au/speciss/issue28/Teo.pdf); Alan Atkinson, "'He Filled Us Full of Laughter': Contact and Community in Australian Experience," in *Cultural History in Australia*, ed.s Hsu-Ming Teo and Richard White (Sydney University of New South Wales Press, 2003); Jackie Lobban, "Homogenous Heroes, Selective Memory and Exclusive Myth: Representations of War and Military History in Modern Australian and New Zealand Children's Literature." *History in the Making* 4, no.1: no page numbers.

perform, demonstrating the rich potential of pursuing this innovative approach to historiographical work.

## Principal themes

Building on the idea of the importance of including children's history in research about popular historiography and fictional historiography, a principal theme that emerged from this initial mapping for the thesis was the dual conception of 'the child' as vulnerable recipient of history education and as custodian of national narratives, as conveyed in the work of Anna Clark and Australian historian Marilyn Lake.<sup>20</sup> Their work also suggests that this dual conception of 'the child' has been intrinsic to the construction of childhood in Australian society in the post-World War Two era. In this sense, both the history of childhood and the history of children's historical fiction illuminate the intersection of ideas about children, the nation and the formation of personal and collective identities. The question of how representations of the past are constructed as a form of ethical guidance, in the Foucauldian sense, is critical in examining these points of intersection.<sup>21</sup> Given the recognition in children's literature scholarship that fiction plays a role in the socialization of children, this thesis provides an opportunity to interrogate how such ethical guidance might work in relation to children's historical fiction.

---

<sup>20</sup> See Anna Clark, "What do they teach our children?" in *The History Wars* Stuart Macintyre and Anna Clark (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2004); Marilyn Lake, "How do schoolchildren learn about the spirit of Anzac", in Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, with Mark McKenna and Joy Damousi *What's Wrong with Anzac? The Militarisation of Australian History*, (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2010).

<sup>21</sup> See Gary Gutting, ed. *The Cambridge Guide to Foucault* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Clare Bradford, "Fading to Black: Aboriginal Children in Colonial Texts," *Papers: Explorations in Children's Literature* 9, no.1 (1999):14-30. <https://www.austlit-edu-au.ezproxy.sl.nsw.gov.au/static/new/files/text/pdf/3487545737247068919-brn582185.pdf>, 1-14; Claudia Lenz, "Genealogy and Archaeology: Analyzing Generational Positioning in Historical Narratives," *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* (May/June 2011): 319-IX; Penny Russell, "Cultures of Distinction," in *Cultural History in Australia*, ed.s Hsu-Ming Teo and Richard White (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2003); Alexandra Fidyk and Kent den Heyer, "Configuring Historical Facts through Historical Fiction: Agency, Art-in-Fact, and Imagination as Stepping Stones between Then and Now," *Educational Theory* 57, no. 2 (2007): 141-157; Andrew McKnight, "Imagining Ethical Historical Consciousness: Pedagogical Possibilities and the Recent Trauma of September Eleventh," *Educational Studies* 33, no.3 (Fall 2002): 325-343; Maurice Saxby and Gordon Winch, ed.s, *Give Them Wings. The Experience of Children's Literature* (South Melbourne/Crows Nest: Macmillan, 1991).

In exploring the expansion and diversification of children's historical fiction published in Australia since 1945 in the mapping, it also became evident that children's historical fiction exhibited a second duality in relation to ideas about children and the nation: within representations of the past there were stories that subverted and stories that reaffirmed dominant national historical narratives. There was also a tendency to such a duality within individual texts. These contributed to a sense of tension within the packaging of the past for children, which formed a second principle theme for the thesis, for it is within such areas of tension that historians can find the 'discursive sites where meaning is circulated, contested and agreed' that are of most relevance to a historiography of children's fiction.<sup>22</sup> The exploration of these areas of tension demonstrates how the material culture of childhood can be used to explore broader historical and historiographical questions.

### **Ideas about childhood**

Scholarship on the history of childhood provides a critical context for shaping the approach to the historical and historiographical work presented in this thesis. In 1960, French historian Phillippe Ariès published a landmark study of childhood that introduced the idea of childhood as an ideological construct, an idea that has greatly influenced how historians look at the past experiences of children.<sup>23</sup> Following on from Ariès, Foucault's ideas on the normalizing forces brought to bear on children added a new dimension to considering their experiences in the past. Both theorists demonstrated that children are the subject of ethical governance, implemented by those charged with their upbringing, from the domestic space of the family, to the community spaces they inhabit, including institutions such as schools, and through to the national space of their country of residence.<sup>24</sup> Scholarly interest in the history of childhood (and the history of children) in the 1970s came to focus on the domestic space – parent-child relationships and 'debates about whether childhood had become better or worse.'<sup>25</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup> Marnie Hughes-Warrington *History Goes to the Movies. Studying History on Film* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 9.

<sup>23</sup> See Kate Darian-Smith and Carla Pascoe, ed.s, *Children, Childhood and Cultural Heritage*, (Routledge: London and New York 2013), 6.

<sup>24</sup> See Lesley Gallacher and Mary Kehily in Mary Kehily, ed., *Understanding Childhood: a cross-disciplinary approach* (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2013), 228-231.

<sup>25</sup> Kate Darian-Smith and Carla Pascoe point out that it is critical to distinguish between 'histories of *children*, which the actual experiences and practices of young people in the past, and histories of *childhood*, which denote the ideological concepts that adults have held of children.' See Darian-Smith and Pascoe, ed.s,

Considering more closely indicators of well-being such as levels of surveillance and control, historians in the 1980s questioned the widely-held view that ‘the experience of being a child had improved over time.’<sup>26</sup> The theoretical developments in social history, women’s history and cultural history also provided new ways of considering and analyzing the history of children and childhood.

From this foundation, then, historians’ concerns with the experiences of children have evolved to encompass a deep interrogation of their place in the past, as well as the material culture of children, which, as Kate Darian-Smith and Carla Pascoe suggest, ‘offers an alternative entry point to the cultural heritage of children and childhood.’<sup>27</sup> Historical novels and picture books are part of this cultural heritage of children and childhood, as well as part of the history of children and the history of childhood.<sup>28</sup> This thesis therefore focuses on these texts as a source of material evidence of changing conceptions of the child and childhood, aligning this scholarship with British cultural historian Ludmilla Jordanova’s methodologies for interrogating such evidence. It argues that the historical novels and picture books reflect contemporaneous adult ideas, expectations of and aspirations for children, as well as provide material evidence of how cultural heritage seeks to align traces of the past with present needs. The inclusion of children’s voices in relation to these texts also demonstrates that attention to audience reception enriches understandings of the realm of fictional historiography.

### **Historical fiction and national identity**

Nation-building and nation-defining events are dominant subjects within children’s historical fiction, a feature that is consistent with the development of children’s historical fiction in other westernized countries such as the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Canada and New Zealand. The placement of characters and development of plot within the broader

---

*Children, Childhood and Cultural Heritage*, Chapter One, for a critical overview of the emergence of representations and historiography of children and childhood.

<sup>26</sup> Darian-Smith and Pascoe, 6.

<sup>27</sup> Darian-Smith and Pascoe, 7.

<sup>28</sup> Darian-Smith and Pascoe observe: ‘Heritage is closely aligned to history, but there is an important distinction between the two. Historians increasingly recognise that the values and conditions of the past may be very different from our present times, where a key ideological underpinning of heritage is that the past is closely aligned to our own circumstances,’ Darian-Smith and Pascoe, 3.

historical context of such events is also consistent with adult historical fictions, de Groot noting that:

Historical novelists have long been interested in the discussion of nation creation; from [Walter] Scott onward the substantiation of a sense of national identity has been part of the historical writer's purpose and mode of working.<sup>29</sup>

Nevertheless, an alternative strand within the genre is the challenging of dominant national narratives, de Groot observing that historical novelists have often been concerned with the 'destruction, querying or troubling of the foundational myths of history.'<sup>30</sup> Responding to this preoccupation with questions of nation, another critical approach to the analysis of children's historical fiction is scholarship that examines a national literary endeavor – the body of historical fiction emanating from a specific country.<sup>31</sup> Nationally-oriented scholarship can focus on pivotal events in the national psyche, such as Celia Keenan's survey of Irish children's historical fiction that identifies preoccupations with the Great Famine.<sup>32</sup> Keenan draws attention to the potential for post-colonial theory to provide a useful analytical lens through which to view children's historical fiction. Similarly, Craig Howes uses Orientalism as a theoretical lens to demonstrate how cultural stereotyping is linked to the construction of national identity in children's historical fiction set in Hawaii.<sup>33</sup>

Questions of national identity have occupied scholarly attention in relation to the emergence of the Scholastic Press historical journal series. Kim Wilson has examined the American, Canadian, New Zealand and Australian series, concluding that these 'structurally identical texts are very different in the values they promote.' She argues, moreover, that the texts

---

<sup>29</sup> de Groot, *The Historical Novel*, 140.

<sup>30</sup> de Groot, 14.

<sup>31</sup> See, for example, Sanne Parlevliet "Bring up the children: national and religious identity and identification in Dutch children's historical novels 1848-c.1870" *History of Education*, 43, no.4 (2014): 468-486.

<sup>32</sup> Celia Keenan "Reflecting a New Confidence: Irish Historical Fiction for Children," *The Lion and the Unicorn*, 21, no.3 (1 September 1997): 369-378.

<sup>33</sup> Craig Howes "Hawaii through Western Eyes: Orientalism and Historical Fiction for Children," *The Lion and the Unicorn* 11, no.1 (June 1987): 66-87.

‘function adeptly as vehicles for the promotion and perpetuation of national identity and nation building.’<sup>34</sup> However, while acknowledging the critiques of literary scholars such as Wilson, this thesis considers questions of national identity slightly differently, seeking to place the ethical dimension of historical novels and picture books within broader debates about how the past is represented over time and the associated implications for the conceptualization of childhood, thus bringing together its two principle themes.

### **Reframing fictional representations of the past for children: taking a longer-term view**

Taking the idea of comparing fictional historiography with that of academic historiography, this thesis also traces how Australia’s past has been reframed over time by creators of children’s historical novels and picture books. For example, the way colonial history is depicted in novels of the 1950s is compared to novels of the twenty-first century for what this can tell us about both the history of fictional representations of the past and broader historical questions around social, cultural and political life. By considering historical fiction over time, it is possible to engage with the trajectory of academic historiographies, providing a point of connection in understanding interactions between academic history and historical fictions. Interrogating texts spanning seventy years enables identification of these positions over time. The thesis thus contributes to conversations about how history is remade in ‘contemporary historical fictions’ and how it has been remade in the past, in what I term ‘contemporaneous historical fictions.’ In this way, the historicity of children’s historical novels and picture books is made visible, as is the historically contingent nature of these texts.

Accordingly, the thesis is more concerned with defining how language, illustrations, subjects, plot, characterization, themes and other narrative and marketing strategies operate to perform historical work than it is with exploring the parameters of the historical fiction genre for children from a conventional literary perspective. In considering children’s historical novels and picture books as part of the genre of historical fiction, it becomes apparent that it is within these patterns, or their disruptors, that the historiographical significance of this material is evident.

---

<sup>34</sup> Kim Wilson, *Re-Visioning Historical Fiction for Young Readers. The Past Through Modern Eyes* (Routledge: New York and London, 2011), 111.

## Methodology

My concern in this thesis is fictional representations of Australia's past in the form of novels and picture books written by Australian authors for children, published from 1945 to 2015. Existing bibliographic works and literary histories which include historical fiction as a genre of children's literature have provided an entry point into this material.<sup>35</sup> The texts collected for study are those most accessible through conventional catalogue searching since these are the products that are most readily available to the public. They have also passed at least some degree of professional editorial review, unlike unpublished/self-published books. School readers are also not included. Although such texts may contribute to a deeper understanding of history-making for children, their explicit link to schooling would skew the analysis of the corpus unduly towards pedagogy, perhaps masking or diluting other aspects of the historical tasks carried out by the material.

The catalogue searches have allowed the creation of a collection of novels and picture books underpinned by the common intention to construct a representation of Australia's past. Borrowing a term used in discourse analysis to describe such a collection of thematically related texts for the purposes of analysis, this collection is considered in this thesis as a *corpus*.<sup>36</sup> The corpus encompasses 375 children's novels and picture books written by Australian authors on Australian historical subjects between 1945 and 2015, including 160 published since 2000.<sup>37</sup> They are titles with an intended audience younger than thirteen years of age, the time at which most Australian children transition from primary to high school. I therefore define children as five to thirteen years of age, in line with the most usual age for

---

<sup>35</sup> See Brenda Niall, "Children's Literature," *Australian Literary Studies* 13, no.4 (1988): 547-559. <https://www.austlit-edu-au.ezproxy.sl.nsw.gov.au/static/new/files/text/pdf/3222457039226241243-brn95736.pdf> : 1-7; Niall, *Australia Through the Looking-Glass*; Saxby, *Offered to Children*; Saxby *Images of Australia*; Maurice Saxby and Glenys Smith, *First Choice. A Guide to the Best Books for Australian Children* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1991).

<sup>36</sup> Brian Paltridge, *Discourse Analysis. An Introduction* (London and New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2010).

<sup>37</sup> A full listing of the texts is presented in Appendix A.



undertaking primary school and with statutory and other official definitions.<sup>38</sup> Although there is no universally accepted definition of ‘child’ this presents less of a challenge than defining what is meant by an historical novel or picture book. Applying Marxist literary theorist and historian Gyorgy Lukacs’ idea of the historical novel as a work of fiction that conveys the essence or spirit of a time, at the most basic level, the books were selected because they provide a representation of an earlier time.<sup>39</sup> While not exhaustive, the collection is nevertheless comprehensive, enabling an interrogation of the historical work that these types of texts perform across time. This interrogation is conducted at two levels, firstly through a broad survey of the corpus, and secondly through close readings of a number of selected texts.

### **How ‘fiction inflects the historical’**

The thesis views representations of the past in historical fiction from the perspective of the discipline of History but recognizes the value of understanding more about how the elements of fiction such as setting, characterization and plot contribute to portraying the past in children’s novels and picture books, or, as de Groot describes it ‘how the fictional element of the relationship inflects the historical – rather than the other way around.’<sup>40</sup> The developments in broad approaches to representing the past across the body of historical novels and picture books, combined with how particular subjects are represented over time, provides insights into changing – or stable – ethical frameworks that in turn provide insights into the

---

<sup>38</sup> As the Australian Bureau of Statistics points out, there is no universally accepted definition of ‘child’ and the definition can also vary within different jurisdictions, as well as changing over time. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, for example, considers children to be aged below 18 years. Similarly, seventeen years is the legislated age of criminal responsibility in all states except Queensland, where it is sixteen, meaning those aged below eighteen are considered juveniles. However, the idea of ‘youth’ has led to the use of the age range of 15 to 24 years to describe this category. The ABS uses the distinction between primary and secondary schooling for education statistics. Given the links between debates about school curricula and history, I have selected the years of pre-school (approximately ages three to five years) and primary school (Kindergarten to Year Six – five to twelve years) to define ‘child/children’ for my analysis. Prior to pre-school, children are considered infants and generally at a pre-literate stage. See “Conventions of the Rights of the Child,” United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, accessed 21 January 2016, <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CRC.aspx>; “Browse statistics,” ABS, accessed 21 January 2016, <http://www.abs.gov.au/websitedbs/c311215.nsf/web/Children+and+Youth+Statistics+-+Using+Children+and+Youth+Statistics>; and “The age of criminal responsibility,” Australian Institute of Criminology, accessed 26 July 2018, <https://aic.gov.au/publications/cfi/cfi106>.

<sup>39</sup> See Gyorgy Lukacs, *The Theory of the Novel. A Historico-Philosophical Essay on the Forms of Great Epic Literature*, trans. Anna Bostock (Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1971).

<sup>40</sup> Jerome de Groot *Remaking History. The Past in Contemporary Historical Fictions*, (Oxon and New York, Routledge, 2016), 3.

contemporaneous cultural, social and political landscapes in which these texts are read. One example of this type of scholarship is research that takes the fictional representations of the Holocaust for children as a subject. Cultural historian and novelist Hsu-Ming Teo observes that such texts encompass representations that are ‘highly self-conscious’ and that their pervasiveness has created an ‘etiquette’ that governs fictional representations of this aspect of the past.<sup>41</sup> This concept of an etiquette is mobilized in the close readings undertaken in Part 2 of the thesis.

The range of plot techniques used by writers provide an opportunity to interrogate how authors have understood the past in their books. The artifice of timeslip, for example, involves characters moving from one temporal dimension to another, most usually from the present to the past and back again. In such texts, the contrast between the dimensions suggests Edward Said’s concept of *Otherness* where the past is represented as, in David Lowenthal’s terms, a foreign country.<sup>42</sup> In looking at timeslip narratives in Australia and New Zealand, Claudia Marquis provides a pertinent example of applying concepts about fictional representations of the past as acts of history-making.<sup>43</sup> She attaches the idea of fantasy to such narratives, the past becoming ‘an alternative reality to possess and explore’ but argues more strongly for the idea that such texts are, in fact, more concerned with presenting history as ‘a lived experience’, with a focus on the ‘world of quotidian reality.’<sup>44</sup> In doing so, she demonstrates how such literature is implicated in the post-World War Two shifts in historiography documented and analysed by Samuel in *Theatres of Memory*, moving the historian’s gaze from great men and deeds to that of everyday life.<sup>45</sup> Interrogating how the fiction inflects the historical thus reveals those aspects of the past that writers believe require embellishment to breathe life into the historical record.

---

<sup>41</sup> Hsu-Ming Teo, “Fictional Histories and Historical Fictions”, *Rethinking History*, 2, no.2 (June 2011): 7.

<sup>42</sup> David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Edward Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (London: Penguin Books, 2003).

<sup>43</sup> Claudia Marquis “Haunted Histories: Timeslip Narratives in the Antipodes” *Papers* 18, no.2 (2008): 58-64.

<sup>44</sup> Claudia Marquis, “Haunted Histories,” 58, 59.

<sup>45</sup> Claudia Maquis, “Haunted Histories,” 59.

### **A broad survey of historical novels and picture books**

In interpreting the corpus that I have created, a broad survey is conducted, looking at how authors use literary and historical techniques to weave representations of the past into the stories told. I ask what historical work is being performed within individual texts and across the corpus. In locating a fictional narrative in a specific time in the past, authors use various peritextual strategies, such as quoted dialogue, diary extracts, letters, newspaper clippings, descriptions of clothing, food, customs, places and events, to embed historical referents in the text, part of the ‘extra-diagetic textual incursion into the imagination of the reader.’<sup>46</sup> The historical note, as well as paratextual information such as websites, acknowledgements, drawings, photographs, maps, glossaries of unfamiliar words and terms and references work to further authenticate a novel or picture book as historical. In doing so, these techniques form part of the discursive strategies employed to represent the past. Informed by academic scholarship on children’s literature, my analysis of the corpus seeks historical and historiographical understanding through identifying the subjects, themes, visual and literary strategies employed by authors, as well as placing texts within their social, cultural and historiographical settings.

### **Close readings**

As research that is concerned with exploring and trialing methodological approaches to ‘fictional historiography,’ this thesis also offers a second, more innovative approach to the study of non-academic, fictional representations of the past in considering novels and picture books as historical artefacts as well as considering how to analyse these texts as examples of history-making – as historical projects in their own right. As Hsu-Ming Teo has shown in relation to children’s historical fiction about the Holocaust and adult historical romance fiction about the harem, a close reading of a single text can yield rich insights into public and popular representations of the past and where such texts sit in relation to academic history.<sup>47</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup> de Groot *Remaking History*, 42.

<sup>47</sup> See Teo “Historical Fictions” and “History, the Holocaust and children’s historical fiction,” *TEXT*, 19, no.1 (2015): 1-21.

In the close readings, I employ Jordanova's approach to analyzing past visual and material culture, considering historical novels and picture books as objects constructed and used by people, yet also existing within a broader framework of cultural production.<sup>48</sup> Jordanova's approach entails carefully examining the circumstances of the production and reception of texts, as well as their content and appearance. In terms of fictional historiography, we might then ask of the production of a text 'Who did what, in what context and with what historical significance?'<sup>49</sup> Instead of seeing a list of book titles or books on shelves, we might reconstruct the texts as a form of human activity offering representations of the past. We might think of these texts as Samuel envisaged – as a form of 'literary production' that shows 'history is the work of a thousand different hands.'<sup>50</sup> The 'who' may extend beyond the author or illustrator to also include others involved in the publication process, including research assistants, editors, publishers, booksellers. Moving beyond the narrative to the contemporaneous world of a text and the complex workings of agency and spectatorship provides a way of assessing authorial intentions and the potential impact of these re-visioned representations of the past.

### **Historiography and audience research: including children's voices**

Mobilising the idea of audience reception of historical products, the thesis also demonstrates the possibility and value of including children in historiographical work. My approach is based on the conviction that children are historical actors, consumers of history, and even producers of historical work. They are implicated in the development of a nation's history and exert agency within the development of a nation's historical understandings. The qualitative research conducted for the thesis, which drew upon Teo's approach to audience reception, involved activities and interviews with children about historical fiction and learning about the past beyond the classroom, and tests these premises through a small-scale pilot study, presented in Chapter Nine.<sup>51</sup>

---

<sup>48</sup> See Ludmilla Jordanova *History in Practice* (Bloomsbury Academic, London and New York, 2006) – drawn to my attention by Jerome de Groot *Consuming History*.

<sup>49</sup> Jordanova, 53.

<sup>50</sup> See Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, Chapter One.

<sup>51</sup> See Hsu-Ming Teo, "Orientalism and mass market romance novels in the twentieth century" in *Edward Said: The Legacy of a Public Intellectual*, ed.s Ned Curthoys and Debjani Ganguly (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2007), 241-262.

Harnessing social research methodologies has emerged in historical research as an integral part of historians seeking to understand more about how the past is used in contemporary society and the pilot study utilizes these approaches.<sup>52</sup> Most recently, an Australian survey asked participants to identify the ten events of greatest national significance that have taken place during their lifetime, following a similar survey conducted in the United States.<sup>53</sup> Of most relevance to this thesis is the previously mentioned work conducted by Anna Clark, firstly in 2006 with secondary school students, teachers, and ‘curriculum officials’ about their knowledge of and engagement with the teaching of history at school.<sup>54</sup> Clark acknowledged the omission of younger children from this study, noting nevertheless that those ‘as young as nine or ten have opinions about their nation’s past that warrant further investigation.’<sup>55</sup> In a later study in 2009, she interviewed a cross section of Australians to find out more about ‘everyday historical consciousness to gauge popular engagement with the history wars.’<sup>56</sup> The group interviews were with adults and teenagers from various backgrounds, but, as in the earlier study, still did not include children. Her method, which she has named ‘oral historiography,’ combined ‘techniques of oral history, focus group work and qualitative analysis in order to ‘investigate different understandings of the past beyond the conventional spheres of academic or public debate.’<sup>57</sup> It nevertheless suggested a way forward for including children in the conversations around the contestation of national history and national identity, both within the context of the history wars and in broader discussions around children’s interaction with history in and beyond the classroom.

---

<sup>52</sup> See, for example, Paula Hamilton and Paul Ashton, *History at the Crossroads. Australians and the Past* (New South Wales: Halstead Press, 2007); Lyn Leader-Elliott, “Community Heritage Interpretation Games: A Case Study from Angaston, South Australia,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 11, no.2 (May 2005): 161-171; Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen *The Presence of the Past. Popular Uses of History in American Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

<sup>53</sup> Darren Pennay, Frank Bongiorno, and Paul Myers, “The Life in Australia Historic Events Survey: Australians name the 10 most Significant Historic Events of their Lifetime”, *Topline Report* (Canberra, ACT: Social Research Centre, Australian National University, 2018), [http://cdn.srcentre.com.au/le2017/documents/SRC\\_HES\\_Topline\\_Report.pdf](http://cdn.srcentre.com.au/le2017/documents/SRC_HES_Topline_Report.pdf). Accessed 28 March 2018.

<sup>54</sup> Anna Clark, *History’s Children* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2008), 8.

<sup>55</sup> Clark, *History’s Children*, 9.

<sup>56</sup> Anna Clark, “Ordinary People’s History,” *History Australia* 9, no.1 (2016): 202.

<sup>57</sup> Anna Clark *Private Lives. Public History* (South Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 2016),

This step forward in terms of the suggested ‘further investigation’ of children’s opinions was taken during the research conducted for this thesis. In doing so, it was Clark’s work that most deeply informed my thinking about how children’s voices might join those of older ‘ordinary Australians’ in conversations about historical consciousness, national historical narratives and ‘everyday, vernacular historical engagement.’<sup>58</sup> However, in seeking to include children in such investigations, in addition to Clark’s work, I also turned to examples of social research with children in fields such as leisure studies, cultural studies and curriculum studies. These are discussed in Chapters Two and Nine.

## **Thesis structure**

The thesis moves from a broad historical and historiographical perspective to an intensive focus on its central argument: that close engagement with texts as historical projects and direct research with the audience can, and should, be an integral component of popular and fictional historiography within the discipline of History. It falls into three distinct analytical parts, each containing one or more chapters. *Part One: children’s historical novels and picture books as an historical and historiographical subject* explores how children’s historical novels and picture books can be conceptualised and analysed as a subject for history and historiography. In this exploration, I show how these texts are historically contingent and may be considered material evidence of the past as well as providing representations of the past. In Chapter One I present the research landscape within which I situate this conceptualization. In Chapter Two, I present the research methodology that I developed to grapple with the central concern of this thesis: to trial approaches to fictional historiography that facilitate analysis of children’s historical novels and picture books and demonstrate that they are a subject of interest in understanding more about uses of the past beyond the academy.

Following on from the idea that historicizing children’s historical novels and picture books is of scholarly interest, Chapter Three traces the origins of the historical novel, children’s literature, children’s historical fiction, and Australian literature for adults in Australia from the

---

<sup>58</sup> Clark, *Private Lives*, 137.

colonial era until the end of World War Two. These developments are placed within the context of ideas about the ethical guidance of children through informal education and the formal education system, establishing the deep cultural context of the corpus. Exploring this deep cultural context is shown to enhance understanding of the texts as a subject for Australian historical research, both as material evidence of the past – as well as a subject of Australian historiography: material evidence of how Australians have written about the nation's past (in fiction and non-fiction).

Chapter Four goes on to provide a broad overview of the evolution of the corpus and demonstrates that an increase in the number of texts and engagement with a multiplicity of topics are two fundamental aspects of the post-war development of children's historical fiction. I argue that these aspects of the corpus' history are best understood by situating them within three critical spaces in the post-war period: the development of the publishing industry; an increasing interest in history beyond the academy; and private and public aspirations in the ethical guidance of children.

In Chapter Five, I begin the more intensive focus on possibilities for teasing out the historical work that is taking place within children's historical novels and picture books, exploring how the selected techniques of the fiction writer inflect the history embedded in Australian children's novels and picture books. In identifying the considerable shifts across time in how authors use various narrative elements to create their representations of the past, I argue that an initial stability of form has been replaced by a diversity that sits within the broader context of historiographical developments in the academy, in pedagogy and in public and popular culture, as well as within the changes that have taken place in the space of childhood.

Mindful of Jordanova's ideas regarding spectatorship and agency, Chapter Six explores approaches to publishing and marketing of children's historical fiction since 1945. It considers in detail the development of visual elements in the corpus, the emergence of the historical series, the increasing use of paritextual/supplementary products in the offering of fictional representations of Australia's past to children, and publications by government and non-government organisations. These aspects of packaging the past for children are placed within

the broader context of economic, social, cultural and political developments. I conclude that they reflect the aspirational dimension of children's literature, while resonating in significant ways with the changes in the History discipline in the latter decades of the twentieth century.

To further understand the nuances of children's historical fiction and to test a methodological approach to working with fiction in historiographical analysis, *Part Two: Close Readings of selected themes – towards a richer understanding of the complexity of the historical projects embedded within historical fiction* looks at the emergence of two aspects of historical representation in the corpus. The concept of the 'etiquette' is applied to the analysis of the historical novels and picture books, drawing upon Teo's work on children's Holocaust fiction. Ideas of agency and spectatorship as ways of entering the worlds of the texts are also pursued. The chapter shows how the two key themes – the duality of the vulnerable child/child custodian and the duality of writing for or against the grain of dominant national narratives – provide a useful way of thinking about these fictional representations of the past.

Applying this insight, Chapter Seven identifies four key ways in which writers of children's historical fiction, primarily from the late twentieth century onwards, have approached writing about war: life on the home-front; experiences of going to war and the theatres of war; the immediate aftermath of war; and commemorating war. It shows how the evolution of more diverse fictional renderings of war and its impact resonate with the development of military histories that focus on the social, cultural and emotional dimensions of those people whose lives have been affected by war.<sup>59</sup> It also shows how the historical projects of writers resonate yet also contest the mobilization of Anzac as a national narrative. I argue that the historical work performed reflects the idea of children as vulnerable learners who are also expected to be custodians of selected representations of the nation's past.

Continuing with the close reading approach, Chapter Eight examines selected children's historical novels and picture books that take the Stolen Generations as their subject.<sup>60</sup> Through

---

<sup>59</sup> See Peter Stanley, "War Without End" in *Australian History Now*, ed.s Anna Clark and Paul Ashton (Sydney, New South Publishing 2013), 90-106.

<sup>60</sup> The *Bringing Them Home* Report states: 'Nationally we can conclude with confidence that between one in three and one in ten Indigenous children were forcibly removed from their families and communities in the



the lens of emotion, it explores how and why authors of historical fiction conflate realism based on historical research with the imagined inner worlds of the characters, using poetic license and the willing suspension of disbelief, to contend that their novel or picture book provides reliable information about the past at the same time as providing insights into the feelings and motivations that may have influenced the behavior of people in the past. In this chapter, the recent work of Peter Stearns on children and emotions, a unique connection of ideas about the challenges involved in both emotions history and the history of childhood, is critical.<sup>61</sup>

*In Part Three: developing new approaches to analysing fictional representations of the past*, the thesis takes the step forward in historiography in undertaking investigation of younger children's engagement with representations of the past. Chapter Nine describes and discusses a pilot study conducted with fourteen children to explore their responses to a sample of historical fiction. This is placed within the broader context of other ways in which they learn about the past. In doing so, I contend that incorporating a sociological dimension to historiographical research provides an opportunity for analysis of historical products from the perspective of the intended consumer (in this case children). The thesis concludes with a call to the academy to recognize the value of exploring popular uses of the past through the products produced and consumed for this purpose.

## Conclusion

The emergence and popularity of applied approaches to history has democratised access to both the means of producing history and the ability to consume a vast array of goods and services, offering a plethora of alternatives to academic products. Yet, as Stuart Macintyre asserts: 'the influence of academic historians over the production and consumption of history

---

period from approximately 1910 until 1970. In certain regions and in certain periods the figure was undoubtedly much greater than one in ten. In that time not one Indigenous family has escaped the effects of forcible removal (confirmed by representatives of the Queensland and WA Governments in evidence to the Inquiry). Most families have been affected, in one or more generations, by the forcible removal of one or more children.' "Bringing the home - preliminary," Australian Human Rights Commission, accessed 18 July 2018, <https://www.humanrights.gov.au/publications/bringing-them-home-preliminary>.

<sup>61</sup> See Peter N. Stearns, 'Obedience and Emotion: A Challenge in the Emotional History of Childhood' *Journal of Social History*, 47, no.3, (Spring 2014): 593-611; Peter N. Stearns, *Childhood in World History* (London: Routledge, 2010).

is probably weaker now than at any time in the past half-century.’<sup>62</sup> Nevertheless, these acts of making and consuming history beyond the academy suggests that there is an urgent need for developing alternative historiographic interpretive frameworks capable of exploring why and how people make history and what their historical products reveal about conceptions of the past, within the academy. Still, as Ashton and Hamilton observe, the making of history can no longer be viewed as merely an intellectual exercise:

History making activities allow people to structure themselves in time and space and to make the past familiar: the purpose of their history work is make connections with the past and to bring the past into the present .... History, in this sense, is as much about identification – about empathetic understanding and intimate connection – as it is about interpretation.<sup>63</sup>

The growth in alternative approaches to academic history demonstrates that public and popular history cannot remain a marginal aspect of Australian historiography but are rather to be seen as providing an opportunity to add a new dimension to Australian historiography. This thesis aims to be a contribution to this academic space.

---

<sup>62</sup> Macintyre and Clark, *The History Wars*, 16.

<sup>63</sup> Ashton and Hamilton, *History at the Crossroads*, 19.

## **Part 1**

### **Children's Historical Novels and Picture Books as an Historical and Historiographical Subject**



# Chapter 1

## ‘Fictional historiography’ – the Research Landscape

### Introduction

For some historians, the use of the past beyond the academy has been, and remains, a matter of concern rather than interest. Various forms of public history have been questioned and critiqued, including reality television, reenactments, cinematic and television films and mini-series, creative non-fiction, museum practices and community celebrations.<sup>1</sup> Critics of public displays of history and heritage express considerable concern about the possible implications of sentimentalized, nostalgic, misleading or manipulative representations of the past.<sup>2</sup> Other

---

<sup>1</sup> Works that provide good examples of Australian historians’ engagement with public and popular history in an Australian context are: Vanessa Agnew, “History’s Affective Turn: Historical Reenactment and Its Work in the Present,” *Rethinking History* 11, no.3, (September 2007); Michelle Arrow, *Friday on Our Minds* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2009); “The Making History Initiative and Australian Popular History,” *Rethinking History* 15, no.2 (01 June 2011): 153-174; “Broadcasting the Past. Australian Television Histories,” *History Australia* 8, no.1 (1 January 2011): 223-246; Ruth Balint “Soft Histories. Making History on Australian Television,” *History Australia* 8, no.1 (2011): 175-195; Felicity Collins, “History, Myth and Allegory in Australian Cinema,” *TRAMES* 12, no.62/57 (2008): 276-286; Felicity Collins and Louise Davis, “Disputing History, Remembering Country in the Tracker and Rabbit-Proof Fence,” *Australian Historical Studies* 37, no.128 (2006): 35-54; Bridget Griffen-Foley, “Digging up the Past. Frank Clune, Australian Historian and Media Personality,” *History Australia* 8, no.1 (2011): 127-152; Marnie Hughes-Warrington *History Goes to the Movies. Studying History on Film* (London, New York: Routledge, 2006); Marilyn Lake, ed., *Memory, Monuments and Museum. The Past in the Present* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2006); Iain McCalman “Historical Re-enactments. Should we take them seriously?” *Annual History Council Lecture 2007*, (Sydney: History Council of NSW, 2007); Clive Evans and Raymond Moore, “Pursuing the Popular in Australian History,” *Journal of Popular Culture* 33, no.1 (1999): 1-5; Amanda Nettelbeck, “The Australian Frontier in the Museum,” *Journal of Social History* 44, no.4 (Summer 2011): 1115-1128; John Rickard and Peter Spearitt “Packaging the Past? Public Histories,” *Special Issue of Australian Historical Studies* 24, no.96 (April 1991); Anja Schwarz “‘Not this year!’ Re-enacting Contested Pasts aboard The Ship,” *Rethinking History* 11, no.3 (September 2007): 427-446; Hsu-Ming Teo, “Popular History and the Chinese Martial Arts Biopic,” *History Australia* 8, no.1 (1 January 2011): 42-66.

<sup>2</sup> Critical texts here include Graeme Davison *The Use and Abuse of Australian History* (Crows Nest: Allen and Unwin, 2000); Robert Hewison and Chris Orr *The Heritage Industry. Britain in a Climate of Decline* (London: Methuen, 1987); and David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). Also see Jerome de Groot *Consuming History. Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Popular Culture* (Oxon and New Yourk: Routledge, 2008) for a discussion of heritage debates within the context of different areas of contemporary historical production beyond the academy.

academics, however, are searching for the deeper social and cultural meanings inherent within these history-making practices. British literary scholar Jerome De Groot's work is exemplary here, his groundbreaking work on the production of historical fictions, including novels, movies, and television shows setting a foundation for the field. He promulgates a view of historical fictions as products consumed by a general audience historically. Yet these products have generally been ignored as contributors to historiography and as contributors to the development of historical understandings in audiences beyond the academy.<sup>3</sup>

Whether criticising popular forms of history-making or seeking to understand it, very little research in the historiography of public and popular uses of the past encompasses the viewpoint and experiences of the end consumer or audience, whether adults or children. Australian historian Marnie Hughes-Warrington makes a similar observation in her work on historical films, commenting that 'few historical scholars have considered historical reception contexts.'<sup>4</sup> This thesis takes an interdisciplinary approach to trialing ways in which such contexts might be approached by historians seeking to understand more about the production and reception of uses of the past beyond the academy, in contemporary settings and in the past. In doing so, I pursue one of the principal aims of this thesis: to demonstrate that children's historical novels and picture books are of value as historical artefacts and should be included within the ambit of fictional historiography.

This chapter explores the academic scholarship within which children's historical novels and picture books have been situated to date, extrapolating to the broader context of scholarship on public and popular uses of the past. The purpose is to show that these texts are of interest to other academic fields and that historians can work with these understandings to begin a new conversation about their historical nature and contribution to Australian historiography beyond the academy, with a focus on the space of childhood. For example, the work of Australian literature academics such as Clare Bradford, Brenda Niall, Maurice Saxby, and Kim Wilson, demonstrate that there is an enduring interest in uses of the past in Australian children's

---

<sup>3</sup> See de Groot, *Consuming History*; de Groot *The Historical Novel* (Oxon and New York: Routledge 2010); de Groot "Empathy and Enfranchisement: Popular Histories," *Rethinking History* 10, no.3 (September 2006): 391-413.

<sup>4</sup> Hughes-Warrington. *History Goes to the Movies*, 89.

literature.<sup>5</sup> The thesis's methodology, presented in the next chapter, presents ideas about how historians might go about this task.

### **Scholarly interest in public and popular uses of the past**

Academic work in the fields of popular history and popular culture, particularly from the 1990s onwards, has provided a space for exploring uses of the past in historical novels, particularly those intended for an adult audience.<sup>6</sup> The growth in scholarly interest in historical novels has, however, as Australian historian Sarah Pinto notes, tended to take place outside the history profession until this decade. Where historians showed interest in historical novels, she suggests, the engagement was 'often made on confrontational or problematising terms.'<sup>7</sup> These terms focused on issues such as authenticity, rigour, and claims to historical authority.<sup>8</sup>

Within conversations about public and popular uses of the past, novelists' claims about the historical merits of their work have ignited debates among professional historians around the nature of historical enquiry and writing, including the differences and interplay between historical novels and academic history. To illustrate one such debate, Australian novelist Kate Grenville's comments on her approach to fictionalizing the past in her 2005 book, *The Secret River*, as well as her reflective non-fiction book *Searching for the Secret River* (2006), stimulated a debate within academic circles and the media that highlighted the serious

---

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Clare Bradford ed., *Writing the Australian Child: Texts and Contexts in Fictions for Children* (Western Australia: University of Western Australia, 1996); Fiona Collins and Judith Graham, ed.s, *Historical Fiction for Children: Capturing the Past* (Great Britain: David Fulton Publishers, 2001); John Foster, Ern Finniss and Maureen Nimmon, *Bush, City, Cyberspace: the Development of Australian Children's Literature into the Twenty First Century. Literature and Literacy for Young People. Volume 6* (Wagga Wagga: Centre for Information Studies, Charles Sturt University, 2005); Brenda Niall assisted by Frances O'Neill *Australia Through the Looking-Glass. Children's Fiction 1830-1980* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1984); Maurice Saxby *Offered to Children: A History of Australian Children's Literature 1841-1941* (Gosford: Scholastic, 1968); Maurice Saxby *The Proof of the Puddin': Australian Children's Literature 1970-1990* (Sydney: Ashton Scholastic, 1993); Maurice Saxby *Images of Australia: A History of Australian Children's Literature* (Lindfield: Scholastic Press, 2002); Maurice Saxby *A History of Australian Children's Literature 1941-1970* (Sydney: Wentworth Books, 2004); Kim Wilson *Re-visioning Historical Fiction for Young Readers. The Past Through Modern Eyes* (New York and Oxon: Routledge, 2011).

<sup>6</sup> See de Groot *Consuming History and The Historical Novel*; Agnes Heller, "The Contemporary Historical Novel," *Thesis Eleven* 106, no.1, (August 2011): 88-97; *Rethinking History* July (2005) – complete issue devoted to historical fiction.

<sup>7</sup> Sarah Pinto, "Emotional Histories and Historical Emotions: Looking at the Past in Historical Novels," *Rethinking History* 14, no.2 (June 2010): 190.

<sup>8</sup> Sarah Pinto, "Emotional Histories: Contemporary Australian Historical Fiction" (PhD diss., University of Melbourne, 2007), 115.

questions that surround the relevance, legitimacy and implications of historical novels – and their authors – when examined from a historian’s perspective.<sup>9</sup> The idea that anyone can ‘own the past,’ can take from it what they will and re-present it in different ways for different purposes, has been identified by Australian historian Inga Clendinnen as a central concern.<sup>10</sup> Effectively placing academic historians in the role of policing the past in order to ‘protect’ the wider population from contrived, distorted and manipulative history, Clendinnen stated that:

Given the power of stories, historians must be on constant alert regarding their uses, because, like their cousins the archaeologists, their obligation is to preserve the past in its least corrupt form. Citizens will go on exploiting the past for all manner of private and public enterprises, reputable and disreputable; historians will go on resisting opportunistic appropriations.<sup>11</sup>

Such a scenario suggests that historians have a moral responsibility to scrutinize, critique and even condemn fictive uses of history on the basis of corruptibility. Along with Australian historian Mark McKenna’s similar views, Clendinnen’s comments indicate a deep mistrust of historical fictions.<sup>12</sup> This mistrust could be construed as academic superiority but the issue is not that simple, Tom Griffiths commenting that:

[Clendinnen’s] reflections on the differences between history and fiction had long shaped her understanding of the peculiar moral responsibility of historical scholarship and the limits of empathy in writing about the past.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> See Kate Grenville: *The Secret River* (Melbourne: TextPub, 2005) and *Searching for the Secret River* (Edinburgh: Canongate Books, 2007. First published in Australia in 2006).

<sup>10</sup> See Inga Clendinnen, “The History Question: Who Owns the Past?” *Quarterly Essay* 23 (2006), 1-72.

<sup>11</sup> Clendinnen, “The History Question,” 64.

<sup>12</sup> For contemporaneous debates about *The Secret River* see: Clendinnen, “The History Question”; John Hirst, “Forget Modern Views When Bringing up the Past,” *The Australian* 20 March 2006, 10; Helen MacDonald, “Novel Views of History,” *The Australian* 25 March 2006, Review 14; Mark McKenna, “Comfort History,” *The Australian* 18 March 2006, Review, 15; Mark McKenna, “Writing the Past,” *Australian Financial Review* 16 December 2005, Review, 1. See also Gay Lynch, “Apocryphal Stories in Kate Grenville’s *Searching for the Secret River*,” *TEXT* 13, no.1 (April 2009).

<sup>13</sup> Tom Griffiths, *The Art of Time Travel. Historians and their Craft* (Carlton: Black Inc., 2016), 249.



Acts of deception in fiction writing or non-fiction writing matter because they breach the reader's trust and create untrustworthy representations of the past. Even adults express dismay and anger over being misled, as evidenced in the reaction to the false authenticity in Helen Demidenko's 1994 novel *The Hand that Signed the Paper*,<sup>14</sup> and conversations around Peter Carey's 2000 novel *The True History of the Kelly Gang*, to identify but two examples.<sup>15</sup> Yet the elusiveness of truly knowing the past makes it difficult to attribute its safekeeping to one group, no matter how trustworthy and professional they may be. Are there really any guarantees that all historians will resist 'opportunistic appropriations'? As Christine de Matos observes, academic historians are also writing historical fiction, a turn that stimulates even more questions about uses of the past.<sup>16</sup> Some historians are themselves questioning the nature and purpose of academic history, suggesting that instead of writing for a limited audience, scholarship can be reshaped to appeal to a broader population. American historian Robert A. Rosenstone argues that '[p]eople are hungry for the past' and that historians can play a role in conveying 'why the past can talk meaningfully to us today.'<sup>17</sup> He proposes that:

We must tell stories about the past that matter not just to us; we must make them matter to the larger culture. We must paint, write, film, dance, hip hop and rap the past in a way that makes the tragedies and joys of the human voyage meaningful to the contemporary world.<sup>18</sup>

Interrogating historical products for children – how the non-academic world packages the past for a young audience – provides another perspective on the nature and impact of alternative approaches to representing the past in the space of childhood.

---

<sup>14</sup> *The Hand that signed the Paper* was published under the pen name Helen Demidenko. The author was named Helen Darville at birth and is now known by her married name Helen Dale.

<sup>15</sup> See Laurence James Clancy "Selective History of the Kelly Gang: Peter Carey's Ned Kelly," *Overland*, 175 (Winter 2004): 53-58; Ann Curthoys 'History and Identity' in *Creating Australia. Changing Australian History*, ed.s Geoffrey Bolton and Wayne Hudson (St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1997): 23-36; Lisa Fletcher and Elizabeth Mead "Inheriting the Past: Peter Corris's 'The Journal of Fletcher Christian' and Peter Carey's 'True History of the Kelly Gang'," *The Journal of Commonwealth History* 45, no.2 (2010): 189-206; Griffiths *The Art of Time Travel*; Pinto, "Emotional Histories," 114-122 and 176-195 for analysis of *The Secret River* and *True History of the Kelly Gang* respectively.

<sup>16</sup> See de Matos, C. 'Fictorians: historians who 'lie' about the past, and like it', *TEXT*, (April 2015): 1-20.

<sup>17</sup> Robert A. Rosenstone, "Space for the Bird to Fly," in *Manifestoes for History*, ed.s Keith Jenkins, Sue Morgan, and Alun Munslow (London, USA, Canada: Routledge, 2007), 17.

<sup>18</sup> Rosenstone, "Space for the Bird," 17.

The emergence of historical fictions as a subject for scholarly interest has taken place within philosophical debates about the nature of history and destabilization of the past in historical novels. As de Groot observes, historical fiction might be considered a ‘disruptive genre’ that has ‘queried, interrogated and complicated fixed ideas of selfhood, historical progression, and objectivity.’<sup>19</sup> Linda Hutcheon offers a further perspective on post-modern developments in fictional representations of the past, observing that:

In problematising almost everything the historical novel once took for granted, historiographic metafiction destabilises received notions of both history and fiction.<sup>20</sup>

As I will argue in this thesis, my corpus reflects a greater stability in form than has characterized the historical (literary) novel for adults. Nevertheless, significant shifts have occurred that are consistent with a destabilization of children’s historical novels and picture books: not quite as radical and confronting as in adult historical fictions but nonetheless reshaping this form of cultural production for children in important ways.

Integral to the reshaping of Australian cultural production since the 1970s has been a more strident challenge to accepted ‘truths’ within representations of the past.<sup>21</sup> How the past is presented and accepted has thus emerged as a critical issue within historical and literary theory, Hutcheon referring to American historian Hayden White’s argument that ‘only by narrativizing the past will we accept it as “true”.’<sup>22</sup> That ‘History’ is inevitably a reconstruction of the past, a reconstruction made for many different reasons and purposes, suggests that impartiality and detachment is just as impossible for the non-fiction writer as the fiction writer, for the historian as for the historical novelist. As Hutcheon observes:

---

<sup>19</sup> de Groot, *The Historical Novel*, 139.

<sup>20</sup> Linda Hutcheon, *A Poetics of Postmodernism. History, Theory, Fiction* (London: Routledge, 1988), 120.

<sup>21</sup> See Pinto, “Emotional Histories,” 75.

<sup>22</sup> Hutcheon, *A Poetics of Postmodernism*, 143.

History as narrative account, then, is unavoidably figurative, allegorical, fictive; it is always textualised, always already interpreted.<sup>23</sup>

The history/fiction divide becomes especially problematic in academic and public debates when claims are put forward regarding the supposed superiority of one form of representing the past over the other: that fiction, for example, can better represent the past. In children's literature, as I will explore, the friction becomes more intense because younger readers are perceived as vulnerable and the purpose of the fiction is constructed as not just entertainment but also education and socialisation.

### **Children's historical fiction as a form of literature**

The academic consideration of children's historical fiction has sat primarily within the field of literary studies, broadly developing within the same trajectory as scholarship on children's literature. Analysis of children's historical fiction in literary scholarship tends to focus on broad approaches to representing the past, specific subjects, plot techniques and the construction of national identity. Brenda Niall's *Australia Through the Looking Glass: Children's Fiction 1830-1980* provides the most comprehensive analysis of how Australian children's authors have engaged with and represented the past. Clare Bradford's scholarship places uses of the past within theoretical frameworks such as post-colonialism and the construction of childhood.<sup>24</sup> Maurice Saxby's surveys of Australian children's literature identify historically-oriented texts but are more descriptive than analytical regarding uses of the past.<sup>25</sup> More recently, Australian literature scholar Kim Wilson's work on the ideological dimensions of historical fiction has included analysis of Australian texts.<sup>26</sup>

---

<sup>23</sup> Hutcheon, 143.

<sup>24</sup> Clare Bradford: "Representing Indigeneity: Aborigines and Australian Children's Literature Then and Now," *Ariel*, no.1 (January 1997): 89-99; "Fading to Black: Aboriginal Children in Colonial Texts," *Papers: Explorations in Children's Literature*, no.1 (1999): 14-30. [https://www.austlit.edu-au/ezproxy.sl.nsw.gov.au/static/new/files/text/pdf/3487545737247068919-brn582185.pdf](https://www.austlit.edu.au/ezproxy.sl.nsw.gov.au/static/new/files/text/pdf/3487545737247068919-brn582185.pdf) 1-14. *Reading Race. Aboriginality in Australian Children's Literature* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2001); and ed., *Writing the Australian Child. Texts and Contexts in Fictions for Children* (Western Australia: University of Western Australia, 1996).

<sup>25</sup> Maurice Saxby, *Offered to Children; The Proof of the Puddin'.*

<sup>26</sup> Kim Wilson, "The Past Re-Imagined: Memory and Representations of Power in Historical Fiction for Children," *International Research in Children's Literature* 1, no.2 (December 2008): 111-124; "The Past through Modern Eyes: Ways of Re-Visioning Historical Fiction for Young People" (PhD diss., Macquarie University, 2009); "Living History Fiction," *Papers: Explorations in Children's Literature* 20, no.1 (2010): 77-

Wilson has made a major contribution to understanding the complexities of defining and categorizing children's historical fiction, considering both Australian and non-Australian novels.<sup>27</sup> One of her key propositions is that the prominent Scholastic Inc multinational series of historical fiction, which use the form of a personal journal, are often ahistorical, presenting a contemporary view of past events whilst purporting to offer a 'true' window into the past.<sup>28</sup> Authors, she argues, are fully implicated in this lack of 'fidelity to the past.'<sup>29</sup> Even worse than historical deception, Wilson asserts, is that 'historical fiction, because of its simultaneous claim to fact and imagination, can be a powerful and cunning mode of propaganda.'<sup>30</sup> This is a strong claim that is not tested by specific research with children regarding how they view these texts or how they are influenced by reading the texts. She also does not interrogate the intentions of those people writing and producing the texts. Accordingly, it is difficult to assess Wilson's argument that the novels in the Scholastic Series are important to study because of the 'journals' propensity to be considered by their readers as true.<sup>31</sup> And even if child readers do tend to believe in the veracity of the novels, does this mean the texts are propaganda?

This thesis advances the idea that research that makes claims on behalf of children should attempt to include their perspectives, consistent with educationalist Vasiliki Tzibazi's grounded theory-based methodology that acknowledges children as research participants, with a right to 'to be informed, involved and consulted about all activities that affect their lives.'<sup>32</sup> In asserting, for example, that children's historical fiction is characterized by a 'humanistic metanarrative of positive progression,' Wilson assumes a very specific reader response yet the

---

86; *Re-Visioning Historical Fiction for Young Readers. The Past through Modern Eyes* (New York and Oxon: Routledge, 2011).

<sup>27</sup> Wilson "Living History Fiction," 77

<sup>28</sup> Scholastic Inc is a multinational educational publisher and bookseller for children. See <http://www.scholastic.com.au/corporate/>. The historical journal series is published in Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America, consistent with Scholastic's multinational publishing reach. Each country's series is based on a set style and format but the subjects and themes differ. The first titles in the Australian series were published in 2000.

<sup>29</sup> Kim Wilson, "Are they telling us the truth? Constructing national character in the Scholastic historical journal series," *Children's Literature Association* 32, no.2 (Summer 2007): 138.

<sup>30</sup> Wilson "The Past Re-imagined," 111.

<sup>31</sup> Wilson, "Are they telling us the truth?" 129.

<sup>32</sup> Vasiliki Tzibazi, 'Museum Theatre: Children's Reading of 'First Person Interpretation' in Museums' in *People and Their Pasts. Public History Today*, ed.s Hilda Kean and Paul Ashton (United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 169.

reception of these novels by children is not interrogated.<sup>33</sup> Do, for example, children really think that the past is inherently a worse place than contemporary society? Do children read these novels as factual stories, focusing on the characters and the narrative, or do they consider the themes more deeply, including comparing past and present? Do these novels exert a powerful influence on children's historical consciousness?

In testing the claim of positive progression in the close readings in Chapters Seven and Eight, I agree that it is inevitable that the novels do look 'at the past through modern eyes,' for authors cannot but write from within their own time.<sup>34</sup> I suggest, however, that this modern outlook is expressed more as a desire to offer engaging stories that give life and voice to representative children whose function is to act as conduits to the past than it is to propagandise. I suggest that novelists are less concerned about elevating the culture of the present or an ideology, than they are about establishing connections with their readers, giving children characters to whom they can relate, for without this connection children will probably put the book aside. This concept of connecting modern readers with the past is explored in my qualitative research

### **Teaching children about the past: pedagogy and politics**

Researchers with an interest in the pedagogical potential and impact of historical fiction have made a significant contribution to scholarship considering children's historical fiction. Pedagogically-oriented scholarship exhibits a strong concern with the value of using historical fiction as a teaching resource and sharing programs and practices with other teachers.<sup>35</sup> The scholarship also considers pedagogical applications of concepts such as historical empathy, historical consciousness, and authenticity.<sup>36</sup> In the field of education history, historians

---

<sup>33</sup> See also Wilson: "Are they Telling us the Truth?"; "The Past Re-imagined,"; "Living History Fiction,"; and *Re-visioning Historical Fiction*.

<sup>34</sup> See Wilson, "The Past Through Modern Eyes,".

<sup>35</sup> See Suzette Youngs and Frank Serafini, "Comprehension Strategies for Reading Historical Fiction Picture Books", *Reading Teacher* 65, No.2 October (2011): 115-124.

<sup>36</sup> See Eric Groce and Robin Groce "Authenticating Historical Fiction: Rationale and Process," *Education Research and Perspectives*, 32, no.1 (2005): 99-119; Erin McTigue, Elaine Thornton and Patricia Wiese, "Authentication Projects for Historical Fiction: Do You Believe it?" *Reading Teacher* 66, no.6 (2013): 495-505; Megan Truax, "Reading Historical Texts: Comprehension through Strategies and Extension," *Illinois Reading Council Journal* 38, No.4 (2010): 47-52; Paula Worth, "Which Women Were Executed for Witchcraft? And Which Pupils Cared? Low-attaining Year 8 Use Fiction to Tackle Three Demons: Extended Reading,

including Peter Seixas, Peter Stearns, Sam Wineburg, Tony Taylor, Rob Guyver and Anna Clark<sup>37</sup> have explored the way in which history has been taught in schools over time, including the ‘tensions that have played out in the last thirty years or so between political intent and educational practice in history education.’<sup>38</sup> These tensions emerge particularly in relation to the content of school curricula, including subject matter and learning goals. The scholarship exemplifies how the national narratives embedded within texts used in school settings may be interrogated as a form of historical work that exerts ethical guidance in the realm of children and childhood.

Debates surrounding history pedagogy in Australia have engaged strongly with the notion of a national history, as well as with changing ideas about the nature of history as an academic discipline. As in other countries, including the United Kingdom, United States of America and Canada, the notion of teaching children, within the classroom and beyond, has become part of so-called ‘history’ or ‘culture wars,’ broader conversations, debates and controversies about the construction of a compelling narrative to represent their nation’s past.<sup>39</sup> The term ‘history wars’ is described by Tony Taylor as a ‘provocative label for the politicized controversies that frequently surrounded societal imaginings and depictions of national, cultural, racial, ethnic, tribal and religious pasts.’<sup>40</sup> This thesis provides a foundation for examining historical fiction for children as part of these imaginings and depictions.

---

Diversity and Causation,” *Teaching History* No.144. September (2011): 4-14; Kaya Yilmaz, “Historical Empathy and its Implications for Classroom Practices in Schools,” *The History Teacher* 40, No.3 (2007): 331-337.

<sup>37</sup> See Peter Stearns, Peter Seixas and Sam Wineburg, *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2000); Tony Taylor and Robert Guyver, ed.s, *History Wars and the Classroom. Global Perspectives* (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2012), Anna Clark: “History Teaching, Historiography, and the Politics of Pedagogy in Australia,” *Theory & Research in Social Education* 32:3 (2004): 379-96; *Teaching the Nation. Politics and Pedagogy in Australian History* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2006); “Whose History? Teaching Australia’s Contested Past,” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 36, no. 5 (2004): 533-541; *History’s Children* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2008); “Teaching the Nation’s Story: Comparing Public Debates and Classroom Perspectives on History Education in Australia and Canada,” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 41, no.6 (2009): 745-762.

<sup>38</sup> Taylor and Guyver, ed.s, *History Wars and the Classroom*, xiii.

<sup>39</sup> For a comprehensive account of the emergence and development of the history wars in Australia, see Stuart Macintyre and Anna Clark, *The History Wars* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2004).

<sup>40</sup> Taylor and Guyver, *History Wars and the Classroom*, xii.

In Australia, the history wars elevated 'History' from an academic discipline to a battleground for representing Australia's past. Australian historian Stuart Macintyre traces the origins of the history wars in Australia to an 'upsurge of interest in Australian history' and in 'Australian literature, theatre and film' in the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>41</sup> Similarly, Australian historian Lorenzo Veracini traces the historiographical background to the history wars to the 1970s, arguing that 'the historiographical tradition established during this decade insisted on the contested nature of the invasion process.'<sup>42</sup> Australian historian Amanda Nettlebeck points out, moreover, that the post-imperial shift in Australian historiography from the 1960s meant that Australian history was no longer viewed in terms of 'a progressive narrative but in terms of connected, sometimes competing, perspectives.'<sup>43</sup> These competing perspectives gained national prominence through flashpoints, including, in the lead-up to the 1988 Bicentenary, historian Geoffrey Blainey's John Latham Memorial Lecture in 1993 in which he presented a 'balance sheet' on Australia's history, school history curricula in the 1990s,<sup>44</sup> the opening of the National Museum of Australia in March 2001, the publication of Keith Windschuttle's *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* in 2002,<sup>45</sup> and, more recently, questioning of the Anzac legend.<sup>46</sup>

The implication of children within the ambit of the Australian history wars created new discursive directions in the construction of Australian childhood. The younger generation's historical literacy and what they are taught at school has, as Anna Clark notes:

---

<sup>41</sup> Macintyre and Clark, *The History Wars*, 219.

<sup>42</sup> Lorenzo Veracini, "A Prehistory of Australia's History Wars: The Evolution of Aboriginal History During the 1970s and 1980s," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 52, no. Number 3 (2006): 439. 'Invasion' refers to the process of colonization of the Australian continent by the British, commencing with the arrival of the First Fleet on 26 January 1788.

<sup>43</sup> Amanda Nettlebeck, "The Australian Frontier in the Museum," 1116.

<sup>44</sup> See Anna Clark, "Politics and Pedagogy" in Macintyre and Clark, *The History Wars*; "Whose History?"; and "Teaching the Nation's Story,".

<sup>45</sup> Keith Windschuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History: Vol 1, Van Diemen's Land 1803-1847* (Sydney: Macleay, 2002).

<sup>46</sup> See Anna Clark, "The Place of Anzac in Australian Historical Consciousness," *Australian Historical Studies* 48, no.1 (2017): 19-34; Carolyn Holbrook, *Anzac, the Unauthorised Biography* (Sydney: NewSouth Books, 2014); Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, with Mark McKenna and Joy Damousi, *What's Wrong with Anzac? The Militarisation of Australian History* (University of NewSouth Wales, Sydney, Australia: University of New South Wales Press 2010).

[A]dded a new and vital dimension to the contemporary historical debate: it is through the image of the child, a symbol of the future, that the struggle over ‘our history’ has intensified because of a collective anxiety over what ‘our children’ should be taught.<sup>47</sup>

Clark’s exploration of the intersection of the political and pedagogical dimensions of teaching national history in schools, from a transnational perspective, demonstrates the consistent anxieties associated with the content of history syllabuses.<sup>48</sup> In the mid-1990s, then Australian Prime Minister John Howard identified the classroom as a site where the hearts and minds of children could be won or lost, depending upon how Australia’s past was portrayed. He wanted to let ‘ordinary’ Australians know that he understood their concerns about political correctness and the representation of Australia’s past, stating that:

I sympathise fundamentally with Australians who are insulted when they are told that we have a racist bigoted past. And Australians are told that quite regularly. Our children are taught that. Some of the school curricula go close to teaching children that we have a racist bigoted past. Now of course we treated Aborigines very, very badly in the past ... but to tell children who themselves have been no part of it, that we’re part of a racist bigoted history is something that Australians reject.<sup>49</sup>

Howard’s comments illustrate the harnessing of the territory of childhood – ‘our children’ – to add weight to his rejection of alternative national narratives. He particularly rejected narratives he viewed as a ‘black armband’ view of history, narratives that challenged pioneering mythologies and downplayed contemporaneous developments in Australian historiography,

---

<sup>47</sup> Clark, “History Teaching,” 72.

<sup>48</sup> See Clark, *Teaching the Nation*, 22.

<sup>49</sup> Quoted in Mark McKenna, *Different Perspectives on Black Armband History*, (Canberra: Parliament of Australia, November 1997), 8.



especially in the field of Indigenous history.<sup>50</sup> Weighing into the debates, Howard politicized childhood in a highly public way.

Representations of Australia's past during the history wars, including in school settings, were seen, furthermore, as not just depicting but defining the nation. The linking of school education and national identity projected learning about the past onto securing the nation's future, with children – presented as a collective, homogenous, and abstract group – playing a critical role. As Anna Clark argues:

[I]t is the child – this vulnerable image of the future – that has underpinned the conflict over the past in schools. As the debate has become more heated, and moved seemingly beyond explicit political divisions, the child has become even more vital as a site of contention.<sup>51</sup>

Debates over the content of Australian school history curricula continued throughout the 2000s, extending from the National History Summit in 2006 to the subsequent drafting and implementation of the national curriculum for history. This thesis steps beyond the classroom to examine how representations of the past for children developed in a non-pedagogical context – the space of children's literature – at the same time recognizing the educational and ethical function accorded to that literature. In doing so, it complements Anna Clark's research on children, school education and the history wars in Australia.

### **Ideas about childhood: the Australian context**

Scholarship on the history of children and childhood in Australia has its roots in oral history and folklore, with the work of Gwyneth Dow and June Factor in collecting documentary sources and children's personal accounts particularly influential.<sup>52</sup> Australian historian Jan

---

<sup>50</sup> Origin of the 'black armband' metaphor in relation to Australian history debates may be traced to Professor Geoffrey Blainey's 1993 Latham lecture, but black armbands have a longer history in relation to Indigenous protest. See McKenna, *Different Perspectives*, passim.

<sup>51</sup> Clark in Macintyre and Clark, *The History Wars*, 182.

<sup>52</sup> See Carla Pascoe, "The History of Children in Australia: An Interdisciplinary Historiography," *History Compass* 8/10 (2010): 1145; See Gwyneth Dow and June Factor, ed.s, *Australian Childhood: an anthology* (Melbourne: McPhee Gribble, 1991).

Kociumbas's work in the history of Australian childhood filled, as Carla Pascoe notes 'a yawning gap in Australian historiography, paving the way for future scholarship.'<sup>53</sup> In her history of Australian childhood from colonization to the 1980s, Kociumbas argued that the way children's fundamental needs are met, rather than the needs themselves, are what changes over time, asserting that:

[E]very society has some concept of childhood as a time when skills must be taught and values implanted so that the child may later fit into adult roles prescribed by that society.<sup>54</sup>

Kociumbas pinpoints two critical aspects that a theoretical consideration of childhood may bring to historical/historiographical enquiry: the ethical dimension of how societies at any given time have worked to best to meet children's needs; and the recognition that how societies do so is historically contingent.

There are examples of scholarly work that place value on exploring the history and cultural products and practices from the perspectives of children and construction of childhood.<sup>55</sup>

---

<sup>53</sup> Pascoe, "The History of Children," 1145.

<sup>54</sup> Jan Kociumbas, *Children and Society in New South Wales and Victoria, 1860-1914*, (PhD diss., University of Sydney, 1983) <http://hdl.handle.net/2123/1402> : 25-26.

<sup>55</sup> See, for example, Paula Fass, *Designing Modern Childhoods: History, Space and the Material Culture of Children* (Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, NJ and London, 2008); Paula Fass, "Children and Globalisation," *Journal of Social History* (Summer 2003): 15; Mary Jo Maynes, "Age as a Category of Historical Analysis: History, Agency, and Narratives of Childhood," *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1, no.1 (Winter 2008): 114-124, 160; Jo May and John Ramsland, "The Disenchantment of Childhood: Exploring the Cultural and Spatial Boundaries of Childhood in Three Australian Feature Films, 1920s-1970s," *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no.1 (February 2007): 135-149; Ann McGrath, "Shamrock Aborigines: the Irish, the Aboriginal Australians and their Children," (Essay) *Aboriginal History Annual*, 34 (2010): 55-84; Ann McGrath, "Playing Colonial: Cowgirls, Cowboys, and Indians in Australia and North America," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 2, no.1 (Spring 2001): <https://muse-jhu-edu.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/article/7364>; Claudia Mitchell and Jacqueline Reid-Walsh, *Researching Children's Popular Culture: the Cultural Spaces of Childhood* (London: Routledge, 2002); Beverley Jean Pennell, *Australian Childhood through the Looking-Glass: Changing Representations of Childhood in Australian Children's Fiction, 1953-2003* (PhD diss. Macquarie University, 2004); Ann Curthoys, "Harry Potter and Historical Consciousness," *History Australia* 8, no.1 (1 January 2011): 7-22; Anne Haas Dyson, *Writing Superheroes: Contemporary Childhood, Popular Culture and Classroom Literacy* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1997); Jackie C. Horne, *History and Construction of the Child in Early British Children's Literature* (Aldershot and Birmingham: Ashgate, 2011); Valerie Krips, *The Presence of the Past. Memory, Heritage, and Childhood in Postwar Britain*, (New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc, 2000); Kim Wilson: *Re-Visioning Historical Fiction*; "The Past Re-Imagined"; and "Living History Fiction".

British cultural historian Valerie Krips, for example, draws together an interrogation of the interplay of memory, heritage and childhood as subjects for an interdisciplinary approach to children's literature. Her research, which includes examples of British historical fiction, analyses literary texts as cultural artefacts within a broader context of representations of the past and the past's relationship with the present. In particular, Krips seeks to show 'the extent to which children's books calibrated the cultural changes that would come to be thought of in 'heritage' terms.' She argues, moreover, that when the subject of children's novels is the past, 'they are even more acutely responsive to subtle changes in cultural representations of past and present.'<sup>56</sup> In writing of the 'second golden age' of children's literature in Britain, she observes that there has been a greater emphasis on child characters as a conduit to the past rather than 'a refuge from adult life.'<sup>57</sup> This emphasis also reflects a broader revisioning of childhood in post-World War Two British society. Such a revisioning of childhood has also taken place since 1945 in Australian society and forms part of the critical context for examining children's historical novels and picture books as a subject of history as well as fictional historiography.

## Conclusion

The research conducted for this thesis moves into uncharted territory yet there is a strong body of scholarship that provides guidance in ways to interrogate public and popular representations of the past, with a focus on children and childhood. The research landscape discussed in this chapter reveals many potential pathways, from the theoretical to the methodological. In the next chapter, I outline the approach that I have taken to harnessing children's historical novels and picture as material evidence of the past, as well as evidence for a new historiographic interpretive framework that focuses on the ideas of spectatorship and agency. In doing so, I emphasise the importance of including children in these kinds of research and offer ways of achieving this inclusion.

---

<sup>56</sup> Krips, *The Presence of the Past*, xii.

<sup>57</sup> Krips, 62.



## Chapter 2

### **Placing Australian Children's Historical Fiction within the ambit of 'Fictional Historiography': the Research Methodology**

In positioning this thesis to contribute to understanding public and popular uses of the past, I have focused on a type of historical product rarely considered by historians. My starting point was to construct a history of Australian children's historical novels and picture books, establishing a foundation for considering these texts from an historian's point of view, as part of the texture of Australian social and cultural life over time. My approach to this history echoes those of Samuel and de Groot in mapping the array of historical products that emanate from beyond the academy.

In constructing this history, I develop an historical *corpus* of a particular type of cultural production for the purposes of analysis. My analysis is aimed at showing that considering the same type of product over time can yield insights into how uses of the past beyond the academy are historically contingent and socially constructed. I show how the corpus represents a body of evidence about the past, as well as providing representations of it. In this way, I demonstrate that historical fictions may be read both historically – as evidence of the past, and historiographically – as evidence of how the past has been represented. My approach is interdisciplinary, looking to methods of research used for textual analysis from the fields of Literature and Linguistics, and for exploring social and cultural life from the academic disciplines of Sociology, Politics, Philosophy and Economics – with an emphasis on social research methods and the field of Governmentality.<sup>1</sup>

My research thus intends to offer innovative methodological approaches to undertaking research in the field of 'fictional historiography' as a means of uncovering how such fictions

---

<sup>1</sup> For an exploration of governmentality, see Mitchell Dean and Barry Hindess, ed.s, *Governing Australia. Studies in Contemporary Rationalities of Government* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

engage with the past and how they are circulated and received within a society. I thereby differentiate my work from that of the literary histories that have considered Australian children's historical fiction as a literary phenomenon. Although I draw on those histories to build my foundation, the thesis is focused on the historical work that is undertaken by this material rather than its literary qualities. Nevertheless, my approach conceptualises the children's novels and picture books as operating, firstly, on a textual level, through the written word and illustrations. This is to establish the ways in which historians might consider the fictional elements of texts and their relationship to the historical. For example, the use of anthropomorphism may be used as a technique to deal with difficult subjects, acting as an indicator of those aspects of the past that are deemed more troubling for children.<sup>2</sup> Secondly, I approach the novels and books as physical objects – as historical artefacts – constructed and 'consumed' by people within a broader social and cultural setting. This setting includes the academy, specifically broad developments in the History discipline, with a focus on Australian scholarship.

### **Textual analysis: the idea of a *corpus***

Looking to textual analysis first, considering children's historical novels and picture books published since 1945 as a collection as well as individually points to the suitability of *discourse analysis* as a methodology for elucidating the meanings that have emerged, how they have emerged, and the extent to which they have been contested or accepted. Within the practice of discourse analysis, *corpora* are used to analyse collections of texts regarding the 'occurrence and reoccurrence of particular linguistic features to see how and where they occur in the discourse.'<sup>3</sup> Linguist Charles F. Meyer points out that:

---

<sup>2</sup> *The Rabbits* (2011) by John Marsden and Shaun Tan, discussed in Chapter Six, is a pertinent example, presenting an unflinching representation of colonisation/invasion through the device of human-like rabbits taking possession of a new country. See John Marsden and Shaun Tan, *The Rabbits* (Australian and New Zealand: Hachette Australia, 2011).

<sup>3</sup> Brian Paltridge, *Discourse Analysis* (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2010), 156.

In recent times, a corpus has come to be regarded as a body of text made available in computer-readable form for purposes of linguistic analysis.<sup>4</sup>

A body of text might be, for example, a collection of a single author's work or of work by different authors on the same subject.<sup>5</sup> The linguist analyses grammatical features such as syntax and class of words (nouns, verbs and so forth), deconstructing large bodies of text to identify patterns of usage.<sup>6</sup> As an historian, such patterns of usage can be analysed for how the past is represented, leading into a broader interrogation of fictional historiography. How aspects of the past are described, for example, can indicate changing interpretations of the past (suggesting embedded cultural referents), or indicate accepted ways of representing the past (suggesting the existence of etiquettes).

### **Construction of the *corpus***

My concern in this thesis is fictional representations of Australia's past in the form of novels and picture books written by Australian authors for children, published from 1945 to 2015. Existing bibliographic works and literary histories that include historical fiction as a genre of children's literature have provided an entry point into this material, and a foundational history.<sup>7</sup> The texts collected for study as a corpus from this foundation are those most accessible through conventional catalogue searching since these are the products that are most readily available to the public. They have also passed at least some degree of professional editorial review, unlike unpublished/self-published books. School readers are also not included. Although such

---

<sup>4</sup> Charles F. Meyer, *English Corpus Linguistics: An Introduction* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), xii, <http://www.myilibrary.com?ID=43640>

<sup>5</sup> Meyer, *English Corpus Linguistics*, xii.

<sup>6</sup> As an example, see Laura Cantora Tuñón, "Proper names as cultural referents in British chick lit: a corpus-based analysis of their translations into Spanish and Italian," (PhD diss., University of Leeds, 2013).

<sup>7</sup> See Marcie Muir, *Australian Children's Books: A Bibliography*, 3 vols. (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1992); Marcie Muir, *A History of Australian Children's Book Illustration* (South Melbourne: Sun Books, 1977); Brenda Niall assisted by Frances O'Neill, *Australia through the Looking-Glass. Children's Fiction 1830-1980* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1984); Maurice Saxby, *A History of Australian Children's Literature 1941-1970* (Sydney: Wentworth Books, 1971); Maurice Saxby, *The Proof of the Puddin'. Australian Children's Literature 1970-1990* (Sydney: Ashton Scholastic, 1993); Maurice Saxby, *Offered to Children: A History of Australian Children's Literature 1841-1941* (Gosford: Scholastic, 1998); Maurice Saxby, *Images of Australia: A History of Australian Children's Literature* (Lindfield, New South Wales: Scholastic Press, 2002); Maurice Saxby and Glenys Smith, *First Choice. A Guide to the Best Books for Australian Children* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1991).

texts may contribute to a deeper understanding of history-making for children, their explicit link to schooling would skew the analysis of the corpus unduly towards pedagogy, perhaps masking or diluting other aspects of the historical tasks carried out by the material.

The catalogue searches have allowed the creation of a collection of novels and picture books underpinned by the common intention to construct a representation of Australia's past for a child audience. This is what distinguishes them as a corpus. I searched the holdings of the National Library of Australia, state and territory libraries, and the National Centre for Children's Literature. I also referred to printed bibliographies, internet searches of publishers' and authors' websites, as well as book review and sale sites such as goodreads.com and Amazon. I found it useful to employ a variety of search terms beyond 'junior,' 'children's,' or 'juvenile' historical fiction, including terms relating to specific aspects of Australian history such as bushrangers or convicts.

### **Analysing the corpus**

I apply the concept of a corpus as a methodology to highlight that historical novels and picture books are a form of discourse with implications for the types of ethical governance investigated in academic History as well as in the field of Governmentality, which deals with 'the diverse attempts to regulate the conduct of [a] population and of the collectivities, groups and organisations which it incorporates.'<sup>8</sup> As a field interested in the government of conduct and the conduct of government – a duality that reflects the intertwining of the personal and political – Governmentality provides a way of thinking about the influences brought to bear upon children through their families, communities, institutions and official (in Australia – democratically elected) Governments.

My focus is on how the historical projects embedded within the novels and picture books in the corpus are part of a broader discourse (fictional historiography) ostensibly created to entertain or educate children yet also revealing how adults use the past for specific purposes. I have undertaken my analysis manually rather than using a computer-readable database as my

---

<sup>8</sup> Dean and Hindess, *Studies in Contemporary Rationalities*, 3.



purpose is better served by a qualitative approach. My reading of the texts has allowed me to identify the broader patterns of how the past has been represented in children's historical fiction before focusing on selected historical subjects. Through this qualitative approach, how the fictions have operated over time can be demonstrated as well as interrogated more deeply for the ethics such fictions seek to instill.

Although often concerned with non-literary 'communicative events' such as essays, lectures, and advertisements, the focus of discourse analysis on 'patterns of language across texts and ... the relationship between language and the social and cultural contexts' in which they are used, highlights the potential for bringing linguistic as well as literary concepts of genre to historiographical analysis.<sup>9</sup> As noted in the Introduction, historical fiction functions as a genre, working within conventions that have evolved over time. Although Hutcheon has shown that postmodern historical metanarratives have worked against such conventions and do not easily fit within the traditional conception of historical fiction, my research shows that most of the corpus texts do fulfil expectations structurally and in use of historical evidence but may defy conventional understandings of uses of the past in their thematic intent. The picture book is one possible exception, as there are examples of texts that exhibit a post-modern sensibility, as I discuss in Chapter Five. If we place children's historical fiction within the genre of non-literary historical fiction (as de Groot has done), these points of compliance and points of defiance can be interrogated for what they suggest about uses of the past.<sup>10</sup>

Genres may be approached as a specific type of collection, although Brian Paltridge explains that an analysis of genre 'does not necessarily involve an exact match in terms of characteristics or properties.'<sup>11</sup> His comments suggest an element of ambiguity regarding genre, reinforced by Bhatia's observation that:

Practicing a genre is almost like playing a game, with its own rules and conventions.... It is not simply a matter of learning the language, or

---

<sup>9</sup> Paltridge, *Discourse Analysis*, 82, 2.

<sup>10</sup> Jerome de Groot, *The Historical Novel* (Abingdon, Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2010), 88-92.

<sup>11</sup> Paltridge, *Discourse Analysis*, 89

even learning the rules of the game, it is more like acquiring the rules of the game in order to be able to exploit and manipulate them to fulfill professional and disciplinary purposes.<sup>12</sup>

In line with Bhatia's idea that the rules of genres may be manipulated, this thesis shows that Australian children's historical fiction is characterized by a creative tension linked to pushing at the boundaries of conventional understandings of the historical fiction genre, a tension also evident in historical fiction for adults.<sup>13</sup> These manipulations of genre show that uses of the past are not stable, children's historical fiction thus providing one way of interrogating the complexities of public and popular uses of the past.

### **A broad survey of historical novels and picture books**

In interpreting the corpus that I have created, my first method was to conduct a broad survey, looking at how authors use literary and historical techniques to weave representations of the past into the stories told. I asked what historical work was being performed within the individual texts and across the corpus. In locating a fictional narrative in a specific time in the past, authors use various peritextual strategies, such as quoted dialogue, diary extracts, letters, newspaper clippings, descriptions of clothing, food, customs, places and events, to embed historical referents in the text, part of the 'extra-diagetic textual incursion into the imagination of the reader.'<sup>14</sup> The historical note, as well as paratextual information such as websites, acknowledgements, drawings, photographs, maps, glossaries of unfamiliar words and terms and references work to further authenticate a novel or picture book as historical. In doing so, these techniques form part of the discursive strategies employed to represent the past and are part of the conventions of the genre. Informed by academic scholarship on children's literature, my analysis of the corpus sought to locate historical and historiographical understanding through identifying the subjects, themes, visual and literary strategies employed by authors, as well as placing texts within their social, cultural and historiographical settings.

---

<sup>12</sup> V.K. Bhatia quoted in Paltridge *Discourse Analysis*, 86.

<sup>13</sup> See de Groot, *The Historical Novel* (Chapter Five) for a discussion of postmodernism and the historical novel.

<sup>14</sup> Jerome de Groot, *Remaking History. The Past in Contemporary Historical Fictions* (Routledge, Oxon and New York, 2016), 42.

The focus of the thesis is on the post-World War II period, as relatively few junior historical novels by Australian authors on Australian topics were published prior to 1945, Maurice Saxby noting that '[t]he historical novel as such was slow to develop in Australian writing for children, and only appeared tentatively in the 1950s.'<sup>15</sup> The existing academic literature does not explore the reasons for such tentativeness, nor does it provide a comprehensive historical or historiographical analysis of children's historical novels and picture books before or after 1945. The bibliographic and descriptive works do, however, offer an entry point for understanding the background and scope of this form of children's literature.

Children's literature scholar Maurice Saxby's research focus, for example, is broad, identifying the subject matter used in Australian children's literature in a three-volume series that spans the years 1841 to 1990.<sup>16</sup> Published in 1969, 1971 and 1993, his work provides background to subjects deemed of interest and suitability for children from 1841 to 1941, offering a foundation to understanding the evolution of children's literature in Australia. With topics such as gold, bushrangers, 'Aboriginal people', exploration, family and community life, consolidation and urbanization, looking back, Australian culture, World War I, war and nationalism, affluence, the Great Depression, and 'the simple life,' the fictional worlds created for children prior to World War II encompass similar preoccupations to historical fiction written after 1945, a connection apparent even in contemporary historical novels.

Kerry White's *Australian Children's Fiction – the Subject Guide* published in 1993, with an update published in 1996, is another example of the bibliographic and categorization approach to constructing a corpus of children's literature.<sup>17</sup> What remains absent, however, is a deeper understanding of how the historical subjects of the books were explored, the understandings of the past they attempt to convey, the way they work within the genre conventions of historical fiction, and the social and cultural contexts in which they were written and received.

---

<sup>15</sup> Saxby, *Offered to Children*, 10

<sup>16</sup> See Saxby, *A History of Australian Children's Literature 1841-1941*; Saxby, *A History of Australian Children's Literature 1941-1970*; Saxby, *The Proof of the Puddin'*; Saxby, *Australian Children's Literature 1970-1990*.

<sup>17</sup> Kerry White, *Australian Children's Fiction – the Subject Guide* (Milton: Jacaranda, 1993); Kerry White, *Australian Children's Fiction – the Subject Guide Update* (Milton: Jacaranda Wiley, 1996).

Taking the idea of comparing fictional historiography with that of academic historiography, the thesis traces how Australia's past has been reframed over time by creators of children's historical novels and picture books. How, for example, was colonial history depicted in novels of the 1950s in comparison to novels of the twenty-first century and what might this tell us about both the history of fictional representations of the past and broader historical questions around social, cultural and political life? In this way, the historicity of children's historical novels and picture books is made visible, as is the historically contingent nature of these texts.

Accordingly, this thesis is more concerned with defining how language, illustrations, subjects, plot, characterization, themes and other narrative and marketing strategies operate to perform historical work than it is with exploring the parameters of the historical fiction genre for children from a conventional literary perspective. Considering children's historical novels and picture books as part of the genre of historical fiction I seek to show that it is within these patterns, or their disruptors, that their historiographical significance is evident.

### **Close readings**

As research that is concerned with exploring and trialing methodological approaches to 'fictional historiography,' the thesis also offers a second, more innovative approach to the study of non-academic, fictional representations of the past, by considering novels and picture books as historical artefacts as well as considering how to analyse these texts as examples of history-making – as historical projects in their own right. As Hsu-Ming Teo has shown in relation to children's historical fiction about the Holocaust and adult historical romance fiction about the harem, a close reading of a single text can yield rich insights into public and popular representations of the past and where such texts sit in relation to academic history.<sup>18</sup>

In the close readings, I employ two separate approaches. The first utilizes Jordanova's approach to analyzing past visual and material culture, considering historical novels and

---

<sup>18</sup> Hsu-Ming Teo, "Orientalism and mass market romance novels in the twentieth century," in *Edward Said: The Legacy of a Public Intellectual*, ed.s Ned Curthoys and Debjani Ganguly (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2007): 241-262; and "History, the Holocaust and children's historical fiction," *TEXT*, 19, no.1 (2015): 1-21.

picture books as objects constructed and used by people, yet also existing within a broader framework of cultural production.<sup>19</sup> In writing about historical novels, Jordanova asserts:

I want to insist on the importance of genre (and other literary conventions) for any understanding of the practice of history. All writings have a generic context, and being aware of the point enables one to evaluate any given piece more effectively .... This is particularly important in thinking about public history.<sup>20</sup>

Jordonova's approach entails carefully examining the circumstances of the production and reception of texts, as well as their content, appearance and the conventions they may operate within. Considering these circumstances as integral to the historical significance of the novels and picture books in my corpus, I apply two of Jordanova's key themes in analyzing material evidence of the past: spectatorship and agency.<sup>21</sup> Spectatorship may be aligned with de Groot's concept of 'consuming history,' with the spectator, consumer or audience providing one side of a symbiotic relationship with the producer of the object, a relationship mediated by the object itself. As Jordanova notes:

Like consumers, makers of objects and images manifest forms of visual intelligence, preferences and skills, which entitle them to be understood as historical actors, as witnesses to past states of affairs. Many different kinds of agency are involved, offering correspondingly rich historical opportunities.<sup>22</sup>

Integral to understanding these works of fiction as material artefacts is considering the agency of those involved in their production. Production of artefacts is, according to Jordonova:

---

<sup>19</sup> See Ludmilla Jordanova, *The Look of the Past. Visual and Material Evidence in Historical Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

<sup>20</sup> Ludmilla Jordanova *History in Practice* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2006), 135.

<sup>21</sup> Jordanova, *The Look of the Past*, 6-8.

<sup>22</sup> Jordanova, 7.

[O]ne of the ways historians can use productively the fact that the form and function of every artifact have passed through the mind and bodies of people who exercised choice in the past.<sup>23</sup>

Jordanova also applies ideas about the reception of an artefact by an audience when she asks: ‘How do we understand and conceptualise such reactions and find evidence of audiences? How are potential audiences imagined by makers when they are working?’<sup>24</sup> These questions point to recognizing the importance of the reader (or broader audience, who may engage with the text without reading it) in terms of analyzing historical novels and picture books, whether children, reviewers, librarians, teachers, parents, booksellers and so on. The various responses evoked by a text will, taken together, provide an indication of the context of its reception or, in de Groot’s terms, consumption. In describing these responses, researchers can begin to develop evidence of an historical nature, capturing how a historical novel or picture book both provides a representation of the past as well as can be an artefact related to the time of its production.

Further to the aim of trialing new research methods for undertaking fictional historiography, the emerging theoretical engagement with emotions, historical fictions and childhood as it appears in the work of theorists such as Sarah Pinto and Peter and Carol Stearns and colleagues, is used in the second approach to close readings of selected texts, presented in Chapter Eight, as the lens through which to interpret three historical texts: Anthony Hill’s 1994 novella *The Burnt Stick*, Nan Chauncy’s 1967 novel *Mathinna’s People*, and Anita Heiss’ 2001 book, *Who Am I? The Diary of Mary Talence*. The first two texts pre-empt the official narrativisation of the emotional dimension of the forcible removal of Indigenous children as made public in The Australian Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission’s 1997 report on the Stolen Generations, *Bringing Them Home Report. Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families (Bringing Them Home)*. The third was written after the report was handed down in 1997 and can therefore be read as having been informed by that official narrativization.

---

<sup>23</sup> Jordanova, 7.

<sup>24</sup> Jordanova, 7.

The *Bringing Them Home* Report highlights the emotional dimension of the work undertaken by those engaged in the Inquiry, stating in the Introduction that '[g]rief and loss are the predominant themes' of the Report.<sup>25</sup> The history traced in it through legislative and institutional developments and oral and written testimony, is one replete with emotions felt and lived, impacting multiple generations and communities, perhaps hidden from even close family members. For many members of the Stolen Generations, the history traced is one not narrativised in academic history or government discourse until decades after the events of their childhood, even though, as the Report also shows, the events of their childhood continued to reverberate within the present. The Stolen Generations historical narratives that have occurred have their basis in forms of history-making that have taken place beyond the academy. These forms include, as historian Bain Attwood explains, 'a range of institutions that were not historiographical in nature but memorial, literary, filmic, therapeutic, and quasilegal.'<sup>26</sup> Attwood observes, moreover, that these institutions 'recognized and authorized the narrative according to criteria that departed from those customarily used in professional history.'<sup>27</sup> The narratives are, he argues, associated with the democratization of history and the emergence of oral history as a methodological approach to collecting historical evidence.<sup>28</sup> Historical scholarship has also linked Stolen Generations narratives to memory studies and the history of trauma, areas also associated with the affective turn.<sup>29</sup> It is for this reason that the lens of emotion is applied to these texts, seeking to answer the questions posed by Jordanova above about how writers imagine their potential audiences, and how those audiences actually respond, and to consider the implications of these answers in relation to the key themes of this thesis: the duality of the vulnerable child/custodian conception of childhood, and the paradox

---

<sup>25</sup> Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, *Bringing Them Home. Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families* (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 1997), 4

<sup>26</sup> Bain Attwood, "In the Age of Testimony: The Stolen Generations Narrative, "Distance", and Public History," *Public Culture*, 20, no.1 (Winter 2008): 78.

<sup>27</sup> Attwood, "In the Age of Testimony," 78.

<sup>28</sup> Attwood, 79.

<sup>29</sup> See, for example, Bain Attwood, "Aboriginal History, Minority Histories and Historical Wounds: The Postcolonial Condition, Historical Knowledge and the Public Life of History in Australia," *Postcolonial Studies* 14, no.2 (1 June 2011): 171-186; Bain Attwood, "Unsettling Past: Reconciliation and History in Settler Australia," *Postcolonial Studies* 8, no.3 (1 August 2005): 243-259; Rosanne Kennedy, "Subversive witnessing: mediating Indigenous testimony in Australian cultural and legal institutions," *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 36, no.1/2 (Spring/Summer 2008): 58-75.

of texts that both reflect and challenge their contexts. The implications of these answers also elucidate the workings of ethical governance of children in Australian society since 1945 by conveying the emotional responses considered necessary or appropriate in interactions with historical fictions, and Australian history more generally.

### ***Emotions as a theoretical lens for fictional historiography***

Exploring emotions in academic history is relatively new as a theoretical lens but the body of scholarship indicates, according to Jan Plamper, a ‘burgeoning’ interest in this perspective on the past.<sup>30</sup> The interrogation of emotion(s) in academic history may be read as part of what Plamper has proposed as an ‘emotional turn’<sup>31</sup> or what Vanessa Agnew refers to as ‘history’s affective turn’<sup>32</sup> which involves:

[H]istorical representation characterized by conjectural interpretations of the past, the collapsing of temporalities and an emphasis on affect, individual experience and daily life, rather than historical events, structures and processes.<sup>33</sup>

Historians have applied the lens of emotion to forms of public and popular history, including film, re-enactment and literature. Michelle Arrow, as an example, in analysing the reality television series ‘In their Footsteps,’ argues that close analysis of such ‘deeply affective’ forms of representations of the past can provide ‘a complex and nuanced form of historical understanding.’<sup>34</sup> She links this form of historical understanding to contemporary concerns, arguing that ‘Such analysis can help us better understand the contemporary appeal of military history.’<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup> See Jan Plamper, “The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns,” *History and Theory* 49, (May 2010): 237-65.

<sup>31</sup> Plamper, “The History of Emotions,”: 237.

<sup>32</sup> Vanessa Agnew, “History’s Affective Turn: Historical Reenactment and Its Work in the Present,” *Rethinking History* 11, no.3 (September 2007): 299.

<sup>33</sup> Agnew, “History’s Affective Turn,” 299.

<sup>34</sup> Michelle Arrow, “‘I Just Feel It’s Important to Know Exactly What He Went Through’: In Their Footsteps and the Role of Emotions in Australian Television History,” *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 33, no.4 (2013): 1

<sup>35</sup> Arrow, “I just feel,”: 1.



In applying the concept of emotions as a way of interrogating the past, Plamper suggests that prominent historians working in this area envisage:

[T]he history of emotions not as a specialized field but as a means of integrating the category of emotion into social, cultural, and political history, emulating the rise of gender as an analytical category since its early beginnings as “women’s history” in the 1970s.<sup>36</sup>

Early in the development of emotions historiography, Peter and Carol Stearns argued that emotions history necessarily entails giving attention to how a society views emotions and how these views impact on institutions, what they call *emotionology*.<sup>37</sup> Their analysis draws attention to change in emotions over time, as well as changes in how basic emotions are mobilized for government and governance practices, reflecting shifts in power structures and social relations. Their work also suggests the possibility and potential of using children’s historical fiction as material evidence of how emotions have been written about over time, connecting fictional historiography to the ethical governance of children. As they argue:

Emotional changes must be considered, along with other shifts in mentality and behavior, as part of the historian’s attempt to convey and explain sociohistorical change.<sup>38</sup>

A focus on emotion in children’s literature occurred as part of the emergence of social realist fiction from the 1950s onwards, as explored in Chapter One. As also touched upon in Chapter One, one point of intersection within the scholarship on the history of emotions, emotional histories and public and popular forms of historical fiction is their consideration of how human feelings associated with the past are portrayed, and how audiences may receive, or respond to, such representations, historian Marnie Hughes-Warrington observing that ‘Emotions are, in

---

<sup>36</sup> Plamper, “The History of Emotions,” 237.

<sup>37</sup> Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, “Emotionology: Clarifying the history of emotions and emotional standards,” *The American History Review*, 90, no.4 (October 1985): 813-836.

<sup>38</sup> Stearns and Stearns, “Emotionology,” 820.

principle, open to historical understanding.’<sup>39</sup> How, then, might the emotional dimensions of historical novels and picture books, be interrogated as part of historiographical analysis? Or, how can the theoretical lens of emotion be applied to fictional historiography, using children’s historical novels and picture books as a case study?

As discussed in the Introduction, changing attitudes to childhood included an emotional dimension and historical products can be interrogated for the feelings that they may be emphasizing and encouraging. The construction of the ‘happy child’ in the 1920s and 1930s in America, as described by Stearns, within an increasingly consumerist context is a framework consistent with developments in Australian childhood, with the post-1945 period seeing increased attention to protecting children from negative emotions and difficult experiences, such as death.<sup>40</sup> Kociumbas has described these developments as deferring adult responsibility and knowledge, a deferral that may have found expression in some forms of cultural production, including children’s literature.<sup>41</sup> In twenty-first century Australia, children’s picture books and novels are focusing on the death and grief associated with war, even if presented in sentimental, ahistorical ways. This suggests a shift in the type of ethical guidance required to equip the Australian child for future adult citizenship. As Peter Stearns asks:

[W]hen, and on what basis, will a new period emerge, adjusting prior patterns inherited from the transition of the twentieth-century? Links with the past abound, as in the emotionally anxious helicopter parent. But do the increases in childhood anxiety and depression, recorded in more recent decades, suggest a new set of factors as well? Is there a set of cultural and structural shifts that can be compared to the change elements that emerged around 1800, and again in the 1920s?<sup>42</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup> Marnie Hughes-Warrington, *History Goes to the Movies. Studying History on Film* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 92.

<sup>40</sup> Peter N. Stearns (2016) “Children and emotions history,” *European Journal of Developmental Psychology* 14, no.1 (2016): 659-671.

<sup>41</sup> See Jan Kociumbas, *Australian Childhood: A History* (St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1997).

<sup>42</sup> Stearns, “Children and emotions history”: 1.

Chapter Eight considers ways of looking at these questions by undertaking a closer reading of selected children's historical novels and picture books that take the Stolen Generations as their subject.<sup>43</sup> Through the lens of emotion, it shows how and why authors of historical fiction conflate realism based on historical research with the imagined inner worlds of fictional characters, using poetic license and the willing suspension of disbelief, to contend that their novel or picture book provides reliable, evidence-based information about the past, at the same time as providing insights into the feelings and motivations that supposedly influenced the behavior of people in the past. The research suggests that there are cultural and structural shifts taking place in the space of childhood, shifts that examining children's historical fiction as historical projects – as a subject for academic fictional historiography – can help to illuminate.

Approaching children's historical fiction that is focused on Indigenous history through the lens of emotion provides a useful framework for the interrogation and production and reception of Stolen Generations narratives for children, aligning with increasing acceptance of including emotions in historical work. This acceptance, Hughes-Warrington suggests, entails challenging the idea that 'emotional engagement is detrimental to the development of critical judgment and political participation.'<sup>44</sup> Her work on historical films interrogates both the production and reception of these representations of the past, aligning with Jordanova's ideas around using material evidence of the past. In considering affect and identity, Hughes-Warrington concludes that '[d]iscussion about identity ... is strengthened through consideration of viewer responses as well as discourse analysis.'<sup>45</sup> In applying this approach to children's historical fiction, conversations around personal and national identity can benefit from deeper research into the meanings that children take from these stories and how these meanings contribute to the shaping of their sense of self and their sense of what it means to be Australian. The discursive strategies employed can suggest how the use of language and illustrations contributes to these meanings.

---

<sup>43</sup> See HREOC, *Bringing Them Home Report* Part 1 for more detail on the Stolen Generations, including the testimony of people affected.

<sup>44</sup> Hughes-Warrington, *History Goes to the Movies*, 91.

<sup>45</sup> Hughes-Warrington, 96.

## Exploring social and cultural life

Complementing the textual analysis methods discussed above, my second area of interest adapts social research methods to fictional historiography, employing historical novels and picture books as a case study to explore an aspect of social and cultural life. Throughout my research into historical novels and picture books, my thoughts turned time and again to wonder what children really thought about the texts under interpretation. I wondered if their readings aligned with the concerns and aspirations of adults or if their readings worked in unexpected ways that would provide new insights into the production of historical knowledge and the development of historical consciousness. I wondered, too, if concerns about the construction of representations of the past, such as the reaffirmation of dominant national narratives, are justified by how children react to historical fiction.

Involving children in historiographical research provides an opportunity to learn more about their responses to representations of the past in a direct, rather than mediated, way. As discussed in the Introduction, current scholarship involving children and history tends to focus on the nature of the representations, on pedagogical strategies and outcomes, and on older children and teenagers. To my knowledge, the qualitative aspect of my research is a new intervention into the interpretation of children's historical fiction in Australia as a form of historical cultural production.<sup>46</sup>

Historians have employed social research techniques since the 1990s to explore the affective and intellectual influences of public and private uses of history.<sup>47</sup> As Rosenzweig and Thelen observed in their 1998 American study, using the past is seen by most people as a 'way of grappling with profound questions about how to live' and about 'relationships, identity,

---

<sup>46</sup> Margaret Zeegers' project, described in more detail in Chapter Five, comes closest to my methodology but the interviews with children using *My Place* and *The Diary of Mary Talence*, were employed for a purpose quite different to mine. See Margaret Zeegers, "Cultural Explorations of Time and Space: Indigenous Australian Artists-in Residence, Conventional Narratives and Children's Text Creation," *Papers: Explorations in Children's Literature* 16, no.2 (2006): 138-44.

<sup>47</sup> See, for example, Paul Ashton and Paula Hamilton, *History at the Crossroads. Australians and the Past* (New South Wales: Halstead Press, 2007); and Lyn Leader-Elliott, "Community Heritage Interpretation Games: A Case Study from Angaston, South Australia," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 11, no.2 (May 2005): 161-171.

immortality and agency.’<sup>48</sup> Similarly, in the context of an Australian study into adults’ uses of the past, Ashton and Hamilton observed that:

Contemporary historical culture is not solely aimed at transmission of historical knowledge. It has more complex understandings and uses.<sup>49</sup>

These large-scale studies employed interviews with adults to investigate such understandings and uses, requiring substantial time and resources. Such studies elicit findings that can argue statistical reliability more confidently than a small-scale study. Nevertheless, small-scale, qualitative studies such as the pilot study undertaken for this thesis can inform development of larger studies.

As a smaller part of the research for this thesis, the challenge in relation to such a pilot study was to develop a manageable research method that could still deliver useful insights into how children engage with historical fiction. I wanted to ask children directly what they learnt from reading historical fiction (their response to the author’s historical project), to explore if they were influenced into thinking about the past through their reading of historical fiction (were they aware of the etiquettes at play in texts?), and to delve into how historical fictions fitted in with other ways in which they learn about the past. With limitations posed by time and resources, such a qualitative approach to research was necessarily exploratory, since little is currently known about how children experience Australian history outside of a school setting. Still, as Marshall and Rossman state, in-depth interviewing is an appropriate method to ‘investigate little understood phenomena.’<sup>50</sup> A qualitative approach is also consistent with the approaches used in other historically-oriented research such as oral history, oral historiography, biography and life-writing.

Of most relevance to developing the pilot project design was work conducted by Anna Clark, firstly in 2006, with secondary school students, teachers, and ‘curriculum officials’ about their

---

<sup>48</sup> Ashton and Hamilton, *History at the Crossroads*, 7.

<sup>49</sup> Ashton and Hamilton, 21

<sup>50</sup> Catherine Marshall and Gretchen B. Rossman, *Designing Qualitative Research* (California: SAGE Publications, 1995), 41.

knowledge of and engagement with the teaching of history at school.<sup>51</sup> Clark acknowledged the deliberate omission of younger children from her study due to resource constraints, noting nevertheless that those ‘as young as nine or ten have opinions about their nation’s past that warrant further investigation.’<sup>52</sup> In a later study, she interviewed a cross section of Australians to find out more about ‘everyday historical consciousness to gauge popular engagement with the history wars.’<sup>53</sup> This study included interviews with adults and teenagers from various backgrounds, but, as in the earlier study, still did not include children. Nevertheless, her method in both cases, which she has named ‘oral historiography,’ combined ‘techniques of oral history, focus group work and qualitative analysis’ in order to ‘investigate different understandings of the past beyond the conventional spheres of academic or public debate,’<sup>54</sup> and suggested a way forward for including children in the conversations around the contestation of national history and national identity, both within the context of the history wars and in broader discussions around children’s interaction with history in and beyond the classroom.<sup>55</sup>

This step forward in terms of the suggested ‘further investigation’ of children’s opinions was undertaken during the research conducted for this thesis. In doing so, it was Clark’s work that most deeply informed my thinking about how children’s voices might join those of older ‘ordinary Australians’ in conversations about historical consciousness, national historical narratives, and ‘everyday, vernacular historical engagement.’<sup>56</sup> However, in seeking to include children in such investigations, in addition to Clark’s work, I also turned to examples of social research with children in fields such as leisure studies, cultural studies and curriculum studies.<sup>57</sup> In addition to Clark’s research, two studies directly influenced my pilot project

---

<sup>51</sup> Anna Clark, *History’s Children* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2008), 8.

<sup>52</sup> Clark, *History’s Children*, 9.

<sup>53</sup> Anna Clark, “Ordinary People’s History,” *History Australia* 9, no. 1 (2012): 201-216.

<sup>54</sup> Anna Clark, *Private Lives. Public History* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press), 12.

<sup>55</sup> See Anna Clark, “Ordinary People’s History,” 201-216.

<sup>56</sup> Anna Clark, *Private Lives. Public History*, 137.

<sup>57</sup> See for example Lyn Craig and Killian Mullan, “Shared Parent-Child Leisure Time in Four Countries,” *Leisure Studies*, 31, no.2 (April 2012): 211-229; Katy Beale, *Museums at Play. Games, Interaction and Learning* (Edinburgh: MuseumsEtc, 2011); David Anderson, Michelle Everett, Barbara Piscitelli, and Collette Tayler, and Katrina Weier, “Children’s Museum Experiences: Identifying Powerful Mediators of Learning,” *Curator*, 45, no.3 (July 2002): 213-231; Deborah Cunningham, “An Empirical Framework for Understanding How Teachers Conceptualise and Cultivate Historical Empathy in Students,” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 41, no.5 (2009): 31; Rick Rogers, “Raising the Bar: Developing Meaningful Historical Consciousness at Key Stage

design: Janka Rantala's study of children in Finland, and Tzibazi's study on museum theatre. Integral to both these studies was direct engagement with child participants through interviews, and Tzibazi also demonstrated the potential to use the pedagogical techniques of recount and creative response.<sup>58</sup>

Rantala interviewed 174 primary school students to explore the 'reception of history by 7-10-year-old children in Finland and the role of historical culture in the formation of children's conceptions of the past.'<sup>59</sup> She also used the interviews to explore how 'history is used to build individual and collective identities.' In doing so, she provides an example of researching both agency and spectatorship in relation to the development of historical understandings in childhood.

Similarly, Tzibazi's study on museum theatre in England analysed how school children drew meaning from their attendance at two theatrical events staged by the Museum of London. Her research methodology included group interviews, classroom and museum-based observations and individual drawings and interviews conducted after the children had attended an event. As noted in Chapter One, her grounded theory-based methodology acknowledged the rights of children as research participants.<sup>60</sup> Australian government research guidelines reflect a similar commitment to involving children in research.<sup>61</sup>

My pilot project design was also influenced by my experience in mentoring Year 5 and 6 students at a New South Wales government primary school, students who had selected history as their area of interest for a ten-week mentoring program. The aim of the program was to allow these students, who were in a dedicated four-year Gifted and Talented stream at the school, to engage deeply with a subject in ways not usually possible in primary school. We

---

3," *Teaching History* 133 (December 2008): 24-30; Kai-Lin Wu, "'Where Do You Want to Go Today?' An Analysis of Family Group Decisions to Visit Museums," *Journal of Marketing Management* 26, no.7-8 (July 2010): 706-726.

<sup>58</sup> Jukka Rantala, "Children as Consumers of Historical Culture in Finland," *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 43, no.4 (August 2011): 493-506; and Vasiliki Tzibazi, "Museum Theatre: Children's Reading of 'First Person Interpretation'" in *People and Their Pasts. Public History Today*, ed.s Hilda Kean and Paul Ashton (United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 163-182.

<sup>59</sup> Rantala, "Children as Consumers," 493.

<sup>60</sup> Vasiliki Tzibazi, "Museum Theatre," 169.

<sup>61</sup> See <https://www.nhmrc.gov.au/guidelines-publications/e72>. Accessed 5 February 2017.

were not bound by curriculum requirements or learning outcomes. As part of the mentoring program, the children created journals that included a creative response, an information report and a reflection on what they had experienced. Their comments on completion of the Program demonstrated a heightened understanding of the scope of history as a discipline and the possibilities within the subject to find multiple areas of interest. The conversations we had over the ten weeks demonstrated a willingness to engage in deeper thinking about the past and about their own interest in the past.

### **The pilot project design**

The pilot project design was an iterative process, experimenting with different approaches and reflecting upon the research methodology as much as analyzing the participants' responses. The study was conducted in two stages, the first to test the methodology with a small number of participants; the second to test a fine-tuned methodology with (I had hoped) a larger number of participants.

Working with children in their final year of primary schooling, Stage One of the pilot trialed two qualitative research methods: a guided, age appropriate recount/reflection and creative response, followed by individual, face to face interviews. *My Father's War* and a multimedia website that I created – accessible at <http://ozhistory4kids.com/ozhistory4kidscom/Welcome.html> – with related open access non-fiction, visual and audio material, were the stimulus material for the recount/reflection and creative response.<sup>62</sup> I conducted Stage One in 2013 with students of the Australian International School Hong Kong (AISHK) as I was residing in Hong Kong at that time.

In the school setting, a recount/reflection involves children looking back on a completed area of study and expressing the knowledge gained and their views on the topic. Children are familiar with this task through school activities. The creative response is also a pedagogical task familiar to primary school students, a task usually associated with flexibility in how they choose to respond. I included a creative response to explore how children may process and

---

<sup>62</sup> The project website is: <http://ozhistory4kids.com/>. Also see Appendix D.



express understanding of historical knowledge, ranging from textually-based to more physical or visually-based media. Participants could have chosen, for example, to write a story or book review, develop a multimedia presentation, create an artwork or construct a diorama to express their thoughts about a topic. This recount/reflection process was enhanced by interviews, asking participants to explain and expand upon their responses and to comment on their level of historical activity and interaction outside of school. The five participants in the first pilot indicated that they enjoyed the creative aspect of the project. Millie, for example, said:

I really liked doing the poster ... I just thought it would be a bit funner way ... to be able to add colourful parts to it and things like that [Millie].

Stage Two of the pilot, was conducted with children living in New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory (ACT) in 2016. Initially, I sought the permission of the New South Wales Department of Education and Training (DET) to contact schools and invite them to be involved in the pilot project. DET concerns regarding demands on schools meant the approval process was lengthy, even though I designed the project to simply use the school as a conduit for seeking participants and for premises to conduct the research. Also, in response to DET concerns, I sought to minimize the amount of work involved for the participants. In comparison to the first stage, I reduced the amount of work by asking participants to read an extract from *My Father's War* rather than the complete novel. I also omitted the reflection/recount activity as it was quite time-consuming for the participants, even though they enjoyed doing it. The changes made reflected the need for great flexibility in conducting historiographical research with children: the researcher must be willing to respect and respond to the concerns of those with a duty of care towards children.

In both stages of the pilot, interviews were conducted with the participants. All interviews for the first stage were face to face, as were seven of the nine interviews in the second stage. The remaining two interviews were conducted by telephone. Face to face communication is effective with children, allowing you to read their body language, and allowing them to move around, wriggle, laugh or take to time to describe what they mean, to go off on tangents and be safely drawn back in. Telephone interviews also work well but face to face is the preferred

option, as it is easier to establish rapport and to maintain the participants' engagement. Overall, the interviews with the participants would be the one element I would not omit in future studies, despite the need to meet child protection concerns which quite rightly place stringent requirements on how the interviews are conducted.<sup>63</sup> In all face-to-face interviews, for example, another adult was present for the whole time. The initial proposal to DET that I would conduct focus group-style interviews so that there were always at least two children present had been agreed to but, as discussed below, the lack of response from schools and children unfortunately meant I had to pursue recruitment of participants through other personal and professional contacts.

### ***The limitations***

The limited number of participants means that it is not possible to claim representativeness of the research. As already stated, the intention was to pilot a research approach rather than to undertake a statistically reliable survey. In any case, the historical novels and picture books in the corpus constituted the major primary source material for the thesis. Resources and time were also limited. My conviction was, however, that if it was possible to give children a voice, I should try to do so, even if in limited way. I thus embarked upon the process of research design and ethics approval for doing research with 'human subjects.'

The rigorous ethics application process ensured a sound research approach that protected the rights of children but did present an additional challenge in finding participants and obtaining approval for their involvement from parents and carers. Scholarship on social research highlights the ethical dimensions of studies involving human participants, as do national guidelines and university approval systems.<sup>64</sup> Involving children directly in research

---

<sup>63</sup> The first stage of the pilot required approval of the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. The application form is comprehensive and requires a full project description, including the aims of the project, the research plan and the methods. The second stage of the pilot required a supplementary application to amend the approval in line with modifications to the project design. I also applied to the New South Wales Department of Education to approach schools as a way of recruiting participants. I was required to complete a State Education Research Approvals Process (SERAP) Research Proposal – Form K, which took months to be processed, delaying my progress. The relevant approvals are included in Appendix B.

<sup>64</sup> Marshall and Rossman, *Designing Qualitative Research*; Tim May, *Social Research. Issues, Methods and Process* (Buckingham and Bristol: Open University, 1996); National Health and Medical Research Council, "National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research" (2007) – Updated May 2015, accessed 23 July 2018, <https://www.nhmrc.gov.au/guidelines-publications/r39>.

constitutes an additional layer of ethical care that must be taken in designing, conducting and disseminating research. If nothing else, this process highlighted one particular side of the duality perceivable in contemporary conceptions of children, providing a practical demonstration of the perceived vulnerability of children and the need for protection and guidance in their lives.

The ethical care required complicates the choice of research strategy and, in my experience, placed considerable constraints on the study that ultimately detracted from the breadth and depth of the research. The documentation requiring parental or carer approval was, I believe, also a deterrent. As an example, one school was eager to participate, distributing the project information to thirty students but only one returned the signed forms.

Ultimately, I completed in-depth research with fourteen children who were from similar socio-economic backgrounds, with five from one geographical area and nine from another. They became involved through the support of their parents for the project, rather than emerging from a wider-ranging invitation to participate. None of these limitations are insurmountable and the interviews I conducted convinced me it would be possible to use the pilot study to fine-tune a research methodology that could be applied on a larger scale. It is also possible to suggest, with a good level of confidence, that children do have interesting insights to offer about the ways in which they interact with the past and the value they place on historical knowledge.

## **Conclusion**

Harnessing social research methodologies has emerged in historical research as an integral part of historians seeking to understand more about how the past is used in contemporary society. In January 2018, the Social Research Centre (SRC) at the Australian National University released the findings of their research survey that identified the events considered by Australians to be the top ten most significant historical events of their lifetime.<sup>65</sup> The survey

---

<sup>65</sup> Darren Pennay, Frank Bongiorno, and Paul Myers, "The Life in Australia Historic Events Survey: Australians name the 10 most Significant Historic Events of their Lifetime," *Topline Report* (Canberra, ACT: Social Research Centre, Australian National University, 2018), [http://cdn.srcentre.com.au/le2017/documents/SRC\\_HES\\_Topline\\_Report.pdf](http://cdn.srcentre.com.au/le2017/documents/SRC_HES_Topline_Report.pdf).

demonstrated the building academic interest in what ‘ordinary people’ think about the past. The survey respondents included ‘Gen Z’ – defined as those born between 1995 and 2007, so under the age of 22 at the time of the survey. For these younger people, the same-sex marriage postal survey and results was the most frequently mentioned historic event for its impact on Australia in their lifetime, at 41%. September 11 was the next most frequently mentioned event. The focus on event during their lifetime reveals how historical meaning-making develops but left me wondering what they may have answered if the questions were about the most significant events throughout Australian history.

The SRC survey indicates that the researchers saw value in involving all age groups in history-related social research. Similarly, my approach is based on the conviction that children are historical actors, consumers of history, and even producers of historical work. They are implicated in the development of a nation’s history and exert agency within the development of a nation’s historical understandings. Despite the limitations, the research process undertaken provides a foundation for developing future research strategies, and the central premise of the study – that children have a meaningful contribution to make to understandings about how fictional representations of the past are received – was proven to be the case. More voices, of greater diversity, would enrich and broaden the contribution to conversations about engagement with history beyond the academy, yet each child that I spoke to enhanced my understanding of their personal engagement with historical fiction as a representation of the past, as well as other encounters beyond the classroom that are integral to their historical awakening.

## Chapter 3

# ‘Offered to Children’ – the Emergence of Australian Children’s Literature<sup>1</sup>

### Introduction

Australian children’s literature in general has been described as inhabiting a literary space ‘beyond the canon’ alongside science fiction, popular writing, film, environmental writing and gay and lesbian writing.<sup>2</sup> If this is the case, then Australian children’s historical fiction could be seen to exist at the more distant margins of national literary history. Individual works of children’s historical fiction, such as Ruth Park’s novel *Playing Beattie Bow* (awarded Children’s Book of the Year in 1981) might warrant inclusion in such a literary history but many other texts would recede into the past, deposited in specialized library collections unlikely to be read by a child.

Notwithstanding this *literary* obscurity, historical novels and picture books long lost from bookstores and most municipal libraries, as well as those still widely available, are material evidence of the past – examples of *history-making* beyond the academy. Their inclusion in literary histories is only a necessary starting point for recognizing their place in the material culture of childhood, in Australian history, and in Australian historiography. In recognizing this, this thesis seeks to build upon that literary foundation to present new ways to interpret, for History, how the past is packaged through text and illustrations in this form of historical fiction.

---

<sup>1</sup> The phrase ‘Offered to Children’ references the title of Maurice Saxby’s influential literary history: Maurice Saxby, *Offered to Children: A History of Australian Children’s Literature 1841-1941* (Gosford: Scholastic, 1998). Saxby, in turn, references the book acknowledged as the first Australian children’s novel, Charlotte Barton’s *A Mother’s Offering to her Children* (1841).

<sup>2</sup> Alice Mills, “Australian Children’s Literature” in Nicholas Birns and Rebecca McNeer, ed.s, *A Companion to Australian Literature Since 1900* (Rochester, New York: Camden House, 2007), 417-428. This chapter appears in “Part 5: Beyond the Canon.”

Constructing a story, or history, of children's historical fiction published since 1945 is enriched by considering what came before World War Two. How successive generations have 'used' the past for fictional purposes provides another perspective on history-making beyond the academy. A chronologically-based linear narrative is, of course, not the only approach to understanding the formation of the corpus developed for the thesis, but it does provide an initial interpretive approach to understanding the selection of these primary sources as a subject for History. This chapter identifies four critical spaces that shape the deep cultural context of the corpus: the emergence of the historical novel in 18<sup>th</sup> century Britain; the emergence of an explicit literature for children from the late seventeenth century onwards; the emergence of an Australian literature, including literature for children, from the colonial era onwards; and the ethical discourses influencing the informal and formal education of children. These provide the starting point for this thesis' intervention into a previously unexplored historical subject.

## **Australian children's historical fiction as historical subject: four critical spaces**

### **The emergence of the historical novel as a literary form**

While a full and detailed history of the historical fiction genre is not possible within this thesis, it is important to understand its origins in attempting to construct Australian children's historical fiction as a subject for historians to explore because these origins demonstrate that children's historical novels and picture books are an integral part of cultural practices that value the transmission of historical knowledge to children. As De Groot points out, although the impulse to delve into the past and to re-present retrievable information in a creative way is a core aspect of cultural life, the form of the historical novel is 'particularly Eurocentric.'<sup>3</sup> Of most relevance to Australian children's historical fiction, then, is the emergence of the novel and historical novel in the United Kingdom (and later in the United States of America).

As a physical object, the novel took on an appearance in England in the 1700s that distinguished it from other textual forms. Prior to the construction of the novel, historical and

---

<sup>3</sup> Jerome de Groot, *The Historical Novel* (Abingdon, Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2010), 12, 13.

other stories circulated in manuscript form, or were conveyed through oral traditions, theatrical productions and in chapbooks – ‘a short, cheap book, produced in large numbers from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries.’<sup>4</sup> The emergence of novels as a ‘mass medium’ in the early eighteenth century was dependent upon technological advances such as the printing press, development of more sophisticated distribution networks, as well as more widespread literacy and availability of leisure time.<sup>5</sup>

In establishing a physical presence, the novel was perceived to have an important purpose to fulfil in cultural life: that of education and ethical governance, Clery noting that:

A central tenet of the theory of the novel in the eighteenth century was the existence of a functional link between fiction and social reality .... By emulating nature, fiction was able to play the useful role of teaching readers about the world and the moral problems to be faced there, and this educative purpose would redeem its intrinsic falseness.<sup>6</sup>

Historical novels, by extension, might be seen to have involved a similar impulse, the functional link occurring between fiction and historical ‘reality,’ and the educative function based on lessons to be learnt about the past and, perhaps, from the past.

Commercial capabilities and consumer sensibilities combined, then, to create an environment conducive to the production of the novel and, in turn, historical novels.<sup>7</sup> Yet, the idea of the ‘rise of the novel’ as an eighteenth-century phenomenon is contested by contemporary literary scholars.<sup>8</sup> Rather than focusing on the novel as a distinct and distinctive product, such scholarship complicates understandings of the novel’s antecedents, contemporary forms, and its deep content (themes, ideas, literary devices and so forth), revealing more complex

---

<sup>4</sup> Julia Briggs, Dennis Butts and M.O. Grenby, *Popular Children’s Literature in Britain*, (Hampshire, England: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), 27.

<sup>5</sup> Briggs, Butts and Grenby, *Popular Children’s Literature*, 17.

<sup>6</sup> E.Clery. “Introduction to Horace Walpole’s the Castle of Otranto. A Gothic Story,” in *The Castle of Otranto. A Gothic Story*, ed. W.S. Lewis. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), xxiii.

<sup>7</sup> See de Groot *The Historical Novel*, 17.

<sup>8</sup> See Margaret Reeves “Telling the Tale of the Novel,” *Clio*, 2000, 30, no.1: 25-49.

relationships with other forms of cultural expression.<sup>9</sup> Approaching novels as part of an intricate web of cultural expression therefore implies looking beyond genre conventions to explore connections with other literary forms. However, although the knowledge of eighteenth century literary forms in this thesis must rely upon the work of literary scholars, it is approached as a fledgling historian peering into a different discipline. Ultimately, because the gaze of the thesis rests elsewhere, the capacity to explore this suggested intertwining of the various forms of fictional expression over time is necessarily restricted. Nevertheless, the idea of ‘reading across genre’ expands the ways historical novels can be situated as a form of cultural expression. As one type of novel, the historical novel may, contemporary literary scholarship suggests, be understood more fully if it is not considered in isolation as a self-contained entity situated within a self-contained genre. With this in mind, the following aims to provide a sufficient account of the novel’s history to provide the cultural context in which to situate the studies undertaken in Part Two of the thesis.

Historical expression in public and popular cultural forms has a presence in known human history and such forms are the ultimate antecedents of the historical novel. The novel simply provided a textual form that performed work previously steeped in oral traditions – ballads, theatre, storytelling, ceremonies. Historical novels did not displace these traditions but offered a new pathway in a rapidly industrializing society, alongside other literary forms such as poetry and plays. Tracing the connections between these other literary forms provides another way of looking at the historical novel or picture book as an historical object.

The more dominant interpretations of the direct antecedents of the historical novel as a distinct literary form trace these antecedents variously to Shakespeare’s history plays, Cervantes’ *Don Quixote* (1605), and Horace Walpole’s 1764 novel *The Castle of Otranto*.<sup>10</sup> Notwithstanding these antecedents, the historical novel as a form is generally considered to have originated

---

<sup>9</sup> See Kate Parker and Courtney Weiss Smith, ed.s, *Eighteenth Century Poetry and the Rise of the Novel Reconsidered* (Bucknell University Press and Roman and Littlefield, 2014); Margaret Reeves “Telling the Tale of the Novel,”; Nicholas Seager, *The Rise of the Novel: A Reader’s Guide to Essential Criticism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

<sup>10</sup> See (respectively) Dennis Butts, “Dogs and Cats: The Nineteenth-Century Historical Novel for Children,” in *Historical Fiction for Children: Capturing the Past*, ed.s Fiona M Collins and Judith Graham (Great Britain: David Fulton Publisher, 2001); de Groot *The Historical Novel*, and Clery “Introduction to Horace Walpole’s *Castle of Otranto*,”.



during the early nineteenth century, and particularly with the writings of Sir Walter Scott.<sup>11</sup> As Lukács argued in his 1937 study of the historical novel on Scott's texts, Scott did 'not use history simply as background' but sought instead 'to understand individuals historically.'<sup>12</sup> What mattered in the historical novel then, was 'that we should re-experience the social and human motives which led men to think, feel and act as they did in historical reality.'<sup>13</sup>

As the practice of History gained traction as an area of academic endeavor in the 1800s, Scott's historical novels contributed to an aligning of this form of fiction with academic historiography rather than literary novels.<sup>14</sup> Notwithstanding the influence of his work on the production of fiction, in terms of the production of history de Groot argues that '[i]t is difficult to overstate how important his example was' during the nineteenth century, not just to writers and readers but also to historians 'throughout the world,'<sup>15</sup> although this is more evident in relation to adult historical fiction than it is in children's historical fiction.

### **The emergence of literature for children, including historical novels**

The emergence of literature targeting a child audience is a second critical space within the deep cultural context of children's historical fiction. Changing social, cultural, economic and political circumstances, firstly in Britain and then later in the colonies and post-Federation Australia, combined to create new ways of considering childhood and 'managing' children. In the late seventeenth century, Hugh Cunningham observes, literature specifically targeting children emerged in Britain. Prior to this, there were religious and educational texts aimed at a child audience, however the new publications:

[E]ven if they were still pious and didactic to a greater or lesser extent, were also designed to engage children's attention by offering them a

---

<sup>11</sup> de Groot *The Historical Novel*, 11.

<sup>12</sup> de Groot, 24

<sup>13</sup> See Gyorgy Lukacs, *The Theory of the Novel. A Historico-Philosophical Essay on the Forms of Great Epic Literature*, trans. Anna Bostock (Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1971).

<sup>14</sup> Lukacs, quoted in de Groot, *The Historical Novel*, 33.

<sup>15</sup> de Groot, 33.

robust narrative, strong child characters, attractive illustrations, rhymes or riddles, or a text which took the child's point of view.<sup>16</sup>

Applying the lens of childhood to the emergence of new forms of literary endeavor, it may be seen that Victorian ideas about the nature of children and childhood influenced the publishing industry. The passage of the *Education Acts* of 1870 in England and Wales and 1872 in Scotland, for example, identifies children as a specific social group. The legislation is an example of a 'technology' of government, designed to ensure that the ethical governance of children operated through approaches specific to their age and intended place in society.<sup>17</sup> The legislation enshrined compulsory elementary education for children initially between the ages of five to ten, a recognition that they, and society, would benefit from them attending school rather than engaging in employment.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, in Australia, education legislation enacted by colonial and state governments from the 1850s through to 1908 provided a low-cost or free public school system that was both 'mainly secular' and contained an element of compulsory attendance.<sup>19</sup>

The development of specialized educational publishing was a natural adjunct to these legislative changes, since they created an 'urgent need for school books.'<sup>20</sup> The Scottish firm Blackie and Sons, for example, commenced educational publishing from 1879, just seven years after the legislation was enacted in Scotland.<sup>21</sup> The eighteenth century also saw the emergence of book-giving for rewards and prizes by schools and Sunday schools, implicating book production in the ethical governance of children beyond the classroom.<sup>22</sup> Reynolds identifies four main themes in reward and prize books in the 1800s: gender role models conforming to

---

<sup>16</sup> Hugh Cunningham, *The Invention of Childhood* (London: BBC Books, 2006), 25.

<sup>17</sup> For an exploration of governmentality, see Mitchell Dean and Barry Hindess, ed.s, *Governing Australia. Studies in Contemporary Rationalities of Government* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

<sup>18</sup> See "Living heritage. Going to school," UK Parliament, accessed 2 July 2017, <http://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/livinglearning/school/overview/1870educationact/>.

<sup>19</sup> See Craig Campbell and Helen Proctor, *A History of Australian Schooling* (Crows Nest: Allen and Unwin, 2014), 73-4.

<sup>20</sup> Kimberley Reynolds, *Radical Children's Literature. Future Visions and Aesthetic Transformations in Juvenile Fiction* (Hampshire, New York: PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, 2007), 149.

<sup>21</sup> Reynolds, *Radical Children's Literature*, 149.

<sup>22</sup> Reynolds, 149.

dominant ideal of the period; character development; the danger of specific vices; and the importance of family life. She observes that:

The narrative drive of typical reward fiction is to show the benefits of conforming to the prevailing image of the ‘respectable poor’, which involved demonstrating precisely the kinds of qualities associated with a governable, committed, undemanding and socially quiescent work force. The need to be thrifty, independent, tee-total and good tempered was stressed, as was the value of home life and education, the importance of trusting in God, of accepting the dominant ideals of masculinity and femininity, and of assuming responsibility for caring for others.<sup>23</sup>

The themes and typical narratives driving reward fiction, as identified by Reynolds, indicate a prevailing societal image of the ‘good’ citizen. The act of book-giving itself indicates the importance placed upon literature as a technology of government.

In his exploration of the historical novel from the early eighteenth century through to the early twenty-first century, de Groot has assigned children’s historical fiction to ‘genre,’ a broad category for ‘novels that are not generally judged literary and therefore are often unconsidered by critics’ including those ‘aimed at women, those marketed for men and those written for children.’<sup>24</sup> According to de Groot, the audience expectations of such targeted fiction encouraged the emergence of genre conventions that shaped both the narrative and its packaging. In the case of ‘genre’ historical fiction, such conventions created a tendency for non-literary historical novels ‘to be extremely rigid in [their] underwriting of dominant cultural ideologies.’<sup>25</sup> The corpus created for this thesis does indeed include novels that exhibit such rigidity. However, it also includes alternatives to dominant narratives and ideologies, suggesting that this material may not have been as rigid as de Groot claims.

---

<sup>23</sup> Reynolds, 204-5.

<sup>24</sup> Reynolds, 51.

<sup>25</sup> Reynolds, 51.

There is a general recognition within literary scholarship that Frederick Marryat's *Children of the New Forest*, published in 1847, is the first example of the genre of historical fiction targeting children.<sup>26</sup> Although in his analysis of children's historical novels, Dennis Butts claims Harriet Martineau, a feminist and sociologist (1802-76) was the first writer to 'bring Walter Scott's serious interests' to this literary form, he concurs that Marryat's novel was the first historical novel for children. Suzanne Rahn, on the other hand, argues that Charlotte Yonge was first writer to re-orient history from child's perspective.<sup>27</sup> Regardless of these debates, what emerges from this literary scholarship is that children's historical novels were 'well established by the second half of nineteenth century' in Britain, ensuring that such literature was available to children in colonial Australia.<sup>28</sup>

Butts characterizes the novel form for children as moving from:

[P]resenting history in somewhat indigestible form, with overt political or religious agendas and formulaic plots, to stories with more engaging juvenile heroes and more entertaining story-lines, such as we find in Robert Louis Stevenson.<sup>29</sup>

British author G.A. Henty, for example, wrote 122 books for children from the late 1860s until the early 1900s, using historical settings for adventure stories aimed at boys, drawing on events of imperial and national significance. Both Henty and Stevenson used elements of romance and adventure in their historical novels, pushing the boundaries of the historical veracity of these texts. Like Cervantes' *Don Quixote* (1605) and Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1764) before them, their novels highlight the problematic relationship between history and prose

---

<sup>26</sup> Reynolds, 88.

<sup>27</sup> Suzanne Rahn, "An Evolving Past: The Story of Historical Fiction and Nonfiction for Children," *The Lion and the Unicorn* 15, no.1 (June 1991): 5.

<sup>28</sup> Butts, "Dogs and Cats," 6.

<sup>29</sup> Butts, "Dogs and Cats," 2.

fiction, as well as troubling perceptions of the relationship between past and present, raising enduring questions about the relationship between fiction and history.<sup>30</sup>

### *Australian children's literature prior to 1945*

Prior to 1945, Australian children's historical fiction, and literature for children more generally, reflected a tendency to rely on expected subjects, themes and literary tropes, a tendency influenced by strong ties to the British publishing market. Books available to Australian children were predominantly of British origin and focused on the process of emigration and settlement. Saxby noted that '[m]any of the nineteenth century novels deal with families on the move, migrating from Britain to Australia. Others depict life in the harsh Australian outback.'<sup>31</sup> These preoccupations with life beyond the cities persisted in the decade following Federation. As Brenda Niall observed:

Adventure stories and pioneering stories, first devised by English writers for English children in the mid-nineteenth century were reworked by Australian writers in the early twentieth century. The result was, long after Australia was predominantly an urban nation, its literary images remained much the same: droughts, floods and bushfires, goldmines, lost children, Aborigines, squatters and swagmen.<sup>32</sup>

Generally, the preoccupations of Australian fiction for children of the period indicate the continuing influence of a colonial mindset bound in the realm of Empire and a nostalgic recreation of the 'Mother country.' Within this fiction, textual representations of Indigenous life were predominantly from a non-Indigenous perspective, propelled by anthropological interest or objective curiosity, rather than historical interest.<sup>33</sup> The discursive and narrative strategies

---

<sup>30</sup> See de Groot, *The Historical Novel* and Clery, *Introduction to Horace Walpole's Castle of Otranto*, for a discussion of the two earlier novels.

<sup>31</sup> Saxby, *Offered to Children*, see Section: 'Family and Community Life,'.

<sup>32</sup> Brenda Niall, "Children's Literature," *Australian Literary Studies*, 13, no.4 (1988): 547-559. (<https://www.austlit-edu-au.ezproxy.sl.nsw.gov.au/static/new/files/text/pdf/3222457039226241243-brn95736.pdf>): 1

<sup>33</sup> See Clare Bradford: "Representing Indigeneity: Aborigines and Australian Children's Literature Then and Now," *Ariel*, 28, no.1 (January 1997): 91, 94; and "Fading to Black Aboriginal Children in Colonial Texts," *Papers: Explorations in Children's Literature*, 9, no.1 (1999): 14-30; Brooke Collins-Gearing, "Re-reading

employed in the pre-1945 texts worked, as Clare Bradford explains, to both construct notions of Aboriginality and to position non-Indigenous ('white') Australian child readers as inheritors of a 'nationalism reliant on Englishness,' absolved of 'colonial guilt' through the naturalization of 'the deaths of Aboriginal children, and of Aborigines collectively,' although with an ongoing anxiety around children of 'mixed race.'<sup>34</sup> Taking a Foucauldian theoretical approach in which statements of 'truth' have 'effects in the real,'<sup>35</sup> Bradford also observes that the 'truths' on offer in colonial era texts performed particular work in relation to the socialization of children.<sup>36</sup> Discursive strategies and practices used in the texts effectively excluded Aboriginality from the preferred model of a white, English-based society, offering ethical guidance through selected social knowledge to white child readers by positing Indigenous characters as Other and by evoking in non-Indigenous characters a range of responses to this Other from amusement and benign tolerance to fear and violence. Such an approach provided a poor representation of Indigenous history. Nevertheless, the approach persisted well into the twentieth century and, it might be argued, to the present day.<sup>37</sup>

Notwithstanding these limitations, the material artefacts of Australian childhood have included historical novels and picture books since the colonial era, and these artefacts were strongly intertwined with British cultural production and with the ethical guidance of children. Nevertheless, the aspirations embedded within these children's texts can be further illuminated by examining critical developments in literature for adults prior to 1945.

### **Australian literature for adults**

The cultural ties of a settler colonial nation to its country of origin naturally shaped the literary output and reception of Australian work in the 1800s and continued to do so in the early to

---

representations of Indigenality in Australian Children's Literature: a History" *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education*, 35 (2006): 61-67; and Jennifer Sabbioni, Kay Schaffer and Sidonie Smith, ed.s, *Indigenous Australian Voices: A Reader* (New Brunswick, New Jersey and London: Rutgers University Press 1998).

<sup>34</sup> See Bradford, "Fading to Black," 1-13.

<sup>35</sup> Mitchell Dean, "Foucault, Government and the Enfolding of Authority" in Andrew Barry, Thomas Osborne and Nikolas Rose, ed.s., *Foucault and Political Reason: Liberalism, Neo-liberalism and Rationalities of Government* (London, UCL Press, 1996), 209-229.

<sup>36</sup> See Bradford, "Representing Indigeneity," passim.

<sup>37</sup> See Niall, *Australia Through the Looking Glass*, 5.

mid-1900s. Although an Australian ‘voice’ and writing that challenged comfortable stereotypes also emerged, Australian literature for adults prior to 1945 exhibited similar preoccupations to those in the texts for children. Novels and poetry in the 1840s focused on emigrants and convicts, moving on to also include gold and bushrangers from the 1850s. Toni Johnson-Wood characterizes popular colonial fiction as comprising three main approaches to the colonial adventure story: ‘the gold-rush yarn, the settler story, and new chum tales.’ As this thesis will show, all three became key approaches to representations of the past in children’s historical fiction *post*-1945.<sup>38</sup>

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, gazettes, periodicals and newspapers from both Australian and imported sources also provided a source of fiction. This literature provided a tangible connection with the literary traditions and developments of, predominantly, the United Kingdom and United States of America. Nevertheless, as Johnson-Wood notes, although ‘[n]ot surprisingly’ most early fiction came from “‘home”” (the United Kingdom), and substantial amounts of popular fiction ‘came from the penny storypapers such as the New York Ledger .... by the mid-nineteenth century, Australian periodicals increasingly offered material written by Australians for Australians.’<sup>39</sup> Marcus Clarke’s *For the Term of His Natural Life*, for example, was first published in serial form in the *Australian Journal*, during Clarke’s term as editor in the early 1870s.<sup>40</sup> The *Bulletin* magazine also played a critical role in embedding the idea of a ‘national type’ in Australian culture, Richard Carr observing that:

By the 1890s, the *Bulletin* had firmly moved into its role as the voice of Australia. The magazine had published its version of the Australian Dream amid the nationalistic fervor that created the Legend of the Nineties .... This national type was best served by the bushman.<sup>41</sup>

---

<sup>38</sup> See Toni Johnson-Wood, “Popular Australian Writing,” in Nicholas Birns and Rebecca McNeer, ed.s., *A Companion to Australian Literature Since 1900* (New York: Camden House, 2007), 389.

<sup>39</sup> Johnson-Wood, “Popular Australian Writing,” 388.

<sup>40</sup> Johnson-Wood, 388.

<sup>41</sup> See Richard Carr. “Writing the Nation, 1900-1940” in Nicholas Birns and Rebecca McNeer, ed.s., *A Companion to Australian Literature Since 1900* (New York: Camden House, 2007), 160.

The early twentieth-century work of Joseph Furphy extended this legacy, further exploring life in ‘the bush.’ Furphy’s novels *Such is Life* (1903) and *Rigby’s Romance* (1906) were serialized in the *Bulletin*, establishing a tradition in Australian writing that, according to Carr, influenced an ‘extended line of Australian fiction writers [including] Katherine Susannah Prichard, Xavier Herbert, Eve Langley, Vance Palmer, and Frank Dalby Davidson.’<sup>42</sup>

The bushman legacy still persists in the enduring strength of the idea of the Australian national identity as bound up with the hardships and challenges of life in rural and outback Australia. Nevertheless, from the early 1900s onwards, local writers began to explore more diverse, urbanized subject matter in the form of the novel, including Miles Franklin’s *My Brilliant Career* (1901) and Henry Handel Richardson’s *The Getting of Wisdom* (1910).<sup>43</sup> Australian literature continued to mature in the wake of World War One, Richard Carr remarking that:

After the war, the celebration of a White Australia and the continued emphasis on the sane, cheerful, courageous spirit of Australians was no longer a radical but a distinctly conservative, even reactionary stance.<sup>44</sup>

More complex, complicated representations of Australian society and the nation’s history emerged between the two world wars, including in representations of settler society and Indigenous history. The historical novel formed part of these representations, as Australian fiction writers ‘returned again and again to the historical novel as a form of nation-building, of alternative history writing, of expiation for colonial guilts, or of comment on their own times.’<sup>45</sup> Katherine Prichard’s novel *Coonardoo* (1929), for example, is historical as well as contemporaneous. Exploring the tensions of station life in remote Western Australia from the 1860s to the 1920s, Prichard depicts the moral dilemmas inherent in sexual attraction and relationships between non-Indigenous men and Aboriginal women.<sup>46</sup> The novel brought a

---

<sup>42</sup> See Carr, “Writing the Nation,” 157.

<sup>43</sup> Henry Handel Richardson was the pen-name of Ethel Florence Lindesay Richardson. See Elizabeth Webby, ed., *The Cambridge Guide to Australian Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

<sup>44</sup> See Carr, “Writing the Nation,” 167.

<sup>45</sup> Webby, *The Cambridge Guide*, 108.

<sup>46</sup> Marion V. Austin-Crowe, “Katherine Susannah Prichard’s *Coonardoo*: An Historical Study” (PhD diss., Edith Cowan University, 1996).



close observation of life on the frontier that was ahead of prevailing social attitudes and Euro-centric academic historiography. Healy has argued that Pritchard ‘moved, with creative insight, into a new field of Australian experience. She did it in advance of any signaling from her society, and in defiance of its restrictive prejudice.’<sup>47</sup>

Other writers, including Richardson, Miles Franklin, Xavier Herbert, and poet Kenneth Slessor, were also expressing ideas and themes that challenged restrictive, conservative conceptions of Australian society.<sup>48</sup> The romance of the bush, however, continued to prove a popular subject, as exemplified in Ion Idriess’s writing, where ‘[h]is combination of the bush yarn and historical or geographical subjects brought a new vision of Australia to its city-bound readers.’ This vision resonated with developments in popular historiography, with the sesquicentenary of European invasion/settlement encouraging interest in populist, nationalist works, Idriess topping book sales in the 1940s, with fellow popular historical story writer Frank Clune in second place.<sup>49</sup>

If Pritchard’s *Coonardoo* shifted the gaze of White Australia to its complicated relationship with the Indigenous population, Eleanor Dark’s *The Timeless Land* (1941) asked readers to reimagine representations of contact from the perspective of the nation’s Indigenous inhabitants. Dark apparently:

[F]ound herself sickened by the complacency of Sydney’s celebration of the sesquicentenary of British settlement in 1938 .... [and] wanted to write a more radical historical account, one from the inside, looking out from her cave in the sandstone escarpment, towards the swelling tide of invasion.<sup>50</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup> J.J. Healy *Literature and the Aborigine in Australia* (St Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1989), 140.

<sup>48</sup> See Elizabeth Webby, ed., *The Cambridge Guide*, 108-114.

<sup>49</sup> See Bridget Griffin-Foley “Digging Up the Past. Frank Clune, Australian Historian and Media Personality,” *History Australia* 8, no.1 (2011): 127-152.

<sup>50</sup> Tom Griffiths, *The Art of Time Travel. Historians and Their Craft* (Carlton: Black Inc, 2016), 31.

Such accounts were not yet emanating from Indigenous authors in the form of written texts. As Sabbioni, Schaffer and Smith observed, Indigenous cultures were largely ‘oral cultures. The Dreaming ceremonies [were] communal performances. Creation stories, folktales, communal rituals [were] sung, danced, drawn, enacted.’<sup>51</sup> This left the ‘truths’ around indigeneity to be indicated in the recognizable tropes that emerged in both adult and children’s literature published in the colonial period and beyond. The most prominent literary trope identified in the construction of Aboriginality was the ‘tie to the land,’ reflecting the spiritual and mythic dimensions of Indigenous culture.<sup>52</sup> Additional tropes identified by Bradford included the ‘Indigenous-as-child,’ the ‘good Aboriginal... servant,’ the Aboriginal character as ‘comic relief,’ Aboriginal people as ‘a race fast dying out’ and inferior to European settlers.<sup>53</sup> Conversely, Collins-Gearing identified a ‘European fascination with Indigenous knowledge, ‘ability and vigour.’’<sup>54</sup>

### **Ethics, fiction and childhood**

The growing body of children’s fiction provided a resource for the informal education of children. Adventure stories and historically-oriented texts were potentially influential ethical discourses, ‘used as educational adjuncts throughout the first half of the twentieth century in the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada and Australia.’<sup>55</sup> This was also a time when the Australian education system was changing, moving towards a more universal system of access, including past primary school age.<sup>56</sup> The pedagogic use of children’s literature was deliberately moralistic and didactic, a source of socialization within the boundaries of contemporaneous mores. It must be noted, however, that such socialization was reserved for those children with access to education and to the books in more informal settings.

---

<sup>51</sup> Sabbioni, Schaffer and Smith, ed.s, *Indigenous Australian Voices*, xlv. Indigenous voices in Australian literature, including children’s literature and historical fiction, did emerge in the post-1945 period, a development that will be explored in Chapter Four.

<sup>52</sup> John Scheckter. *The Australian Novel 1830-1980. A Thematic Introduction* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1998), 126.

<sup>53</sup> Clare Bradford “Representing Indigeneity,” 91, 94; and Clare Bradford “Fading to Black,” 18-19, 20.

<sup>54</sup> Collins-Gearing “Re-reading representations of Indigenality,” 7.

<sup>55</sup> de Groot, *The Historical Novel*, 89.

<sup>56</sup> See Campbell and Proctor, *History of Australian Schooling*, 109.

The first children's novel published in Australia, Charlotte Barton's *A Mother's Offering to her Children* (1841), provides a good example of the informal pedagogic use of literature and historical representations. Through the device of a mother telling her children stories regarding the colonization of Australia and the natural features of the land, Barton develops a narrative driven by the child audience's responses, responses that act as 'models for the colonial children outside the book – models demonstrating the attitudes, values and moral codes appropriate to the children of the colonizers.'<sup>57</sup> Clare Bradford explores how the language and literary devices used in the novel deliberately reinforce contemporary justifications of colonization, arguing that:

[W]hat may appear in *A Mother's Offering to her Children* to be nothing more than a somewhat condescending mockery of the Indigenous is in fact a discursive strategy which seeks to reinforce those sturdy binaries on which colonization depends: white and black, civilized and savage, adult and child; often, as well, male and female.<sup>58</sup>

Similarly, Saxby notes the influence of philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau within Barton's moralizing, reflecting changing ideas around childhood and parenting that influenced writers of children's literature in the 1700s and 1800s in which:

[C]hildhood came to be associated with a set of positive meanings and attributes, notably innocence, freedom, creativity, emotion, spontaneity and, perhaps most importantly for those charged with raising and educating children, malleability.<sup>59</sup>

Other writers, as Kimberley Reynolds went on to observe, continued to emphasise the idea of childhood as bound within the doctrine of original sin or 'as the raw material from which adults

---

<sup>57</sup> Bradford "Representing Indigeneity," 90.

<sup>58</sup> Bradford, 91.

<sup>59</sup> Kimberley Reynolds, "Perceptions of Childhood," accessed 16 February 2016, <http://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/perceptions-of-childhood>.

were made rather than an ideal state to be valued and preserved.’<sup>60</sup> These ideas about childhood indicate the pedagogical and ethical impulses embedded within children’s literature, including historical fiction, that generated and operated according to the duality identified as one of the key themes for this thesis: the child as vulnerable recipient/custodian of national narratives.

## **Embedding ethical discourses: the formal education system**

School-based history education commenced in New South Wales around 1830, integrated with the study of religion and the classics.<sup>61</sup> This approach served to place the study of history within a framework of morals, civic duty and imperial loyalty, demonstrating the areas in which children needed guidance. The dominant theme of British superiority helped determine the topics to be studied and the way in which they were presented. As historians Macintyre and Clark note ‘Courses were dominated by ‘great men, great deeds and great events’.’ Australian perspectives were given more attention after World War One, yet ‘well into the mid-twentieth century, themes were still bound by ideas of history-as-progress and the advance of civilization through the British Empire.’<sup>62</sup> If this pedagogical approach meant omitting the majority of a diverse population from the historical records, it appears that neither the fledgling academy nor the setters of school curricula considered this problematic.

The discourses employed in formal education settings provide a touchstone for the fictional representations of the past emanating from the literary sphere. Consistencies are indicated between pedagogical and fictional discourses in the pre-1945 era. For example, the adventure mode of children’s fiction embedded lessons about the expansion of empire at the same time as inculcating the idea of the imperial project. Indeed, Bell, Bennett and Bevans assert that ‘scholars interested in the movement of books over the centuries argue convincingly that they played an important role in the creating and sustaining of empire,’ although, over the longer

---

<sup>60</sup> Reynolds, “Perceptions of Childhood.”

<sup>61</sup> Stuart Macintyre and Anna Clark, *The History Wars* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2004).

<sup>62</sup> Macintyre and Clark, *The History Wars*, 173.

term, examples of children's historical fiction texts that challenged the imperial project did emerge post-1945, as will be explored in Part Two of this thesis.<sup>63</sup>

## Conclusion

Exploring the deep cultural context reveals points of continuity and points of difference between the pre- and post-1945 uses of the past in Australian children's historical fiction, which helps to tease out historical/historiographical implications. Critical within these implications is the positioning of children's historical fiction within a broader landscape of literary, commercial, pedagogical, civic/public governance and governmental developments and practices.

The next chapter casts the post-1945 corpus of historical novels and picture books as the subject of history, looking at how developments occurred within it over this timeframe. Constructing this history sets the foundation for the interrogation of how specific textual elements, discursive practices and paratextual aspects of children's historical fiction within the corpus can be revealed as performing historical tasks, and thus capable of contributing to an understanding of fictional historiography.

---

<sup>63</sup> Bill Bell, Phillip Bennett and Jonquil Bevans, *Across Boundaries: The Book in Culture and Commerce*. (Hampshire: St Paul's Bibliographies, 2000).



## **Chapter 4**

### **Overview of the Corpus, 1945-2015: Historical Fiction as a Subject for History**

#### **Introduction: contextualizing the corpus**

This chapter outlines the evolution of the corpus – the primary body of source material for this thesis – from three titles in the 1940s to the 159 published between 2000-2015. It focuses on the factors conducive to such an increase in the supply of titles, and in an expansion in the scope of the subject matter. This increase in the number of texts and their engagement with a multiplicity of topics are two fundamental and striking aspects of the post-war development of children's historical fiction indicated by the corpus and, as this chapter will show, are consistent with broader developments in children's literature, historiography and ideas about the ethical governance of children over the same period. Nevertheless, the history suggested by the corpus does not fit neatly into a temporal framework built upon the broader currents of social, economic, cultural and political life in Australia. Turning to literary histories, a shift in their analytical frameworks from a chronological structure – grouping texts according to conventional time periods – to a thematic approach that touches lightly on the broader historical context is clear to see. As discussed in the Introduction and Chapter One, the corpus takes these literary histories as a starting point but is primarily informed by more recent cultural histories that focus on cultural products or forms of expression (such as movies and television shows), public and private modes of historical expression and enquiry (such as re-enactments, museum exhibitions, and family genealogy) or theoretical developments, as an overarching framework rather than a temporal framework.

The chapter argues that although it is difficult to quantify the amount of historical fiction published, the corpus constructed for the thesis gives a strong indication of its nature as

material evidence of the past and its operation as a form of (fictional) historical writing. The chapter also shows how to reorient a view of children's historical fiction to focus on the embedded historical projects rather than their literary qualities. In doing so, it highlights the principal themes of this thesis: that Australian children's historical fiction published since 1945 exhibits two critical dualities: the first involving a desire to protect children as they learn but to also bestow upon them custodianship of national narratives; the second involving the divergent authorial tendencies to either subvert or reaffirm (or in some examples do both) those national narratives.

Within the complex web of factors influencing the publication of historical novels and picture books in Australia from 1945 to 2015, I have identified three aspects that are essential to understanding the contours of the corpus: an increasing 'passion for the past' within Australian society; the development of the Australian publishing industry; and aspirations regarding the education of children. Understanding the corpus is an essential step towards building a foundation for the alternative methodologies employed in this thesis, which are at the core of the original contribution it makes to scholarship in the History discipline.

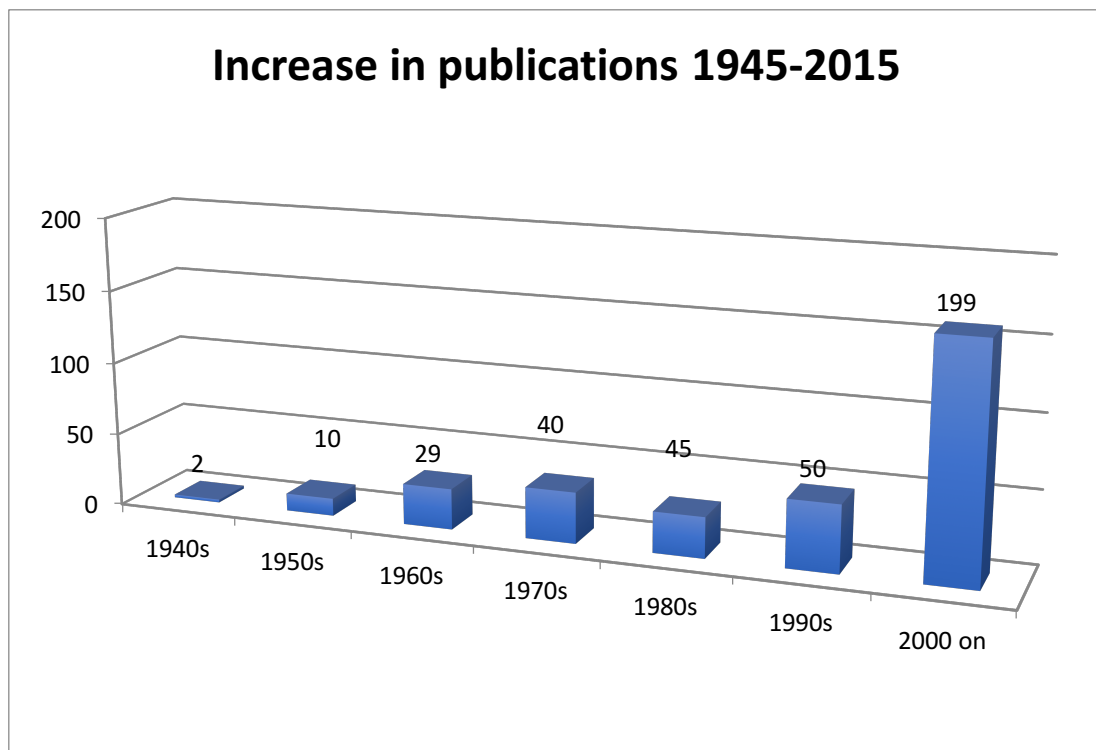
The starting point for analyzing the output of historical novels and picture books necessarily involves a broad survey of the constructed corpus. This survey was conducted along two trajectories: the volume of texts being published, beginning in 1945 and culminating in 2015; and the topics being addressed or explored in those texts. In both cases, the trajectories have shown an explosion in the amount of material to be considered, while over the period 1945 to 2015, the subject matter developed from a narrow focus on the early colonial era to engagement with diverse representations of Australia's past. If historical texts perform historical tasks in the world, then a great deal of work is clearly being done now. The embedded historical projects thus developed from conveying understandings of aspects of colonial history to conveying understandings of Australian history that may be situated within a broader conception of and interest in Australian history, both within the academy and beyond.

### **Growth in the number of publications**

Chapter Three described the small number of pre-World War Two era stories. This number expanded slowly in the 1940s and 1950s. It gathered some momentum in the 1960s and 1970s



when Saxby reported in his history of Australian children's literature for the period 1941-1970 that '[e]normous numbers of books dealing with life in Australia were published for children in the thirty years under review' with more than half of the 8240 entries in Muir's 1992 bibliography of publications between 1774-1972 dealing 'with the post-1940 period.'<sup>1</sup> Growth accelerated moderately from these levels in the 1980s and 1990s, before increasing dramatically in the 2000s (see Figure 4.1).



**Figure 4.1: Australian historical novels and picture books published 1945-2015<sup>2</sup>**

In contemporary Australian society, the past is now a commodity to be sold in as attractive and enticing a package as possible. Children's historical fiction published since 2000 constitutes a recognizable sub-genre, on trend with developments in children's literature that have seen novels published in series and accompanied by strategic marketing tactics. Multiple publications by authors such as Jackie French, the emergence of thematic series, the increasing

<sup>1</sup> Maurice Saxby, *Images of Australia. A History of Australian Children's Literature 1941-1970* (Lindfield: Scholastic Press Australia, 2002), 35.

<sup>2</sup> Source: K. Flack 2016: Data compiled from corpus titles in Appendix A.

number of picture books, and what might be termed a ‘Centenary’ effect (discussed in Chapter Seven in relation to Anzac), have all been integral to the rapid growth of the corpus in the twenty-first century. This rapid growth could have been considered as an historical project in itself in that it raises questions around the ways in which Australian society engages with uses of the past for children, although this thesis opts to consider selected aspects of the corpus in detail, commencing with the subject scope because of its aim to test a number of methods of approach that could be taken to this material, conceived of as historical evidence.

Perhaps exemplary of the enormous breadth of changes that have occurred in the material in the corpus over the period is the work of Australian author, Jackie French, the Australian National Children’s Laureate for 2014 and 2015.<sup>3</sup> French describes herself as an ‘Australian author, historian, dyslexic, ecologist, wombat tamer and believer in the power of books.’<sup>4</sup> Between 1994 and 2015, she published twenty-two titles encompassing fictional representations of Australia’s past primarily aimed at children and young adults. The number of titles is indicative of her imaginative energy and search to convey a seemingly boundless trove of stories gleaned from Australia’s past, as well as the tendency of publishers to support established writers. French’s subject matter draws upon well-recognised aspects of Australian history, including convicts, bushrangers, the goldrush era and Australians at war, while her narrative strategies include such tools as timeslips, time portals and anthropomorphism.<sup>5</sup>

French’s children’s historical fiction exemplifies the adaptability and flexibility required of the sub-genre to meet the demands of an increasingly complex and competitive marketplace from the 1990s onwards. From stand-alone novels, such as *Somewhere Around the Corner* (1994) and *Daughter of the Regiment* (1998), she now also writes historical fiction in series, a development that accords with marketing strategies within the genre and within children’s

---

<sup>3</sup> The Australian Children’s Laureate is a two-year role given to an author and/or illustrator, with the aim of promoting reading for children. The program was initiated in 2008 by the Australian Children’s Literature Alliance (ACLA), a not-for-profit organization. Those involved in the organization represent the core elements within children’s print culture: writing, publishing, bookselling and teaching, as well as librarians and arts bodies. [www.childrenslaureate.org.au](http://www.childrenslaureate.org.au). Accessed 15 March 2016.

<sup>4</sup> [www.jackiefrench.com](http://www.jackiefrench.com). Accessed 15 March 2016.

<sup>5</sup> French’s children’s historical texts sit alongside an impressive mix of fiction and non-fiction for a range of audiences, as well as her involvement in ecological projects, writing newspaper columns and as a presenter of gardening segments on the long-running television gardening and lifestyle program *Burke’s Backyard*.

literature.<sup>6</sup> She has written six books in *The Animal Stars Series*, with five of these providing representations of Australia's past.<sup>7</sup> The five-book *Matilda Saga*, which would be accessible to advanced junior readers and young adults, is set over the period 1894 to 1969.<sup>8</sup> *The Secret History Series*, her latest effort targeting children, had four titles as of March 2018.<sup>9</sup>

French's achievements have undoubtedly raised the profile of children's historical fiction in contemporary Australian society. Her historical novels for children have received a long list of literary awards and citations.<sup>10</sup> *The Night They Stormed Eureka* (2009) was awarded the *New South Wales Premier's History Award: Young People's History Prize* in 2011.<sup>11</sup> She won this Prize again in 2013 with *Pennies for Hitler*, achieving a shortlisting for *The Dingo who Crossed a Continent* in the same year.<sup>12</sup> Her success indicates the way in which momentum may gather around an author and their texts, or a series of books, stimulating a growth in volume that in turn generates interest in a type of fiction and encourages publication of similar titles.

Such interest is discernible in Australian children's historical fiction from the 1990s onwards, aligning with attention given to representations of Australia's past in the context of the History Wars, curriculum debates and public celebrations and commemorations. The growth in the number of titles is also indicative of new approaches to the production of children's historical fiction, including commissioning and marketing techniques.

---

<sup>6</sup> Prominent examples of series include J.K. Rowling's *Harry Potter* series and Suzanne Collins' *Hunger Games* series, but the practice stretches across genres from fantasy to action/adventure thrillers.

<sup>7</sup> The five novels are: *The Goat Who Sailed the World, Animal Stars Volume 1* (Pymble: HarperCollins, 2006); *The Camel Who Crossed Australia, Animal Stars Volume 3* (Pymble: HarperCollins, 2008); *The Donkey Who Carried the Wounded, Animal Stars Volume 4* (Pymble: Angus and Robertson, 2009); *The Horse Who Bit a Bushranger, Animal Stars Volume 5* (Pymble: HarperCollins Publishers, 2010); *Dingo: The Dog Who Conquered a Continent, Animal Stars Volume 6* (Pymble: HarperCollins Publishers Australia, 2012).

<sup>8</sup> Jackie French: *A Waltz for Matilda* (Australia: HarperCollins Australia, 2010); *The Girl from Snowy River* (Australia: HarperCollins Australia, 2012); *The Road to Gundagai* (Australia: HarperCollins Australia, 2013); *To Love a Sunburnt Country* (Australia: HarperCollins Australia, 2014); and *The Ghost by the Billabong* (Australia: HarperCollins Australia, 2015).

<sup>9</sup> Jackie French: *Birring the Secret Friend, The Secret History Series Volume 1* (Sydney: HarperCollins Publishers Australia, 2015); *Barney and the Secret of the Whales, The Secret History Series Volume 2* (Sydney: HarperCollins Publishers Australia, 2016); *The Secret of the Black Bushranger, The Secret History Series Volume 3* (Sydney: HarperCollins Publishers Australia, 2017); *The Secret of the French Spies, The Secret History Series Volume 4* (Sydney: HarperCollins Publishers Australia, 2018).

<sup>10</sup> For a list of the awards, see [www.jackiefrench.com](http://www.jackiefrench.com). Accessed 15 March 2016.

<sup>11</sup> Jackie French, *The Night They Stormed Eureka* (Australia: HarperCollins Australia, 2009).

<sup>12</sup> See [http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/sites/default/files/2018\\_pha\\_guidelines\\_entries\\_open\\_19\\_feb.pdf](http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/sites/default/files/2018_pha_guidelines_entries_open_19_feb.pdf). Accessed 22 July 2018.

### Expansion of the subject scope of the corpus

The historical projects embedded within the works comprising the corpus are at their most visible in the subject matter selected by the author (and selected for publication by the publisher). The late 1940s novels of Margaret Kiddle and Eve Pownall, for example, were focused on colonial society, venturing no further than the outskirts of Sydney Town. Resourceful, resilient, courageous and curious children populated the novels as characters, representing the authors' perceptions about the personal qualities required to 'succeed' in the colonial era.<sup>13</sup> Characters reflected on the advantages of living in Australia over living in England, displaying an affinity with the former whilst not entirely dismissing ties with the latter. The dominant narrative within the two novels was the settler experience in a new place, from arrival through to a coming to terms with and succeeding in a difficult, yet ultimately desirable, environment. As Brenda Niall writes of the 1830 novel *Alfred Dudley or the Australian Settlers*:

As a guide to the young emigrant it would offer no practical instructions, except the general ones of the need for hard work, thrift, energy and adaptability. To avoid the society of convicts and to be kind to the Aborigines are moral imperatives. It is clear that Australia can be colonized successfully, and that the best of English life can be reproduced there.<sup>14</sup>

The historical project suggested is one of a gentle questioning of 'the Mother Country' at a time when Australian experiences in World War Two and in the post-war environment were also encouraging questioning of long-held allegiances and challenging perceptions of national identity. While these novels do not challenge the narrative of the successful settler of colonial times, or the Imperial project, they are suggestive of the strong war and post-war narrative of self-reliance and independence. Kiddle's novel *West of Sunset*, moreover, provides an early example of how authors' historical projects could include approaches that contested national

---

<sup>13</sup> Margaret Kiddle, *West of Sunset* (Sydney: Australasian Publishing Company, 1949); Eve Pownall, *Cousins Come-Lately. Adventures in Old Sydney Town* (Sydney: Shakespeare Head Press, 1949).

<sup>14</sup> Brenda Niall, *Australia through the Looking-Glass. Children's Fiction 1830-1980* (Brunswick: Melbourne University Press: 1984), 10-11.

narratives in a more direct way, depicting settler-Indigenous relations with a sensitivity at odds with the prevailing non-fictional representations in children's publications and the school curriculum.

Exploring and opening of new frontiers continued as a dominant storyline in the historical novels in the 1950s and 1960s, as authors gradually expanding the territorial coverage of historical subject matter beyond the boundaries of colonial Sydney and its earliest outposts. In a *Saddle at Bontharambo* (1950), for example, Helen Jo Samuel depicted the pioneering efforts of the Docker family on the Victorian frontier, and *Captain Tuffens: a Family Story of Australian Pioneers* (1952) is partially set in Tasmania. Similarly, Elizabeth Cheesman's *Landfall the Unknown: Lord Howe Island 1788* (1950) is set off the New South Wales coast and sits within the marooned or shipwreck storyline. The isolation suggested as integral to battling and conquering 'new' and hostile environments functions as a metaphor for the process of colonization, a dangerous and difficult endeavor in which survival and success signified the possibility and desirability of the Imperial project.

Claiming and mapping new territories was an integral part of the Imperial project. In an example of subject matter encompassing exploration by individuals aiming to map new territory, Joyce Nicholson's 1956 novel *Our First Overlander* depicts the expeditions of Hamilton Hume as a teenager with his brother, and as a young man with Captain Hovell, with whom he travelled to forge a new route south to present-day Victoria. Similarly, John Ewers' 1956 novel *Who Rides on the River?* fictionalizes Charles Sturt's return journey along the Murrumbidgee and Murray Rivers.<sup>15</sup> These novels were published at a time when interest in explorers remained high in Australia, with activities such as the re-creation of the Sturt expedition for the Commonwealth Jubilee celebrations in 1951. Adding to such public commemorative activities, Frank Clune broadcasted a radio program from 1945 to 1957 which reached an audience of one million. Writing in the vein of celebratory pioneering in opening up the frontier by Europeans was also a feature.<sup>16</sup> These captured the popular interest in

---

<sup>15</sup> See John K. Ewers, *Who Rides on the River?* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1956).

<sup>16</sup> See Bridget Griffin-Foley "Digging Up the Past. Frank Clune, Australian Historian and Media Personality," *History Australia* 8, no.1 (2011): 127-152.

accessible forms of historical representations to such an extent that Bridget Griffin-Foley considered Clune's historical project to be populist in nature. She asserts that he was 'not a champion of Aboriginal people,' being more preoccupied with the achievements of explorers and settlers.<sup>17</sup> Some children's historical fiction takes a similar approach, presenting stereotyped, stock characters such as the child-like Aboriginal or helpful guide, whilst others present a more complex view of the human interaction that took place during the invasion and settlement of Australia. Both approaches reflect the way in which historical narratives in children's fiction may be employed to affirm historical narratives conveyed to adults.

The work of Doris Chadwick in the late 1950s and 1960s exemplified the use of recognizable literary tropes in portraying Aboriginal people and society, tropes that are now rejected by writers for their stereotyped representations and inherent racism. Her novels are not without compassion or understanding for the devastating impact of the European invasion, nor does she portray all acts of the colonists as defensible, but overwhelmingly the novels do present the idea of the protagonists enacting a boys' own adventure in the early days of the colony.<sup>18</sup> The first two novels of Chadwick's 'John' trilogy, *John of the Sirius* (1955) and *John of Sydney Cove* (1957) present Aboriginal characters as adjuncts to the main character's childish adventures and exploits, often depicting Aboriginal adults as comical and naïve and Aboriginal children as potential playmates but not equals.<sup>19</sup> A foiled attack by the local Indigenous people for example, is laughed off, as if the very idea of the defeating the English was ludicrous.<sup>20</sup>

By way of contrast, in *The Brown Land was Green* (1956), Mavis Thorpe Clark depicts the emigration and settlement of an English family but, in portraying the actions of the Webster family, she deliberately interrogates settler-Indigenous relations in a challenging and unsettling

---

<sup>17</sup> Griffin-Foley, "Digging Up the Past," 142.

<sup>18</sup> For example, in *John and Nanbaree*, there is sympathy when a smallpox epidemic decimates the local Indigenous population (248-9) and the stealing of tools by the Aboriginal people is presented as reasonable given that convicts had been stealing their fishing equipment (69). The boys are made to return spears they have found, given the trouble caused by convicts stealing Aboriginal possessions. This scene humanizes the Aboriginal people, conferring value on their possessions and the need to respect their ownership of them. They also remark upon the lighting of fires, indicating that Chadwick was aware of the Aboriginal practice of burning off. However, it seems this stems as much from a need to minimize conflict as from recognising the innate value of the objects (see Chapter XIII). Doris Chadwick, *John and Nanbaree* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1962).

<sup>19</sup> Doris Chadwick, *John of Sydney Cove* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1957), Chapter XXIV.

<sup>20</sup> Chadwick, *John of Sydney Cove*, Chapter XXIV.

way. Through the character Benjamin Jones, ruthless manager of Kammoora Station, the novel explicitly explores racist and genocidal attitudes within colonial Australian society. As he escorts the Webster family, newly arrived at Portland Bay from England in 1844, Jones vehemently expresses his hatred for the local Aboriginal people. Handing each male in the travelling group a gun, including ten-year-old Andrew, he makes his expectations of their complicity in his murderous intentions clear. He justifies his position with recounts of stolen animals, deliberate fires and horrific murders by Aboriginals, declaring his desire “‘To kill them all!’” and expecting all the settlers to support him.<sup>21</sup>

The Webster family, headed by widower John Webster and his sister Belinda, act as a counterpoint to Jones’ extreme views, suggesting the author’s intention to show that settlers responded to the challenges of the frontier in different ways. John, for example, is appalled by Jones’ actions:

“It was frightful, Belinda,” John Webster said simply. “Certainly the blacks were waiting for us – seeking just revenge, I would say, for the sacking of their camp, but, had I not been put out of action right at the beginning, I’d have done what I could to prevent ... what followed. Judging by the talk among the men on the way home, they made a pretty clean sweep. It was that, I think, that turned my stomach, not the pain in my leg.”<sup>22</sup>

Through a variety of character responses, Thorpe Clark offers an interpretation of the complexity of settler-Indigenous relations. John’s daughter, Henrietta, displays courage and compassion in nursing the injured Aboriginal girl, Mundowie, back to health. Andrew displays an adventurous curiosity, and Aunt Belinda moves from equating the ‘Aboriginal way of life’ with being uncivilized and best avoided to assisting Henrietta to care for Mundowie. Similarly, in *They Came South*, through the character of Albert, Thorpe Clark presents the idea that not all settlers wanted to eradicate the Aboriginal tribes, some settlers seeing their deaths as

---

<sup>21</sup> Mavis Thorpe Clark, *The Brown Land was Green*. First published in London by William Heinemann, 1956. (Sydney, New South Wales: John Ferguson, 1982).

<sup>22</sup> Thorpe Clark, *The Brown Land*, 147.

murder, and rejecting the notion of the savage by pointing out that Aboriginals were human beings.<sup>23</sup>

The portrayal of some settler reprisals as genocidal in intent suggests an authorial view that Aboriginal people were not inevitable victims of a superior race. They were, rather, human beings struggling to survive in a world that made little effort to accommodate their needs. Such a portrayal perhaps makes sense in the wake of World War Two given the heightened awareness of the genocidal capacities of mankind and flawed justifications of colonization. As Henry Reynolds has pointed out: '[t]he war against fascism, the shocking revelations of the Holocaust, discredited the whole legacy of Social Darwinism, eugenics and race science.'<sup>24</sup> While most academic historians were not questioning the assumed inevitability of the demise of Aboriginal people at the time,<sup>25</sup> and school texts reveal evidence of continued support for the view of Aboriginal people as a 'dying race' from a time beyond civilization, unable to survive in a 'civilised' world,<sup>26</sup> rather than presenting Aboriginal people as a lost Neolithic tribe, not yet ready to enter the legitimate territory of history, Thorpe Clark's novels humanized and individualised the Indigenous characters, as well as establishing that they had their own ways of recording and relaying the past through corroborees and storytelling.

This unsettling of conventional ideas was also pursued by Thorpe Clark in relation to the notion of *terra nullius*, the prevailing conviction that the Australian continent was essentially unclaimed or belonging to no one, prior to the arrival of the First Fleet in 1778. In *The Brown Land was Green*, Henrietta comments that the decimation of the Aboriginal tribes, in numbers and in way of life, seemed unfair when they 'had the country first.'<sup>27</sup> Thorpe Clark continued to pursue her interrogation of the idea of *terra nullius* in *Gully of Gold*, despite such questioning being uncommon in the 1950s. She again raised the issue of genocidal actions by settlers through the character of McGuire, a squatter, and was unequivocal in her criticism of

---

<sup>23</sup> Mavis Thorpe Clark, *They Came South* (Melbourne: William Heinemann, 1963), 210, 218.

<sup>24</sup> Kimberley Reynolds, *Radical Children's Literature. Future Visions and Aesthetic Transformations in Juvenile Fiction* (Hampshire, New York: PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, 2007), 21.

<sup>25</sup> Reynolds, *Radical Children's Literature*, 21.

<sup>26</sup> The 1957 New South Wales Syllabus in History, for example, 'suggested a study of Aboriginal people as an appropriate study of 'stone age man' at the 'threshold of history.' See Clark in *The History Wars*, Stuart Macintyre and Anna Clark (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2004), 173-4.

<sup>27</sup> Thorpe Clark, *The Brown Land*, 153.



such actions. McGuire explains to four children who had travelled to seek their fortune in Australia, why the local Aboriginal tribe had been reduced from around 500 people to perhaps a dozen in fifteen years:

“Killed, many of the them, with bullets,” said Mr McGuire harshly. “The rest of them died of broken hearts – because the land that was their home was taken from them and they had nowhere else to go. You see, their tribal laws wouldn’t let one tribe find safety in the country of another. It meant death for a native to found in the next tribe’s territory.”<sup>28</sup>

Thorpe Clark’s autobiography reveals that she felt an affinity with the Australian landscape, an affinity that she perhaps drew upon in her representations of settler society. If she, an educated white Australian, could feel connections with the land, she may have speculated through her fiction how its Indigenous inhabitants may have felt upon the invasion of settlers. In *They Came South*, Thorpe Clark has the squatter Albert claim his land using a ‘blacks’ ovens’ as one of the boundary markers, a powerful symbol of the expropriation of the material remnants of Aboriginal society by the white settlers.<sup>29</sup>

Building a more complex picture of colonial life challenged the expected themes of the pioneer trope in children’s literature, and Thorpe Clark explored the idea of the clash of two different cultures in innovative ways. For example, the domesticated cat that accompanied the settlers needed to be caged for its own protection from the perceived ‘dangers’ of the Australian bush. At the same time, in a reversal of the settlers’ uncertainty and curiosity in an environment that was alien to their experiences, the Aboriginal people in the book were fascinated by the cat, an animal they had never seen before.

In the 1960s, signalling a turn in the perspective of children’s historical fiction, Nan Chauncy’s texts intensively explored Indigenous experiences in colonial Australia. In *Mathinna’s People*, originally published as *Hunted in their own Land*, Chauncy shifts the point of view to that of

---

<sup>28</sup> Mavis Thorpe Clark, *Gully of Gold* (Melbourne: William Heinemann, 1958), 89.

<sup>29</sup> Mavis Thorpe Clark, *They Came South*, 162.

Aboriginal people, much as Eleanor Dark had done in the opening scenes of *The Timeless Land* (1941). Chauncy writes explicitly to her reader to make sure her intention is very clear: '[w]e shall hear in the story what the native tribes thought of the monstrous ships, and the astounding pale creatures that looked to them – well, something like men!'<sup>30</sup> Viewing colonial life in this way represents a significant milestone in the journey of children's historical fiction towards a more inclusive, complex and honest rendering of the nation's past. Yet, texts for use in schools continued to assert an imperialist version of history as late as 1969, a version that precluded acknowledgement of the devastating impact of colonization on the Indigenous population.<sup>31</sup>

The temporal dimensions of the genre's subject matter also expanded in the 1960s as authors wrote stories set in the twentieth century. Max Fatchen's *The River Kings*, for example, is set on the Murray River in South Australia in the 1920s when the river trade was slowly dying out in the face of competition from the railways. Reginald Ottley's *Boy Alone. By the Sandhills of Yamboorah*, is set in the 1930s, although this is not overtly referenced in the novel. A few authors also began delving into Australia's more recent past, demonstrating the capacity of historical fiction to include more recent events, potentially resonating with living memory. Ottley's trilogy marks a move towards historical representations that use the past as a setting rather than as a prominent aspect of the narrative. Ottley began working on cattle stations as a boy of fifteen, so there is also an autobiographical dimension to his novels, calling into question their status as historical fiction.

Taken as part of the corpus since 1945, the extension of the subject and temporal framework marks a transition within the genre towards a broader understanding of uses of the past, the scope of historical perspective and the construction of historical narratives. The attendant historical projects became more varied across the corpus and more complex within some texts, a development suggesting an affinity with the broadening scope of academic history in Australia. Although the questioning of grand Imperial narratives in Australia had commenced much earlier, notably with freelance historian Brian Fitzpatrick's left wing interpretation of Australian economic history in *British Imperialism and Australia, 1788-1833* (London, 1939)

---

<sup>30</sup> Nan Chauncy, *Mathinna's People* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 3.

<sup>31</sup> See Clark, *The History Wars*, 174.

and *The British Empire in Australia* (1941),<sup>32</sup> it was not until the 1950s that radical nationalism influenced developments in studies of art, literature, popular culture, and politics.<sup>33</sup> Historian Manning Clark challenged this influence, critiquing the radical nationalists' approach as 'an exhausted creed of secular humanism,' naïve in its faith in the possibility of harnessing the past to improve the present.<sup>34</sup> Instead, the first volume of Clark's *History of Australia*, published in 1962, was concerned with expressing a complex vision of the nation's past and signaling 'an awakening historical consciousness.'<sup>35</sup> According to Macintyre, Clark's approach to the writing of Australian history forged new ground which :

[B]roke with both the conservative and radical versions of academic history to seek a different kind of understanding – the storyteller as seer... He transcended both the imperial and the national schools with his insistence that the great questions of human existence could be pursued in Australian history.<sup>36</sup>

Macintyre also points out Manning Clark's work 'had much greater impact on the public than the profession,' suggesting a broader engagement with academic history beyond the academy.<sup>37</sup> Factors such as the increased number of Australian history books, journal articles and spaces for debating the nation's past, also suggest that a new path was laid for representations of Australia's past and for conversations around the nature and purpose of History, 'as well as indicating a new vibrancy in intellectual and cultural life that also extended into the Australian literary circles.'<sup>38</sup>

Nevertheless, the subject matter and temporal scope within the corpus in the 1970s and 1980s reflects a continuity in the subjects and historical times depicted, with that of the previous

---

<sup>32</sup> <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/fitzpatrick-brian-charles-10195> viewed 12 February 2018. Macintyre writes that Fitzpatrick was a 'nationalist and ... a radical' (see Macintyre and Clark, 38).

<sup>33</sup> Macintyre in Macintyre and Clark, 39.

<sup>34</sup> Macintyre in Macintyre and Clark, 39.

<sup>35</sup> Stuart Macintyre, *A History for a Nation. Ernest Scott and the Making of Australian History* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1994); Hsu-Ming Teo and Richard White, ed.s, *Cultural History in Australia* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2003), 26.

<sup>36</sup> Macintyre in Macintyre and Clark, 40.

<sup>37</sup> Macintyre, 40.

<sup>38</sup> Macintyre, 40.

decade. Bushrangers, convicts, settler-Indigenous relations, Indigenous history, Indigenous spirituality and the search for gold continued to appear as key subjects of the corpus, suggesting both that publishers viewed such subjects as a staple of the children's market, and that writers seeking publication wrote within an established textual framework. In considering renderings of familiar subject matter and time frames, however, it is also clear that some authors did seek to broaden and deepen the portrayal of aspects of the past, offering up both deeper understandings and points of resistance to established understandings of certain topics. The work commenced by Nan Chauncy and Mavis Thorpe Clark in bringing the complexities of settler-Indigenous relations into representations of colonial life continued in the 1970s and 1980s. When Chauncy died in 1970 and Thorpe Clark directed her attention to other subjects and genres, two other authors, Amy Bunker and Pat Peatfield Price, wrote novels that demonstrated an ongoing interest in providing alternatives to dominant discourses around the settlement of Tasmania and, by implication, other Australian states and territories. Both novelists sought to develop a more intimate picture of Indigenous societies and to imagine responses to incursions of newcomers on to their territory.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless, white settlement during the colonial era remained the most represented subject and the duality of writing within or against dominant discourses continued. These developments indicate the increasing complexity of the historical projects embedded within texts in the corpus, as well as the overall direction of the corpus.

Notwithstanding these continuities, new subjects did emerge in the 1970s and 1980s, reflecting the desire of some authors to seek alternative narratives in representing the past. The bushranger Ned Kelly and World War One became part of the children's historical fiction corpus, consistent with broader historiographical developments in academic, public and popular spaces. In *Deepwater* (1987), Judith O'Neill wrote of anti-German feeling in an isolated rural community during World War One. David Martin provided an alternative bushranger narrative in *The Girl Who Didn't Know Kelly* (1985) by focusing on the experiences of a banker's daughter, Katherine (Kit) Grimshaw, who lived with her family in Beechworth at the time of Ned Kelly's incarceration in the town following the Glenrowan siege in 1880.

---

<sup>39</sup>See Amy D Bunker, *Millingi* (Glasgow: Blackie, 1973); Pat Peatfield, *The Hills of the Black Cockatoo* (Ringwood: Puffin, 1981).

The centenary of Kelly's hanging generated considerable interest, from a television series (*The Last Outlaw*) and a re-enactment of the Glenrowan siege to a weekend seminar and an academic biography (Professor John Molony's *I am Ned Kelly*, 1980).

Authors in the 1970s and 1980s also exhibited a new interest in conveying information about the physical transformation of the built environment, transportation and technological innovations of earlier eras. Stuart Glover's *The Walls Came Toppling Down* (1983) described convict Francis Greenway's role in public construction during the Macquarie era; Deirdre Hill used the building of the Sydney Harbour Bridge as her background setting for *Bridge of Dreams* (1982); Margaret Paice described a teenager's desire to become a pilot in *Shadow of Wings* (1978); Elizabeth Hathorn's *The Tram to Bondi Beach* (1981) told the story of a young boy in the 1930s; and David Cox contrasted the prowess of the horse and cart with the vagaries of early motor cars in the 1982 picture book *Tin Lizzie and Little Nell*. New subjects were also introduced through expanding physical boundaries, with novelists venturing as far as the Northern Territory in Nance Donkin's 1983 retelling of *We of the Never Never*, Southern China (Guangzhou) in David Martin's *The Chinese Boy* (1973), Western Australia in Paul Buddee's *Escape of the Fenians* (1971) and a journey across northern Australia in Percy Trezise's picture book *The Cave Painters* (1988). These narratives indicated a continued interest in seeking alternative settings in representing the past, echoing the broader research focus of academic history, including the rise of social history, and the social studies orientation of school history. For example, in *The Cave Painters* the richness of Indigenous traditional ways of life are portrayed in a travel story depicting the journey of the Bullanji family to visit their relatives living in various locations. Their exact journey is not mapped by reference to specific places, but the illustrations suggest the family lived in the rainforests and coral reefs of northern Australia, travelling over the course of many days to the desert and caves of the outback, and on to an area of coastal plains, before returning to their tribal land.

Used symbolically, suggesting a former world intimately connected through familial relationships played out in a diverse range of settings and suggesting a continuous affiliation with the land, *The Cave Painters* also implicitly challenges the notion of *terra nullius*. This representation again shows the subversive and radical potential of children's literature. This

potential was emerging within a broader social environment of change in government management of Indigenous affairs, at the heart of which lay land rights, ‘a pan-Indigenous movement [which] has demanded a suite of basic rights in terms of land.’<sup>40</sup> *The Cave Painters* reflects this deep affinity with the land, as well as draws attention to the differences within both the land and the Indigenous communities that the Bullanji family visit. It is not historical in an evidentiary, academic way but it is a representation of the past that bears consideration as a work of history, as an historical project. As previously discussed, changes to the school curricula and the associated debates, alongside the debates surrounding the representation of Australia’s past for the 1988 Bicentenary, suggest that the more radical aspects of children’s historical fiction were accommodated within other approaches to conveying historical information and perspectives to children.<sup>41</sup> The award-winning picture book *My Place* by Nadia Wheatley, published in 1988 as well, also pushed boundaries both in terms of the picture book and in terms of the representation of aspects of Australia’s Indigenous past.<sup>42</sup>

The variety of stories told within the historical fiction corpus, particularly since 2000, suggests a strong impulse to broaden and deepen representations of Australia’s past. In the twenty-first century, a novel or picture book may focus on a personal, community, national or international setting but the historical gaze of authors has come to rest more frequently on subjects drawn from the twentieth century, including those of the very recent past, such as Australian participation in the war in Afghanistan and the experiences of refugees.<sup>43</sup> This variety of subject matter, alongside the volume of publications and innovative marketing practices, constitutes a transformation of the sub-genre of children’s historical fiction in Australia. As this has taken place within a broader context of a focus on children in other public and popular forms of history, as will be discussed in Chapter Five, interrogating these developments can contribute to broader conversations around fictional historiography.

---

<sup>40</sup> Catriona Elder, *Being Australian* (Crows Nest: Allen and Unwin, 2007), 174.

<sup>41</sup> See Sharon Janson and Stuart Macintyre, ed.s, *Making the Bicentenary. Special Issue of Australian Historical Studies*, 23, no.91 (Parkville: University of Melbourne, October 1988); Julie Marcus, “Bicentenary Follies: Australians in search of themselves,” *Anthropology Today*, Vol 4, No. 3: 4-6.

<sup>42</sup> Representation of Indigenous history is discussed further in Chapter Five.

<sup>43</sup> See, for example, Mark Wilson, *The Afghanistan Pup* (Sydney and New Zealand: Hachette Australia, 2014) and Alan Sunderland, *My Australian Story. Refugee: The Diary of Ali Ismail. Woomera 2001-2002* (Lindfield: Scholastic Press, 2010. Original edition 2006).

Integral to this transformation of the children's historical fiction genre since 1990 has been a greater diversity in subject, building upon the flexibility and curiosity noted in relation to the 1970s and 1980s. As noted previously, the expanding interest of academic history in social life in all its permutations was increasingly mirrored in developments in fictional representations of the past for children. The more diverse rendering of the past is exemplified in the *My Australian Story* series, with subjects including La Perouse's voyage to Botany Bay, the early years of settlement at Sydney Cove, the Rum Rebellion, bushrangers, the experience of the Chinese on the goldfields, the escape of the Fenians, Ned Kelly, Federation, the outbreak of bubonic plague, the homefront and battlefronts during World War I, the influenza outbreak in 1919, the racehorse Phar Lap, the Depression, the cricketer Don Bradman, the Stolen Generations, the bombing of Darwin in World War Two, atomic testing in the 1950s, post-1945 immigration, the Snowy Mountains Hydro Electric Scheme, the Melbourne Olympics, the women's liberation movement of the 1970s, Cyclone Tracy, and the experiences of refugees from Afghanistan.<sup>44</sup>

Beyond the *My Australian Story* series, the commitment of authors to provide children with fresh perspectives on familiar subjects has developed in tandem with the introduction of stories that had not appeared in the corpus prior to 1990. Alan Baillie encapsulates this search for new subjects and fresh perspectives with two texts that tell stories of pre-colonial times where the main characters are the Indigenous inhabitants of the Australian continent and nearby islands.<sup>45</sup> Such texts hint at the richness of material that may be imagined by drawing on the possible and the probably trajectory of human habitation in the region. Jackie French's *The Dog Who Conquered a Continent* takes a similar imaginative leap as she proposes how the dingo may have first come on to the Australian mainland. *The Devil's Own* by Deborah Lisson also reaches back into times beyond the European invasion and settlement of Australia, telling the story of the Batavia shipwreck in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Similarly, Christobel Mattingley's *My Father's Islands* (2012) takes Abel Tasman's voyages in the 1600s as subject.<sup>46</sup> Authors working outside the *My Australian Story* series have thus also sought new subjects from

---

<sup>44</sup> See Scholastic Australia <https://shop.scholastic.com>. Accessed 1 April 2018.

<sup>45</sup> Alan Baillie, *The First Voyage* (Melbourne: Puffin, 2014) and *Songman* (Ringwood: Puffin, 1995).

<sup>46</sup> Christobel Mattingley, *My Father's Islands. Abel Tasman's Heroic Voyages* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2012).

Australia's past to represent to children, including but also moving beyond nation-defining events to delve into more obscure topics. The eclectic nature of these topics indicates that the authors had the freedom to pursue their interests rather than having to pursue the construction of national identity or align with the school curriculum.<sup>47</sup> They have also indicated a will to provide children with a broad and deep historical education by finding topics that take them beyond the expected representations of the past.

Different ways of interrogating the same subjects have also been found, creating yet more diversity within the corpus. Since 1990, for example, five fictional texts have been published on Ned Kelly, all of which take a different approach to portraying aspects of his past.<sup>48</sup> In *Ned Kelly's Secret*, Sophie Masson depicts a teenage Ned from the perspective of another teenager visiting Australia from France, suggesting an outsider is needed to more objectively assess this controversial historic figure. Her other 'Kelly' novel, *My Australian Story. The Hunt for Ned Kelly* also places the bushranger in contact with a younger narrator, this time an Australian boy who encounters him several times and follows the events of the year leading to his capture and hanging.<sup>49</sup> The narrator voices the ambivalence and debate surrounding Ned Kelly and his gang

---

<sup>47</sup> New topics included the 'Dog on the Tuckerbox': Corinne Fenton, *The Dog on the Tuckerbox* (Fitzroy: Black Dog Books, 2008); Indigenous resistance fighters: Mark Greenwood, *Jandamarra* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 2013); the 1881 smallpox epidemic in Sydney: Felicity Pulman, *Ghost Boy* (Australia: Random House, 1995); rural Western Australia: Carolyn Logan, *River Child* (Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 1995); the discovery of diamonds on Flinders Island: Gary Crew, *The Lost Diamonds of Killecrankie* (Port Melbourne: Lothian, 1996); life in a travelling circus: Kirsty Murray, *Becoming Billy Dare* (Crows Nest: Allen and Unwin, 2004); adaptation of the Chinese Willow Pattern Plate tale for a rural Australian setting: Libby Hathorn, *Okra and Acacia. The Story of the Willow Pattern Plate* (Sydney: Hodder Headline, 2002); the experiences of Vietnamese refugees in Australia: *The Wishing Cupboard* (South Melbourne: Lothian, 2002); the women's liberation protest movement: Susanne Gervay, *Daisy Sunshine. Making Tracks* (Canberra: National Museum of Australia Press, 2008); Australian artists: Mark Wilson, *Inside the World of Tom Roberts, Ben and Gracie's Art Adventure* (Sydney: Hachette Books, 2012); environmental activism and the rabbit-proof fence: Sally Morgan: *The Other Side. Making Tracks* (Canberra: National Museum of Australia Press, 2007); orphan British child emigrants of the 1950s: Ruth Starke, *Orphans of the Queen* (Australia: Lothian Children's Books, 2004); the waterfront strike of 1928: Christine Harris, *Strike!* (Milton's Point: Random House, 1994). In Chapter Seven, I explore more recent representations of Australian involvement in international conflicts, including World War One and Two, the Vietnam War and the conflict in Afghanistan, and the short and longer term impacts of war on Australian society. In Chapter Eight I explore more recent representations of the experiences of children of the Stolen Generations.

<sup>48</sup> David Martin, *The Girl Who Didn't Know Kelly* (Melbourne: Hutchinson of Australia, 1985); Carole Wilkinson, *Black Snake: The Daring of Ned Kelly, The Drum* (Fitzroy: Black Dog Books, 2005); Sophie Masson, *The Hunt for Ned Kelly. My Australian Story* (Lindfield: Australia: Scholastic Press, 2010); Sophie Masson, *Ned Kelly's Secret* (Lindfield: Scholastic Australia, 2012); Mark Greenwood, *Ned Kelly and the Green Sash* (Newtown: Walker Books, 2010).

<sup>49</sup> Sophie Masson, *My Australian Story. The Hunt for Ned Kelly* (Lindfield: Scholastic Australia, 2010).



in Australian society both at the time and through until the present, as encapsulated in the final diary entry in the book:

The most famous outlaw of our time is dead ... It is over – but I do not think that anyone alive in our time will ever forget Ned Kelly, no matter who might wish us to do so. I know I never shall. Was he a hero? Was he a villain? I cannot say, even now. Perhaps he was neither. But he will live in my memory forever, the dark and the bright, together.<sup>50</sup>

The questions echo debates about Ned Kelly in other contexts, including the publication of Peter Carey's *The True History of the Kelly Gang* in 2000, which went on to win the Commonwealth Writers' Prize and Booker Prize in 2001.<sup>51</sup>

The picture book format has also allowed the concept of contested and contestable views of the past to be introduced to an even younger target audience. Mark Greenwood uses the format to look even further back into Ned Kelly's past to tell the story of his bravery as a young boy, his heroic act of saving a boy from drowning rewarded with a green silk sash.<sup>52</sup> Brian Ridden tells his story of Kelly from the point of view of Garrett Clancy, a young boy who meets Ned in 1874. Carole Wilkinson's 2005 *Black Snake: the Daring of Ned Kelly* is a work of non-fiction with fictional elements, reflecting the 'faction' approach emerging in popular historiography.<sup>53</sup>

The development of alternate narratives of iconic Australian historical subjects targeting children signifies that children's literature encompassing the past does provide an opportunity to interrogate broader historical and historiographical issues. The expansion of subject matter

---

<sup>50</sup> Masson, *Hunt for Ned Kelly*, 190.

<sup>51</sup> See Lisa Fletcher and Elizabeth Mead, "Inheriting the past: Peter Corris's "The Journal of Fletcher Christian" and Peter Carey's "True History of the Kelly Gang," *The Journal of Commonwealth History* 45, no.2 (2010): 189-206; Clancy, Laurence James, 2004, "Selective History of the Kelly Gang: Peter Carey's Ned Kelly," *Overland*, 175 (Winter 2004): 53-58; Sarah Pinto *Emotional Histories: Contemporary Australian Historical Fiction* (PhD diss. University of Melbourne, 2007).

<sup>52</sup> Mark Greenwood, *Ned Kelly and the Green Sash* (Newtown, New South Wales: Walker Books, 2010).

<sup>53</sup> See, for example, Richard Golsan, "The Poetics and Perils of Faction: Contemporary French Fiction and the Memory of World War II," *The Romanic Review* 105, no.s 1-2 (Jan-Mar 2014): 53-68.

in children's historical novels and picture books since the 1960s suggests at least an awareness between those involved in the construction of historical narratives for children and the widening boundaries of academic historical writing. The evolutionary nature of the subject matter also suggests authorial commitment to pursuing new ways of representing Australia's past, echoing the expansion of historical outlooks in the academy. The corpus thus provides a bedrock of historical evidence

## **Critical post-1945 developments**

Children's authors have, of course, different imperatives than academic historians to consider in terms of reception of their work. Accordingly, a level of understanding regarding the aspirations and values of adult gatekeepers on the part of publishers and authors is also necessary. This section explores how the publishing industry has developed since 1945, performing the essential task of transforming an author's work into a commodity and, in doing so, creating material evidence of the time of its production and reception suitable for inclusion in a corpus.

### **Development of the publishing industry in Australia since 1945**

In the immediate post-war years, output of children's literature was in a recovery phase and, as already seen, just two historical novels were published,<sup>54</sup> suggesting that other priorities prevailed in the face of continuing shortages, austerity measures and economic reconstruction.<sup>55</sup> As Mavis Thorpe Clark was informed by the editor of *Super Comic* in 1947:

Unfortunately the restrictions on imports of newsprint have seriously curtailed acceptance of manuscripts from contributors other than staff members.<sup>56</sup>

---

<sup>54</sup> Eve Pownall's *Cousins Come-Lately* and Margaret Kiddle's *West of Sunset*.

<sup>55</sup> See Geoffrey Bolton *The Oxford History of Australia. Volume 5 1942-1988* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1990): Chapter 2 and Chapter 3.

<sup>56</sup> Letter from The Editor, *Super Comic, The Argus and Australasian Ltd* to Mavis Thorpe Clark, 1947, MS7847, Box 1, Folder 1, Correspondence 1923-1947, National Library of Australia.

The slow growth in children's literature, including historical fiction, in the late 1940s is at least partially explained by the market manipulation practiced by American and British publishers under the 'Traditional Market Agreement,' a collusive practice identifying Australia as the exclusive territory of Britain when it came to the supply of books, to the ultimate detriment of local publishers. As Munro and Curtain explain:

In splendid isolation at the bottom of Asia, Australia and its canny booksellers reveled in being a captive colonial market. By mid-century no less than 10 per cent of British publishing output was exported to Australia, swamping local publishers with a veritable flood of imported product.<sup>57</sup>

Combined with the deficiencies of the local publishing industry, including inadequate supplies of paper, a lack of equipment, and 'a continuing lack of publishing knowledge (stemming from Australia's colonialist beginnings),'<sup>58</sup> Australian products generally lacked the quality of overseas imports. As Sheahan-Bright notes, weak support from libraries and the educational sector was also a contributing factor to the overall low standard of products made locally.<sup>59</sup> Indeed, as Ian Morrison writes, pulp fiction – rapidly written texts with formulaic plots and of dubious literary merit – enjoyed a 'golden age' in the 1940s and 1950s, with westerns, science and crime fiction proving particularly popular.<sup>60</sup> Most higher quality books sold in Australia continued to be British publications, Munro stating that when the Australian Book Publishers Association (ABPA) was founded in 1948, 'just 15 per cent of books sold were of local origin.'<sup>61</sup> However, both the late 1940s' children's historical novels were published in Australia, suggesting at least a small degree of support from local publishers for fictional stories of the nation's past.<sup>62</sup>

---

<sup>57</sup> Craig Munro and John Curtain, "After the War," in *Paper Empires. A History of the Book in Australia 1946-2005*, ed.s Craig Munro and Robyn Sheahan-Bright (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2006), 4.

<sup>58</sup> Robyn Sheahan-Bright, "Children and Young Adults," in *Paper Empires*, ed.s Munro and Sheahan-Bright, 279.

<sup>59</sup> Sheahan-Bright, "Children and Young Adults," 279.

<sup>60</sup> See Ian Morrison, "Case-study: Pulp Fiction," in *Paper Empires*, ed.s Munro and Sheahan-Bright, 257.

<sup>61</sup> Munro and Curtain, "After the War," 4.

<sup>62</sup> Kiddle's *West of Sunset* was published in Sydney by the Australasian Publishing Company and Pownall's *Cousins-come-lately* was published in Sydney by Shakespeare Head Press. Both these companies were linked to British parent companies but operated branches in Sydney.

By the end of the 1940s, policies of economic reconstruction pursued in the immediate postwar years stimulated growth, setting the foundation for continuing prosperity in the 1950s and 1960s, decades that are, as Michael Keating observes, ‘seen as a golden age, with real GDP increasing at an annual rate of 4.2 per cent in the 1950s and 5.1 per cent in the 1960s.’<sup>63</sup> The decades are also seen as marking a new phase in the nation’s development as a consumer society, as spending increased on a ‘new generation of consumer durables,’ with flow-on effects for Australian manufacturing, employment and real incomes.<sup>64</sup> As luxury items became more affordable to more people, alongside the mass production of formerly home-made products and entirely new products for which marketing created a demand, the orientation to mass consumerism was embedded in the Australian psyche, even if not all shared in its offerings equally.<sup>65</sup>

As Australia moved into this period of greater economic prosperity in the 1950s and 1960s, more opportunities for authors to find an Australian publisher emerged as publishers addressed questions of quality in book lists and production. Local expertise in publishing was also enhanced by post-war immigration. Newcomer Andrew Fabinyi, a post-war European immigrant, for example, worked as a publisher at Cheshire, becoming an advocate for children’s literature in Australia. Englishman Frank Eyre managed the Oxford University Press in Australia from 1951 to 1975 and was ‘a major contributor to the development of Australian children’s literature.’<sup>66</sup> Reliance on the British publishing houses did continue, however, with children’s books across the range of genres and forms generally edited, illustrated and printed in England.<sup>67</sup> Nevertheless, most of the historical novels and picture books in the corpus were published in either Sydney or Melbourne, confirming a local commitment to children’s

---

<sup>63</sup> Michael Keating, “Evolution of macroeconomic strategy since WW2,” in *The Cambridge Economic History of Australia*, ed.s Simon Ville and Glenn Withers (Port Melbourne, Australia: Cambridge University Press), 441

<sup>64</sup> Diane Hutchinson, “Manufacturing,” in *The Cambridge Economic History of Australia*, ed.s Simon Ville and Glenn Withers (Port Melbourne, Australia: Cambridge University Press), 300.

<sup>65</sup> See Michelle Arrow, *Friday on Our Minds. Popular Culture in Australia since 1945* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2009), 20.

<sup>66</sup> David Cunningham, “Frank Eyre and Oxford University Press,” in *Paper Empires*, ed.s Munro and Sheahan-Bright, 23.

<sup>67</sup> See Brenda Niall “Children’s Literature” *Australian Literary Studies* 13, no.4 (1988): 547-559. (<https://www-austlit-edu-au.ezproxy.sl.nsw.gov.au/static/new/files/text/pdf/3222457039226241243-brn95736.pdf>): 1-7.

historical fiction. Local publication also reflected a broader tendency of situating national historical narratives for children, in fiction and non-fiction, within their own national territory. In this way, children's historical novels and picture books are part of the material culture of both childhood and nation, evidence of how the past has been represented but also evidence of the times in which it is produced.

As material evidence of the past, the body of children's novels and picture books reflect evolving attitudes towards educating children in the post-war period, positioning reading as an important past-time. The texts also reflect the development of supply-side factors such as favourable economic conditions in the 1950s and 19560s, local expertise in children's publishing, and access to offshore printing. Changes in printing technology and industrial capacities influenced the whole publishing industry. In 1963, John Currey observed in relation to Lansdowne Publishing that:

The more sophisticated equipment used by printers in Asia fundamentally altered the cost structure of Australian publishing and made high-quality colour printing available at an affordable price in the era before colour television.<sup>68</sup>

As another example of the influence of supply-side factors, in 1968, secondary schools were given financial assistance totaling \$27 million over three years to improve library services. A further three years of funding was granted in 1971.<sup>69</sup> The grant program assisted those on the supply-side – 'authors, artists, publishers and booksellers.'<sup>70</sup> Grants were made on a state by state basis, as shown in the following table.

---

<sup>68</sup> John Currey, "Lansdowne and Lloyd O'Neil," in *Paper Empires*, ed.s Munro and Sheahan-Bright, 40.

<sup>69</sup> Federal Register of Legislation, <https://www.legislation.gov.au/Details/C1968A00125> . Accessed 1 April 2018.

<sup>70</sup> Marcie Muir, "Case-study: Postwar Pioneers," in *Paper Empires*, ed.s Munro and Sheahan-Bright, 294.

THE SCHEDULE					Section 4 (2).
LIMIT OF GRANTS					
					\$
New South Wales	..	..	..	..	9,984,000
Victoria	..	..	..	..	7,590,600
Queensland	..	..	..	..	3,944,700
South Australia	..	..	..	..	2,576,400
Western Australia	..	..	..	..	2,031,600
Tasmania	..	..	..	..	872,700
					<hr/>
					27,000,000
					<hr/>

Table 4.1: State Grants (Secondary Schools Libraries) Act 1968 schedule of grants<sup>71</sup>

Although the grants were for secondary school libraries, it would be reasonable to assume that the grants had a stimulus effect for the local industry, including publishers of children's books. Muir concluded that they had provided 'the mainstay of the present flourishing industry,' especially as '[s]imilar subsidies continued to be provided at fixed intervals.'<sup>72</sup> However, Softlink's Australian School Library Survey, conducted in 2011, found that '[w]here student numbers are the same ... primary school libraries receive significantly less funding and staff allocation to the library than secondary schools.'<sup>73</sup> This finding undoubtedly has emerged within a complex sphere of decision-making which is beyond the ambit of this thesis. It does, however, indicate that, despite any overall impact, not every child received the benefits of this funding stimulus and so the material culture of childhood has varied across age and other boundaries, including the school sector.<sup>74</sup>

Nevertheless, institutional developments in the 1950s added to the general momentum building around children's literature, as symbolized by the formation of the Children's Book Council

<sup>71</sup> Muir, "Postwar Pioneers", 294.

<sup>72</sup> Muir, "Postwar Pioneers", 294.

<sup>73</sup> Softlink is a digital asset management service. According to their website, the company 'specialises in knowledge, content and library management systems and request management systems for special, education, government and corporate information centres and libraries.' See <https://www.softlinkint.com/> and <https://hubinfo.wordpress.com/background/few-statistics/>.

<sup>74</sup> In Australia, primary school covers Kindergarten to Year Six, with children required to commence school by the time they turn six. Children can attend a public (government funded and run, voluntary fees) or an independent school (fees, partially government funded).

Book Week Awards, which commenced in 1946. In 1958, a federal body, the Children's Book Council of Australia (CBCA), was formed to bring together the state councils and promote a higher profile for children's literature. The Council established guidelines for judging books, their imprimatur exerting a strong influence on purchases. As Foster, Finnis and Nimon observed, award-winning books:

[C]arry on their covers emblems which become guides to purchasers of quality, especially for people with little knowledge of the field. Many libraries purchase not only the winners of the annual awards but all titles which appear on the shortlists for each category of award.<sup>75</sup>

The inclusion of historical fiction and non-fiction titles as 'Winners' or 'Highly Commended' in the Children's Book Week Awards throughout the 1950s suggests that although academics did not seem to consider such children's literature worthy of attention, other 'keepers' of higher forms of culture (or at least advocates of quality literature) did so.<sup>76</sup>

As shown in Figure 4.1 above, the corpus includes twelve historical novels published in the 1950s, indicating a small expansion over previous publishing outcomes. The output more than doubled to thirty in the 1960s. It was clear that an environment conducive to children's historical fiction was emerging, although the proportion of historical titles in relation to other children's literature is negligible. Factors important in the development of Australian literature for all ages in the 1950s included advances in education and technology, accessibility of international travel, the cultural heritage of migrants, and the extension of the Commonwealth Literary Fund (subsumed within the Australia Council from 1975),<sup>77</sup> as well as other literary competitions and awards.<sup>78</sup> General demand for books in the 1950s was also fostered by the

---

<sup>75</sup> John Foster, Ern Finnis and Maureen Nimon, *Bush, City, Cyberspace: the Development of Australian Children's Literature into the Twenty First Century. Literature and Literacy for Young People, Volume 6* (Wagga Wagga: Centre for Information Studies, Charles Sturt University, 2005), xv

<sup>76</sup> See <http://cbca.org.au/winners4659.htm>. Accessed 5 April 2016.

<sup>77</sup> After World War Two, the federal government made grants to support the publication and promotion of Australian literary works. See Stuart Glover, "Case Study: Literature and the State," in *Paper Empires*, ed.s Munro and Sheahan-Bright, 167; J.L. Gordon, "Writers and the Commonwealth Literary Fund" [online]. *Meanjin*, Vol. 13, No. 3, Spring 1954: 452-455.

<sup>78</sup> See Saxby, *Images of Australia*, 19-20.

expansion of free municipal and state public libraries, an increase in active book-readers associated with the Forces Education Service during World War Two, educational growth, and a significant drop in the price of books relative to the cost of living since the 1940s.<sup>79</sup> Australian booksellers-publishers in each state also developed education lists targeting secondary schools.<sup>80</sup> As Dutton observes, these general factors contributed to ‘a renaissance of Australian literature and publishing, and of attitudes to literature in Australia’ that also encouraged the writing and publishing of children’s literature.<sup>81</sup>

In terms of the demand for historical fiction, it is most likely adult gatekeepers in the education sector and libraries were the critical influence rather than children themselves. A 1953 University of Sydney survey into how books were obtained, what books were read and why, found that less than thirty per cent of books, whether imported or locally produced, were bought by individuals. Schools, public libraries and commercial lending libraries were the key purchasers.<sup>82</sup> For example, the Education Department of New South Wales purchased 20,000 copies of Mavis Thorpe Clark’s *The Brown Land was Green*, one of three Highly Commended books in the 1957 Children’s Book Week Awards, for which Thorpe Clark received a royalty of £373.6.8.<sup>83</sup> Developments in the availability of specialized services for children in state and school libraries in the post-war period indicates that these institutions played an increasingly important role in the dissemination of children’s literature.<sup>84</sup>

The local publishing industry continued to expand until the late 1970s, Jim Hart observing that:

---

<sup>79</sup> See Robyn Sheahan-Bright, “For Children and Young Adults,” in *Paper Empires*, ed.s Munro and Robyn Sheahan-Bright, 278; and Patrick Buckridge, “Readers and Reading,” in Munro and Sheahan-Bright, 345.

<sup>80</sup> See Munro and Curtain, “After the War,” in *Paper Empires*, ed.s Munro and Sheahan-Bright, 5.

<sup>81</sup> Geoffrey Dutton *Snow on the Saltbush: The Australian Literary Experience* (Melbourne: Viking, 1984), cited in Saxby, *Images of Australia*, 21.

<sup>82</sup> See Patrick Buckridge “Case-study: Baby Boomers at Play” in *Paper Empires*, ed.s Munro and Sheahan-Bright, 349-355.

<sup>83</sup> “Royalty Receipt for Mavis Thorpe Clark,” *MS7847 Folder 6 Box 1, Correspondence 1957-1959*, National Library of Australia. Although the ‘Highly Commended’ award was made after the purchase, the profile of the book is likely to have been raised through the longlisting and shortlisting process.

<sup>84</sup> See Maurice Saxby. *A History of Australian Children’s Literature 1941-1970* (Sydney: Wentworth Books, 1971), 15-17.



If the 1960s was the infancy of modern Australian publishing, then the 1970s was surely its adolescence – a time of life that is characterized by rapid growth, increased maturity and an urge for independence, together with experimentation, recklessness, high ideals and overactive hormones. The Australian publishing industry had all this and more.<sup>85</sup>

Sixty-seven publishers attended the 1971 annual general meeting of the Australian Book Publishers Association, more than half of these Australian-owned, indicating the strength of the industry.<sup>86</sup> Institutional changes were also initially supportive of dynamism in Australian literature, Elizabeth Webby noting that the Whitlam Government ‘made a concerted effort to improve Australia’s cultural and intellectual capital.’<sup>87</sup> The introduction of the Public Lending Right in 1975 meant an increase in income for writers, acknowledging the social value of their work and compensating them for potential sale losses associated with library borrowing. Australian authors, including those writing for children, were also finding interest in their work in the USA.<sup>88</sup>

It is reasonable to ask why the volume of historical fiction titles did not expand more rapidly in such a healthy phase in the publishing of children’s literature. Perhaps the answers lie in publishers’ commercial decisions or in writers’ subject preferences, alongside the multiplicity of genres and forms to choose from in this ‘prosperous era.’<sup>89</sup> Perhaps the view of subjects constituting valid historical subjects remained too narrow to inspire authors. Or perhaps it relates to the maturation of children’s literature. Alice Mills argues that it was only in the 1970s that it was ‘no longer required of Australian writers of children’s books to demonstrate their Australianness in terms of subject matter.’<sup>90</sup> As picture books and realist children’s fiction (the ‘problem’ novel) moved away from ‘Australian specificity,’ perhaps the Australian past was deemed to be of little interest in a national or international context.<sup>91</sup>

---

<sup>85</sup> Jim Hart, “New Wave Seventies,” in *Paper Empires*, ed.s Munro and Sheahan-Bright, 53.

<sup>86</sup> Frank Thompson, “Sixties Larrikins,” in *Paper Empires*, ed.s Munro and Sheahan-Bright, 34.

<sup>87</sup> Webby, *The Cambridge Guide to Australian Literature*, 14.

<sup>88</sup> See Jim Hart, “New Wave Seventies,” 80.

<sup>89</sup> Robyn Sheahan-Bright, “For Children and Young Adults,” in Munro and Sheahan Bright), 283.

<sup>90</sup> Alice Mills, “Australian Children’s Literature,” in Nicholas Birns and Rebecca McNeer, *A Companion to Australian Literature Since 1900* (Rochester: Camden House, 2007), 418.

<sup>91</sup> Mills, “Australian Children’s Literature,” 422-3.

The dismissal of the Whitlam Government in 1975 amidst growing national economic difficulties, promised a return to a more conservative form of government under Liberal Party Leader Malcolm Fraser. Economic and social uncertainty accompanied the period from the mid-1970s to the late 1980s, as the Liberal-National Country Party coalition under Malcolm Fraser (1975-1983), and the Labor Government under Prime Minister Robert (Bob) Hawke (1983-1991), worked within an increasingly vulnerable, globalized economic environment.<sup>92</sup> In the 1970s and 1980s the Australian economy was also developing away from reliance on the United Kingdom towards a stronger trade relationship with Japan and increasing levels of American capital investment. Complicating this development was the unprecedented emergence of high levels of inflation and high unemployment, at the same time as stagnant economic growth, described as stagflation, was defying traditional Keynesian economic solutions. The collapse of full employment across all age groups undermined confidence in the economy, fueling questioning of public policies as well as concern about the future.<sup>93</sup> Against this volatile economic backdrop, it is not surprising that the situation for the publishing industry changed. The 1970s were, according to Jim Hart, ‘a period that saw the growth and consolidation of some established imprints and the emergence of a number of new ones,’<sup>94</sup> but notwithstanding this growth and consolidation, Richard Walsh describes the 1970s as ‘a turbulent period of dramatic structural change in the book industry.’<sup>95</sup> By the late 1970s, local production had collapsed and overseas firms with local offices dominated the market. In the main, these difficulties continued for the publishing industry throughout the 1980s.

Children’s literature, however, fared differently. Robyn Sheahan-Bright observes that:

By the 1980s children’s publishing had entered its most prosperous era, characterized by a proliferation of new forms and genres, a particular interest

---

<sup>92</sup> See Geoffrey Bolton *The Oxford History of Australia. Volume 5 1942-1988* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1990), Part III and Part IV. The National Country Party was renamed the National Party of Australia in 1982 (its current name).

<sup>93</sup> See Bolton *The Oxford History of Australia*, 276.

<sup>94</sup> Jim Hart, “New Wave Seventies,” in *Paper Empires*, ed.s Munro and Sheahan-Bright, 53.

<sup>95</sup> Richard Walsh “The New A&R,” in *Paper Empires*, ed.s Munro and Sheahan-Bright, 63.

in visual texts and picture books, and the development of Young Adult fiction.<sup>96</sup>

Australian authors were also finding interest in their work in America in the 1980s at a time when ‘the setting is less likely to be so precisely individualized.’<sup>97</sup> This prosperity was based on the expansion in the previous two decades, alongside changes such as technical innovations, the emergence of affordable quality paperbacks, the development of children’s lists and educational materials by publishers such as Jacaranda Press and Ashton Scholastic, increased funding for municipal libraries and schools, the appointment of specialists in children’s literature to advise state libraries on children’s services and collections, and an increased interest in local titles.<sup>98</sup> That the children’s publishing scene was thriving at a time when other segments experienced difficulties indicates that adult gatekeepers placed importance on the role of local literature in educating and entertaining children. It is likely that the captive market provided by schools helped to sustain children’s literature during this time. As children’s publishing flourished, children’s historical fiction also gathered momentum, with the publication of thirty-two novels in the 1970s and a further twenty-eight works in the 1980s, including ten picture books.<sup>99</sup>

Picture books fictionalizing the past using text and illustrations were an innovation of this period. Writers, illustrators and publishers were clearly open to alternative ways in which to present history to an increasingly younger readership. The CBCA chose to award Ruth Park’s *Playing Beatie Bow* Book of the Year in 1981, James Aldridge’s *The True Story of Lilli Stubeck* the Book of the Year for Older Readers in 1985 and Nadia Wheatley’s picture book *My Place* both Book of the Year for Younger Readers and the Eve Pownall Award for Information Books in 1988, indicating that historical fiction for children and young adults was increasingly valued

---

<sup>96</sup> Robyn Sheahan-Bright, ‘For Children and Young Adults’ in *Paper Empires*, ed.s Munro and Sheahan-Bright, 283.

<sup>97</sup> Brenda Niall, “Children’s Literature,” 6.

<sup>98</sup> See Sheahan-Bright, “For Children and Young Adults,” passim.

<sup>99</sup> Picture book titles included: Peter Dargin (in association with the Western Readers Committee of the Disadvantaged Country Area Programme), *Captain Pickles and the Wandering Jane* (Milton: Jacaranda Press, 1981); Libby Hathorn, *The Tram to Bondi Beach* (Bondi Junction: Bondi Beach Press, 1981); David Cox, *Tin Lizzie and Little Nell* (London: Bodley Head, 1982); Nadia Wheatley, *My Place* (Melbourne: Collins Dove, 1987); Barbara Ker Wilson, *Acacia Terrace* (Sydney: Ashton Scholastic, 1988); and Michael Page and Robert Ingpen, *The Great Bullocky Race* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1988).

within Australian literary circles, if not in Australian society more broadly. The CBCA also bestowed commended or highly commended awards on historically-oriented titles by Colin Thiele, David Cox, Nadia Wheatley and Judith O'Neill in the 1980s.<sup>100</sup>

The marketplace for historical products, services and experiences, including novels and picture books, has evolved within a fast-paced technological context from the 1990s. All genres of children's fiction have been confronted with competition and instability in the marketplace and the influence of digital technology on children and childhood, alongside competition for children's leisure time from a multitude of other opportunities and demands. Yet, children's books have remained at the forefront of bookshop sales, according to the Australian Booksellers Association. Journalist Patrick Begley reported in *The Sydney Morning Herald* on 9 August 2014 that:

Bookshop sales overall may be flat but purchases of children's books jumped 12 per cent in the last year, the Australian Booksellers Association says. They now make up 31 per cent of total sales, up from about 25 per cent five years ago.

Begley went on to quote the Association's Chief Executive, Joel Becker as saying "Children's books are definitely the strongest area overall ... It's a significant growth area which is really encouraging."<sup>101</sup> This apparent strength of sales is a strong indicator of the ability of those involved in book production, including authors and illustrators, to adapt to a new operating environment. As a corollary to the market factors and marketing at play in Australian society since 1945, is how history has come to be perceived by adults who are in positions of influence in children's lives, and who are in a position to influence the material culture of childhood. An

---

<sup>100</sup> Colin Thiele, *River Murray Mary* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1980); Libby Hathorn and Julie Vivas, illus., *The Tram to Bondi Beach* (1982 – Highly Commended Picture Book); David Cox *Tin Lizzie and Little Nell* (1983 – Commended Picture Book); Nadia Wheatley, *The House that was Eureka* (Ringwood: Viking/Kestrel, 1984); Judith O'Neill *Deepwater* (Port Melbourne: Mammoth Australia, 1989) - Book of the Year: Older Readers – shortlist) <http://cbca.org.au/8089.htm>. Accessed 6 April 2016.

<sup>101</sup> <http://www.smh.com.au/entertainment/books/childrens-books-prove-the-write-stuff-for-flagging-bookshops-20140807-101112.html#ixzz3CK4yWGdl>. Accessed 4 September 2014.

increasing passion for the past is now evident, fed by, and feeding into, the expansion of the marketplace for historical products, services and experiences, including those for children.

### **Public and popular history: a ‘passion for the past’**

The emergence of more historical fiction for children from the 1970s onwards coincided with a time of increasing interest in and availability of public and popular uses of the past. More works of fiction about the past were accessible to Australians in their leisure time, including a growing list of Australian historical novels for adults, such as Thomas Kenneally’s *The Chant of Jimmy Blacksmith* (1972), Xavier Herbert’s *Poor Fellow My Country* (1975) and Patrick White’s *Fringe of Leaves* (1976). These examples indicate the ongoing interest in the potential of fiction to portray Australia’s past in imaginative, evocative and even controversial ways.<sup>102</sup> White received international recognition for his fiction, being awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1973. Other, less literary, fiction with historical settings included the popular 1978 trilogy edition of Nancy Cato’s *All the Rivers Run*, subsequently made into a television series broadcast in 1983.<sup>103</sup>

Movies with an interest in the portrayal of iconic Australian characters and historical events, such as *Gallipoli* (1981), *The Man from Snowy River* (1982), *Silver City* (1984), *Crocodile Dundee* (1986), *Crocodile Dundee TWO* (1987), alongside television dramas set in the past such as *A Town Like Alice* (1981), *1915* (1982), *Bodyline* (1984), *Anzacs* (1985), *The Cowra Breakout* (1985) and *A Fortunate Life* (1986), may not have been targeting children but many children are likely to have encountered the productions at least through advertisements, and possibly through the viewing choices of older family members.<sup>104</sup> These filmic portrayals of Australia’s past provide interpretations of the past in forms accessible to the general population, and are therefore implicated in the popular construction of national identity. The portrayals also reflect the second duality and theme noted in relation to children’s historical

---

<sup>102</sup> John Beston “Patrick White,” in *A Companion to Australian Literature*, ed.s Birns and McNeer, 252.

<sup>103</sup> The novels comprising the trilogy were first published in 1958 (*All the Rivers Run/A River not yet Tamed*), 1959 (*Time, Flow Softly: a Novel of the River Murray*), and 1962 (*But Still the Stream: a novel of the Murray River*).

<sup>104</sup> See Michelle Arrow, *Friday on Our Minds* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2009), 156-160.

fiction: there is a definite element of asserting an Australian archetype based on enduring mythologies, but there is also a questioning of these mythologies. Emphasising the latter, Sarah Pinto asserts that the 1970s saw ‘the development of a particular historical attitude within Australia’s films and novels’ that she characterizes as ‘one of intense critique of both the legitimacy of the Australian nation and that of its foundations.’<sup>105</sup> This critique is also to be found in children’s historical fiction, however, close readings of selected novels such as those conducted for this thesis, suggest that authors treat both of these questions of legitimacy with a caution that fits within the framework of historical novels and picture books having an ethical role.

In emphasising empathy and emotion, the narratives employed in this kind of material contribute to the formation of a ‘collective memory’ that may or may not be based on historical ‘truth.’<sup>106</sup> Indeed, British historian Raphael Samuel has envisaged the myriad public and private uses of the past such as these as ‘theatres of memory’ in recognition of the ‘unofficial sources of historical knowledge’ that they circulate beyond the academy.<sup>107</sup> The place of individual and collective memory-making is important to consider in looking at these uses of the past. As British historian John Tosh has asserted:

Historians today are keenly interested in two forms of memory. Collective representations of the past as they circulate in popular culture are one focus of interest. The other is the memories of individuals about their own lifetimes, often solicited by the historian.<sup>108</sup>

A search to understand more about the workings of memory has established a place in Australian historiography over the last two decades, as the ‘interdisciplinary field of memory studies constitutes one of the contemporary points of convergence between memory and

---

<sup>105</sup> Sarah Pinto, “Emotional Histories: Contemporary Australian Historical Fiction” (PhD Diss., University of Melbourne, 2007), 59

<sup>106</sup> See Michelle Arrow “Broadcasting the Past. Australian television histories,” *History Australia* 8, no. 1 (2011), 227.

<sup>107</sup> See Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory. Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London and New York: Verso, 2012).

<sup>108</sup> John Tosh and Sean Lang, *The Pursuit of History: aims, methods and new directions in the study of modern history* (Harlow: Longman, 2010), 304.

history.’<sup>109</sup> The role of memory has thus figured prominently in Australian historiography in relation to the shaping of new approaches to military history and Indigenous history, as well as in methodological concerns involving approaches to historical practice such as public history and oral history.<sup>110</sup> The pervasiveness of popular representations such as those mentioned above, then, makes them important to consider in the context of popular understandings of what it means to be Australian and what kind of ‘past’ such an Australian is assumed to have experienced. As Michelle Arrow has observed, ‘looking closely at popular histories can tell us a great deal about how history is understood outside the academy’ and this understanding should be ‘critical for Australian historians’ to come to grips with, especially when it has been the subject of public debate.<sup>111</sup> Such debates illuminate the potential influences on the historical consciousness and ‘collective memories’ of successive generations of the producers and consumers of historical fiction.

Most non-school modes of history-making sit at the fringe of popular childhood leisure pursuits, perhaps occasionally capturing a more widespread audience. Yet, Ashton and Hamilton’s extensive study of the uses of the past beyond the academy in Australia, conducted over the years 1999-2001, revealed a pervasive interest that suggests historical consciousness continues to develop across life stages. Their research found that:

Everywhere, there is an increasing passion for the past – both personally and in a range of public arena. A growing preoccupation with the past for the public consumption of history has been matched by a proliferation of sites –

---

<sup>109</sup> Paula Hamilton, “Memory Studies and Cultural History,” in *Cultural History in Australia*, ed.s Hsu-Ming Teo and Richard White (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press 2003), 89.

<sup>110</sup> See Marilyn Lake, *Memory, Monuments and Museums. The Past in the Present* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2006); John Rickard and Peter Spearitt, “Packaging the Past? Public Histories,” *Special Issue of Australian Historical Studies*, 24 no.96 (April 1991); Joy Damousi, “History Matters. The Politics of Grief and Injury in Australian History,” *Australian Historical Studies* 33, no.118 (2002): 110-112; Joy Damousi *Living with the Aftermath: Trauma, Nostalgia and Grief in Post-War Australia* (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds et al., *What’s Wrong with Anzac? The Militarisation of Australian History* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2010); Bain Attwood, “In the Age of Testimony: The Stolen Generations Narrative, “Distance,” and Public History,” *Public Culture*, 20, no.1 (Winter 2008): 75; “Aboriginal History, Minority Histories and Historical Wounds: The Postcolonial Condition, Historical Knowledge and the Public Life of History in Australia,” *Postcolonial Studies* 14, no.2 (June 2011): 171-186; Iain Robertson, ed., *Heritage from Below* (England: Ashgate Publishing, 2012); Alistair Thomson, “Oral History,” in *Australian History Now*, ed.s Anna Clark and Paul Ashton (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing, 2013).

<sup>111</sup> Michelle Arrow “Broadcasting the Past,” 227, 228. See also Sarah Pinto, “*Emotional Histories*.”

including memorials, museums, television, film and national parks; and practices – such as local history, genealogy, autobiography and re-enactment. The boom continues in the popularity of historical novels and biography.<sup>112</sup>

Products for children may be viewed as a natural extension of the increasing adult interest in history described by Ashton and Hamilton. Adults convey to children what they see as important from family stories to national narratives, all of which may or may not be historically accurate. Most recently, the Anzac-related historical products, services and experiences offered to adults and children have reached an extent that has led Australian historian Carolyn Holbrook to raise the prospect of ‘Anzac fatigue.’<sup>113</sup>

Fifty picture books and historical novels in the corpus, all published since 2000, have been identified as relevant to contemporary understandings of Anzac. While these titles comprise just a small percentage of all children’s fiction published from 2000 onwards, they represent a substantial body of public and popular history-making. They also show that the subject of Anzac has been reconfigured to appeal to a broader audience, particularly in terms of age, something Marilyn Lake has problematized in relation to government publications.<sup>114</sup> The increased production of picture books on the topic, for example, suggests that it is now considered appropriate that even the very young should be informed about military history, with an emphasis on the Anzacs and Anzac Day.

The post-2000 surge in children’s historical fiction indicates that new perceptions of the role and capacity of history in the realm of public and popular culture impacted on the volume and variety of historically-oriented novels and picture books for children. Writers within the historical fiction genre have experimented with ways in which to encourage readership, through use of supplementary websites and teaching resources, sophisticated multi-level picture books,<sup>115</sup> electronic writing, graphic novels and comic strips. Others have accepted

---

<sup>112</sup> Paul Ashton and Paula Hamilton, *History at the Crossroads. Australians and the Past* (New South Wales, Halstead Press, 2007), 134.

<sup>113</sup> See Carolyn Holbrook, *Anzac. The Unauthorised Biography* (Sydney: New South Press, 2014).

<sup>114</sup> See Lake and Reynolds et al, *What’s Wrong with Anzac?*.

<sup>115</sup> See, as an example, John Marsden and Shaun Tan, *The Rabbits* (Australia and New Zealand: Hachette Australia. 2011 - first published 1998).



commissions to write books for publishers, museums, not-for-profit groups and government agencies, as will be explored in more detail in Chapter Seven.

## **Educating children: aspirations for parenting and school-based pedagogy**

As outlined in the Introduction to this thesis, shifting conceptions of ‘the child’ and childhood are expressed in ethical practices introduced in public and private domains to encourage moral and social development in desired directions. The return to peacetime conditions allowed attention to refocus on ethical practices for the future adult citizens of the post-war world. Understandings of the past are implicated in the forms of guidance and governance that emerged, most clearly visible in the formal education of children.

### **Reconceptualising the child: the 1950s and 1960s**

Discourses around age-based life stages that emerged in the 1950s influenced conceptions of personal, community and national identity. In particular, as Pascoe has observed, Australian historians have identified the 1950s as ‘a critical turning point in the history of childhood,’ linked to adult aspirations around the socialization of children in both private and public spheres.<sup>116</sup> Ideas about the vulnerability and innocence of children infused recommended parenting practices, while official views of model citizenship and national identity drove public intervention in the lives of children.<sup>117</sup> The emergence of a youth culture based around the interests and activities of teenagers and young adults further implicitly defined childhood as a unique and separate life stage.<sup>118</sup>

Developments in school curricula in the 1950s and 1960s underscore the importance of pedagogical influences in the expansion of children’s literature in these decades. The will of governments and education departments throughout Australia to provide ethical guidance for

---

<sup>116</sup> Carla Pascoe, “The History of Children in Australia: An Interdisciplinary Historiography,” *History Compass* 8/10 (2010): 1146.

<sup>117</sup> Pascoe, “History of Children,” 1146-47.

<sup>118</sup> See Paula Fass, *Designing Modern Childhoods: History, Space and the Material Culture of Children* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 2008); and Mary Kehily, ed., *Understanding Childhood: a cross-disciplinary approach* (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2013).

children through prescribing educational goals and preferred literature was well-established, and made explicit in curriculum documents, readers and children's magazines for use in schools.<sup>119</sup>

A race-based view of the model Australian citizen persisted in education policy throughout the 1950s and 1960s. In New South Wales, for example, the promotion of a concept of 'citizens as racialised white young men and women' ran through educational reforms and increased educational spending in New South Wales in the late 1950s and early 1960s, and was particularly evident in the illustrations and articles of the New South Wales government's educational publication, the 'School Magazine.'<sup>120</sup> As Anna Clark has observed, although the content and methodology of the history taught in schools did change in the 1960s, the representation of Indigenous history in the 1950s and 1960s remained focused on Aboriginal people cast as 'stone age man' and the achievements of European settlers, meaning that '[t]he dispossession and dispersal 'these pioneers' inflicted upon the Indigenous population was not mentioned.'<sup>121</sup> Such representations of the past for children were reinforced through texts such as Eve Pownall's *The Australia Book*, winner of the CBCA Award in 1952. The text and illustrations in this book relegate Indigenous Australians to a primitive status, little differentiated from the flora and fauna, 'blacks' rather than people.<sup>122</sup> Nevertheless, the book was seen 'for many years afterwards as the definitive version of Australian history for children.'<sup>123</sup>

Nevertheless, by the 1960s, more progressive pedagogies saw the use of inquiry-based learning alongside project and group work in primary schools. Curriculum changes saw the implementation of a new social studies approach that integrated the study of a

---

<sup>119</sup> See Craig Campbell and Helen Proctor, *History of Australian Schooling* (Crows Nest: Allen and Unwin, 2014), 100-102; and Saxby, *Images of Australia*, 22-5.

<sup>120</sup> See Lorna McLean, "[The march to nation: citizenship, education, and the Australian way of life in New South Wales, 1940s-1960s.](https://doi.org/10.1108/08198691200800003)" *History of Education Review*, Vol. 37 no.1, 34-47, <https://doi.org/10.1108/08198691200800003>.

<sup>121</sup> Clark in Macintyre and Clark, *The History Wars*, 174.

<sup>122</sup> Eve Pownall and illus. Margaret Senior, *The Australia Book* (Fitzroy: Black Dog Books, 2008), 13.

<sup>123</sup> Brenda Niall, "Fading to Black: Aboriginal Children in Colonial Texts," *Papers: Explorations in Children's Literature*, no.1 (1999): 14-30. Accessed 23 July 2018. <https://www.austlit-edu-au.ezproxy.sl.nsw.gov.au/static/new/files/text/pdf/3487545737247068919-brn582185.pdf>. 1.

‘interdisciplinary, civically focused’ history and geography at the primary school level.<sup>124</sup> This approach indicates that learning about the past was perceived at the time as an important factor in constructing the model citizen for the future, alongside sound physical capacities, with physical education also introduced to encourage the health and fitness of the nation’s youth.<sup>125</sup>

Educationalists also advocated a community approach that emphasized schools working more closely with students and their families. More active parental involvement in schools was encouraged through parent organisations, and educational sociology provided a scientific basis for analyzing factors impacting on educational attainment. Opportunities for children from working class and lower income families to complete higher levels of schooling improved during the 1950s and 1960s. The increase in the number of Aboriginal children attending primary school suggested an improvement in educational participation but their educational attainment levels beyond primary school remained significantly lower than non-Indigenous children., as they do still.<sup>126</sup> The influx of European migrants meant that teachers were more likely than ever before to be teaching children from a non-English speaking background.<sup>127</sup> Although inequalities persisted (and still do in the twenty first century), the educational environment at the time appears to have offered more children an opportunity to learn about the nation’s past than ever before.

### **Privatisation and protection of childhood: 1970s and beyond**

Western liberationist ideals of the 1960s and 1970s that emphasized the duality of child dependence/self-reliance were challenged in the 1980s and beyond by increasing levels of fear about contemporary threats to children. Grossberg observed that after ‘Liberationist definitions of children’s rights expanded significantly from the 1940s through the 1970s ...the last decades of the twentieth century witnessed a reassertion of a caretaking conception of children’s rights.’<sup>128</sup> Similarly, writing of the history of American childhood, Paula Fass argues that from

---

<sup>124</sup> Campbell and Proctor, *A History of Australian Schooling*, 172.

<sup>125</sup> Campbell and Proctor, 172.

<sup>126</sup> Campbell and Proctor, 203.

<sup>127</sup> Campbell and Proctor, 205.

<sup>128</sup> Michael Grossberg, “Liberation and Caretaking: Fighting Over Children’s Rights in Postwar America,” in *Reinventing Childhood after World War II*, ed.s Paula Fass and Michael Grossberg (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 21.

the mid-1960s middle class families began to manage, and even ‘crack down,’ on their children, ‘patrolling their behavior and supervising their activities.’<sup>129</sup> She argues, furthermore, that ‘[o]ne would be hard-pressed to find a stretch of time in American history in which anxieties about children were more intense than in the two decades from 1980 to 2000.’<sup>130</sup>

The anxieties described by Fass were particularly focused on middle class America and were reflected in novels for children and young adults of the time such as Robert Cormier’s *The Chocolate War* (1974) and *I am the Cheese* (1977). These American concerns do resonate with Australian notions of childhood over the same time. As children spent more time in education and remained financially dependent on their parents for longer, the progress from child to adult was delayed, representing tendencies towards ‘infantilising adolescence.’<sup>131</sup> Echoing Fass’ observations of middle-class American families, Jan Kociumbas argues that for Australian families, the ‘possession of private house and garden made it possible to increase the standardization and privatization of child life,’ a reflection also on the impact of suburbanization on Australian social and cultural developments.<sup>132</sup>

The identification of the small family unit as critical to a child’s protection and advancement implies the conception of parents as ‘managers,’ equipping their children for success in life through education and skills development.<sup>133</sup> Parental aspirations are heterogenous and complex but changes to the national and international economic environment in the 1970s and beyond injected an element of uncertainty into what the future might hold for children. Providing educational and other developmental opportunities beyond school was increasingly perceived as critical to future success in life, as the discourses that emerged around skills development and employment in the 1970s and 1980s reflect.<sup>134</sup> Nevertheless, the questioning

---

<sup>129</sup> Paula Fass, “The Child-centred Family? New Rules in Postwar America,” in *Reinventing Childhood* ed.s Fass and Grossberg, 11.

<sup>130</sup> Fass “Child-centred Family,” 14.

<sup>131</sup> Jan Kociumbas, *Australian Childhood: A History* (St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1997), 216-234.

<sup>132</sup> Kociumbas, *Australian Childhood*, 200.

<sup>133</sup> Kociumbas, *Australian Childhood*, 205.

<sup>134</sup> See Mitchell Dean, “Administering Ascetism: Reworking the Ethical Life of the Unemployed Citizen,” and Anna Yeatman “Interpreting Contemporary Contractualism,” in *Governing Australia. Studies in Contemporary Rationalities of Government*, ed.s Mitchell Dean and Barry Hindess (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press 1998) Chapter 5, 87-107 and Chapter 13, 227-241, respectively; Monica Kenely, “The service

of social mores, government policy and historical practice was also a feature of school education during this period. Dominant narratives and discursive practices were questioned, as were methodological approaches. The expansion of the social sciences in universities provided more research on which to base pedagogical approaches in the classroom,<sup>135</sup> generating radical curriculum changes that emphasized child-centred experiential learning, alternative perspectives, enquiry-based rather than rote learning, and the exploration of historical themes rather than a chronological list of facts.<sup>136</sup>

The Federal Government's implementation of a policy of multiculturalism, coupled with new approaches to Indigenous affairs during this period, also signaled a more generally liberal and diverse social and cultural life. Disciplines such as history and geography were reconceptualised and reworked into broader studies 'geared towards promoting social awareness and equity,'<sup>137</sup> and the curriculum was open to increasingly wider scrutiny and concern from the 1970s onwards, Campbell and Proctor observing that:

The period from 1975 to 2000 was an extraordinary one for both curriculum development and changes to pedagogy. There was also a new politicization of the curriculum.<sup>138</sup>

In what may be situated within the beginnings of the more volatile debates of the History Wars, the school curriculum became a site for the contestation of the development of historical knowledge and consciousness in children. As Anna Clark's work demonstrates, what children were taught and how they were taught became entangled in debates that extended beyond the realm of curriculum development, indicating the potential divisiveness of imparting versions of the past to the younger generations and indicating also the importance attached to history education as an integral part of nation-building and developing qualities required for effective

---

economy," in *The Cambridge Economic History of Australia*, ed.s Simon Ville and Glenn Withers (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 373-394.

<sup>135</sup> See Campbell and Proctor, *History of Australian Schooling*, 216.

<sup>136</sup> See Clark in Macintyre and Clark, *The History Wars*, 174-177.

<sup>137</sup> Clark, *The History Wars*, 174-175.

<sup>138</sup> Campbell and Proctor, *History of Australian Schooling*, 232.

citizenship.<sup>139</sup> The vulnerability of children to manipulation was an integral assumption of the ensuing debates, as was the implicit counterview that children were also capable of becoming guardians of the national story.<sup>140</sup> This counterpoint to the viewing of children as vulnerable can easily be seen in the historical fiction in the corpus in the characterization of agentic children with the fortitude to meet the challenges of their historic setting and situation. This focalizing of the narrative through a child main character is a commonality across the corpus. It can be taken as evidence that, knowingly or not, authors from 1945 to 2015 engaged in the historical task of establishing that children in the past did have agency, that they occupied and experienced the vagaries of the past, and that providing this perspective was an important task of children's literature.

Nevertheless, in terms of development of the genre, Kim Wilson has argued that '[p]erception in children's historical fiction published in the last thirty years or so is very clearly situated within the modern eye.'<sup>141</sup> By this, she means that authors are projecting contemporary perspectives onto the past. In some ways, the idea of re-visioning the past through modern eyes is what historians would expect. How else can a writer write? Nevertheless, historical scholarship has long engaged with the nature of history as a representation of the past, its connection with the present and the way in which History is inevitably refracted through the present. Even only allowing children to read books published in the past to which they refer, it is hard to see how this can be avoided, since the children would be reading in the present. However, conceiving the corpus of novels and picture books as both historical artefacts and historical projects so that historians can understand more about how these versions of the past are constructed and received ('consumed'), brings the space of children and childhood into these conversations in a way that is accessible. An interrogation of the narrative elements in these texts can reveal how fiction intersects with the historical content, establishing meta-narratives that are both historically contingent and that can also operate as etiquettes for how particular subjects are represented. As Wilson also observes:

---

<sup>139</sup> See Clark in Macintyre and Clark, *The History Wars*, 2003; and Anna Clark *Teaching the Nation. Politics and Pedagogy in Australian History* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2006).

<sup>140</sup> Anna Clark, *History's Children* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2008).

<sup>141</sup> Kim Wilson, *Re-Visioning Historical Fiction for Young Readers. The Past through Modern Eyes*, (Routledge: New York 2011), 63.

The question of who perceives in historical fiction for children and young adult readers is important to the subsequent issue of what is understood about the past.<sup>142</sup>

Yet, beyond questions of the interplay between historical literacy and the formation of national identity, little academic attention has been given to the plethora of products available to children outside of a school setting. Interrogating the fictional texts that are given prominence through official funding and through commercial investment is an important way of approaching the question of what they ‘teach our children?’ and, perhaps more importantly in terms of history, when they teach it.<sup>143</sup>

## Conclusion

Historiographical developments since 1945, combined with other social and cultural developments, have meant that the teaching of history in schools has become a more contested space. Changes permeating the education sector have reflected an opening up of the past to questioning, allowing the breathing in of new ideas and life into the study of history at school, and feeding into a wider interest in the past beyond the school. Although proportionally, historical novels and picture books remain a minor segment of children’s literature published in Australia in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, they, along with children’s literature more generally, have exhibited unusual resilience in the face of changing economic conditions from 1945 onwards. Nevertheless, the *historical* significance of the corpus described in this thesis lies not in the volume of publications, or even the reading of historical novels and picture books by children (the apparent intended audience). It lies within the aspirational and ethical dimensions that can be discerned in the corpus when interrogating the texts as *historical*, rather than literary, projects.

---

<sup>142</sup> Wilson, *Re-visioning the Past*, 83.

<sup>143</sup> Clark in Macintyre and Clark, *The History Wars*, 171.

The historical project overall that best characterizes the post-World War Two production and consumption of historical novels and picture books is one of achieving a more diverse rendering of the nation's past, including looking to a more extensive temporal and geographical scope, and seeking to convey the emotional life of previous generations, thereby both extending and challenging dominant national narratives and etiquettes associated with certain subjects. The next chapter will explore these propositions in more depth. It focuses on how the fiction intersects with and inflects the historical in the corpus by examining the narrative elements use by authors of children's historical novels and picture book since 1945 in order to represent the past.



## Chapter 5

### **Historical Fiction as History-Making: How Fictional Narrative Elements Inflect the Historical Project**

Deconstructing the narrative elements of a text enables the literary qualities and potential ethical and educational uses to be interrogated, including positioning within genres or thematic territory. In discussing strategies for guiding children's reading of literary texts, Perry Nodelman and Mavis Reimer identify the elements of a narrative text as including setting, characters, plot, theme, structure and point of view, noting that children need to 'develop the repertoire of information and strategies for meaning-making (that) authors assume their readers will possess.'<sup>1</sup> These elements, they (and others) suggest, may be taken into account in exploring children's literature and in guiding children in their reading.

Taking these elements as a starting point, this chapter asks how historians might explore selected aspects of a fictional text as contributors to historical meaning-making. This perspective inverts the relationship originally articulated by Hayden White in relation to historical narrative and literature.<sup>2</sup> Rather than examining the literary qualities of historical narrative, this chapter examines the historical qualities (not quality) of selected historical novels and picture books as indicated by the literary elements. This approach recognizes that, as Curthoys and Docker point out, White's conception of genres as stable was critiqued within the context of post-structuralist literary and historical theory. In demonstrating a dynamism within the children's historical fiction genre, developments in the literary techniques used in the texts are shown to echo the destabilizing of notions of History from the 1960s onwards.

Essentially, then, the intent in this chapter is to continue to demonstrate how techniques of the fiction writer inflect the history embedded in Australian children's novels and picture books.

---

<sup>1</sup> Perry Nodelman and Mavis Reimer, *The Pleasures of Children's Literature* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2003), 53.

<sup>2</sup> See Ann Curthoys and John Docker, *Is History Fiction?* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2010), 193.

In identifying the considerable shifts across time in how authors use various narrative elements to create their representations of the past, I will argue that the initial stability of form has been replaced by a diversity that sits within the broader context of historiographical developments in the academy, in pedagogy and in public and popular culture. The chapter also asks if and how the elements of a narrative text, as employed in historical fiction, implicitly assume that readers possess a repertoire of historical skills (in addition to literacy/literary skills) sufficient to decode the intended historical meanings. Such skills would play a role in the extent to which the text did exert an ethical influence on the reader.

The diversity within the corpus has helped to develop alternatives to traditional ways of looking at the past, including alternative narratives that contest understandings of Australian history offered to children in school and in public and popular modes of history. I will argue that within this dynamic area of children's literature, the countervailing tendency of embedding dominant national narratives within fictional representations of the past is also a feature. Consistent with my earlier arguments is the identification of narrative features of historical fiction as creating ethical boundaries for children, thereby suggesting contemporaneous constructions of childhood. These boundaries contribute to the discourse of the vulnerable child and child custodian explored throughout. Beginning with the narrative element of setting, then moving on to discuss character, plot, point of view, and theme, the chapter demonstrates the inherent complexity of representing the past in fiction for children and, using selected examples, shows the richness of the corpus as a source for understanding more about history-making beyond the academy.

### **Locating the past: temporal and physical settings**

Setting is obviously central to historical fiction, with most authors carefully and clearly anchoring their text to a time and place in the past. Where texts diverge from this, such as James Aldridge's *The True Story of Spit McPhee* and *The True Story of Lily Stubeck*, the reader must bring historical skills to the text to understand the stories as taking place in the Depression

years of the 1930s.<sup>3</sup> Generally, however, children's historical fiction clearly identifies the time and place depicted in the story, a feature that works towards establishing the text's authenticity as historical work. This identification is achieved through both the text (including illustrations) and the paratextual information offered.

At its most basic level, setting may be defined as the time and place in which the 'depiction of character and unfolding of plot' take place.<sup>4</sup> The way in which setting is used by the author, however, may complicate its role in the narrative. A text that has an integral setting depicts the influence of time and place on 'action, character, or theme,' whereas a backdrop setting is indeterminate in terms of time and place: the narrative could be taking place anywhere and suggests a more universal, generalized storyline.<sup>5</sup> In historical fiction, use of a backdrop setting implies an emphasis on fiction rather than history, so why an author even chooses to set their work in the past is a relevant question.

In thinking about the embedded historical project in a novel or picture book, the concept of time itself is critical. The chronological location of the subject carries with it associated historical knowledge, which may or may not be known to the reader. Additionally, the ways in which authors move their settings temporally, as a narrative strategy, implies ideas about the nature of time, especially, the connections between the past and the present. Wilson observes:

It would appear then that historical fiction for children is an important and influential cultural commodity and that critical engagement with this medium discloses more about the present and the present's conceptualization of the past, than the past in and of itself.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> See James Aldridge, *The True Story of Lilli Stubeck*. (Melbourne: Hyland House. 1984), and *The True Story of Spit McPhee* (Ringwood: Viking, 1986).

<sup>4</sup> Rebecca J. Lukens, Jacquelin J. Smith and Cynthia Miller Coffel. *A Critical Handbook of Children's Literature* (USA: Pearson Education, 2013), 167.

<sup>5</sup> Lukens, Smith and Coffel, *A Critical Handbook*, 170.

<sup>6</sup> Kim Wilson, *Re-Visioning Historical Fiction for Young Readers. The Past through Modern Eyes* (New York and Oxon: Routledge, 2011), 192.

The interaction of past and present also implies an impact on the future, shaping the ethical frameworks that children bring with them into adulthood. In children's historical fiction, narrative strategies may be seen to inflect the historical by reminding the reader, as Tom Griffiths observes, that time 'relentlessly propels us into the future, snatching the present from us, making the past strange' and 'has a topography and history of its own.'<sup>7</sup> While the theoretical dimensions of history and time may be beyond the child reader, the movement between different periods within novels and picture books, may encourage awareness of time as a changeable rather than static concept. In this way, historical fiction may permeate historical consciousness in children who engage with these texts.

Such an implication for children's historical consciousness gestures to the work of Fernand Braudel, whose writings explore three ways of interrogating the passage of time: geographical time (at least one century); social time ('the rhythms and forces at work in economic systems, scientific and technological developments, political institutions, conceptual changes, states, societies, civilisations and forms of warfare'); and individual time.<sup>8</sup> The inclusion of concepts of time in the Australian curriculum demonstrates that this is viewed as an important task in the ethical guidance of children. Two of the key ideas in the *Foundation to 10* curricula are 'Who we are, who came before us, and traditions and values that have shaped societies' and 'How societies and economies operate and how they are changing over time.'<sup>9</sup> The corpus shows that there are many stories to tell of the past and that these stories vary in their representation of the passage and rhythms of time.

### **Connecting temporal settings**

Several writers explore the idea of thinking about time as connecting the past and the present, as first employed in Australian children's post-war historical fiction by Nan Chauncy in *Tangara* (1960). Multi-era settings, employed in works such as Nadia Wheatley's *My Place* and Eleanor Spence's *The Family Book of Mary Claire*, and time-slip novels such as Jackie

---

<sup>7</sup> Tom Griffiths, *The Art of Time Travel. Historians and Their Craft* (Carlton: Black Inc., 2016), 7.

<sup>8</sup> See Marnie Hughes-Warrington, *Fifty Key Thinkers on History* (Oxon.: Routledge, 2008), 22-23.

<sup>9</sup> See [http://docs.acara.edu.au/resources/F-10\\_HASS\\_Key\\_ideas\\_-\\_Subject\\_sub-strand\\_illustrations.pdf](http://docs.acara.edu.au/resources/F-10_HASS_Key_ideas_-_Subject_sub-strand_illustrations.pdf). Accessed 28 March 2018.

French's *Somewhere Round the Corner* and Deborah Lisson's *The Devil's Own*, suggest the idea of time itself as a critical aspect of historical understanding.

Chronologically-based settings develop a sense of continuity, of connection between the past and present, whereas time-slip novels establish a more disruptive relationship that tends to illuminate differences between the past and present more sharply. Kim Wilson takes this idea of disruptiveness further, arguing that 'living history' novels posit the past as 'Other,' and, 'by consistently concluding the narrative in the present ... characters can use their experience of the past to contemplate the parameters and possibilities of their own subjectivities.'<sup>10</sup> By extension, the reader is also encouraged to use their experience of the past gained through the act of reading to contemplate their subjectivities. The fiction inflects the historical in this instance in a double way: the fictional main character takes the reader on an imaginative journey into the past, returning to their fictional present, leaving the reader to lay the book aside in their own (real) present. Again, the interconnections of past and present is indicated in the F-10 Australian Curriculum, one of the key ideas expressed as 'The ways people, places, ideas and events are perceived and connected.'<sup>11</sup>

To illustrate authors' representation of continuity between the past and the present, each of the twenty characters in Nadia Wheatley's 1987 picture book *My Place* describes their attachment to a piece of land that is on the outskirts of the original place of British settlement at Sydney Cove. The narrative structure is based on each character describing what the 'place' is like for them, at ten-year intervals, commencing with Laura in 1988 and concluding with Barangaroo in 1788. The double page spread following the title page is an illustrated timeline, the spiral in the top left-hand corner suggesting infinite time prior to 1788. The curving of the line representing the period from 1788 to 1988 suggests these points in time are part of a continuum but not in the expected form of linear progression.

---

<sup>10</sup> Wilson, *Re-visioning Historical Fiction*, 190.

<sup>11</sup> [http://docs.acara.edu.au/resources/F-10\\_HASS\\_Key\\_ideas\\_-\\_Subject\\_sub-strand\\_illustrations.pdf](http://docs.acara.edu.au/resources/F-10_HASS_Key_ideas_-_Subject_sub-strand_illustrations.pdf)  
Accessed 12 October 2017.

Wheatley's subversion of an expected timeline continues with the narrative: instead of commencing with pre-1788 and moving forward, the first double page spread is Laura's story, set in 1988. An Aboriginal flag in her house window establishes an Indigenous connection to the land, a connection asserted confidently in Barangaroo's story, which appears on the penultimate double page spread. His grandmother's claim of their connection to the land, made on the first double page spread, is repeated at the story's conclusion, the words 'For ever and ever' echoing as if to remind the reader of the relative insignificance of the years just described. The connection is also deliberately political, drawing attention to the claims of Indigenous people to highly urbanized areas and unsettling the idea of a unifying national identity, echoing the contemporaneous debates about the 1988 Bicentenary.<sup>12</sup>

In a further politicization of temporal setting, on each double page spread, a map inscribes the location of the place, while the text and drawings indicate the character's background and how the place is used at that time. Wheatley describes her intention to show Aboriginal people as the inhabitants of the Australian continent, the ethnic diversity of those people who came to Australia from 1788 onwards, and the current presence of Aboriginal people in contemporary Australian society. Her website states:

At a time when Australian history was regarded by many as an account of two hundred years of white British settlement, *My Place* firmly positioned the First Australians as the beginning and end of the tale, and also showcased the way in which immigrants from many lands had contributed to our national story.<sup>13</sup>

*My Place* also politicizes the impact of human habitation on the land, positioning this as an important aspect of Australia's national story. A fig tree symbolizes the importance of

---

<sup>12</sup> See Stuart Macintyre and Anna Clark, *The History Wars* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2004); Sharon Janson and Stuart Macintyre, "Making the Bicentenary," *Special Issue of Australian Historical Studies*, 23, no.91 (Melbourne: University of Melbourne, October 1988); and Darren Pennay, Frank Bongiorno, and Paul Myers, "The Life in Australia Historic Events Survey: Australians name the 10 most Significant Historic Events of their Lifetime", *Topline Report* (Canberra, ACT: Social Research Centre, Australian National University, 2018), [http://cdn.srcentre.com.au/le2017/documents/SRC\\_HES\\_Toplone\\_Report.pdf](http://cdn.srcentre.com.au/le2017/documents/SRC_HES_Toplone_Report.pdf). Accessed 28 March 2018.

<sup>13</sup> <http://nadiawheatley.com/my-place/>. Accessed 28 March 2018.

conservation, an element present throughout two centuries of non-Indigenous human habitation that is appreciated by each of the occupants. As the decades roll back, the built environment recedes until only the large fig tree, which has apparently survived all the emanations of human occupation of the 'place,' appears in silhouette against a spectacular sunset. The presentation of time as cyclical rather than linear suggests an alternative perception of the past and its connection to the present.

The layers of information contained within the text provide different levels of understanding of the past, indicating the potential for complexity within even the simple form of the picture book. Zeegers points out the potential for even more complex interpretations of *My Place*, arguing that the silences within the text – there are, for example, no Indigenous returned soldiers – reveal the implicit discourses that 'in this case background Indigenous Australian history within powerful discourses of Euroculture.'<sup>14</sup> Her work with students involved primary school children, in looking at *My Place*, Anita Heiss's *My Australian Story* novel *Who am I? The Diary of Mary Talence* (2004) and non-print-based texts, to investigate such silences.<sup>15</sup>

Awarded CBCA Picture book of the Year, the inaugural Eve Pownall Award for Children's Non-fiction, the White Raven Award, and the Yabba Award in 1988, *My Place* presumably secured its own place on school reading lists and library shelves.<sup>16</sup> It was reprinted once in 1987, three times in 1988, once in the years 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1995, 2003, 2003, 2006 and 2007, and twice in 2004 and 2005. In 2008, a twentieth anniversary edition was released, its continuing cultural presence boosted by the airing of the television program *My Place* in 2009 and a website.<sup>17</sup> The accolades, publishing success and adaptation for television and the internet indicate, moreover, that *My Place* is seen by adults as an appropriate and interesting representation of the past for children, embedding it as a broadly admired and approved historical and cultural product. The scope of its appeal may be seen in the holding of the picture

---

<sup>14</sup> Margaret Zeegers, "Cultural Explorations of Time and Space: Indigenous Australian Artists-in-Residence, Conventional Narratives and Children's Text Creation," *Papers: Explorations in Children's Literature*, 16, no.2 (2006), 142.

<sup>15</sup> Zeegers, "Cultural Explorations," 142.

<sup>16</sup> Nadia Wheatley and Donna Rawlins, *My Place* (20th Anniversary edition) (Newtown: Walker Books Australia, 1987), Back cover.

<sup>17</sup> See <http://www.abc.net.au/abc3/myplace/>. Accessed 24 February 2016.

book by 151 libraries in 2016, as well as its rating of 4.26 stars (out of five) on the goodreads.com website (based on the average rating of 426 reviews).<sup>18</sup>

With its powerful depiction of the importance of place in the intertwining of Indigenous and non-Indigenous history over two hundred years, *My Place* encapsulates just how far pictorial representations of the past have evolved in the four decades following World War Two. *My Place* is one of few picture books focused on the past published in this period, although the picture book had become increasingly popular as a form of children's literature from the early 1900s.<sup>19</sup> As such, Wheatley's work provides an example of the continuing experimentation with fictional representation of the past for children, an experimentation that contributes to the definitional difficulties discussed in the Introduction.

Given the association of picture books with younger readers, *My Place* also indicates that representations of the past are seen to be of potential interest and educational value for children not yet reading text-based novels. Such representations indicate the broader conceptualization of the ethical guidance appropriate for children and the broader sources from which it might be gained, albeit with the continued mediation of adults. The key concepts in the Australian curriculum for humanities and social sciences which encompasses the teaching of history, resonate with the concerns of *My Place*. In particular, the curriculum identifies continuity and change, perspectives and empathy as critical elements of historical understanding, demonstrating how the ethical guidance to be embedded within pedagogical settings can align with fictional representations circulated beyond the classroom.<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> [http://www.goodreads.com/book/show/1001964.My\\_Place](http://www.goodreads.com/book/show/1001964.My_Place) <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/14789504?q=my+place&c=book#tabs14789504=2>. Accessed 2 July 2016

<sup>19</sup> See John Foster, E.J. Finnis, and Maureen Nimon, *Bush, City, Cyberspace: The Development of Australian Children's Literature into the Twenty First Century. Literature and Literacy for Young People: An Australian Series Volume 6* (Wagga Wagga: Centre for Information Studies, Charles Sturt University, 2005); Marcie Muir, *A History of Australian Children's Book Illustration* (South Melbourne: Sun Books, 1977); Juliet O'Connor & State Library of Victoria, *Bottersnikes and other lost things: a celebration of Australian illustrated children's books* (Carlton: Miegunyah Press in association with the State Library of Victoria, 2009).

<sup>20</sup> See <http://www.australiancurriculum.edu.au/humanities-and-social-sciences/hass/curriculum/f-10?layout=1#page=2>. Accessed 13 June 2016.





Figure 5.1 Welcome to *My Place* for Teachers<sup>21</sup>

Wheatley's work also touches upon contemporaneous political concerns such as environmentalism, Aboriginal land rights, and multiculturalism, reflecting how broader social issues can influence the ethical dimensions of children's texts. *My Place* is positioned as a resource for use in the classroom, as indicated by the website developed to support the television show illustrated in Figure 5.1 above. Children are also encouraged to understand the passage of time beyond their own age, family and community.

<sup>21</sup> <http://www.myplace.edu.au/default.asp>. Accessed 11 June 2017.

### Developing a sense of place

As discussed in Chapter Four, the subject matter of novels published in the 1940s and 1950s focused on the colonial era, with physical settings gradually expanding from Sydney Town and its outskirts to other areas of New South Wales, (present-day) Victoria and Tasmania. The temporal settings also expanded from the colonial era to the twentieth century. As the scope of time and place expanded, novels from the 1960s onwards reflect a deeper engagement with aspects of the Australian physical landscape than in previous decades. The location, or sense of place, is pivotal to the story, symbolic, vivid and vital, rather than a stereotypical painted scene, or a backdrop for the actions of characters and the unfolding of plots. Niall notes the sense of place in the development of children's literature 'was a particular strength in many of the novels of the 1960s.'<sup>22</sup> The sense of place was not used merely to embellish a traditional adventure-based plot with an Australian flavour. In the teeming city docks and gritty back streets, the isolated fledgling township, the barren and dusty gold-diggings, the isolated outback station, can be seen an authorial intent to build a deeper picture of specific places at a specific time in Australia's past, as well as to suggest timeless themes that implicitly connect previous eras with the present.

The attention to setting suggests a deeper engagement with the potential of historical fiction to convey a sense of the past and to show that Australia does have an important and diverse history to explore. As in the 1960s, some historical novels and picture books published in the 1970s and 1980s encompassed symbolic representations of the Australian landscape in the past, working within such tropes as belonging, Indigenous spirituality, and the lost or abandoned child in a hostile environment. The connections between characters and the places that they inhabit in representations of the past function as both subject and theme: the physical environment, natural or built, is drawn in detail and comes to suggest authorial perceptions of the historical subject. Children's historical novels and picture books published since the 1950s

---

<sup>22</sup> Brenda Niall, "Fading to Black: Aboriginal Children in Colonial Texts," *Papers: Explorations in Children's Literature*, no.1 (1999): 14-30. Accessed 23 July 2018. <https://www.austlit-edu-au.ezproxy.sl.nsw.gov.au/static/new/files/text/pdf/3487545737247068919-brn582185.pdf>, 6.

demonstrate the influence of the idea of the land itself constituting an adversary for child characters and the mode of social realism in children's literature.<sup>23</sup>

An intricately drawn sense of place is, for example, intrinsic to Colin Thiele's short chapter book *River Murray Mary* (1979). The episodic plot is based around the challenges facing Mary, the young daughter of a farmer living on the Murray River. Through the difficulties Mary faces, Thiele explores the theme of individual courage and resilience, but places this within a community context as the people along the river help each other. Thiele's descriptions of the physical environment complement the illustrations by Robert Ingpen, creating a landscape that underpins a rich social environment where to belong is to understand and overcome the challenges of river life as part of a close-knit community. Images of people and places are presented on several pages in the form of photographs in a family album. Their white borders and small triangular holders may perhaps be unfamiliar to today's generation of readers, but they help create the illusion that the narrative represents a real river community.

Max Fatchen's *The River Kings* provides another example of the attention given to developing a sense of a place in the past that also functions in a thematic way. The river is changeable and capricious, yet life-giving and a source of material sustenance, a place, it seems, that echoed the vagaries of life and growing up. Fatchen writes:

It was a Man's river, a boy's river, a settler's river, a river that could break your heart, a river that could soothe, a sly river and a wilful river.<sup>24</sup>

Shawn, the thirteen-year-old protagonist, makes the river his home, working on the *Lazy Jane* paddle steamer after he runs away from the family farm and an abusive step-father. Through a picaresque series of adventures, at the heart of which flows the Murray River, Shawn finds a new path for his future alongside the river he loves but moving on from the dying river-boat trade. The movement of the river suggests the inexorable movement of time. The sense of place

---

<sup>23</sup> See Brenda Niall Australia *Through the Looking Glass. Children's Fiction 1830-1980* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1985), 231.

<sup>24</sup> Max Fatchen. *The River Kings* (South Australia: Wakefield Press, 2004), 27.

helps to convey, in a realistic rather than sentimental way, the forging of a sense of personal and community identity associated with a physical locality and the idea that the passage of time incurs losses but may also confer gains. In this way, the sense of place as depicted in *The River Kings* mitigates the idea of historical fiction being characterized simply by a humanistic metanarrative of positive progress.

A sense of place continues to be an important dimension of representations of the past in contemporary children's historical fiction. Maps inscribe the physical locations, as do photographs and illustrations. Discursive strategies include the use of titles and paratextual information to draw attention to temporal and geographical settings. The Scholastic *My Australian Story* series, the first four titles of which were published in 2000, for example, specifies the location and date of the story as a sub-title on the front cover of each book. Some titles in the series also draw on historical discourse established in public and popular culture. David Mulligan's *Heroes of Tobruk*<sup>25</sup> and Allan Tucker's *Gallipoli* and *Kokoda*, for example, rely on, or assume, recognition of these war settings as sufficient to attract an audience.

A further development is the introduction of overseas settings beyond the early emigration and transportation stories, connecting Australian history to global history. Again, the Scholastic *My Australian Story* series has multiple examples of this tendency towards a transnational (if not global) outlook, including *Gallipoli*, *Kokoda*, the *Heroes of Tobruk*, *My Father's War*, *Refugee*, and *On Board the Boussole: The Diary of Julien Flaubert*, *La Perouse's Voyage of Discovery, 1785-1788*. Examples beyond the series include David Martin's *The Chinese Boy*, Pamela Rushby's *The Horses Didn't Come Home* and *Flora's War*, Elyne Mitchell's *The Lighthorsemen* and *Lighthorse to Damascus*, Diane Wolfer's *Lighthorse Boy*, Peter Stanley's *Simpson's Donkey. A Wartime Journey to Gallipoli and Beyond*, *Do Not Forget Australia*, and Mark Wilson's picture books *My Mother's Eyes*, *The Afghanistan Pup*, *Angel of Kokoda* and *Vietnam Diary*. These novels indicate a seeking for new material by authors but also reinforce the idea that children's historical fiction engages with prominent subjects that reinforce the

---

<sup>25</sup> David Mulligan *My Australian Story. Heroes of Tobruk* (Lindfield: Scholastic, 2012) See <https://shop.scholastic.com.au/Product/8129167/My-Australian-Story-Heroes-of-Tobruk>. Accessed 28 March 2018.

national narrative of sacrifice, mateship and heroism as integral to the notion of being ‘Australian.’ This focus, in turn, reinforces the connection of military history to the ethical frameworks employed within the space of childhood demonstrated in Chapter Seven.<sup>26</sup>

The preoccupation with war settings is overwhelming in terms of representations of characters’ interaction beyond Australian shores, suggesting a significant limitation in the resultant historical understandings conveyed to children. Kirsty Murray’s *India Dark*, although for only advanced junior readers, provides one of the few examples to trace an Australian historical subject overseas that does not encompass exploration, gold or war, as she tells the story of a troupe of child performers who travel throughout Victoria and then journey by ship to South East Asia and India. Clearly there is more potential to widen the narratives that place Australian characters in settings beyond Australia, and situations beyond battlefields.

### **Peopling the past: crafting fictional historical characters**

Children’s historical fiction privileges child characters, positing children as conduits to the past. Other characters populating the novels and picture books range from ‘real’ people of history, invented people, and animals. Lukens, Smith and Coffel describe the term ‘character’ as meaning a person or a personified animal or object in a story, adding that character development ‘means showing the character – whether a person, animal or object – with the complexity of a living being.’<sup>27</sup> In order to understand fictional characters, Nodelman and Reimer explain that readers need to understand the purpose and role of particular fictional people, objects and characters, through comprehending what characters imply or say about themselves, what others say about them, what characters do and how characters change.<sup>28</sup>

The portrayal of characters in historical fiction may be interpreted using these broad literary approaches but there are other questions to ask in terms of fictional historiography. How, for

---

<sup>26</sup> See the Corpus at Appendix A for a full listing of the novels and picture books.

<sup>27</sup> Lukens, Smith and Coffel, *A Critical Handbook of Children’s Literature*, 114.

<sup>28</sup> Perry Nodelman and Mavis Reimer, *The Pleasures of Children’s Literature* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2003), 57.

example, are characters used to convey a sense of the past? This may be as simple as the way they talk, their dress, mannerisms, and activities, or as complex as their interactions with other characters. Another question to ask is if there are characters that represent a specific interpretation of the past. Characters drawn sympathetically, such as the teenage Ned Kelly in Sophie Masson's 2012 novel *Ned Kelly's Secret*, may encourage a reader to view past actions for which historical evidence exists, in a more positive way. These characterisations also gesture to how etiquettes can emerge in fiction that work within broader popular understandings of the past. As an example, an advertisement for family history website [www.ancestry.com.au](http://www.ancestry.com.au) aired in 2016 and 2017 depicts an enthusiastic user stating how proud she was to find that she was related to the bushranger Harry Power, who committed criminal acts in New South Wales in the mid-1800s.<sup>29</sup>

A further question is what historical understandings emerge through the characters? The experiences of a character may illuminate theoretical concepts such as feminism and postcolonialism or draw attention to social and cultural aspects of the past such as class and ethnicity. Kim Wilson argues that the way in which authors employ discursive strategies in character portrayal is implicated in the emergence of metanarratives in the historical fiction genre, writing that:

[T]he characters that populate the novels are quintessentially twentieth century in discursal mode. Language choices, point of view, narrating agents and implied audiences all position readers to align with modern ideological constructions of female status, rights and identity, thus confirming the humanistic metanarrative of positive progression that presupposes anything moving into the future is better than all that comes before.<sup>30</sup>

Although I have questioned the validity of Wilson's idea of the humanistic metanarrative of positive progression as a defining feature of children's historical fiction, based on the corpus

---

<sup>29</sup> See entry for Henry (Harry) Power in [www.adb.anu.edu.au](http://www.adb.anu.edu.au). Accessed 28 March 2018.

<sup>30</sup> Wilson, *Re-visioning Historical Fiction*, 74.

that I have constructed, the idea that certain discourses are employed through character development indicates the usefulness of discourse analysis as a methodology for fictional historiography. As Zeegers' demonstrates in discussing Anita Heiss's novel *My Australian Story. Who am I? The Diary of Mary Talence*, both what is in the text and the silences in the text 'show the power of discourses to create subjectivities.'<sup>31</sup> The character Mary Talence is a member of the Stolen Generations and some of her formative experiences in the novel are centred upon the withholding of information, reinforced by the privileging of her information. When Mary asks questions about her removal, or how Australian history is taught, she is not just being used by Heiss to challenge the silences in 1930s Australian society but also to show how discourses shape power relationships within a society, in turn impacting representations of the past.

The characters that populate the corpus of children's historical novels and picture books published since 1945 tend to represent those for whom, like Mary Talence, the historical record is relatively silent. In this, historical fiction shares an impulse with social and cultural history to fill the silences of the past, echoing also the deep scrutiny of individual people, events and places that constitutes the focus of microhistory.<sup>32</sup> Characters based on real people tend to exist at the margins, essentially as part of the backdrop, with the stories focalized through children or, in anthropomorphic stories, animals. Another technique employed to represent adult historical actors in an appealing way to children is to offer them as caricatures, as in *Matthew and Trim*.

Notable exceptions to the tendency to invent characters rather than fictionalize real people include texts that situate children as part of specific historical events such as Libby Gleeson's 2001 novel *The Rum Rebellion. The Diary of David Bellamy, Sydney Town, 1807-1809*, which has the main character witness armed officers and men of the New South Wales Corps march on Government House and arrest Governor William Bligh on 26 January 1808. Other examples

---

<sup>31</sup> Zeegers, "Cultural Explorations," 142.

<sup>32</sup> See, for example, Sigurður G. Magnússon & Szijártó, M. István *What is microhistory? theory and practice*. (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2013); and Natalie Zemon Davis, *The return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002).

include Jackie French's *Nanberry: Black Brother White*, which focalizes some chapters through the First Fleet and colonial Surgeon-General John White, the novels and picture books about Ned Kelly, and Diane Wolfer's *Lighthouse Girl*. Anthony Hill's 2001 text *Soldier Boy* is described by the author as a 'biographical novel,' a combination of historically rigorous research and fiction. In his words:

As I see it, the form requires the author, on the one hand, to remain true to the historical facts of the story so far as they can be discovered – and where they can't, to suggest some plausible explanation for what happened and why.<sup>33</sup>

Jim Martin, the subject of the novel, was a soldier at Gallipoli. His actions in the novel are limited by what is known but for Hill, giving expression to the imagined inner life, internal and essential were 'the heart of the matter.'<sup>34</sup>

Invented child characters exercise considerable agency in facing internal conflict and external threats, often in the absence of adults who might be able to help them. Indeed, adult characters often form part of the danger confronting child characters. Authors construct their main characters with the capacity to decide upon their own actions, although tension is built through the difficulties encountered in pursuing their chosen path.

Wilson extends the idea of child agency in relation to feminist representations of the past, arguing that the type of agency constructed for the characters in historical novels 'redefine the boundaries of female agency and selfhood in historical context and quite overtly attempt to absorb readers in positive feminist discourses.'<sup>35</sup> She argues that such redefinition offers a way of contesting particular versions of the past and offering a version considered to be more in line with contemporary sensibilities. Although there are texts that do work in the way Wilson describes, my research shows that where boundaries are not redefined and characters conform

---

<sup>33</sup> "Writing Soldier Boy," Anthony Hill Books, accessed 20 October 2017, <http://www.anthonhillbooks.com/soldierboybackgrounder.html>.

<sup>34</sup> "Writing Soldier Boy,".

<sup>35</sup> Wilson, *Re-visioning Historical Fiction*, 85.



to stereotypes or literary tropes such as the abandoned child, the child-like Aboriginal adult, or the degraded convict, historical fiction may work to confirm dominant representations carrying through from previous children's literature or as influenced by the contemporaneous discourses and ideologies. That is, there is a countervailing tendency to confirm previous representations of the past rather than all historical fiction re-visioning the past through modern eyes as Wilson argues.

Whether confirming or contesting dominant national narratives, the inclusion of stereotypes and literary tropes demonstrates how historical fiction may also be ahistorical yet may also be historicized. As will be explored in more depth in following chapters, works of historical fiction that encompass narratives from the past or present are in themselves material evidence of the time of their production, providing insights into contemporaneous historical understandings.

What, then, does the construction of character suggest about the history being written within children's historical fiction in Australia since 1945? Firstly, there is a clear assumption that children prefer to read stories focalized through child characters and that writing history in such a way makes it more likely to appeal to the intended audience. The fiction inflects the historical project through this strategy by placing the reader in the shoes of the main character, encouraging the reader to imagine what the fictional child may have felt. The reader, in effect, becomes an historical actor while they are engaged by the text.

The assumption that children are most engaged in literature when they can feel empathy for characters is also prevalent in children's literature more generally.<sup>36</sup> The assumption also links to ideas about the role of empathy in developing historical consciousness in childhood. Education scholarship explores the idea of empathy as a pedagogical strategy to teach children about the past. The strategy involves students focusing on the motivations and feelings of historical actors, seeking to understand why people may have behaved the way they did. The education scholarship demonstrates that empathetic learning is not a fixed concept and ideas

---

<sup>36</sup> Jill P. May, *Children's Literature and Critical Theory. Reading and Writing for Understanding* (New York and Oxford (Oxford University Press, 1995), 45.

around its definition and implementation have been contested. However, there are teachers implementing classroom strategies based on empathy who have described its effectiveness in engaging student interest in the past.<sup>37</sup>

The idea of students developing historical consciousness and historical empathy has been accompanied since the 1970s in Australia by more flexible teaching strategies and a redefinition of the outcomes expected from history curricula, consistent with developments in other western nations. As Anna Clark notes, since the 1970s:

In Australia and abroad, history was increasingly imbued with an educational philosophy of student equity and the need for educational relevance. The traditional discipline came under increasing criticism for being old, stale and simply unrelated to students' needs.<sup>38</sup>

Instead of focusing on content, new approaches in the school curricula emphasized the development of skills in students such as critical thinking.<sup>39</sup>

Secondly, the emphasis is on the experiences of children in the past, even if the setting is a well-known historical event or period. Again, this approach suggests that children's historical understanding can be best achieved through empathetic approaches. A character's emotional state may be used to convey an interpretation of the past, just as satire and irony might be used in the construction of characters to establish effects that carry historical meanings.

Thirdly, the corpus has mirrored developments in academic historiography and pedagogical practices in including a greater diversity in characters, especially since the 1980s. Just as social

---

<sup>37</sup> See, for example Sirkka Ahonen, "Historical Consciousness: A Viable Paradigm for History Education?" *Curriculum Studies* 37, no.6 (2005) 697-707; Andrew McKnight, "Imagining Ethical Historical Consciousness: Pedagogical Possibilities and the Recent Trauma of September Eleventh," *Educational Studies* 33, no.3 (Fall 2002): 325-343; Rick Rogers, "Raising the Bar: Developing Meaningful Historical Consciousness at Key Stage 3," *Teaching History* 133 (2008): 24-30; Paula Worth, "Which Women Were Executed for Witchcraft? And Which Pupils Cared? Low-Attaining Year 8 Use Fiction to Tackle Three Demons: Extended Reading, Diversity and Causation," *Teaching History*, no.144, (September 2011): 4-14.

<sup>38</sup> Clark in Macintyre and Clark *The History Wars*, 174.

<sup>39</sup> Clark, *The History Wars*, 175.

and cultural history, biography and microhistory have uncovered the stories of individuals and communities little touched upon in academic history until the 1970s, children's novels and picture books have provided a space for narratives of personal and community experiences. Greater diversity of cultural background offers the potential to offer children more stories about the different backgrounds and experiences of people in the past but also appeals to empathy: the more nationalities and personal characteristics fictionalized the greater the likelihood that the child reader may find a text that they can relate to on a personal level. Texts such as *My Friend My Enemy* may create an empathy based on the shared experience of cultural exclusion, drawing attention to Australia's heterogeneous population in the past, as well as a long history of people feeling that they are outsiders or that they do not belong.

The *My Australian Story* diary format, to illustrate these points, is premised on the personal stories of child characters present during difficult or dangerous times. The first-person narration of the diary format provides for immediacy and an intimate sharing of the journal writers' thoughts and fears. Conflicts such as World War One and World War Two become personal, not just lines on a map or tallies of the dead and injured. This concentration on emotion, as noted in Chapter Two, may be read as part of what Vanessa Agnew refers to as 'history's affective turn.' I have already pointed to the tensions within the discipline around historical fiction and other forms of imagining the past, tensions that some historians suggest may be resolved, or at least reduced, by considering new approaches to analysis. Historical fiction has always had an affective dimension but until more recently has not been considered as part of Australian historiographical practice.

As I will explore in more detail in Chapter Seven, the affective turn offers a framework for analyzing representations of the past in children's historical fiction, with emotional reactions and responses of characters contributing to thematic development. In *The Mostly True Story of Matthew and Trim*, as an example, the relationship between Flinders and his wife Ann, as well as his relationship with Trim, convey emotions such as loneliness, love, respect, joy and sadness. The devotion displayed by Flinders and Ann to each other highlights the personal sacrifices made by those engaged in the making of Empire, in turn indicating the powerful influence of the Imperial project on British citizens.

## Imposing order on the past: plot

The plot of a story is the order in which the events are narrated, which may or may not be chronological in terms of time and dates.<sup>40</sup> Excluding time-slip novels or novels with dual or multiple settings, the children's historical fiction in my corpus does tend to be chronological, indicating that adults believe that this is the most logical and easily understood approach for children. As Jill May explains, plot predictability is a feature of children's literature as authors are concerned with creating a believable or at least plausible story, describing 'a series of events whose actions seem to follow a logical order.'<sup>41</sup> Authors do so, May writes, so that:

The child may feel the hero's adventure is like something he has encountered, or it may resemble something he has imagined. If so, the plot is predictable. It fulfills the reader's expectations based on prior knowledge or expectations. Once children understand how stories work, they enjoy the unusual.<sup>42</sup>

Again, the idea of empathy as an important aspect of children's reading responses is indicated.

The arrangement of a story into a coherent plot obviously involves a process of selection, and it is within the selections that are made that authors may reveal embedded ideologies, explicit themes, and implicit, even unintended meanings, Nodelman and Reimer observing that:

As well as altering the order of the events of the story, a plot can manipulate the story by the duration of events – the amount of attention it gives to particular events – and by the frequency of events – the number of times it tells about them.<sup>43</sup>

---

<sup>40</sup> See Nodelman and Reimer, *The Pleasures of Children's Literature*, 62.

<sup>41</sup> Jill P. May, *Children's Literature and Critical Theory. Reading and Writing for Understanding* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 47.

<sup>42</sup> May, "Children's Literature," 47.

<sup>43</sup> Nodelman and Reimer, *The Pleasures of Children's Literature*, 63.

Again, what an author leaves out is also of significance in analyzing historical fiction for the historical understandings that it conveys. Barbara Ker Wilson's 1988 picture book *Acacia Terrace*, for example, is a multiple era story with a simple plot tracing the successive residents of a house in Sydney over many decades. Published just one year after Wheatley's *My Place* and in the year of the 1988 Bicentenary, it is of historiographical interest to observe that Ker Wilson's representation of the past makes no reference to Indigenous history. This authorial choice suggests that Wheatley's political consciousness led her to include a strong Indigenous rights theme, although as Zeegers argued, Wheatley's historical project may be seen as failing as it book-ends the narrative with (appropriated) Indigenous symbols, leaving the main narrative Eurocentric.<sup>44</sup> Ker Wilson's text is completely Eurocentric and anachronistic, again pointing to the opposing tendencies in the corpus to either contest or confirm dominant national narratives.

Plot is also critical to the overall success of a novel or picture book, Lukens et al commenting that 'without sufficient conflict or tension accompanied by suspense and foreshadowing, a story is just plain dull. Few adults want to read a dull story, and certainly no young people will.'<sup>45</sup> Some authors will choose to thrust their characters into a series of adventures that test the bounds of belief, as well as the bounds of historical evidence. Others will take a broad historical setting and develop a plot that seems possible given existing evidence.

A common approach is to place child protagonists in a plot that connects with a topic that has a strong presence within public and popular culture and the school curricula, such as stories about convict transportation, emigration, settlement of rural areas, bushrangers, the gold rush, World War One and World War Two.<sup>46</sup> In this way, the plot reflects the author's perception of how a particular historical period or event may have been experienced by children but also reaffirms the importance adult mediators place on depiction of particular events for children.

---

<sup>44</sup> Zeegers "Cultural Explorations," 141.

<sup>45</sup> Lukens, Smith and Coffel, *A Critical Handbook of Children's Literature*, 164.

<sup>46</sup> See John Barwick and Lauren O'Brien *History Now 6. Australia as a Nation. Australian Curriculum* (Taren Point, New South Wales: Teachers for Teachers Publications, 2014).

In contemporary, post-2000 historical fiction, the emergence of series such as *Our Australian Girl, Do You Dare?* and *My Australian Story*, has been accompanied by the imposition of a standardized plot that creates the sense of predictability referred to by Jill May. The result, I suggest (respectfully), is to create a body of work that in many instances lacks dramatic tension or effective characterization. The weakness of the fictional element of plot in such books could detract from the historical aspects. Notwithstanding my assessment of the shortcomings of the series' standardized plots, the reviews of the *My Australian Story* series suggest that readers (who may or may not be children), view them as worth reading. The 26 books listed on goodreads.com on 11 June 2017 were rated between 3 and 4 stars, with between 10 and 177 ratings. Readers clearly enjoyed some titles: 93% of 177 people rating Sophie Masson's *The Phar Lap Mystery* 'liked' it.<sup>47</sup> These reviews suggest the variable impact of historical fiction on the reader, with associated implications for the development of historical knowledge and historical consciousness.

### **Picture books and plot**

The surface simplicity of a picture book obscures the reality that there are three primary ways in which the plot unfolds – the words used, the artwork, and the combined effect of the words and artwork.<sup>48</sup> The artwork can act as a means of building suspense, as well as developing the elements of character and theme in ways that require readers to possess sophisticated literary and cultural repertoires.<sup>49</sup> Representations of the past conveyed through illustration, furthermore, require sophisticated historical repertoires, such as the knowledge of symbols and Indigenous and political history, as in Wheatley's use of the Aboriginal flag in *My Place*.

Illustrations can embed detailed historical information into a text without weighing down the narrative flow, even if readers pause to look closely at the pictures. As Nodelman and Reimer point out, 'The characteristic rhythm of picture books consists of a pattern of such delays counterpointing and contributing to the suspense of the plot.'<sup>50</sup> Images can also replace the

---

<sup>47</sup> "My Australian Story series," Goodreads, accessed 28 March 2018, [http://www.goodreads.com/list/show/7147.My\\_Australian\\_Story\\_series](http://www.goodreads.com/list/show/7147.My_Australian_Story_series).

<sup>48</sup> Nodelman and Reimer, *The Pleasures of Children's Literature*, 295.

<sup>49</sup> See Teresea Colomer, Bettina Kummerling-Meibauer and Cecilia Silva-Diaz, ed.s. *New Directions in Picturebook Research*, (New York and London: Routledge, 2010).

<sup>50</sup> Nodelman and Reimer, *The Pleasures of Children's Literature*, 296.

need for verbal exposition of difficult parts of a story, such as the use of an explosion of colour by Mark Wilson in *Kokoda Angel* to represent a bomb detonating. The illustrations may therefore be analysed as indicators of the types of ethical guidance deemed suitable for children – the idea of wartime death, for example, may be acceptable but its graphic depiction is not.

Thinking of the picture book as ‘a text in which the verbal and the visual components both carry the narrative rather than merely illustrating or clarifying each other.’<sup>51</sup> highlights the importance of interrogating both components carefully as well as examining their interplay. In *Matthew and Trim*, for example, Golds provides historical information in the words used and in the visual components. The reader would gain some knowledge anchored in factual evidence about Flinders’ life, yet the overall effect is playful and lighthearted: Golds uses humour to engage with the young audience, creating suspense through the plot-focused strategy of ‘what happened next.’

The fiction inflects the historical through imagined conversations and the anthropomorphic representation of Flinders’ cat, as well as through the description of emotions for which, in the case of Trim and other characters, can also only have been imagined. Flinders’ representation is more grounded in factual evidence, Golds commenting at the end of the graphic novel that her reading of Flinders’ writings convinced her that he had a ‘loveable personality.’ Clearly the translation of Flinders’ writings into comic speech bubbles required an imaginative leap into the realm of fiction, yet the core of his activities are described with great attention to historical detail.

The critical implications of the ‘most exciting cartoon adventure in history!’ for consideration of popular and fictional historiography, then, rest in its demonstration of the continued pushing at boundaries by writers of children’s historical fiction in ways that suggest continuing adult perceptions that young audiences will respond to humour and will accept dual or multi-genre approaches to representing the past. The humour and the fiction do not overwhelm the

---

<sup>51</sup> Peter Hunt, ed., *Understanding Children’s Literature: Key Essays from the International Companion Encyclopedia of Children’s Literature* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 131.

historical. As the judge's report shortlisting the graphic novel for the Patricia Wrightson Award, New South Wales Premier's Literary Awards 2006, states:

Cassandra Golds has anchored the tale in real history, sneaking in information so cleverly that readers will learn the dates and facts of Flinders' story quite painlessly.<sup>52</sup>

Teaching resources such as those offered on the website *Reading Enriches Learning* provide an example of how the education sector use children's historical fiction to pursue pedagogical goals, which may or may not prove as painless as reading the text.<sup>53</sup>

### **Whose view of the past? Point of view**

Point of view in historical fiction may be likened to asking who is shining a light on the past portrayed in the story. How they shine that light obviously impacts on how the reader can perceive the past, with some aspects fully illuminated, some in shadow and some left in darkness, so that '[t]he same story can be different depending on which version of the story we see.'<sup>54</sup> A critical narrative change in children's historical fiction in the period considered in this thesis is the increasing use of a first-person point of view, particularly post-2000. My research suggests that this has been a choice made by authors and publishers based upon selected ideas about children. The use of the first-person point of view, as in, for example, the diary format of the *My Australian Story* series, aims to engage the child reader through the artifice of a child telling their own story. The first-person child narrator means 'the reader lives, acts, feels, and thinks the conflict as the protagonist experiences and tells it.'<sup>55</sup> This technique has limitations, as the author must use the child character to convey all the action, the character development and themes. These limitations can result in narratives that are in places cumbersome, disrupted by rewritten letters or newspaper clippings or transcriptions of

---

<sup>52</sup> "The Mostly True Story of Matthew and Trim," Cassandra Golds, accessed 28 March 2018, <http://www.cassandragolds.com.au/mostlytruestory.html>.

<sup>53</sup> "Reading enriches learning," Curriculum Corporation, accessed 28 March 2018, <http://www1.curriculum.edu.au/rel/history/book.php?catrelid=1858>.

<sup>54</sup> Lukens, Smith and Coffel, *A Critical Handbook of Children's Literature*, 191.

<sup>55</sup> Lukens, Smith and Coffel, 192.



remembered conversations that are really serving the purpose of plot development, characterization, or exploration of themes. The fiction may in this way inflect the historical:

Novels set in the distant past that use sympathetic first-person narrators pose special problems in limiting what readers can know or think about the events depicted, since it is unlikely that readers will have a repertoire of relevant experiences or knowledge broader than the protagonist-narrator's to bring to their reading.<sup>56</sup>

Authors must provide the experiences and knowledge within the story or in its paratextual elements, to enable the reader to better understand the past being represented. Over-reliance on paratextual elements may, however, undermine historical understanding. My research suggests that children do not regard the elements as essential to their reading of the book, and generally choose to only read the fictional story.<sup>57</sup>

Nevertheless, the use of the first-person point of view resonates with ideas about children benefiting from less didactic and prescriptive approaches to learning, as reflected in student-centred approaches to curriculum development. Notwithstanding the critiques of approaches to the teaching of history in schools evident in the History Wars debates in the 1990s, the current national history curriculum continues to emphasise the development of skills as well as knowledge in students 'through key concepts including sources, continuity and change, cause and effect, perspectives, empathy and significance.'<sup>58</sup> The curriculum indicates that a personal connection to the past is important for encouraging historical understanding, commencing in the Foundation Year with personal and family history. Childhood, as a life stage, is implicated in the historical project of nation-building, and the emphasis on commemoration and celebration suggests that the past is worth remembering. Ethically,

---

<sup>56</sup> Luken, Smith and Coffel, 73.

<sup>57</sup> Participants' attitudes to the paratextual elements are discussed in Chapter Nine.

<sup>58</sup> See Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority, *Foundation to Year Ten Australian Curriculum: History* [www.acara.edu.au/curriculum/learning-areas-subjects/humanities-and-social-sciences/history](http://www.acara.edu.au/curriculum/learning-areas-subjects/humanities-and-social-sciences/history). Accessed 1 April 2018.

children are guided towards an interest in the past, and taught that they have a role to play in ensuring that events deemed important are not forgotten.

Use of the first-person point of view, or the limited omniscient point of view that focalizes the story through the main character also suggests the influence of contemporary discourses of modern western childhood.<sup>59</sup> These discourses imply an emphasis on the individual, an emphasis on learning by doing, and an emphasis on immersion in experiences to create engagement and understanding. As material evidence of the past, they support ideas emerging in scholarship interested in children and the use of technology.<sup>60</sup> Don Tapscott's influential work *Growing up Digital: the Rise of the Net Generation* classified people born between 1946 and 1964 as the 'TV Generation' (also known as Baby Boomers) and those born between 1977 and 1997 as the 'net generation'.<sup>61</sup> The term 'Digital Generation' reflects a similar emphasis on technology and the mass media as a way of conceptualizing contemporary Western children.<sup>62</sup> Cantu and Warren researched the educational implications of growing up in a rapidly changing 'digital age', coining the term 'Digital Natives.' Digital Natives, they assert, 'gather information through a multistep process that involves grazing, a 'deep dive' and a feedback loop.'<sup>63</sup>

This idea of experiential and individualized learning can be clearly seen in the Scholastic Australia marketing material for the *My Australian Story* series (see Figure 5.2 below). This material draws explicitly upon the discourse of immersion, promising an experience so real and authentic that the child will believe themselves 'immersed' in the world of the story and suggesting a recognition of the need to compete with other products for children that offer them interactive and immersive experiences. Parents, too, are promised they will be able to watch

---

<sup>59</sup> Limited omniscient – third person but concentrates on 'thoughts, feelings, and significant past experiences of only one character, usually the central character or protagonist.' (Lukens, Smith and Coffel, *A Critical Handbook*, 192). The use of parallel stories with shifts in point of view or multiple main characters through which the story is focalized are not prominent in the corpus.

<sup>60</sup> Paul G. Harwood and Victor Asal, *Educating the First Digital Generation* (United States of America: Rowman and Littlefield Education, 2009).

<sup>61</sup> Don Tapscott, *Growing Up Digital. The Rise of the Net Generation*, (New York: McGraw Hill, 1998).

<sup>62</sup> See, for example, Heather Urbanski *Writing for the Digital Generation* (North Carolina: McFarland and Co., 2010) and Harwood and Asal, *Educating the First Digital Generation*.

<sup>63</sup> Antonio D. Cantu and Wilson J. Warren, *Teaching History in the Digital Classroom* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2003).

as their children are inspired by the 'landmark' series and be both entertained and educated, the brochure encouraging them to 'see' their child experience 'significant Australian events.' By targeting parents as the purchaser, there is also an implicit discourse of providing experiences for children in their leisure time that fit within contemporary notions of the value of education and knowledge and the value of 'worthwhile' leisure time pursuits, as well as reflecting or being consistent with the increasing passion for the past already noted.

### **An anthropomorphic point of view**

Anthropomorphism is a common characterization technique in children's literature and has become more common in contemporary children's historical fiction. The technique often involves presenting the action through the eyes of an animal, the author conferring upon them the ability to observe and think, and, in some cases, speak. History-makers for children can and do draw upon these discursive practices, conflating the historical fiction genre with an element of fantasy that has long been present in fiction for children. Jackie French, has embraced anthropomorphism in her historical fiction. As an example, her work, the *Animal*

# MY STORY

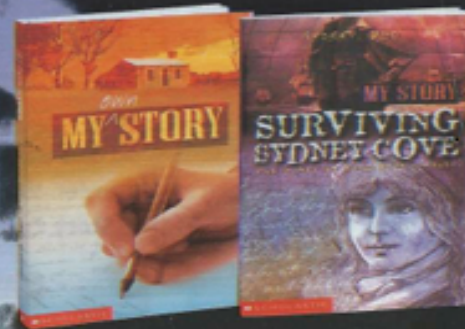
*Imagine if your child could experience first-hand being aboard a ship of the First Fleet in 1788, the joy of the Gold Rush in 1854, facing the Japanese in the war in the Pacific in 1942 or what Don Bradman meant to Australians during the depression.*

With the brilliant and award-winning 16-book My Story series, your child now can.

Each outstanding book provides a diary-style account of the most momentous and defining periods in Australian history, through the eyes of a child. Join Eva and her migrant family as they relocate to the Snowy Mountains in 1958, or meet David as he witnesses the military marching on Government House in 1808.



See your child experience these significant Australian events with the ground-breaking My Story Collection, specially produced for emerging readers.

*To help inspire your child and as your introduction to this landmark series, you'll receive Surviving Sydney Cove and My Own Story Journal FREE!*



## HOW TO ORDER:

To order your COMPLETE My Story Collection simply:

1. Complete the FREE GIFTS CERTIFICATE overleaf, detach it and post today;  OR call our Customer Care Team on (02) 4328 3523 and quote the special code **BSAH1P**;  OR order online at: [www.scholastic.com.au/ma](http://www.scholastic.com.au/ma) and enter the special code **BSAH1**.
2. You'll then receive the whole My Story Collection including your FREE BOOKS, My Own Story Journal and Surviving Sydney Cove!
3. Simply pay the collection off in easy monthly instalments. It's that simple!

**CHECK IT OUT!**  
[www.scholastic.com.au/homeschool](http://www.scholastic.com.au/homeschool)  
 See our full range of direct-to-home books and reading clubs!



**ANOTHER SERIES AVAILABLE ONLY TO SCHOLASTIC AT HOME MEMBERS!**

Figure 5.2: *My Story* – Scholastic Australia brochure 2015 (Author's copy)

*Stars Series*, which comprises six novels, five of which address Australia's past, adopts the unusual measure of narrating parts of individual texts from the point of view of animals.<sup>64</sup>

In *The Goat Who Sailed the World* (2006), the third person omniscient point of view switches for each chapter between the goat and 12-year-old Isaac Manley, a servant on Captain Cook's ship, the *Endeavour*. Isaac has the unenviable task of caring for the ship's goat. The point of view is made clear by naming the relevant character at the beginning of each chapter. Fiction inflects the historical by presenting an animal as a major character. Primary sources in the form of human observations provide evidence that a goat did travel on the *Endeavour* and French proclaims that the intention of the focalizing part of the novel through the goat is to 'bring the past to life.'<sup>65</sup> A comment attributed to *Family* magazine on her website proclaims the novel is '[i]rresistibly exciting and true.'<sup>66</sup> French reinforces the concept of the novel being true, claiming that:

*The Goat That Sailed the World* is the true story of the very stropky animal who sailed with James Cook on the *Endeavour*, on the voyage that first mapped Australia's east coast and led to the British colony there 20 years later.<sup>67</sup>

The embedded historical project is, then, to provide a representation of the past from an unusual perspective and in doing so render the past exciting, irresistible and knowable. Reincarnating non-human historical actors necessarily pushes at the boundaries of historical truth but this fictional artifice is an approach that a child audience could recognize and relate to, willingly suspending disbelief. Although the novel's essential historical 'truth' – the verifiable evidence

---

<sup>64</sup> *The Goat Who Sailed the World. Animal Stars Volume 1* (Pymble: HarperCollins, 2006); *The Dog Who Loved a Queen* (Pymble: Angus and Robertson, 2007) - not an Australian subject; *The Camel Who Crossed Australia, Animal Stars Volume 3* (Pymble: HarperCollins, 2008); *The Donkey Who Carried the Wounded, Animal Stars Volume 4* (Pymble: Angus and Robertson, 2009); *The Horse Who Bit a Bushranger, Animal Stars Volume 5* (Pymble: HarperCollins Publishers, 2010); *Dingo: The Dog Who Conquered a Continent, Animal Stars Volume 6* (Pymble: HarperCollins Publishers Australia, 2012).

<sup>65</sup> "The Goat who sailed the world," Jackie French, accessed 4 May 2017, <http://www.jackiefrench.com/sailing-goat>.

<sup>66</sup> "The Goat who sailed the world,".

<sup>67</sup> "The Goat who sailed the world,".



regarding the goat on the *Endeavour* – is embellished through the imaginative efforts of French, this approach does not negate the work's place as an example of history-making. Rather, it reflects authorial recognition of the intended audience and the conventions of children's literature. The idea of emphatically verifying the embedded historical truth is also an etiquette within the corpus, a recognition of the need felt by authors to reinforce to the vulnerable child reader that they can trust the text within the limits identified by the author.

French takes the idea of an animal's point of view a step further in *The Camel Who Crossed Australia* by having each chapter narrated in the first person from the alternate perspectives of the camel, Bell Sing, a young boy named Dost Mahomet, and a soldier, John King, all of whom are part of the ill-fated Burke and Wills expedition in 1873. The reader is expected to willingly believe in the artifice of a camel capable of thought and is potentially rewarded with a unique imaginative rendering of a familiar aspect of Australia's past.

Echoing Jackie French's approach, Peter Stanley employs the device of using an animal as a first-person narrator in *Simpson's Donkey* (2011). The approach provides an alternative perspective to the impact of World War One in the Gallipoli region, as the donkey changes names throughout the novel, the disruptions of war placing him in the hands of a succession of owners or situations. As might be expected, one of the donkey's experiences is a stint working with John Fitzpatrick Simpson during the fighting at Gallipoli, referencing the prominent story of 'Simpson and his donkey' that has emerged in Gallipoli-related fiction and non-fiction for children to be explored further in Chapter Five.

Cassandra Golds takes the idea of anthropomorphism further in her graphic novel *The Mostly True Story of Matthew and Trim*, 'The most exciting cartoon adventure in history!'<sup>68</sup> Gold's text and the cartoons drawn by Stephen Axelsen and Gold's text depict the 'adventures and discoveries' of Matthew Flinders, a British naval navigator and hydrographer, famed for his mapping of substantial parts of the Australian coastline, and his cat Trim. The text began its

---

<sup>68</sup> "Mostly True Story of Mtthew and Trim," Penguin Books, accessed 27 March 2018, <https://www.penguin.com.au/books/the-mostly-true-story-of-matthew-and-trim-9780143302179>.

publication journey as a serialized extended comic strip in the *New South Wales School Magazine*.<sup>69</sup>

In using the comic and the graphic novel narrative forms borrowed from popular culture, *The Mostly True Story of Matthew and Trim* exemplifies the journey taken by the historical fiction corpus since 1945. The corpus has moved from prose-based texts with black and white line illustrations to now include comics, graphic novels, picture books and texts with no illustrations. Furthermore, *The Mostly True Story of Matthew and Trim* blends fact and fantasy in unexpected ways, moving beyond the boundaries of conventional historical fiction, suggesting a post-modern and post-structuralist rendering of the past.<sup>70</sup>

Connecting with the present through its reference to the statues of Flinders and Trim outside the Mitchell Library in Sydney, Golds' approach demonstrates the innovative ways in which some authors may represent the past. Golds breathes life into the monument.<sup>71</sup>

On a moonlit night in the City of Sydney not so long ago, a clock strikes  
twelve... A statue... stirs.<sup>72</sup>

She establishes, then, a representation of the past that connects with the present, injecting the element of fantasy but also creating a connection with Australian monuments to historical figures deemed significant.

---

<sup>69</sup> *The School Magazine* is published by the New South Wales Department of Education and Communities (DEC). It has been in print since 1916. Currently the DEC creates 40 magazines every year and they are distributed to schools throughout New South Wales. Each issue is accompanied by a 16-page resource booklet for teachers, with activities and lesson plans linked to the curriculum. Described on its website as 'Australia's most loved and longest-running literary magazine for children,' three editions are now printed: *Countdown* (for 7-9 years old children in early Stage 2), *Blast Off* (for 9-10 years old children reading for pleasure), *Orbit* (for 10-11 years old children who are skilled independent readers but includes content for those not as confident) and *Touchdown* (for readers 12 years and older). See <http://theschoolmagazine.com.au/about/> Viewed 12 June 2017.

<sup>70</sup> For a discussion of post-structuralism and the historical novel see Jerome de Groot, *The Historical Novel* (Abingdon, Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2010).

<sup>71</sup> For more information about the monument see <http://monumentaustralia.org.au/themes/culture/animals/display/23316-trim/photo/4>. Accessed 28 March 2018.

<sup>72</sup> Cassandra Golds, *The Mostly True Story of Matthew and Trim* (Melbourne: Puffin, 2005), 1.

The fiction inflects the historical project to create a story that owes more to imagination than historical evidence and yet still conveys a sense of the challenges and motivations of early explorers and navigators and the effort involved in inscribing the land to suit European expectations. The titular suggestion that the story is ‘mostly true’ gestures to the debates around truth, authenticity, fiction and history that have concerned Australian historians in the early twenty-first century, as discussed earlier in this thesis. The graphic novel format indicates the willingness to look beyond genre conventions to represent the past, reinforcing the notion that children’s literature has a radical potential that may stimulate new ways of representing the past.

Experimentation in literary form has emerged as a key aspect of the children’s historical fiction corpus, particularly in the last two decades. Experimentation with narrative elements destabilizes the idea of historical fiction, conferring upon it a post-modern, even post-structural sensibility that aligns with developments in academic historiography and literary theory. Unlike the immediate post-war years, realist, adventure-based, episodic novels with a third person omniscient narrator have a less certain place within the contemporary works in the corpus. As a literary device, anthropomorphism can work well but as an historical device the understandings that the technique generates are more open to question. Anthropomorphism adds another layer to the imaginative leap asked of the reader, inflecting the historical in a unique way: the reader must believe in the artifice of the humanized animal but also trust in their experiences and interpretation of past events.

Adopting an animal’s point of view also adds a new dimension to historical fiction, reminding readers that the past was a place inhabited by many different living creatures and that their stories may have intertwined with those of people, with whom history is usually most concerned. In doing so, anthropomorphic stories can create multiple emotional connections between text and reader, again indicating the importance placed upon empathy and emotion in appealing to child readers and encouraging the development of historical consciousness. The anthropomorphic point of view also indicates an increasing acceptance of playing with the past as a way of engaging children.



## Themes

For the historian interested in how the past has been represented in historical fictions, the literary concept of *theme* provides an additional approach to understanding the author's historical project. The meanings, or key ideas, that the author seeks to convey can reveal both commentary on the historical subject and contemporaneous attitudes to the historical subject and the child audience. In presenting themes that recur across a corpus, historians can understand more about the metanarratives operating across historical fictions. Wilson has drawn attention to the thematic content of historical fiction in characterizing the texts as presenting a 'humanistic metanarrative of positive progression.' Although this thesis argues that, when considered from a historiographical perspective, historical fiction offers more than Wilson's characterization might suggest, the idea of metanarratives encapsulating historical themes or ideas is a useful concept. There are, for example, the metanarratives associated with triumphant settler colonialism – the courage involved in seeking a better future, the embodiment of human curiosity, resilience and bravery found in intrepid explorer, or the metanarratives associated with contesting triumphant settler colonialism – mankind's capacity for cruelty and greed, the strength of love for family, country and survival in fuelling Indigenous resistance, and the capacity of some people to bridge racial differences. This idea of metanarratives as historical themes is considered in more depth in the close readings in Part Two (Chapters 7 and 8), where I will argue that it is a productive way of considering texts in the space of popular/fictional historiography.

Developing a theme in a work of fiction entails the combination of all textual elements to suggest certain overarching ideas.<sup>73</sup> In looking at historical novels and picture book as examples of history-making, through the theoretical and methodological lens of popular/fictional historiography, a dual thematic potential is discernible. Taking the definition of theme as the meaning of the story, the idea that 'holds the story together' in a literary sense, this may mean comments about 'society, human nature, or the human condition.'<sup>74</sup> If, however, the author's project is historical, the application of themes to representations of the past may pass comments on society and people's actions in times gone by in a way that attempts to

---

<sup>73</sup> Lukens, Smith and Coffel, *A Critical Handbook*, 239.

<sup>74</sup> Lukens, Smith and Coffel, 240.

minimize the inflection of contemporaneous ideas and attitudes. This is a difficult, if not impossible project. The author's historical project will inevitably also convey contemporaneous ideas and, as Kim Wilson argues, potentially say more about the present (including a book's time of publication) than the past.

The general themes present in children's historical fiction since 1945 reflect developments in children's literature and Western literature generally, particularly in terms of the portrayal of the inherent difficulties of the development of human society and the complexity of human relationships. In terms of historical themes, the dominant trend since 1945 is the attempt to give meaning to the past by either confirming or contesting national narratives. Some texts do both. As an example, I will show in Chapter Seven that Sophie Masson's *My Father's War* depicts the brutality and horror of war, contesting more celebratory national narratives yet upholds other narratives such as the larrikin digger.

The focus of some Australian children's historical fiction initially provided an alternative to other children's fiction that offered a romanticized version of the Australian way of life. The immediate post-war pastoral idyll described by Brenda Niall as characterizing the 'rural novels' of prominent children's authors, including Nan Chauncy, Joan Phipson and Colin Thiele, involved 'celebration of country life, the rejection of urban progress, and the identification of strength and happiness with the outdoor work shared between parents and children.'<sup>75</sup> Such a theme was not a feature of representations of the past in children's novels and picture books in the 1940s or 1950s. As I have shown, the historical texts portrayed life in Sydney or, as the geographical reach expanded, focused on the struggles of pioneering families, settler-Indigenous conflict and the endeavours of explorers or depicted a triumphant version of settler society.

As authors of children's literature sought more realistic portrayals of contemporary society in stories of family indoor domestic life (happy and difficult) from the late 1950s, survival and endurance from the 1960s, and social alienation from the mid-1960s, their work appears to share more common ground with representations of the past that rejected simplistic notions of

---

<sup>75</sup> Brenda Niall, *Australia Through the Looking Glass*, 230.

settler triumphalism or that aimed to portray the challenges and hardships of daily life.<sup>76</sup> As Margot Hillel notes, the social realism novels of prominent children's author Ivan Southall explored the theme of survival in a hostile environment, the land itself portrayed as an adversary.<sup>77</sup> This theme is one expressed in other historical fictions, a harsh and unforgiving setting becoming a metaphor for man's internal struggles and 'uncomfortable sense of human irrelevance,' with Southall's work leaving 'children dangling in a meaningless universe, surviving to no purpose.'<sup>78</sup> My research suggests that historical fiction for children does not engage deeply with such a sense of hopelessness: the agency of the main child characters is imbued with greater success. Things may not turn out perfectly but there are only a few examples that seem to leave the story on a note of such despair.<sup>79</sup> This reveals a commitment to the educational role envisaged for historical fiction and the construction of childhood as a vital time for creating future citizens with a positive outlook on fulfilling their roles in society.

Just as some authors were exploring the complexities of their society for children, others were seeking to convey the complexities of life in the past. In this focus on human relationships at the micro level, historical fiction differed from academic preoccupation with Australia's economic and political development. The thematic emphasis on the emotional territory of the past did, however, come to resonate with academic interest in social history, women's history, local history, and cultural history emerging in Australia in the 1970s. Current interest in the history of emotions and emotions in history, microhistory, gender, post-colonialism, and public and popular culture in history has led to a closer alignment of fictional and academic history-making, despite the differences in narrative form.

This impulse to portray the past as it was experienced at a personal level continued throughout the twentieth century and remains a feature of contemporary children's historical fiction. The problems faced by child characters in the fictionalized past, such as destitution, abandonment,

---

<sup>76</sup> See Niall, *Australia Through the Looking-Glass*, Chapters 14, 15, 16 for a discussion of these aspects of the development of Australian children's literature.

<sup>77</sup> Margot Hillel, "'He was ready to prove himself a man": the heroic in Australian Children's Literature," *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, Summer 2003, 80.

<sup>78</sup> Brenda Niall, *Australia Through the Looking-Glass*, 251.

<sup>79</sup> Examples include Pat Peatfield, *The Hills of the Black Cockatoo* (Ringwood: Puffin, 1981), and Nan Chauncy, *Mathinna's People* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967).

being orphaned, being victims of war, disease, or famine, may be remote from the experiences of contemporary child readers in Australia yet the themes conveyed resemble those found in other forms of fiction. The need for courage in times of adversity, the importance of friends and families, the capacity of people to inflict great cruelty on each other, the importance of pursuing goals, the consequences of ignorance and intolerance, the importance of self-reflection and learning from mistakes, the value of loyalty, and so forth are themes that emerge within the corpus but also common within children's literature.<sup>80</sup>

For fictional/popular historiography, the themes emphasized within a text indicate a certain view of the past, revealing the author's historical project. Despite its playfulness, for example, Golds' text conveys themes such as the importance of friendship and pursuing one's goals in the face of great adversity in *Matthew and Trim*. Her sympathetic portrayal of Flinders and his cat, as well as the implied importance placed on the idea of mapping a territory as part of laying claim to it, suggest her historical project was to provide an entertaining story of the European explorers and navigators without interrogating the implications for Indigenous history.

The overall thematic impression created by Golds is confirmation rather than contestation of national narratives that posit the explorers as brave adventurers, possessing desirable characteristics that contributed to the founding of Australia and Australian national identity. In both pictures and text, we see the courageous navigator mapping 'new' lands alongside the careful depiction of a wary, yet ultimately benevolent and harmless, Indigenous population. Golds' text aligns with the trope of the helpful Aboriginal, describing Bungaroo as Flinders' 'dear old friend' and the expedition's 'brave ambassador.' Even Trim describes Bungaroo as 'My second best human.' The story conveys the idea of the courage and sacrifice exhibited by explorers and navigators yet hints at the world they irrevocably changed. In terms of historiography, omission of an Indigenous encounter in a post-2000 text would be inconsistent with academic, public, popular and pedagogical representations of the past, yet it offers a simplistic theme that tensions between the Indigenous populations and the British were easily overcome, or at least were not a significant aspect of Flinders' story.

---

<sup>80</sup> See Niall, *Australia Through the Looking Glass*; and Maurice Saxby, *The Proof of the Puddin': Australian Children's Literature 1970-1990* (Sydney: Ashton Scholastic, 1993).

Theme is considered an important aspect of literary analysis but perhaps even more so for children's literature. As Nodelman and Reimer assert, 'because many adults assume that the main purpose of children's literature is to educate its audience ... the most common meaning-making that adults teach children is to search for morals, messages, or themes.'<sup>81</sup> As Lukens et al remind us, the agency of the reader must be recognized as part of the process of meaning-making, positing that theme 'is the main idea or central meaning of piece of writing *constructed by the reader*.'<sup>82</sup> The meanings constructed by different readers will of course be personal and unique, although guidance is often offered to children by adults in the process of meaning-making. This mediation, in the case of historical themes, may require supplementing the child's historical repertoire by providing contextual information about the events and eras in the novel or picture book, as well as drawing out more abstract concepts

Supplementation may be provided in various forms, including verbal, textual and visual, and is a strategy that creates yet another layer to the history-making taking place. This layer indicates the different forms of agency at play in the space of children's historical fiction, forms that may be interrogated for what they reveal about uses of the past and the ethical guidance of children, Peter Hunt observing that there is a 'considerable difference between what a child might perceive a text to be and what an adult decides that it must be. Allusion is central to perception. It controls the making of meaning in sophisticated ways.'<sup>83</sup> In *Matthew and Trim*, for example, there are allusions to French and British history and customs that children, it might be expected, would require guidance to understand. And, as originally published in the New South Wales Department of Education's *School Magazine*, the entertainment/education nexus is clear, with teaching resources supporting use of the text in the classroom. There may also, of course, be considerable differences between the author's intended meaning and the meanings constructed by readers, as I will explore in the close readings in Chapters Seven and Eight.

---

<sup>81</sup> Nodelman and Reimer, *Pleasures of Children's Literature*, 67.

<sup>82</sup> Lukens, Smith and Coffel, *A Critical Handbook of Children's Literature*, 240.

<sup>83</sup> Hunt, *Understanding Children's Literature*, 96-7.

## Conclusion

While the continuities in my corpus point to the sites of stability in Australian children's historical fiction, the expansion of subject, theme and literary techniques indicate its evolutionary nature, suggesting that the sub-genre may continue to be shaped and reworked, just as academic history is continuously shaped and reworked. If the narrative elements of historical novels and picture books are considered from the perspective of constituting layers of historical work, rather than the components that combine to create a piece of literary work, we can begin to see the inherent complexity of representing the past in this way. In particular, the narrative must satisfy the dual demands of attending to the past as well as succeeding as fiction.

The corpus I have constructed provides examples of novels and picture books that meet one or both these demands to varying degrees, influenced by the skill of authors and illustrators but also subject to the imperatives of editors and publishers, the ethical motivations of gatekeepers, pedagogical developments, ideas about History, and the perceived interests of children. Fictional historiography, then, involves looking both within and beyond the text to uncover how it has been constructed and how it operates as historical work, constantly mindful of how the fictional elements inflect the historical. In the next Chapter, I interrogate more closely the way in which experimentation with representations of the past in historical novels and picture books in the last two decades has emerged in the form of meaning-making, visual strategies, marketing strategies, paratextual resources and offerings by non-commercial publishers.

## Chapter 6

# Packaging the Past for Children: Experimentation and Promotion

### Introduction

This is a story of Sydney  
In order of who did what first:  
The incidents, places and people,  
All illustrated and versed.

Who first pulled a tooth using ether?  
What started the first pistol fight?  
When were the first Chinese tea rooms?  
Where was the first traffic light?<sup>1</sup>

This chapter explores approaches to the writing, publishing and marketing of children's historical fiction since 1945 in order to illuminate how packaging of the past has unfolded in relation to this aspect of cultural production. Developments in these areas contribute both to the material culture of childhood, and to the production of material evidence of the past in relation to children and fictional historiography. I consider in detail five critical developments that have emerged in the post-war period in the offering of fictional representations of Australia's past to children in publications since 1945, including those by government and non-government organisations: the use of experimental narrative strategies; the increasing use and complexity of visual strategies; the emergence of the historical 'series'; an increasing use of

---

<sup>1</sup> Hilary Bell and Matthew Martin, *The Marvellous Funambulist of Middle Harbour and other Sydney Firsts* (University of New South Wales: New South Press, 2013), back cover.

supplementary products such as paratextual information and resources; and the emergence of non-commercial producers of historical fiction. Consistent with the key aims of my research, the examination of these developments provides a broader perspective on the history of children's historical fiction since 1945, demonstrating the multifaceted nature of children's fictional historiography. This further establishes the importance of considering this form of fictional historiography as a subject for history and historiography, while demonstrating how the texts can be analysed as material evidence of the past. In the process, I continue to explore how the fictional elements inflect the historical projects within selected texts, as well as the ways in which the dualities identified in earlier chapters are also relevant to the marketing of children's historical fiction.

The 2016 picture book *The Marvellous Funambulist of Middle Harbour and other Sydney Firsts* will help 'set the scene' for this chapter's concerns, because it demonstrates the use of text and illustration to create a representation of the past that is intended to be both informative and entertaining, educational and endearing. A review by a staff member of Abbey's Bookshop states that the book is a 'wonderfully whimsical history of Sydney ... related in verse and wittily illustrated.'<sup>2</sup> The factual basis of the picture book is a series of quirky 'firsts' that are presumed to be appealing to children. These are described in verses of varying lengths, each 'first' occupying a double page spread. Fiction is used to embellish and enliven each core historical fact and each first is accompanied by a deliberately humorous illustration by cartoonist Matthew Martin. The illustrations have an air of old-fashioned quirkiness, from the exaggerated moustaches of L'Estrange, the Funambulist of the story, to doctors dueling with stethoscopes. They are appealing, combining colour and movement with the naivete suggested by minimal facial features (see <https://www.newsouthbooks.com.au/books/marvellous-funambulist-middle-harbour-and-other-historical-sydney-tales/>).

The use of verse is suggestive of ballads, connecting the text with Australian folklore from the 1800s. However, the verse is often difficult to read, particularly out loud as one might to a

---

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.abbey.com.au/book/the-marvellous-funambulist-of-middle-harbour-and-other-sydney-firsts.do>. Accessed 12 May 2017. Abbey's is a bookshop located in York Street, Sydney, which specializes in educational texts.



younger child. The rhyme and rhythm are inconsistent even within one single ‘first,’ the punctuation is difficult and there are unexpected syntax, outdated expressions and quick shifts in ideas that disrupt the flow of the story being told. The entry for 1882, for example, concerns the burning down of the Garden Palace, a grand public building in Sydney that once stood in present-day Hyde Park. The third paragraph of the entry reads:

A grand caprice of gilded tower,  
Lacy turret, colonnade,  
A giant dome – St Peter’s Rome  
Beat it only by a shade.  
Bigger than two football fields,  
Taller than the great Town Hall,  
The city’s pride. Now, horrified,  
By-standers watched it burst and fall.

A child reader is likely to struggle with words such as ‘caprice’ and ‘colonnade,’ and perhaps not understand the ‘St Peter’s Rome’ reference or know what the ‘great Town Hall’ was. The penultimate line tortures rhyme with meaning, implying at first reading that it is the ‘city’s pride’ that is horrified, rather than the bystanders.<sup>3</sup> The rhyming scheme is unusual, interrupting the flow of the stanza – the second and fourth lines, sixth and eighth lines rhyme, and there is an internal rhyme in lines three and seven. More than one reading is required to align the meaning with the punctuation and place the emphases in the right place. The other stanzas are only four lines each, complicating natural reading patterns. There is similarly no consistency in stanza length or rhyming schemes throughout the other ‘firsts’. The book may not have the hoped-for appeal to children, particularly if they attempted to read it from cover to cover. It could possibly be used by an enthusiastic adult as a fun introduction to Sydney’s past. However, reviews of only 2.5 out of 5 stars on the goodreads website suggest even this is hopeful, raising the question of what kind of reader was in the author’s mind when writing.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> Bell and Martin, *The Marvellous Funambulist*, 26.

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.goodreads.com/book/show/28730005-the-marvellous-funambulist-of-middle-harbour> . Accessed 24 July 2018.

In being playful with the past, *The Marvellous Funambulist* also presents history in what must be considered misleading ways. For a start, it conflates past and present. On the double page spread devoted to the ‘First cricket team to leave Sydney for an overseas tour’ in 1868, a member of ‘[o]ur all-black cricket team’ has hit a yellow ball, sending it soaring in front of black and red banners placed in such a way by the artist as to create the illusion that the current Aboriginal flag was flying at Lords at the time, even though this powerful symbol of Aboriginal protest was not used until 1971 and not adopted formally until 1995.<sup>5</sup>

The emphasis on ‘fun’ reflects an intentional, playful use and packaging of the past. As such the book highlights one of the critical developments in how authors, illustrators and publishers perceive the capacity of their child audience to best receive historical information. Childhood in 2016 is constructed historically as a time of entertainment and education, fun bundled with a sense of civic responsibility (but perhaps not too much in the case of this text). Read as an historical artefact, the book has much to say about constructions of childhood over time.

Such irreverent, humorous representations, even of difficult subjects such as war, are a feature of fiction and non-fiction texts for children published in recent decades and are readily seen in the corpus constructed for this thesis. The *Horrible Histories* series of creative non-fiction is a prominent example of this approach to representing the past, alongside its spin-off products such as theatre performances and television shows. De Groot observes that the books in the series are ‘mischievous, irreverent and iconoclastic, appealing to a child audience’s well-recognized desire for silly jokes, presenting history as something tactile and simple.’<sup>6</sup> Similarly, Jackie French and Peter Sheehan’s *Fair Dinkum Histories* promises that ‘young people will glance through to laugh at the cartoons, be captured by the boxes of fascinating snippets, and then-often-go-back and read the entire series.’<sup>7</sup> However, they also promise impeccable research, using primary and secondary sources, presented in such a way that adults

---

<sup>5</sup> See <https://aiatsis.gov.au/explore/articles/aboriginal-flag>. Accessed 28 March 2018.

<sup>6</sup> Jerome de Groot, *Consuming History. Historians and heritage in contemporary popular culture* (Routledge: London 2009), 39.

<sup>7</sup> “Fair Dinum Histories,” Jackie French, accessed 3 July 2017, <http://www.jackiefrench.com/dinkum-histories->.

may also enjoy the books, suggesting that at least some authors working in this genre take historical accuracy seriously. Nevertheless, all such texts seek to inject fun and life into the past in a way that also hopes to educate, even though they are often intentionally subversive in challenging ‘traditional institutionalized forms of knowledge.’<sup>8</sup>

The spin-off products from the *Horrible Histories* series demonstrate another critical feature of packaging the past for children since the 1990s: the development of a multi-dimensional approach that harnesses the capacities of new technology, as well as a consumer culture that supports purchase of goods and services and a competitive education culture that supports the extension of children’s subject knowledge beyond the classroom. In doing so, it adds emphasis to the contemporary construction of childhood as a time in which vulnerable learners need to be guided, albeit gently, in desired directions, so that they can be instilled with the kind of education thought to be required for future citizens, and the perception that this should happen through the market, as well as the school. The material culture of childhood has thus expanded to include a myriad of representations of the past, supporting also a shift towards structured leisure time that supplements other forms of ethical guidance.

As a consequence, the period is characterized by a move in the demand-side factors from institutional influences, such as the CBCA awards, to broader consumerism. The underlying aspiration of educational value, which has been consistent throughout the period as a goal of the historical texts making up the corpus, remains. However, there is now a pronounced emphasis on entertainment. This development means that children’s historical fiction can be placed within the space of popular culture/historiography, alongside television, film, historical tourism, re-enactment activities and other historical experiences, to be read as historical artefacts. Teasing out the embedded meanings, and approaches to meaning-making, in the corpus contributes, then, to academic conversations about public and popular history.

---

<sup>8</sup> de Groot, *Consuming History*, 39.

## New approaches to meaning-making

### *Topos/Topoi*

One approach to contextualizing theme in literary analysis involves the exploration of the tropes that an author employs, intentionally or unintentionally, that in their turn contribute to meaning-making. In looking at meaning-making in history rather than literature, however, the idea of *topos* (singular) and *topoi* (plural) from rhetoric may be usefully employed. Rather than focusing on the figurative use of language for artistic effect, the idea of historical topoi entails the meanings conveyed through the inclusion of conventions or motifs in representations of the past. Topoi can in this way be considered part of a repertoire that readers of this kind of material may already have that creates expectations in the reader's mind about how certain historical subjects and characters are 'normally' portrayed. When these are not portrayed in the expected way, the resulting dissonance draws their attention to ways of thinking that can challenge their expectations. When an author uses such a topos in an unexpected way to challenge dominant discourses in a society, then potentially the reader will be prompted to do so as well. The use of topoi can thus serve the conservative reinforcement of expected themes or can function in a more radical way to challenge historical understandings. The latter approach is generally also associated with experimentation. There is evidence within the corpus of precisely this association, as the following example, which uses the topos of *Indigenous spirituality*, illustrates.

### *The topos of Indigenous spirituality*

The emergence of fantasy as a narrative strategy in some historical novels of the 1960s, such as Stow's *Captain Midnite* (first published in 1967) and Nan Chauncy's *Tangara* (1960), opened the way for more experimentation and sophistication in the corpus in succeeding decades, adding complexity and depth to representations of Australia's past. Although the novels of the 1970s and 1980s generally worked within the established parameters or conventions for the genre, pushing at the boundaries still occurred. Max Fatchen's *The Spirit Wind* (1973), for example, drew on the topos of Indigenous spirituality to infuse a story of an orphaned runaway with the distinctly dangerous flavor of dark magic. The conjuring of a powerful, animistic wind by the Aboriginal character Nunganee is suggestive of broader

literary influences and developments within Australian children's literature, such as magical realism. Although, according to Brenda Niall, this 'minor tradition of fantasy' was initially 'awkwardly handled' in earlier texts, in the early 1970s it became 'a major [tradition]...in the work of Patricia Wrightson,<sup>9</sup> which drew on Indigenous mythology to create a fantasy world that was suggestive of Aboriginal Dreaming stories, and was deeply concerned with depicting man's relationship with the land and the spirit world.

As Foster observes, a strand of novels from the late 1950s, overwhelmingly represented by Patricia Wrightson, 'steadily increased the incorporation of Aboriginal elements and motifs.'<sup>10</sup> Wrightson's novels resist definite categorization as historical texts, although they do exhibit an orientation to the past, and the fantasy element is usually situated within a realistic setting at a given point in time.<sup>11</sup> In describing her aim as giving 'readers an introduction not only to the nature of the spirits themselves but also to the elements of Dreaming stories and the relationship of Aborigines with the land,' Foster suggests Wrightson's historical project was to ensure inclusion of these elements within dominant Australian historical narratives.<sup>12</sup> Her novels point again to the ambivalent relationship between white settlers and 'the land,' as well as the ambivalent relationship between white writers and engagement with what Niall terms the 'spirit of place.'<sup>13</sup> In *Shadows of Time*, for example, a non-Indigenous character, Sarah Jane, is lost in time with an anonymous Aboriginal child companion, observing the changes wrought by white settlement over two centuries.<sup>14</sup> As the novel concludes, the children are accepted by the fantasy characters, the Hairy Men, and Sarah Jane remains lost in time.<sup>15</sup> The

---

<sup>9</sup> Brenda Niall 1988 "Children's Literature," *Australian Literary Studies* 13, no.4 (1988), 4.

<sup>10</sup> John Foster in "White voices/black voices: Indigenous children's literature," in John Foster, E.J. Finnis, and Maureen Nimon. *Bush, City, Cyberspace: The Development of Australian Children's Literature into the Twenty First Century. Literature and Literacy for Young People: An Australian Series Volume 6* (Wagga Wagga: Centre for Information Studies, Charles Sturt University, 2005), 41.

<sup>11</sup> I have included only *The Rocks of Honey* (1966) in my analysis as it most clearly deals with a representation of the past. See also Foster in Foster, Finnis and Nimon, *Bush, City, Cyberspace* (2003), Chapter 4.

<sup>12</sup> Foster in Foster, Finnis and Nimon, *Bush, City, Cyberspace*, 41.

<sup>13</sup> See Brenda Niall, *Australia Through the Looking Glass. Children's Fiction 1830-1980* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1985), Chapter 12.

<sup>14</sup> Patricia Wrightson, *The Shadows of Time* (Milsons Point: Random House Australia, 1994).

<sup>15</sup> It has been suggested by Peter Kirkpatrick that the element of fantasy helps to alleviate concerns about opportunistic cultural appropriation. This problem was associated with the Jindywoborak movement of the 1930s. See Peter Kirkpatrick "'Fearful Affinity': Jindywoborak Primitivism" in Philip Butters (ed.) *Adelaide: a Literary City*. (Adelaide, University of Adelaide Press, 2013) Accessed 20 March 2018. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.20851/j.ctt1sq5x41.12>; 129.

novel hints at racial co-existence yet the Hairy Men, who are reminiscent of the Banksia men in May Gibbs' iconic *Snugglypot and Cuddlepig*, create a fantasy element that sits neither entirely in an Indigenous or in a European literary tradition. *Shadows of Time* thus suggests an attempt to develop a uniquely Australian spirit of place within children's historical fiction. The fictional element inflects the historical through this attempt, establishing a sense of time as fleeting and immense, easy to be lost within, of unknown scope. White settlement, or invasion, is encapsulated in the children's observations, apparently rejected by Sarah Jane, who prefers to stay in the mists of time with her new companions. The Aboriginal child and the Hairy Men function as markers of the longevity of Indigenous occupation of the Australian continent and its imagined older inhabitants, respectively. The novel is inherently political, employing the trope of Indigenous spirituality to establish the status of Aboriginal people as the longer-standing custodians of the land.

Within the same tradition, novels such as Fatchen's *The Spirit Wind* demonstrated how writers of historical fiction were prepared to experiment with the genre, taking a text beyond a conventional representation of the past and developing themes that increasingly resonated with cultural, social and political developments as well as academic history. Nungane's affinity with the land, for example, asserted a form of connection that was central to the Indigenous land rights movement, which was gaining momentum in the early 1970s.<sup>16</sup>

### **Allegory**

Another literary approach to meaning-making is the use of *allegory*. The symbolism inherent in allegorical representations requires a more sophisticated repertoire of reading skills than less abstract techniques. In discussing Australian picture books published in the last thirty years, Ern Finniss observes that changing expectations of the audience (including children) has accompanied the emergence of more complex texts, arguing that:

[M]odern picture books imply an audience that is highly capable of deriving meaning from pictorial representations that are often extremely challenging. The implication is

---

<sup>16</sup> On 26 January 1972, for example, four Indigenous Australians set up the 'Aboriginal Embassy' on the lawns of the federal Parliament House to protest the McMahon government's approach to land rights.

that viewers have acquired enough personal and cultural experiences to recognize all the meanings expressed in a text.<sup>17</sup>

In works of children's historical fiction, the overwhelming approach to representing the past is based in realism, with a strong factual base grounding the fictional in the historical. Texts that work at the more complex level of allegory replace the factual with the symbolic, an approach more common in other forms of fiction, to convey a moral message.

The Australian children's historical fiction corpus created for this thesis located only one example of the sophisticated use of allegory to impart historical themes: *The Rabbits* by Shaun Tan and John Marsden. Originally published in 1998, with various reprints and repackagings, *The Rabbits* has sold extremely well despite its ambiguous status in terms of literary category.<sup>18</sup> The intended readership of *The Rabbits* is not indicated in the cataloguing information. The back-cover states that the picture book is a 'rich and haunting allegory for all ages, all cultures.'<sup>19</sup> The CBCA nevertheless awarded the text Picture Book of the Year in 1999, albeit with the caveat that some of the books selected that year were 'for mature readers.'<sup>20</sup> The publication information identifies the text as a Lothian Children's Book, suggesting that the publishers, at any rate, believed it was intended to appeal to a younger audience. Still, as Shaun Tan asserts:

There is no reason why a 32-page illustrated story can't have equal appeal for teenagers or adults as they do for children. After all, other visual media such as film, television, painting or sculpture do not suffer from narrow preconceptions of audience. Why should picture books?<sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>17</sup> Ern Finniss "Australian Picture Books" in Foster, Finniss and Nimmon, *Bush, City Cyberspace*, 145.

<sup>18</sup> Original hardback edition: 1998, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2005; Large paperback edition 2008, 2009 (three times), 2010 (twice), 2011; Paperback edition: 2000; 2001; 2003 (twice); 2004; 2005; 2006; 2007; 2008

<sup>19</sup> Marsden and Tan *The Rabbits*, 2011 (first published 1998): back-cover.

<sup>20</sup> See <http://cbca.org.au/9099.htm> (the books that are for 'mature readers' are not identified individually). Accessed 3 September 2014. Page no longer available on 28 March 2018.

<sup>21</sup> See <http://www.shauntan.net/books.html> . Accessed 3 September 2014.

For those older or ‘mature’ readers who engage with the text as allegory, the deliberate markers of connections with Australia’s colonial past make for a rich story that resonates with the potential for historical learning, even if children need some assistance to recognize the markers.<sup>22</sup> *The Rabbits* thus exemplifies the power of a picture book to convey representations of the past, and children’s historical fiction writers have increasingly turned to this form in the 1990s and beyond. *The Rabbits* also exemplifies the continued experimentation with conveying understandings of the past and the potential for radical redefinition of the genre conventions of historical novels and picture books. This makes these kinds of books ideal candidates for reading as historical artefacts.

### Visual strategies

Changes in the realm of popular culture in the 1950s and 1960s reflected new social and cultural mores, which also impacted on children’s literature. One response from the publishing industry to new modes of entertainment was an increased emphasis on the *pictorialisation* of reading, aligning with ‘the pictorial reading practices already being developed by cinema and television.’<sup>23</sup> For the younger market, imported comics and cartoons were influential forces in the development of the picture book segment. As Patrick Buckridge argues, the reading practices in the 1950s, accompanying a growing and more diverse reading public, are characterized by an ‘elite vs popular’ polarization.<sup>24</sup> Good quality picture books emerged to compete with the comic, the television, and the cinema, again reflecting the propensity for the ‘Australian child’ to be conceptualized as an innocent requiring protection and the ‘right’ education if they were to become moral and responsible citizens as adults.

Picture books for younger readers were not new. They were available in Australia from the early 1800s, with the first Australian illustrated children’s book, *The Australian Picture Pleasure Book; Illustrating the Scenery, Architecture, Historical Events, Natural History,*

---

<sup>22</sup> See, for example, Mary Ryan and Michele Anstey “Identity and Text: developing self-conscious readers,” *Australian Journal of Language and Literary* (February 1, 2003).

<sup>23</sup> See Patrick Buckridge, “Baby Boomers at Play,” in *Paper Empires*, ed.s Craig Munro and Robyn Sheahan-Bright (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2006), 347.

<sup>24</sup> Buckridge, “Baby Boomers at Play,” 346.



*Public Characters etc of Australia*, published in 1857.<sup>25</sup> A simple form of pictorialisation was a common aspect of historical novels published in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, primarily using black and white line illustrations interspersed throughout the text. Dust jackets with handcrafted colour drawings or paintings were also used. Full colour historical fiction picture books became a feature of the 1970s and beyond, although prior to 1990, illustrations used in novels tended to supplement the text rather than be integral to the story.<sup>26</sup> These developments took place within the context of an expansion in pictorialisation in children's literature in general as authors and publishers sought new ways to present the past for a child audience. Jane Covernton (founder of Omnibus Books) remarked that the success of Argent's 1982 picture book, *One Woolly Wombat*:

[L]ed us to believe that the time was right for a strong children's publishing industry ... The fierce nationalism of the Whitlam era had given rise to a new generation of adults eager to see their landscape, their history, their people, their speech and even their humour reflected in the books they read and in the films and plays they saw. These adults were also parents who wanted Australian books for their children.<sup>27</sup>

In all, I located nine children's picture books on historical Australian subjects by Australian authors during the period between 1945 and 1989. A further forty were published after 1990 on topics as varied as Ned Kelly and the artist Tom Roberts, indicating that children who are not yet independent readers are perceived as consumers of fictional representations of the past, and that the publishing industry is prepared to invest in this market segment.<sup>28</sup>

---

<sup>25</sup> Juliet O'Connor and State Library of Victoria, *Bottersnikes and other lost things: a celebration of Australian illustrated children's books* (Carlton: Miegunyah Press in association with the State Library of Victoria, 2009), 7.

<sup>26</sup> De Groot suggests this helped to differentiate these novels from those for adults. See de Groot, *The Historical Novel*, 91.

<sup>27</sup> Jane Covernton, in Elizabeth Webby, *The Cambridge Companion to Australian Literature* (Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 300.

<sup>28</sup> See Mark Greenwood and Frane Lessac, *Ned Kelly and the Green Sash* (Newtown: Walker Books, 2010) and Mark Wilson, *Inside the World of Tom Roberts, Ben and Gracie's Art Adventures* (Sydney: Hachette Books, 2010) respectively.

The expansion of the local production of picture books is no doubt more complex than the impact of the Whitlam era on national consciousness, yet the argument regarding an increasing demand for Australian products and content is compelling and children's historical fiction was part of this environment. The argument also gestures towards some confusion in relation to the vulnerable learner/custodian duality, placing importance on connecting children to symbols of what adults deemed to encapsulate the concept of being Australian, perhaps at the expense of age appropriateness.<sup>29</sup> The forty picture books published since 1990 in the corpus all reflect how many authors continue to push the boundaries of the children's historical fiction genre. Some use the picture book format to convey a complex story in a simplified way, making it 'suitable' to a younger audience. Carole Wilkinson's 2008 picture book *The Night We Made the Flag: a Eureka Story* provides an example of this approach. The book takes an iconic historical event and creates a story that imagines the experience of a child who participated in what took place. Although the Teachers' Notes for the book provided by the publisher, Walker Books, suggest use of the picture book for students from mid-primary to mid-secondary school, the general publication information indicates a readership of five years plus.<sup>30</sup> Clearly the making of the flag that was flown by the protestors at the Eureka Stockade, a recognizable symbol of working class struggle against authority that endures today, has been perceived by the publisher as a story that may be told to young children, and that this can be done in a way that they will find interesting.

Obviously too, the picture book *format* does not preclude an older audience, particularly if the text is used as a curriculum resource. Some authors are using this format to package a confronting story with illustrations that communicate visually to older children, perhaps at a level of sophistication that is more effectively achieved without the use of words. Yet even here, there is confusion about the appropriate target audience. For example, Mark Wilson's *The Afghanistan Pup* is identified as targeting primary school age children, yet is described as 'juvenile fiction,' while *Angel of Kokoda*, part of the same 'Children in War Quartet' which

---

<sup>29</sup> See Richard White. "Inventing Australia Revisited." In Hudson and Bolton, ed.s, *Creating Australia. Changing Australian History* (St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1997).

<sup>30</sup> See <http://www.walkerbooks.com.au/statics/dyn/1320381787817/Night-We-Made-the-Flag.pdf>. Accessed 23 July 2018.

also presents distressing scenes, is just identified as ‘For children.’<sup>31</sup> The strong themes of courage and resilience in times of war are positive in both picture books, but the illustrations of soldiers with guns on patrol and explosions, as well as dark scenes of destruction and the jungle, work with the text to convey the horror of war. Placing children and a puppy within these scenarios conveys a sense of the loss of innocence and the civilian cost of war that may prove disturbing to some children. These two texts highlight the value in mediating children’s access to historical narratives that carry such emotional impacts, and, as Hill suggests, show that the use of a picture book format cannot be relied upon to indicate that the work is suitable for all children.

Such concerns tie in with recent debates within literary circles regarding suitable topics for children’s literature, with entrenched taboos challenged by works that seek to explore the realities of modern Western childhoods. As Kimberley Reynolds observes:

The changing attitudes reflect adjustments both to how childhood is understood and to what is suitable for children through their explorations of some of the damaging and traumatic aspects of growing up in contemporary Western culture.<sup>32</sup>

The controversy surrounding the award of CBCA Book of the Year: Picture Book 2008 to Matt Ottley’s *Requiem for a Beast: A Work for Image, Word and Music* encapsulates the way in which expectations about children’s literature can be unsettled. Ottley observes this reaction in writing about his own text, arguing that cyclical thinking patterns embed expectations in readers, meaning that ‘the material in his book is not necessarily offensive but that it is in the ‘wrong place.’’<sup>33</sup> Ottley’s use of the picture book format to explore ‘dark’ themes such as murder, suicide, child abuse and the inclusion of a profanity disrupts the idea of the picture book as a text for young readers, Erica Hatley noting that ‘responses to *Requiem for a Beast*

---

<sup>31</sup> See Mark Wilson, *Angel of Kokoda* (Sydney: Lothian, 2010) and Mark Wilson, *The Afghanistan Pup*. (Sydney and New Zealand: Hachette Australia, 2014).

<sup>32</sup> Reynolds, Kimberley, *Radical Children’s Literature. Future Visions and Aesthetic Transformations in Juvenile Fiction* (Hampshire: PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, 2007), 89.

<sup>33</sup> Matt Ottley, “The art of corrupting youth: cyclical thinking,” *Access*, 24, no.1 (March 2010): 1.

and the award shed light on the “limits” of what constitutes appropriate or desirable reading material for young Australians.’<sup>34</sup> The ‘Beast’ in this picture book is, moreover, the ‘beast of history,’<sup>35</sup> indicating a sophistication in theme perhaps not accessible to a young audience.

Against this background of innovation, experimentation and controversy, there are authors of historical fiction who use the picture book format in its more conventional way: to tell a story for younger readers in a way that suits their level of cognitive, social and emotional development. For example, although Corinne Fenton’s *The Dog on the Tuckerbox* (2008) taps into an iconic image and place in Australian history, it is a conventional text devoid of dark themes and, according to the author, based on thorough research.<sup>36</sup>

As Fenton’s claim suggests, the historical picture book adheres to the convention of authenticity, of having a basis in fact. Yet authenticity can be rendered problematic by the illustrative material. The picture book format has allowed the inclusion of authentic, or authentic-looking official documents, letters, photographs and other items of historical ‘evidence.’ The fiction inflects the historical here in a visual way, ‘evidence’ fabricated to replace the imaginative leap usually required in a non-illustrated text. A visual reproduction of a letter, for example, appears more authentic than a letter in a novel differentiated by using a different font. In using such visual strategies, some authors and illustrators create texts, or parts of texts, that resemble non-fiction books, further blurring the lines.

Picture books do not tend to have extensive historical notes, complicating the ability of the reader to differentiate between reproductions of authentic historical documents and those constructed by the author. As the primary school curriculum does encompass teaching children the skills to use in identifying and interpreting historical sources, these picture books on the one hand acknowledge that children can engage with archival material but also further

---

<sup>34</sup> Erica Hatley, ‘Requiem for a Beast: A Case Study in Controversy’, *The Asian Conference on Literature and Librarianship 2014 Official Conference Proceedings 2014*. Accessed 12 June 2017 at [http://eprints.qut.edu.au/72924/3/72924\(pub\).pdf](http://eprints.qut.edu.au/72924/3/72924(pub).pdf), 1.

<sup>35</sup> Erica Hatley ‘Requiem for a Beast: A Case Study in Controversy’, *The Asian Conference on Literature and Librarianship 2014 Official Conference Proceedings 2014*. Viewed 12 June 2017 at [http://eprints.qut.edu.au/72924/3/72924\(pub\).pdf](http://eprints.qut.edu.au/72924/3/72924(pub).pdf), 5.

<sup>36</sup> See <http://www.walkerbooks.com.au/statics/dyn/1351560733316/>, *The-Dog-on-the-Tuckerbox-Classroom-Ideas.pdf*. Accessed 12 June 2017, no longer available.

complicate understandings of the historical fiction genre, and of how fiction can inflect the historical. They therefore undermine what the child has learnt in relation to distinguishing between what is ‘true’ and what is fiction. Judith Graham also points out that even where the visual markers of an era are researched meticulously:

[W]ithout background knowledge ... or if the story and emotional truth of the story are not convincing, the detail may be lost on the child reader, especially if time to look, question, reflect and revisit is limited.<sup>37</sup>

Again, the critical role of adult guidance is indicated, as is the need for specific reading strategies and the development of historical repertoires if children – vulnerable learners and custodians – are to comprehend such historical work.

## Historical series

Another tendency since the turn of the twentieth century has been to publish novels in series connected either by narrative structure and style, such as the Scholastic Australia *My Story* series, the *Our Australian Girl* series and the *Do You Dare* series, or by characters and theme, such as Kirsty Murray’s *Children of the Wind* series, or some other integrating feature. The National Museum of Australia’s *Making Tracks* series, for instance, employs short fictional novellas as an educational resource, with each title in the series linked to items housed in the museum’s collection.

The most prominent example of the historical series is the *My Australian Story* set of historical novels. In November 2017, the Scholastic Australia online shop listed 31 titles in the *My Australian Story series*.<sup>38</sup> The first three novels in the series were published in 2000, with new novels added every year since then, as well as many titles being reprinted. Each novel is shaped

---

<sup>37</sup> See Fiona M Collins and Judith Graham, *Historical Fiction for Children: Capturing the Past* (Great Britain: David Fulton Publisher, 2001), 54.

<sup>38</sup> “The Store,” Scholastic, accessed 26 July 2018, <http://shop.scholastic.com.au/Search/?menuId=112&parentId=101>.

around one child protagonist writing in a diary or journal for a year.<sup>39</sup> The emergence of the *My Australian Story* series reflects the influence of overseas developments on Australian offerings, with the Scholastic Inc. historical diary franchise also published in America, the United Kingdom, Canada, New Zealand, and India. The products of each country's series illustrate the subjects and themes selected by authors and publishers as meeting the needs of their child readers, demonstrating that the historical projects undertaken by the authors do differ even within the same narrative framework.

Questions around ownership of the past are important to consider in the context of the historical diary franchise because Wilson has argued that the series are deliberately nation-building in purpose. According to author Libby Gleeson, Scholastic Australia was not planning to develop a series of Australian titles. It was only when it appeared that the UK *My Story* series was to include Australian stories that Scholastic Australia decided to do their own: 'if Australian stories were going to be told, then Australian writers were going to tell them.'<sup>40</sup> Scholastic's response, and reach, provide a unique opportunity for a transnational case study to test Wilson's argument. In Chapter Seven, I interrogated Wilson's ideas as part of a deeper comparison of Australian, American and New Zealand titles that take World War Two as their historical setting. This perspective aligns with the emerging interest in transnational historical studies, illustrating that comparative analysis of multiple countries is also of use in the study of fictional historiography.

In considering the packaging of the past for children, an example relating to the reception of the novels across countries is also of interest. A search on TROVE revealed that, as might be expected, holdings across Australian libraries of *My Australian Story* are the most extensive, followed by titles in the United Kingdom series.<sup>41</sup> Few libraries, however, hold titles from the

---

<sup>39</sup> With the exception of *The Rats of Tobruk* by David Mulligan, which has a sixteen-year old protagonist: David Mulligan. *My Australian Story. Heroes of Tobruk*. (Lindfield: Scholastic, 2008)

<sup>40</sup> See Judith Ridge, 'Our Story: Rediscovering Australian History,' *Horn Book Magazine* 78, no.6 (2002): 2.

<sup>41</sup> TROVE is an online, collaborative, editable search engine maintained by the National Library of Australia. According to its website: 'Trove helps you find and use resources relating to Australia. It's more than a search engine. Trove brings together content from libraries, museums, archives, repositories and other research and collecting organisations big and small.' A list of contributors and partners whose collections are included in Trove can be [viewed online](#). Trove's origins can be traced back to a project launched by the National Library of Australia in August 2008. Its aim was to build a portal for the Library's online discovery

American, New Zealand or Canadian series and none hold titles from the Indian series.<sup>42</sup> This is surprising given Australia's commitment to multiculturalism. It suggests that little importance is placed on exposing children to the fictions of countries other than the United Kingdom, harking back to the pre-1950s Imperialist emphasis in Australian academic history and pedagogy. As material evidence of the past, the texts further demonstrate the construction of childhood as a time to establish civic orientations and a connection to national narratives, although I will also demonstrate that challenges to the content of these narratives suggests a will to ensure childhood is also a time to learn to question those narratives and develop skills in critical thinking.

Even more overtly parochial than the Scholastic *My Australian Story* series is the Penguin Group's two offerings in the children's historical fiction series format, *Our Australian Girl* and *Do You Dare?* The series are published through its Puffin imprint and differ in format and narrative technique to the *My Australian Story* diary series. Each Puffin title is narrated in the third person, using an omniscient narrator, but the point of view is still that of the main child protagonist. The *Our Australian Girl* collection comprises ten sets of four books, each starting with a first book titled 'Meet ...', such as *Meet Grace*, *Meet Poppy* and so forth. A consistent cover design is used to visually connect the individual sets and the series overall, the front comprising photographs of young girls dressed in period costume to reflect the character they represent. An embossed illustration of a charm bracelet dangles across the top of each cover, each set individualized by the attached charms. In the 'Grace' set, for example, the map of Australia charm is inscribed 1808, a capital 'G' denotes her name, a horse with wings represents her daydreams about a horse named Pegasus, and a number indicates the book's place in the set. All the bracelets have a large heart-shaped charm inscribed 'Our Australian Girl' in the top right-hand corner. The back covers state the year and describe the plot, accompanied by small pictures that offer visual snippets of aspects of the story. The packaging of the books also includes a page illustrated with each of the 'special charms' shown on the cover of each book, allowing the reader to tick off each one as they read the story. The inside

---

services, including the Register of Australian Archives and Manuscripts, Picture Australia, Libraries Australia, Music Australia, Australia Dancing, PANDORA web archive, ARROW Discovery Service and the Australian Newspapers Beta service. <http://trove.nla.gov.au/general/about>. Accessed online 18.11.17.

<sup>42</sup> According to TROVE, [www.trove.nla.gov.au](http://www.trove.nla.gov.au). Accessed 6 October 2015.

back cover is used to promote either the next book in the set (for Books 1 to 3) or the other books in the series (for Book 4). Each book also includes the first chapter of the next book as a teaser, information about time in which the book is set, including a page with an official looking stamp declaring ‘Historical source from the time,’ and a page summarizing each of the other sets in the series. Clearly, the intent is to encourage purchase of the complete series of books, providing evidence of the infiltration of representations of the past by consumerism.

The *Our Australian Girl* series is based around the idea of a young female readership, promoting interest using the phrase ‘A girl like me in a time gone by.’ The idea of female solidarity is promoted through the ‘Our Australian Girl Song,’ with lyrics and accompanying music included in *A Home for Grace*, Book 4 of the Grace set. There is also a recording of the song available on the OAG website. The lyrics do not seem to accommodate a male readership:

We are all Australian girls, each one unique  
Reaching out across centuries, far lands and seas  
And even though I might seem different from you  
If you take my hand let’s share history too.

Each of our girls has a story to tell  
An adventure, a journey, a growing as well  
Each one of them shares part of our history  
Each one an Australian girl like you and me.<sup>43</sup>

The construction of female characters as having individual agency is perceived to be of appeal to the ‘modern’ girl but presumably is also used to portray what may have been possible for girls in the past. As the final line of the ‘Our Australian Girl Song’ makes clear, the audience is constructed as a group with an assumed solidarity based on gender and nationality.

In contrast, the *Do You Dare?* series appears to be firmly targeting boys. The cover of each stand-alone book depicting boys in action: running down an alley; running in water; riding a

---

<sup>43</sup> Sophie Laguna, *A Home for Grace. Our Australian Girl* (Melbourne: Penguin Books, 2011), 108.



horse; and watching as a bushranger's horse rears wildly. The inside back cover advertises each as an 'Adventure[] in History,' challenging the child reader to '[j]oin Declan and his mates as they bust out of prison in Tasmania, 1836;' '[j]oin Toby and his mates as they take on the race of a lifetime in Queensland, 1844;' '[j]oin Jem and his mates as they battle to protect a bushranger in New South Wales, 1841;' and '[j]oin Tom and his mates as they tough it out in the alleyways of Melbourne, 1931.'<sup>44</sup> In the event that the desired audience is not obvious, the Penguin website states:

Do You Dare fills a much-needed gap for engaging Australian historical fiction for boy readers aged 8 to 12. These fast-paced, adventure-driven stories effortlessly bring to life so many facets of our past. But most importantly, they're compelling reads, driven by vivid action, great characters and some thrilling moments of jeopardy!<sup>45</sup>

The targeted marketing clearly indicates the assumptions at play around the preferences and practices of boys and girls as readers. Boys, Puffin declare, need action-oriented, plot-driven books that stand alone, whereas, while girls can engage with a set of books about one character, whose personality and emotions are more integral to the narrative, and they need sweeteners to encourage them to do this.

Integral to the cultural turn in academic historiography, gender has emerged as a critical analytical tool for examining social relations in the past. Published works of fiction can be included in these examinations, providing material evidence of the past. Suzanne Rahn argues, for example, that the strength of central female characters in American children's historical novels in the early 1900s reflected the influence of emancipation on female writers.<sup>46</sup> The construction of a gendered audience for history-making projects such as the *Our Australian Girl* and *Do You Dare* series makes it equally important to consider the deeper meanings

---

<sup>44</sup> See Simon Mitchell, *1931 Do you dare: Tough Times*. (Melbourne: Penguin Books Australia, 2014), inside back cover.

<sup>45</sup> <http://www.penguin.com.au/products/9781743482483/do-you-dare-title-tba-epub>. Accessed 6 September 2014.

<sup>46</sup> Suzanne Rahn "An Evolving Past: The Story of Historical Fiction and Nonfiction for Children," *The Lion and the Unicorn* 15, no. 1, (June 1991): 1-26.

suggested by children's historical novels that are overtly packaged for girls or boys. Applying the lens of gender to an historical subject, John Tosh suggests:

[E]mbodies the assumption most of what passes for natural (or God-given) sexual difference is in fact socially and culturally constructed, and must therefore be understood as the outcome of historical process.<sup>47</sup>

Implicit within the process of social and cultural construction are the power relations at play in a society. Fictional representations of the past in themselves reveal these processes and relationships, just as they seek to depict those processes and relationships at play in the past. As Lana Rakow observes, applying the lens of gender is a way of employing 'a variety of theoretical positions that carry with them a deeper social analysis and political agenda.'<sup>48</sup>

Second-wave feminism emerging in the United States in the 1960s has influenced social mores around gender in Australia since that time, including in academic and cultural expression. As discussed above, this perspective has broadened in academic historiography and literary theory to encompass gay, lesbian and queer theoretical perspectives as well. Nevertheless, the historical fiction in the corpus for this thesis has not ventured into exploring these latter aspects of social relations, indicating that they are not yet seen as an appropriate subject for children. Even though non-heterosexual relations and family situations have been depicted in more recent children's fiction, these latter aspects continue to be controversial in Australian society and the time may not be ripe for authors to push these boundaries.

The Puffin series clearly show that fiction is being used to not just depict a gendered version of the past, but to package it in a gendered way. The motivations behind such visible gender biases may be explicable in terms of contemporary marketing techniques, but the impact on the associated historical project is more complex. Contemporary ideas about gender suggest that segmentation of representations of the past constructed along these lines are anachronistic

---

<sup>47</sup> John Tosh and Sean Lang, *The pursuit of history: aims, methods and new directions in the study of modern history* (Harlow: Longman, 2010), 279.

<sup>48</sup> Lana Rakow quoted in John Storey. *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture. An Introduction* (England: Pearson Education Limited, 2012), 138.

at best. Writing about the past in a gender-biased way is a development that reflects marketing influences, which focus on niches and segments of the population. Other genres of children's fiction consistently include books that aim at one gender, so it is perhaps unsurprising that children's historical fiction is also now being written in this way. Yet contemporary ideas about gender pursued in academic historiography (and literary theory) indicate that it is a potentially fruitful way to interrogate children's historical novels and picture books in order to illuminate how these texts are implicated in understandings about gender in past and contemporary settings.

## Paratextual resources

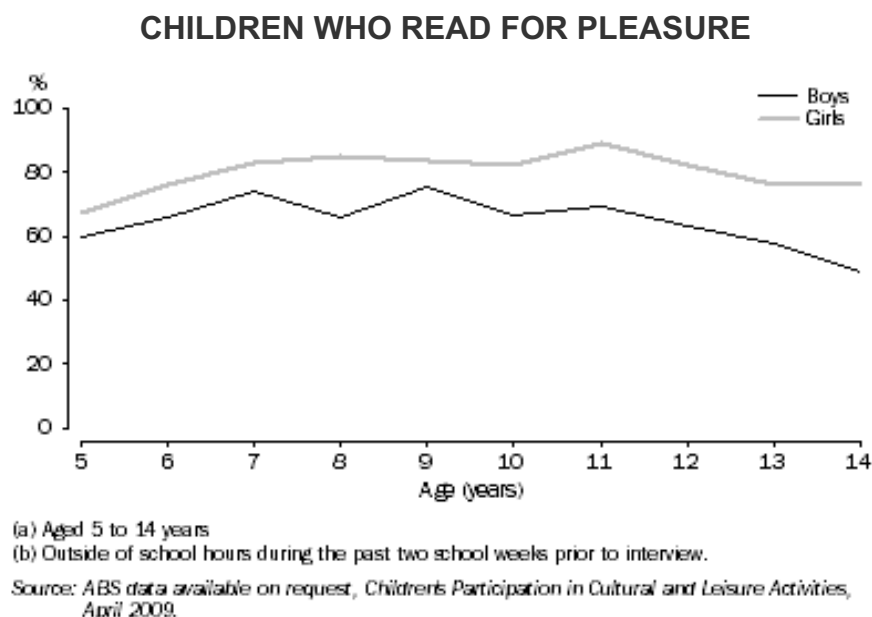
The *Our Australian Girl* and *Do You Dare* series also point toward increasing sophistication in the commissioning, publication and marketing of children's historical fiction. The commodification of the past is tangible both in the packaging and on the associated websites, indicative of the increasing sophistication of consumerism in contemporary Australian society. The series format purposely on-sells the next instalment, an approach that is a prominent feature of other forms of children's fiction and non-fiction titles in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The *Our Australian Girl* series, with its charms to tick off and its jingoistic website, indicates an attempt to directly entice the child reader to push the purchase of the book rather than relying on an adult gatekeeper to deem it worthy. The influence of broader trends in consumer market analysis are evident here, as the historical novel becomes yet another product to advertise to the 'tweenager.' Schools and libraries have long been key purchasers of children's historical fiction but this has changed in the twenty first century. As Sheahan-Bright has observed, one of the major features of the early 2000s has been 'the growth of mass marketing and the diminished influence of libraries as institutional purchasers [as well as] niche marketing.'<sup>49</sup> This context has not, however, dulled the growth of children's lists in Australia. Sheahan-Bright also observed that 'by 2005 children's publishing [had] become one of the great success stories of the Australian industry.'<sup>50</sup>

---

<sup>49</sup> Robyn Sheahan-Bright, "Children and Young Adults," in *A History of the Book in Australia 1946-2005*, ed.s Craig Munro and Robyn Sheahan-Bright (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2006), 288.

<sup>50</sup> Sheahan-Bright, "Children and Young Adults," 288.

The extent to which all children have shared the benefits of this success, however, requires deeper consideration. Literacy levels alone indicate that not all children share equally in a culture supportive of reading. Campbell and Proctor, for example, identify Indigenous disadvantage in the sphere of reading, noting that in 2008 ‘just over 63 per cent of Indigenous school children met what is considered to be a ‘minimum’ reading standard, compared with 90 per cent of non-Indigenous children.’<sup>51</sup> The Australian Bureau of Statistics’ research into reading habits helps to provide a more nuanced understanding, considering reading for pleasure and reading as an activity that competes with other activities and priorities for children and the adults who care for them (see Figure 6.1 below).



**Figure 6.1: Children Who Read for Pleasure<sup>52</sup>**

Using data from the 2009 survey of *Children's participation in Selected Cultural and Leisure Activities*, the graph shows a gender difference in reading for pleasure for the age group five to fourteen year olds: during the two-week survey period, eighty per cent of girls read for

<sup>51</sup> See Craig Campbell and Helen Proctor, *A History of Australian Schooling* (Crows Nest: Allen and Unwin, 2014), 250.

<sup>52</sup> Australian Bureau of Statistics 2009, “Children Who Read for Pleasure,” <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Products/4F45E5DB10D157FECA257968000CB4F5?opendocument>. Accessed 28 March 2018.

pleasure compared to sixty-five per cent of boys, and girls spent an average of 7.8 hours reading for pleasure, compared with 6.4 hours for boys.<sup>53</sup>

The frequency of reading is another indicator of reading habits, as demonstrated in a Scholastic Australia survey conducted with YouGov, an online market research company, which found that:

Frequent readers, those who read books for fun 5–7 days a week, differ substantially from infrequent readers — those who read books for fun less than one day a week. For instance, 91% of frequent readers are currently reading at least one book for fun, while 80% of infrequent readers haven't read a book for fun in a while.<sup>54</sup>

While the Scholastic survey is not directly comparable to the ABS survey due to methodological differences, it does serve to highlight that reading frequently for pleasure is probably concentrated in a relatively small group of children. The Scholastic survey also highlights the intervention of a publisher and market research company into the space of children's use of leisure time, presumably with the underlying intention of better targeting their packaging and promotional activities. Unsurprisingly, their findings indicate the importance of parental intervention in children's reading habits, as shown in their picto-graph (see Figure 6.2 below), which reinforces that conviction that convincing parents to buy books for their children is essential to producing frequent readers. As we have seen, the marketing material for the *My Australian Story* series directly reflects this approach: the parent is asked to imagine how their child will be transported to an exciting place in the past.

---

<sup>53</sup> "4172.0 Arts and culture in Australia," Australian Bureau of Statistics, accessed 18 November 2017, <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Products/4F45E5DB10D157FECA257968000CB4F5?opendocument>.

<sup>54</sup> "Australian Kids and Family Reading Report," Scholastic Australia, accessed 23 July 2018, <http://www.scholastic.com.au/schools/ReadingLeaders/KFRR/kidsreading.asp>.

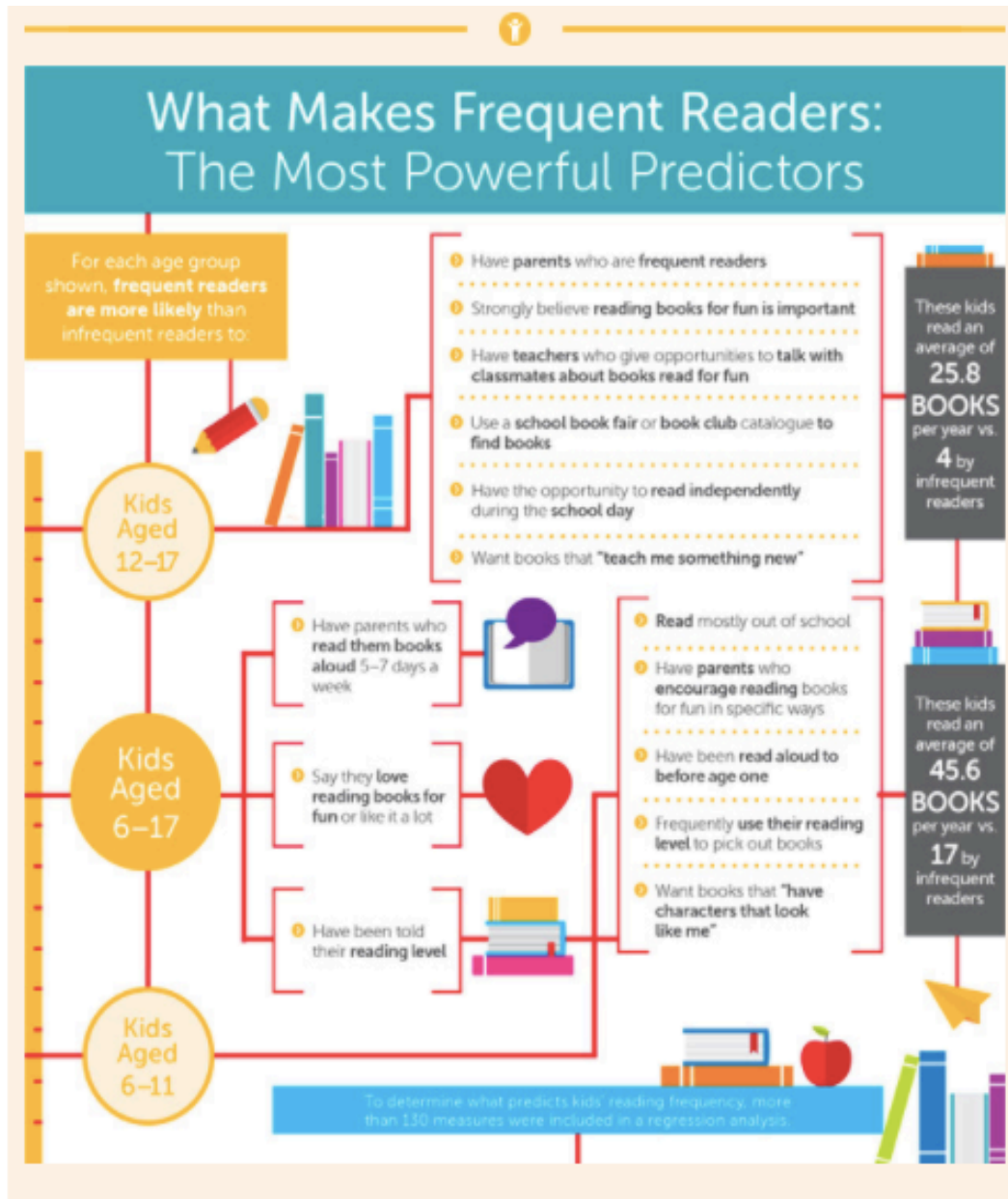


Figure 6.2 What Makes Frequent Readers<sup>55</sup>

Further complicating reading habits is the competition for children's time posed by other activities. As the ABS notes:

<sup>55</sup> "Australian Kids and Family Reading Report,".

[I]n the 21st century, children's leisure is dominated by screen-based activities, taking up approximately twenty hours of leisure time in a two-week period. In a two-week period in 2009, for example, nearly all children (97 per cent) watched television, DVDs or videos during their leisure time, around two-thirds of children played electronic or computer games. Away from the screens, nearly two-thirds participated in organized sport or went bike riding outside of school hours and around one-third participated in cultural activities.<sup>56</sup>

Clearly childhood is a busy time and the space for reading historical novels and picture books is limited and, most probably, concentrated in the hands of avid fans and the use of texts as classroom resources. Even so, that the sub-genre has expanded significantly from the late 1990s, suggests that it is perceived by adults as valuable: it is an entertaining, fun, way to convey knowledge about the past. It also suggests that adults in gatekeeping positions do purchase the books. This latter perception is supported by the research discussed in Chapter Nine: only two children in the study chose to read historical fiction of their own accord. There is much more research that could be done to further enlighten understandings of how audiences, both child and adult, engage with past and contemporary historical fictions. This work cannot be done within the scope of this thesis, but I do suggest that the impact of reading ability and reading practices might be recast from a pedagogical issue to an audience reception issue in terms of fictional historiography to productive ends.

Notwithstanding the complexities of reception, this study clearly shows that children's literature, including the historical fiction sub-genre, has continued to expand in the twenty-first century. Adding to the appeal of the range of books now on sale is the ability of authors and publishers to include supporting resources on websites and in print that are specifically designed to help teachers use a text in the classroom. Author visits to schools and bookshops provide another way in which texts are promoted through active student engagement strategies, Alice Mills noting that in the 1990s 'Children's authors became, if not always celebrities, at

---

<sup>56</sup> Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Cat. 4901.0 Media Release* October 28, 2009

least public personalities.<sup>57</sup> Unsurprisingly, Scholastic Australia provides a prominent example of linking texts directly to the school market through its Book Fairs and Book Clubs, online free workshops and webinars and its online shop that includes Australian Standing Orders, ‘a curation and subscription service to get the best in Australian children’s literature into our school libraries.’ Furthermore, a free ‘Teacher Toolkit’ is available to registered teachers or school representatives that purports to ‘support your delivery of the Australian Curriculum, general capabilities and Cross-Curricular Priorities.’<sup>58</sup>

Scholastic Australia is part of a worldwide publishing network, Scholastic Inc., which describes itself as ‘a major player in new media with film, online services, cable TV and international licensing of creative properties.’ The Australian subsidiary appears to maintain a focus firmly on children and education, professing to provide ‘the highest-quality literature and learning materials from Australia and throughout the world,’ as well as maintaining a profile in the broader community through partnerships with a range of organisations, including the Australian Primary Principals’ Association, Books In Homes Australia and Camp Quality.<sup>59</sup> The *My Australian Story* is Scholastic Australia’s most visibly promoted historical fiction, with the thirty-two titles printed with a consistent look, as well as being sold in packaged sets with books from outside the series, such as the ‘Read for Remembrance’ set containing Alan Tucker’s *Gallipoli* and Mark Wilson’s *Vietnam Diary*, the ‘Australia as a Nation’ pack containing four *My Australian Story* texts and two non-fiction texts, and the ‘Remembrance’ pack containing five books, one of which is Jenny Blackman’s *My Friend, the Enemy*. The Scholastic website also provides free Teacher’s Notes written by authors, although these do not appear to be always available to the casual website visitor:-

Individual novels may also be used as the basis for educational activities within and beyond the classroom. Felicity Pulman’s *Ghost Boy*, for example, was selected by the National Parks and Wildlife Service (NPWS) for its setting: the Quarantine Station (Q-Station) in Sydney. The NPWS developed associated activities and resources to align with the school curricula and

---

<sup>57</sup> Robyn Sheahan-Bright, ‘For children and young adults,’ 287.

<sup>58</sup> [www.school.scholastic.com.au](http://www.school.scholastic.com.au). Accessed 11 September 2014 – this site can no longer be reached.

<sup>59</sup> [www.school.scholastic.com.au](http://www.school.scholastic.com.au).



the Q-station's educational program. Aiming to attract the school excursion market, the Q-Station's educational program offers activities to be undertaken prior to a visit, on-site and back in the classroom. A comprehensive Teachers' Resources Kit is provided free of charge on the Q-station's website, establishing the target audience as students in Years Three to Six. According to the aims and objectives of the Education Program, children are able to 'gain a deeper understanding of a heritage site, the layering of history and the personal experience that is embodied within the landscape' through this coupling of associated material with a fictional historical publication.<sup>60</sup>

Programs such as these clearly indicate an intention to educate children about tangible and intangible aspects of the past. They are also intended to encourage children to explore historical concepts identified in the school curriculum such as continuity and change, empathy, and perspectives. Historical enquiry is also cast as important for ethical guidance for future citizenship, as children '[e]xplore Australian social values, past and present, and discuss how and who we want to be in the future.'<sup>61</sup>

With *Ghost Boy* recommended as pre-reading for an excursion to the Q-station, the Education Program also explicitly aims to facilitate 'an appreciation of Australian literature' as an aim and objective.<sup>62</sup> The fiction thus inflects the historical in the *Ghost Boy* education program in an interesting way: present-day children are being encouraged to make a connection to a novel presenting a fictional representation of the past, in order to make a connection with the physical remnants of the same past at an historic site. This connection begins before the students encounter the historic site, and is supposed to continue with post-visit activities, as shown in Figure 6.3 below. Fiction, fantasy, heritage and history thus merge to create an experience for children that suggests the type of storying of the past associated with re-enactment or immersive experiences such as reality television. Children on the *Ghost Boy* tour, for example, are given the opportunity to create inscriptions using clay, plaster or cardboard.<sup>63</sup> This activity

---

<sup>60</sup> "Teaching and Learning," Q Station, accessed 12 May 2017, <http://www.quarantinestation.com.au/Programs/ghost-boy>.

<sup>61</sup> "Teaching and Learning,".

<sup>62</sup> "Teaching and Learning,".

<sup>63</sup> "Teaching and Learning - Primary Education," Q Station, accessed 12 May 2017, <https://www.qstation.com.au/primary-education-programs.html>.

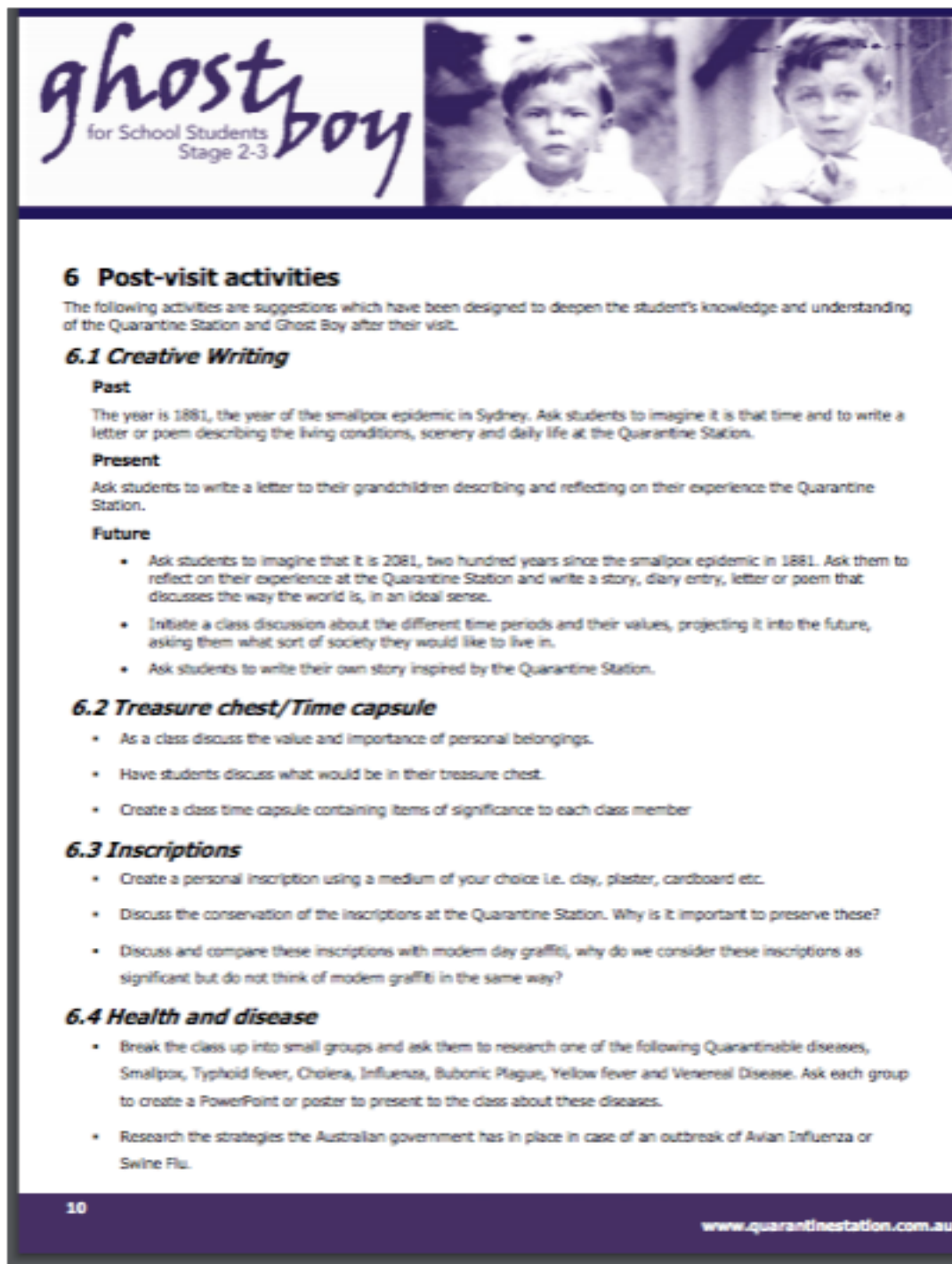


Figure 6.3: Post-visit Activities,' *Ghost Boy* for School Students, Q-Station.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>64</sup> "Post-visit Activities," *Ghost Boy* Program, Q-Station, National Parks and Wildlife Service, accessed 20 June 2017, <http://www.quarantinestation.com.au/Programs/ghost-boy>. See also Tracy Bowden's 'Stories Set in Stone' on the Q-Station aired on the ABC on 5 June 2013, accessed 23 July 2018, <http://www.abc.net.au/7.30/content/2013/s3775587.htm>.

is inspired by the sandstone inscriptions made by people placed under quarantine over its long history from 1835 to 1984 and is intended to encourage children to think about what they thought they would have written had they been in that situation.<sup>65</sup> The teachers' guide suggests that visiting groups '[d]iscuss the conservation of the inscriptions at the Quarantine Station,' asking questions such as '[w]hy is it important to preserve these?' They could also '[d]iscuss and compare these inscriptions with modern day graffiti, [asking] why do we consider these inscriptions as significant but do not think of modern graffiti in the same way?'<sup>66</sup> Such activities draw upon empathy as well as historical imagination, but also ask students to think critically about why some aspects of the past might be valued. Drawing parallels with contemporary practices engages children in considering commonalities and differences between human activities in the past and present. In this way, such activities reflect the attempt to engage the supposedly vulnerable learner in a guided, approved activity that will contribute to their understanding of the expectations that have been placed upon Australian citizens and newcomers to Australia.

## **Beyond the commercial publishing/bookselling sector**

As indicated above in the Q-Station activities, institutions such as museums, government departments, and independent not-for-profit organisations have been exerting a significant influence on the transformation and uptake of the genre of children's historical fiction from 1990 onwards. Attempts to move the production of children's historical fiction beyond the sphere of the commercial publishing and bookselling environment reflects an interventionist impulse to bend children's reading to educational purposes, and to do this is in certain ways. The National Museum of Australia (NMA), for instance, manifests this impulse in constructed learning opportunities particularly for use by teachers in the classroom which are designed to engage the interest of children in the NMA's collections. Objects in the NMA's collection

---

<sup>65</sup> "Our Story," Q Station, accessed 12 May 2017, <http://www.quarantinestation.com.au/The-Quarantine-Project-Stories-from-the-Sandstone/>.

<sup>66</sup> "Teaching and Learning," Q Station, accessed 12 May 2017, [http://www.quarantinestation.com.au/images/education/Ghost\\_Boy\\_Teachers\\_Kit\\_2015.pdf](http://www.quarantinestation.com.au/images/education/Ghost_Boy_Teachers_Kit_2015.pdf).

provide the inspiration for its ‘Making Tracks’ series of short novellas, an unusual aspect of the texts. The seventeen titles listed on the website cover subjects ranging from bushfires, Indigenous rights, women’s rights, Vietnamese refugees and Mawson’s expedition to Antarctica. The website provides a synopsis of each novella, a picture of the cover page and hyperlinks to the object associated with the title and suggested classroom activities.<sup>67</sup> The novellas are available for sale through the Museum shop (but not online), or for order through bookshops and educational suppliers. The NMA’s website describes each book and provides hyperlinks to activities for each book.<sup>68</sup>

The Department of Veterans’ Affairs (DVA) has also been an active producer of war-related texts for children over the last decade.<sup>69</sup> Their website suggests the texts are predominantly information books, carefully targeting primary and secondary school audiences through explicit references to the Australian Curriculum. The texts are accompanied by activities that include exercises of the imagination, such as posing scenarios and asking children to describe how they would feel in different situations. One text is fictional, the *We Remember ‘Big Book,’* a picture book for lower primary school aged children that, according to the website, ‘addresses the themes of remembrance and commemoration through the story of Charlie Cooper, a boy who lives in a rural township and discovers his family’s wartime history.’<sup>70</sup>

The body of DVA texts reflects an attempt to bring different aspects of Australian involvement in past conflicts to children and young people by combining print-based and multimedia products in packages around specific topics. Historical artefacts such as letters, documents and photographs are used to illuminate the topics and to encourage ‘historical literacy,’ and ‘The Memorial Box’ containing authentic and replica artefacts such as maps, postcards, uniforms, bullet casings and other equipment is available as an outreach resource.<sup>71</sup> All of these objects

---

<sup>67</sup> See “Making Tracks,” National Museum of Australia, accessed 2 September 2014, <http://www.nma.gov.au/engage-learn/schools/classroom-resources/activities/making-tracks>.

<sup>68</sup> “Making Tracks ... Again,” National Museum of Australia, accessed 2 September 2014, <http://nma.gov.au/blogs/education/2015/03/19/making-tracks-again-2/>.

<sup>69</sup> See Marilyn Lake in Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, with Mark McKenna and Joy Damousi, *What's Wrong with Anzac? The Militarisation of Australian History* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2010).

<sup>70</sup> “The Anzac Portal,” Department of Veteran Affairs, accessed 2 September 2014, [http://www.dva.gov.au/commems\\_oawg/commemorations/education/Pages/education%20resources.aspx](http://www.dva.gov.au/commems_oawg/commemorations/education/Pages/education%20resources.aspx).

<sup>71</sup> “The Anzac Portal,”.

provide material evidence of an attitude towards representing the past that privileges war remembrance as a requirement of citizenship. The underlying purpose of the DVA's publishing program appears focused on ensuring children are informed about the various wars and significant campaigns, as well as the impact on the nation. A continuation of commemoration activity by the younger generations to honour those who have participated in or been affected by war is also a clear objective. The program confirms my argument that an important duality exhibited by the corpus is that of the child as vulnerable learners/custodians of dominant national narratives.

The theme of commemoration in the historical fiction corpus is strengthened through the publishing program of the Anzac Day Commemoration Committee (Queensland) (ADCCQ). The ADCCQ's online shop sells a range of products with profits 'applied to the many projects that we initiate and maintain in order to honour the ANZACs and all Australians who have served their country in times of conflict.'<sup>72</sup> As this statement indicates, the ADCCQ's commemorative focus is on the perpetuation of Anzac mythology alongside the notion of 'serving one's country.' Established in 1916, the education component of its activities demonstrates an adaptability to contemporaneous opportunities to reach the younger generation upon whom, as we have seen, there is an expectation of custodianship of the 'spirit of Anzac' and its continuing prominence in national life. Indeed, the website states that the ADCCQ today:

[C]ontinues to prosecute the original aims for a holy day of commemoration rather than another public holiday festival. It is a most successfully managed and effective business which has survived because it is keeping abreast of modern business practices and capitalising on society's patriotic resurgence. The ADCC must endure because it will always represent the citizens' gift of the people to Queensland's war veterans.<sup>73</sup>

---

<sup>72</sup> "Anzac online shop," Anzac Day Commemoration Committee, accessed 2 September 2014, <http://www.anzacday.org.au/shop/online/index1.html>.

<sup>73</sup> "Anzac online shop,".

The ADCCQ has identified historical fiction for children as one such practice to capitalize on ‘society’s patriotic resurgence’ and may also be seen to contributing to that resurgence. Six books for sale by the ADCCQ are fictional representations of Australian involvement in conflicts: *Gallipoli Medals*; *When the War Came*; *Lofty’s Mission*; *A Sunday in Picardy*; *Feathered Soldiers: an Illustrated Tribute to Australia’s Wartime Messenger Pigeons* (may be creative non-fiction); *Why are they marching, Daddy?*; *The Unknown Australian Soldier*; and *Simpson and Duffy* (may be creative non-fiction). A further eighteen non-fiction titles provide accounts of war-related topics from how to research the ‘military history of a WWI Digger’ to tracker dogs used by the AIF in the Vietnam War. Also offered for sale are posters, badges and medallions, interactive CD-ROMs, jigsaw puzzles, various products related to the poppy – the flower of remembrance, and, for ‘younger supporters,’ ribbons, stickers and ANZAC tattoos (see Figure 6.4).<sup>74</sup>



Figure 6.4 Tattoo available ‘For young supporters’

While war-related fiction is playing an increasingly prominent role in the transformation of the genre beyond the publishing industry, other topics have not been afforded the same level of attention or support. My database searches did not yield *any* children’s historical fiction texts

---

<sup>74</sup> “Anzac online shop,”.

produced by government or non-government organisations other than those by the DVA, the ADCCQ and the National Museum of Australia. Other government and non-government organisations do produce resources for children, from publications to websites, but the focus is on non-fictional, pedagogically oriented material with supporting guides for teachers. Fictional representations of subjects other than war, it seems, are considered best left to the commercial publishing sector.

## Conclusion

Interactive websites such as the ABC's *My Place*<sup>75</sup> and the National Museum of Australia's *Engage and Learn*,<sup>76</sup> and experiences such as the multimedia sound and light show 'Blood on the Southern Cross' at the replica gold mining town Sovereign Hill,<sup>77</sup> provide just a few examples of technologically based approaches to representing the past in ways designed to engage children. 'History', moreover, has been assigned roles within popular culture that children engage with either incidentally or directly. 'Anzac', for example, has emerged in recent years in Australia as a commercialized historical entity with an associated etiquette, as will be discussed in more depth in Chapter Seven. Children are included as a market segment within this commercialization, with products available including novels, picture books, collectible imitation medals, stamps, jigsaw puzzles and the Camp Gallipoli experience. The National Rugby League (NRL) runs all fixtures in the week encompassing 25 April as an Anzac round, with accompanying advertising and ceremonies at games, promoting the round as a family experience. In an extension of its harnessing of 'History' for marketing purposes, the NRL's advertising campaigns in 2016 and 2017, for instance, were built upon the idea of being there when 'History Happens,' or being a part of 'History.' 'History,' the campaign suggests, is important, valued, and inclusive.

Strategic marketing is a key component of what this thesis describes as the transformation of the corpus, a time of reimagining the capacities of the form emerging from the changing social,

---

<sup>75</sup> "My Place," ABC, accessed 28 March 2016, <http://www.abc.net.au/abc3/myplace/>.

<sup>76</sup> "School Programs," National Museum of Australia, accessed 28 March 2016, <http://www.nma.gov.au/engage-learn>.

<sup>77</sup> "Sovereign Hill," Homepage, accessed 28 March 2016, <http://www.sovereignhill.com.au>.



cultural, economic and political environment of the 1980s and 1990s. Within this reimagining, the type of agency exerted on the form continues to involve the ideas and motivations of writers, but the agency exerted by publishers has evolved beyond the traditional conduit between writer and reader. Marketing approaches are sophisticated and multifaceted. Spectatorship has transformed alongside altered agency, with new ways of engaging with texts emerging in the twenty first century, including museum experiences, websites and even, in the case of Diane Wolfer's *Lighthouse Girl* (2010), helicopter flights (see Figure 6.5 below).

**Helicopter Scenic Tours – Visit the home of the Lighthouse Girl**



Albany is the home of Faye Howe, the Lighthouse Girl on Breaksea Island who was the last point of human contact many of the ANZACs had with Australia before departing to Gallipoli.

The story of the ANZACs and Faye Howe are part of the inspiration for the Perth International Arts Festival street parade The Giants, held from February 13-15.

Visit the home of The Lighthouse Girl in Albany, with helicopter scenic flights available to Breaksea Island Nature Reserve. Departing from Discovery Bay, experience breathtaking views over King George Sound – the troops' departure point – before landing for a tour of the lighthouse and the lighthouse keepers' cottage.

Experience the legend that shaped a nation in Albany, home of the National Anzac Centre and the Anzac Albany story.

**Contact Details**

🏠 Helicopter Scenic Tours - Old Whaling Station, Albany W.A

☎ 0438931892

✉ [rainor.marshall@gmail.com](mailto:rainor.marshall@gmail.com)

🌐 [skyhookhelicopters.com.au](http://skyhookhelicopters.com.au)

**Figure 6.5 Visit the home of the Lighthouse Girl**<sup>78</sup>

Research into how this marketing is perceived by children – what they make of the slogans and how they connect these with ideas of the past – would be an interesting study of the intersections between History and popular culture where children are a clear segment of the participating audience. These kinds of connections are, this thesis argues, a potentially

<sup>78</sup> <http://www.amazingalbany.com.au/helicopter-scenic-tours-visit-the-home-of-the-lighthouse-girl/>. Accessed 27 March 2016. No longer available.



fruitful area of research into uses of the past beyond the academy, research that could draw upon cross-disciplinary approaches and methodologies.

While the continuities in children's historical fiction point to a level of stability, the transformative aspects indicate its evolutionary nature, suggesting that the genre may continue to be shaped and reworked, just as academic history is continuously shaped and reworked. The next chapter looks more deeply at representations of war in children's historical novels and picture books, considering the texts as historical and cultural artefacts and using them as material evidence of past and current practices, adding to conversations around historiographical methods as well as further insights into the shaping and reworking of these representations of the past since 1990.



## **Part Two**

**Close Readings of Selected Themes – Towards a Richer  
Understanding of the Complexity of the Historical Projects  
Embedded within Historical Fiction**



## Chapter 7

# Representations of War in Children's Historical Fiction since 2000

### Introduction

The emergence of representations of war in children's historical fiction since 2000 is a new intervention into the space of childhood that situates children as a critical audience for national narratives about Australian involvement in military conflict and war 'efforts.' Topics addressed cover the period from the Boer War (1899-1902) through to deployment of Australian military personnel in Afghanistan from 2006 to 2013. The corpus reveals that this intervention targets children from three years of age, suggesting that ethical imperatives around nation-building and national identity are gaining traction over concerns about shielding young children from the harsher realities of national and international politics.

To take one example, author Belinda Landsberry employs the device of a battered teddy bear, Anzac Ted, in bringing the representation of war in children's historical fiction into the world of childhood.<sup>1</sup> In a picture entitled *Anzac Ted*, the teddy bear is the object of derision, the child narrator explaining that the other children do not understand Anzac Ted's personal and historical significance. Fiction inflects the historical through the device of the narrator telling Anzac Ted's journey.

The story is sentimental, supposedly aiming at an audience from three to 99 years, and it conflates a symbol of childhood with war in a way that results in a representation of the past that is manipulative and cynical. In a review of the picture book on the Honest History website<sup>2</sup> – 'Can we bear Anzac Ted?' historian and children's author Peter Stanley argues Landsberry:

---

<sup>1</sup> For a reading of this text and image see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ko1RtELN9AI>. Accessed 9 December 2017.

<sup>2</sup> "Honest History," Homepage, accessed 9 December 2017, [www.honesthistory.net.au](http://www.honesthistory.net.au).

[H]as produced a work of Anzac propaganda that provides the perfect accompaniment to the Army Bear, a chubby stuffed bear, clad in camouflage clothing (yours for \$29.99). You can buy book and bear at the Australian War Memorial Shop. Unfortunately, *Anzac Ted* does not come with an age warning: ‘Not suitable for children.’<sup>3</sup>

The picture book, moreover, misrepresents official understandings of the origins and use of the acronym ANZAC, implying the text is ahistorical, misleading and incorrect. According to the Australian War Memorial, the term Anzac came into use in early 1915, noting that ‘One of the earliest appearances of “Anzac” as a word was an appendix to the 1st Australian Division War Diary, dated 24 April 1915.’<sup>4</sup> Yet, the ‘Daily News’ illustration in *Anzac Ted* declares the ANZACS will be assisting Britain in a fictional newspaper headline dated 4 August 1914.

In response to Peter Stanley’s review, ‘Nikki,’ a teacher wrote:

[T]his is the first honest review I have read about this book .... All the other reviews I have read are glowing about how fantastic the story is for using with children (all of those other reviews coincidentally were provided with a free copy).

As a teacher, though I found the book to be very “glorified” and not balanced – which is the type of perspective I like to teach my students. I want to present facts and allow them to make up their own mind about war.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> “Anzac Ted,” Honest History, accessed 9 December 2017, <http://honesthistory.net.au/wp/can-we-bear-anzac-ted/>.

<sup>4</sup> “Anzac Acronym,” Australian War Memorial, accessed 10 December 2017, <https://www.awm.gov.au/articles/encyclopedia/anzac/acronym>.

<sup>5</sup> “Anzac Ted,” Honest History.

The concerns raised by Peter Stanley and ‘Nikki’ point to the ethical implications of using fictionalized history in the guidance of children, suggesting it is imperative to ask of these texts questions about their intended purpose and potential impact. Fictional historiography in this way provides a framework to ask if it is desirable, useful, or even appropriate to include very young children in the potential audience for stories about war, diffused through a toy that is associated with comfort and personal security. The appropriation of the teddy bear – and the concept of Anzac – for this purpose suggests a turn in the ethical guidance of Australian children towards embedding the idea of war and its importance into the national psyche in early childhood and beyond.

That children have heeded the call to take an interest in Anzac is revealed by a quick search of YouTube. Children have compiled Lego and Minecraft animations depicting the Gallipoli landings, trench warfare and evacuation. Others have posted videos of themselves playing the Last Post.<sup>6</sup> There are also children present at major events to commemorate Anzac Day at the Australian Football League (AFL) at the Melbourne Cricket Ground (MCG) and the Sydney Football Stadium for the National Rugby League (NRL). The gravitas of Anzac Day is portrayed in an NRL promotional video made in partnership with the Australian War Memorial, such activities adding a new dimension to the NRL’s advertising slogan ‘Be there when history happens.’<sup>7</sup>

## **Purpose of the Chapter**

This snapshot of the permeation of Anzac into children’s books, toys, musicianship and major sporting events has yet to be interrogated as a social and cultural phenomenon from the perspective of how history is produced in contemporary Australian society. This chapter aims to stimulate interest in such an interrogation. In doing so, it brings the space of childhood into conversations about public and popular uses of the past, including those that focus on

---

<sup>6</sup> “The Last Post on Trumpet,” accessed 9 December 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kcbkjjacmQM>.

<sup>7</sup> “Last Post National Rugby League,” accessed 9 December 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Puc4e75DDcI>; “Anzac Day ceremony Melbourne Cricket Ground 2014,” accessed 9 December 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KJyrFAKAJ34>; “Anzac Day 2015 NRL promotional video,” accessed 9 December 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K5sbckoMzRM>.

Australia's involvement in military conflicts. Most recently, Australian historians have shown that commemoration has been commercialized, rendering its meaning and function as a national cultural practice open to question.<sup>8</sup> The public commemoration of the 2015 centenary of landings at Gallipoli has, to illustrate, stimulated an extensive array of products and activities, including documentaries, television series, radio programs, tourism, books, clothing, toys, stamps, crockery, and advertising campaigns of varying good taste.<sup>9</sup>

The children's historical fiction novels and picture books published since 2000 provide perspectives on the home-front during times of war, as well as insights into the aftermath and long-term consequences of war. War-related children's historical fiction suggests that the space of childhood, as a concern of public and private governance, is being reconfigured to embed nation-building as a responsibility of parents and other caregivers. Maureen Nimon speculates that the tendency fits within the broader concerns about personal, community and national welfare in Australia that emerged from the September 11, 2001 attacks on the United States and the bombings in Bali in October 2002.<sup>10</sup> We can also add to this scenario the 2005 terrorist bombings in London, Anna Clark observing that the then Federal Minister for Education re-launched the National Framework for Values Education<sup>11</sup> in the wake of the bombings 'and explicitly linked Australia's values with the Anzac story.'<sup>12</sup> Implicitly, children are also conceived of as participants in the process of nation-building: the fiction written for

---

<sup>8</sup> See Tom Frame, ed., *Anzac Day Now and Then* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2016); Carolyn Holbrook, *Anzac, the Unauthorised Biography* (Sydney: NewSouth Books, 2014) and "Are we Brainwashing our Children? The Place of Anzac in Australian History," *Agora*, 51, no.4, December (2016); and Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, with Mark McKenna and Joy Damousi, *What's Wrong with Anzac? The Militarisation of Australian History* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2010).

<sup>9</sup> The Gallipoli campaign is a critical narrative in popular understandings of the nation's past, conveyed in a range of historical fictions, which the corporate world seems keen to exploit if they can. The Woolworths campaign linking Anzac to its branding as the 'Fresh Food people', however, pushed this appropriation and commodification of the past to a level that met with public and political resistance, suggesting that packaging the past is subject to societal governance. See <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-04-15/critics-disgusted-by-vulgar-commercialisation-of-anzac-day/6395756>, accessed 18 February 2018.

<sup>10</sup> Maureen Nimon, "On Being Australian: The Australian Legend," in John Foster, E.J. Finnis, and Maureen Nimon, *Bush, City, Cyberspace: The Development of Australian Children's Literature into the Twenty First Century. Literature and Literacy for Young People: An Australian Series Volume 6* (Wagga Wagga, New South Wales: Centre for Information Studies, Charles Sturt University, 2005), 19.

<sup>11</sup> The National Framework for Values Education was launched in January 2004. The National Framework was accompanied by a four-year \$31 billion package that required schools to comply with requirements such as adopting the 'national safe schools framework and ensuring a flag pole was ready to fly the Australian flag. See Anna Clark, *History's Children* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2008), 52.

<sup>12</sup> Anna Clark, *History's Children*, 53.



them conveys this sense of importance for ensuring the younger generations have knowledge of certain historical narratives.<sup>13</sup>

The fictional representations of war for children since 2000 also exhibit a tendency towards focusing on the experiences of children in war-time settings. The fiction inflects the historical through imagining the emotional dimensions of childhood in those settings. The historical project to create representations of war suggests a prevailing view of childhood as a time not of innocence and sheltering, but a time for harsher truths about the realities of the past and, by extension, the present. Addressing the 2014 Conference of the Children's Book Council of Australia, author Anthony Hill stated:

The interesting thing about the present generation of authors writing about war, is that while we acknowledge the bravery and comradeship of the soldiers, we do on the whole try also to depict the suffering and the horrors of warfare.<sup>14</sup>

Hill's comments encapsulate one of the key aspects of the development of the war-related texts in the children's historical fiction corpus. In line with increasingly realistic representations of violence and emotional turmoil explored in children's fiction generally, authors are portraying children experiencing loss, suffering and post-war trauma, potentially evoking a strong emotional response in the reader.

The will to appeal to the emotions suggests a shift in this type of historical fiction in the twenty-first century, which this thesis argues reflects shifts in ideas about the nature of childhood. The inclusion of confronting, painful incidents aligns with a rejection of earlier constructs of childhood that deemed grief, and presumably other forms of emotional suffering, 'far too strong an emotion for children to bear.'<sup>15</sup> The texts examined, however, do indicate a tempering

---

<sup>13</sup> See Frame, ed., *Anzac Day Now and Then*; Carolyn Holbrook, *Anzac, the Unauthorised Biography* and "Are we Brainwashing our Children?"; and Lake and Reynolds et al, *What's Wrong With Anzac?*

<sup>14</sup> Anthony Hill, "Bulletproof," accessed 7 March 2015, <http://www.anthonhillbooks.com/Bulletproof.html>.

<sup>15</sup> Peter N. Stearns, "Children and emotions history," *European Journal of Developmental Psychology* 14, no.1 (2016), 5.

of this aspect of the war narrative by ultimately including a form of redemption or resolution that places the character in a more hopeful position or safer situation. This tendency accords, of course, with the general expectation of the ‘happy ending’ in fiction for children. The expected uplifting story resolution has, however, been subdued by the weight of the suffering depicted throughout the texts.

Approaching war-related children’s novels and picture books from an historiographical perspective provides an opportunity to start a deeper conversation about children’s historical fiction. My approach emphasizes exploring both the production and consumption aspects of this form of cultural production. On the demand or consumption side, my qualitative research suggests that twelve-year-old children are comfortable with reading about the ‘sufferings and the horrors of warfare,’ as I explore more deeply in Chapter Nine. On the supply side, the continuing release of new publications suggests that the market for these representations is strong. Yet little is known about the way in which these texts may be working as forms of historical knowledge or the role they may play in the ethical guidance of children.

War literature has been considered extensively within the context of adult and children’s fiction, particularly within academic scholarship on literature and pedagogy, but interrogations of these texts as historical projects for a child audience is limited. By shifting attention to the historical work undertaken by authors over time, I critique Kim Wilson’s connection of war-related discourses to her overall thesis of the consistent presence of a metanarrative of positive progression in children’s historical fiction. I argue that taking a longer-term view focused on the construction of historical knowledge reveals the persistence of war in human history. The diversity of war-related subjects in the corpus in the twenty first century shows that the idea of positive progression is undermined by the historical evidence: if children were to read all the war-related texts in the corpus, the many scenarios depicted suggest that mankind has not made much progress at all in preventing or minimizing military conflict.

To further understand the nuances of the corpus and to test a methodological approach to working with fiction in historiographical analysis, this chapter is a case study of the emergence of a war-related group of texts since the beginning of the twenty first century. My case study

encompasses two parts: the first a discussion of the characteristics of the texts as a subset of the corpus; the second an examination of Mark Wilson's 'Children of War Quartet' picture books. My intent is to employ Jordanova's approach to analyzing material evidence of the past, as discussed in Chapter Two, to develop a sense of the circumstances of the production of the texts, audience responses, how the texts reveal understandings about their subjects and national narratives, and where they sit within contemporary Australian historiography.

In this chapter, I will argue that, in line with the key themes and arguments of this thesis, considering the texts as historical artefacts, with embedded historical projects, reveals how war narratives work within the broader context of the construction of childhood, particularly the dual conception of children as vulnerable learners and custodians of the nation's future. The war narratives also work within the space of commemoration and heritage, simultaneously contesting the idea of war as glorious and heroic. Ultimately, the narratives, and the etiquettes that have emerged in the twenty first century, may be situated within broader conversations about uses of the past and the construction of childhood in contemporary society.

## **Representations of war in Australian children's historical fiction in the twenty-first century**

### **Emergence of war-related discourses**

Australian authors of children's historical fiction began to explore national involvement in international conflicts tentatively, beginning with Judith O'Neill's 1987 novel *Deepwater*, before moving on to a small number of publications in the 1990s.<sup>16</sup> From the end of the twentieth century, a heightened level of interest in fictionalizing the nature and consequences of war for a child readership is identifiable. In Chapter One, I discussed the possible militarization of the school history curricula, to which historian Marilyn Lake has directed

---

<sup>16</sup> Randolph Stow's 1965 novel *The Merry Go Round in the Sea* did address the complexities of the impact of war on the homefront and on returning soldiers but would only be accessible to advanced junior readers and then only under guidance due to its sexual references in the later chapters. The novel's target audience is most appropriately described as young adults and adults.

attention. This chapter places my corpus within the same historiographical space as Lake has interrogated but emphasizes literary rather than pedagogical products.

The preponderance of topics about war within twenty first century children's historical novels and picture books suggests that broader developments linking Australian national identity to past military engagements may also be influencing this aspect of cultural production. Deeper readings of war-related texts reveal that the embedded cultural ideologies are mediated by different perspectives that employ discursive ranging from 'state-sanctioned discourses on the formation and perpetuation of national identity'<sup>17</sup> to those that contest and even reject these discourses. As argued throughout this thesis, the deeper reading shows that many texts both endorse and contest these dominant national narratives.

The complication of war-related discourses in children's historical fiction indicates the greater freedom available to the fiction writer to pursue their own representation of the past, rather than a representation based on the demands of curriculum documents and government funding contracts. This freedom is, of course, mediated by publishers, who will base commercial decisions at least partially on the appropriateness of the text for the intended audience, including the perceived acceptability of the way in which historical subjects are portrayed.

### **War-related discourses and the space of childhood**

Reading the orientation towards the publication of children's novels and picture books about Australian involvement in past wars as a new aspect of Australian historiography raises important questions concerning the perceived role of historical fiction in contemporary Australian children's education and socialization. Kim Wilson has argued that war-related historical fiction is implicated in the 'battle to control public memory'<sup>18</sup> and that collective memory itself is a 'site of power'<sup>19</sup> implicated in the control and transmission of cultural heritage, as expressed in the accompanying public dialogue.<sup>20</sup> She suggests that:

---

<sup>17</sup> Kim Wilson, *Re-Visioning Historical Fiction for Young Readers. The Past through Modern Eyes* (New York and Oxon: Routledge, 2011), 135.

<sup>18</sup> Wilson, *Re-visioning Historical Fiction*, 128.

<sup>19</sup> Wilson, 129.

<sup>20</sup> Wilson, 129.

Historical fiction has a role to play in this public dialogue concerning what and how to remember the past. It is a complex role because authors in this genre typically claim adherence to documentary evidence while simultaneously renouncing at least some degree of historical authenticity.<sup>21</sup>

The potential contribution to public dialogue of children's novels and picture books, may, as we have seen, be contradictory, with inherent tensions between official narratives and alternative versions of the same events. Author's Notes, and other peritextual and paratextual information, suggest that children are expected to discern between what is true and what is invented. Current curriculum approaches also confer a level of responsibility on children to question how the past is represented, stressing the development of historical skills including evaluation of sources. Conversely, they are also expected to understand war-related events considered to be of critical importance to Australia's development as a nation and their own understandings of what it means to be Australian. As scholars have explored, the representation of these subjects in school curricula plays a role in the transmission of how a nation remembers its past.<sup>22</sup>

Battles to control public memory and the public dialogue around history extend beyond the classroom setting, yet little comment has been made upon where children sit within the space of the national narrative as active agents rather than passive, malleable recipients. Children's interactions with fictional expressions of the past provide one way of interrogating this space more closely. Here, Jordanova's concept of agency is useful: her approach focuses attention on the relationship between the text – as material evidence of the past – and the reader, as active audience. Hsu-Ming Teo provides an example of mobilizing this concept in asking what

---

<sup>21</sup> Wilson, 129.

<sup>22</sup> See, for example, Anna Clark: *History's Children*; "History Teaching, Historiography, and the Politics of Pedagogy in Australia," *Theory & Research in Social Education* 32, no.3 (2004): 379-96; "Whose History? Teaching Australia's Contested Past," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 36, no.5 (September 2004): 533-541; "Teaching the Nation's Story: Comparing Public Debates and Classroom Perspectives on History Education in Australia and Canada," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 41, no.6 (2009): 745-762; Tony Taylor and Robert Guyver, ed.s, *History Wars and the Classroom. Global Perspectives* (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2012).

the reader would learn about the past from reading a work of historical fiction. There are many other questions that might also be asked, including how the text might be read as an intervention into public memory.<sup>23</sup>

In looking to this question of agency within historiographical exchanges – how history is written and how it is received – scholarship in the literature discipline has tended to assume the impact that texts will have on the reader. To illustrate, Wilson’s analysis of ten war-related historical novels and picture books, including four Australian texts, traces how memory and power may be seen at work, culminating in her conclusion that the historical mythologies present confirm her argument that the historical fiction genre overall is characterized by a humanistic metanarrative of positive progress.<sup>24</sup>

Such a narrative, in the context of war, suggests that the child reader would respond to these texts with a feeling of relief that their life has not been subject to such difficulties and a belief that contemporary society, or their world, is superior to the past as depicted in the novel or picture book. But do they? This response would suggest an orientation to history that is very personal and emotional in nature, but my qualitative research suggests that this may not be the case. Rather, the prevailing response of my research participants was more one of interest in the past and a feeling of being there and relating to the characters, rather than thinking in terms of comparing the past and present, as I explore in Chapter Nine.

Accordingly, while the argument of positive progression that Kim Wilson has put forward is compelling, with the traumatic aspects of past wars rarely avoided completely in contemporary children’s historical fiction, a historiographical perspective indicates that not all such texts are bound by this metanarrative or may be representing the past in more complex and subtle ways. If the war narratives are considered holistically, with historical subjects covering a temporal span from the tribal wars of Indigenous people in pre-invasion times to the twenty first century

---

<sup>23</sup> Hsu-Ming Teo, “Fictional Histories and historical fictions: Writing history in the twenty-first century”, *TEXT Special Issue* 28 (April 2015): 7.

<sup>24</sup> See Wilson, *Re-visioning Historical Fiction*, 157.

conflict in Afghanistan, dangerous, violent and distressing events are shown to be a regular feature of the past.

The negative impacts of human interactions over time seem to speak against the idea of a metanarrative of positive progression, although individual texts may suggest the superiority of aspects of the present over the past. Wilson does not support the argument regarding a metanarrative of positive progression with examples of how child readers do respond to the texts. Without such evidence, we do not know how child readers process the information. Do they think in terms of their own lives and feel glad not to have lived in the historical setting of a novel? Do child readers see the present as always superior to the past? And do child readers think that humanity has, and always will be, on a positive trajectory?

My reading of war-related texts, and those dealing with other subjects, indicates that a metanarrative for the corpus is more evident in the consistency of the challenges, dangers and difficulties that may be faced by children. Child-centred historical narratives about war, written for children, indicate a concern to share harrowing experiences from a child's perspective. Such an approach sits within broader developments in the construction of childhood in Australia: as vulnerable learners, the past is a source of valuable information to encourage progress in desired directions; as custodians of the future, certain war narratives are selected that reinforce broader national narratives. Selected campaigns and battles – Gallipoli and Tobruk, for example – are designated as required knowledge for children, as is knowledge of the Western Front in World War One, alongside post-traumatic stress suffered by family members who do make it 'home.' These narratives intersect with a broader national impulse – to be recognized on the world stage as a participant, a vital participant, in theatres of war.

As I outlined in Chapter One, the war-related texts of this century also reflect more recent historiography that has worked to restore the presence of children to the past, including within military history. They also reflect recognition that children are involved in every aspect of a country's development, that their experiences vary greatly, and that the idea of childhood is subject to change over time. Concomitantly, literature emerged to reflect these more complex understandings of children and childhood in contemporary society, opening the historical

fiction corpus to deeper consideration of how past conflicts may have involved and impacted on children. In this chapter I argue that there are four key developments in war-related Australian children's historical fiction in the twenty first century: life on the homefront; experiences of going to war and the theatres of war; the immediate aftermath of war; and commemorating war. As the following sections demonstrate, the embedded historical project may also become more complicated, as may the metanarratives at work and the implied ideas about childhood.

## **Representations of war in children's historical fiction in twenty first century Australia**

### **The homefront**

My historical fiction corpus demonstrates that novels and picture books set during a period of war but focused on characters' lives at home, can convey metanarratives implicated in the construction of historical knowledge, tapping into collective memory and social practices. William Hatherell describes the home-front novel in relation to World War Two, as taking:

[A]s its subject not the battles to the north, but the social and cultural life of the country which was the temporary base for its military defenders, as well as the suddenly transformed home of those not in uniform.<sup>25</sup>

Naturally the focus of children's historical fiction is not on the same aspects of social and cultural life as adult fiction, yet they do exhibit a preoccupation with portraying the impact of Australia's participation in far-away conflicts in a realistic way.

Homefront novels and picture books bring the war into the domestic space of the family, impacting directly on child characters, suggesting to the child reader that the experience of war extends beyond the battlefield into the physical and emotional spaces of the home. Even

---

<sup>25</sup> William Hatherell, "The Australian Home-front Novel of the Second World War: Genre, Gender, and Region," *Australian Literary Studies*, 23, no.1 (May 2007): 79.



picture books that appear simple on the surface, with a straightforward story and narrative elements targeting a young audience, may convey themes that either work within, or contest, dominant national narratives.

Themes are a critical element to consider when analyzing the overt or implied historical project in a text. As an example, the physical distance between Australia and theatres of war dissolves in Phil Cummings' 2013 picture book *Anzac Biscuits* (see cover illustration at <https://www.pinterest.com.au/pin/564498134513522635/>). Double page spreads in the book alternate between scenes of a soldier's life, masculinized, dangerous and uncomfortable, and scenes of domestic life, feminized, safe and comfortable, contrasting the two settings yet highlighting the emotional connections not broken by distance. According to the back-cover blurb:

This is a touching story of a family torn apart by war but brought together through the powerful simplicity of ANZAC biscuits.<sup>26</sup>

Considered as an historical project, constructed with a young audience in mind, *Anzac Biscuits* is typical of authorial efforts to complicate the commemorative paradigm of 'Anzac.' The picture book rejects glorifying war at the same time as it endorses the importance of commemoration of the personal sacrifices that war involves. Importantly, the experience of war is seen to include more than soldiers and battles: the home-front is also given a place of importance, as are women and children.

As *Anzac Biscuits* exemplifies, my research suggests that representations of Anzac in children's historical fiction follow the broad tendency identified by Carolyn Holbrook whereby 'trauma and tragedy are emphasized over triumphal nationalism.'<sup>27</sup> Yet, as I have already suggested, there does remain a strong attachment to venerating the Anzacs and to linking representations of Anzac to what it means to be Australian today. Contemporary Australian

---

<sup>26</sup> Phil Cummings and Owen Swan (Illustrator), *Anzac Biscuits* (Lindfield: Scholastic Australia), back-cover.

<sup>27</sup> See Carolyn Holbrook, *Abstract, History Week Symposium* (Sydney: History Council of New South Wales), 2015.

childhood is therefore being constructed as a time for serious reflection on serious topics from Australia's past. There is no paratextual information, suggesting that the adult caregiver must provide the context for the child.

Cummings' picture book provides a glimpse of contemporary understandings of Australian involvement in international conflicts but does his representation of war really construct historical knowledge? As Teo asked in relation to holocaust fiction, what do children really learn from engaging with this text? The front cover illustration is a sketch with dark lines in grey and shading in tones of washed out yellow, brown khaki and grey. For those with foreknowledge of the Western Front, mustard gas is an obvious implication of the colour scheme. A figure lies on the ground, the hard-hat and satchel implying an army uniform. The face of the figure is indistinct, the hands small, almost suggesting a child rather than an adult. One hand rests on the hard-hat, the other rests on the ground, the positioning of the fingers suggesting the figure is holding a gun.

The overall impression is one of isolation, fear and a landscape devoid of colour and life. The illustration contrasts with the idea of Anzac biscuits as a source of sustenance, traditionally homemade. The juxtaposition of an idea of home with the alien environment depicted arouses curiosity as to how Anzac biscuits might relate to this soldier figure. Turning to the back cover, the juxtaposition continues, and the blurb solves the initial mystery:

Rachel is in the kitchen, warm and safe. Her father is in the trenches, cold and afraid. When Rachel makes biscuits for her father, she adds the love, warmth and hope that he needs.

This is a touching story of a family torn apart by war but brought together through the powerful simplicity of ANZAC biscuits.<sup>28</sup>

The inside front cover is illustrated with a blue and white check pattern, suggesting a tablecloth, another symbol of home, comfort and normality. From there, the story alternates between

---

<sup>28</sup> Cummings, *Anzac Biscuits*, back cover.

Rachel and her mother at home on their farm, making Anzac biscuits, and Rachel's father, a soldier experiencing the horrors of the battlefield.

Cummings contrasts the smells, sights and sounds of home and those on the battlefield. Although sentimental, some of the horrors of war are conveyed in *Anzac Biscuits* without overtly describing in text or illustrating the devastation and death, as seems appropriate for a young readership. A gun here, an explosion there, is enough to show the dangers faced by the soldier, compared to the warm farmhouse he has left behind. A young reader, perhaps with the guidance of an adult, might glean from this that Anzac biscuits were an important source of physical and emotional sustenance for soldiers, and for those who made them for soldiers. If so, they would be engaging with a culinary symbol of the Anzac spirit, made over the years in Australian kitchens, now for sale in customised tins at supermarkets and post offices.

Over time, a general belief has become embedded in Australian consciousness that Anzac biscuits were commonly sent to and consumed by soldiers during WW1. Cultural sociologist Sian Supski has explained this is unlikely and that they were more commonly sold at fetes and other community events to raise funds. She argues that the biscuits may be a form of culinary memorial, of symbolic importance more so than providing sustenance and a reminder of home for soldiers.<sup>29</sup> Accordingly, Cummings' story is more aspirational and myth-making than evidence-based history, fitting within a discourse of national identity built around the veneration and commemoration of Anzac, a foundational narrative of enduring power within Australian society.

As *Anzac Biscuits* suggests, a thread running through children's historical fiction focused on war is the idea of individuals, families and communities working together for the good of the nation. These narratives suggest that the home-front is a place worth fighting for but may also reveal the employment of propaganda to motivate people to join in the domestic war effort. In this way, children's historical fiction explores prevalent attitudes at the time the novel is set, which can work to both reaffirm and contest contemporary ideas of national identity. Jackie

---

<sup>29</sup> Sian Supski, "Anzac Biscuits – a Culinary Memorial," *Journal of Australian Studies* 30, no.87 (2006): 51-59.

French's 1997 novel *Soldier on the Hill*, for example, explores the impact of World War Two through the perspective of a young boy, Joey, who is convinced a Japanese soldier is hiding in the hills surrounding the fictional town of Biscuit Creek. The cover illustration of the original edition draws attention to the potential of a Japanese invasion, the partially visible newspaper headline 'Jap Raiders' and a stern-faced Japanese man contrasting with a smiling young boy. 'Jap' is recognized in Australian vernacular as a term with negative connotations and its use would not be condoned in contemporary Australian society. Child readers may or may not be aware of this immediately, but French implies the racist dimensions in describing Joey's rescue from an old mining hole:

Jap! Jap! It was a Japanese that was hauling him up! They'd invaded while he had been in the hole! They'd taken over ... Joey opened his eyes. The face was still there. The Jap face. The evil grinning Jap face, just like in the posters ...<sup>30</sup>

French signals quickly that assumptions about Joey's Japanese rescuer will be challenged, as Joey observes the man smiling faintly in a reassuring way. Joey's musings on the event indicate the strength of propaganda around the war:

Japanese men weren't supposed to help people. The Japanese bayoneted babies and bombed schools and tortured prisoners ...<sup>31</sup>

Joey is left confused, a confusion exacerbated by the unwillingness of anyone to believe his story. The novel also depicts the internal divisions, tensions and changing gender roles within the small community associated with the war. Joey, for example, who has moved with his mother to her hometown from Sydney, is bullied by the local children, who call him the 'bomb dodger.' His own ideas are challenged, and, by implication, so too are those of the reader, as Joey finds out more about the Japanese man, who is not a soldier but an 'enemy alien.'

---

<sup>30</sup> Jackie French, *Soldier on the Hill* (Pymble: HarperCollins, 1997), 14-15.

<sup>31</sup> Jackie French, *Soldier on the Hill*, 51.

Contemporary ideas of national identity that conceptualise Australians as a fair and tolerant nation are also brought into question through depictions of racism within existing communities during the First World War. As Judith O'Neill did in *Deepwater* (1987), Jenny Blackman explores racism against German Australians and community division during wartime on the homefront in *My Australian Story* diary novel *Our Enemy My Friend. The diary of Emma Shelldrake, Adelaide Hills 1915* (2005), repackaged and reprinted as *My Friend, the Enemy* in 2012 as part of a revised look for the series. The narrator is diary author, Emma Shelldrake, a twelve-year-old girl who lives with her family in the village of Wirreebilla, which has a prominent segment of the population descended from German settlers. Her best friend, Hannelore, is the great-granddaughter of Germans immigrants who came to the area in the 1840s, indicating a long association with the village and surrounding towns.

The diary novel explores Emma's reactions to the turmoil in the community around her, as the formal interventions proceed, including internment, and informal victimization of the German-Australians escalates. Complicating Emma's emotional state is news on the war, including the deaths of close family friends. In doing so, the impact of war is personalized and made emotional, the connections between those 'at home' and those serving overseas work to eliminate the physical distance between Australia and faraway battle sites. At this point, it is useful to return to Teo's work and ask, as she did in her case study of children's holocaust fiction, what might the reader learn from this novel.

Potentially, readers could learn about aspects of Australian society before and during World War One that they may have known little about, namely the communities in the Adelaide Hills preserving a European lifestyle and heritage. They would also learn about the racism engendered by fear of 'the enemy's' nationality, as well as information about events of World War One. This knowledge intersects with other novels and picture books that provide a sense of the enemy as individual and human. In *Our Enemy, My Friend*, the enemy is not only individual and human, they live alongside each other. Clearly there are more lessons intended here than those of historical fact, but is the educational intent realized in terms of audience reception?

Reader reviews posted by children suggest that the novel would not have a strong educational impact, ethical or factual in nature: from 33 reviews it earned just over three stars. ‘Grace’ rated the novel one star, commenting:

This is the story of an obnoxious, self-absorbed girl living in a small town of Warribee [sic].

This book was very basic literature and a pain to get through. It was repetitive, predictable, boring and the main character Emma just erked me off.<sup>32</sup>

‘Molly’, conversely, rated the novel four stars, commenting:

This entire series is a wonderful way to learn history or teach it to adolescents. I find today’s generations seem to recall more when they learn through other people (pop songs, celebrity gossip, etc.), so what better way to teach history than through someone else’s perspective? Yes, “authentic” diaries would be “better”, but would the language really hold the modern student’s attention?<sup>33</sup>

The comment suggests an adult reader, for whom the novel solves a potential problem – how to engage students with the past – but does not recognize the limitations posed by a text that fails to engage the reader. My criticism of many of the Scholastic Australia diary novels is just that: the diary format impinges on the development of plot and character, reducing the quality of the narrative. The fact that the novel is about a topic deemed to be of historical value cannot overcome the weakness of the story, and the historical project is compromised.

---

<sup>32</sup> “Review. Our enemy my friend,” Goodreads, accessed 2 August 2017, <https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/7039864-our-enemy-my-friend>.

<sup>33</sup> Review. Our enemy, my friend,” accessed 2 August 2017.

Tucker presents a different story of the homefront in his *My Australian Story* novel, *The Bombing of Darwin. The Diary of Tom Taylor, Darwin 1942*.<sup>34</sup> As the title suggests, the homefront becomes a battlefield. The diary writer, Tom, aged fourteen, is caught up in dramatic events, including the death of his mother. The night of the first bombing raid on Darwin on 19 February 1942 takes place around half way through the book, the first diary entry being 5 November 1941. Tucker uses the narrative to explore the impact of World War II on the homefront. Through Tom, he portrays Australians' fears regarding a potential invasion by the Japanese, a fear heightened with the bombing of Pearl Harbour in December 1941. He demonstrates the demands placed upon people to make changes in their lives to contribute to the war effort, exemplified by Tom's family moving from Adelaide to Darwin so his father can take up essential military-related work on the wharves.

Tucker also reveals some aspects of multicultural Australia that are, perhaps, overlooked in mainstream non-fictional accounts for children. This suggests his historical project is to educate children in a way that moves beyond the expected narratives towards a more inclusive representation of the past. Tom and his father, for example, discover that the local Chinese storeowner Wing Cheong Sing takes word of a possible invasion more seriously than most, having firsthand accounts of the Sino-Japanese War in northern China, a conflict that started in 1931. Conversely, rumours circulate that Indigenous Tiwi Islanders are assisting the Japanese, their connections with the Japanese pearlers extending back for many years.<sup>35</sup> These plot developments would provide the reader with an opportunity to learn a more complex version of the bombing of Darwin during World War Two, as well as the history of the region.<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup> Alan Tucker, *My Australian Story: The Bombing of Darwin: The Diary of Tom Taylor, Darwin, 1942* (Lindfield: Scholastic Press, 2002).

<sup>35</sup> See Tucker, *The Diary of Tom Taylor*, 111-112.

<sup>36</sup> Other examples of homefront novels about World War One and World War Two are: Sheryl Clark, *Do you Dare? Jimmy's War* (Australia: Penguin Random House Australia, 2015); Vashtii Farrer, *When the War Came*. (Queensland: Anzac Day Commemoration Committee Queensland, 2012); Belinda Murrell *The Forgotten Pearl* (Australia: Random House Australia, 2015); Pamela Rushby, *The Horses Didn't Come Home* (Sydney: HarperCollins Australia); and Pamela Rushby, *Flora's War* (Ormond: Ford Street Publishing, 2013).

### Going to war/theatres of war

The homefront may serve as a place to leave or a place to come back to in texts that focus more on the process of enlisting, training and serving in the Australia armed forces. These narratives suggest a place worth fighting for and values worth dying for. In doing so, they are implicated in collective memory-making practices around national identity. The narratives may also be read through the lens of personal identity. The characters who choose to enlist, to train, and to serve reflect the imbibing of normalizing values around courage, bravery, and responding to the nation's needs, while those waiting faithfully at home may reflect qualities such as loyalty, resilience, and their own form of bravery in supporting the nation's needs.

As Cummings' picture book *Anzac Biscuits* indicates, recent children's historical fiction engages with the idea of young men fighting in wars in places far from home, the uncertainties and fears of their families and friends reciprocated by the young men themselves. Such narratives signify the historiographic turn towards the emotional dimensions of military conflict, allowing alternative views of masculinity to inform the ways in which war and its aftermath are considered. The inclusion of women and children in a military context also reflect historical projects that involve looking beyond the battlefields. The narratives, furthermore, signify a broader interrogation of the personal impact of war, rejecting the pre-1945 imperialist outlook that emphasized glory, heroism and unquestioning support of the 'Mother country.' Historiographically, a concern with how war impacts on people and their communities is consistent with the work of academic historians in social, cultural and public history, seeking to insert the voices of those affected by war into the historical record, as 'voices from below.'<sup>37</sup>

Humanising the enemy has come to function as an etiquette, although perhaps not operating as strongly as the treatment of the Holocaust in children's fiction. Texts that do adhere to this etiquette suggest an historical project that verges on the didactic: the purpose is an ethical lesson about human nature and society, past and present. This use of the past suggests a will to

---

<sup>37</sup> The divisions caused by war within families are a thematic concern of Mark Wilson's picture book *Vietnam Diary* (Sydney: Lothian Hachette, 2013). Echoing the broader social and political divisiveness of Australia's participation in the Vietnam/American War from 1962 to 1972, *Vietnam Diary* traces the story of two brothers, one a university student who protests the war, the other a conscript sent to fight in Vietnam. Although a picture book, the narrative addresses the complex issue of conscription, an issue associated with political debates and public protests in Australia during World War one and the Vietnam War.



demonstrate that all humans are capable of actions that they may associate with their enemy. By extension, the façade of glory and heroism is shown to be a fragile structure, easily shaken or destroyed should other stories be brought to the fore. The historical project is thus also a more complex rendering of past conflicts at the same time as questioning their meaning for contemporary Australian society.

This historical project is demonstrated in Diane Wolfer's 2005 picture book, *Photographs in the Mud*. The story concerns the invasion of Papua New Guinea and is told from the perspectives of Jack, an Australian soldier, and Hoshi, a Japanese soldier who meet in battle. The picture book challenges the reader to think about the concept of 'the enemy' through focusing on the similarities between Jack and Hoshi beyond the war environment. In doing so, Wolfer humanizes the Japanese soldier in a way that contrasts with the propaganda surrounding the Imperial Japanese Army that was prevalent during World War Two. The picture book was released in a limited edition, Japanese translation in 2009, adding a symbolic historiographical reconciliation between countries that were former enemies. If, as the website states, the picture book is used as a peace text internationally, this adds another layer of performative work.<sup>38</sup>

The extension of war discourses to include humanizing the enemy, connecting the domestic sphere with military life, and the emotional impact of leaving home or 'staying behind,' may be read more broadly as acknowledgment that adults deem it desirable for children to know that war is not just about battles. The configuration of a war picture book as a peace text aptly demonstrates the tensions within this sub-genre: historical information is conveyed about a conflict, but the historical project is to challenge national distinctions. Taking the historical narrative to a personal or interpersonal level challenges narratives that construct characters to act as archetypes for what it means to be Australian. *Photographs in the Mud* writes against the ideas of unquestioning loyalty to a national identity, suggesting instead a shared humanity that should be understood as a powerful reason to deplore war. Children are in this way implicated more broadly in political and social life, childhood regarded as a time when adults have an opportunity to shape their development as future citizens (and, increasingly, discourses

---

<sup>38</sup> "Photographs in the mud," Diane Wolfer, accessed 15 September 2017, <https://diannewolfer.com/books/historical-fiction/photographs-in-the-mud/>.

include the concept of global citizenship). The texts thus show the duality of ‘our children’ as vulnerable learners requiring guidance and ‘our children’ as custodians of the narratives that help to shape national identity.

### **Aftermath of war**

Children’s writers have considered both immediate post-war years and the longer term in exploring the social implications and consequences of Australia’s and Australians’ involvement in international conflict. War-related junior historical fiction in this way adds to voices telling of the aftermath of war, which Peter Stanley has observed may offer the ‘most fruitful new approach’ to invigorating Australian military history.<sup>39</sup> As the following discussion of texts suggests, the representation of the aftermath of war has invigorated children’s historical fiction, often challenging children to think about war in complex and challenging ways.

The final weeks of World War One provide the starting point for Kerry Greenwood’s 2001 *My Australian Story A Different Sort of Real. The Diary of Charlotte Mackenzie. Melbourne 1918*.<sup>40</sup> Her father is suffering from an unacknowledged case of shell shock and the impact on Charlotte and her family of his behavior reveals the ongoing consequences of war on the homefront. Nadia Wheatley also depicts the returned soldier in *My Place*, while Alexander Goldie’s *Gallipoli Medals* explores how the concept of ‘the enemy’ may prove resilient long beyond the time of a conflict. Set in contemporary Australia, Jaxson, a young Australian boy who discovers his Great, Great Uncle fought at Gallipoli, questions his close friendship with another boy, Abi, whose family is Turkish.

Using the technique of flashbacks, James Roy explores the short and longer-term impact of war service on soldiers and their families in *Captain Mack* (1999) and *Billy Mack’s War* (2004). Both novels sit at the boundary of the historical fiction genre. *Captain Mack* has a contemporary setting, yet the historical content is significant. Of interest is the way in which

---

<sup>39</sup> See Peter Stanley, “War Without End” in *Australian History Now*, ed.s Anna Clark and Paul Ashton (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing, 2013), 90-106.

<sup>40</sup> Reprinted and repackaged in 2012 as *The Deadly Flu. My Australian Story* series (Lindfield: Scholastic Press, 2012).

Roy represents the working of memory within a narrative that shifts between the present and the past, Captain Mack's memories effectively functioning as a time-slip mechanism that allows the main character, Danny, access to the family history of Captain Mack and his son, Billy. *Billy Mack's War* functions in a similar way but is more overtly historical, the point of view changing from an omniscient narrator for contemporary scenes to a first-person narration by Billy for the telling of his family's life in the immediate post-war years. Again, memory is offered as a powerful conduit to the past.

Alan Tucker offers a perspective on the Cold War era in the *My Australian Story* novel, *Atomic Testing. Woomera, 1953. The Diary of Anthony Brown* (2009), which may be considered as part of the aftermath of World War Two. The narrative explores divergent opinions of the testing of atomic bombs by the British Government, referencing the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki during World War Two, as well as the contemporaneous situation of tense relations with Russia. The shadow of war continues to impact on the remote Woomera community. Anthony's mother, as an example, researches the impact of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings, fearing Australia becoming a target of the Russian Government for allowing the British testing.

Alan Sunderland and Diana Chase both explore the consequences of war for children initially living in sites of conflict beyond Australia. Sunderland's *My Australian Story* diary novel *Refugee. The Diary of Ali Ismail. Woomera 2001-2002* (2006) is about the experiences of a boy forced to flee Afghanistan after the Taliban kill his father. For Ali, the civil war in Afghanistan ultimately leads to his detention as a refugee at Woomera. Similarly, Chase's *No Borders for Josef* (2006) is the story of a boy thirteen years of age orphaned in the Balkans conflict. Josef, left traumatised by his wartime experiences, comes to live in Australia and must adapt to life in a foreign country. Such representations of the past reorient the idea of a war narrative to include those people who have been forced to leave their homeland and relocate to Australia. In an interesting example of intertextuality, *Robbie and the Dolphins* (2006) by Justin D'ath explores the war-related emotional trauma experienced by children. This text is part of the National Museum of Australia's *Making Tracks* series, inspired by a Chev truck built during World War Two held by the Museum. The story thus draws upon the material

evidence of the past and the relevant secondary sources to create a fictional rendering of life in post-World War Two Australian society.

The diversity of subjects in these texts concerned with the aftermath of involvement in military conflict complicates ideas around the nature of war, taking child readers beyond battlefronts and the homefront during times of war to show that war has ongoing consequences for adults and children. Such a focus suggests a complication also of simplistic notions of national identity forged around the mythologies of Anzac. Rather, the texts offer child readers insights into the realities faced by characters who continue to suffer the horrors of war well after the final battle was fought. In doing so, such texts provide an alternative form of narrative to the idea of the brave digger or Anzac, yet it is again unclear how children respond to these representations of the past. What is clear, however, is that authors are committed to depicting war and its consequences in ways that construct different ways of viewing such qualities as loyalty, bravery and resilience. This difference may suggest a narrative that is less concerned with reinforcing national narratives implicated in the veneration of Anzac than it is with expressing concerns about the personal consequences of war.

The emphasis on emotion as part of the historical project accords with Joy Damousi's call for historians to 'give a fuller account of the place of grief, trauma and loss in Australian histories.'<sup>41</sup> Writing in 2002, she put forward two arguments in making this call:

First, memories of these experiences are political and highlight the oppression by institutions and government of psychic life along the axes of class, gender, race and sexuality. Second, a public expression of trauma emphasises the politicisation of emotional life and points to the crucial role of the 'personal' in progressive politics." (p100)

As I write in 2017, I can acknowledge that Damousi's call has not gone unheeded and grief, trauma and loss are an important part of Australian historiography, embedded within the work

---

<sup>41</sup> Joy Damousi, "History Matters. The Politics of Grief and Injury in Australian History," *Australian Historical Studies* Volume 118 (2002): 100.

of cultural historians. In writing of military historiography, Peter Stanley comments that '[o]ne of the most fruitful new developments has been the discovery that wars have consequences.'<sup>42</sup> Damousi's work on grief and mourning in post-World War One and post-World War Two Australia shows, furthermore, ways in which we might consider memory at a personal level in the context of loss. She identifies understanding memory as critical to writing such history, explaining that:

This intersection between the past and the present through memory is the key to understanding the complex relationship between wartime loss and the expression of grief as it was played out during what turned out for some to be the trauma of peacetime.

Wilson's work on the operation of public and private memory in children's historical fiction is an important contribution to children's fictional historiography but focuses on memory and power in relation to construction of national identity.<sup>43</sup> There is room for more analyses of war-related narratives in children's historical fiction that explore discourses of trauma, loss, and grief as historical projects. Charlotte Beyer, for example, has analysed Nicola Pierce's children's novel *Spirit of the Titanic* to develop an alternative narrative that 'engages with the project of reimagining trauma from a specifically Irish point of view.'<sup>44</sup> Pierce is working within what she describes as a post-colonial reimagining of a conventional national narrative. Other theoretical possibilities for analysis used by Australian historians include Chakrabarty's concept of historical wounds,<sup>45</sup> Derrida's notion of hauntology,<sup>46</sup> as well as the broader field of memory studies. By considering the discourses employed over time in my corpus, the mobilization of emotion in war-related children's historical fiction can provide insights into

---

<sup>42</sup> Peter Stanley, "War without end," in *Australian History Now*, 98.

<sup>43</sup> See Wilson, *Re-visioning Historical Fiction*, Chapter Five.

<sup>44</sup> Charlotte Beyer, "Haunting the Text: Nicola Pierce's *Spirit of the Titanic* and Irish Historical Children's Fiction," *Women's Studies* 44, no.7 (2015): 956

<sup>45</sup> See Bain Attwood, "Aboriginal History, Minority Histories and Historical Wounds: The Postcolonial Condition, Historical Knowledge and the Public Life of History in Australia," *Postcolonial Studies* 14, no.2 (June 2011): 171-186.

<sup>46</sup> Anja Schwarz, "'Not This Year!' Reenacting Contested Pasts Aboard *the Ship*," *Rethinking History*, 11, no.3 (September 2007): 427-446.

how authors imagined trauma, loss and grief in the pasts that they sought to represent, as well as the emotions deemed appropriate for children to learn about.

### **Commemorating war**

A thread running through children's historical fiction focused on war is the idea of individuals, families and communities working together for the good of the nation. Hardship, sorrow and sacrifice are positioned as the corollaries of fighting for one's beliefs, traditions and way of life for good citizens. Not only do the war narratives portray Australia's involvement in international conflicts, some also function within a commemorative paradigm that recognizes the personal sacrifices and hardships of war at the same time as venerating the idea of the Anzac as an inviolable representation of what it means to be Australian. In the *Heroes of Tobruk*, for example, the runaway schoolboys who joined up after lying about their age are treated as heroes when they return home, their headmaster at Sydney Grammar stating:

As long as there are true-blue young Australians of the calibre of  
Sergeants Fullerton and Cantonelli ... freedom will ever burn brightly  
in our hearts and minds.<sup>47</sup>

The words 'Anzac,' 'Gallipoli,' 'our boys' and 'Digger' function in the texts as cultural referents, to borrow from Pinto's and Boucher's work on the film *Brokeback Mountain*, conveying generally understood meanings implicitly associated with collective notions of Australia coming of age as a nation, desirable characteristics of Australian citizens and what it means to be Australian.<sup>48</sup> Borrowing from literary theory, an alternative way of reading such words and phrases may be to view them as metonymic, signifying an aspect of the past on their own but also conveying a 'broader set of ideas.'<sup>49</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup> David Mulligan, *My Australian Story. Heroes of Tobruk*. (Lindfield: Scholastic, 2012), 220.

<sup>48</sup> See Leigh Boucher and Sarah Pinto "'I Ain't Queer'": Love, Masculinity and History in *Brokeback Mountain*" *The Journal of Men's Studies*, 15, no.3 (June 2008), for an example of employing the concept of cultural referents to fictional historiography. Article first published online: June 1, 2008: <https://doi-org.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/10.3149/jms.1503.311>

<sup>49</sup> See De Groot *The Historical Novel*, 184.

The picture book has emerged as a site for the expression of ideas around the commemoration of war within the corpus in two ways. Firstly, the picture books *Memorial*, *My Grandfather Marches on Anzac Day*, *The Unknown Australian Soldier*, and *We Remember*, represent public forms of recognition of Australia's participation in past conflicts, conveying the message that these forms of recognition need to be learned, assimilated and acted upon by children as they grow up. In *My Grandfather Marches on Anzac Day*, for example, the child narrator observes her granddad quietly 'remembering,' presumably his war experiences, after the parade, and is shown staring into the distance, the text handing down the Anzac inheritance:

One day I will march on Anzac Day, and I will do the remembering.<sup>50</sup>

Unravelling the mythology behind the idea of the memorialization of the 'unknown soldier' is the intent of Mary Small's *The Unknown Australian Soldier*, published by the Anzac Day Commemoration Committee (ADCC) Queensland in 2001. Using the narrative technique of a dream sequence, two children uncertain about the meaning of an interment ceremony they have attended, are taken on an educative journey into sites of past conflicts by the ghost of the 'Unknown Soldier.' The ghost educates the children about Gallipoli, the Middle East and the Western Front, validating the importance placed upon the public recognition of the symbolic recognition of soldier.

Secondly, some of the picture books have been published as part of a commemorative program that has the intent of educating children about Australia's involvement in war. As an example, the ADCCQ lists nine fictional texts for children on its website, as well as works of creative non-fiction, non-fiction and curriculum-related learning packs.<sup>51</sup> The website clearly points out the potential use of these texts, indicating where they align with the Australian curriculum. *Gallipoli Medals*, as an example, is described as '[a] gentle way to introduce some important

---

<sup>50</sup> Catriona Hoy and Benjamin Johnson (Illustrator), *My Grandad Marches on Anzac Day* (Australia and New Zealand: Hachette Australia, 2008). Double page spread 14.

<sup>51</sup> "Anzac online shop," Anzac Day Commemoration Committee, accessed 10 August 2014, <http://www.anzacday.org.au/shop/online/contents/en-us/d1.html>.

Australian history.’<sup>52</sup> The website information suggests specific uses of the ‘multi-faceted resource.’

In Year 3 as a ‘teacher read aloud’ text for historical discussion on Anzac Day and its significance in our historical timeline.

In Year 5’s history studies on migrant groups within Australia and our values on multiculturalism, acceptance, understanding and tolerance.<sup>53</sup>

The emphasis on the appropriateness of the texts within a school setting suggests that the ADCCQ is clearly focused on the educative capacity of fiction, positioning their publications in the marketplace as useful resources rather than as compelling fictitious narratives. The positioning of texts in this way suggests that the agency of publishers, as well as writers, is an essential element in the production of war-related junior historical production, a factor I will consider in more depth in the following section.

### **The production and reception of war-related junior historical fiction: Mark Wilson’s ‘Children of War Quartet’**

In this section, I apply Jordanova’s ideas around how to use visual and material evidence in historical analysis to Mark Wilson’s four picture books comprising the ‘Children of War Quartet’ to not only interrogate the war-related literature more deeply but to also test the usefulness of such ideas to historiographical analysis. In relation to the concept of agency, authors’ and publishers’ websites, as well as author interviews, may indicate why and how an author constructed a text and their ongoing relationship to the text and its audience.

My intention here is to mobilise the concept of *agency* as one of Jordanova’s key themes in approaching primary sources that ‘are potentially relevant to the look of the past.’<sup>54</sup> My argument is that children’s novels and picture books can be considered in the same way as

---

<sup>52</sup> “Anzac online shop,” accessed 10 August 2014.

<sup>53</sup> “Anzac online shop,” accessed 10 August 2014.

<sup>54</sup> See Ludmilla Jordanova, *The Look of the Past. Visual and Material Evidence in Historical Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 6.



Jordanova argues that artefacts such as photographs, paintings, sculptures, and everyday objects such as coffee pots and hats.<sup>55</sup> In this approach, we would look to the text but also beyond it, considering closely all the multiple acts of agency that are involved in its production and consumption. As Jordanova observes:

There are many reasons why things cannot ‘speak,’ and should not be treated as if they were autonomous, transparent and self-evident .... Objects require contextualization so that the settings in which they were made and used are brought to the fore – if there is agency it lies, less in the things themselves than in the people who produce, commission, use and display them.<sup>56</sup>

While children’s novels and picture books can, in one sense, speak through the text and images, if they are considered as objects that are primary sources – as artefacts – this brings about a shift in how we might analyse historical fiction as material evidence of the past and material evidence of how a society has written about the past. These ideas are explored in the following case study of Mark Wilson’s ‘Children of War Quartet’ picture books.

### ***Contextualizing historical picture books: Mark Wilson’s Children of War Quartet***

Integral to Jordanova’s approach to interpreting material evidence of the past is the detailed description of the object at hand. Making such an account of ‘any phenomenon worthy of attention’ acts, as Jordanova suggests, ‘as a bridge between sources and interpretation of them.’<sup>57</sup> To commence my description, the ‘Children of War Quartet’ (the Quartet) picture books were published over the period 2010 – 2014, well into the emergence of war-related historical fiction for children. As I have shown, this timing is also well into the emergence of more complex picture books with mature themes, suitable only for older children and young adults.

---

<sup>55</sup> See Jordanova, *The Look of the Past* for application of these ideas.

<sup>56</sup> Jordanova, 33.

<sup>57</sup> Jordanova, 18 and 19.

As one of the key people involved in production of the Quartet, background on the author is fundamental to the description of the texts as material evidence of the past, Jordanova writing that:

Like consumers, makers of objects and images manifest forms of visual intelligence, preferences and skills, which entitle them to be understood as historical actors, as witnesses to past states of affairs.<sup>58</sup>

Consistent with my concern with historiography as well as history, this concept might be applied to authors of historical fiction, conceiving them as historiographical actors, participants in the writing of history. Understanding more about authors and their historical projects is accordingly an important of considering historical fiction as a primary historical source. As outlined in Chapter Two, this analysis situates my research within the ambit of more recent explorations of historical work taking place beyond the academy: historian Tom Griffiths explaining his historiographical project on Eleanor Dark and her 1941 novel *The Timeless Land*:

I am interested in the relationship between history and fiction and want to explore how such an influential novelist set about her historical task.<sup>59</sup>

As Griffiths shows, understanding this relationship and the author's historical task entails biographical research, looking to their motivations, experiences, and areas of expertise.

Mark Wilson describes himself as an author, storyteller, illustrator and artist,<sup>60</sup> occupations with associated skills and talents that converge in the picture books he writes and illustrates. In the 'Children of War Quartet,' Wilson both writes the text and creates the illustrations. With an interest in art beginning and nurtured in childhood and adolescence, he developed skills

---

<sup>58</sup> Jordanova, 7.

<sup>59</sup> Tom Griffiths, *The Art of Time Travel. Historians and Their Craft* (Carlton: Black Inc., 2016), 19.

<sup>60</sup> See "Mark Wilson," Author's website, accessed 26 August 2014, <http://www.markwilson.com.au/index.html>.

over years through self-taught drawing and attendance at art school and has produced an extensive body of work as an illustrator for other authors, including commissions from environmental groups such as the Australian Conservation Foundation and the Wildlife Protection Council of Victoria.<sup>61</sup>

In an online interview in 2012, Wilson described his varied employment history beyond the world of children's literature, working as:

[S]oldier, musician, teacher, magazine designer, map-maker, milkman, baker's assistant, petrol jockey, stable hand and wildlife rescuer.<sup>62</sup>

He also experienced geographic mobility as a child, living in eight different locations as his father, a member of the Australian Air Force, moved to different postings. Such a variety of experiences suggests Wilson can draw on an eclectic mix of memories, stories and skills in creating works of historical fiction.

Wilson's dedications in the 'Children of War' picture books suggest, in particular, a continuing affinity with the military, an affinity related to his family history and his participation in two years of National Service. *Angel of Kokoda*, as an example, includes a dedication stating that the book is:

For the people of Papua New Guinea; 39<sup>th</sup>, 2/14<sup>th</sup> and the 2/16<sup>th</sup> Battalions, Australian Defence Force, the Papuan Infantry Battalion and the Native Police Force, Papua New Guinea.<sup>63</sup>

The author's personal connection with the historical subject of Kokoda is not identified in the picture book yet comments he makes for inclusion in a set of Teachers' Notes provided by the publisher state he learnt of the Australian involvement in Papua New Guinea as a child and

---

<sup>61</sup> "Mark Wilson," accessed 26 August 2014.

<sup>62</sup> "Meet the author-illustrator: Mark Wilson, accessed 26 August 2014, <http://alphabetoup.net.au/2012/11/20/meet-the-author-illustrator-mark-wilson/>.

<sup>63</sup> Mark Wilson *Angel of Kokoda* (Sydney: Lothian, 2010), 2.

that he drew on the resources of his father who, he notes, worked as a photographer in New Guinea for the RAAF after World War Two and had an ‘indispensable’ collection of books, photographs and ‘personal, first-hand accounts of the Kokoda Campaign by ordinary soldiers,’<sup>64</sup> Wilson also indicates his interest in the social, cultural and environmental impacts and aspects of war, writing:

In *Angel of Kokoda*, I have tried to portray Kari as just another teenage boy, not unlike many of the readers. He goes to school (at the mission), goes fishing and helps his mother and father when needed, especially in the family garden in the jungle. I wanted a strong sense of place before the story of the battle unfolded. It is when Kari makes a life changing decision to step out of his familiar world as the war comes closer to his home, that his selfless actions ultimately reveal his strength and character to the reader. An ordinary boy caught up in extraordinary circumstances.<sup>65</sup>

Similarly, *The Afghanistan Pup* depicts the physical devastation and social dislocation caused by a bombing in an Afghani village and concludes with an impressionistic drawing of soldiers patrolling the Mirabad Valley. Wilson states simply that the book is:

In memory of Greg Sher, RIP, and to all who have served in Afghanistan, especially Matty C, Gordo and Big Russ.<sup>66</sup>

Mark Wilson also writes that the war in Afghanistan had claimed the lives of forty Australian soldiers as of July 2013 and that ‘[t]heir sacrifice will not be forgotten,’ which ties to the cultural referent ‘Lest we Forget,’ a phrase embedded in public commemorative practices.<sup>67</sup> As noted earlier, *The Afghanistan Pup* presents a story of the very recent past, the acts of

---

<sup>64</sup> “Angel of Kokoda Teacher’s Notes,” Angel of Kokoda, accessed 27 August 2014 <http://www.angelofkokoda.com.au/pdf/AngelofKokodaTeachersNotes.pdf> (no longer available).

<sup>65</sup> “Mark Wilson,” accessed 26 August 2014.

<sup>66</sup> Mark Wilson, *The Afghanistan Pup*, (Sydney and New Zealand: Hachette Australia, 2014), 34.

<sup>67</sup> Wilson, *The Afghanistan Pup*, 33

reconstruction depicted in the book taking part during the third phase of Australian involvement in Afghanistan, from 2006 to 2012.<sup>68</sup>

The subject matter of the Quartet is consistent with broader historiographical developments that have seen historians place less temporal restrictions on what constitutes ‘the past,’ as well as the concomitant post-1990s trend within children’s historical fiction to portray events from across the full span of Australia’s past, from stories of pre-invasion times to stories set in the first decades of this century. Evolving perceptions of history to encompass the very recent past may conceivably impact on how historical consciousness develops in children but historians have not explored this possibility yet.

Developing children’s historical consciousness and literacy is one of Wilson’s stated goals. Through his public self-revelations, he advocates embracing the past as a source of stories for children and empowering children to write and illustrate their own stories and to explore their own family histories.<sup>69</sup> He complements his picture books with school visits, visits that suggest the performative element of the contemporary children’s literature scene. While these visits may be part of the marketing of the texts, Wilson identifies interaction with children as an important source of motivation for his production of picture books, commenting that one of the highlights of his career is:

Walking into a classroom and seeing all those beaming faces during  
author visits to schools.<sup>70</sup>

His desire to empower children to research and tell their own stories of the past draws attention to the educative potential of historical fiction as moving beyond the subject matter to also embrace development of historical skills and historical consciousness. The apparent capacity of the ‘author school visit’ to perform this work is consistent with the child-centred pedagogies

---

<sup>68</sup> The first phase of Australian involvement in the invasion of Afghanistan, codenamed Operation Slipper, commenced in 2001 and ended in December 2002, the year-long second phase was from September 2005 to August 2006, followed by a third phase from September 2006 to November 2012.

<sup>69</sup> “Meet the author-illustrator: Mark Wilson,” accessed 26 August 2014, [http://alphabet\\_soup.net.au/2012/11/20/meet-the-author-illustrator-mark-wilson/](http://alphabet_soup.net.au/2012/11/20/meet-the-author-illustrator-mark-wilson/).

<sup>70</sup> “Meet the author-illustrator: Mark Wilson,” accessed 26 August 2014.

informing the teaching of history in the Australian school curricula in the 1990s and 2000s. As an example, the New South Wales Board of Studies Human Society and Its Environment (HSIE) Syllabus for K-6 envisages infant and primary school learners will develop ‘knowledge and understandings’ of the past, skills in ‘acquiring information, using an inquiry process and social and civic participation,’ and ‘identifying, clarifying, analyzing and evaluating’ their values and attitudes.<sup>71</sup>

Wilson has connected the four picture books through describing them as the ‘Children in War Quartet,’ suggesting that they are best approached as a series rather than as individual texts. As a marketing strategy, such labeling is consistent with the post-1990 preoccupation with packaging historical fiction in a series format that engages children and their intermediaries in collecting multiple books by the same publisher and often the same author. The four picture books present separate stories but are constructed in a consistent manner, with a similar combination of text, a short poem by Wilson, full-page and inset illustrations, reproductions of pieces of official documents to provide additional historical information, and a limited explanation of the historical context.

Each of the picture books is about a well-known, if not iconic, aspect of Australian military history – France in World War I, Kokoda, Vietnam and Afghanistan – tapping into an implied shared knowledge and understanding that these are historical topics of importance. As discussed in Chapter Five, such understandings imply the conceptualization of a sophisticated audience able to grasp deeper meanings within the layers of a picture book. Presenting the topics as picture books implicitly asserts that their importance extends to children, an assertion consistent with the tendency towards the militarization of Australian history beyond the academy, as discussed earlier. The acknowledgments of his editor and publisher included in *Angel of Kokoda* indicate Wilson’s strong relationship with both, his comment suggesting their influence in the success of the book.<sup>72</sup>

---

<sup>71</sup> See New South Wales Board of Studies, *Human Society and Its Environment (HSIE) Syllabus for K-6* (Sydney: New South Wales Board of Studies, 2007), 8.

<sup>72</sup> Wilson, *Angel of Kokoda*, 2.

Similarly, in *The Afghanistan Pup*, he thanks Suzanne O’Sullivan, the Commissioning Editor for Children’s Books at Hachette, for her ‘inspiration and belief in this project.’<sup>73</sup> These acknowledgements suggest the collaborative potential of the children’s book publishing process, as well as indicating that multiple people influence the finished product, a product that puts forward a selective representation of the past. Accordingly, a more complete analysis of the construction of history for children might include interviewing, or seeking documentation from, the different players involved in the production of a text, from author to editor to bookseller.

The publicly available sources do, however, provide insights into the influences on authors that compel them to bring a story to a young audience, as well as an awareness that the publication of a book is charged with the collective ideas and convictions of those involved with its production and sale. From there, the life of the book relies on its reception by its intended audience, or, perhaps more critically, the intermediaries of that audience.

Many readers shared their sense of engagement with *Angel of Kokoda* in the on-line reviews. They responded particularly strongly to what they saw as the effective combination of an interesting story and compelling illustrations. The historical documents depicted are not commented upon directly, with readers seemingly more drawn to the use of colour and imagery than the information provided in the facsimile letters and official reports. As an example, on 26 April 2013, a person identifying as a teacher commented on reflections on *Angel of Kokoda* posted on a blog site aimed at senior primary students and teachers:

I enjoyed reading your thoughts as much as I enjoyed reading the story. It is very powerful with it’s [sic] message and symbolism. I always cry when I read this story to my class. Thank you for sharing such deep and emotive reflections.<sup>74</sup>

---

<sup>73</sup> Wilson, *The Afghanistan Pup*, 2.

<sup>74</sup> “Middle Matters. *Angel of Kokoda*,” accessed 27 August 2014, <http://themiddlematters.blogspot.hk/2013/04/angel-of-kokoda-by-mark-wilson.html>. (no longer available).

The student posts on the blog indicated that they too were moved by the picture book. ‘Madi,’ for example, wrote:

Mark Wilson has yet again written an emotive, soulful book that really makes you think. The themes of war and friendship were intertwined really well as each theme made the other shine. Talking about “shine,” the illustrations were amazing. I loved the impressionistic feel to them and the vibrance [sic] of the colours added light to such a dark topic that is war.<sup>75</sup>

The student reviewers accepted the ‘dark’ subject matter and the teacher obviously uses *Angel of Kokoda* as a classroom text, suggesting Wilson has not alienated his intended audience or one of their intermediaries.

Teachers and librarians might be expected, of course, to play a significant intermediary role in the reading choices made by children in the school environment, controlling what they read or are exposed to during school hours and in their leisure time, should they take books home. The teacher’s post quoted above suggests that teachers’ and librarians’ emotional reactions may add a dimension to children’s engagement with the text beyond that of assessable skills.

External resources, organisations and activities may also play a role in connecting young readers with books if teachers and librarians turn to them for assistance in identifying curriculum-related, age appropriate, quality literature to support their pedagogical goals. Parents and others may also turn to resources, organizations and activities to make informed choices in selecting reading matter for children. A prominent example of an external influence is the annual ‘reading challenges’ sponsored by the governments of each Australian state and territory, encompassing publication of booklists categorized according to the appropriate

---

<sup>75</sup> “Meet the author-illustrator: Mark Wilson,” accessed 26 August 2014.



school years or curriculum stage.<sup>76</sup> Implicitly, these booklists indicate endorsement of the text as suitable and worthwhile for child readers.

*Angel of Kokoda* appears only on the booklists for New South Wales for Years 7-9, and for Victoria for Years 3-4 and 5-6. Presumably, as a CBCA Notable Picture Book for 2011, Tasmanian readers may also be directed to its suitability, as the Awards are used as the suggested booklist for children in Tasmania. *Vietnam Diary*, in contrast, appears on the booklists for New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland and South Australia, and again, as a CBCA Notable Picture Book for 2014 would potentially be drawn to the attention of Tasmanian readers. It is not clear why different states and territories assess the books differently, or why there are variations in the suggested Year levels of the same book. What is clear is that the booklists reflect different responses to Wilson's work and reveal that intermediaries play an important role in the reading options available to children.

## Conclusion

Representations of war now constitute a significant component of the historical fiction corpus, a trend in line with broader interest in representations of war in public and popular culture. Over the next five years, it will be interesting to trace the operation of the historical marketplace in relation to the various centenaries of Australia's involvement in World War One. Will audience fatigue set in or will interest sustain the production of more novels, picture books, museum exhibitions, family events, movies and television series? Will the veneration of Anzac continue apace? Will events such as Camp Gallipoli invigorate Anzac Day celebrations in new ways that focus on families and fostering national collective memory-making and a strong sense of national identity?

Exploring possible answers to these questions requires further research but the implication of children as custodians of the Anzac legend experiencing a militarized school curricula, as well as broader community expressions of the importance of the Anzac legend in what it means to

---

<sup>76</sup> With the exception of Tasmania, which instead provides links to the Children's Book Council of Australia, the State Library of Tasmania and Speech Pathology Australia.

be Australian, suggests that these issues are important to track. Also of importance are the continuing uncertainties around national identity in a postcolonial society, as will be explored in the following chapter.

## Chapter 8

### The ‘whole camp screamed in anger and dismay’: Emotions in Children’s Historical Fiction

#### Introduction

Is ‘dismay’ a strong enough noun to describe the feelings associated with the forcible removal of Indigenous children from their families that occurred in Australia in the twentieth century to contemporary readers? Perhaps ‘dismay’ combined with ‘screamed in anger,’ as author Anthony Hill imagines in his 1994 novella *The Burnt Stick*, does evoke the anguish and cruelty inherent in this practice.<sup>1</sup> For many contemporary child readers, however, ‘dismay’ may fail to capture the essence of the experience. To draw on Jordanova’s question, what kind of ‘potential audience’ then, has been ‘imagined’ by Hill when writing this book?<sup>2</sup> This chapter engages with audience reception of the texts examined for the close readings component of the research for this thesis to try and answer this question. It also draws on the work of Sarah Pinto, which engages with how Australia’s past is represented in historical fictions and the emotional dimensions of these fictions.<sup>3</sup> I focus firstly on the emotions embedded in historical fictions and the emotions they are attempting to attach to aspects of the past in order to understand more about how authors imagined people felt about the events portrayed.

This chapter also shows how the emerging work in the fields of the history of emotions, emotional (fictional) histories, and childhood and emotions provides a fertile ground for ideas about how to include children’s historical fiction within the ambit of academic fictional historiography. Three historical texts are examined through this lens: Hill’s novella mentioned above, Nan Chauncy’s 1967 novel *Mathinna’s People*, and Anita Heiss’ 2001 book, *Who Am*

---

<sup>1</sup> Anthony Hill, *The Burnt Stick* (Ringwood: Viking Penguin Books, 1994).

<sup>2</sup> Ludmilla Jordanova, *The Look of the Past. Visual and Material Evidence in Historical Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 7.

<sup>3</sup> See Sarah Pinto “Emotional Histories: Contemporary Australian Historical Fiction,” (PhD diss., University of Melbourne, 2007), 9.

*I? The Diary of Mary Talence*.<sup>4</sup> As explained in Chapter Two, the first two texts pre-empted the official narrativisation of the emotional dimension of the forcible removal of Indigenous children, as made public in The Australian Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission's 1997 report on the Stolen Generations, *Bringing Them Home*. The third was written after the Report was handed down in 1997 and can therefore be read as having been informed by that official narrativization. Nevertheless, all three books are consistent with the temporal span noted in the Report in relation to the chronological history of the Stolen Generations. *Bringing Them Home* identifies 1937 as the turning point towards official implementation of the assimilationist policies that drove removal of Indigenous children from their families. In 1940, New South Wales became the first state to introduce the legislative framework to allow this practice, with other states following in the late 1940s.<sup>5</sup> The Report also highlights that the practice occurred unofficially from the early days of colonization.<sup>6</sup> The first text examined in this chapter, *Mathinna's People*, is set in Tasmania in 1841; Hill's novella, *The Burnt Stick*, is set at an unspecified time and place, although visual markers indicate it is probably the early twentieth century. The third novel examined, Anita Heiss's *Who Am I? The Diary of Mary Talence*, published in 2002, is set in 1937. The question is whether the portrayal of emotion in these books can be read as historical evidence of a shift in the acceptability of the kinds and intensities of emotions directed towards child readers.

Changing attitudes to childhood include an emotional dimension and historical products can be interrogated for the feelings that they may be emphasizing and encouraging. The construction of the 'happy child' in the 1920s and 1930s in America, as described by Stearns, within an increasingly consumerist context is a framework consistent with developments in Australian childhood, with the post-1945 period seeing increased attention to protecting children from negative emotions and difficult experiences, such as death. Yet, in twenty-first century Australia, many children's picture books and novels are focusing on death and grief.

---

<sup>4</sup> Nan Chauncy *Mathinna's People* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967); Anita Heiss, *My Australian Story. Who am I? The Diary of Mary Talence*, Sydney, 1937 (Lindfield: Scholastic Press, 2002).

<sup>5</sup> See Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, (HREOC) *Bringing Them Home. Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families* (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 1997), Section 2.

<sup>6</sup> HREOC, *Bringing Them Home*, Section 2.

This suggests a shift in the type of ethical guidance required to equip the Australian child for future adult citizenship.

Fictional elements of public and popular histories mediate access to representations of the past, yet the way in which each person involved in the production contributes to that mediation is a unique and personal process, as is the way in which each ‘consumer’ will respond. In both the work of fiction and reactions to it, the emotions on display prompt ways of thinking about the past and its relationship to the present. In employing certain emotions in their fictional histories, for example, do the creators retain strict authenticity based on verifiable accounts of the past, or do they tend to ascribe emotions as a universal feature of humanity, consistent over time? Do they attribute emotional responses to characters that reflect current attitudes, or do they attempt to represent the past on its own terms? Does their work reveal more about the present than the past?

In exploring ‘the emotional regimes of Australia’s historical discourses’ in the selected texts, the chapter assesses the applicability of Sarah Pinto’s central contention regarding historical films and novels that:

The process of emotional attachment and detachment is on display here  
– of the fastening of particular emotions to particular pasts and the  
unhinging of others.<sup>7</sup>

Integral to understanding such attachments and detachments is that they establish ‘boundaries marking out what can and cannot be felt about Australia’s pasts within historical discourses.’ In the context of children’s literature, these boundaries are implicated in the socialization and moral encoding of future citizens, the points of convergence and points of divergence with dominant national narratives pointing towards an area of tension within how Australian society has, and continues to, present the past to children. Historian Nicole Eustace has noted that the history of emotions also requires scholars ‘to delineate patterns of actual expression and

---

<sup>7</sup> Pinto, “Emotional Histories,” 310.

repression in myriad realms.<sup>8</sup> Historical novels and picture books about the Stolen Generations published since 1945 may be considered one such realm, where the stories that have not been told are at least as significant as the stories that have been published.

### ***The stories that have not been told***

The repression of emotions around the forcible removal of Indigenous children from the colonial era onwards, is indicated in both the scarcity of narratives addressing this subject as well as in the silences within novels and picture books that depict other aspects of Indigenous history.<sup>9</sup> With a few exceptions, including the 1955 film *Jedda*, it is only since the mid-1990s that children's historical fiction has explored and represented the forcible removal of Indigenous children in a purposive and explicit rather than incidental way. The emergence of these texts, which are comparatively few when considered as part of all children's historical fiction published since the mid-1990s, follows closely behind the emergence of Stolen Generations narratives aimed at an adult audience, as:

Autobiographical narratives and testimonial fiction became the key storytelling genres of the late 1980s and 1990s, particularly for the growing number of Aboriginal women who found in literary writing a vehicle for both authorial independence and cultural responsibility.<sup>10</sup>

These literary forms of writing were supplemented by the telling of Stolen Generations narratives in what Bain Attwood describes as 'legal and quasi-legal inquiries.'<sup>11</sup> Alongside the written word, Indigenous voices also gained broader audiences in the 1980s and beyond across multiple platforms including film, television, radio, as well as within academic,

---

<sup>8</sup> Nicole Eustace in Susan J. Matt and Peter N. Stearns *Doing Emotions History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 170.

<sup>9</sup> The *Victorian Aboriginal Protection Act 1869* was the first child removal legislation enacted in Australia, but removal occurred at the hands of settlers prior to this. See HREOC *Bringing Them Home*, Section 2.

<sup>10</sup> Anita Heiss and Peter Minter, ed.s, and Kirby Stalgis (designer), *Anthology of Australian Aboriginal literature* (Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin, 2008), 7.

<sup>11</sup> Bain Attwood "Aboriginal History, Minority Histories and Historical Wounds: The Postcolonial Condition, Historical Knowledge and the Public Life of History in Australia," *Postcolonial Studies* 14, no.2 (June 2011): 180.

commercial and political circles.<sup>12</sup> Attwood points out the connections between the development of social and cultural history, interest in emotion as an historical subject, and representations of the removal of Indigenous children, as historians ‘developed a strong interest in experience and emotion’ as they sought to ‘recover the pasts of people marginalised by history writing’ in the movement that became known as “‘history from below”’<sup>13</sup> Thus:

The emergence of the stolen generations narrative in Australia and elsewhere, can, to a large extent, be attributed to the democratization of history... initially the product of radical political movements in the 1960s and 1970s concerned with matters of class, race, gender, and sexuality.<sup>13</sup>

Yet, the sharing of the stories of the Stolen Generations in fictional forms aimed at children has emerged very slowly. Just ten works of historical fiction that focus on this subject have been identified in the corpus. Of these, only two are by Indigenous authors: Heiss’ *Who Am I? The Diary of Mary Talence*, and *Stolen Girl* (2011) by Trina Saffioti. There is thus a tendency for non-Indigenous authors to dominate this subject matter to date. The volume of non-fiction works and educational resources on the Stolen Generations also by far exceeds the number of fictional novels and picture books. Anita Heiss expresses her conviction that Stolen Generations narratives do have a place in children’s literature, writing in her blog that:

I am often asked by teachers and librarians ‘How young is too young to tell children about the Stolen Generations?’ I think if we can tell stories about bushrangers and convicts as part of primary school education, we should also be telling (more) significant stories from our history. Particularly when you consider history related to government endorsed

---

<sup>12</sup> Heiss and Minter, *Anthology of Australian Aboriginal Literature*, 7.

<sup>13</sup> Bain Attwood “In the Age of Testimony: The Stolen Generations Narrative, “Distance”, and Public History,” *Public Culture*, 20, no.1 (Winter 2008): 78.

removal of Aboriginal children from their families, is still affecting most Aboriginal communities today.<sup>14</sup>

This excerpt exemplifies the role of adults in mediating children's access to representations of the past, and their reverberations in the present.

### ***Breaking the silence***

Some non-Indigenous authors and their publishers seemingly agree that fictional representations of the experiences of children forcibly removed from their families are important stories to tell, and are attempting to address the perceived lack of fiction addressing this subject, consistent with the apparent broader interest in challenging the silences and exposing the stories beneath national foundational narratives revealed in the non-fiction works and educational resources on the Stolen Generations. Their desire is also consistent with broader expressions of community support for acknowledging the historic and contemporary impacts of Indigenous child removal, as exemplified by the holding of an annual National Sorry Day on 26 May from 1998 onwards, and the Federal Government's Apology to the Stolen Generations in 13 February 2008. These developments indicate that authors are implicated in the dual conception of children as both vulnerable learners and custodians of important national narratives. The issues around the treatment of Indigenous children and families in the past are now embedded within school curricula, academic history, and other historical and cultural products. Ownership of telling Indigenous history is, however, a question that remains open to debate, both from the perspective of postcolonial theory (recognizing arguments that Australia is still operating within a colonial framework in terms of Indigenous relations) and from the perspective of working through past trauma.

If the silences around the Stolen Generations have been broken since the 1980s, the existence of representations of the forcible removal of children in works of children's historical fiction prior to this is still worth exploring. As outlined in Chapter Four, children's authors such as Mavis Thorpe Clark, Nan Chauncy and Margaret Kiddle were depicting settler colonialism as it impacted on Indigenous people in a way that questioned the dominant foundational story of

---

<sup>14</sup> "Who Am I?" Anita Heiss Blog, accessed 25 September 2015, <http://anitaheissblog.blogspot.com.au/2011/03/i-am-grateful-for-stolen-girl.html>.



pioneers triumphing over adversity well before the Royal Commission. Their work contrasts starkly with the school curricula and academic history of the time yet has a political context if the work of Indigenous activists is considered. As Heiss and Minter write:

Between Federation and the 1960s, as had occurred in the nineteenth century, Aboriginal authorship appeared in letters and petitions to authorities—but now also in the political manifestos and pronouncements of Aboriginal activist organisations that had begun to coordinate resistance to government control.<sup>15</sup>

Nevertheless, when Nan Chauncy wrote *Mathinna's People* in 1967, the idea of children being removed from their families against their wills, and to their detriment, was given prominence for the first time in a children's novel. The book is a stark and unflinching representation of settler-Indigenous relations in Tasmania and makes it clear that child removal and the decimation of families occurred long before the state and federal parliaments enacted legislation.

### **Close reading – Nan Chauncy (1967) *Mathinna's People***

In *Mathinna's People*, Chauncy tells the story of three generations of Indigenous Tasmanian tribes, culminating in the early 1830s relocation of Mathinna's parents to the Wybalenna settlement on Flinders Island.<sup>16</sup> Mathinna was well-known in Hobart because she was 'adopted' by the Tasmanian Governor, Sir John Franklin, and his wife, although many details about her life, before, during and after her adoption are not known. In interrogating the 'Stolen Generations Narrative' from the perspective of adopted children, Australian historian Shurlee Swain observes that:

---

<sup>15</sup> Heiss and Minter, *Anthology of Australian Aboriginal Literature*, 3

<sup>16</sup> Mathinna was born on Flinders Island in 1835 but appeared to have been unnamed until called Mary by George Robinson, Chief Protector of the Aborigines and architect of Wybalenna. In 1839, she was 'adopted' by the Tasmanian Governor, Sir John Franklin, and his wife, who renamed her 'Mathinna.' When the Governor and his wife returned to England in 1843 they left Mathinna at the Queen's Orphan School in Hobart.

Mathinna has been memorialized in art, dance, literature, and children's books primarily as the victim of a failed experiment in the contest between savagery and civilization but hers is also a story of adoption that encompasses within it much of what would bedevil attempts to adopt Indigenous children in Australia over the next 150 years.<sup>17</sup>

Swain also posits that 'Indigenous adoptees have been marginalized both in the story of the Stolen Generations and in the history of adoption in Australia.'<sup>18</sup>

*Mathinna's People* is thus implicated in the search for new historical accounts that portray the complex history of the Stolen Generations. Chauncy was well ahead of academic history in this regard. She was not, however, ahead of cultural representations of this aspect of Australian history. In 1954, for example, the Melbourne Ballet Guild performed a 'revival of Laurel Martyn's thoughtful interpretation of the story of Mathinna.'<sup>19</sup> More recently, Mathinna was the main character in Richard Flanagan's 2008 historical novel for adults, *Wanting*. For whatever reason, Mathinna's story was present in the wider culture at the time that Chauncy was writing.

The title of Chauncy's novel indicates that her focus was, ultimately, on Mathinna, although the story is predominantly that of the lives of her ancestors. In keeping with Jordanova's comments about how the face of an artefact, the way it is presented, has things to say in relation to history, a black and white illustration on the title page shows Mathinna in a European style dress, establishing the question of how she came to be in a situation that led to such a portrayal. The first chapter, 'Key to the Lock,' is a factual introduction to the fictionalized account that follows, which starts with the chief of the Toogee tribe, Wyulma, Mathinna's grandfather, then moves on to his son, Towterer, when he becomes chief. Mathinna does not appear until the penultimate chapter, as an infant on Flinders Island.

---

<sup>17</sup> Shurlee Swain in Marian Quartly, Denise Cuthbert, Kay Dreyfus, Shurlee Swain, and Margaret Taft, *The market in babies: a history of adoption in Australia* (Clayton: Monash University Publishing, 2013), 203.

<sup>18</sup> Swain, *The Market in Babies*, 203.

<sup>19</sup> Frank Doherty in *The Argus*, 2 October 1954, 3. Accessed 5 September 2015, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/printArticlePdf/23445795/3?print=n>.

In the final chapter, entitled ‘Envoy,’ Mary is designated an orphan as her birth parents had died even though Parlin, her mother’s second husband, cared for her, and she is taken to live at Government House. The novel concludes with the following scene, which, if taken in the context of Chauncy’s clear condemnation of the treatment of Tasmania’s Indigenous people, must be read ironically as what Mathinna, and her people have lost rather than what Mathinna has gained:

*Now* – as she runs happily down the steps of old Government House to the waiting carriage, dressed in her dainty red dress, ready for the delights of driving through the streets of Hobart Town in the Governor’s carriage. *Now*, while she looks half-proudly at the feet in fine stockings and painful shoes – never before worn by a child of the Toogee!<sup>20</sup>

The italicized ‘now’ reflects Chauncy’s emphasis on the period that preceded and followed Mathinna’s life in Hobart Town, a time of ‘squalor and despair,’ musing that it ‘is best to part from the last of the Toogee now.’<sup>21</sup> Chauncy has already described the contents of a surviving letter from Mathinna to Parlin, Mathinna wishing that he could come to see her and that she loved him, but also that she was ‘very glad’ in Hobart. However, as Chauncy notes ‘[t]here is no “happy ending”.’<sup>22</sup> Mathinna is believed to have died in 1852, a destitute alcoholic, not accepted by white society and not able to fit into the Indigenous settlement.<sup>23</sup> Chauncy does not explain Mathinna’s fate beyond her time in Hobart yet it is clear that, from the first page, the novelist sought to convey the circumstances that led to her running down the steps of Old Government House in a red dress, and those circumstances, despite Mathinna’s apparent happiness in her new situation, included enormous loss. This sense of loss is associated with the Indigenous tribes progressively destroyed by frontier violence and government interference, unless a sense of lost opportunity for settlers in interacting with and learning from

---

<sup>20</sup> Chauncy, *Mathinna’s People*, 160.

<sup>21</sup> Chauncy, *Mathinna’s People*, 160.

<sup>22</sup> Chauncy, *Mathinna’s People*, 1.

<sup>23</sup> Heather Felton, “Mathinna,” *Companion to Tasmanian History*, accessed 8 August 2015, [http://www.utas.edu.au/library/companion\\_to\\_tasmanian\\_history/M/Mathinna.htm](http://www.utas.edu.au/library/companion_to_tasmanian_history/M/Mathinna.htm).

Mathinna's ancestors is inferred. Her forebears lose their country, and with it their past, present and future. Their removal from their country means they lose their spiritual connection with the land and their ancestors. As they are hunted, they lose their confidence and become fearful. When they are captured, many lose their health, and many die.

In the novel's preamble, Chauncy makes explicit her historical project to expose frontier violence, injecting a discourse associated much later with Stolen Generations narratives, writing that:

On the beaches their women were captured by sealers and taken away to club and skin seals for their profit. Even their children were snatched by settlers, and brought up to work for them as little better than slaves.<sup>24</sup>

The preamble is written as factual narrative and draws attention to the kidnapping and enslavement of women and children, implying a loss of their freedom, family, and lifestyle, if not their health and lives. The fictional narrative that follows establishes the enormity of what the Indigenous people of Tasmania did indeed lose with the arrival of Europeans.

The sense of loss embedded in *Mathinna's People*, then, establishes a discourse that challenges the contemporaneous 'boundary' of viewing the decimation of Tasmania's Indigenous people as inevitable and justifiable. Chauncy suggests an alternative historical discourse for the child reader, centred on the culpability of the invaders/settlers in the demise of Mathinna and her ancestors. Overwhelmingly, the sense of loss for the characters is associated with fear, anger, confusion and despair. For the reader, the sense of loss encourages an emotional response of disgust and outrage. As the story concludes with Mathinna's separation from her tribe, all that has preceded this scene exposes the practice of taking Indigenous children as at best regrettable, at worst reprehensible. Her relatives are either dead or left behind at Wybalenna, ill, lost and in despair, contrasting with the positive portrayal of their lifestyle prior to the incursions of explorers and invaders from Europe.

---

<sup>24</sup> Chauncy, *Mathinna's People*, 5.

Writing in 2006, Sarah Pinto highlighted the tendency of dominant national narratives of the Howard era to evade the question of historical loss, except where the losses could be reconfigured as gains for the nation, as in the commemoration of the disastrous Gallipoli landings on Anzac Day.<sup>25</sup> However, the American civil rights movement and battle for Indigenous rights in Australia had the effect of injecting other narratives into the national arena. In 1967, the year of the novel's publication, the referendum on transferring powers in Indigenous affairs from the states to the Commonwealth and including Aboriginal people in the national population census drew attention to the continuing disadvantage, discrimination and poverty experienced in Indigenous communities.<sup>26</sup>

The contemporaneous reception of *Mathinna's People* suggests both timeliness and a willingness for such a challenging perspective on the past to be accepted into the corpus of children's literature, although it is telling that the book was published outside of Australia. Perhaps the imprimatur of the Oxford University Press as publisher conferred a certain prestige upon the work, though, because the Children's Book Council of Australia commended *Mathinna's People* in 1968, suggesting that the judges identified Chauncy's novel as acceptable, perhaps even desirable, for children to read. Lindsay Connors of *The Canberra Times* also commended *Mathinna's People*, writing that the novel is written with 'sympathy, insight and scholarly realism' recounting 'the way in which tragedy befell them with the advent of the white man.'<sup>27</sup> Her comments suggest an acceptance of the validity of challenging perceptions of settler-Indigenous relations in Australia in the 1960s, and that this acceptance was reasonable to extend to children, considering the wider context of the book: the year of publication coincided with the successful referendum obtaining constitutional reform in Indigenous affairs in which the power to make laws regarding Aboriginal people was removed from the states and conferred upon the Commonwealth, after the 1965 'Freedom Ride' undertaken by Sydney University students in rural and outback New South Wales and

---

<sup>25</sup> Pinto, "Emotional Histories," 105-6.

<sup>26</sup> See Ann Curthoys. *The Freedom Ride. A Freedom Rider Remembers* (Crows Nest: Allen and Unwin, 2003).

<sup>27</sup> Lindsay Connors, "Review of Mathinna's People," *The Canberra Times*, 6 July 1968.

Queensland.<sup>28</sup> An intense campaign for the ‘Yes’ vote had propelled Indigenous affairs and the long history of racist policy and practice into the political spotlight.<sup>29</sup> Publication also coincided with the 1967 Wave Hill walk-out in which the Gurindji people withdrew their labour from the Wave Hill cattle station owned by the British company, Vestey’s. The Gurindji demanded that twenty square kilometres of their native territory be taken from the Wave Hill pastoral lease and be given back to them.<sup>30</sup>

Grief is clearly an emotion attached to *Mathinna’s People* by an adult recommending the book, indicating a view that the child reader could (and should) cope with a rendering of Australian history that highlighted the feelings of Indigenous people and that contested settler triumphalism. The novel was also published in Danish in 1969 (*Mathinna’s Folk*), in Italian in 1969 (*Mathinna: la tragedia degli aborigeni della Tasmania*), as well as in America under the title *Hunted in their Own Land*, as mentioned.<sup>31</sup> The overseas publications indicate that Chauncy’s work addressed a topic viewed as interesting to audiences beyond Australia

The publication of *Mathinna’s People* provided a side of the story not often told children at a time when the nation was being asked, even challenged, to think in new ways about Indigenous affairs. A critical feature in considering *Mathinna’s People* as an historical project is that the novel now more closely resembles the writing of academic, public and popular history around the Stolen Generations and Indigenous history than at the time of its first publication almost fifty years ago, showing the existence then of undercurrents of dissent from foundational narratives that excluded a deep understanding of Indigenous Australians. In terms of identifying the emergence of an etiquette applying to the subject matter, Chauncy’s use of a narrative told from the perspective of the Aboriginal tribes that is clearly sympathetic to their loss, reflects a tendency that is also present in more contemporary texts, as the following discussion of Anthony Hill’s 1994 novella *The Burnt Stick* reflects.

---

<sup>28</sup> See Curthoys, *The Freedom Ride*; and “Memory, History, and Ego-Histoire: Narrating and Re-Enacting the Australian Freedom Ride,” *Historical Reflections* (Summer 2012): 25-45.

<sup>29</sup> See Geoffrey Bolton, *The Oxford History of Australia. Volume 5 1942-1988* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1990), 194.

<sup>30</sup> Bolton, *The Oxford History of Australia*, 195.

<sup>31</sup> “Hunted in their own Land,” TROVE, accessed 26 September 2015, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12696882?q=mathinna%27s+people&c=book>.

## Close reading – Anthony Hill (1994) *The Burnt Stick*

*The Burnt Stick* is the story of the loss of family, country and place experienced by a child of the Stolen Generations. It is a powerful evocation of the impact of government policies on children. The author states in a preamble that '[a]lthough the incidents described in this story are mostly fictional, they are based on a central fact:' the practice of removing 'Aboriginal children of mixed parentage away from their mothers' and placing them in institutions or with foster parents.<sup>32</sup> A quote follows from Margaret Dunkle, from *Australian Bookseller and Publisher*, which immediately draws attention to the emotional dimensions of *The Burnt Stick*:

Anthony Hill weaves his story with simplicity and a spare understatement that brings the loss and heartache close to home.<sup>33</sup>

The fictional nature of the story is indicated by the indeterminant time setting and invented setting. Pearl Bay and Dryborough Station are creations of the author, who describes his work as 'a powerful metaphor for this sad aspect of our history.'<sup>34</sup>

The cover of the 1994 edition of this 53-page work has a moody deep blue and purple background. A child's face looking down, cast in shadow, eyes closed, is in the foreground. The child's hair is dark brown, their face and chest are lighter, appearing as if they have been touched by a golden-white light. The cover also displays a bronze medallion-style sticker stating that the work was a 'Short-listed book' for the Children's Book Council of Australia Awards. The title is in large print, with '*A story about growing up*' beneath as the much smaller

---

<sup>32</sup> Hill, *The Burnt Stick*, preamble.

<sup>33</sup> Hill, *The Burnt Stick*, preamble.

<sup>34</sup> "The Burnt Stick Questions and Answers," Anthony Hill Books, accessed 12 August 2015, <http://www.anthonhillbooks.com/theburntstickqanda.html>.

subtitle. Clearly the book is expected to evoke a strong emotional connection with the reader, conveying the universal experience of moving from childhood to adulthood as well as suggesting that the story in this text is somber and serious.

*The Burnt Stick* is much more than a story about growing up. It is a story about growing up under a shadow of family trauma. It is the story of a boy, John Jagamarra, being removed at five years of age from his mother, family, and ‘people to whom he belonged.’<sup>35</sup> It is a story of profound grief and sorrow, arising from the depth of love binding John and his mother, and, as time passes, John and his son. Other emotions permeate the story: fear, homesickness, resignation, dislocation, happiness, and hope. Human qualities on display in the novel include resilience, determination, intelligence, humour, and courage. For Hill, human emotion and motivation is critical to his storytelling and, by extension, his representation of the past. He writes that:

For me, the most important part of a story is what is happening inside the characters – what they are thinking, what they are feeling.<sup>36</sup>

The emotions attached by Hill to the Indigenous characters in *The Burnt Stick* makes it clear that his writing also has a political dimension. He is telling a story of the historical practice of removing Aboriginal children from their homes, a story which confers culpability on the ‘white man’ yet does not seek to blame all non-Indigenous people in equal measure. Mrs Grainger, the station boss’s wife, appears to have provided information to the authorities regarding John Jagamarra, but apologises when the ‘Big Man from Welfare’ and the police come to take him:

‘Oh, Liyan,’ said Harriet Grainger. ‘I’m sorry. It’s not right. But there was nothing I could do.’<sup>37</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup> Hill, *The Burnt Stick*, 53.

<sup>36</sup> “The Burnt Stick Questions and Answers,” Anthony Hill Books, accessed 12 August 2015.

<sup>37</sup> Hill, *The Burnt Stick*, 31.



Mrs Grainger is implicated in John's removal but does not betray Liyan's trick of rubbing charcoal into the child's skin. Her contradictory actions – complying with the authorities yet complying with Liyan – suggests an ambivalent position that contributes to the sense of confusion and betrayal in the novel. Hill suggests that the policy of removal did not enjoy the support of all non-Indigenous people but that they could feel powerless to do anything about it.

The Indigenous people are also positioned as powerless to prevent the implementation of the policy of child removal, yet are able to exercise more agency than Mrs Grainger. Liyan's actions forestall John's removal but the joyous respite offered by the tribe's celebration of Liyan's trick makes the return of the 'Big White Man' in the early hours of the morning seem even more cruel and heartless. The Big White Man is nameless and faceless, only dark-trousered legs and heavy shoes marching towards the reader being shown. Although Liyan tricks the faceless Government men once, their determination to remove John and their power to do so, reveals her ultimate lack of agency, as portrayed in the following scene:

[T]he last thing that John Jagamarra saw through his frightened eyes as he looked through the window, was the sight of his mother clinging to the door handle, pleading and trying to run with the truck as she was dragged through the dust. Until, at last, she could hold on no longer and fell face downwards into the dirt.<sup>38</sup>

Liyan's anguish is dismissed heartlessly and ignorantly by the 'Big Man,' who says to Mrs Grainger that '[t]hey are not like us. They soon forget.'<sup>39</sup> Hill writes, however, that 'John Jagamarra did not forget,' making Liyan's anguish all the more poignant.<sup>40</sup> John's determination to find his country and his people as an adult to pass on his heritage to his son, makes it clear that Hill wishes to attach a strong sense of agency to his Indigenous characters. His historical project, then, might be considered as one that highlights the unfairness and

---

<sup>38</sup> See illustration in Hill, 50.

<sup>39</sup> Hill, 50.

<sup>40</sup> Hill, 51.

devastating consequences of the removal of Aboriginal children but that also shows that their strength and resilience could offer hope for the future. Non-Indigenous people are shown to occupy various historical positions, including those who are passive bystanders, those actively engaged in removing children, and those involved in educating children in the Pearl Bay Mission.

The debates around frontier conflict and Indigenous history throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, as discussed in Chapter Three, suggests that it is important to ask if Hill attaches the emotion of guilt to *The Burnt Stick* in the construction of potential readers. Are readers encouraged to respond with the so-called ‘black armband’ view, being ‘made’ to feel guilty for the actions of previous generations? Or is Hill simply encouraging readers to think about the past and judge it on its own terms, perhaps feeling sympathy for the characters but not taking on the blame themselves? Hill writes that he deliberately used a sparse writing style to allow readers the space to develop their own response. Although this may seem at odds with the didactic moral guidance often present in children’s literature, he reflects that:

The more an author can withdraw and restrain from the emotion, the more the readers have to supply it for themselves. And thus the more enduring it becomes.<sup>41</sup>

Did readers in the 1990s respond in this way? How do contemporary readers respond? Reader reviews of the book provide an insight into the emotional meanings readers have supplied as well as indicating how enduring such meanings are. On 10 August 2015, *The Burnt Stick* had 74 ratings on the goodreads website, resulting in an overall rating of 3.66 stars. Of the fifteen written reviews, two suggested that the text had made a lasting impression on readers. Both were written in retrospect. The first was written by a child, reflecting on reading the book three years before when she was in Year 5 of primary school (so around 13-14 years of age when writing) that:

---

<sup>41</sup> “*The Burnt Stick* Questions and Answers,” Anthony Hill Books, accessed 12 August 2015.

It's actually been a while since I read this but I still remember the plot and what I thought of it. I was in year 5 when my teacher read this to the class, it was the day that Kevin Rudd said sorry to the stolen generation. That was a huge day and over the course of the following week we learned so many things about Aborigines and the stolen generation. One of the things we did was read this book.<sup>42</sup>

She goes on to recommend the book to primary school readers. Her comments reveal the use of historical fiction in an educational setting to assist with understanding contemporaneous events. Her memory of the book, Prime Minister Rudd's apology to the Stolen Generations in Federal Parliament on 13 February 2008, and her feelings about the day and the book, provide a rare insight into the complexities of developing historical consciousness in children.

In a similar way, a second review by an adult looking back twenty years, reveals the lasting impact of the cover of *The Burnt Stick*. She writes that:

I hate the dark background and feel it is a pessimistic book because of it. It has taken me twenty years to finally look between the covers. It was worthwhile.<sup>43</sup>

In this example, the reader was apparently turned away from the novel by a negative reaction to the sombre cover but overcame her aversion to read it two decades later, then feeling sufficiently moved to post a review on the goodreads website.

As this woman's review reflects, illustrations provide a further dimension to the evocation of emotions in the reading process. The review indicates that the cover alone was enough to deter her from reading the story when she was younger. Anthony Hill revealed that the original cover was in lighter colours but this was changed by the publisher, perhaps to appeal to older

---

<sup>42</sup> "Review. *The Burnt Stick* Oct 14, 2011" Goodreads, , accessed 13 August 2015, [http://www.goodreads.com/book/show/1284215.The\\_Burnt\\_Stick?from\\_search=true&search\\_version=service#other\\_reviews](http://www.goodreads.com/book/show/1284215.The_Burnt_Stick?from_search=true&search_version=service#other_reviews).

<sup>43</sup> "Review. *The Burnt Stick* Oct 14, 2011," accessed 13 August 2015.

readers.<sup>44</sup> Conversely, perhaps the publisher was signaling that the short novel, which resembles a picture book, was not suitable for younger readers even though it is illustrated throughout. The first edition, in hardback, is also larger in width and length than the average novel but smaller than an average picture book, casting it into uncertain territory in terms of the intended readership.

The cover of a later paperback edition used the background colours of ‘soft turquoise and mauve’ as originally painted by Sofilas, suggesting a desire to evoke a different response from potential readers. As Hill notes, his textual references to colour had a particular purpose: the ‘dark blues, browns and purple’<sup>45</sup> were the colour of John’s mother’s skin, described as ‘the colour of evening’ in the book,<sup>46</sup> but the ‘soft turquoise and mauve [were] very much the colours of morning.’<sup>47</sup> More research is needed to more fully interrogate the publishing strategies and reader responses to the different covers but, from a historiographical viewpoint, these changes reinforce the complexities inherent in understanding representations of the past in historical novels and picture books.

For the internal illustrations, illustrator Mark Sofilas used a black and white charcoal style, reinforcing the central importance of the burnt stick, the source of the charcoal used to disguise John, to the story. Declining the use of colour also reinforced the serious themes explored by Hill, the funereal tones suggesting the inherent sadness of John’s life. The text describes the colours of Pearl Bay yet the illustrations are a reminder that, for John and the other children removed from their families, they are not the colours of home. The colour is missing, just as they are missing from the places that they belong, contributing to an overwhelming sense of loss and grief.

As discussed above, the book shows a particularly striking depiction of the point in time when John is taken from his mother. John is placed in a truck that has a caged area at the back, the

---

<sup>44</sup> “The Burnt Stick Questions and Answers,” Anthony Hill Books, accessed 12 August 2015.

<sup>45</sup> “The Burnt Stick Questions and Answers,” Anthony Hill Books, accessed 12 August 2015.

<sup>46</sup> Hill, *The Burnt Stick*, 13.

<sup>47</sup> “The Burnt Stick Questions and Answers,” Anthony Hill Books, accessed 12 August 2015.

implication being that other Indigenous people, including children, could be locked in there. The image of the naked mother, arms outstretched to the empty road is a stark representation of the act of child removal. The nakedness of the mother may be read as a representation of her vulnerability and innocence, and her helplessness is clearly expected to portray her grief and to evoke an emotional response in the reader.

Of interest here, too, is the decision to depict the Aboriginals living in a camp on the station fringe as naked in a realistic and, for a children's book, quite explicit way. My research has not shown any white females depicted naked, raising questions around the construction of indigeneity in children's literature. Markers of the era such as the style of the truck and the wristwatch depicted on the man's arm suggest that the story is set well into the twentieth-century, yet the actual decade is not clear. The children are shown wearing underpants, the head stockman Charlie Warragin is dressed in a shirt and bushman's hat, and the women identified as working on the station are clothed. The illustrations create a clear dichotomy between the 'civilised' station and the traditional lifestyle of the camp that is John's home.

Interviewing the author, illustrator, and editor might reveal the decisions behind the visual strategies (discourses?) used in *The Burnt Stick*. Are the illustrations, for example, intended to reinforce the idea of Indigenous people's primitive lifestyles or are they intended to suggest that those living a traditional lifestyle love their children and are best placed to care for them? Also important is the impact of the illustrations on the reader. What, for example, does the nakedness signify to the child reader and what impact might that have on their historical consciousness?

Asking such questions may help to guide future research into the historical knowledge and understandings that children develop through their interaction with fictional representations of the past. What is clear is that, in attaching the emotions of loss and grief to the Stolen Generations narrative, at the same time as attributing a level of resilience and agency, Hill contributes to the construction of an etiquette around writing the story of children who were taken and their families. As added to by Hill, this etiquette involves adopting the narrative point of view of Indigenous people, ascribing a sense of loss and outrage to the forcible

removal of children, and detaching the sense of settler triumphalism from representations of Indigenous history. The etiquette, then, works to establish new boundaries around the emotional dimensions of the writing of history and its reception.

**Close reading – Anita Heiss (2002) My Australian Story. *Who Am I? The Diary of Mary Talence***

If Anthony Hill may be seen to attach a sense of agency to John Jagamarra in describing his lifelong resolve to find his people, then Anita Heiss has constructed an Indigenous female character, Mary Talence, who, in her persistent attempts to retain family memories, friendship ties, and connections with other Indigenous people, is political in her agency. A diary novel in the Scholastic Australia My Australian Story series, *The Diary of Mary Talence* is the story of a young Aboriginal girl taken from her family to live at Bomaderry mission, who is then adopted by a middle-class family in an affluent suburb of Sydney. She never forgets her family or her friends from the mission and becomes interested in Indigenous politics in the late 1930s.

From the perspective of emotions in historical writing, Heiss evokes the sense of loss, grief and anger created in *Mathinna's People* and *The Burnt Stick* but *The Diary of Mary Talence* also evokes a strong sense of the child's confusion, resentment and, ultimately, defiance of her situation. Mary does not accept her removal meekly and refuses to 'forget,' just as John Jangamarra refused to forget, but Heiss allows Mary to take action as a child rather than as an adult. As with *Mathinna's People*, Heiss brings to light the narrative of the adopted Indigenous child and gives their experiences a voice within contemporary conversations around the Stolen Generations.

The voices of the Stolen Generations are more often heard in memoir and lifewriting, or as testimony within official government reports, from the 1970s onwards. Accordingly, the narratives are reflective, adult voices looking back, rather than occupying the historical space at the time of their removal. This reflexivity is natural as the official policy of assimilation was

only halted in 1969 with the abolition of the Aborigines Welfare Board.<sup>48</sup> Similarly, a novel about a child written by an adult, as in the two texts above, adopts a position outside the child's history. A child narrator in a novel written for children, however, might be expected to provide a different perspective and to evoke a different emotional response, even though the narrative is still written by an adult who is also outside the child's history. In *The Diary of Mary Talence*, the perspective is that of a fictional stolen child telling her own story in the present tense. This is a strategy of writing that creates the opportunity for the child reader to immerse themselves in the imagined personal and public life of a member of the Stolen Generations. This perspective adds to the biographical and creative non-fiction stories by Indigenous authors accessible to children and older readers about children forcibly removed, such as Doris Pilkington's *Follow the Rabbit-Proof Fence* (1996).

Considering *The Diary of Mary Talence* as an historical artefact, the confident expression of Mary's defiance of the more conventional narrative of the lost child and grieving family indicates Heiss's rejection of simplifying the experiences of the Stolen Generations for child readers. Heiss is a charismatic, vocal advocate of Indigenous rights who uses writing, social media, and academic channels to express her ideas and to challenge stereotypical representations of Indigenous people. In 2004, she was listed on the Bulletin/Microsoft 'Smart 100.'<sup>49</sup> In the 'Frequently Asked Questions' page on her website, Heiss describes how she was approached by Scholastic Australia to provide an alternative to the Anglo/Eurocentric, celebratory narratives of Australia's past. She chose to write about the Stolen Generations to provide a narrative accessible to children and useful to teachers about this 'important, albeit tragic, part of Australian history.'<sup>50</sup> Her motivation was also personal and political, Heiss explaining that:

---

<sup>48</sup> Indigenous families continue to experience higher rates of child removal than non-Indigenous families. According to the Productivity Commission, 17,664 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children were in out-of-home care in mid-2017. Indigenous children accounted for nearly 59 per cent of all children in out-of-home care in Australia, despite making up only 5.8 per cent of Australia's total child population. See Tables 16A.1 and 16A.38 in Productivity Commission, *Report on Government Services. Child Protection Services*, Chapter 16. <http://www.pc.gov.au/research/ongoing/report-on-government-services/2018/community-services/child-protection/rogs-2018-partf-chapter16.pdf>. Accessed 28 March 2018.

<sup>49</sup> "Anita's career," Anita Heiss, accessed 29 March 2018, [http://www.anitaheiss.com/anita\\_s\\_career.html](http://www.anitaheiss.com/anita_s_career.html).

<sup>50</sup> "Frequently asked questions," Anita Heiss, accessed 21 August 2015, [http://www.anitaheiss.com/faqs\\_about\\_anita.html](http://www.anitaheiss.com/faqs_about_anita.html).

[M]y own Grandmother was taken to Cootamundra Girls' Home at the age of 6, and then went to the Home of the Good Shepherd in Ashfield before she was put into service at the age of 14. I don't know one Indigenous Australian who hasn't been affected by the policies of protection. And those of us who have an ability and platform to educate and inform on the issue, and want to make some social change through understanding the consequences of such policies, feel compelled to write, sing, perform etc about it.<sup>51</sup>

Perhaps, in constructing the character of Mary, Heiss has imagined how she herself may have reacted to the Mary's experiences. Mary's defiance may, for example, reflect Heiss's sense of outrage about child removal, as she makes clear in the Historical Note, writing that:

The policies of protection and assimilation are the reason that so many Aboriginal families, communities and society suffered almost complete destruction.<sup>52</sup>

In considering the policies of protection and assimilation as acts of destruction, Heiss stops short of calling them genocidal, although the *Bringing Them Home Report* stated that:

The policy of forcible removal of children from Indigenous Australians to other groups for the purpose of raising them separately from and ignorant of their culture and people could properly be labelled 'genocidal' in breach of binding international law from at least 11 December 1946 (confirmed by Justice Brennan in *Polyukovich* 1991 page 587). The practice continued for almost another quarter of a century.<sup>53</sup>

---

<sup>51</sup> "Frequently asked questions," Anita Heiss, accessed 21 August 2015, [http://www.anitaheiss.com/faqs\\_about\\_anita.html](http://www.anitaheiss.com/faqs_about_anita.html).

<sup>52</sup> Heiss, *Who Am I?*, 193.

<sup>53</sup> Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, (HREOC) *Bringing Them Home. Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families* (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 1997).



While stopping short of radicalizing Indigenous history for the child reader, *The Diary of Mary Talence* may be read in the context of postcolonial literature, as Heiss clearly writes against the grain of the dominant national narrative being expressed in the early 2000s under the Howard Government. It is likely, however, that Heiss would contest the notion of being a postcolonial writer, considering Australia to still be governed in a way that constitutes the ongoing colonization of Indigenous people. The novel also sits within academic historical accounts that were increasingly interrogating the devastating impacts of protection and assimilation policies so clearly made public in 1997 in the *Bringing Them Home Report*.<sup>54</sup> In relation to academic history, some historians were also highlighting the insights to be gained by considering the emotional dimensions of such policies, Joy Damousi arguing that there is a need:

[T]o move beyond certain conventional narratives of Australian history. As a way of reconfiguring this narrative, it is suggested that historians need to give a fuller account of the place of grief, trauma and loss in Australian histories. First, memories of these experiences are political and highlight the oppression by institutions and government of psychic life along the axes of class, gender, race and sexuality. Second, a public expression of trauma emphasises the politicisation of emotional life and points to the crucial role of the 'personal' in progressive politics.<sup>55</sup>

This argument provides a framework, alongside Pinto's perspective on emotions, within which to consider Heiss's historical project. By using the diary as a narrative format, Heiss positions the reader to experience Mary's inner life as she reveals her thoughts and feelings directly. Throughout the story, the axes of class, gender and race are present. Similarly, Mary's determination to participate in the Indigenous 1938 Australia Day Conference to 'protest against the callous treatment of our people by the whiteman during the past 150 years'<sup>56</sup> shows

---

<sup>54</sup> See testimony included throughout the HREOC *Bringing Them Home Report*.

<sup>55</sup> Joy Damousi, "History Matters. The Politics of Grief and Injury in Australian History," *Australian Historical Studies* 33, no.118 (2002): 100.

<sup>56</sup> Heiss, *Who am I?*, 183.

the ‘politicization of her emotional life’ and demonstrates the ‘crucial role of the ‘personal’ in progressive politics.’<sup>57</sup> In the ensuing analysis of the novel, I will focus on the politicization of Mary’s emotional life, interrogating how this approach suggests Heiss had a particular historical project, as well as how readers have responded to the idea of political agency in the context of a Stolen Generation narrative.

In terms of considering the reception of historical fiction within the realm of historiographical analysis of work around the Stolen Generations, the approach of Collins and Davis in relation to the films *Rabbit-Proof Fence* (Phillip Noyce 2002) and *The Tracker* (Rolf de Heer 2002) is persuasive here, as, in taking ‘issue with journalists, film critics and historians who have articulated strongly held professional and ideological suspicions of cinema’s capacity for history,’<sup>58</sup> they argue that:

[H]istory films [should] be understood in terms of spectatorship rather than historical representation, as deferred revisions which invite the viewer to perform a cinematic kind of backtracking, that is, going over old ground in ways that may lead one to retract or reverse one’s opinion.<sup>59</sup>

As a topic for children’s historical fiction, the Stolen Generations may not constitute ‘old ground’ but the political work of inviting a changing or shaping of opinion is evident in *The Diary of Mary Talence*. Certainly, if the text is regarded as a resource for teachers to impart knowledge to students, the revisionary aspect may start with the opinions and attitudes of the gatekeepers. Heiss has a clear historical project that can be considered in terms of spectatorship in the way suggested by Teo, but what would a child learn from reading the novel?

The central theme of *The Diary of Mary Talence* is encapsulated in the subtitle *Who Am I?* Mary continuously questions her removal from her family, first to the Bomaderry Aboriginal

---

<sup>57</sup> Damousi, “History Matters,” 100.

<sup>58</sup> Felicity Collins and Therese Davis, “Disputing History, Remembering Country in the Tracker and Rabbit-Proof Fence,” *Australian Historical Studies* 128 (2006): 37.

<sup>59</sup> Collins and Davis, “Disputing History,” 37.

Children's Home and then as a foster child to the Burke family. She is confused, in anguish, angry and defiant as she tries to understand why her name has been changed and where she fits in the places that she finds herself. Her quest to discover her personal identity also becomes the reader's quest. As the novel unfolds, what Mary learns about herself implicitly becomes what readers learn about Indigenous history.

The question of personal identity is a common theme within fiction for children and young adults, often providing motivation for action through quests, children's literature academic John Foster noting that '[a] quest can be both physical – a journey – and spiritual or psychological – perhaps a rite of passage or growth in self-identity.'<sup>60</sup> The former power of authorities over such determined, agentic children as Mary reinforces the trauma and tragic circumstances of Indigenous child removal. Mary's ultimate connection with the Aboriginal community in Sydney, including learning her nation of origin and language, allows her to succeed in her quest to forge her own identity. The injustice involved in removal from her family is made more poignant by the awareness of what has been taken from her. Hope for the future, however, is implied in her defiance of the demand that she not associate with the young Aboriginal woman Dot.

Mary's quest for self-knowledge and knowledge of other Indigenous people places her quest within a broader contemporaneous and contemporary political environment. Heiss' historical project might then be characterized as repositioning the Stolen Generations as a more complex narrative than one that portrays Indigenous children as victims without agency. Her historical project might also be to evoke empathy and awareness in the contemporary reader of Indigenous history from an Indigenous perspective, to stimulate new understandings that connect past and present and, potentially, the future.

---

<sup>60</sup> Foster "White voices/black voices: Indigenous children's literature," in Foster, Finnis and Nimon, *Bush, City, Cyberspace*, 103.

Such a project is consistent with other fictional narratives for children that show stolen children running away from missions attempting to return home.<sup>61</sup> Film studies, again, offer a way of analyzing such narratives for historiographical purposes, Collins and Davis arguing that:

In Australian cinema at the end of the 1990s, a handful of films set in the recent past offered, not the truth about events in Australian history, but a more profound experience: a form of cultural memory we call backtracking, accompanied by a shock of recognition that we are still living, here and now, in the traumatic afterwardsness of the nation's 'forgotten' colonial origins.<sup>62</sup>

For Heiss, a Wiradjuri woman and active proponent of Indigenous rights, the backtracking is built around her personal history and researching child removal in the 1930s but she also challenges the contemporary reader to remember the Stolen Generations and to understand that the policies of protection and removal, rather than being consigned to an amorphous, untouchable place called 'the past,' should be understood as part of the here and now, continuing to shape cultural, social and political life. Heiss also shows that children such as Mary did have people who cared about their fate and that people were fighting for Indigenous rights before the civil rights and land rights movements of the 1960s and beyond.

In terms of 'traumatic afterwardsness,' Heiss is calling for readers to respect Indigenous people and their rights, with the portrayal of emotions playing a critical role in achieving this purpose. She writes:

Just like the Aboriginal authored books for adults, our children's books aren't just about getting words on paper and books on shelves. Every publication has a much broader purpose beyond simply providing something to read. Its purpose has many levels: to entertain, to educate,

---

<sup>61</sup> For example, the film *Rabbit Proof Fence*; the 'Poppy' titles in the My Australian Girl series.

<sup>62</sup> Collins and Davis, "Disputing History," 53-4.

to inform, to record history, to maintain language, to share culture, to improve literacy, to challenge stereotypes and so on.<sup>63</sup>

In pursuing these multiple purposes, Heiss may be seen to politicize Mary's emotional life, rendering her thoughts and feelings public, evocative, and agentic. In doing so, she may also be looking at the past through modern eyes, as Kim Wilson has argued in relation to other novels in the Scholastic series.<sup>64</sup> She may well be asking the contemporary reader to think about the past with the skills and knowledge of the present.

Yet, as Schwarz suggests, there are other ways in which we may analyse such connections that potentially unveil deeper sources of historical understanding. Using Derrida's notion of *hauntology* and *hauntedness*, Schwarz's contention that *The Ship*, a re-enactment based television series, in using the cinematic conceit of the spectres or ghosts of Captain James Cook and other historical figures, implied 'a lack of resolution' to this aspect of the past, a 'spiritual dis-ease.'<sup>65</sup> She points out Derrida's concept of time as permanently destabilized, asking 'how does a nation live with its ghosts?'<sup>66</sup> The present, also, is permanently in a state of flux, as different answers to this question emerge and compete with prevailing national narratives.

In terms of connecting the past with the present, Wilson's focus on issues such as the ahistorical nature of children's historical fiction and its employment as a tool for nation-building is challenged and new threads of historiographical interest are suggested. Taking up Schwarz's ideas, as an example, there is a role for haunted sites in 'a new, postcolonial articulation of nationhood, because they might force society into recognizing the issues it would like to "deny, ignore or forget".'<sup>67</sup> Mary is haunted by the idea of all the parents that she has been told have died and they may be seen to have a spectral presence in the novel. They are the symbolic ghosts, as are the stolen children not able to tell their stories in the way that the character Mary does. The friends she has lost along the way, as they have been taken

---

<sup>63</sup> Anita Heiss, "Aboriginal Children's Books - not just Pretty Pictures (Writer and Reader) (*Papunya School Book of Country and History*)" *Southerly*. 62, no.2 (Summer 2002), 184.

<sup>64</sup> Wilson, "The Past Through Modern Eyes," 2009.

<sup>65</sup> Schwarz "Not this year!," 429-430 *Rethinking History* September 2007 Volume 11, Issue 3.

<sup>66</sup> Schwarz, 438.

<sup>67</sup> Schwarz, 438.

elsewhere, stolen again, are also an ethereal presence in the novel: Mary has no more likelihood of seeing the friends sent to Cootamundra Girls Home or Kinchella Boys Home than she has of seeing her parents again. They are, in effect, all ghosts to her.

The reader cannot access Mary's friends or parents as characters in the novel in a deep way, yet they permeate its fabric and Heiss creates the impression that their story should be told, that their spiritual existence should be made corporeal. In this way, her work is one response to Derrida's question of how a nation lives with its ghosts. Heiss' response is to acknowledge the existence of such ghosts and to provide the Stolen Generations and their families with agency and a voice in national historical narratives to contemporary child readers.

Undoubtedly Heiss is looking at the past, in Wilson's terms, through modern eyes (how can she not?) and yet, she also constructs a glimpse into the possible impact of child removal predicated on privileging the emotions children in this situation are imagined to have experienced, for children who are imagined to be able to understand and acknowledge them. In doing so, Heiss also portrays the personal as deeply political. The success of her historical project might then be seen in terms of audience reception: do readers learn what Heiss is trying to teach them?

### **Reader responses**

The general response to *The Diary of Mary Talence* has been positive, demonstrating that Heiss was successful in her historical project to give a voice to the Stolen Generations. The novel was given official recognition when shortlisted for the Premier's History Award (Young People's History) in New South Wales in 2002. It is currently available in 115 libraries, and has been translated into Chinese, French and Persian.<sup>68</sup> Posts on goodreads.com as of 26 September 2015 indicated that 88 per cent of readers liked the book, with 35 per cent (45 readers) rating the book 5 stars and 39 per cent (39 readers) rating the book four stars. Seventeen readers posted reviews of the novel. Of those that appear to be children, the

---

<sup>68</sup> "Who am I?," TROVE, accessed 26 September 2015, [http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/34833937?q=diary+mary+talence&c=book&sort=holdings+desc&\\_id=1443353568929](http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/34833937?q=diary+mary+talence&c=book&sort=holdings+desc&_id=1443353568929).

consensus is that the book is one that they enjoyed and would recommend to others. There is also a commonality in their comments on their emotional response to the novel, with the following post providing a representative example:

I love these kinds of books. The messages in this one is sad and makes you think of racism and what we did to the Aborigines. It's a must read.<sup>69</sup>

Of the adult readers who posted reviews, the emphasis is more on the educational potential of the novel, yet they also respond to the emotional content with their own thoughts and feelings. One wrote:

I found 'Who Am I: The Diary of Mary Talence, Sydney 1937' a really heart-breaking and eye-opening novel which moved me to tears once or twice. A really important book for all school children, whether they live on the North Shore or not.<sup>70</sup>

Similarly, Terri Janke, a Wiradjuri/Meriam woman and writer, commented in a review published in *Writer and Reader* in 2002:

The book delivers a creative perspective. This gives the reader a window to learn about history, and to feel it through their hearts.<sup>71</sup>

Such a comment, combined with the reviews posted on goodreads.com suggests that Heiss has been successful in both her literary and historical project of giving the children of the Stolen Generations a voice and moving contemporary readers to greater levels of understanding of Australia's past and their own feelings about it. In doing so, she has stretched the boundaries

---

<sup>69</sup> "Review. *Who am I?*," Goodreads, accessed 17 September 2015, [http://www.goodreads.com/book/show/3288562-who-am-i-the-diary-of-mary-talence-sydney-1937?from\\_search=true&search\\_version=service](http://www.goodreads.com/book/show/3288562-who-am-i-the-diary-of-mary-talence-sydney-1937?from_search=true&search_version=service).

<sup>70</sup> "Review. *Who am I?*," accessed 17 September 2015.

<sup>71</sup> Terri Janke. "A respectful and sensitive fiction. (Writer and Reader)," *Southerly* 62, no.2 (2002):182-184.

of the emotional discourses associated with this narrative and extended the etiquette around telling the stories of the Stolen Generations.

## Conclusion

My intention is to place literature about Indigenous children for children and children's fiction about Indigenous history, within a broader framework of academic, public and popular historiography, not to claim to represent Indigenous voices, or indeed attempt to explain Indigenous history and history-making in any way other than acknowledging mine is a non-Indigenous perspective. If Australians, other than those affected, were once ignorant of the Stolen Generations, that is largely no longer the case. The term itself is embedded into Australian national consciousness, although some dispute the veracity of the *Bringing Them Home* Report. Works such as *Mathinna's People*, *The Burnt Stick* and *The Diary of Mary Talence*, illustrate how public and popular history can move ahead of, but also serve to reinforce, understandings of the past. They also show how an emphasis on emotion can perform historical work, both in imagining the past and evoking responses in the present.

In constructing their representation of the past, the children's historical fiction writers subjected to this analysis have challenged the emotional aspects of foundational national narratives. Instead of triumphalism based on the civilizing influences of settler colonialism, they foster empathy with Indigenous Australians. They convey a sense of horror and disgust at the ongoing consequences of European invasion/settlement on the Indigenous population embedded in the narratives. Instead of reinforcing notions of white superiority, the skills, abilities and humanity of the Indigenous population are shown, and instead of Indigenous people as victims, narratives work to show their agency. Accordingly, this subject area supports the two critical themes of this thesis, that children's historical fiction provides a space for both reinforcing and contesting dominant national narratives, as well as indicating that those involved in its production envisage that there are aspects of the nation's past that need to be represented in new ways to 'our children,' regardless of the emotional effect. In this way, focusing on specific subjects as case studies can uncover contrasting attitudes and responses



to historical events. In the next chapter, I present my final methodological strategy, that of qualitative research with children, which provided an opportunity to directly ask about their perceptions of historical fiction.



## **Part Three**

### **Developing New Approaches to Analysing Fictional Representations of the Past**



## Chapter 9

### Children's Voices in Historiographical Research

#### Introduction

In Chapter Two of this thesis, I described the development of a pilot project to trial a qualitative research study aimed at hearing, directly from children, their views on historical fiction and the place of learning about the nation's past in their lives. This chapter is the space in which the responses of the participants, their voices, can be heard and their contributions are explored.<sup>1</sup> I examine their perspectives on the value of historical fiction as a way of learning about the past, their preferred ways of learning about the past, and the ways in which they encounter representations of the past beyond the classroom.

Sophie Masson's 1996 My Australian Story series novel *My Father's War* was the key fictional stimulus for the pilot project, used to encourage participants to think about historical fiction in terms of the historical work it may perform and its place in children's lives. In *My Father's War*, Masson places her protagonist, twelve-year-old Annie Cliff, in war-torn France in 1918, searching for her missing father who is a soldier in the Australian Imperial Forces fighting on the Western Front. The main setting of the Western Front combines representations of domestic and civilian life with military life behind the front-lines. This intersection of the domestic and the military provide for poignant scenes that offer the child-reader complex insights into the nature and impact of war as it unfolded in France in 1918. In a narrative structured as a diary, Annie records the death and suffering she witnesses, the personal conflict she experiences, and her emotional responses to the situations in which she finds herself. As discussed in Chapter Eight, representations of emotions are a key element of historical fiction, constituting a narrative feature that self-consciously emphasizes the space for imagination, the space for depicting how people may have felt in the past, a space for invention and speculation where

---

<sup>1</sup> All participant names mentioned in relation to the children are pseudonyms to protect their privacy, as was explained to the participants.

archival evidence may, quite simply, be scarce, unreliable, or non-existent. Annie's journey in *My Father's War* provides fertile ground for the exploration of emotions, as her April 28 entry reflects:

I feel so discouraged. So hopeless. The deaths of poor Blue and Owl still hang heavy in my mind. I can't help remembering how kind they were, how full of life. And that makes me think of the other people I know who've died ... Everything seems so dark and sad.<sup>2</sup>

Annie's journey also provides fertile ground for Masson to explore the subject of war, her representation of World War One exposing the horrors of war but still expressing notions of national pride and national identity, albeit with far less prominence than some of the texts discussed in Chapter Seven.

From a literary perspective, *My Father's War* may also be described as a 'quest' novel: Annie embarks on a journey with her mother to find her missing father. Conforming to the plot conventions of the quest, Annie encounters set-backs and difficulties, meets people who assist her, and, ultimately, achieves her goal. The novel is, however, more than a simple plot-based quest, providing broader perceptions of the nature of war, the complexity of human relationships and emotions, and the capacity for children to exercise agency in difficult situations. Masson's representation of World War One thus typifies the search by contemporary authors to illuminate in new ways a subject area that forms part of the primary school curriculum and that is embedded within Australian public and popular culture, particularly within the realm of national and local commemoration. The subject of *My Father's War*, the themes explored, the characters, the plot, the setting and the point of view, combine to construct an historical project that supports the two principal themes of this thesis: the dual conception of 'the child' as vulnerable recipient of history education, and 'the child' as custodian of national narratives. Contemporary ideas about the nature of childhood are also present, most significantly the confronting loss of children suffering as a result of war. Annie's journey is one that explores an area of Australian history from a fresh perspective, suggesting

---

<sup>2</sup> Sophie Masson, *My Australian Story. My Father's War* (Lindfield: Scholastic Press, 2011), 204-5.

that the space of Australian childhood is one in which all ages should share in knowledge of the sacrifices and tragedy of war. Nevertheless, this confrontation, and sharing, indicates that adults guide the child's reading, to mediate the text in ways that support the child's emotional well-being. In terms of the historical (evidence-based) information, they also supplement children's knowledge of the past, as the topic's positioning within the curriculum and within the wider culture indicates. In taking a subject that was gaining more prominence in public governance and the Australian media in the lead up to the centenary commemoration of World War One battles, the writer has produced characters who are vulnerable, yet exercise agency to achieve their goals. The child characters experience tragedy and witness horrific events. For the implied child reader, the adult impulse and responsibility to protect children suggests that historical novels are perceived by gatekeepers as a benign way of assisting children to understand confronting aspects of the past, particularly those that are embedded in the national narratives for which they are envisaged as the future custodians.

Nevertheless, within Masson's historical project, the new ways of understanding the past also include aspects that subvert dominant national historical narratives, contributing to a sense of tension within both the novel and the construction of history for children. *My Father's War* depicts characters suffering, implying a condemnation of war, and yet enters the discursive territory of the Anzac legend. The 2011 book cover commences this connection with the Anzac legend with a simple photograph of the iconic slouch hat placed to show the rising sun badge.<sup>3</sup>

The children involved in the research were asked to think about *My Father's War* as history – the subject matter and the information conveyed about a past event – but also to think historiographically – to think about how products like historical novels influenced their

---

<sup>3</sup> "The Store - My Australian Story," Scholastic, accessed 26 July 2018, <https://shop.scholastic.com.au/Product/8005439/My-Australian-Story-My-Father's-War/?BackToSearch=79b1660a-25eb-45d6-b52a-ace58a7b756b&PageNo=0&ItemsPerPage=12&SortBy=1&SearchString=sophie%20masson&FilterBy=&menuId=&parentId=&breadcrumb>. For a brief description of the slouch hat and the rising sun badge from the perspective of the Australian Army, see <https://www.army.gov.au/our-history/traditions/the-slouch-hat> and <https://www.army.gov.au/our-history/traditions/the-rising-sun-badge>. Accessed 14 March 2018.

thinking about the past, their connection to Australian history, and their understanding of the intersection between their private lives and contemporary public historical narratives.<sup>4</sup>

The pilot study thus provides opportunities to explore the responses of children to this discursive territory as a starting point for understanding more about the ways in which cultural referents such as ‘Anzac’ and ‘digger’ and, more generally, the ‘etiquettes’ (such as the degree of horror deemed acceptable) shaping fictional history-making for children, operate in the contemporary space of Australian childhood. The one on one interview process allowed the exploration of what these children learnt from a work of historical fiction, to assess if the cultural referents and etiquettes that were adhered to by the author were recognized by the children, and to consider their perceptions of how the fiction inflected the historical in *My Father’s War*. Since the novel takes World War One as its subject, I was also able to consider if children sensed anything of the dual tension explored in this thesis between conceptions of children as custodians of dominant national narratives at the same time as being vulnerable learners requiring adult guidance and protection.

### **Connecting children with the past outside of school – how does this take place?**

In both stages of the pilot, my research approach sought to uncover how the participants connected with the past beyond the classroom. My approach to seeking out these connections beyond school was to ask children how they learnt about the past in their leisure time, providing them with examples such as reading fiction or non-fiction books, visiting historical sites, talking to family and friends, visiting a museum, watching television, and searching the internet.<sup>5</sup> Their responses indicated that children do encounter history in their leisure time, although only a few participants reported that they enjoyed learning about the past to such an extent that they would seek information of their own accord.

---

<sup>4</sup> As previous chapters of this thesis show, the work of Anna Clark has been a major influence on my research in this regard.

<sup>5</sup> The interview question (pilot 2) was: As you know, there are a lot of ways kids can learn about Australia’s history: they can read a non-fiction book; read a fiction book; talk to their parents, grandparents or other people; travel to an historic site; visit a museum; look up information on the internet; watch a television show or a movie; even listen to music. What types of activities do you do in your free time that help you to learn more about Australia’s history? (If they cannot think of anything, probe a little by referring to the list of ways children can learn about history.)



In Stage One of the pilot, where the Australian children interviewed lived in Hong Kong, reading was the preferred way of learning about the past for two of the participants, two preferred to visit museums and the fifth enjoyed visiting historic sites. All participants had opportunities to visit museums and historic sites in their leisure time, although such opportunities are unlikely to be available to all children.<sup>6</sup> In Stage Two, where the interviewees lived in Australia, participants reported a similar range of options for learning about the past beyond school, with books, the internet, and television shows identified by all participants as sources of historical information that they accessed. Again, this was a range that is unlikely to be available to all children in equal degree.

For some participants, learning about the past is an eclectic mix of self-directed activities and casual encounters. For example, Chloe, a lover of historical fiction, stated in relation to learning about the history of other countries:

I like watching tv shows on history so I learn about other countries through that. I also like to talk to my brother because he's a history geek and I also like looking on the news when an important date happened ... it tells you a bit about the world's history and sometimes it's just conversations that happen at the dinner table. It just happens. [Chloe]

The importance of supportive family and friends also came through strongly as a critical influence on engagement with the past beyond the classroom. Scott, for example, told me:

---

<sup>6</sup> According to [Children's Participation in Cultural and Leisure Activities, April 2009](#) (ABS cat. no. 4901.0), just over 1.1 million (41%) children aged 5 to 14 years had visited a museum or art gallery outside of school hours in the 12 months prior to interview. The rate of attendance at museums or art galleries was similar for boys and girls (41% and 42% respectively). The attendance rate declined with age and children aged 5 to 8 years had a participation rate of 47%, compared with children aged 9 to 11 years (43%) and children aged 12 to 14 years (33%). Children living in the ACT were more likely to visit a museum or art gallery (60%), while children living in NSW were the least likely to attend (36%). Children in couple families with both parents born in other main English speaking countries (52%) were more likely to attend museums or art galleries than children with both parents born in Australia (42%) and children with both parents born in other countries (28%) (ABS 2009. Viewed 18 November 2017).

Sometimes I like watching programs about historical events. Me and my dad like going to the War Memorial and looking at the different types of planes there. And we've got quite a lot of books in our house so I read a few books there too. [Scott]

Similarly, Kate explained:

I watch shows like Horrible Histories and that tells me a lot of things. And then sometimes my dad buys me a book for Christmas and talks to me all about it. [Kate]

In both stages, it was surprising, given the level of concern about children's excessive use of technology, that historically-oriented websites did not figure more prominently in the conversations. All participants found the pilot study website useful and enjoyed looking at the visual material on the website, particularly the photographs (see Figure 9.1 below), yet their responses to other questions indicate that multimedia websites are not a usual way for them to learn about the past unless they are working on a school project. This finding is likely to relate to the way in which children use the internet in their leisure time, with historical websites not a high priority, or not perceived as a source of entertainment.

During the interviews, some children spoke in more depth about their preferences in learning about the past when they visited museums. Again, the positioning of this generation of children as digital natives suggested to me that they would be most interested in exhibitions employing multimedia technology. There seemed, instead, to be a genuine interest in looking at historical artefacts and reading about them rather than a desire for interaction with technologically-based exhibition resources. Parker, for example, expressed interest in museums but did not indicate that multimedia presentations were a key attraction, seeming more interested in the potential to physically experience re-created elements of the past through immersive, lifelike sets, such as the trenches in the Imperial War Museum, London, or through dressing up in clothing from the past. Again, this is suggestive of the strong desire to be able to relate to the past on an emotional and empathetic level. To illustrate, Lachlan stated:

I like it when you can sort of walk around and they've got is so that it feels a bit like you're there but you're still getting the facts and stuff. Yeah, 'cos they've got museums where you can walk through different things and in England they've got the Imperial War Museum where they have a trench set up ... which is very interesting, they've got wax figures and stuff. [Lachlan]

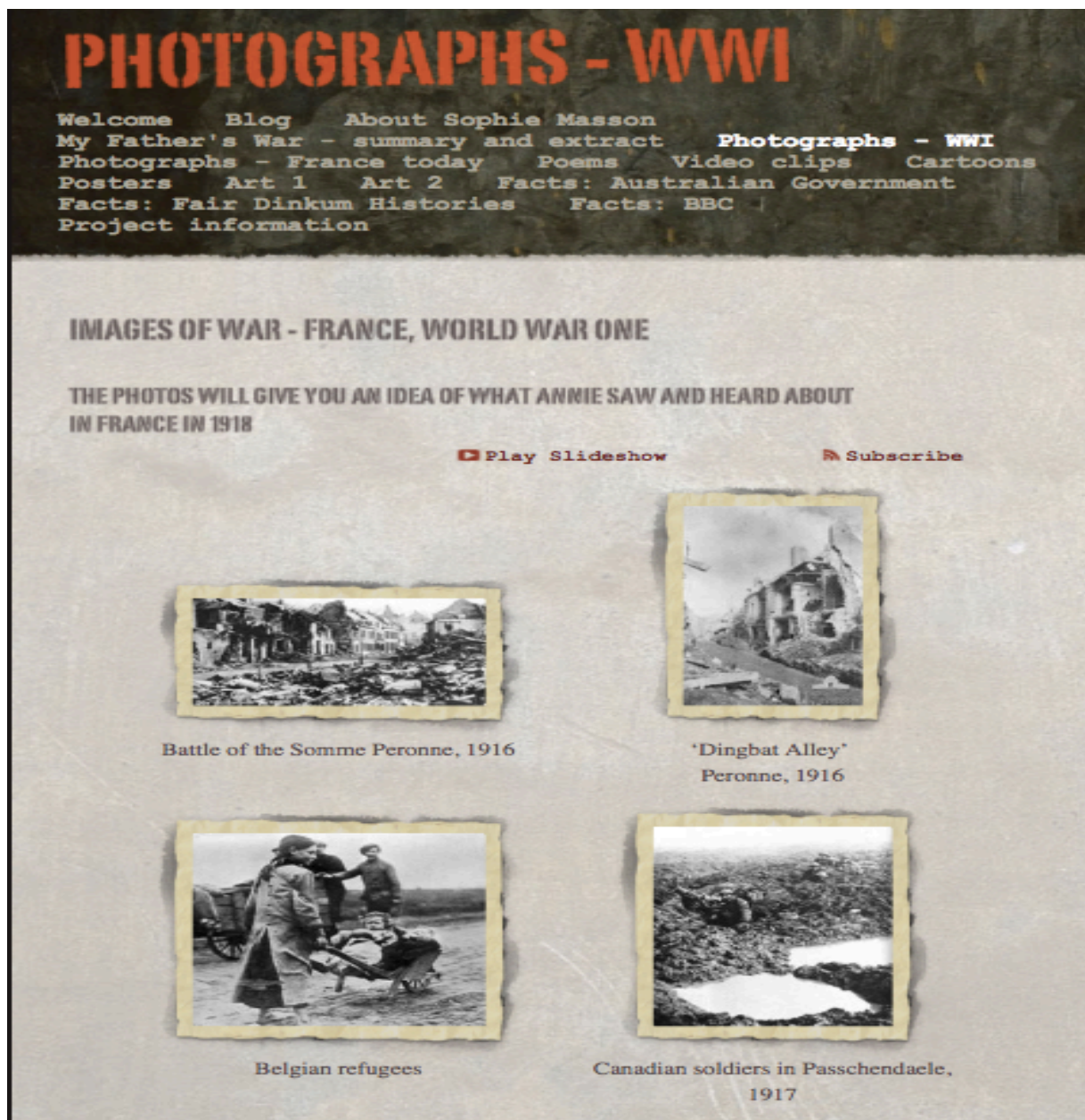


Figure 9.1: 'Photographs – WWI' – image from pilot study website<sup>7</sup>

Such a view suggests a desire to experience the past through a believable replication, a replication that goes beyond the visual or aural by offering the opportunity to occupy a space imagined to be a slice of the past. That such displays are available to children, either in children's museums or in child-oriented exhibitions in mainstream museums, can be linked to changing constructions of childhood, Kate Darian-Smith and Carla Pascoe observing that:

<sup>7</sup> Page from pilot study website <http://ozhistory4kids.com/ozhistory4kidscom/Photographs - WWI.html>: image created by the researcher as part of the study. See Appendix E for further details from the website.

The emergence of children's museums can be understood as linked to the growth of a broader cultural interest in children and their needs across the Western World from the late nineteenth century.<sup>8</sup>

Museums for children developed in the USA and 'from the 1970s their popularity has exploded worldwide.'<sup>9</sup> This popularity makes the museum experience a potentially strong influence on the development of children's historical consciousness and knowledge. Such potential is, of course, limited by constraints on access.

In the realm of representations of war, the Australian War Memorial provides a pertinent example of the effort to engage children. There is an active program of activities for schools,<sup>10</sup> and a Discovery Zone, where children can 'Dodge sniper fire in a First World War trench, take control of an Iroquois helicopter and peer through the periscope of a Cold War submarine.'<sup>11</sup> Christine Van Everbroeck, Sandra Verhulst and Sandrine Place consider that the scheduling of play activities in a military museum is 'risky,' stating 'war is not a game and violence should under no circumstances be glorified.'<sup>12</sup> They suggest, however, that adults can assist children with understanding 'past events by linking these events to their own worlds or experiences.'<sup>13</sup> Mediating children's experiences in this way echoes the way in which historical fiction is conceptualized as a resource through which children can learn about the past, finding a balance between being immersed in or playing at war and condemnation of the associated destruction, suffering and death. Both uses of the past indicate a conception of childhood as a space where

---

<sup>8</sup> Kate Darian-Smith and Carla Pascoe, *Children, Childhood and Cultural Heritage* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 9.

<sup>9</sup> Darian-Smith and Pascoe, *Children, Childhood*, 9.

<sup>10</sup> "Schools and Teachers," Australian War Memorial, accessed 24 December 2017, <https://www.awm.gov.au/learn/schools>.

<sup>11</sup> "The Discovery Zone," Australian War Memorial, accessed 24 December 2017, <https://www.awm.gov.au/visit/visitor-information/features/discovery-zone>.

<sup>12</sup> Christine Van Everbroeck, Sandra Verhulst and Sandrine Place, "Let's play soldier: learning while playing," in Katy Beale, ed., *Museums at Play. Games, Interaction and Learning* (Edinburgh, UK: MuseumsEtc, 2011), 113.

<sup>13</sup> Van Everbroeck, Verhulst and Place, "Let's play soldier," 113.

such learning should take place in an entertaining yet respectful way.<sup>14</sup> A sense of occupation of the past may resemble the immersive experience that a historical novel may offer if it truly engages the reader.

Just as adults mediate access to reading material and visits to museums, they also mediate access to personal and family histories that circulate within the domestic space. Both stages of the pilot accorded with Rantala's finding that family members play a critical role in connecting children with the past. As with Rantala's interviewees, four of the Stage One participants indicated the important role of grandparents as facilitators of access to family stories, V stating:

[M]y grandma just turned 90 and she was there in World War Two ... she told me how the Americans used to fly around her house but how easier life was for her because she was living on a farm so they had all the crops they needed to eat, so they wouldn't run out of food... they had a water tank there for rainwater ... so they wouldn't run out of resources. [Catherine]

One participant expressed a strong desire to hear more of his family history from his parents:

Well you know I've tried to learn more about my [father's] side but my dad he doesn't really talk about it much ... I ask him questions and he just gives one word answers, he doesn't really know anything about it either. [Jeremy]

The role of parents, grandparents and other family members warrants closer study in an Australian context, recognising German historian Jörn Rusen's argument that the teaching and learning of history are 'fundamental processes and phenomenon in human culture, not

---

<sup>14</sup> My observations of the Discovery Zone some years ago suggest that children respond with interest and enthusiasm to the activities on offer, some to the extent that the play overpowers the dignity and sombre atmosphere encouraged elsewhere within the Australian War Memorial.

restricted simply to the school.’<sup>15</sup> Further research is needed to learn about the nature and scope of historical activities in the domestic sphere, so that they can be recognized and their content explored in more detail since, as educationalist Frances Blow has noted, and these children confirm, ‘everyday and personal experiences shape students’ responses to and interpretations of what they read and hear about in history lessons.’<sup>16</sup> A more detailed understanding of how personal narratives influence the development of historical understanding in childhood would contribute an empirical balance to rhetoric that conceives and employs constructions of ‘our children’ in relation to national historical narratives. Paula Hamilton observes in relation to children, memory and history that:

[S]chool curricula and private lives reinforce the notion that their stories are important, that they too are the legitimate subjects of history. Popular cultural forms give them the opportunity to view and participate in representations of history also.<sup>17</sup>

A broader and deeper collection of personal narratives would also challenge the inherent homogeneity of how the idea of ‘our children’ is mobilized for political purposes, providing a reminder of the complexity of the ethical guidance of children.

### **Perceptions of learning about the past through historical fiction – what do children think about historical fiction as a way of learning about the past?**

The extent to which historical novels and picture books resonate with children depends, of course, upon the text and upon the individual. The study reflected this obvious point, with some participants stating they really enjoyed reading historical fiction, while others would not usually choose that genre. The ability to understand more about the nature of children’s responses – their likes and dislikes – is, however, worth exploring in the context of how

---

<sup>15</sup> Jörn Rusen, “The Didactics of History in West Germany: Towards a New Self-Awareness of Historical Studies,” *History and Theory* 26, no.3 (October 1987): 276.

<sup>16</sup> Frances Blow, “Everything flows and nothing stays’: how students make sense of the historical concepts of change, continuity and development,” *Teaching History*, 145 (December 2011): 50.

<sup>17</sup> Paula Hamilton, “Memory Studies and Cultural History,” in *Cultural History in Australia*, ed.s Hsu-Ming Teo and Richard White (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2003), 88.

children see these texts within the space of their own childhood.<sup>18</sup> James, for example, stated a general preference for the fantasy genre, Jai is most engaged by adventure/action novels, and John, when asked if he would read historical fiction in his leisure time, stated (with a wry smile) 'I usually choose something else.' For these children, historical fiction holds no appeal, although they would read it if directed to it.

Conversely, Chloe spoke of her love for historical novels and described how she sought out such texts when visiting the school library, citing Jackie French and Belinda Murrell as two of her favourite authors. Her enthusiasm for the genre resonates with de Groot's comment that:

Little theoretical work has been undertaken on why popular audiences enjoy historical fictions on-screen and consume them in such huge quantities ... one of the key things to have been ignored in many accounts of popular historical fictions is the fact that they provide pleasure to their readers and audiences.<sup>19</sup>

Turning to the case study text, responses to *My Father's War* from the Stage One participants, who read the complete novel, were mixed: three participants conveyed their enjoyment of the novel, whereas two were less enthusiastic. For those children who enjoyed the novel, their enjoyment was linked to their interest in learning about the details of ordinary people living through World War I in France. As Lachlan stated:

I was also really (interested) to see how hard it was on these people, to see how they struggled to survive and that people had to steal food and stuff 'cos they were going to starve or their families were going to starve.

---

<sup>18</sup> Perry Nodelman and Mavis Reimer, *The Pleasures of Children Literature* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2003), 23-4.

<sup>19</sup> Jerome de Groot, *Remaking History. The Past in Contemporary Historical Fictions* (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2016), 151.



And also it seemed to be more personal, instead of where historians just write all facts and stuff. This was more fictional so that you had more of an idea of other people's lives and stuff, instead just facts and figures of people. [Lachlan]

Similarly, Catherine, in her creative response which took the form of a book review, wrote:

I also learnt how a person felt from WWI, reading Annie's diary...[Catherine]

For one participant, the artifice of the diary form provided an effective link to the past:

I enjoyed it quite a lot 'cos I like reading about history ... but not in like a textbook kind of way, so it's quite interesting for me to read ... I liked it because it was told through the view of a kid and you could actually feel that this writer was expressing she was a kid but ... you could actually feel that she's a kid not an adult.

*(So you could relate to Annie?)*

Yes I could relate.... It's easier to think about her. [Harry]

The idea of being able to relate to the main character was also implied by other participants, who liked the immediacy of Annie's reporting on her experiences. The plot and character development ensured that emotions are emphasized in how the fictional inflects the historical, Masson stating that she wanted:

[T]o bring in as much as possible the experience of civilians, who suffered greatly and displayed outstanding courage, too – medical staff and soldiers' families and local people, whose villages and towns were destroyed.

Angus thought it would be good to be able to ‘participate’ even more closely in the novel by making choices about the plot, suggesting:

[M]aybe choose your own adventure would be cool because you could  
do it like as a soldier. [Angus]

His comments call to mind de Groot’s analysis of mass-market military-based historical novels, which he argues ‘seem to allow a particular readership to feel what it is like to be in the heat of combat, communicating to them something of the savage historical other.’<sup>20</sup> Within this act of communication, in the case of children’s historical novels and picture books, etiquettes, tropes, metanarratives can all influence the development of the child reader’s historical imagination. The deliberate casting of the Scholastic *My Australian Story* series as educational seems to mitigate against viewing these texts as populist, escapist historical fictions.<sup>21</sup> They are not meant to merely entertain – to provide an escape – they are meant to educate. Perhaps they are, more precisely, aiming to educate in an entertaining way. What they are intended to teach, and how they teach it, thus become important questions in how novels such as *My Father’s War* contribute to the historical imaginary in the space of childhood.

As shown in previous chapters, some historical novels and picture books do present ‘a way of knowing the past or engaging with it that is simple and straightforward, nostalgic and comforting.’<sup>22</sup> Such texts confirm prevailing national narratives. Those texts that contest these narratives are less simplistic in their rendering of the past, less nostalgic and less comforting. Nevertheless, both can work within ethical frameworks that seek to guide children, recognizing their vulnerability at the same time as placing importance upon their roles as future custodians of national narratives.

---

<sup>20</sup> de Groot, *Remaking History*, 37.

<sup>21</sup> de Groot, Chapter 5.

<sup>22</sup> de Groot, 156.

The stories read or heard in childhood may contribute, then, to an awareness of the existence of the intangible world of the past. In each stage of the pilot, I asked participants if they felt historical fiction was a good way to learn about the past. The answers revealed that most of the children did believe that historical fiction is a valid and useful way to learn about the past, identifying aspects such as creativity, using a ‘fun’ approach and improving knowledge, as reasons why this might be so.

The idea that historical fiction needs to have an element of fun is consistent with other forms of historical production for children. The *Horrible Histories* series, for example, combines cartoons with historical information, with a focus on the more gruesome, gory and ‘horrible’ aspects of the past. The Australian version *Dinkum Histories* takes a similar approach. Anna Clark’s more recent *Convicted! The Unwonderful World of Kids, Crims and Other Convict Capers*, written ‘in special laboratory conditions to prevent any dreary dregs infecting it,’<sup>23</sup> and *Explored! The Unglorious World of Burke and Wills, Rotten Food and Getting Lost*,<sup>24</sup> follow in the same vein. These comedic tendencies demonstrate a perception that children respond well to humour, a perception that fuels publication of children’s titles in genres other than historical fiction. The impulse to entertain could imply to children that criminal activities and exploration disasters are suitable subjects for humour, contrasting with postcolonial unease around colonization and the frontier wars. Humour is also applied to the subjects of World War One and World War Two in *Horrible Histories* and *Dinkum Histories* in a way that also contrasts with the solemnity of national commemoration activities and the veneration of Anzac.

The pilot study didn’t delve into the question of what the children felt about humour in relation to historical presentations, but it did elicit responses about the education/entertainment nexus. Angus pointed out that he thought that even if an historical novel was enjoyable, it did need to have a deeper purpose. He stated that historical fiction should provide a balance between learning and entertainment:

---

<sup>23</sup> Anna Clark and Kate Cawley, illus., *Convicted! The Unwonderful World of Kids and Other Convict Capers* (Catherine: Hardie Grant Egmont, 2005). Back cover.

<sup>24</sup> Anna Clark and Kate Cawley, illus., *Explored! The Unglorious World of Burke and Wills, Rotten Food and Getting Lost* (Catherine: Hardie Grant Egmont, 2008).

Well it kind of incorporates expanding your knowledge and learning something new at the same time. So it's kind of like in that good reading point – like not extending your learning [but] not being very fun or it being very fun but you're not going anywhere with it... kind of in that perfect way point. [Angus]

Similarly, Cooper saw historical fiction as a 'great way' to learn about the past because:

[I]t improves people's literature (literacy), it gives people a wider creative mind and it also does kind of teach history in a way. [Cooper]

Chloe described historical fiction as 'just a really easy way, creative as well ... to learn about Australia's history.' [Chloe]

The responses suggest that the participants had a strong expectation about historical fiction: they fully expected to be informed about the past and trusted that the novel did present accurate information. Only one participant in Stage One read the Historical Note in any depth, the others content that the author was, in general, presenting an accurate account of the past, although this does not mean that they accepted *the story* unquestioningly. V. expressed the view that knowing the novel to be fiction may create a little uncertainty as to the veracity of all details, stating that:

Sometimes I find out things I didn't know and I thought it might have been something different so I'm kind of half wondering if it's completely right. Sometimes I wonder if it's up to date because it might be a bit old. (V)

Several participants in Stage Two also questioned the educational value of historical novels. Scott, in considering if historical novels are a good way to learn about the past, said:

It is but sometimes they're not always accurate. I think one of the best ways is going to an actual gallery because that's all confirmed information. [Scott]

This view was echoed by Jai, who said of historical novels:

[T]hey're not always accurate. I think one of the best ways [of learning about the past] is going to an actual gallery because that's all confirmed information. [Jai]

Jai's comment is consistent with adult views expressed in the *Australian Uses of the Past* survey, with participants indicating that museums are viewed as trustworthy sources of historical information.<sup>25</sup> Perhaps this is an example of the shaping of children's learning, with adults guiding them in how to access information about the past deemed appropriate and factual.

The participants in both Stage One and Two conveyed a conviction that it is important to know the difference between fact and fiction in learning about the past, that 'history' should be an accurate portrayal of past events. James highlighted the potential for some readers to not distinguish between fact and fiction, thereby distorting their understanding of past events. He expressed concern that younger readers (eight or nine years old):

[M]ight get confused about which bits are fact and which bits are fiction, like most historical fiction would probably have a made up story in like the real past with different characters, people that probably didn't exist but are doing things that happened, like maybe they went to the goldrush – it's a good way to learn about the goldrush – but if there was like a story, like someone collapsing a mine on someone then they

---

<sup>25</sup> See Paul Ashton and Paula Hamilton, *History at the Crossroads. Australians and the Past* (New South Wales: Halstead Press, 2007).

might think in the goldrush heaps of people collapsed mines on other people even though that might not have happened. So they might be confusing fact and fiction. [James]

The participants' views indicate an awareness within their own ethical development that discerning between fact (what really happened) and fiction (what an author has created without a direct evidence base) is an important skill. They articulated views about how fictional history is written, but also how their own abilities are implicated in the creation of historical understandings. This suggests a self-consciousness and self-awareness about historical literacy that accords with Nodelman's suggestion that children 'need adults to teach them the strategies that will actually make their reading a communicative event.'<sup>26</sup> These strategies include the 'repertoire of information and strategies for meaning-making authors assume their readers will possess.'<sup>27</sup> In the case of historical fiction, it might reasonably be expected that readers possess a repertoire of skills specific to representation of the past, from specific historical knowledge to broader historical sensibilities such as the movement of time, and the impacts of class, race and gender.

Considering the participants' perspective on fact and fiction in the context of the debates about historical fiction, truth and authenticity, reinforces the expectations that audiences may place upon historical fiction. The implied contract with the reader is that sound historical evidence underpins the story. The children in the study had an expectation that 'facts' should be true, and worried about other, younger children being misled. The misleading of children may be seen by children as well as gatekeepers as an unacceptable offence, although children may be more forgiving if they enjoyed the story. Their first demand on the fiction is that the story be compelling. Participants in Stage Two said that they would generally only consult the authors' notes if they were confused or particularly interested in an aspect of the story and wanted to know more about its factual basis. Cooper captured these tendencies in saying:

---

<sup>26</sup> Nodelman and Reimer, *The Pleasures of Children's Literature*, 32.

<sup>27</sup> Nodelman and Reimer, 53.

Sometimes I might take a peek. But the notes aren't too interesting. Like a lot of people would know that there's been world wars and all that kind of stuff. Yeah sometimes I might take a quick glance at the notes at the back. [Cooper]

Similarly, Chloe stated:

It depends whether or not I got a bit confused during the book. Sometimes I will read them to get more clarity. And Jackie French puts in things like recipes and that sort of thing, has a lot of fun and tries to make it more interesting. [Chloe]

Implicitly, the participants also indicated a strong view that historical fiction is an approach to representing the past that, either through the strength of characters or plot, is (or is expected to be) entertaining and interesting. How the fiction inflects the historical is therefore critical to audience engagement. Chloe told me:

I enjoy a story more when I can relate to the characters and see myself in that situation because it conveys to me this could actually be happening and I like it when a story feels realistic to me. But ... even when a character is not relatable if the story is still interesting that's good enough for me. [Chloe]

Cooper, too emphasized the need for historical novels to engage the reader as a work of fiction, describing his reaction to two *My Australian Story* books, one on Vietnam and the other on Gallipoli:

Well I have a Gallipoli book and Vietnam book. The Vietnam book was not particularly interesting but I really liked the Gallipoli one because it was into the action, it was him saying it's a tough life here in Gallipoli. I just like getting the books into the action instead of as Vietnam was a

lot of the time a kid writing about what his brother was telling him when he was in Vietnam. I like the characters into the action. [Cooper]

In offering his advice on how adults could improve historical products for children, Scott emphasized the importance of historical fiction having a compelling story:

Try to find the balance between not just a whole fact or (*pauses*) ... it's hard to explain ... not just everything that happened but also give a storyline to it so it's like a story and facts about what happened during the war. [Scott]

The appeal of historical fiction to children, then, is inextricably related to the strength of the text as a story. The skill with which an author brings together the narrative elements discussed in Chapter Five and, in the case of picture books, the skill of the illustrator, are, it would seem, more important than their credentials as historical researchers. The success of the literary project is, it would seem, at least as important to participants' enjoyment of the novel as the success of the historical project. Chloe, for example, stated:

Overall, this book was great. I really learnt some things from it. It gave me information which could be useful, and gave me a good story. This book was thrilling with excitement as I read pages by pages, chapter by chapter. I really loved it. 4/5. [Chloe]<sup>28</sup>

As part of the study, I investigated whether the case study interviews would be corroborated by online reviews of *My Father's War*. Of the eight reviews posted on goodreads as of 23 December 2017, four appear to have been posted by children. All reviews were positive, the reviewer stating that they 'loved' the book,<sup>29</sup> or found it 'great.'<sup>30</sup> One review resembled

---

<sup>28</sup> Chloe, age 11, review of *My Father's War*, creative response, Stage One pilot study, 2013.

<sup>29</sup> "Tilly: Review of *My Father's War*," Goodreads, accessed 23 December 2017, <https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/9525848-my-father-s-war>.

<sup>30</sup> "Ava: Review of *My Father's War*" Goodreads, accessed 23 December 2017, <https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/9525848-my-father-s-war>.



Chloe's comments in the interview, referring to both the historical information as well as the strength of the story in explaining their enjoyment of the novel. 'Hayley' gave the novel 5 stars, stating:

The story had so much detail and it was probably one of the best books that I have ever read. Every time I had to put the book down most of the time it ended on a cliff hanger so it always made me want to keep on reading. To sum everything up it was an awesome book and I would definitely recommend this book to ages 8 and up.<sup>31</sup>

The importance of effective narrative is also identified in scholarship about the use of gaming theory and technology in museum activities targeting children, Alex Mosely writing that '[i]n all case studies, a well-developed narrative or story was a key feature of both the design, and the success, of the games.'<sup>32</sup>

Reception of historical understanding is related to the elements of narrative that contribute to enjoyment, an emotional response that is elusive to define. However, as a feeling, 'enjoyment' may be placed within the context of the emotional connections between text and audience. As Annie searches for her father, Masson conveys her emotional turmoil, an element of the text which de Groot relates to the enjoyment of this form of fictional historiography.<sup>33</sup> Comments made by Kaiden captured how this aspect of consumption applied to his reading of *My Father's War*, writing in his recount that:

I learnt about the living conditions in World War One, including what it was like, Annie's emotions, as well as other people's emotions, their different views of World War One and most people's hardships.

He also reflected on his own response to reading the novel:

---

<sup>31</sup> "Hayley: Review of *My Father's War*," Goodreads, accessed 23 December 2017, <https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/9525848-my-father-s-war>.

<sup>32</sup> Alex Moseley, "Immersive Games: an alternative reality for museums," in Beale, *Museums at Play*, 240.

<sup>33</sup> de Groot, *Remaking History*, 153.

There is a good amount of suspense without me getting too emotional, but enough so that I would not abandon this book. [Kaiden]

Chelsea's recount also indicated a sense of the connection between enjoyment of a novel and emotions, writing:

At first I thought the book was a bit boring but then I started to get into it and really enjoyed the book. In my opinion I think sad novels are the best stories you can read because they are very emotional. I liked this book because it was sad but also happy and I think that it was a great novel. [Chelsea].

The views of these participants reflect the emotion/enjoyment nexus that is identified in public and popular historiographical scholarship as important to engaging child participants. In the context of museums, Sarah Fellows writes that:

Mystery adventures are a big part of the family learning programme at Avoncroft Museum and there are plenty of good reasons for that. Children place much higher value on what they've learnt if they've had to work for it, and they are more likely to remember what they learnt if they enjoyed doing it.<sup>34</sup>

This idea of enjoyment relating to learning resonates with scholarship that suggests entertainment plays an important role in imparting historical information to children. As already discussed, the education/entertainment nexus permeates the production and consumption of historical novels and picture books for children. The educational aspect is linked strongly to the ethical guidance of children, with childhood conceived as a time for the gaining of knowledge for active citizenship.

---

<sup>34</sup>. Sarah Fellows, "Avoncroft Museum of Historic Buildings – Elementary, My Dear Visitors: How Puzzles, Mysteries and Challenges Can Create Memorable Learning Experiences" in Beale, *Museums at Play*, 129.

The natural corollary of understanding more about how children learn about the past is to ask what they are learning. This brings me to Teo's question of 'What would they learn?' by reading *My Father's War*. My assessment of Masson's novel is that children would learn general information about Australia's involvement in World War One, with a focus on the Western Front. They would learn details about the implications of the war on Australian and French civilians, as well as some of the details about life behind the battle-lines for ancillary staff such as nurses and wounded soldiers. While Annie's quest presents plot turns that stretch the bounds of believability, especially regarding the likelihood of such a quest being undertaken in the first place, this is perhaps accepted as part of the willing suspension of disbelief associated with reading fiction.

General facts and details are part of the surface learning made available for the reading of *My Father's War*. The website I created provided paratextual information about the past to contextualize the novel and to provide an opportunity for complementary learning, in different styles, about World War One. The deeper currents within the novel of theme, embedded national narratives, and ideas about childhood, are other ways in which the children may have learnt. The learning opportunities relating directly to *My Father's War* are only assessable for Stage One in this study, as only these participants read the entire novel rather than an extract. Nevertheless, the case study interviews provided an opportunity to explore how children perceived what they learnt from both the novel (for Stage One) and the extract (Stage Two).

The recount task was the most revealing in terms of what the children thought they learnt about World War One from the novel. The four recounts submitted indicate that Masson did achieve her aims in relaying information about World War One (factual) and its impact on ordinary people (fictionalized). Chelsea, for example, wrote:

When I read this novel I learnt about World War One. I also learnt that it was not nice to have a sibling, parent or even a neighbor going to war and not coming back. [Chelsea]

Similarly, Catherine wrote that:

*My Father's War* taught me a lot of things about World War One, and I didn't know anything about World War One up until now. I never knew that World War One was started by Germany, as I thought they only started World War Two. [Catherine]

The participants' responses indicated that they achieved a broader and deeper level of knowledge about World War One, perhaps enhanced by the tasks that they were asked to complete.

As discussed throughout this thesis, the potential for historical fiction to play a role in the ethical guidance of children is one lens through which these novels and picture books can be viewed. The direct research with children enabled me to explore participants' views on representations of the past for children. Their responses demonstrated an ability to think about history in terms of how it may be relevant to the present and to think critically about how the past is represented. For example, when asked if they thought that war is an appropriate subject for children's books, all except one participant in Stage One expressed the view that the subject of war, with the attendant horrors and death, was not too distressing for children of their age. S. commented that playing computer and console games meant that many children of their age were not distressed by the idea of blood and guns. The participant who felt that the novel could be distressing thought that the level of a child's maturity was an important consideration, stating that:

Yeah ... it was just so gruesome and bloody a little bit ... It's ok if you're mature enough but a bit graphic. [Harry]

The participants in Stage Two concurred that war was an appropriate subject for children's historical fiction; indeed, they expressed a strong view that war is an important subject for children to learn about. Chloe, for example, said:

I think it's [pauses] ... how to word this ... I think it's really good having war as a subject for a children's book because it's important that everybody no matter what age has an understanding of the destructive element and the good elements of war and the effect that it had on our society and the environment and our world and therefore it's really important to have books about that. [Chloe]

The students' responses did not suggest that they felt that historical fiction portrays the past as inferior to the present, as proposed in Kim Wilson's theory of humanistic metanarrative of positive progression. The participants focused on the world of the story rather than comparing it to the world today. In talking about the photographs on the website, they commented on enjoying being able to compare past and present but did not convey a sense of positive progression. The implication was that the war had wreaked havoc on France, and that it was good to see the countryside had recovered, but this did not mean contemporary society's superior. Angus, in relating learning about war to contemporary society did so in a way that indicated that he believed the problems of the past could be repeated, suggesting an awareness that positive progression is not to be taken for granted. His comment is amusing but does show an awareness that understanding the past may help understand the present:

Yeah I think it's a good topic to learn about so that we can prevent it from happening again because in the future years we're probably getting older and someone may just become Prime Minister or President (if we ever have one of Australia) and they might go really crazy. [Angus]

This comment demonstrates that Angus perceived possible connections between the past, present and future, and that children's historical understandings might just be important. His awareness that terrible events have occurred in the past, are happening now, and could happen again suggests a perception of history as a continuum rather than a positive progression.

Wilson's work also emphasized the nation-building aspects of children's historical fiction, as discussed in previous chapters. The interviews in the pilot provided an opportunity to explore the extent to which children might draw such meanings from *My Father's War*. Overall, the children's responses indicated a personal connection to the novel and a feeling for the suffering of the characters and the impact of war on ordinary French people. None of the interviewees commented on feeling a sense of pride at the exploits of the Anzacs, perhaps because Masson's touch in this regard is light in comparison to some other texts. However, she does engage with the etiquette of deep respect for Australian mateship within the context of war and the legend of Anzac, primarily through Annie's relationships with Australian soldiers and nurses. The inclusion of nurses and the portrayal of their role in the war effort is an example of how the domination of the Anzac legend by ideas of masculinity is being challenged in public and popular historiography, as is occurring within academic historiography.<sup>35</sup>

Extrapolating from the idea of Anzac, participants did not indicate that reading the novel or extract conferred upon them some deeper understanding of what it meant to be Australian. Questions of national identity were simply not on their radar. I suggest, then, that my research reveals that Masson achieved her historical project of a universalized rather than nationalistic representation of war. This calls into question Wilson's concerns regarding the propaganda effect of such material.

## Conclusion

*My Father's War* is an example of the texts within the historical fiction corpus that encompass national narratives but that aim at a deeper engagement with Australia's past than flag-waving at commemorations or observing a minute's silence at public events on Anzac Day. Incorporating a sociological dimension in historiographical research provides an opportunity to better understand the nature and impact of such texts. The close interrogation of texts with the purported audience can reveal much about how fictional historiography works within the space of childhood, a space that invariably is shaped and inhabited by adults.

---

<sup>35</sup> See, for example, the 2014 Australian television mini-series *Anzac Girls*, accessed 27 March 2018, <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt3078602/>.

Despite its limitations, the pilot research conveys a sense of how fictional histories contribute to the ethical guidance of children. *My Father's War* did evoke responses consistent with the dualities proposed in this thesis: children were guided into learning and the author took this responsibility seriously, an implicit recognition of the child's vulnerability to alternative narratives. The focus on World War One and the complication of the story of civilians and the military encompassed an intent to broaden understanding of the nature of war and the nature of Australians engaged in military conflict but nevertheless contributed to the national narrative of Anzac. There is a certain tension within the novel between the depiction of the harsh realities of war, which contests a simplistic version of national pride in engaging in war, and the reinforcement of ideas embedded within the national psyche such as mateship, sacrifice and doing one's part in times of war. The child readers, however, were most concerned with the quality of the story – as fiction. The emotions aroused represented the strongest connection with the text. These, however, were emotions of a personal rather than nationalistic nature.

If we want to know more about how children's historical understanding is formed, and the nature of their understanding, then asking them directly is, I believe, an important research project. At a practice level, I am hopeful that this pilot project demonstrates the potential benefits of encompassing fictional histories and research with children in undertaking historiographical work., despite the difficulties and limitations of such studies noted earlier.<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup> Delys Bird, Robert Dixon and Christopher Lee, Christopher, ed.,s, *Authority and Influence: Australian Literary Criticism 1950-2000*. (St Lucia: University of Queensland, 2001).





## Conclusion

The 1994 genocide in Rwanda is the subject of *One Thousand Hills* by James Roy and Noël Zihabamwe, the historical novel awarded the New South Wales Premier's Young People's History Prize in 2016.<sup>1</sup> Two other works of historical fiction were shortlisted for the Prize: the picture book *Cyclone* and the novel *Freedom Ride*. This built upon earlier awards to works of historical fiction for children and young people: the picture book *My Gallipoli* won the Prize in 2015, and picture book *Lennie the Legend: Solo to Sydney by Pony* was shortlisted. Since the decision to make no award in 2000 and the ensuing controversy, eleven of seventeen annual Prizes have been awarded to works of historical fiction.

The diversity of subjects within the works awarded speaks to the deep narratives embedded in the Australian national psyche, as they predominantly portray aspects of the past that are emphasized in public commemoration, museums, the school curricula and other works of historical fiction. Australia's involvement in wars, for example, is well-represented. Pivotal events including Cyclone Tracy, the opening of the Sydney Harbour Bridge and the voyages of Captain James Cook, reinforce the importance placed by adults on highlighting selected aspects of Australia's past, an importance based on securing desired outcomes in the ethical guidance of children. Indigenous history is also represented in the list of award-winning works. The Prize given to David Hollinsworth's non-fiction work *They Took the Children* in 2004 preceded the apology to the Stolen Generations in 2008 but coincided with the emerging evidence of the impact of this aspect of Australia's past on the Indigenous community. *One Thousand Hills* highlights other stories that circulate within Australian society – stories brought by refugees, by immigrants, by extended global family and community networks. These narratives are part of the fabric of a newer national history that cannot be satisfied with simplistic renderings of masculine heroism and laconic larrikinism.

---

<sup>1</sup> "2016 Young People's History Prize," State Library of New South Wales, accessed 25 January 2018, <http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/2016-young-peoples-history-prize>.

Throughout this thesis, I have explored how the historical novels and picture books created for children reflect versions of childhood that are historically contingent and that reflect adult aspirations for children. I have argued that the texts in the corpus reflect the dual conception of ‘the child’ as vulnerable recipient of history education and ‘the child’ as custodian of national narratives, drawing upon the work Anna Clark and Marilyn Lake.<sup>2</sup> I have also argued that within representations of the past since 1945 there are stories that subvert and stories that reaffirm dominant national historical narratives, creating a sense of tension within the corpus that resonates with broader developments in academic and public and popular history. Within these broader arguments, the child can become conceptual – ‘the child’ or ‘our children’ – but it is important to recognize the diversity within this cohort of Australians, including how they develop as individuals, not all of whom will engage with fictional or non-fictional historical texts.

Yet, my qualitative research suggests that, for some children, the historical narratives conveyed in domestic, community and national settings do exert an influence on children’s historical consciousness. Inga Clendinnen eloquently describes her historical awakening as a child and the way in which her encounters with the past shaped her personal identity, writing:

It is only now that I realise that it was my childhood awareness of the horror and the pity of war which determined the focus of my later work, as I struggle to understand the social and psychological forces which can lead men into the organised violence of war, and then keep them there.<sup>3</sup>

She reminds us that children are more than sum of their school experiences. She also reminds us that every child will take a unique meaning from what they encounter as children, and that such encounters shape the adults they become.

---

<sup>2</sup> See Anna Clark in Stuart Macintyre and Anna Clark, *The History Wars* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2004); Marilyn Lake in Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, with Mark McKenna and Joy Damousi, *What's Wrong with Anzac? The Militarisation of Australian History* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2010).

<sup>3</sup> Inga Clendinnen, “The History Question: Who Owns the Past?” *Quarterly Essay* 23 (2006): 1-72, 12.

As this thesis has shown, writers of historical fiction for children make a significant contribution to the exploration and expression of the multiplicity of past events and experiences. As a form of popular historiography, they may be considered as material evidence of their own past but also as instruments conveying a representation of the past. As de Groot writes, ‘each historical fiction contributes something very particular to the historiographic and historical imaginary, to historical sensibility, and hence, a much more subtle and nuanced sense of their workings is necessary.’<sup>4</sup> This thesis begins a conversation about how such a ‘subtle and nuanced sense’ of the workings of children’s historical fiction might be undertaken.

The thesis has also established a broad picture of the development of children’s historical fiction in Australia since 1945. This history also demands more work. I have argued that if historical novels and picture books are accepted as grounded in material evidence of the past as well as an author’s imagination, it is logical to seek a deeper understanding of these narratives as acts of history-making, taking on forms that have evolved over time. Approaching historical novels and picture books as historical projects entails asking what contemporaneous concerns and motivations regarding Australia’s past influenced those involved in their production and reception. Approaching the texts as material evidence of the past entails asking what they tell us about Australia’s past. Taken together, these approaches show that it is critical to explore not just the aspects of the past that are represented in texts but to also explore connections between past and present. Within these connections, or reverberations,<sup>5</sup> this thesis argues, may be seen the points of tension and points of convergence between historical fictions and national narratives, as well as the value in interrogating non-academic uses of the past as contributors to the construction of historical knowledge and understanding.

There is substantial extant historiographical work on public and popular uses of the past utilizing an array of theoretical perspectives, yet much of it neglecting fictional histories for children. In positioning this thesis as a contributor to an underexplored area in the field of what

---

<sup>4</sup> Jerome de Groot, *Remaking History. The Past in Contemporary Historical Fictions* (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2016), 223.

<sup>5</sup> Sarah Pinto, “Emotional Histories: Contemporary Australian Historical Fiction” (PhD diss., University of Melbourne, 2007), 9.

Jerome de Groot has called fictional/popular historiography,<sup>6</sup> focusing on historical novels and picture books for children provides an opportunity to interrogate the use of the written word and illustrations to construct historical fiction for a specific audience. This interrogation has revealed the role of discursive practices in history-making, including the inculcation of national narratives, the contesting of national narratives, the embedding of etiquettes in portraying certain subjects, and the construction of childhood in Australian society since 1945. In Chapters One, I identified the broad research landscape to show the nature of the conversations already taking place in relation to fictional historiography. In Chapter Two, I discussed the basis for my intervention into these conversations and established the research methodology for this thesis.

In placing the period under consideration in this thesis within a broader historical and cultural context, I explored the critical developments that illustrate, broadly, the shape and form of these children's historical novels and picture books prior to 1945, and looked to, again broadly, the historical projects embedded within the texts. The contextual landscape for the emergence of children's historical fiction in Australia, explored in Chapter Three, was shown to comprise the emergence of Australian children's literature, the development of historical fiction as a genre in Australia and overseas, as well as the complex operation of broader social, cultural, political and economic factors. The chapter discussed the historically contingent nature of children's literature, one of many modes of cultural production that may be interrogated to better understand contemporaneous systems of power. Within this interrogation, the relationship of discourse to the ethical guidance of children is, this thesis has shown, integral to understanding texts such as novels and picture books as material evidence of the past.

Chapter Four focused on establishing the evidence base for the thesis, describing the broad shape of the corpus and contextualizing its pattern of growth since 1945. Taking the novels and picture books as the primary sources for the thesis posits that they are material evidence of the past – a subject for history. Taking the novels and picture books as material evidence of how people have written about the past posits that they are material evidence of history-making – a subject for historiography.

---

<sup>6</sup> de Groot, *Remaking History*, 6-8.

Producing a history of children's novels and picture books that attends more to the historical than the literary has required a reconceptualization of the work we perceive these texts to perform. The idea of writing in the vein of Raphael Samuel, Jerome de Groot and Ludmilla Jordanova to include these products for children in fictional/popular historiography has shaped this thesis. Chapter Five showed that taking elements of a novel or picture book usually considered in literary histories, such as the subject scope, plot, theme, character and point of view can be reframed to offer insights into the historical projects embedded within fictional histories. I explored how the fictional elements have inflected the historical projects over time, searching not for origins nor seeking to identify a metanarrative of progress, but rather mapping the terrain as a guide for the analysis to follow. In approaching the history of the novel and picture book in this way, I showed that critical historiography can uncover the historical meanings encoded within non-academic fictional narratives, as well as the historicity of the meanings themselves.<sup>7</sup>

As noted in the Introduction, my approach is also informed by Jordanova's work on material evidence of the past, which provides examples of working with physical objects in constructing works of history, as outlined in the Introduction. This aspect of my research involved looking beyond the words on the page of an historical novels and picture books, beyond the story that is told, to the books as physical objects. I started with the simple question of what do the books look like? What were their subjects and themes? Who were the authors and illustrators? Where have they been published? Who bought them? How did audiences respond? Were there paratextual features? In Chapter Six, I explored how packaging the past for children has increasingly taken place within a context of experimentation with form and commercial considerations. There are, no doubt, many more questions that could be asked of the texts in the corpus. As Jordanova notes of working with historical artefacts, there can be no single method or approach for the doing the sorts of work [she] explores, but she begins with 'careful looking' then undertakes 'description, analysis, contextualization and comparison.'<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> See Margaret Reeves, "Telling the Tale of the Novel," *Clio*, 30, no.1: 48.

<sup>8</sup> Ludmilla Jordanova, *The Look of the Past. Visual and Material Evidence in Historical Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 6.

The deeper readings of Australian children's historical fiction undertaken in Chapters Seven and Eight demonstrated how historians may read beyond the historical novel, as a strategy to explore how the 'fiction inflects the history.' Historians/historiographers may ask, for example, how themes resonate with or contest narratives in other cultural and societal spaces. They may ask how specific discursive strategies such as tropes are used across historical novels and other historical fictions. They may then look beyond uses of the past to consider where these tropes/topoi fit within broader (public) understandings of the past. In Chapter Eight, I explored how children's historical novels and picture books might be read from the perspective of the history of emotions, an emerging area of study within the History discipline. In Chapter Nine, I explored the concept of including children's voices within historiographical research, demonstrating that even a limited qualitative study can result in a richer understanding of how the purported intended audience responds to historical fiction and how they articulate their understandings of broader aspects of historical literacy and consciousness.

Throughout this thesis, I have shown how some uses of the past are impacted by taboos, expectations and conventions to the extent that etiquettes are imposed on the treatment of certain subjects, etiquettes that are themselves historically contingent. Such etiquettes reflect one way in which discourse is used to construct power within society: what is said and what is left out reveal the prevailing attitudes and expectations that are considered appropriate for the ethical guidance of children. Historiographical etiquettes are, the corpus indicates, implicated in the broader project of nation-building, yet can also contest dominant narratives.

In exploring these etiquettes and discursive strategies, historians may also look at characterization, examining how characters may be used almost as ambassadors for expressing ideas about what it means to be Australian, or how different groups of people may have experienced life in the past. Plot can be interrogated for how the fictional approach privileges certain events and ignores others. Illustrations can be examined for what they convey about the past – sepia tones may reflect a nostalgic view of a time depicted fondly, harsh colours may reflect a condemnation of an event. Point of view might reveal the historical project to be reinstating silenced voices from the past, or to continue silencing them.

This thesis has demonstrated the richness of historical novels and picture books as material evidence of the past, with texts reflecting understandings of the past at the time of their publication. When taken as a corpus extending over seventy years, they reflect how understandings of the past constructed for children have developed over time. To further drill down into the texts as material evidence of the past and of historical writing, I have argued that it is essential to unpack De Groot's concept of how fiction inflects the historical. I have shown that analysing literary elements, such as subject, theme, plot, character development, tropes, for the way in which they play with the past can help us to understand their potential contribution to the historical sensibilities and the historical imaginary in children. They also reflect the historical sensibilities and imaginary of those involved in their creation, dissemination, and reception.

I have also shown how subjects chosen by historical novelists may be explored through different theoretical lenses. My key critical emphasis has been the lens of popular historiography, using scholarship on public and popular uses of the past to shape my understanding of children's historical novels and picture books. My other emphasis has been the lens of childhood, interrogating how changing conceptions of the child intertwined with the development of Australian children's historical fiction. I have touched upon other lenses, such as the emergence of a consumer society and technological developments in post-World War Two Australia, and there remain more insights to be gained through enquiring more deeply into these perspectives.

Moving forward, asking questions about the form of historical representation is one way of situating children's historical novels and pictures books, and other forms of historical fiction for children, within broader interrogations of fictional/popular historiography and public uses of the past. Does historical fiction, for example, embed a sense of the historical imaginary into the minds of children? Does it contribute to the historical understandings of national narratives? Does it help develop historical sensibilities in children that contribute to their engagement with non-fictional forms of historical expression? If so, how does it do that? Who else is implicated in this process and what does their involvement suggest about the processes

of developing historical consciousness and understanding in Australian society? There is room in the scholarship for more work in this area, engaging also with scholars of other disciplines and fields such as literature, childhood and children's history, pedagogy, sociology, and cultural studies. If such scholarship is undertaken, involving children in the research is critical if we seek to understand more directly the types of historical engagement, and the implications of such engagement, that children experience. This involvement is especially pertinent when considering the duality explored in this thesis of the conceptualization of children as both vulnerable learners and custodians of a supposedly shared national identity.

In exploring the evolution of Australian children's historical fiction since 1945, this thesis brings to light a broader perspective on products created to help children learn about the past and to guide their behaviour. Uncovering the multiple potential influences on children's historical literacy and historical consciousness also acts as a counterpoint to political rhetoric that seems to assume that the school system alone must educate children about Australian history (even if it struggles to do so in an entertaining way). In doing so, this thesis establishes a foundation for representations of Australia's past constructed for children to occupy a substantive, rather than marginal, position within a more broadly-conceived Australian popular/fictional historiography.



## References

### Published articles and books

- Adamson, Lynda G. *A Reference Guide to Historical Fiction for Children and Young People*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1987.
- . *Recreating the Past: A Guide to American and World Historical Fiction for Children and Young Adults*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1994.
- Agnew, Vanessa. "Introduction: What Is Reenactment?" *Criticism* Summer 2004, Volume 6, no. No.3 (2004).
- . "History's Affective Turn: Historical Reenactment and Its Work in the Present." *Rethinking History* 11, no.3, September (2007).
- Ahonen, Sirkka. "Historical Consciousness: A Viable Paradigm for History Education?" *Curriculum Studies* 37, no.6 (2005): 697-707.
- Aiken, Katherine G. "Superhero History: Using Comic Books to Teach Us History." *OAH Magazine of History*, 24, no.2 (2010): 41-47.
- Aitken, Margaret. "The Children's Book Council of Australia Awards and Cultural Diversity, 1982-1992." *Australian Library Review* 10, no.2 (May 1993): 146-152.
- Alexander, Goldie. "Fictionalising History for Young Readers." *Orana*, 38, no.1 (March 2002): 16-17.
- Alvermann, Donna E. ed., *Adolescents and Literacies in a Digital World*. New York: Peter Lang, 2002.
- Anderson, David, Barbara Piscitelli, Katrina Weier, Michele Everett, and Collette Tayler. "Children's Museum Experiences: Identifying Powerful Mediators of Learning." *Curator*, 45, no.3 (July 2002): 213-231.
- Anderson, David, Barbara Piscitelli, and Michele Everett. "Competing Agendas: Young Children's Museum Field Trips." *Curator* 51, no.3 (July 2008): 253-273.
- Arnold, David. "Museums as Contested History Sites: Where Is the National Museum of Australia and How Can History Teachers and Their Students Get Involved?" *Primary and Middle Years Educator*, 4, no.3 October (2006): 3-13.
- Armstrong, Piers. "Reading the Ethnic Other: Representational Legitimacy and Shifting Genre Boundaries." *Textual Practice* 24, no.1 (01 February 2010): 64-91.

- Arnold, John and John Hay. *Bibliography of Australian Literature*. St Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 2001.
- Arrow, Michelle. "'That History Should Not Ever Have Been How It Was': The Colony, Outback House, and Australian History." *Film and History* 37, no.1 (2007): 54-66.
- . *Friday on Our Minds*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2009.
- . "Broadcasting the Past. Australian Television Histories." *History Australia* 8, no.1 (01 January 2011): 223-246.
- . "'I Just Feel It's Important to Know Exactly What He Went Through': In Their Footsteps and the Role of Emotions in Australian Television History." *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 33, no. 4 (2013) 594-611.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01439685.2013.847651>
- . "The Making History Initiative and Australian Popular History." *Rethinking History* 15, no.2 (01 June 2011): 153-174.
- Ashcroft, Brian, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin. *The Empire Writes Back*. 2002 ed. Oxon, USA and Canada: Routledge, 2005.
- Asher, Curt. "The Progressive Past. How History Can Help Us Serve Generation 1.5." *Reference and User Services Quarterly* 51, no.1, Fall (2011): 43-48..
- Ashton, Paul. "'The Birthplace of Australian Multiculturalism?' Retrospective Commemoration, Participatory Memorialisation and Official Heritage." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 15, no.5, 01 September (2009): 381-398
- Ashton, Paul, and Paula Hamilton. *History at the Crossroads. Australians and the Past*. New South Wales: Halstead Press, 2007.
- Attwood, Bain. "Unsettling Past: Reconciliation and History in Settler Australia." *Postcolonial Studies* 8, no.3 (01 August 2005): 243-259.
- . "In the Age of Testimony: The Stolen Generations Narrative, "Distance", and Public History." *Public Culture*, 20, no.1 Winter (2008): 75-95.
- . "Aboriginal History, Minority Histories and Historical Wounds: The Postcolonial Condition, Historical Knowledge and the Public Life of History in Australia." *Postcolonial Studies* 14, no.2, 01June (2011): 171-186.
- Aurell, Jaume. "Rethinking Historical Genres in the Twenty-First Century." *Rethinking History* 19:2 (2015): 145-57.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). "Book Publishers 2003-04." Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 2005.
- . "Book Retailers Australia 2003-04." Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 2005.

- . “2006 Census Quickstats: New South Wales.” Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 2007.
- . “8146.0 - Household Use of Information Technology, Australia, 2010-11.” Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 2011.
- . “1301.0 Year Book Australia, 2012.” Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 2012.
- . “3235.0 - Population by Age and Sex, Regions of Australia, 2011.” Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 2012.
- . “4901.0 - Children’s Participation in Cultural and Leisure Activities, Australia, April 2009.” Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 2009.
- Bader, Barbara. “Folklore: It’s a Different Story.” *Horn Book Magazine* 86, no.5 (Sep/Oct 2010): 19-27.
- Balint, Ruth. “Soft Histories. Making History on Australian Television.” *History Australia* 8, no.1 (01 January 2011): 175-195.
- Barwick, John and Lauren O’Brien. *History Now 6. Australia as a Nation. Australian Curriculum* Taren Point, New South Wales: Teachers for Teachers Publications, 2014.
- Bauerlein, Mark, ed. *The Digital Divide. Arguments for and against Facebook, Google, Texting, and the Age of Social Networking*. New York: Penguin Group, 2011.
- Beale, Katy. *Museums at Play. Games, Interaction and Learning*. Edinburgh: MuseumsEtc, 2011.
- Beaumont, Joan. “Symposium Commemoration in Australia: A Memory in Orgy?”. *Australian Journal of Political Science* 50, no. 3 (2015): 536-44.
- Beck, Cathy, Sharnie Nelson-Faulkner, and Kathryn Mitchell Pierce. “Talking About Books: Historical Fiction: Teaching Tool or Literary Experience?”. *Language Arts* 77, no.6, (1 July 2000): 546-555.
- Beck, Peter J. “History Made Horrible.” *History Today*, 59, no.9 (September 2009): 70-71.
- . *Presenting History: Past and Present*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Bell, Bill, Phillip Bennett, and Jonquil Bevans, ed’s.. *Across Boundaries: The Book in Culture and Commerce*. Winchester, Hampshire: St Paul’s Bibliographies, 2000.
- Bennett, Bruce and Jennifer Strauss. *The Oxford Literary History of Australia*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1998.
- Bennett, James. “Lest We Forget Black Diggers: Recovering Aboriginal Anzacs on Television.” *Journal of Australian Studies* 38, no.4 (2014): 457-75.

- Berger, Stefan, ed. *Writing the Nation*. Hampshire and New York, USA: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Beyer, Charlotte. "Haunting the Text: Nicola Pierce's Spirit of the Titanic and Irish Historical Children's Fiction." *Women's Studies* 44, no. 7 (2015): 956-76.
- Bird, Carmel. "From 'the Bluebird Cafe'" *Antipodes* 4, no.2 (Winter 1990) (1990): 95-98.
- Bird, Delys, Robert Dixon and Christopher Lee, eds. *Authority and Influence: Australian Literary Criticism 1950-2000*. St Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland, 2001.
- Birns, Nicholas and Rebecca McNeer. *A Companion to Australian Literature Since 1900*. New York: Camden House, 2007.
- Birkett, Dea. "Myspace Meets the Museum." *MUSEUMS JOURNAL* 97 no. 9, September (2007): 4.
- Bjerg, Helle and Lisa Rosen Rasmussen. "Enacting Subjectivities in Educational History: Methodological Reflections on the Use of Qualitative Interviews for History Writing." *Paedagogica Historica* 44, no. No.6, December (2008).
- Blainey, Geoffrey. *A Shorter History of Australia*. North Sydney: Random House Vintage Books, 2009.
- Blow, Frances. "'Everything Flows and Nothing Stays': How Students Make Sense of the Historical Concepts of Change, Continuity and Development." *Teaching History* 145, (1 December 2011): 47-55.
- Bode, Katherine. "Beyond the Colonial Present: Quantitative Analysis, 'Resourceful Reading' and Australian Literary Studies." *JASAL Special Issue Supplement* (2008): 184-197.
- Bolton, Geoffrey. *The Oxford History of Australia. Volume 5. 1942-1988*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press Australia, 1990.
- Bolton, Geoffrey and Wayne Hudson, eds. *Creating Australia. Changing Australian History*. St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1997.
- Bonnell, Andrew, and Martin Crotty. "Australian History under Howard, 1996-2007." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 617 (May 2008): 149-175.
- Bottigheimer, Ruth B. "An Important System of Its Own: Defining Children's Literature." *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, 59, no.2 (Winter 1998): 190-210.
- Boucher, Leigh, Jane Carey, and Katherine Ellinghaus. *Re-Orienting Whiteness*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

- Bradford, Clare. "Representing Indigeneity: Aborigines and Australian Children's Literature Then and Now." *Ariel. A Review of International English Literature*. 28, no.1 (January 1997): 89-99.
- . "Fading to Black: Aboriginal Children in Colonial Texts." *Papers: Explorations in Children's Literature*, no.1 (1999): 14-30. Accessed 23 July 2018. <https://www-austlit-edu-au.ezproxy.sl.nsw.gov.au/static/new/files/text/pdf/3487545737247068919-brn582185.pdf>. 1-14.
- . *Reading Race. Aboriginality in Australian Children's Literature*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2001.
- Bradford, Clare, ed. *Writing the Australian Child. Texts and Contexts in Fictions for Children*. Western Australia: University of Western Australia, 1996.
- Brien, Donna Lee. "'The Facts Formed a Line of Buoys in the Sea of My Own Imagination': History, Fiction and Speculative Biography." *TEXT: Journal of Writing and Writing Courses Supplement*, 28: *Fictional histories and historical fictions. Writing history in the twenty-first century* (April 2015): 1-21.
- Briggs, Julia, Dennis Butts and M.O.Grenby. *Popular Children's Literature in Britain*. Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, 2008.
- Brooks, Karen. *Consuming Innocence: Popular Culture and Our Children*. St Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 2008.
- Broome, Richard. *Aboriginal Australians. A History since 1788*. Fourth (fully revised) ed. Crows Nest: Allen and Unwin, 2010.
- Brown, Joanne. "Historical Fiction or Fictionalized History? Problems for Writers of Historical Novels for Young Adults." *The ALAN Review*, Volume 26, no.1 (1998): 7-11.
- Burdett, Carolyn. "New Agenda. Is Empathy the End of Sentimentality," *Journal of Victorian Culture* 16, no.2 (August 2011): 259-274.
- Burgess, Jean and Joshua Green. *You Tube: Online Video and Participatory Culture*. Cambridge: Polity, 2009.
- Butters, Philip, ed. *Adelaide: A Literary City*. (Adelaide: University of Adelaide Press, 2013) Accessed 26 July 2018, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.20851/j.ctt1sq5x41.12>.
- Campbell, Craig and Helen Proctor. *A History of Australian Schooling*. Crows Nest: Allen and Unwin, 2014.
- Cantu, Antonio D. and Wilson J. Warren, *Teaching History in the Digital Classroom*, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2003.

- Carr, Graham. "Rules of Engagement: Public History and the Drama of Legitimation." *The Canadian Historical Review* 86, no.2, June (2005): 317-354.
- Carson, Gary. "The End of History Museums: What's Plan B?". *Public Historian*, November (2008): 9-27.
- Carter, David and Anne Galligan, eds. *Making Books. Contemporary Australian Publishing*. St Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 2007.
- Clancy, Laurence James. "Selective History of the Kelly Gang: Peter Carey's Ned Kelly." *Overland* 175 (Winter 2004): 53-58.
- Clark, Anna. "History Teaching, Historiography, and the Politics of Pedagogy in Australia, *Theory & Research in Social Education* 32:3 (2004): 379-96.
- . *Teaching the Nation. Politics and Pedagogy in Australian History*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2006.
- . "Whose History? Teaching Australia's Contested Past." *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 36, no.5 (01 September 2004): 533-541.
- . "The History Question/Correspondence." *Quarterly Essay* 24 (01 December 2006): 54-56.
- . *History's Children*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2008.
- . "Learning About Stuff Outside the Box." *Overland* 191 (2008): 4.
- . "Teaching the Nation's Story: Comparing Public Debates and Classroom Perspectives on History Education in Australia and Canada." *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 41, no.6 (2009): 745-762.
- . "Politicians Using History." *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 56, no.1 (2010): 120-131.
- . "Ordinary People's History." *History Australia* 9, no. 1 (01 January 2012): 201-216.
- . *Private Lives Public History*. Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2016.
- . "Private Lives, Public History: Navigating Historical Consciousness in Australia." *History Compass* 14, no. 1 (2016): 1-8.
- . "The Place of Anzac in Australian Historical Consciousness." *Australian Historical Studies* 48, no. 1 (2017): 19-34.
- Clark, Anna and Paul Ashton eds., *Australian History Now*. Sydney: NewSouth Publishing, 2013.
- Clark, Anna (Illustrated by Kate Cawley), *Convicted! The Unwonderful World of Kids and Other Convict Capers* Prahran: Hardie Grant Egmont, 2005.

- . *Explored! The Unglorious World of Burke and Wills, Rotten Food and Getting Lost*, Prahran: Hardie Grant Egmont, 2008.
- Clendinnen, Inga. "The History Question. Who Owns the Past?". *Quarterly Essay*, no.23 (2006): 1-72.
- Clery, E. "Introduction to Horace Walpole's the Castle of Otranto. A Gothic Story." In *The Castle of Otranto. A Gothic Story*, edited by W.S. Lewis. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Collins, Felicity and Therese Davis. "Disputing History, Remembering Country in the Tracker and Rabbit-Proof Fence." *Australian Historical Studies* 37, 128 (01 October 2006): 35-54.
- Collins, Felicity. "History, Myth and Allegory in Australian Cinema." *TRAMES* 12, no.3 (2008): 276-286.
- Collins, Fiona M and Judith Graham, eds., *Historical Fiction for Children: Capturing the Past*. London: David Fulton, 2001.
- Collins-Gearing, Brooke. "Non-Indigenous Dreaming in Historical Writing for Children." *Journal of Australian Studies* 76 (2003): 65-76.
- . "Re-Reading Representations of Indigenality in Australian Children's Literature: A History." *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education*, 35 (2006): 61-67.
- Colomba, Caterina. "History as Sharing Stories: Crossing the Cultural Divide through Kim Scott's Fiction." *Journal of Commonwealth and Postcolonial Studies* 17, no. 2 (2011).
- Colomer, Teresa, Bettina Kummerling-Meibauer and Cecilia Silva-Diaz, eds., *New Directions in Picturebook Research*. New York and London: Routledge, 2010.
- Couvalis, George, and Cheryl Simpson. "Anzac Heritage or Anzac History: Truth or Fiction." *Alternative Law Journal* 25, no.4 (August 2000): 165-184.
- Cowan, Andrew. "Writing Worthless Men: History and the Literary." *TEXT Special Issue 28: Fictional Histories and historical fictions. Writing history in the twenty-first century* Supplement 28(April 2015): 1-15.
- Cowman, Krista. "'There Are Kind Germans as Well as Brutal Ones:' The Foreigner in Children's Literature of the First World War." *The Lion and the Unicorn* 31, no.2 (April 2007): 103-15.
- Craig, Lyn and Killian Mullan. "Shared Parent-Child Leisure Time in Four Countries." *Leisure Studies*, 31, no.2 (April 2012): 211-229.

- Craven, Rhonda. "Students' Hearts, Minds and Deeds: The Passion and Power of Australian Aboriginal Studies Books." *Bookbird: A Journal of International Children's Literature* 37, no. 1 (1999): 31-36.
- Crow, Charlotte. "Beyond the Playground." *History Today*, 56, no.12 (December 2006): 5-6.
- Crozier, Brian. "History, Fiction and Extended Memory. A Response to Inga Clendinnen." *History Australia* 5, no.1 (January 2008): 13.
- Cunningham, Deborah. "An Empirical Framework for Understanding How Teachers Conceptualize and Cultivate Historical Empathy in Students." *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 41, no.5 (2009): 31.
- . "Understanding Pedagogical Reasoning in History Teaching through the Case of Cultivating Historical Empathy." *Theory & Research in Social Education* 35:4 (2007): 592-630.
- Cunningham, Hugh. *The Invention of Childhood*, London: BBC Books, 2006.
- Curran, James. *The Power of Speech. Australian Prime Ministers Defining the National Image*. Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2006.
- Curthoys, Ann. "History as a Form of Literature: E.P. Thompson and the Making of the English Working Class." *TEXT: Journal of Writing and Writing Courses. Special Issue 28: Fictional histories and historical fictions. Writing history in the twenty-first century*, Supplement 28(April 2015): 1-14.
- . "Does Australian History Have a Future?" *Australian Historical Studies* 33, no.118 (01 January 2002): 140-152.
- . *The Freedom Ride. A Freedom Rider Remembers*. Crows Nest: Allen and Unwin, 2002.
- . *How to Write History That People Want to Read*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2009.
- . "Harry Potter and Historical Consciousness." *History Australia* 8, no.1 (01 January 2011): 7-22.
- . "Memory, History, and Ego-Histoire: Narrating and Re-Enacting the Australian Freedom Ride." *Historical Reflections* 38, no.2 (1 July 2012): 25-45.
- Curthoys, Ann and John Docker. *Is History Fiction?* Sydney, New South Wales: University of New South Wales Press, 2006.
- Damousi, Joy. "History Matters. The Politics of Grief and Injury in Australian History." *Australian Historical Studies* 33, 118 (01 January 2002) 100 -112.
- . "Writing Gender into History and History in Gender: Creating a Nation and Australian Historiography." *Gender and History* 11, no.3 (November 1999): 612-24.



- . *Living with the Aftermath. Trauma, Nostalgia and Grief in Post-War Australia*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Danesi, Marcel. *Popular Culture. Introductory Perspectives*. Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2012.
- Darian-Smith, Kate. "Challenging Histories, Re-Reading the Past." *Australian Historical Studies* 33, no.118 (01 January 2002): 1-6.
- . "Up the Country. History and Communities." *Australian Historical Studies*, 33, no.118 (01 January 2002): 90-99.
- . "Childhood, Youth and Emotions in Modern History: National, Colonial and Global Perspectives." *International Journal of Play* 5, no. 3 (2016): 346-47.
- Darian-Smith, Kate, and Penelope Edmonds. "War, Colonialism and the Emotions in Australian History." *Australian Historical Studies* 48, no. 1 (2017): 1-2.
- Darian-Smith, Kate and Carla Pascoe eds., *Children, Childhood and Cultural Heritage*. Oxon: Routledge, 2013.
- Davies, Martin. "The Redundancy of History in a Historicized World." *Rethinking History* 15, no.3 (01 September 2011): 335-353.
- Davis, Robert A. "Brilliance of a Fire: Innocence, Experience and the Theory of Childhood." *Journal of Philosophy of Education* 45, no.2 (2011): 379-397.
- Davison, Graeme. *The Use and Abuse of Australian History*. Crows Nest: Allen and Unwin, 2000.
- . "Rethinking the Australian Legend." *Australian Historical Studies* 43, no.3 (01 September 2012): 429-451.
- de Groot, Jerome. "Empathy and Enfranchisement: Popular Histories." *Rethinking History* 10, no.3 (01 September 2006): 391-413.
- . *Consuming History. Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Popular Culture*. Oxon: Routledge, 2009.
- . "Beyond the Bodice-Ripper." *History Today* October (2009): 57.
- . *The Historical Novel*. Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2010.
- . "Editorial." *Rethinking History* 15, no.2 (01 June 2011): 149-152.
- . "Review Essay. Affect and Empathy: Re-Enactment and Performance as/in History." *Rethinking History* 15, no.4, (December 2011): 587-599.
- . *Remaking History. The Past in Contemporary Historical Fictions*. Oxon and New York: Routledge (2016)

- . “Book Reviews. Common People: In Pursuit of My Ancestors by Alison Light.” *The Public Historian* 39, no.1 (February 2017): 99-100.
- de Matos, Christine. “Fictorians: Historians Who ‘Lie’ About the Past, and Like It” *TEXT: Journal of Writing and Writing Courses. Special Issue 28: Fictional histories and historical fictions: Writing history in the twenty-first century* Supplement 28 (April 2015): 1-20.
- Dean, Mitchell and Barry Hindess. *Governing Australia. Studies in Contemporary Rationalities of Government*. Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Denning, Greg. “Afterword.” *Australian Historical Studies* 33, no.118 (01 January 2002).
- Dilek, Derek. “The Reconstruction of the Past through Images: An Iconographic Analysis on the Historical Imagination Usage Skills of Primary School Pupils.” *Educational Sciences: Theory and Practice* 9, no.2 (Spring 2009): 665-689.
- Dixon, Robert and Nicholas Birns. *Reading across the Pacific: Australia-United States Intellectual Histories*. Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2010.
- Donnelly, Mark and Claire Norton. *Doing History*. Oxon: Routledge, 2011.
- Dwyer, Philip, and Lyndall Ryan. “Reflections on Genocide and Settler Colonial Violence.” *History Australia* 13, no. 3 (2016): 335-50.
- Dyson, Anne Haas. *Writing Superheroes: Contemporary Childhood, Popular Culture and Classroom Literacy*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1997.
- Eastman, Bernice. *Nan Chauncy. A Writer’s Life*. Tasmania: The Friends of Chauncy Vale Inc, 2000.
- Ebert, Nancy and Jane Johnson. “Time Travel Is Possible: Historical Fiction and Biography: Passport to the Past.” *The Reading Teacher*, 45, no. 7 (March 1992): 488-95.
- Eiss, H.E. *Children’s Literature and Culture*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishers, 2009.
- . *Young Adult Literature and Culture*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009.
- Elder, Catriona. *Being Australian. Narratives of National Identity*. Crows Nest: Allen and Unwin, 2007.
- Elias, Amy J. “Metahistorical Romance, the Historical Sublime and Dialogic History.” *Rethinking History* 9, no.2/3 (June/September 2005): 159-72.
- Emeljanow, Gillian and Victor Arrighi. “‘Entertaining Children: An Exploration of the Business and Politics of Childhood.’” *NTQ* 28, no. 1 (2012): 41-55.
- Emerson, Robyn. “Requiem for a Little Bush Maid.” *Southerly* 68, no.1 (2008): 59-73.

- Evans, Raymond and Clive Moore. "Pursuing the Popular in Australian History." *Journal of Popular Culture* 33, no.1 (June 1999): 1-5.
- Ewers, Hans-Heino. *Fundamental Concepts of Children's Literature Research: Literary and Sociological Approaches*. London: Routledge, 2009.
- Fabian, Sue and Morag Loh. *Australian Children through 200 Years*. Kenthurst: Kangaroo Press, 1985.
- Fass, Paula. "Children and Globalization." *Journal of Social History* Summer (2003): 15.
- . *Children of a New World: Society, Culture and Globalization*. New York: New York University Press, 2008.
- . *Designing Modern Childhoods: History, Space and the Material Culture of Children*. New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 2008.
- . "The World Is at Our Door: Why Historians of Children and Childhood Should Open Up." *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1, no.1 (2008): 11-31, 157-158.
- Fidyk, Alexandra and Kent den Heyer. "Configuring Historical Facts through Historical Fiction: Agency, Art-in-Fact, and Imagination as Stepping Stones between Then and Now" *Educational Theory* 57, no.2 (May 2007): 141-157.
- Finnane, Mark. "Censorship and the Child: Explaining the Comics Campaign." *Australian Historical Studies*, 23, no.92 (01 April 1989): 220-240.
- Fisher, Janet. *An Index to Historical Fiction for Children and Young People*. Aldershot, Hants, England; Brookfield, Vt.: Scholar Press; Ashgate Publishing, 1994.
- Fletcher, Lisa. *Historical Romance Fiction: Heterosexuality and Performativity*. London, New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Fletcher, Lisa and Mead, Elizabeth. "Inheriting the Past: Peter Corris's 'The Journal of Fletcher Christian' and Peter Carey's 'True History of the Kelly Gang'." *The Journal of Commonwealth History* 45, no.2 (2010): 189-206.
- Foster, John. "The Slow Death of a Monochromatic World: The Social History of Australia as Seen through Its Children's Comic Books." *Journal of Popular Culture* 33, no.1 (June 1999): 139-152.
- Foster, John, Ern Finnis, and Maureen Nimón. *Bush, City, Cyberspace: The Development of Australian Children's Literature into the Twenty First Century. Literature and Literacy for Young People: An Australian Series Volume 6*: Wagga Wagga: Centre for Information Studies, Charles Sturt University, 2005.

- Foster, Stuart J and Keith A. Crawford, eds., *What Shall We Tell the Children? International Perspectives on School History Textbooks*. Connecticut: Information Age Publishing, 2006.
- Frame, Tom, ed. *Anzac Day Now and Then* (Sydney, New South Wales: UNSW Press, 2016).
- Gannon, Susanne. "Doing 'the Other' Over: Narrative Conservatism in Radical Popular Films." *Studies in Australasian Cinema* 3, no.1 (01 January 2009): 29-45.
- Gapps, Steven. "Mobile Monuments: A View of Historical Reenactment and Authenticity from inside the Costume Cupboard of History." *Rethinking History* 13, no.3 (01 September 2009): 395-409.
- Gardiner, Juliet. "Signposts Historical Novels." *History Today* 59, no.10, (October 2009): 54-56.
- Garner, Steve. *Whiteness. An Introduction*. Oxon: Routledge, 2007.
- Gelber. "Freedom of Speech and Racial Vilification in Australia: 'The Bolt Case' in Public Discourse." *Australian Journal of Political Science* 48, no. 4 (2013): 470-84.
- Genovese, Ava. "Metaphor of Redemption, Myths of State. Historical Accountability in Luhrmann's Australia and Trevorrow V South Australia." *Griffith Law Review* 20, no.1 (01 January 2011): 67-90.
- Gilbert, Nigel, ed. *Researching Social Life*. London: SAGE Publications, 1995.
- Golsan, Richard. "The Poetics and Perils of Faction: Contemporary French Fiction and the Memory of World War II." *The Romanic Review* 105, no.1-2 (Jan-Mar 2014): 53-68.
- Goodwin, Ken. "Land, Language and Literature." *English Today* 3, no.1 (1987): 35-38.
- Gordon, J. L. 'Writers and the Commonwealth Literary Fund' [online]. *Meanjin*, Vol. 13, No. 3, Spring 1954: 452-455. Accessed 26 July 2018, <http://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=752909136968581;res=IELLC>.
- Goudvis, Anne and Stephanie Harvey. "Teaching for Historical Literacy." *Educational Leadership* 69, no.6 (March 2012): 52-57.
- Goulart, Maria, Ines Mafra and Wolff-Michael Roth. "Engaging Young Children in Collective Curriculum Design." *Cultural Study of Science Education* 5, no.3 (2010): 533-562.
- Grenville, Kate. *The Secret River* Melbourne: TextPub, 2005.
- Grenville, Kate. *Searching for the Secret River* Edinburgh: Canongate Books, 2007. (First published in Australia in 2006).

- Griffen-Foley, Bridget. "Digging up the Past. Frank Clune, Australian Historian and Media Personality." *History Australia* 8, no.1 (2011): 127-152.
- Griffiths, Tom. *The Art of Time Travel. Historians and Their Craft*. Carlton: Black Inc., 2016.
- Grimshaw, Patricia. "Federation as a Turning Point in Australian History." *Australian Historical Studies* 33, 118 (2002): 25-41.
- Groce, Eric and Robin Groce. "Authenticating Historical Fiction: Rationale and Process." *Education Research and Perspectives* 32, no.1 (2005): 99-119.
- Gross, Daniel M. *The Secret History of Emotion*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006.
- Grosvenor, Ian. "'Seen but Not Heard': City Childhoods from the Past into the Present." *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no.3 (June 2007): 405-429.
- Groth, Simon, ed. *Hand Made High Tech. Essays on the Future of Books and Reading*. if:book Australia, 2011.
- Guile, Melanie. *Baby Boomers. Growing up after World War II: 1945-1975. Children in Australian History*. Melbourne: Heinemann Library, 1985.
- Gutting, Gary, ed. *The Cambridge Guide to Foucault*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Haebich, Anna. "Imagining Assimilation." *Australian Historical Studies* 33, no.118 (01 January 2002): 61-70.
- Hall, Linda. "Aristocratic Houses and Radical Politics: Historical Fiction and the Time-Slip Story in E. Nesbit's the House of Arden." *Children's Literature in Education* 29, no. 1 (1998): 51-58.
- Halliday, Alison. "An Awfully Big Adventure: Killing Death in War Stories for Children." *Papers: Explorations in Children's Literature* 16, no.2 (2006): 90-95.
- Hamilton Lytle, Mark. "Pictures That Changed Our Minds: Writing the History of the Sixties from Images." *OAH Magazine of History*, 20, no.4 (1 July 2006): 36-39.
- Hately, Erica. 'Requiem for a Beast: A Case Study in Controversy', The Asian Conference on Literature and Librarianship 2014 Official Conference Proceedings 2014. Viewed 12 June 2017 at [http://eprints.qut.edu.au/72924/3/72924\(pub\).pdf](http://eprints.qut.edu.au/72924/3/72924(pub).pdf), 1-13.
- Harman, Belle and Lauren Alderman. "The Imagineers. Writing and Illustrating Children's Books. Papers given at the Children's Book Council of Australia ACT Branch October Seminars 1981 and 1982". *Reading Time Publication* no.5 (1983).

- Harris, Marla. "A History Not Then Taught in History Books': (Re)Writing Reconstruction in Historical Fiction for Children and Young Adults." *Lion and the Unicorn: A Critical Journal of Children's Literature* 30, no.1 (2006): 94-116.
- Harris, Victoria. "Sex on the Margins: New Directions in the Historiography of Sexuality and Gender." *The Historical Journal* 53, no. 4 (2010): 1085-104.
- Harwood, Paul G. and Victor Asal. *Educating the First Digital Generation*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Education, 2009. (Paperback edition).
- Hatherell, William. "The Australian Home-front Novel of the Second World War: Genre, Gender, and Region", *Australian Literary Studies*, 23, no.1 (May 2007): 79-91.
- Hatcher, John. "Fiction as History: The Black Death and Beyond." *History* 97, no.325 (January 2012): 3-23.
- Hattam, Robert and Danielle Every. "Teaching in Fractured Classrooms: Refugee Education, Public Culture, Community and Ethics." *Race, Ethnicity and Education* 13, no.4 (December 2010): 409-424.
- Hawkey, Kate. "Theorising Content: Tools from Cultural History." *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 39, no.1 (2007): 263-277.
- Healy, Chris. "Alcheringa: Invisible Aborigines on TV." *Australian Television History. ACH: The Journal of the History of Culture in Australia Annual*, 26 (2007): 69-89.
- Healy, J.J. *Literature and the Aborigine in Australia*. St Lucia: University of Queensland, 1989.
- Hein, George E. *Progressive Museum Practice*. Wlanu Creek, California: Left Coast Press, 2012.
- Heiss, Anita. *Am I Black Enough for You?* North Sydney: Random House, 2012.
- . "Aboriginal Children's Books - not just Pretty Pictures (Writer and Reader) (*Papunya School Book of Country and History*)" *Southerly*. 62, no.2 (Summer 2002): 184-187.
- Heiss, Anita and Peter Minter, ed.s, and Kirby Stalgis (designer), *Anthology of Australian Aboriginal Literature*. Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin, 2008.
- Heller, Agnes. "The Contemporary Historical Novel." *Thesis Eleven* 106, no.1, (August 2011): 88-97.
- Hewison, Robert and Chris Orr. *The Heritage Industry. Britain in a Climate of Decline*. London: Methuen London, 1987.
- Hillel, Margot. "'He Was Ready to Prove Himself a Man': The Heroic in Australian Children's Literature." *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing* Summer (2003): 73-90.

- Hillis, Peter. "Can Multimedia Respond to the Critics? A Report from the History Classroom." *History and Computing* 13, no.3 (2001): 239-252.
- Hilton, Mary. *Potent Fictions: Children's Fiction and the Challenge of Popular Culture*. London and New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Holbrook, Carolyn. *Abstract*, History Week Symposium, (Sydney: History Council of New South Wales), 2015.
- . *Anzac, the Unauthorised Biography*. Sydney: NewSouth Books, 2014.
- Horne, Jackie C. *History and Construction of the Child in Early British Children's Literature*. Aldershot and Birmingham: Ashgate, 2011.
- Houston, Cynthia. "Digital Books for Digital Natives. A Tour of Open Access Children's Digital Literature Collections." *Children and Libraries*, 9, no.3 (Winter 2011): 39-42.
- Howes, Craig. "Hawaii Through Western Eyes: Orientalism and Historical Fiction for Children." *The Lion and the Unicorn* 11, no.1, (June 1987): 66-87.
- Hudson, Wayne and Geoffrey Bolton, eds., *Creating Australia. Changing Australian History*. St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1997.
- Huggan, Graham. *Australian Literature. Postcolonialism, Racism, Transnationalism. Oxford Studies in Postcolonial Literatures*. New York: Oxford University Press, New York, 2007.
- . "Globaloney and the Australian Writer" *JASAL*. Journal of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature. Special Issue (2009): 17 pages, accessed 8 July 2018: <https://openjournals.library.sydney.edu.au/index.php/JASAL/article/view/10161/10058>.
- Hughes, Karen. "Micro-Histories and Things That Matter." *Australian Feminist Studies* 27, no.73 (September 2012): 269-278.
- Hughes-Warrington, Marnie. *History Goes to the Movies. Studying History on Film*. London and New York: Routledge, 2006.
- . *Fifty Key Thinkers on History*. Second ed. Oxon: Routledge, 2008.
- . "Time and History: The Variety of Cultures." *Rethinking History* 13, no. 4 (2009): 3.
- . "Consuming History: Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Popular Culture." *Rethinking History* 14, no.4 (2010): 3.
- Hunt, Peter, ed. *Understanding Children's Literature: Key Essays from the International Companion Encyclopedia of Children's Literature*. Second ed. London; New York: Routledge, 2005.

- Hunt, Jane E. "Finding a Place for Women in Australian Cultural History. Female Cultural Activism in Sydney, 1900-1940." *Australian Historical Studies* 36, no.124 (October 2004): 221-237.
- Hunt, Peter. *Criticism, Theory and Children's Literature*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991.
- Hunt, Tristram. "Reality, Identity and Empathy: The Changing Face of Social History Television." *Journal of Social History*, 39, no.3 (Spring 2006): 843-858.
- Hutcheon, Linda. *A Poetics of Postmodernism*. London: Routledge, 1988.
- Ide, Kanako. "The Debate on Patriotic Education in Post-World War II Japan." *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 41, no. 4 (August 2009): 441-452.
- Jacklin, Michael. "The Transnational Turn in Australian in Australian Literary Studies." *JASAL*, Journal of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature. Special Issue (2009): 1-14, accessed 15 July 2018, <https://openjournals.library.sydney.edu.au/index.php/JASAL/article/view/10040/9925>.
- Jacobs, Leland B. "Some Observations Children's Historical Fiction" *Elementary English*, 29, no. 4 (April 1952): 185-89.
- Janke, Terri. "A respectful and sensitive fiction. (Writer and Reader). [Book Review]" *Southerly* 62, no.2 (2002): 182-184.
- Janson, Sharon and Stuart Macintyre (ed.s). *Making the Bicentenary. Special Issue of Australian Historical Studies*, 23, no.91, Parkville: University of Melbourne (1988).
- Jeanes, Ruth and Jonathan Magee. "Social Exclusion and Access to Leisure in Northern Ireland Communities: Examining the Experiences of Parents with Disabled Children." *Society and Leisure*, 33, no.2 (01 September 2010): 221-249.
- Jenkins, Keith. *Re-Thinking History*. London: Routledge, 2003.
- . *Refiguring History*. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Jenkins, Keith, Sue Morgan and Alun Munslow. *Manifestos for History*. Oxon: Routledge, 2007.
- Johansson, Viktor. "'In Charge of the Truffula Seeds': On Children's Literature, Rationality and Children's Voices in Philosophy." *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 45, no.2 (May 2011): 359-377.
- Johnston, Rosemary. "Time-Space: History as Palimpsest and Mise-En-Abyme in Children's Literature." *Orana*, 34, no.3 (November 1998): 18-24.
- Jordanova, Ludmilla. *History in Practice* (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition), London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2006.



- . *The Look of the Past. Visual and Material Evidence in Historical Practice*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Kean, Hilda. "Public History and Popular Memory: Issues in the Commemoration of the British Militant Suffrage ". *Women's History Review* 14, no.3/4 (December 2005): 581-602.
- . "Public History and Two Australian Dogs: Islay and the Dog on the Tucker Box." *ACH: The Journal of the History of Culture in Australia Annual*, no.24-25 (January 2006):135-162.
- . "People, Historians, and Public History: Demystifying the Process of History Making." *Public Historian* 32, no.3 (August 2010): 25-38.
- Kean, Hilda, and Paul Ashton, eds., *People and Their Pasts. Public History Today*. United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Kehily, Mary Jane, ed., *Understanding Childhood: a Cross-disciplinary Approach*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. United Kingdom: The Policy Press, 2013.
- Keenan, Celia. "Reflecting a New Confidence: Irish Historical Fiction for Children." *The Lion and the Unicorn* 21, no.3 (1997): 369-378.
- Kennedy, Rosanne. Stolen Generations Testimony: Trauma, Historiography, and the Question of 'Truth' [online]. *Aboriginal History*, 2001: 116-131, accessed 24 September 2016, <http://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=865413443024737;res=IELIND>> ISSN: 0314-8769.
- . "Subversive witnessing: mediating Indigenous testimony in Australian cultural and legal institutions," *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 36, no.1/2 (Spring/Summer 2008): 58-75.
- Kent, Jacqueline. *In the Half Light. Life as a Child in Australia 1900-1970*. United Kingdom and Australia: Angus and Robertson, 1988.
- Khoo, Tseen and Rodney Noonan. "Wartime Fundraising by Chinese Australian Communities." *Australian Historical Studies* 42, no.1 (March 2011): 92-110.
- King, Margaret L. "Concepts of Childhood: What We Know and Where We Might Go." *Renaissance Quarterly* 60, no.2 (2007): 371-407.
- Krips, Valerie. "Imaginary Childhoods: Memory and Children's Literature." *Critical Quarterly* Vol 39, no.3 (1997), 42-50.
- . *The Presence of the Past. Memory, Heritage and Childhood in Postwar Britain*. New York and London: Garland Publishing, 2000.

- Kunka, Andrew J. "Intertextuality and the Historical Graphic Narrative: Kyle Baker's Nat Turner and the Styron Controversy." *College Literature* 38, no.3 (Summer 2011): 168-VIII.
- Lake, Marilyn and Henry Reynolds, with Mark McKenna and Joy Damousi. *What's Wrong with Anzac? The Militarisation of Australian History*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2010.
- Lake, Marilyn, ed. *Memory, Monuments and Museums. The Past in the Present*. Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2006.
- Lake, Wendy. "A Question of Identity: Some Aspects of Historical Fiction for Children Set in Ireland." *Children's Literature in Education*. Vol.18, Issue 1, (1987): 13-19.
- Landsberg, Alison. "Waking the Deadwood of History: Listening, Language and the 'Aural Visceral'." *Rethinking History* 14, no.4 (December 2010): 531-549.
- Lay, Paul. "From the Editor." *History Today* 61, no.8, (August 2011): 2.
- Leader-Elliott, Lyn. "Community Heritage Interpretation Games: A Case Study from Angaston, South Australia." *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 11, no.2 (May 2005): 161-171.
- Lehr, Susan S., ed. *Battling Dragons: Issues and Controversies in Children's Literature*. Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1995.
- Levstik, Evelyn B., and Freeman, Linda. "Recreating the Past: Historical Fiction in the Social Studies Curriculum." *The Elementary School Journal* 88, no.4 (March 1988): 329-37.
- Lin, Qingxin. *Brushing History against the Grain: Reading the Chinese New Historical Fiction (1986-1999)*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005.
- Lobban, Jackie. "Homogenous Heroes, Selective Memory and Exclusive Myth: Representations of War and Military History in Modern Australian and New Zealand Children's Literature." *History in the Making* 4, no.1: no page numbers.
- Lowenthal, David. *The Past Is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Lukács, Gyorgy. *The Theory of the Novel. A Historico-Philosophical Essay on the Forms of Great Epic Literature*. Translated by Anna Bostock. Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1971.
- Lukens, Rebecca J., Jacqueline J. Smith and Cynthia Miller Coffel. *A Critical Handbook of Children's Literature*. 9<sup>th</sup> Edition. USA: Pearson Education, 2013.
- Lynch, Gay. "Apocryphal Stories in Kate Grenville's Searching for the Secret River." *TEXT* 13, no.1, (April 2009). Accessed 15 July 2018.

<http://pandora.nla.gov.au/pan/10069/20090715-0000/www.textjournal.com.au/april09/lynch.html>

- Lynch, Gerard. "Presenting the Past: The Tendentious Use of History in Contemporary Canadian Literature." *American Review of Canadian Studies* 43, no.1 (2013): 1-11.
- Lynch-Brown, Carol. *Essentials of Children's Literature*. Westport.: Libraries Unlimited, 2008.
- Lyons, Marilyn and John Arnold. *A History of the Book in Australia 1891-1945: A National Culture in a Colonised World*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2001.
- Macdougall, A.K. *The Great Treasury of Australian Folklore*. Victoria: The Five Mile Press, 1994.
- Macfie, Alexander Lyon. "The Present State of (My) History." *Rethinking History* 15, no.4 (December 2011).
- Macintyre, Stuart. *A History for a Nation. Ernest Scott and the Making of Australian History*. Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1994.
- . *Against the Grain: Brian Fitzpatrick and Manning Clark in Australian History and Politics*. Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2007.
- Macintyre, Stuart, and Anna Clark. *The History Wars*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2004.
- MacKinnon, Dolly. "'That Brave Company of Shadows': Gender, National Identity, and the Formation of Children's British History in Alison Uttley's *A Traveller in Time*." *Women's History Review* 20, no.5 (November 2011): 809-827.
- Mackinolty, Norman and Judy Little. *A New Look at History Teaching. Ideas on the Theory and Practice of Teaching History in Secondary Schools*. Sydney: History Teachers' Association of New South Wales, 1977.
- Madison Davis, J. "International Crime and Mystery. Credibility and Popularity in the Historical Mystery." *World Literature Today*, 86, no.2 (March-April 2012): 9-11.
- Magelssen, Scott, *Living History Museums. Undoing History through Performance*. USA: Scarecrow Press, 2007.
- Mai, Lea and Robyn Gibson, "The Rights of the Putti: A Review of the Literature on Children as Cultural Citizens in Art Museums." *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 26, no.4 (01 October 2011):355-371.
- Mallan, Kerry Margaret and Annette Patterson. "Present and Active: Digital Publishing in a Post-Print Age." *Media/Culture* 11, no.4 (June 2008), accessed 17 July 2018, <http://journal.media-culture.org.au/index.php/mcjournal/article/view/40>.

Mapps, John, ed. *Australia's Yesterdays. The Illustrated Story of How We Worked, Lived and Played*. 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition. Ultimo: Reader's Digest, 2010.

Marcus, Ian S., Richard J. Paxton & Peter Meyerson (2006) " 'The Reality of it All': History Students Read the Movies," *Theory & Research in Social Education*, 34:4, 516-552, DOI: [10.1080/00933104.2006.10473320](https://doi.org/10.1080/00933104.2006.10473320)

Marcus, Julie. "Bicentenary Follies: Australians in Search of Themselves." *Anthropology Today* 4, no.3 (1988): 4-6.

Margaronis, Maria. "The Anxiety of Authenticity: Writing Historical Fiction at the End of the Twentieth Century." *History Workshop*, no.65 (Spring 2008): 138-160.

Marquis, Claudia 'Haunted Histories: Timeslip Narratives in the Antipodes' *Papers* 18:2 (2008): 58-64.

Marsh, Jackie. *Popular Culture, New Media and Digital Literacy in Early Childhood*. London and New York: Routledge, 1990.

Marshall, Catherine and Gretchen B. Rossman. *Designing Qualitative Research* 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. California: SAGE Publications, 1995.

Martin, Paul and Hilda Kean, eds., *The Public History Reader*. Oxon: Routledge, 2013.

Martyr, Phillippa. "Fact, Counterfactual and Fiction: Some Current Dilemmas in History." *Quadrant Magazine* 56, no. 1/2 (January 2012): 100-104.

May, Jo and John Ramsland. "The Disenchantment of Childhood: Exploring the Cultural and Spatial Boundaries of Childhood in Three Australian Feature Films, 1920s-1970s." *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no.1 (February 2007): 135-149.

May, Jill P. *Children's Literature and Critical Theory. Reading and Writing for Understanding*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

May, Tim. *Social Research. Issues, Methods and Process*. 4<sup>th</sup> Edition. Buckingham and Bristol: Open University, 1996.

Maynes, Mary Jo. "Age as a Category of Historical Analysis: History, Agency, and Narratives of Childhood." *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1, no.1 (Winter 2008): 114-124, 160.

McCallum, Robyn. *Ideologies of Identity in Adolescent Fiction: The Dialogic Construction of Subjectivity*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1999.

McCalmain, Iain. *Historical Re-Enactments. Should We Take Them Seriously? Annual History Council Lecture 2007*. New South Wales: History Council of NSW, 2007.

McCleod, Anne Scott. "Writing Backward: Modern Models in Historical Fiction." *Horn Book Magazine* 74, no.1 (January/February 1998): 26-33.

- McDowell, Kathleen. "Toward a History of Children as Readers, 1890-1930." *Book History*, Vol.12:1 (2009):249-265.
- McGennissen, Jane. "'A Little Child Shall Lead Them': Tasmanian and Victorian School Readers and National Growth." *Papers: Explorations in Children's Literature* 18, no.1 (2008): 5-12.
- McGrath, Ann. "Playing Colonial: Cowgirls, Cowboys, and Indians in Australia and North America." *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 2, no.1 (Spring 2001), accessed July 15, 2018, <https://muse.jhu.edu/>.
- . "Shamrock Aborigines: The Irish, the Aboriginal Australians and Their Children." *Aboriginal History* (2010) 34: 55-84.
- McKean, Matthew K. "Rethinking Late-Victorian Slum Fiction: The Crowd and Imperialism at Home." *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920* 54, no.1 (2011): 28-55.
- McKenna, Mark. *Different Perspectives on Black Armband History*. Canberra, ACT: Parliament of Australia, November 1997.
- . "The Use and Abuse of Australian History (Book Review)." *Times Literary Supplement*, no. 5114 (2001): 1.
- McKernan, Susan. "A Crisis of Confidence: Cultural History, Literary History and Literary Criticism." *Southerly* 50, September, no.3 (1990): 10.
- McKnight, Andrew. "Imagining Ethical Historical Consciousness: Pedagogical Possibilities and the Recent Trauma of September Eleventh." *Educational Studies*: 33, no.3 (Fall 2002): 325-343.
- McLean, Lorna. "The March to Nation: Citizenship, Education, and the Australian Way of Life in New South Wales, Australia, 1940s-1960s." *History of Education Review* 37, no.1 (24 June 2008): 34-47.
- McMullen, Sean. "Tea and Cakes with the Terminators: Teaching Real History with Historical Science Fiction." *Viewpoint: On Books for Young Adults* 18, no. 4 (Summer 2010): 2.
- McRaney, D. and John Lynn Russick. "Learning from Kids: Connecting the Exhibition Process to the Audience." *Curator*, 52 no.2 (April 2009): 183-192.
- McTigue, Erin; Thornton, Elaine; and Wiese, Patricia. "Authentication Projects for Historical Fiction: Do You Believe It?." *Reading Teacher* 66, no.6 (2013): 495-505.
- McVitty, Walter. "Publishing for Children in Australia: A Thriving Industry." *Children's Literature Association Quarterly* 15, no.4 (1990): 167-171.
- Meikle, Graham and Sherman Young. *Media Convergence. Networked Digital Media in Everyday Life*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

- Melleuish, Gregory. "A World without the Humanities?" *Quadrant* 49, no.4 (April 2005): 18-21.
- Message, Kylie. *New Museums and the Making of Culture*. Oxford and New York: Berg Publishing, 2006.
- Meyer, Charles F. *English Corpus Linguistics: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Mitchell, Claudia and Jacqueline Reid-Walsh. *Researching Children's Popular Culture: The Cultural Spaces of Childhood*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Morpeth, Neil. "Marc Bloch, Strange Defeat, the Historian's Craft and World War II: Writing and Teaching Comparative History." *The European Legacy* 10, no.3 (2005): 179-195.
- Moses, A. Dirk, "Moving the Genocide Debate Beyond the History Wars." *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 54, no.2 (2008): 248-270.
- Muir, Marcie. *A Bibliography of Australian Children's Books*. Volume 1, London: Andre Deutsch, 1970.
- . *A Bibliography of Australian Children's Books Volume 2*. London: Andre Deutsch, 1976.
- . *A History of Australian Children's Book Illustration*. South Melbourne: Sun Books, 1977: Oxford University Press.
- . *Charlotte Barton: Australia's First Children's Author*. Sydney: Wentworth Books, 1980.
- . *Australian Children's Books: A Bibliography*. 3 vols. Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1992.
- . "Children's Publishing before the War." *Publishing Studies* No.3 (Spring 1996): 37-43.
- Munro, Craig and Robyn Sheahan-Bright, eds., *Paper Empires: A History of the Book in Australia 1946-2005*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2006.
- Munslow, Alun. "Frontiers of History: Historical Inquiry in the Twentieth Century." *Rethinking History* 13, no.4 (December 2009): 4.
- . "Editorial." *Rethinking History* 14, no.4 (December 2010): 3.
- . "Editorial." *Rethinking History* 15, no.4 (December 2011): 4.
- . "History in the Discursive Condition: Reconsidering the Tools of Thought." *Rethinking History* 16, no.1 (March 2012): 8.

- Nettelbeck, Amanda. "The Australian Frontier in the Museum." *Journal of Social History* 44, no.4 (Summer 2011): 1115-1128.
- Neumann, Klaus. "Asylum Seekers, Willy Wong, and the Uses of History: From 2010 to 1962, and Back." *Australian Historical Studies* 42, no.1 (01 March 2011): 126-139.
- NSW Department of Education and Training. "Aboriginal Education K-12 Resource Guide." edited by Professional Support and Curriculum Directorate. New South Wales: NSW Department of Education and Training, 2003.
- Niall, Brenda. "Children's Literature." *Australian Literary Studies* 13, no.4 (1988): 547-559, accessed 23 July 2018 (<https://www.austlit-edu-au.ezproxy.sl.nsw.gov.au/static/new/files/text/pdf/3222457039226241243-brn95736.pdf>): 1-7.
- Niall, Brenda, assisted by Frances O'Neill. *Australia through the Looking-Glass. Children's Fiction 1830-1980*. Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1984.
- Nikolajeva, Maria. "'A Dream of Complete Idleness': Depiction of Labor in Children's Fiction." *The Lion and the Unicorn* 26, no.3 (2002): 305-21.
- Nikolajeva, Maria and Carole Scott. *How Picturebooks Work*. Great Britain: Garland Publishing, 2001.
- Nodelman, Perry. *Words About Pictures: The Narrative Art of Children's Picture Books*. Athens: University of Georgia, 1998.
- Nodelman, Perry and Mavis Reimer. *The Pleasures of Children's Literature*. Allyn and Bacon, 2003.
- Nünning, Ansgar. "Crossing Borders and Blurring Genres: Towards a Typology and Poetics of Postmodernist Historical Fiction in England since the 1960s, European." *Journal of English Studies* 1:2 (1997): 217-38.
- Nutbrown, Cathy. "Ethics of Research with Young Children." *Social Science Space* (2010).
- O'Connor, Juliet & State Library of Victoria); *Bottersnikes and other lost things: a celebration of Australian illustrated children's books*. Carlton: Miegunyah Press in association with the State Library of Victoria, 2009.
- O'Dowd, Mary. "Engaging Non-Indigenous Students in Indigenous History and "Un-History"." *History of Education Review* 41, no.2 (2012): 104-18.
- Oatley, Keith. *Emotions. A Brief History*. Malden, Oxford, and Carlton: Blackwell Publishing, 2004.
- Ottley, Matt "The art of corrupting youth: cyclical thinking" *Access* 24, no.1 (March 2010): 1.

- Paltridge, Brian. *Discourse Analysis. An Introduction*. London and New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2006.
- Papunya School. *Papunya School Book of Country and History*. Crows Nest, Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 2001. Picture Book. 2001
- Parker, Kate and Courtney Weiss Smith, eds., *Eighteenth Century Poetry and the Rise of the Novel Reconsidered*. Pennsylvania: Bucknell University Press and Roman and Littlefield, 2014.
- Parlevliet, Sanne. "Bring up the Children: National and Religious Identity and Identification in Dutch Children's Historical Novels 1848-C.1870." *History of Education* 43, no.4 (2014): 468-86.
- . "Fiction for Peace? Domestic Identity, National Othering and Peace Education in Dutch Historical Novels for Children, 1914–1935." *International Research in Children's Literature* 8, no.1 (2015): 17-30.
- Pascoe, Carla. "Be Home by Dark: Childhood Freedoms and Adult Fears in 1950s Victoria." *Australian Historical Studies* 40, no.2 (2009): 215-31.
- . "The History of Children in Australia: An Interdisciplinary Historiography." *History Compass* 8/10 (2010): 1142-1164.
- Patrick, Kevin. "In Search of the Great Australian (Graphic) Novel." *The Australasian Journal of Popular Culture* 1, no.1 (February 2011): 51-66.
- Pearce, Sharyn. "The Evolution of the Queensland Kid: Changing Literary Representations of Queensland Children in Children's and Adolescent Fiction." *Queensland Review* 3, no.2 (1996): 59-75.
- . "Book Reviews - Reading Race: Aboriginality in Australian Children's Literature." *Australian Literary Studies* 21, no.3 (May 2004): 401-402.
- Pemberton, Don. "Sources of Resilience: Australian Books for Children and Adolescents." *Children's Literature Association Quarterly* Volume 15, Number 4, (Winter 1990): 166-67.
- Pennay, Darren, Frank Bongiorno, and Paul Myers. "The *Life in Australia: Historic Events Survey*. Australians Name the Ten Most Significant Historic Events of Their Lifetime. Topline Report." Canberra ([http://cdn.srcentre.com.au/le2017/documents/SRC\\_HES\\_Topline\\_Report.pdf](http://cdn.srcentre.com.au/le2017/documents/SRC_HES_Topline_Report.pdf)), Social Research Centre, Australian National University, 2018.
- Pennell, Victoria. "Exploring Our Heritage: An Overview of Recent Canadian Historical Fiction for Children and Young Adults." *School Libraries in Canada* 22, no. 3(2003): 5-11.



- Phillips, Robert. "Contesting the Past, Constructing the Future: History, Identity and Politics in Schools." *British Journal of Educational Studies* 46, no.1 (01 March 1998): 40-53.
- Pihlainen, Kalle. "History in the World: Hayden White and the Consumer of History." *Rethinking History* 12, no.1 (March 2008): 23-39.
- . "The End of Oppositional History?" *Rethinking History* 15, , no.4 (December 2011): 26.
- Pinto, Sarah. "Emotional Histories and Historical Emotions: Looking at the Past in Historical Novels." *Rethinking History* 14, no.2, (June 2010): 189-207.
- Pirker, Eva Ulrike. "'They Saw Our People Dressed up and They Just ... Escaped!' Mark Wallis Interview About the Development of Professional Live History in Britain." *Rethinking History* 15, no. 4, (December 2011): 15.
- Plamper, Jan. "The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns." *History and Theory* 49 (May 2010): 237-65.
- Porter Benson, Susan, Stephen Brier, and Roy Rosenzweig. *Presenting the Past. Essays on History and the Public*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986.
- Rabey, Melissa. "Historical Fiction Mash-Ups: Broadening Appeal by Mixing Genres." *Young Adult Library Services* 9, no.1 (October 2010): 4.
- Rahn, Suzanne. "An Evolving Past: The Story of Historical Fiction and Nonfiction for Children." *The Lion and the Unicorn* 15, no.1 (June 1991): 1-26.
- Randall, Don. "Empire and Children's Literature: Changing Patterns of Cross-Cultural Perspective." *Children's Literature in Education* 41, March (24 October 2009): 28-39.
- Rankin, Betty. *Australian Council for Children's Film and Television: A History 1957-1989*. Melbourne: The Council, 1990.
- Rantala, Jukka. "Children as Consumers of Historical Culture in Finland." *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 43, no.4 (2011): 493-506, DOI: 10.1080/00220272.2011.584563.
- Read, Peter. "Clio or Janus? Historians and the Stolen Generations." *Australian Historical Studies* 118 (January 2002): 54-60.
- Redding, Paul. *The Logic of Affect*. New York: Cornell University Press, 1999.
- Reeves, Keir and Tseen Khoo. "Dragon Tails: Re-Interpreting Chinese Australian History." *Australian Historical Studies* 42 (2011): 4-9.
- Reeves, Margaret. "Telling the Tale of the Novel", *Clio*, 30, 1 (2000): 25-49.

- Reynolds, Kimberley. *Radical Children's Literature. Future Visions and Aesthetic Transformations in Juvenile Fiction*. Hampshire: PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, 2007.
- . *Perceptions of Childhood*, <http://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/perceptions-of-childhood>, accessed 16 February 2016.
- Rickard, John and Peter Spearitt. *Packaging the Past? Public Histories (Special Issue of Australian Historical Studies* 24, no.96 (April 1991):
- Ridge, Judith. "Our Story: Rediscovering Australian History." *Horn Book Magazine* 78, no. 6 (2002): 795-801.
- Ringrose. "A Journey Backwards: History through Style in Children's Fiction." *Children's Literature in Education*, 38, no.3(September 2007): 207–18.
- Riseman, Noah. "Rectifying 'the Great Australian Silence'? Creative Representations of Australian Indigenous Second World War Service." *Australian Aboriginal Studies* 1 (2012): 35-48.
- . "'Just Another Start to the Denigration of Anzac Day': Evolving Commemorations of Australian LGBTI Military Service." *Australian Historical Studies* 48, no.1 (2017): 35-51.
- Robertson, Iain J. M, ed. *Heritage from Below*. England: Ashgate Publishing 2012.
- Rogers, Rick. "Raising the Bar: Developing Meaningful Historical Consciousness at Key Stage 3." *Teaching History* 133 (December 2008): 24-30.
- Rolls, Mitchell. "Why Didn't You Listen: White Noise and Black History." *Aboriginal History* 34 (January 2011): 11-33.
- Rosenzweig, Roy and David Thelen *The Presence of the Past. Popular Uses of History in American Life* New York: Columbia University Press, 1998.
- Rüsen, Jörn. "The Didactics of History in West Germany: Towards a New Self-Awareness of Historical Studies." *History and Theory* 26, no.3, (October 1987): 275-286.
- Ryan, Lyndall. "'Hard Evidence': The Debate About Massacre in the Black War in Tasmania." ANU E Press (Downloaded 30/4/12 - ANU E Press).
- Ryan, Peter. "Our Defrauded Young." *Quadrant* (April 2008): 127-128.
- Ryan, Patrick J. "How New Is the 'New' Social Study of Childhood? The Myth of a Paradigm Shift." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 8, no.4 (Spring 2008): 553-576.
- Sabbioni, Jennifer, Kay Schaffer, and Sidonie Smith, eds., *Indigenous Australian Voices. A Reader*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1998.

- Said, Edward. *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. London: Penguin Books, 2003.
- Sakussem, Kris. "Historical Novels and the 'Truth'." *Writer* 125, no.1 (January 2012): 42-43.
- Salomon, Matthieu and Ket, Vu Doan. "Doi Moi, Education and Identity Formation in Contemporary Vietnam." *Compare* 37, no.3 (2007): 345-362.
- Salvati, Andrew. "History Bites: Mashing up History and Gothic fiction in Abraham Lincoln: Vampire Hunter." *Rethinking History* 20, no.1 (March 2016): 97-115.
- Samuel, Raphael. *Island Stories: Unravelling Britain. Theatres of Memory*, Volume II, London: Verso, 1998.
- . *Theatres of Memory. Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*. 2nd ed. London and New York: Verso, 2012.
- Saxby, H.M. *A History of Australian Children's Literature 1841-1941*. Sydney: Wentworth Books, 1969.
- . *A History of Australian Children's Literature 1941-1970*. Sydney: Wentworth Books, 1971.
- . *The Proof of the Puddin'. Australian Children's Literature 1970-1990*. Sydney: Ashton Scholastic, 1993.
- . *Offered to Children: A History of Australian Children's Literature 1841-1941*. Gosford: Scholastic, 1998.
- . *Images of Australia: A History of Australian Children's Literature*. Lindfield, New South Wales: Scholastic Press, 2002.
- . "Researching Australian Children's Literature." *Australian Library Journal* 53, no. 1 (2004)
- Saxby, H.M., and Glenys Smith. *First Choice. A Guide to the Best Books for Australian Children*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Saxby, H.M., and Gordon Winch, eds., *Give Them Wings. The Experience of Children's Literature*. 2nd ed. South Melbourne: Macmillan, 1991.
- Scanlon, Margaret and David Buckingham. "Popular Histories: 'Education' and 'Entertainment' in Information Books for Children." *The Curriculum Journal* 13, no.2, (August 2002): 141-161.
- Scates, Bruce *On Dangerous Ground: A Gallipoli Story*. Perth: UWA Publishing, 2012.
- . ed. *A Future for the Past: The State of Children's History*. New South Wales: History Council of NSW, 2004.

- Schamberger, Karen. "'Still Children of the Dragon?' A Review of Three Chinese Australian Heritage Museums in Australia." *Australian Historical Studies*, 42, no.1 (March 2011): 140-147.
- Scheckter, John. *The Australian Novel 1830-1980. A Thematic Introduction*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1998.
- Schwarz, Anja. "'Not This Year!' Reenacting Contested Pasts Aboard the Ship." *Rethinking History* 11, no.3 (September 2007): 427-446.
- Scutter, Heather. "Housekeeping: From the House of Misrule to the House That Was Eureka." 28, 1 (January 1997): 21-36.
- . "Hunting for History: Children's Literature Outside, over There, and Down Under." *Ariel*, no. (January 1997): 21-36.
- Seager, Nicholas. *The Rise of the Novel: A Reader's Guide to Essential Criticism*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Seiter, Ellen. *The Internet Playground: Children's Access, Entertainment, and Mis-Education*. New York: Peter Lang, 2005.
- Selden, Raman, Peter Widdowson, and Peter Brooker. *A Reader's Guide to Contemporary Literary Theory*. Fifth ed. United Kingdom: Pearson Education Limited, 2005.
- Sharp, Heather. "Australia's 1988 Bicentennial: National History and Multiculturalism in the Primary School Curriculum." *History of Education* 41:3 (2012): 405-21.
- Shaw, Harry. "Is There a Problem with Historical Fiction (or with Scott's Red Gauntlet)?" *Rethinking History* 9, no. 2/3 (June 1995): 173-95.
- Sheridan, Susan. "Historical Novels Challenging the National Story." *History Australia* 8, no. 2 (2011): 7-20.
- Silverman, David. *Interpreting Qualitative Data. Methods for Analysing Talk, Text and Interaction*. London: SAGE Publications, 1994.
- Singer, Amy E. "A Novel Approach: The Sociology of Literature, Children's Books, and Social Inequality." *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 10, no.4 (2011): 307-320.
- Slotkin, Richard. "Fiction for the Purposes of History." *Rethinking History* 9, no.2/3 (June 2005): 221-236.
- Smaill, Belinda. "Diasporic Subjectivity in Contemporary Australian Documentary: Travel, History and the Televisual Representation of Trauma." *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies* June (2006).
- Smith, Laurajane, Paul A Shackel, and Gary Campbell. *Heritage, Labour and the Working Classes*. Oxon: Routledge, 2011.

- Stearns, Peter N., "Children and Emotions History", *European Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 14, Issue 6, 2016, 659-671. DOI: 10.1080/17405629.2016.1222938.
- Stearns, Peter N., Peter Seixas and Sam Wineburg. *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History*. New York and London: New York University Press, 2000.
- Stearns, Peter N. *Childhood in World History*. New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Stearns, Peter N. "Obedience and Emotion: A Challenge in the Emotional History of Childhood." *Journal of Social History* 47, Issue 3 (Spring 2014): 593-611.
- Stearns, Peter Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns. "Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards." *The American Historical Review*, 90, Issue 4 (1985): 813-836.
- Steininger, Fabian. "Childhood, Youth and Emotions in Modern History." *H-Net Reviews in the Humanities and Social Sciences* (April 2013): 1-4.
- Stern, Tom. "History Plays as History." *Philosophy and Literature* 36, no.2 (October 2012): 285-300.
- Storey, John. *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture. An Introduction*. 6<sup>th</sup> Edition. England: Pearson Education Limited, 2012.
- Suda, Liz. "Telling Tales of Titanic: Integrating Social Education into Stories from the Past in Australian Curriculum: History." *Ethos* 18, no3 (20.10): 22-25.
- Supski, Sian. "Anzac Biscuits - a Culinary Memorial." *Journal of Australian Studies* 30, no.87 (2006): 51-59.
- Don Tapscott, *Growing Up Digital. The Rise of the Net Generation*, New York: McGraw Hill, 1998.
- Taylor, Jolanda Vanderwal. *Children of the War and the Memory of World War II in Dutch Literature of the 1980s*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1997.
- Taylor, Tony. "Trying to Connect: Moving from Bad History to Historical Literacy in Schools." *The Journal of the History of Culture (Australian Cultural History)* January (2003).
- Taylor, Tony and Robert Guyver, ed.s., *History Wars and the Classroom. Global Perspectives*. Charlotte: Information Age Publishing, 2012.
- Teo, Hsu-Ming. "Future Fusions and a Taste for the Past. Literature, History and the Imagination of Australianness." *Australian Historical Studies* 33, no.118 (01 January 2002): 127-139.
- . Hsu-Ming Teo, "Orientalism and mass market romance novels in the twentieth century" in *Edward Said: The Legacy of a Public Intellectual*, ed.s Ned Curthoys and Debjani Ganguly (Carlton Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 2007), 241-262.

- . “Phantom Limbs and Cultural Ventriloquism: Communicating Cultural Difference as a Novelist.” *Journal of Australian Studies* 32, no.4 (December 2008): 521-529.
- . “Historical Fictions and Fictions of History.” *Rethinking History* 15, no.2 (01 June 2011): 297-313.
- . “Popular History and the Chinese Martial Arts Biopic.” *History Australia* 8, no.1 (01 January 2011): 42-66.
- . “History, the Holocaust and Children’s Historical Fiction,” in *Fictional Histories and historical fictions: Writing history in the twenty-first century*’ in *TEXT Special Issue Website Series 28* (April 2015) [www.textjournal.com.au/speciss/issue28/Teo.pdf](http://www.textjournal.com.au/speciss/issue28/Teo.pdf) : 1-21.
- Teo, Hsu-Ming and Richard White, Richard, ed.s., *Cultural History in Australia*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2003.
- . “From the Guest Editors.” *History Australia* 8, no.1 (2012): 2.
- Thorpe Clark, Mavis. *Trust the Dream: The Autobiography of Mavis Thorpe Clark, Author of the Min-Min*. Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2004.
- Tomlinson, Carl and Carol Lynch-Brown. *Essentials of Children’s Literature*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2002.
- Torsti, Pilvi. “How to Deal with a Difficult Past? History Textbooks and Supporting Enemy Images in Post-War Bosnia and Herzegovina.” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 39, no.1 (01 February 2007): 77-96.
- Townsend, Norma. “Philosophy of History in the School Magazine of New South Wales, 1916–1922.” *Journal of Australian Studies* 6, no.11 (1982): 36-53. DOI: 10.1080/14443058209386854.
- Trainor, Luke. “Australian Writers, British Publishers, 1870-1902: Talking to the Nation.” *Australian Historical Studies* 37, no. 127 (2006): 140-55.
- Trend, David. *The End of Reading: From Gutenberg to Grand Theft Auto*. New York: Peter Lang, 2010.
- Trofanenko, Brenda N. “More Than a Single Best Narrative: Collective History and the Transformation of Historical Consciousness.” *Curriculum Inquiry* 38, no.5 (2008):
- Troiano, Laura. “Slippery When Wet: A Young Historian’s Journey into the World of Creative Non-Fiction.” *Rethinking History* 16, no. 1 (March 2012): 91-108.
- Truax, Megan. “Terrific Teaching Tips. Reading Historical Texts: Comprehension through Strategies and Extension.” *Illinois Reading Council Journal* 38, no.4 (Fall 2010): 47-52.

- Tucker, Aviezer. "Contemporary Philosophy of Historiography." *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* 27, no. 1 (1 March 1997): 102.
- Turkel, William J. "Intervention: Hacking History, from Analogue to Digital and Back Again." *Rethinking History* 15, no. 2 (June 2011).
- Turner, Graeme. *Making It National: Nationalism and Australian Popular Culture*. St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1994.
- Urbanski, Heather, ed. *Writing for the Digital Generation*. North Carolina: McFarland and Co., 2010.
- Van Toorn, Penny. "A Book by Any Other Name? Towards a Social History of the Book in Aboriginal Australia." *Australian Literary Studies* 24, no.2 (2009): 5-20.
- Vaughan-Pow, Catharine. "Was Lost Gip Really Lost? Some Representations of the Lost Child in Nineteenth-Century Discourses of Childhood." *Australasian Victorian Studies Journal* 7 (2001): 110-121.
- Veracini, Lorenzo. "A Prehistory of Australia's History Wars: The Evolution of Aboriginal History During the 1970s and 1980s." *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 52, no.3 (September 2006): 439-454.
- Ville, Simon and Glenn Withers, eds., *The Cambridge Economic History of Australia* Port Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Volk, Steven S. "Empathy and Engagement: Using Avatars to Bring Students into History." *Peer Review*. 14, no.3 (Summer 2012): 6-9.
- Walker, David and Agnieszka Sobocinska, ed.s., *Australia's Asia. From Yellow Peril to Asian Century*. Perth: University of Western Australia Press, 2012.
- Warburton, Wayne and Danya Braunstein, eds., *Growing up Fast and Furious*. Sydney: The Federation Press, 2012.
- Waring, Scott M. and Kirk S Robinson. "Developing Critical and Historical Thinking Skills in Middle Grade Social Studies." *Middle School Journal*, 42, no.1 (1 September 2010): 22-28.
- Waterhouse, Richard. *Private Pleasures, Public Leisure. A History of Australian Popular Culture since 1788*. South Melbourne: Longman Australia, 1995.
- Watson, Ken. "Text, Ideology and the Young Australian Reader." *Papers: Explorations in Children's Literature* 1, no.3 (1990).
- Webby, Elizabeth, ed. *The Cambridge Guide to Australian Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- White, Hayden. "Introduction: Historical Fiction, Fictional History, and Historical Reality." *Rethinking History*, 9, no.2-3 (2005): 147-57.

- . “Historical Fictions: Kermode’s Idea of History.” *Critical Quarterly* 54, no.1 (April 2012): 43-59.
- White, Kerry. *Australian Children’s Fiction - the Subject Guide*. Milton: Jacaranda, 1993.
- . *Australian Children’s Fiction - the Subject Guide Update*. Milton: Jacaranda Wiley, 1996.
- Widdowson, Peter. “‘Writing Back’: Contemporary Re-Visionary Fiction.” *Textual Practice* 20, no.3 (2006): 491-507.
- Wilson, Kim. “The Past Re-Imagined: Memory and Representations of Power in Historical Fiction for Children.” *International Research in Children’s Literature* 1.2, (December 2008): 111-124.
- . “Living History Fiction.” *Papers: Explorations in Children’s Literature* 20, no.1 (2010): 77-86.
- . *Re-Visioning Historical Fiction for Young Readers. The Past through Modern Eyes*. New York and Oxon: Routledge, 2011.
- . ”Are they telling us the truth? Constructing national character in the Scholastic Historical Journal Series” *Children’s Literature Association* 32, 2 (Summer 2007 ): 129-141.
- Windschuttle, Keith. *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History: Vol 1, Van Diemen’s Land 1803-1847* Sydney: Macleay, 2002.
- Worth, Paula. “Which Women Were Executed for Witchcraft? And Which Pupils Cared? Low-Attaining Year 8 Use Fiction to Tackle Three Demons: Extended Reading, Diversity and Causation.” *Teaching History* Issue 144 (September 2011): 4-14.
- Wright, Clare. “Making the War That Changed Us: Notes from the Frontline of History, Television and Military Remembrance.” *TEXT, no. Special Issue 28: Fictional histories and historical fictions: Writing history in the twenty-first century* Supplement 28 (April 2015): 1-12.
- Wu, Kai-Lin. “‘Where Do You Want to Go Today?’ An Analysis of Family Group Decisions to Visit Museums.” *Journal of Marketing Management* 26, Issue 7-8, (July 2010): 706-726.
- Wyatt, Neal, Georgine Olson, Kristin Ramsdell, Joyce Saricks, and Lynne Welch. “Core Collections in Genre Studies.” *Reference and User Services Quarterly* 47, no.2 (Winter 2007): 120-125.
- Yilmaz, Kaya. “Historical Empathy and Its Implications for Classroom Practices in Schools.” *The History Teacher* 40, no.3 (May 2007): 331-337.



- Youngs, Suzette and Frank Serafini. "Comprehension Strategies for Reading Historical Fiction Picture Books." *Reading Teacher* 65, no.2 (October 2011): 115-124.
- Zeegers, Margaret. "Cultural Explorations of Time and Space: Indigenous Australian Artists-in Residence, Conventional Narratives and Children's Text Creation." *Papers: Explorations in Children's Literature* 16, no.2 (2006): 138-44.
- Zelenak, Eugen. "Modifying Alun Munslow's Classification of Approaches to History." *Rethinking History* 15, no.4 (December 2011): 523-537.
- Zuckerman, Michael. "The Paradox of American Adolescence." *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 4.1 (2011): 13-25.

## Newspapers and periodicals

- Cockington, James. "The Spoils of War." *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 April, 2012.
- Doherty, Frank. *The Argus*, 2 October 1954.  
<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/printArticlePdf/23445795/3?print=n>
- Hirst, John. "Forget Modern Views When Bringing up the Past," *The Australian* 20 March 2006.
- MacDonald, Helen "Novel Views of History," *The Australian* 25 March 2006.
- McKenna, Mark "Writing the Past," *Australian Financial Review* 16th December 2005.
- . "Comfort History," *The Australian* 18 March, 2006.
- Moses, Alexa. "Small Print." *Sydney Morning Herald*, September 11-12, 2004.
- Windschuttle, Keith. "Doctored Evidence and Invented Incidents in Aboriginal Historiography." *The Sydney Line* 2005.

## Reports

- "National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research" (2007) - Updated May 2015, National Health and Medical Research Council. Online: Australian Government, 2015.
- "Shape of the Australian Curriculum: History." National Curriculum Board. Canberra: National Curriculum Board, 2009.
- "Analysis of Funding of Public Libraries by State and Territory Governments in Australia." Mach2 Consulting. 2017.

## Unpublished theses

- Anderson, Mark W. "Pioneer or Invader? Situational Metafiction in the Settler Nations." PhD diss., Memorial University of Canada (Newfoundland), 2009.
- Austin-Crowe, Marion V. *Katherine Susannah Pritchard's Coonardoo: An Historical Study*. PhD diss., Edith Cowan, 1996. Accessed 26 July 2018, <http://ro.ecu.edu.au/theses/962>.
- Butler, K.J. "Witnessing Australian Stories: History, Testimony and Memory in Contemporary Culture." PhD diss., University of Melbourne, 2010.
- Hatton, Oona Elizabeth Kersey. "Taking on History: Children's Perspectives on Performing the American Past." PhD diss., University of Sydney, 2010.
- Hutchison, Andrew. "Techno-Historical Limits of the Interface: The Performance of Interactive Narrative Experiences." PhD diss., Curtin University, 2009.
- Kocumbias, Jan. "*Children and Society in New South Wales and Victoria, 1860-1914*." PhD diss., University of Sydney, 1983. Accessed 26 July 2018, <http://hdl.handle.net/2123/1402>.
- Jones, Joanne. "A Study of the Significance of the Australian Historical Novel in the Period of the History Wars, 1988-Present." PhD diss., Curtin University, 2012.
- Macleod, Mark. "A Battle for Children's Minds: The Children's Book Council of Australia Book of the Year Award for Older Readers." PhD diss., University of Newcastle, 2010.
- Penn, Sandie. "Australian Identity: The Influence of the Bush in Children's Literature." Honours thesis, La Trobe University, 2007.
- Pennell, Beverley Jean. "Australian Childhood through the Looking Glass: Changing Representations of Childhood in Australian Children's Fiction 1953-2003." PhD diss., Macquarie University, 2004. Accessed 26 July 2018, <http://hdl.handle.net/11343/39892>.
- Pinto, Sarah. "Emotional Histories: Contemporary Australian Historical Fiction." PhD diss., University of Melbourne, 2007.
- Tuñón, Laura Cantora. "Proper Names as Cultural Referents in British Chick Lit: A Corpus-Based Analysis of Their Translations into Spanish and Italian." PhD diss., University of Leeds, 2013. Accessed 26 July 2018,

<http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/7870/1/Proper%20Names%20as%20Cultural%20References%20in%20British%20Chick%20Lit%20-%20Laura%20Cantora.pdf>.

Wilson, Kim. "The Past through Modern Eyes: Ways of Re-Visioning Historical Fiction for Young People." PhD diss., Macquarie University, 2009.

## **Archival collections**

National Library of Australia: *Mavis Thorpe Clark papers*, MS7847.

## **Published primary sources**

Bartlett, Norman. "Culture and Comics." *Meanjin* 13, no.1, (Autumn 1954): 5-18.

Clarke, Mrs Henry. *The Bushranger's Secret*. London: Blackie and Sons, 1923.

Gunn, Aeneas. *The Little Black Princess of the Never-Never*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1962.

Martin, Troy and McBride, Amelia. "Teachers Notes (Secondary). A Prayer for Blue Delaney." Allen and Unwin Book Publishers.

## **Website content**

Abbey's Bookshop. "The Marvellous Funambulist of Middle Harbour and Other Sydney Firsts." Accessed 12 May 2017. <http://www.abbey.com.au/book/the-marvellous-funambulist-of-middle-harbour-and-other-sydney-firsts.do>.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies Institute. "Aboriginal Flag." Accessed 28 March 2018. <https://aiatsis.gov.au/explore/articles/aboriginal-flag>

Alphabet Soup, "Meet the author-illustrator Mark Wilson." Accessed 26 August 2014. <http://alphabetsoup.net.au/2012/11/20/meet-the-author-illustrator-mark-wilson/>

Anzac Day Commemorative Committee (Queensland). "Anzac Commemorating 100 Years. Anzac Day Online Shop." Accessed 10 August 2014. <http://www.anzacday.org.au/shop/online/contents/en-us/d1.html>.

- Australian Army. "Army. Our History. Traditions." Accessed 14 March 2018.  
<https://www.army.gov.au/our-history/traditions/the-slouch-hat> and  
<https://www.army.gov.au/our-history/traditions/the-rising-sun-badge>.
- Australian Broadcasting Authority (ABC). "My Place." Accessed 24 February 2016.  
<http://www.abc.net.au/abc3/myplace/>
- Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). "Using Children and Youth Statistics." Accessed 21 January 2016.  
<http://www.abs.gov.au/websitedbs/c311215.nsf/web/Children+and+Youth+Statistics+-+Using+Children+and+Youth+Statistics>; and  
[http://www.aic.gov.au/crime\\_community/demographicgroup/youngpeople/definition.html](http://www.aic.gov.au/crime_community/demographicgroup/youngpeople/definition.html) viewed 21/01/16.
- . <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Products/4F45E5DB10D157FECA257968000CB4F5?opendocument> Accessed 18 November 2017.
- . "Children Who Read for Pleasure." Accessed 28 March 2018.  
<http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Products/4F45E5DB10D157FECA257968000CB4F5?opendocument>.
- Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA).
- . "F-10 Humanities and Social Sciences: Key Ideas – Subject/sub-strand illustrations." Accessed 28 March 2018. [http://docs.acara.edu.au/resources/F-10\\_HASS\\_Key\\_ideas\\_-\\_Subject\\_sub-strand\\_illustrations.pdf](http://docs.acara.edu.au/resources/F-10_HASS_Key_ideas_-_Subject_sub-strand_illustrations.pdf).
- . "Foundation to Year Ten Australian Curriculum: History." Accessed 1 April 2018.  
[www.acara.edu.au/curriculum/learning-areas-subjects/humanities-and-social-sciences/history](http://www.acara.edu.au/curriculum/learning-areas-subjects/humanities-and-social-sciences/history).
- Australian Children's Laureate. "Australian Children's Laureate" Accessed 15 March 2016.  
[www.childrenslaureate.org.au](http://www.childrenslaureate.org.au).
- Australian Dictionary of Biography. "Entry for Brian Fitzpatrick." Accessed 12 February 2018. <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/fitzpatrick-brian-charles-10195>.
- . "Entry for Henry (Harry Power)." Accessed 12 February 2018.  
<http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography>.
- Australian Human Rights Commission. "Bringing the home - preliminary." Accessed 18 July 2018. <https://www.humanrights.gov.au/publications/bringing-them-home-preliminary>.
- Australian Institute of Criminology. "The age of criminal responsibility," Australian Institute of Criminology. Accessed 26 July 2018, <https://aic.gov.au/publications/cfi/cfi106>.

- Australian War Memorial. "Anzac Acronym." Accessed 10 December 2017.  
<https://www.awm.gov.au/articles/encyclopedia/anzac/acronym> .
- . "Schools and Teachers." Accessed 24 December 2017.  
<https://www.awm.gov.au/learn/schools> .
- . "Visitor Information." Accessed 24 December 2017.  
<https://www.awm.gov.au/visit/visitor-information/features/discovery-zone> .
- Australian TV Sports and Music Almanac, "2014 ANZAC Day AFL at MCG – Collingwood v Essendon – Last Post Ceremony 25 April 2014". Accessed 9 December 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KJyrFAKAJ34> .
- Children's Book Council of Australia. "Book of the Year." Accessed 5 April 2016.  
<http://cbca.org.au/winners4659.htm> .
- . <http://cbca.org.au/9099.htm> Viewed 3 September 2014. Page no longer available on 28 March 2018.
- Cummings, Phil. "*Anzac Biscuits*, cover illustration." Accessed 1 April 2018.  
<https://www.pinterest.com.au/pin/564498134513522635/>.
- Curriculum Corporation. "Reading Enriches Learning." Accessed 28 March 2018  
<http://www1.curriculum.edu.au/rel/history/book.php?catrelid=1858> .
- Duffy, Conor " 'Brandzac Day': Historian criticizes 'new low in the commercialization of Anzac.' Accessed 18 February 2018. <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-04-15/critics-disgusted-by-vulgar-commercialisation-of-anzac-day/6395756>.
- Exislebooks. "Anzac Ted video." Accessed 9 December 2017.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ko1RtELN9AI> -
- Federal Register of Legislation, <https://www.legislation.gov.au/Details/C1968A00125>  
 Viewed 1 April 2018.
- Felton, Heather. "Mathinna". Accessed 8 August 2015.  
[http://www.utas.edu.au/library/companion\\_to\\_tasmanian\\_history/M/Mathinna.htm](http://www.utas.edu.au/library/companion_to_tasmanian_history/M/Mathinna.htm) .
- French, Jackie. "The Goat who Sailed the World." Accessed 4 May 2017.  
<http://www.jackiefrench.com/sailing-goat>.
- . "Fair Dinkum Histories." Accessed 3 July 2017.  
<http://www.jackiefrench.com/dinkum-histories->.
- Golds, Cassandra. "The Mostly True Story of Matthew and Trim." Accessed 28 March 2018.  
<http://www.cassandragolds.com.au/mostlytruestory.html>.
- Goodreads. "My Place." Accessed 28 March 2018.  
[http://www.goodreads.com/book/show/1001964.My\\_Place](http://www.goodreads.com/book/show/1001964.My_Place) .

- . “Listopia. My Australian Story series.” Accessed 28 March 2018.  
[http://www.goodreads.com/list/show/7147.My\\_Australian\\_Story\\_series](http://www.goodreads.com/list/show/7147.My_Australian_Story_series).
- . “The Marvellous Funambulist of Middle Harbour.” Accessed 28 March 2018.  
<http://www.goodreads.com/book/show/28730005-the-marvellous-funambulist-of-middle-harbour>.
- . “Review. Our Enemy. My Friend.” Accessed 2 August 2017.  
<https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/7039864-our-enemy-my-friend>.
- . “Review. The Burnt Stick. Oct 14, 2011” Accessed 13 August 2015.  
[http://www.goodreads.com/book/show/1284215.The\\_Burnt\\_Stick?from\\_search=true&search\\_version=service#other\\_reviews](http://www.goodreads.com/book/show/1284215.The_Burnt_Stick?from_search=true&search_version=service#other_reviews).
- . “Review. Who am I? The Diary of Mary Talence.” Accessed 17 September 2015.  
[http://www.goodreads.com/book/show/3288562-who-am-i-the-diary-of-mary-talence-sydney-1937?from\\_search=true&search\\_version=service](http://www.goodreads.com/book/show/3288562-who-am-i-the-diary-of-mary-talence-sydney-1937?from_search=true&search_version=service).
- . “Review. My Father’s War.” Accessed 23 December 2017.  
<https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/9525848-my-father-s-war>.
- Heiss, Anita. “Anita’s blog. I am grateful for Stolen Girl.” Accessed 25 September 2015.  
<http://anitaheissblog.blogspot.com.au/2011/03/i-am-grateful-for-stolen-girl.html>.
- Heiss, Anita. “Anita Heiss. Frequently Asked Questions.” Accessed 21 August 2015.  
[http://www.anitaheiss.com/faqs\\_about\\_anita.html](http://www.anitaheiss.com/faqs_about_anita.html).
- Hill, Anthony. “Writing Soldier Boy. Background to the book.” Accessed 10 October 2017.  
<http://www.anthonhillbooks.com/soldierboybackgrounder.html>.
- . “Bulletproof.” Accessed 7 March 2017.  
<http://www.anthonhillbooks.com/Bulletproof.html>.
- . “The Burnt Stick. Questions and Answers.” Accessed 12 August 2015.  
<http://www.anthonhillbooks.com/theburntstickqanda.html>.
- History Online. *Rethinking History*, <https://www.history.ac.uk/history-online/journal/rethinking-history-journal-theory-and-practice>.
- Honest History, “Honest History. Supporting honest and balanced history.” Accessed 9 December 2017. [www.honesthistory.net.au](http://www.honesthistory.net.au).
- . “Can we bear Anzac Ted.” Accessed 9 December 2017.  
<http://honesthistory.net.au/wp/can-we-bear-anzac-ted/>.
- Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission. “Bringing them home - preliminary.” Accessed 21 August, 2015. <https://www.humanrights.gov.au/publications/bringing-them-home-preliminary>.

- . “Genocide.” Accessed 21 August 2015.  
<https://www.humanrights.gov.au/publications/bringing-them-home-chapter-13#Heading103> .
- Look CoolSon. “The Last Post on Trumpet.” Accessed 9 December 2017.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kcbkjjacmQM>.
- Monument Australia . “Trim.” Accessed 28 March 2018.  
<http://monumentaustalia.org.au/themes/culture/animals/display/23316-trim/photo/4>.
- Scholastic. The Store. “David Mulligan, *My Australian Story. Heroes of Tobruk*” Accessed 28 March 2018. <https://shop.scholastic.com.au/Product/8129167/My-Australian-Story-Heroes-of-Tobruk>.
- National Health and Medical Research Council, “National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007) – Updated May 2015”, *National Health and Medical Research Council* Accessed 23 July 2018. <https://www.nhmrc.gov.au/guidelines-publications/e72> ).
- National Rugby League. “Last Post.” Accessed 9 December, 2017.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Puc4e75DDcI>.
- . “Anzac Day 2015 NRL promotional video.” Accessed 9 December 2017.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K5sbckoMzRM>.
- Parliament of Tasmania. Accessed 13 July, 2016.  
<http://www.parliament.tas.gov.au/php/BecomingTasmania/BTAppend2.htm> .
- Parliament of the United Kingdom. “Going to School.” Accessed 2 July 2017.  
<http://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/livinglearning/school/overview/1870educationact/> .
- Penguin Publishing, “The Mostly True Story of Matthew and Trim.” Accessed 27 March 2018. <https://www.penguin.com.au/books/the-mostly-true-story-of-matthew-and-trim-9780143302179> .
- . “Do You Dare? Tough Times.” Accessed 6 September, 2014.  
<http://www.penguin.com.au/products/9781743482483/do-you-dare-title-tba-epub> .
- Quarantine Station, “History Meets the Harbour.” Accessed 12 May 2017.  
<http://www.quarantinestation.com.au/Programs/ghost-boy>.
- . “Ghost Boy Teachers’ Kit.” Accessed 12 May 2017.  
[http://www.quarantinestation.com.au/images/education/Ghost\\_Boy\\_Teachers\\_Kit\\_2015.pdf](http://www.quarantinestation.com.au/images/education/Ghost_Boy_Teachers_Kit_2015.pdf).
- . “Our Story.” Accessed 12 May 2017. <http://www.quarantinestation.com.au/The-Quarantine-Project-Stories-from-the-Sandstone/>.
- Scholastic Australia. “About Scholastic Australia.” Accessed 8 July 2018.  
<http://www.scholastic.com.au/corporate/>.

- . “The Store.” Accessed 8 July 2018.  
<http://shop.scholastic.com.au/Search/?menuId=112&parentId=101> .
- . “Australian Kids and Family Reading Report.”  
<http://www.scholastic.com.au/schools/ReadingLeaders/KFRR/kidsreading.asp>
- . “The Store.My Australian Story. My Father’s War.” Accessed 8 July 2018.  
<https://shop.scholastic.com.au/Product/8005439/My-Australian-Story-My-Father’s-War/?BackToSearch=79b1660a-25eb-45d6-b52a-ace58a7b756b&PageNo=0&ItemsPerPage=12&SortBy=1&SearchString=sophie%20masson&FilterBy=&menuId=&parentId=&breadcrumb>.
- . “The Teacher Store.” Accessed 7 July 2018. <https://shop.scholastic.com> .
- Softlink. “Education. Information Centres.” Accessed 7 July 2018.  
<https://www.softlinkint.com/>.
- . <https://hubinfo.wordpress.com/background/few-statistics/>
- South Australian Government, “South Australia Memory.” Accessed 4 April 2016.  
<http://www.samemory.sa.gov.au/site/page.cfm?u=960&c=7109>.
- State Library of New South Wales, “Premier’s History Awards.” Accessed 7 July 2017.  
———. [http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/about/awards/premiers\\_awards/nsw\\_premiers\\_history\\_awards/premiers\\_history\\_awards.html](http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/about/awards/premiers_awards/nsw_premiers_history_awards/premiers_history_awards.html)
- Begley, Patrick in the Sydney Morning Herald. “Children’s Books Prove the Right Stuff for Flagging Bookshops.” Accessed 8 July 2018.  
<http://www.smh.com.au/entertainment/books/childrens-books-prove-the-write-stuff-for-flagging-bookshops-20140807-101112.html#ixzz3CK4yWGdl>.
- TROVE, National Library of Australia, “Mathinna’s People.” Accessed 8 July 2018.  
<http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/12696882?q=mathinna%27s+people&c=book> .
- . “Who Am I? The Diary of Mary Talence.” Accessed 8 July 2018.  
[http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/34833937?q=diary+mary+talence&c=book&sort=holdings+desc&\\_id=1443353568929](http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/34833937?q=diary+mary+talence&c=book&sort=holdings+desc&_id=1443353568929) .
- . “My Place.” Accessed 8 July 2018.  
<http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/14789504?q=my+place&c=book#tabs14789504=2> .
- United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner. “Conventions of the Rights of the Child.” Accessed 21 January 2016,  
<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CRC.aspx>



- Walker Books. "Walker Books. Classroom Ideas. The Night We Made the Flag." Accessed 8 July, 2018. <http://www.walkerbooks.com.au/statics/dyn/1320381787817/Night-We-Made-the-Flag.pdf>.
- . "Walker Books. Classroom Ideas. The Dog on the Tuckerbox." <http://www.walkerbooks.com.au/statics/dyn/1351560733316/The-Dog-on-the-Tuckerbox-Classroom-Ideas.pdf>
- Wheatley, Nadia. "My Place." Accessed 8 July 2018. <http://nadiawheatley.com/my-place/>.
- Wilson, Mark. "Mark Wilson." Accessed 27 August 2014. <https://www.markwilson.com.au/index.html>.
- . "Angel of Kokoda: Teachers' Notes." Accessed 27 August 2014. <http://www.angelofkokoda.com.au/pdf/AngelofKokodaTeachersNotes.pdf>.
- . "Middle Matter. The Angel of Kokoda." Accessed 8 July, 2017. <http://themiddlematters.blogspot.hk/2013/04/angel-of-kokoda-by-mark-wilson.html>.
- Wolfer, Diane. Diane Wolfer. Author. Photographs in the Mud." Accessed 8 July 2018. <https://diannewolfer.com/books/historical-fiction/photographs-in-the-mud/>.

## Novels and picture books

- Aldridge, James. *The True Story of Lilli Stubeck*. Melbourne: Hyland House, 1984
- . *The True Story of Spit McPhee*. Ringwood, Victoria: Viking, 1986.
- Alexander, Goldie. *Gallipoli Medals*. Queensland: Anzac Day Commemorative Committee Queensland, 2013.
- Baillie, Allan. *The First Voyage*. Melbourne: Puffin, 2014
- . *Songman*. Ringwood, Victoria: Viking, 1994.
- Bell, Helen. *Idjhil - and the Land Cried For Its Lost Soul*. Nedlands: Cygnet, 1996.
- Bell, Hilary and Matthew Martin *The Marvellous Funambulist of Middle Harbour and other Sydney Firsts*, University of New South Wales: New South Press, 2013.
- Bunker, Amy *Millingi* Glasgow: Blackie, 1973.
- Chadwick, Doris. *John of Sydney Cove*. London: Thomas Nelson, 1957.

- Clark, Sherryl. *Do you Dare? Jimmy's War* Australia: Penguin Random House Australia, 2015.
- Cox, David *Tin Lizzie and Little Nell*. London: Bodley Head, 1982.
- Crew, Gary. *The Castaways of the Charles Eaton*. South Melbourne: Lothian Children's Books, 2002.
- Crew, Gary, and Peter Goldthorpe. *The Lost Diamonds of Killiecrankie*. Port Melbourne: Lothian, 1996.
- Dargin, Peter (in association with the Western Readers Committee of the the Disadvantaged Country Area Programme), and Noela Young (Illustrator). *Captain Pickles and the Wandering Jane*. Milton: Jacaranda Press, 1981.
- Edwards, Christine. *My Australian Story. On Board the Boussole: The Diary of Julienne Fulbert, Laperouse's Voyage of Discovery, 1785-1788*. Lindfield: Scholastic Press, 2002.
- Ewers, John K. *Who Rides on the River?* Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1956.
- Farrer, Vashti. *When the War Came*. Queensland: Anzac Day Commemoration Committee Queensland, 2012.
- Fenton, Corinne and Peter Gouldthorpe (Illustrator). *The Dog on the Tuckerbox*. Fitzroy: Black Dog Books, 2008.
- French, Jackie:
- . *The Camel Who Crossed Australia, Animal Stars Volume 3*. Pymble: HarperCollins, 2008.
  - . *Dingo: The Dog Who Conquered a Continent, Animal Stars Volume 6* Pymble: HarperCollins Publishers Australia, 2012.
  - . *The Donkey Who Carried the Wounded, Animal Stars Volume 4*. Pymble: Angus and Robertson, 2009.
  - . *The Goat Who Sailed the World. Animal Stars Volume 1*. Pymble: HarperCollins, 2006.
  - . *The Girl from Snowy River* Pymble: HarperCollins Australia, 2012.
  - . *The Ghost by the Billabong* Pymble: HarperCollins Australia, 2015.
  - . *The Horse Who Bit a Bushranger, Animal Stars Volume 5*. Pymble: HarperCollins Publishers, 2010.

- . *The Night They Stormed Eureka* Pymble: HarperCollins Australia, 2009.
- . *The Road to Gundagai* Pymble: HarperCollins Australia, 2013.
- . *Soldier on the Hill*. Pymble: HarperCollins, 1997.
- . *To Love a Sunburnt Country* Pymble: HarperCollins Australia, 2014.
- . *A Waltz for Matilda* Pymble: HarperCollins Australia, 2010.
- Gervay, Susanne; Culkin-Lawrence, Teresa and National Musuem of Australia. *Daisy Sunshine, Making Tracks*. Canberra: National Museum of Australia Press, 2008.
- Greenwood, Kerry. *My Australian Story. A Different Sort of Real: The Diary of Charlotte McKenzie, Melbourne 1918-1919*. Lindfield: Scholastic Press, 2001.
- . *Jandamarra*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 2013.
- . *Ned Kelly and the Green Sash* Newtown: Walker Books, 2010.
- Harris, Christine and Ann James. *Audrey' Big Secret, Audrey of the Outback*. Surry Hills: Little Hare Books, 2009.
- . *Strike!* Milsons Point, New South Wales: Random House, 1994.
- Hathorn, Libby. *Okra and Acacia: The Story of the Wattle Pattern Plate*. Sydney: Hodder Headline, 2002.
- . *The Tram to Bondi Beach*. Bondi Junction: Bondi Beach Press, 1981.
- . *The Wishing Cupboard*. South Melbourne: Lothian, 2002.
- Hill, Anthony. *The Burnt Stick*. Ringwood: Viking Penguin Books, 1994.
- Ker Wilson, Barbara. *Acacia Terrace*. Sydney: Ashton Scholastic, 1988.
- Kiddle, Margaret. *West of Sunset*. Sydney: Australasian Publishing Company, 1949.
- Laguna, Sophie. *A Home for Grace. Our Australian Girl*. Melbourne: Penguin Books, 2011.
- Logan, Carolyn. *River Child*. Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press. 1995.
- Marsden, John and Shaun Tan. *The Rabbits* Australia and New Zealand: Hachette Australia, 2011.
- Martin, David. *The Chinese Boy*. Crows Nest: Sunbird Books (Macmillan Company of Australia), 1990.
- . *The Girl who Didn't Know Kelly*. Melbourne: Hutchinson of Australia, 1985.

- Masson, Sophie. *My Australian Story. My Father's War*. Lindfield: Scholastic Press, 2011.
- . *My Australian Story. The Hunt for Ned Kelly*. 2010. Lindfield: Scholastic Press, 2010.
- . *Ned Kelly's Secret*. Lindfield: Scholastic Australia, 2012.
- Mattingley, Christobel. *My Father's Islands. Abel Tasman's Heroic Voyages*. Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2012.
- Mitchell, Elyne. *The Lighthorsemen*. Australia: Penguin Books, 1987.
- . *Light Horse to Damascus*. Richmond: Hutchinson of Australia, 1987.
- Mitchell, Simon. *1931: Do you Dare? Tough Times*. Melbourne: Penguin Books Australia, 2014.
- Morgan, Sally, Culkin-Lawrence, Teresa (Illustrator) and the National Museum of Australia. *The Other Side, Making Tracks*. Canberra: National Museum of Australia Press, 2007.
- Murphy, Sally and Sonia Kretschman (Illustrator). *Do not Forget Australia*. Newtown: Walker Books Australia, 2012.
- Murray, Kirsty. *Bridie's Fire, Children of the Wind*. Crows Nest: Allen and Unwin, 2003.
- Murrell, Belinda. *The Forgotten Pearl*. Australia: Random House Australia. 2015.
- Nicholson, Joyce. *Our First Overlander*. Sydney, New South Wales: Shakespeare Head Press, 1956.
- O'Neill, Judith. *Deepwater*. Port Melbourne: Mammoth Australia. 1989.
- Page, Michael, and Robert Ingpen. *The Great Bullocky Race*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1988.
- Peatfield, Pat. *The Hills of the Black Cockatoo* Ringwood, Victoria: Puffin, 1981.
- Pownall, Eve. *Cousins-come-lately*. Sydney: Shakespeare Head Press, 1949.
- Pulman, Felicity. *Ghost Boy*. Australia: Random House Australia, 1995.
- Rushby, Pamela. *Flora's War*. Ormond: Ford Street Publishing, 2013.

———. *The Horses Didn't Come Home*. Sydney: HarperCollins Australia, 2012.

Stanley, Peter, Michelle Dawson (Illustrator) and the Society for the Protection of Animals Abroad. *Simpson's Donkey. A Wartime Journey to Gallipoli and Beyond*. Sydney: Murdoch Books, 2011.

Starke, Ruth. *Orphans of the Queen*. Australia: Lothian Children's Books Australia, 2004.

Stow, Randolph. *The Merry Go Round in the Sea*, London: Macdonald, 1965.

Sunderland, Alan. *My Australian Story. Refugee: The Diary of Ali Ismail. Woomera 2001-2002*. Lindfield: Scholastic Press, 2006.

Thiele, Colin. *River Murray Mary*. Adelaide: Rigby, 1979.

Thorpe Clark, Mavis. *The Brown Land was Green*. Sydney: John Ferguson, 1956.

———. *They Came South*. Melbourne: William Heinemann, 1963.

Tucker, Alan. *My Australian Story. The Bombing of Darwin: The Diary of Tom Taylor, Darwin, 1942*. Lindfield: Scholastic Press, 2002.

Wang, Gabrielle. *Meet Poppy. Our Australian Girl*. Melbourne: Penguin Group, Australia, 2011.

———. *Poppy at Summerhill. Our Australian Girl*. Melbourne: Penguin Group, Australia, 2011.

———. *Poppy and the Thief. Our Australian Girl*. Melbourne: Penguin Group, Australia, 2011.

———. *Poppy Comes Home. Our Australian Girl*. Melbourne: Penguin Group, Australia, 2011.

Wheatley, Nadia and Rawlins, Donna. *My Place: The Story of Australia From Now to Then*. Australia: Walker Books Australia, 2008 (20th Anniversary Edition).

Nadia Wheatley, *The House that was Eureka* (Ringwood: Viking/Kestrel, 1984)

Wilkinson, Carole. 2005. *Black Snake: The Daring of Ned Kelly, The Drum*. Fitzroy: Black Dog Books, 2002.

Wilson, Mark. *The Afghanistan Pup*. Sydney and New Zealand: Hachette Australia, 2014.

- . *Angel of Kokoda*. Sydney: Lothian, 2010.
- . *Ben and Gracie's Art Adventure*. Sydney: Hachette Australia, 2011.
- . *Inside the World of Tom Roberts, Ben and Gracie's Art Adventures*. Sydney: Hachette Books, 2012.
- . *My Mother's Eyes: the story of an Australian Boy Soldier*. Sydney: Lothian Children's Books, 2011.
- . *Vietnam Diary*. Sydney: Lothian/Hachette, 2013.

Wolfer, Diane and Brian Simmonds (Illustrator). *Light Horse Boy*. Fremantle: Fremantle Press. 2014.

## Film and television

*Anzac Girls*. Directed by Ken Cameron and Ian Watson. Produced by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, Screen Australia, Screen Time, Screentime, The South Australian Film Corporation, 2014. <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt3078602/>.

*Gallipoli*. Directed by Peter Weir, produced by Patricia Lovell and Robert Stigwood for Associated R&R Films, 1981.

*Rabbit Proof Fence*. Directed by Phillip Noyce, produced by Phillip Noyce, Christine Olsen, John Winter, 2002.

## Appendix A – The Corpus

### The corpus of historical novels and picture books underpinning this thesis

The list is arranged by decade, in order of the original publishing date, then in alphabetical order by author's name. The publication cited is the edition viewed for this thesis. I have also indicated the year of original publication.

#### 1945-49

Kiddle, Margaret. 1949. *West of Sunset*. Sydney, Australia: Australasian Publishing Company. Original edition, 1949. Reprint, 1961.

Pownall, Eve. 1949. *Cousins-come-lately*. Sydney: Shakespeare Head Press. Original edition, 1949. Reprint, 1952.

#### 1950-59

Cheesman, Evelyn. 1950. *Landfall the Unkown. Lord Howe Island 1788*, Puffin Story Books. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books. Original edition, 1950. Reprint, 1958.

Palmer, Helen G. 1954. *Beneath the Southern Cross*. London: Angus and Robertson.

Chadwick, Doris. 1967. *John of the Sirius*. London: Oxford University Press. Original edition, 1955.

Ewers, John K. 1956. *Who Rides on the River?* Sydney: Angus and Robertson. Original edition, 1956. Reprint, 1972.

Hill, Fitzmaurice. 2005. *Captain Tuffems. A Family Story of Australian Pioneers*. Originally published as *Southward Ho with the Hentys* North Richmond: Shining Press. Original edition, 1950s (exact date not known).

Nicholson, Joyce. 1956. *Our First Overlander*. Sydney, New South Wales: Shakespeare Head Press. Original edition, 1956.

Thorpe Clark, Mavis. 1956. *The Brown Land was Green*. 1982 (first published in London by William Heinemann, 1956) ed. Sydney, New South Wales: John Ferguson. Original edition, 1956.

Chadwick, Doris. 1957. *John of Sydney Cove*. London: Thomas Nelson. Original edition, 1957.

Thorpe Clark, Mavis. 1958. *Gully of Gold*. Melbourne: William Heinemann. Original edition, 1958.

Unwin, MJ. 1958. *Booran: A Tale of Early Australia*. Brisbane, Australia: Jacaranda Press. May be fiction with an historical setting. Original edition, 1958.

## **1960-69**

Chauncy, Nan. 2007. *Tangara*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press. Original edition, 1960 (London: Oxford University Press). Reprint, Penguin Books Australia 1987; Puffin Books 1991.

Cilento, Ruth. 1961. *Moreton Bay Adventure*. London: Michael Joseph. Original edition, 1961.

Chadwick, Doris. 1962. *John and Nanbaree*. London: Thomas Nelson. Original edition, 1962.

Chauncy, Nan. 1962. *Half a World Away*. London: Oxford University Press. Original edition, 1962. Reprint, 1963.

Wright, Judith. 1962. *Range the Mountains High*. Melbourne, Victoria, Australia: Lansdowne Press for Children's Library Guild of Australia. Original edition, 1962.

Noonan, Michael. 2007. *The December Boys*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press (Catnip Books, Catnip Publishing). Original edition, 1963. Reprint 1990, 2006, 2007.

Thorpe Clark, Mavis. 1963. *They Came South*. Melbourne: William Heinemann. Original edition, 1963.

Colwell, Max. 1964. *Peter the Whaler in Southern Seas, Seal Pups*. Adelaide: Rigby. Original edition, 1964.

Adams, Nancy. 1966. *Saxon Sheep: A Novel Based on the Activities of the Templeton and Forlong Families in the Early Days of Australian Settlement*. Original edition, 1961 (Melbourne). Reprint 1966.

Locke, Elsie. 1971. *The Runaway Settlers. An Historical Novel for Children*. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin. Original edition, 1965 (London: Jonathan Cape).

Fatchen, Max. 2004. *The River Kings*. South Australia: Wakefield Press. Original Edition, 1966.

Ottley, Reginald. 1966. *Boy Alone. By the Sandhills of Yamboorah*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. Original edition, 1965. Reprint 1966.



Wrightson, Patricia. 1966. *The Rocks of Honey*. Melbourne, Victoria, Australia: Puffin Books. Original edition, 1960.

Bateman, Robert. 1967. *Quest for Nuggets*. Great Britain: Ronald Whiting and Wheaton. Original edition, 1967.

Chauncy, Nan. 1967. *Mathinna's People*. London: Oxford University Press. Original edition, 1967. Reprint, New York: Seabury Press, 1973 (*As Hunted in Their Own Land*).

Ker Wilson, Barbara. 1967. *A Family Likeness*. Translated by Illustrated by Astra Lacis Dick. London: Constable Young Books. Original edition, 1967.

Schurmann, Edwin, and David (illustrator) Cox. 1967. *No Trains on Sunday*. Sydney, New South Wales, Australia: Ure Smith. Original edition, 1967.

Spence, Eleanor. 1967. *The Switherby Pilgrims. A Tale of the Australian Bush*. London: Oxford University Press. Original edition, 1967.

Stow, Randolph. 1984. *Midnite. The Story of a Wild Colonial Boy*. 1984 ed. Suffolk: St Edmundsbury Press. Original edition, 1967.

Wilton, Elizabeth M. 1967. *Riverboat Family*. Sydney, New South Wales, Australia: Angus and Robertson. Original edition, 1967.

Wilton, Elizabeth M. 1967. *A Ridiculous Idea*. Sydney, New South Wales, Australia: Angus and Robertson. Original edition, 1967.

Donkin, Nance. 1969. *House by the Water*. London, Sydney, Melbourne: Angus and Robertson. Original edition, 1969.

Donkin, Nance. 1969. *A Currency Lass, Early Australians*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press. Original edition, 1969.

Few, Frank and Betty. 1969. *The Firemaker*. Adelaide, Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Perth: Rigby. Original edition, 1969.

Knudsen, Greta. 1969. *Goldseekers*. Melbourne: Cheshire Publishing. Original edition, 1969.

Spence, Eleanor. 1969. *Jamberoo Road*. London: Oxford University Press. Original edition, 1969.

Spencer, Pat. 1969. *Hustler's Gold*. Melbourne: Lansdowne. Original edition, 1969.

Syred, Celia. 1969. *Baker's Dozen*. London: Angus and Robertson. Original edition, 1969.

Thorpe Clark, Mavis. 1969. *Nowhere to Hide*. Melbourne: Lansdowne. (Original edition, 1969).

## 1970-79

Donkin, Nance. 1970. *An Orphan, Early Australians*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press. Fiction/non-fiction. Original edition, 1970.

Fatchen, Max. 1981. *Conquest of the River*. UK and Australia: Methuen Children's Books; Hicks, Smith and Sons. Original edition, 1970.

Pownall, Eve. 1970. *A Drover*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press. Original edition, 1970.

Thorpe Clark, Mavis. 1974. *Blue Above the Trees*. Sydney: Hodder and Stoughton. Original edition, 1970 (Melbourne: Lansdowne).

Buddee, Paul. 1971. *The Escape of the Fenians*. Camberwell (Victoria, Australia): Longman Australia. Original edition, 1971. Reprint, [Harlow]: Longman, 1972.

Buesst, Marie. 1971. *The Craigs of Collins Street*. Melbourne: The Hawthorn Press. Original edition, 1971.

Donkin, Nance. 1971. *Johnny Neptune*. 1973 (first published by Angus and Robertson 1971) ed. Ringwood (Victoria, Australia): Puffin Books. Original edition, 1971. Reprint, 1973.

Martin, David. 1971. *Hughie*. Melbourne: Thomas Nelson. Original edition, 1971.

Mitchell, Elyne. 1971. *Light Horse to Damascus*. Richmond: Hutchinson of Australia. Original edition, 1971. Reprint, 1987.

Ottley, Reginald. 1971. *The War on William Street*. London: Collins. Original edition 1971.

Muir, Marcie, ed. 1972. *Strike-a-light the Bushranger and Other Tales*. Melbourne and London: Thomas Nelson (Melbourne, Australia); Hamish Hamilton (London) Original edition, 1972.

Phipson, Joan. 1972. *Bass and Billy Martin*. South Melbourne: The Macmillan Company. Original edition, 1972.

Bunker, Amy D. 1973. *Millingi*. Glasgow: Blackie. Original edition, 1973.

Fatchen, Max. 1973. *The Spirit Wind*. London: Methuen. Original edition, 1973.

Martin, David. 1990. *The Chinese Boy*. Crows Nest: Sunbird Books (Macmillan Company of Australia). Original edition, 1973. Reprint, 1977; 1990.

Wrightson, Patricia. 2008. *The Nargun and the Stars*. Queensland: UQP. Original edition, 1973.

Donkin, Nance. 1974. *Margaret Catchpole, Australians in History Series*. Australia: William Collins. Original edition, 1974.

Brunato, Madeleine. 1975. *Worra and Legends of the Boonandiks*. Adelaide, Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Perth: Rigby. Original edition, 1975.

Miller, Ellen. 1975. *A Place Called Lantern Light*. HarperCollins Publishers: Sydney. Original edition, 1975.

Thompson, Valerie. 1975. *Rough Road South, The Rob Howell Trilogy*. Sydney: Collins. Original edition, 1975.

Nicholson, Joyce. 1976. *The Convict's Daughter*. West Melbourne: Thomas Nelson Australia. Original edition, 1976.

Samuel, Helen Jo. 1976. *A Saddle at Bontharambo*. Ringwood: Puffin Books. Historical Original edition, 1950, Longmans Green and Co. Ltd.

Carr, Roger Vaughan. 1977. *Riverboat! Riverboat!* South Melbourne and North Sydney: Macmillan Co. of Australia. Original edition, 1977.

Colwell, Max. 1977. *Half Days and Patched Pants*. Adelaide: Rigby. Original edition, 1975.

Miller, Ellen. 1977. *Anna Yesterday*. Sydney: William Collins. Original edition, 1977.

Thompson, Valerie. 1977. *Gold on the Wind*. Sydney: Collins. Original edition, 1977.

Wrightson, Patricia. 1987. *The Song of Wirrun. The Ice is Coming, The Book of Wirrun*. Ringwood: Puffin. Original edition, 1977 (Melbourne and London).

Donkin, Nance. 1978. *The Best of the Bunch*. Sydney: William Collins Publishers. Original edition, 1978. Reprint, 1985.

Ellis, Vivienne Rae. 1978. *The Tribe With No Feet*. Great Britain: Hamish Hamilton Children's Book. Original edition, 1978.

Fatchen, Max. 1978. *The Time Wave*. Sydney: Methuen of Australia. Original edition, 1970. Reprint, 1981.

Ferry, John. 1978. *Kamilaroi*. Lane Cove: Hodder and Stoughton. Illustrated la. Original edition, 1978.

Paice, Margaret. 1978. *Shadow of Wings*. Sydney: Collins. Original edition, 1978.

Park, Ruth. 1978. *Come Danger, Come Darkness*. Sydney: Hodder and Stoughton. Original edition, 1978. Reprint, 1980.

Stivens, Dal. 1978. *The Bushranger*. Sydney: William Collins Publishers. Original edition, 1978. Reprint, 1988.

Wrightson, Patricia. 1983. *The Book of Wirrun. The Dark Bright Water*. Ringwood: Puffin. Original edition, 1978

Donkin, Nance. 1990. *Nini, Australian Magpie/Upper Primary*. Adelaide: Rigby. Original edition, 1979.

Ellis, Vivienne Rae. 1979. *Menace at Oyster Bay, Young Australia Thematic Library*. West Melbourne: Thomas Nelson Australia. Original edition, 1976. Reprint, 1979.

Hyde, Greg. 1979. *The Little Convict*. Australia: Angus and Robertson. Reprint, Paperback 1980.

Ryan, Lawrie. 1979. *Toog's Island*. Sydney: Hutchison of Australia. Original edition, 1979.

Thiele, Colin. 1979. *River Murray Mary*. Adelaide: Rigby. Original edition, 1979. Reprint, 2002.

## **1980-89**

Cazaly, Merle. 1980. *The Squatter-man*. Melbourne: Hutchison of Australia. Original edition, 1980.

Park, Ruth. 1980. *Playing Beattie Bow*. West Melbourne: Nelson. Original edition, 1980.

Spence, Eleanor, and Sisca Verwoert (Illustrator). 1980. *The Seventh Pebble*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press. Original edition, 1980. Reprint 1981.

Cazaly, Merle. 1981. *Riding for Gold*. Richmond: Hutchison of Australia. Original edition, 1974. Reprint, 1981.

Dargin, Peter (in association with the Western Readers Committee of the Disadvantaged Country Area Programme), and Noela Young (Illustrator). 1981. *Captain Pickles and the Wandering Jane*. Milton: Jacaranda Press. Picture Book. Original edition, 1981.

Hathorn, Libby. 2006. *The Tram to Bondi Beach*. Bondi Junction, NSW: Bondi Beach Press. Original edition, 1981. Reprint 1983, 1989, 1990, 1992, 1999, 2006, 2014.

Homes, Ruth. 1981. *Echoes of Dreaming*. Richmond, Victoria: Heinemann Educational Australia.

Mollison, Addey. 1981. *Captain Bligh: Rebellion in Sydney Town*. Springwood: Kevin Dillon and Associates. Original edition, 1981.

Peatfield, Pat. 1981. *The Hills of the Black Cockatoo*. Ringwood, Victoria: Puffin. Original edition, 1981.

Thompson, Valerie. 1981. *The Mountain Between, The Rob Howell Trilogy* (Book 3). Sydney: Collins. Original edition, 1981.

Aldridge, James. 1982. *The Broken Saddle*. London: Julia MacRae Books. Original edition, 1982. Reprint, 1984, 1994.

Cox, David. 1982. *Tin Lizzie and Little Nell*. London: Bodley Head. Original edition, 1982.

Hill, Deirdre. 1982. *Bridge of Dreams*. Lane Cove: Hodder and Stoughton (Australia). Original edition, 1982.

Donkin, Nance. 1983. *We of the Never Never (Retold for Children)*. Richmond: Hutchinson of Australia. Original edition, 1983.

Glover, Stuart. 1983. *Walls Came Toppling Down*. Edited by CCH, *Conflict in Australian Society*. Sydney, Australia: CCH. Original edition, 1983.

Park, Ruth. 1993. *Big Brass Key*. Rydalmere: Hodder and Stoughton. Original edition, 1983. Reprint, 1985, 1986, 1993.

Wrightson, Patricia. 1983. *The Book of Wirrun. Behind the wind*. Ringwood: Puffin. Original edition, 1981.

Aldridge, James. 1984. *The True Story of Lilli Stubeck*. Melbourne: Hyland House. Original edition, 1984. Reprint 1985, 2003.

Mattingley, Chrisobel, and Astra Laci (Illustrator). 1984. *The Angel With a Mouth-organ*. Lane Cove: Hodder and Stoughton. Original edition, 1984.

O'Neill, Judith. 1984. *Jess and the River Kids*. Great Britain: Hamish Hamilton Books. Original edition, 1984.

Donkin, Nance. 1985. *Two at Sullivan Bay*. Kenthurst: Kangaroo Press. Original edition, 1985.

Glover, Stuart. 1985. *Bail Up and be Damned, Conflict in Australian Society*. North Ryde, New South Wales, Australia: CCH. Original edition, 1985.

- Greenwood, Ted, and Elizabeth Honey (Illustrator). 1985. *Flora's Treasures*. Richmond: Hutchinson Group (Australia). Original edition, 1985.
- Martin, David. 1985. *The Girl Who Didn't Know Kelly*. Melbourne: Hutchinson of Australia. Original edition, 1985.
- Aldridge, James. 1986. *The True Story of Spit McPhee*. Ringwood: Viking. Original edition, 1986. Reprint, 1987; 1988.
- Michael Dugan, illustrated by Jacqui Young. 1986. *The Teacher's Secret*. Original edition, 1986.
- Hurle, Garry. 1991. *The Saddler's Grand-daughter*. Norwood, South Australia: Omnibus Books. Original edition, 1986. Reprint, 1987, 1991.
- Pople, Maureen. 1986. *The Other Side of the Family*. St Lucia: Queensland University Press. Original edition, 1986.
- Collins, Allan. 1987. *The Boys from Bondi*. St Lucia; New York: University of Queensland Press. Original edition, 1987.
- Durack, Mary, and Michael Wilkin (Illustrator). 1987. *Red Jack*. Australia: Macmillan.
- Hole, Quentin. 1987. *Dancing Phoebe and the Famous Mumblegum Piano*. Sydney: William Collins. Original edition, 1987.
- Mitchell, Elyne. 1987. *The Lighthorsemen*. Australia: Penguin Books. Original edition, 1987.
- O'Neill, Judith. 1989. *Deepwater*. Port Melbourne, Victoria: Mammoth Australia. Original edition 1987.
- Pearce, Margaret. 1987. *One Day in the Life of a Maidservant, Southern Cross Series 3*. South Melbourne: The Macmillan Company of Australia. Original edition 1987.
- Pearce, Margaret. 1987. *Castle Hill Uprising, Southern Cross Series 3*. South Melbourne and Crows Nest: Macmillan Company of Australia.
- Donkin, Nance. 1988. *A Family Affair*. Sydney: Martin Educational. Original edition, 1988.
- Hill, Deirdre. 1988. *Flight from Fear*. Rydalmere: Hodder and Stoughton. Original edition, 1988.
- Ker Wilson, Barbara. 1988. *Acacia Terrace*. Sydney: Ashton Scholastic. Picture Book. Original edition, 1988.

King, John Anthony. 1988. *An Uncommonly Fine Day: January 26, 1788*. Sydney: William Collins. Original edition, 1987.

Page, Michael, and Robert Ingpen. 1988. *The Great Bullocky Race*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. Original edition, 1988.

Thorpe Clark, Mavis. 1988. *Tommy and Phar Lap*. Edited by Pat Edwards, *Excerpt from Young and Brave: Stories of Nine Steadfast Young Australians* included in *A Python for a Pet (Eureka Treasure Chest: Stage 5.2)*. Melbourne: Longman Cheshire. Original edition, 1988.

Tresize, Percy. 1992. *The Cave Painters*. Pymble: Angus and Robertson (in association with Anne Ingram Books). Original edition, 1988. Reprint, 1989; 1992; 1994 (braille).

Peck, Jeff. 1989. *Bushfire Moon*. Ringwood: Puffin Books. Original edition, 1989.

Small, Mary and Kasepuu, Ester (Illustrator). 2001. *Simpson and his Donkey*. Queensland: ADCC Queensland. Picture book. Original edition, 1989.

Tonkin, Rachel, and Ian Edwards. 1989. *Papa and the Olden Days*. Melbourne: Heinemann Australia. Picture Book. Original edition, 1989.

## **1990-1999**

Crew, Garry. 1990. *Strange Objects*. Original edition, 1990.

Green, Cliff. 1990. *Boy Soldiers*. Australia: Penguin Books. Original edition, 1990.

Lisson, Deborah. 1990. *The Devil's Own*: Walter McVitty Books. Original edition, 1990. Reprint, 2000.

Spence, Eleanor. 1991. *The Family Book of Mary-Claire*. Paperback Edition ed. North Blackburn: Collins Dove. Original edition, 1990. Reprint, 1991.

Farrer, Vashti. 1991. *Escape to Eaglehawk*. Newtown: Millennium Books. Original edition, 1991. Reprint, 1994; 2002.

French, Jackie. 1991. *The Roo that won the Melbourne Cup*. North Ryde: Collins Angus and Robertson. Original edition, 1991.

Aldridge, James. 1992. *The True Story of Lola MacKellar*. Ringwood: Viking, Penguin Books. Original edition, 1992.

Bernard, Patricia. 1992. *Monkey Hill Gold*. South Australia: Omnibus Books. Original edition, 1992.

Croser, Josephine. 1992. *The Talking Stone*. Pymble: Collins Angus and Robertson.

- Disher, Garry. 1992. *The Bamboo Flute*. Pymble: Angus and Robertson. Original edition, 1992.
- Hathorn, Libby. 1999. *Love me Tender*. Hodder Headline. Picture book. Original edition, 1992.
- Holkner, Jean. 1992. *Aviva Gold*. Australia: Penguin Books. Original edition, 1992.
- O'Neill, Judith. 1992. *So Far From Skye*. Ringwood: Viking. Original edition, 1992.
- Vickress, Ron. 1992. *Head and Tails: a Little Chronicle of Australia Told in Fables (From Foundation to Federation)*. Armidale: Kardoorair Press. Original edition, 1992.
- Croser, Josephine. 1993. *Making Best*. Flinders Park: Martin International in association with Era Publications. Original edition, 1993.
- Farrer, Vashti. 1993. *Eureka Gold*. Newtown: Millennium Books. Original edition, 1993.
- French, Jackie. 2006. *Walking the Boundaries*. Pymble, NSW: Angus and Robertson. Original edition, 1993. New editions 2006, 2009, 2016.
- Williams, Dorothy. 1993. *My Mate Jock*. Newtown: Millennium Books. Original edition, 1993.
- Baillie, Allan. 1994. *Songman*. Ringwood: Viking. Original edition, 1994. Reprint, 1995.
- Elliott, Louise. 1994. *Mr Hornbeam's Treasure Hunt*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press. Original edition, 1994.
- French, Jackie. 1994. *Somewhere Around the Corner*. Pymble: HarperCollins Publishers. Original edition, 1994.
- Harris, Christine. 1994. *Strike!* Milsons Point: Random House. 1994. Original edition, 1994.
- Hill, Anthony. 1994. *The Burnt Stick*. Ringwood: Viking Penguin Books. Original edition, 1994.
- O'Connor, Pamela. 1994. *One Whale Singing. Australian Historical Series*. Newtown: Millennium Books. Original edition, 1994.
- Baker, Jeannie. 1995. *The Story of Rosy Dock*. Milsons Point: Random House Australia. Original edition, 1995.
- Crew, Gary, and Peter Goldthorpe. 1996. *The Lost Diamonds of Killiecrankie*. Port Melbourne: Lothian. Original edition, 1995.



Logan, Carolyn. 1995. *River Child*. Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press. Original edition, 1995.

Macdonald, Wendy. 1995. *Crocodile Creek, Zapper Book Series*. Port Melbourne: Heinemann. Original edition, 1995. Reprint, 2001.

Mitchell, Elyne. 1995. *Dancing Brumby, Brumby Story*. Pymble: Angus and Robertson. Original edition, 1995.

Pulman, Felicity. 2004. *Ghost Boy*. Australia: Random House Australia. Original edition, 1995.

Baillie, Allan. 1996. *Secrets of Walden Rising*. Ringwood: Viking. Original edition, 1996. Reprint, 1997.

Bell, Helen. 1996. *Idjhil – and the Land Cried For Its Lost Soul*. Nedlands: Cygnet. Original edition, 1996. Reprint, 2003.

French, Jackie. 1996. *Beyond the Boundaries*. Pymble: Angus and Robertson. Original edition, 1996.

Harris, Christine. 1996. *Baptism of Fire*. Milsons Point: Random House. Original edition, 1996.

Disher, Garry. 1997. *The Apostle Bird*. Rydalmere: Hodder Headline Australia. Original edition, 1997. Reprint, 2002.

Farrer, Vashti. 1997. *Ned's Kang-u-roo*. Port Melbourne: Lothian Books. Original edition, 1997.

French, Jackie. 1997. *Soldier on the Hill*. Pymble: HarperCollins. Original edition, 1997.

French, Jackie. 1997. *Dancing with Ben Hall and Other Tales*. Pymble: Angus and Robertson. Original edition, 1997.

Upjohn, Jeane. 1997. *The Adventures of Titch: A Tale of Hobart Town in 1872*. Armidale: University of New England Press. Original edition, 1997.

Blee, Jill. 1998. *The Pines Hold Their Secrets*. Victoria: Indra Publishing. Original edition, 1998. Reprint, 1999.

Disher, Garry. 2002. *The Divine Wind*. Sydney: Hachette Children's Books Australia. Original edition, 1998. Reprint, 1998; 1999 (3 times); 2000 (3 times); 2001 (3 times); 2002 (twice); 2003; 2004 (twice); 2005 (twice); 2006; 2007; 2008.

- French, Jackie. 1998. *Daughter of the Regiment*. Pymble: HarperCollins. Original edition, 1998.
- Crew, Gary, and Tan, Shaun (Illustrator). 1999. *Memorial*. Port Melbourne: Lothian. Original edition, 1999.
- Croser, Josephine. 1999. *Hannah's Voyage*, Flinders Park: Era Publications. Original edition, 1999.
- French, Jackie. 1999. *Hitler's Daughter*. Pymble: HarperCollins. Reprinted 2010.
- Harris, Christine. 1999. *Foreign Devil*: Random House. Original edition, 1999.
- Masson, Sophie. 1999. *Small World*. Rydalmere: Hodder Headline Australia. Original edition, 1999.
- Roy, James. 1999. *Captain Mack*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press. Original edition, 1999. Reprint, 2000 (twice); 2005.
- Tonkin, Rachel. 1999. *To the Goldfields*. St Leonards: Allen and Unwin. Original edition, 1999.
- Tonkin, Rachel. 1999. *When I was a Kid*. St Leonards: Allen and Unwin. Original edition, 1997.
- Croser, Josephine. 1999. *Hannah and the Golden Thread*. Flinders Park: Era Publications.

## **2000-2016**

- Alexander, Goldie. 2000. *My Australian Story. Surviving Sydney Cove. The Diary of Elizabeth Harvey. Sydney 1790*. Lindfield: Scholastic Press. Original edition, 2000. Reprint, 2006; 2010.
- Beck, Jennifer; Blacklock, Dyan and Allan, Katrina. 2000. *Crash! Search for the Stinson!* Norwood, South Australia: Omnibus Books.
- Farrer, Vashti. 2000. *My Australian Story. Plagues and Federation: The Diary of Kitty Barnes, The Rocks, 1900*. Lindfield: Scholastic Press. Original edition, 2000.
- Hartnett, Sonya. 2000. *Thursday's Child*. Penguin Books. Original edition, 2000. Reprint, 2002.
- Hooper, Meredith. 2000. *The Journal of Watkin Stench*. Hachette Livre. Picture Book. Original edition, 1988 (Cambridge, England: Lutterworth).

Pausacker, Jenny. 2000. *My Australian Story. A Tale of Two Families: The Diary of Jan Packard*. Lindfield: Scholastic Press. Original edition, 2000. Reprint, 2001 (twice); 2002; 2003; 2004.

Ridden, Brian. 2000. *Whistle Man*. Australia: Hachette Australia. Original edition, 2000.

Collins, Allan. 2001. *A Promised Land*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

Disher, Garry. 2002. *Moondyne Kate*. Sydney: Hodder. Could be Young Adult. Original edition, 2001. Reprint, 2002.

French, Jackie. 2001. *How the Finnigans Saved the Ship*. Pymble: HarperCollins. Original edition, 2001.

Greenwood, Kerry. 2001. *My Australian Story. A Different Sort of Real: The Diary of Charlotte McKenzie, Melbourne 1918-1919*. Lindfield: Scholastic Press. Original edition, 2001. Republished in 2012 as *The Deadly Flu*. *My Australian Story* series; Lindfield, New South Wales, Australia: Scholastic Press.

Harris, Christine. 2001. *Halfway Round the World*. Rigby. Original edition, 2001.

Lisson, Deborah. 2001. *My Australian Story. The Yankee Whaler: The Diary of Thomas Morris, Bunbury, Western Australia 1876*. Lindfield: Scholastic Press. Original edition, 2001. Republished in 2013 – *Fremantle Prison Break: the Diary of Thomas Morris 1876*.

Small, Mary and Langridge, Anne (Illustrator). 2001. *The Unknown Australian Soldier*. Queensland: Anzac Day Commemorative Committee Queensland.

Burke, Di and Alger, Elizabeth (Illustrator). 2002. *Why are They Marching Daddy?* Queensland: Anzac Day Commemorative Committee Queensland.

Crew, Gary. 2002. *The Castaways of the Charles Eaton*. South Melbourne: Lothian Children's Books. Original edition, 2002.

Edwards, Christine. 2002. *My Australian Story. On Board the Boussole: The Diary of Julianne Fulbert, Laperouse's Voyage of Discovery, 1785-1788*. Lindfield: Scholastic Press. Original edition, 2002.

Greenwood, Mark. 2002. *The Legend of Moondyne Joe*. Crawley: Cygnet Books. Original edition, 2002.

Hathorn, Libby. 2002. *The Wishing Cupboard*. South Melbourne: Lothian. Original edition, 2002.

Hathorn, Libby. 2002. *Okra and Acacia: The Story of the Wattle Pattern Plate*. Sydney: Hodder Headline. Original edition, 2002.

- Heiss, Anita. 2002. *My Australian Story. Who am I? The Diary of Mary Talence*, Sydney, 1937, Lindfield: Scholastic Press. Original edition, 2002. Reprint, 2006; 2007; 2010.
- Hill, Anthony. 2002. *Young Digger*. Camberwell, Victoria: Penguin Books. Revised edition 2016.
- Jorgensen, Norman and Harrison-Lever, Brian (Illustrator). 2002. *In Flanders Fields*. Fremantle, Western Australia: Sandcastle Books. Reprinted 2004, 2015
- Lessac, Frane, and Greenwood, Mark. 2002. *The Magic Boomerang*. Fremantle: Artbeat Publishers. Original edition, 2002.
- Tucker, Alan. 2002. *My Australian Story. The Bombing of Darwin: The Diary of Tom Taylor, Darwin, 1942*. Lindfield: Scholastic Press. Original edition, 2002. Reprinted 2005.
- Upjohn, Jeane. 2002. *The Young Whalers: Titch Goes To Sea: An Historical of Tasmanian Boys at Sea in 1876*. Launceston: Regal Publications. Original edition, 2002.
- Bernard, Patricia. 2003. *My Australian Story. Fords and Flying Machines. The Diary of Jack McLaren 1919-1921*. Lindfield: Scholastic Press. Original edition, 2003.
- Catran, Ken. 2003. *Dawn Hawk, Crime Waves*. South Melbourne: Lothian Books. Original edition, 2003.
- French, Jackie. 2003. *Valley of Gold*. Pymble: Angus and Robertson. Original edition, 2003.
- Greenwood, Mark. 2003. *The Legend of Lasseter's Reef*. Crawley: Cygnet Books. Original edition, 2003.
- McHugh, Siobhan. 2003. *My Australian Story. Snowy: The Diary of Eva Fischer, Cabramurra, 1958-1959*, Lindfield: Scholastic Press. Original edition, 2003. Reprint 2004, 2005.
- Metzenhen, David. 2003. *Boys of Blood and Bone*. Camberwell, Victoria: Penguin Books. Reprinted 2014 (Anzac Centenary edition).
- Murray, Kirsty. 2003. *Bridie's Fire, Children of the Wind*. Crows Nest: Allen and Unwin. Original edition, 2003.
- Wignell, Edel and Huxley, Dee (Illustrator). 2003. *The Long Sticky Walk*. Crawley, Western Australia: Cygnet Young Fiction. Original edition, 2003.
- Allen, Peter. 2004. *My Australian Story. Our Don Bradman: The Diary of Victor McDonald, 1932*. Lindfield: Scholastic Press. Original edition, 2004. Reprint, 2006; 2010.

Baillie, Allan. 2004. *Riding with Thunderbolt. The Diary of Ben Cross, Northern New South Wales, 1865*. Gosford: Scholastic Press. Original edition, 2004. Reprinted 2006, 2013.

Bunney, Ron. 2004. *No One Owns Me*. Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre. Original edition, 2004.

French, Jackie. 2004. *A War for Gentlemen*. Pymble: HarperCollins. Original edition, 2004.

French, Jackie. 2004. *Tom Appleby: Convict Boy*. Pymble: Angus and Robertson. Original edition, 2004.

Hartnett, Sonya. 2004. *The Silver Donkey*. Camberwell: Viking. Original edition, 2004. Reprint, 2006.

Macdonald, Wendy. 2004. *The Castaway Convict*. Perth: University of Western Australia. Original edition, 2004.

Murray, Kirsty. 2004. *Becoming Billy Dare, Children of the Wind*. Crows Nest: Allen and Unwin. Original edition, 2004.

Ridden, Brian. 2004. *Lifeboat*. Australia: Lothian. Original edition, 2004.

Roy, James. 2004. *Billy Mack's War*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press. Original edition, 2004.

Salmon, Michael. 2004. *Surfer Joe: Time Traveller, Surf back... way back*. Essendon: Pennon Publishing. Original edition, 2004.

Savvides, Irina. 2004. *My Australian Story. A Marathon of Her Own: The Diary of Sophie Krikonis, Melbourne, 1956*. Lindfield: Scholastic Press. Original edition, 2004.

Starke, Ruth. 2004. *Orphans of the Queen*. Australia: Lothian Children's Books Australia. Original edition, 2004.

Blackman, Jenny. 2005. *My Australian Story. Our Enemy, My Friend: The Diary of Emma Shelldrake, Adelaide Hills, 1915*. Lindfield: Scholastic Press. Original edition, 2005.

Cheng, Christopher. 2005. *My Australian Story. New Gold Mountain: The Diary of Shu Cheong, Lambing Flat, New South Wales, 1860-1861*. Lindfield: Scholastic Press. Original edition, 2005. Reprint, 2011.

Crew, Gary. 2005. *Me and My Dog*. South Melbourne: Lothian Books. Original edition, 2005.

Davidson, Leon. 2005. *Scarecrow Army*. Fitzroy, Victoria: Black Dog Books. Original edition 2005, 2010 Illustrated large print edition.

Golds, Cassandra and Axelsen, Stephen (Illustrator) 2005. *The Mostly True Story of Matthew and Trim*. Melbourne: Puffin. Original edition, 2005.

Greenwood, Kerry. 2005. *Journey to Eureka*. Sydney: Hachette Children's Books Australia. Original edition, 2005.

Hoy, Catriona and Johnson, Benjamin (Author and Illustrator). 2008. *My Grandad Marches on Anzac Day*. Australia and New Zealand: Hachette Australia. Original edition, 2005. Reprints 2006, 2008.

Lansdown, Andrew. 2005. *The Dispossessed and Other Stories*. Brisbane, Queensland. Interactive Publications. Original edition, 2005.

Murray, Kirsty. 2005. *A Prayer for Blue Delaney, Children of the Wind. Book 3*. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen and Unwin. Original edition, 2005.

Wilkinson, Carole. 2005. *Black Snake: The Daring of Ned Kelly, The Drum*. Fitzroy: Black Dog Books. Original edition, 2002. Reprint, 2003, 2005, 2012, 2014, 2017 (large print edition).

Wolfer, Diane and Harrison-Lever, Brian. 2005. *Photographs in the Mud*. Fremantle: Fremantle Press. Original edition, 2005, Second Edition 2007.

Bates, Diane, Wright, Kathryn (Illustrator) and National Museum of Australia (Issuing body). 2006. *The Hold-up Heroes, Making Tracks*. Canberra: National Museum of Australia Press. Original edition, 2006.

Broome, Errol and Harrison-Lever, Brian (Illustrator). 2006. *My Grandad Knew Phar Lap*. Australia: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, Fremantle, WA. Original edition, 2006.

Crew, Gary and Cox, David and National Museum of Australia. 2006. *The Saw Doctor, Making Tracks*. Canberra: National Museum of Australia Press. Original edition, 2006.

D'Ath, Justin. And Johnson, Jessica L. and National Museum of Australia 2006. *Robbie and the Dolphins, Making Tracks*. Canberra: National Museum of Australia Press. Original edition, 2006.

Farrer, Vashti and Small, Mary and Alger, Elizabeth and Anzac Day Commemoration Committee. 2006. *Feathered Soldiers: an illustrated tribute to Australia's wartime messenger pigeons*. Queensland, Australia: Anzac Day Commemoration Committee (Queensland) Inc, Aspley, Queensland. Original edition, 2006.

Fenton, Corinne and Gouldthorpe, Peter. 2006. *'Queenie'. One Elephant's Story*. Australia: Black Dog Books. Original edition, 2006.

French, Jackie. 2006. *The Goat Who Sailed the World. Animal Stars (Volume 5)*. Pymble: HarperCollins. Original edition, 2006.

French, Jackie and Bray, Peter. 2006. *One Perfect Day, Making Tracks*. Canberra, ACT: National Museum of Australia Press. Original edition, 2006.

Gleeson, Libby. 2006. *My Australian Story. The Rum Rebellion: The Diary of David Bellamy, Sydney Town, 1807-1809*. 2006, Lindfield: Scholastic Press. Original edition, 2001. Reprint, 2006; 2012.

Hawke, Roseanne, and Robert Ingpen. 2006. *Mustara*. South Melbourne, Victoria: Lothian Books. Original edition, 2006. Reprint 2015.

Hill, Anthony and Rawlins, Donna and National Museum of Australia. 2006. *River Boy. Making Tracks*. Canberra: National Museum of Australia Press. Original edition, 2006.

Murray, Kirsty. 2006. *The Secret Life of Maeve Lee Kwong*. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen and Unwin. Original edition, 2006. Reprint 2008.

Ormerod, Jan. 2006. *Water Witcher*. Surry Hills: Little Hare Books. Original edition, 2006. Reprint 2008.

Orr, Wendy, Rawlins, Donna (Illustrator) and National Museum of Australia. 2006. *Across the Dark Sea. Making Tracks*. Canberra: National Museum of Australia Press. Original edition, 2006.

Sunderland, Alan. 2006. *My Australian Story. Refugee: The Diary of Ali Ismail. Woomera 2001-2002*. 2010. Lindfield: Scholastic Press. Original edition, 2006. Reprint, 2010.

Tucker, Alan. 2006. *My Australian Story. Cyclone Tracy. The Diary of Ryan Turner Darwin 1974*. Lindfield: Scholastic Press. Original edition, 2006. Reprint 2006.

Bell, Krista and Miller, David (illustrator). 2007. *Lofty's Mission*. Anzac Day Commemorative Committee (Queensland). Original edition 2007. Reprint 2008, 2011.

Cheng, Christoper. 2007. *My Australian Story. Melting Pot: The Diary of Edward Chek Chee, Sydney, 1903-1904*. Gosford, NSW: Scholastic Press. Original edition, 2007. Reprint, 2011.

Cheng, Christoper, Rawlins, Donna and the National Museum of Australia. 2007. *Seams of Gold, Making Tracks*. Canberra: National Museum of Australia. Original edition, 2007.

Crew, Garry. 2007. *Sam Silverthorne: Victory*. Australia: Hachette Children's Books, Australia. Original edition, 2007.

- Crew, Garry. 2006. *Sam Silverthorne: Menace*. Australia: Hachette Children's Books, Australia. Original edition, 2006.
- French, Jackie, Booth, Christina and the National Museum of Australia. 2007. *The Day I was History. Making Tracks*. Canberra: National Museum of Australia Press. Original edition, 2007.
- Greenwood, Mark and Wilson, Mark (Illustrator). 2007. *Fortuyn's Ghost*. Crawley: University of Western Australia Press (Cygnets Books Imprint). Original edition, 2007.
- Hutchinson, David. 2007. *Many Years a Thief*. Kent Town, South Australia: Wakefield Press. Original edition, 2007.
- Macdonald, Wendy. 2007. *The Captain's Diary: being the private diary of Lieutenant James Cook on his voyage to the island of Tahiti and his search for the Great South Land*. Port Melbourne: Rigby Harcourt Education. Original edition, 2007.
- Farrer, Vashti. 2007. *My Australian Story. Archer's Melbourne Cup: the Diary of Robbie Jenkins*, Gosford, New South Wales, Australia: Scholastic Australia. Original edition, 2007. New edition 2011.
- Morgan, Sally; Culkin-Lawrence, Teresa (Illustrator) and the National Museum of Australia. 2007. *The Other Side, Making Tracks*. Canberra: National Museum of Australia Press. Original edition, 2007.
- Scutt, Craig. 2007. *Mary Bryant: The Impossible Escape. The Drum*. Fitzroy, Victoria: Black Dog Books. Original edition, 2007.
- Walters, Celeste and Mullins, Patricia (Illustrator). 2007. *Only a Donkey*. Camberwell, Victoria: Penguin/Viking. Original edition 2007. New edition 2008.
- Alexander, Goldie and Burns, Cailan (Illustrator). 2008. *Bridging the Snowy*. Mt Waverley, Victoria: Aussie School Books. Original edition 2008.
- Bernard, Patricia. 2008. *My Australian Story. Claw of the Dragon: The Diary of Billy Shanghai Hamilton, Broome, 1899-1900*. Lindfield: Scholastic Press. Original edition 2008.
- Edwards, Hazel, Parkee, Meegan (Illustrator) and the National Museum of Australia. 2008. *Antarctic Close-up, Making Tracks*. Canberra: National Museum of Australia Press. Original edition, 2008.
- Fenton, Corinne and Gouldthorpe, Peter (Illustrator). 2008. *The Dog on the Tuckerbox*. Fitzroy, Victoria: Black Dog Books. Original edition 2008. Reprint 2013.
- French, Jackie. 2008. *The Camel Who Crossed Australia, Animal Stars Volume 3*. Pymble: HarperCollins. Original edition 2008. Reprint 2009.



French, Jackie. 2008. *A Rose for the Anzac Boys*. Pymble: HarperCollins. Original edition 2008. Reprint 2010, 2011.

Gervay, Susanne; Culkin-Lawrence, Teresa and National Musuem of Australia. 2008. *Daisy Sunshine, Making Tracks*. Canberra: National Museum of Australia Press. Original edition, 2008.

Greenwood, Mark and Kerry Lessac. 2008. *Simpson and His Donkey*. Newtown, New South Wales: Walker Books. Reprint 2011.

Harris, Christine and James, Ann (Illustrator). 2008. *Audrey of the Outback*. Surry Hills, New South Wales: Little Hare Books. Original edition 2008. Reprint 2013.

Harris, Christine and James, Ann. 2008. *Audrey Goes to Town, Audrey of the Outback*. Surry Hills, New South Wales: Little Hare Books. Original edition, 2008.

Hathorn, Libby. 2008. *Georgiana. Woman of Flowers*. Sydney, New South Wales: Hachette Livre. Original edition 2008. Reprint 2015.

Hill, Anthony. 2008. *Captain Cook's Apprentice*. Camberwell, Victoria: Penguin. Original edition 2008.

Lawson, Sue. 2008. *Finding Darcy*. Fitzroy: Black Dog Books. Original edition 2008. Reprint 2014.

Mulligan, David. 2012. *My Australian Story. Heroes of Tobruk*. Lindfield, New South Wales: Scholastic. Original edition, 2008.

Murray, Kirsty; Culkin-Lawrence, Teresa (Illustrator) and National Museum of Australia. 2008. *The Red Camel. Making Tracks*. Canberra: National Museum of Australia Press. Original edition, 2008.

Murray, Kirsty; Bray, Peter and National Museum of Australia. 2008. *A Penny to Remember, Making Tracks*. Canberra: National Museum of Australia Press. Original edition, 2008.

Ogilvie, Daniel J. 2008. *Birthday Rose*. Charnwood: DSAMC Education. Original edition, 2008.

Pulman, Felicity; David Cox (Illustrator) and the National Museum of Australia 2008. *Turning the Page. Making Tracks*. Canberra: National Museum of Australia Press. Original edition, 2008.

Wheatley, Nadia and Rawlins, Donna. 2008. *My Place: The Story of Australia From Now to Then*. Australia: Walker Books Australia. Picture Book. Original edition, 1987. Reprint, 2008 (20th Anniversary Edition).

Wilkinson, Carole and Ciaffaglione, Sebastien (Illustrator). 2008 *The Night We Made the Flag: A Eureka Story*. Fitzroy, Victoria: Black Dog Books. Original edition, 2008. Reprint, 2013.

French, Jackie. 2009. *The Night They Stormed Eureka*. Pymble, New South Wales: HarperCollins. Original edition, 2009.

French, Jackie. 2009. *The Donkey Who Carried the Wounded, Animal Stars Volume 4*. Pymble, New South Wales: Angus and Robertson. Original edition, 2009.

Harris, Christine and James, Ann. 2009. *Audrey's Big Secret, Audrey of the Outback*. Surry Hills, New South Wales: Little Hare Books. Original edition, 2009.

Jones, Ian. 2009. *A Sunday in Picardy*. Queensland: Anzac Day Commemoration Committee (Queensland). Original edition, 2009.

Tucker, Alan. 2009. *My Australian Story. Atomic Testing: The diary of Anthony Brown, Woomera 1953*. Lindfield, New South Wales: Scholastic Press. Original edition, 2009.

Clark, Margaret and McLean, Andrew. 2010. *Fool's Gold, Aussie Bites*. Camberwell, Victoria: Penguin (Puffin imprint). Original edition, 2010.

French, Jackie. 2010. *The Horse who bit a bushranger, Animal Stars. Volume 5*. Pymble, New South Wales: HarperCollins Publishers. Original edition, 2010.

French, Jackie. 2010. *A Waltz for Matilda*. Pymble, New South Wales: Angus and Robertson. Original edition, 2010.

Greenwood, Mark and Lessac, Frane. 2010. *Ned Kelly and the Green Sash*. Newtown, New South Wales: Walker Books. Original edition, 2010.

Harris, Christine. 2010. *My Australian Story. Outback. The Diary of Jimmy Porter 1927-1928, My Australian Story*. Gosford, New South Wales: Scholastic Original edition, 2010.

Masson, Sophie. 2010. *My Australian Story. The Hunt for Ned Kelly*. 2010. Lindfield, Sydney, Australia: Scholastic Press. Original edition, 2010.

Masson, Sophie. 2010. *My Australian Story. The Phar Lap Mystery*, Lindfield, Sydney: Scholastic Press. Original edition, 2010.

Pluss, Nicole. 2010. *Scout*. Camberwell, Victoria, Australia: Penguin Group (Australia). Original edition 2010.

Tucker, Alan. 2010. *Battlefield: One Boy's War*. Australia: Scholastic. Original edition, 2010.

Wilson, Mark. 2010. *Angel of Kokoda*. Sydney, New South Wales, Australia: Lothian. Original edition, 2010.

Wilson, Mark. 2010. *The Little Wooden Horse*. Victoria: Windy Hollow. Picture Book. Original edition, 2010.

Wolfer, Diane. 2010. *Lighthouse Girl*. Fremantle, Western Australia, Australia: Fremantle Press. Original edition, 2010.

Alexander, Goldie. 2011. *The Youngest Cameleer*. Sydney: Five Senses. Original edition, 2011.

Clark, Sherryl. 2011. *Meet Rose. Our Australian Girl*. Melbourne, Australia: Penguin Group (Australia). Original edition, 2011.

Clark, Sherryl. 2011. *Rose on Wheels. Our Australian Girl*. Melbourne, Australia: Penguin Group (Australia). Original edition, 2011.

Clark, Sherryl. 2011. *Rose's Challenge. Our Australian Girl*. Melbourne, Australia: Penguin Books (Australia). Original edition, 2011.

Clark, Sherryl. 2011. *Rose in Bloom. Our Australian Girl*. Melbourne, Australia: Penguin Group (Australia). Original edition, 2011.

Flanagan, Martin and Walters, Ainsley (Illustrator). 2011. *Archie's Letter: An Anzac Day Story*. Collingwood, Victoria: One Day Hill. Reprint 2012.

French, Jackie. 2011. *Nanberry: Black Brother White*. Sydney, New South Wales: Angus and Robertson. Original edition, 2011.

Gillespie, Michelle. 2011. *Sam, Grace and the Shipwreck*. Fremantle, Western Australia: Fremantle Press. Picture Book. Original edition, 2011.

Laguna, Sophie. 2011. *Meet Grace. Our Australian Girl*. Melbourne: Puffin Books. Original edition, 2011.

Laguna, Sophie. 2011. *A Friend for Grace. Our Australian Girl*. Melbourne, Australia: Penguin Books, Australia. Original edition, 2011.

Laguna, Sophie. 2011. *Grace and Glory. Our Australian Girl*. Melbourne, Australia: Penguin Books, Australia. Original edition, 2011.

Laguna, Sophie. 2011. *A Home for Grace. Our Australian Girl*. Melbourne, Australia: Penguin Books (Australia). Original edition, 2011.

- Lloyd, Alison. 2011. *Meet Letty. Our Australian Girl*. Melbourne: Puffin Books. Original edition, 2011.
- Lloyd, Alison. 2011. *Letty and the Stranger's Lace. Our Australian Girl*. Melbourne, Australia: Penguin Group (Australia). Original edition, 2011.
- Lloyd, Alison. 2011. *Letty on the Land. Our Australian Girl*. Melbourne, Australia: Penguin Group (Australia). Original edition, 2011.
- Lloyd, Alison. 2011. *Letty's Christmas. Our Australian Girl*. Melbourne, Australia: Penguin Group (Australia). Original edition, 2011.
- Marsden, John and Tan, Shaun. 2011. *The Rabbits*. 2011 ed. Australia and New Zealand: Hachette Australia. Picture Book Original edition, 1998. Reprint, 1998; 1999; 2001; 2003; 2005 Large edition 2008; 2009; 2010 (twice) Paperback edition: 2000; 2001; 2003 (twice); 2004; 2005; 2006; 2007; 2008 Large paperback edition first published 2008; 2009 (three times); 2010 (twice); 2011.
- Masson, Sophie. 2011. *My Australian Story. My Father's War*. Lindfield, Sydney, Australia: Scholastic Press. Original edition, 2011. Reprint 2014.
- Murrell, Belinda. 2011. *The Ivory Rose*. Australia: Random House Australia Children's. Original edition, 2011.
- Saffroti, Trina and MacDonald, Norma. 2011. *Stolen Girl*. Broome: Magabala Books. Picture Book. Original edition, 2011.
- Stanley, Peter; Dawson, Michelle (Illustrator) Society for the Protection of Animals Abroad. 2011. *Simpson's Donkey. A Wartime Journey to Gallipoli and Beyond*. Sydney: Murdoch Books. Original edition 2011.
- Wang, Gabrielle. 2011. *Meet Poppy. Our Australian Girl*. Melbourne, Australia: Penguin Group, Australia Original edition, 2011.
- Wang, Gabrielle. 2011. *Poppy at Summerhill. Our Australian Girl*. Melbourne, Australia: Penguin Group (Australia). Original edition, 2011.
- Wang, Gabrielle. 2011. *Poppy and the Thief. Our Australian Girl*. Melbourne, Australia: Penguin (Australia). Original edition, 2011. Reprint, 2011.
- Wang, Gabrielle. 2011. *Poppy Comes Home. Our Australian Girl*. Melbourne, Australia: Penguin Group (Australia). Original edition, 2011.
- Wilson, Mark. 2011. *My Mother's Eyes: the story of an Australian Boy Soldier*. Sydney, New South Wales: Lothian Children's Books. Picture book. Original edition, 2011.

Wilson, Mark. 2011. *Ben and Gracie's Art Adventure*. Sydney, New South Wales: Hachette Australia. Picture Book. Original edition, 2011.

Bernard, Patricia. 2012. *Snatched by Pirates*. Lindfield, New South Wales, Australia: Scholastic. Original edition, 2012.

Farrer, Vashti. 2012. *My Australian Story. Sydney Harbour Bridge*. Lindfield, New South Wales: Scholastic. Original edition, 2012.

Farrer, Vashti 2012. *When the War Came*. Queensland: Anzac Day Commemoration Committee Queensland. Original edition, 2012.

French, Jackie. 2012. *The Girl from Snowy River, Volume 2 of The Matilda Saga Series*. Pymble, New South Wales: HarperCollins Australia. Original edition, 2012.

French, Jackie. 2012. *Dingo: the Dog who Conquered a Continent. Animal Stars Volume 6*. Pymble, New South Wales: HarperCollins Publishers Australia. Original edition, 2012.

Masson, Sophie. 2012. *Ned Kelly's Secret*. Lindfield, New South Wales: Scholastic Australia. Original edition, 2012.

Matthews, Penny. 2012. *Nellie and the Secret Letter, Our Australian Girl*. Melbourne, Victoria: Puffin Books. Original edition, 2012.

Matthews, Penny. 2012. *Nellie's Quest. Our Australian Girl*. Camberwell, Victoria: Penguin Books. Original edition, 2012.

Matthews, Penny. 2012. *Nellie's Greatest Wish*. Camberwell, Victoria: Puffin Books. Original edition, 2012.

Matthews, Penny. 2012. *Meet Nellie. Our Australian Girl*. Melbourne, Victoria: Penguin Group Australia. Original edition, 2012.

Mattingley, Christobel. 2012. *My Father's Islands. Abel Tasman's Heroic Voyages*. Canberra, ACT, Australia: National Library of Australia, 2012.

Murphy, Sally and Kretschman, Sonia (Illustrator). 2012. *Do not Forget Australia*. Newtown, New South Wales: Walker Books Australia. Reprint 2014.

Murrell, Belinda. 2015. *The Forgotten Pearl*. 2nd ed. Australia: Random House Australia. Original edition, 2012.

Rushby, Pamela. 2012. *The Horses Didn't Come Home*. Sydney: HarperCollins Australia. Original edition, 2012.

- Walsh, Jennifer. 2012. *Tunnels of Tarcoola*. Australia: Allen and Unwin. Original edition, 2012.
- Warner, Margaret and Hamers, Susie, Ciaffaglione, Sebastian (Illustrator). 2014. *Lone Pine*. Richmond, Victoria: Little Hare. Original edition 2012.
- Wilson, Mark. 2012. *Inside the World of Tom Roberts, Ben and Gracie's Art Adventures*. Sydney, New South Wales, Australia: Hachette Books. Original edition, 2012.
- Alexander, Goldie. 2013. *Gallipoli Medals*. Queensland: Anzac Day Commemorative Committee Queensland. Original edition, 2013.
- Bell, Hilary and Martin, Matthew. 2013. *The Marvellous Funambulist of Middle Harbour and other Sydney Firsts*. University of New South Wales: New South Press. Original edition, 2013.
- Cummings, Phil and Swan, Owen. 2013. *Anzac Biscuits*. Lindfield, Australia: Scholastic Australia. Original edition, 2013.
- Greenwood, Kerry. 2013. *Evan's Gallipoli. A Gripping Story of Unlikely Friendship and an Incredible Journey Beyond Enemy Lines*. Crows Nest, New South Wales: Unwin Books. Original edition 2013.
- Greenwood, Mark. 2013. *Jandamarra*. Sydney, Australia: Allen and Unwin. Original edition, 2013.
- Matthews, Penny. 2013. *Meet Ruby. Our Australian Girl: Ruby*. Melbourne, Victoria, Australia: Puffin Books. Original edition, 2013.
- Matthews, Penny. 2013. *Ruby and the Country Cousins. Our Australian Girl*. Melbourne, Victoria, Australia: Penguin Books Australia. Original edition, 2013.
- Murrell, Belinda. 2013. *Locket of Dreams*. Australia: Random House Australia. Original edition, 2009.
- Murrell, Belinda. 2015. *The River Charm*. 2nd ed. Australia: Random House Australia. Original edition, 2013. Reprint, 2015.
- Rushby, Pamela. 2013. *Flora's War*. Ormond Victoria: Ford Street Publishing. Original edition, 2013
- Starke, Ruth and Holfeld, Greg (Illustrator). 2013. *An Anzac Tale*. Adelaide, South Australia: Working Title Press. Original edition, 2013.
- Wilson, Mark. 2013. *Vietnam Diary*. Sydney, New South Wales: Lothian/Hachette. Original edition, 2013. Reprint 2014.

- Wolfer, Diane and Simmonds, Brian (Illustrator). 2013. *Light Horse Boy*. Fremantle, Western Australia: Fremantle Press. Original edition, 2013. Reprint 2014.
- Baillie, Allan. 2014. *The First Voyage*. Melbourne: Puffin. Original edition, 2014.
- Bell, Krista and Elliott, Belinda (Illustrator). 2014. *Jack's Bugle*. Kew East, Victoria: Windy Hollow Books. Original edition, 2014.
- Dando-Collins, Stephen. 2014. *Tank Boys*. North Sydney, New South Wales: Random House Australia. Original edition, 2014.
- Greenwood, Mark and Lessac, Frane (Illustrator). 2014. *Midnight: the Story of a Light Horse*. Newtown, New South Wales, Walker Books. Original edition, 2014.
- Laguna, Sophie. 2014. *Fighting Bones. Do you dare? Adventures in History*. on-line: Penguin Group (Australia). eBook; Original edition, 2014.
- Landsberry, Belinda. 2014. *Anzac Ted*. Wollombi New South Wales: EK Books, an imprint of Exisle Publishing. Original edition, 2014. Reprint 2016.
- Lloyd, Alison. 2014. *The Bushranger's Boys, Do You Dare? Adventures in History*. Melbourne: Penguin Group. Original edition, 2014.
- Metzenthien, David and Camilleri, Michael. 2014. *One Minute's Silence*. Box Hill North, Victoria: Zart Art. picture book. Original edition, 2014.
- Plant, Andrew. 2014. *The Poppy*. Ormond, Victoria: Hybrid Publishers. Original edition, 2014. Reprint 2015
- Van Os, Joanne. 2014. *Ronan's Echo*. Sydney, New South Wales: Macmillan. Original edition, 2014.
- Wilson, Mark. 2014. *The Afghanistan Pup*. Sydney and New Zealand: Hachette Australia. Original edition, 2014.
- Wilson, Mark. 2015. *The Horse Soldier*. Kew East, Victoria: Windy Hollow Books. Original edition, 2014.
- Brown, Kerry; Knowles, Elizabeth (Illustrator) and Portas, Benjamin (Illustrator). 2015. *Lest we Forget*. Sydney, New South Wales: ABC Books. Original edition 2015
- Clark, Sherryl. 2015. *Do you Dare? Jimmy's War*. Australia: Penguin Random House Australia. Original edition, 2015.

French, Jackie and Wilson, Mark (Illustrator). 2015. *Birrung the Secret Friend, The Secret Histories series. Vol. 1.* Sydney: HarperCollins Publishers Australia. Original edition, 2015.

French, Jackie and Wilson, Mark (Illustrator). 2016. *Barney and the Secret of the Whales, The Secret Histories. Vol. 2* Sydney: HarperCollins Publishers Australia. Original edition, 2015.

French, Jackie. 2017. *The Secret of the Black Bushranger. Vol. 3, The Secret History Series.* Sydney: HarperCollins Publishers Australia. Original edition, 2017.

French, Jackie. 2018. *The Secret of the French Spies. Vol. 4, The Secret History.* Sydney: HarperCollins Publishers Australia. Original edition, 2018.



## **Appendix B – Ethics Approval**

From: "Faculty of Arts Research Office" <artsro@mq.edu.au>

Date: 28 November 2014 10:32:28 am AEDT

To: "A/Prof Michelle Arrow" <michelle.arrow@mq.edu.au>

Cc: "Faculty of Arts Research Office" <artsro@mq.edu.au>, "Ms Kylie-Ann Flack" <kylie-ann.flack@students.mq.edu.au>

Subject: Final Approval – Issues Addressed – Ref. 5201401000

Ethics Application Ref: (5201401000) – Final Approval

Dear A/Prof Arrow,

Re: 'Consuming history in childhood: the Australian junior historical novel as part of an evolving historical marketplace, 1945 to the present'

Thank you for your recent correspondence. Your response has addressed the issues raised by the Faculty of Arts Human Research Ethics Committee.

Approval of the above application has been granted, effective 28/11/2014.

This email constitutes ethical approval only.

If you intend to conduct research out of Australia you may require extra insurance and/or local ethics approval. Please contact Maggie Feng, Tax and Insurance Officer from OFS Business Services, on x1683 to advise further.

This research meets the requirements of the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007). The National Statement is available at the following web site:

[http://www.nhmrc.gov.au/\\_files\\_nhmrc/publications/attachments/e72.pdf](http://www.nhmrc.gov.au/_files_nhmrc/publications/attachments/e72.pdf).

The following personnel are authorised to conduct this research:

A/Prof Michelle Arrow

Ms Kylie-Ann Flack

NB. STUDENTS: IT IS YOUR RESPONSIBILITY TO KEEP A COPY OF THIS APPROVAL EMAIL TO SUBMIT WITH YOUR THESIS.

Please note the following standard requirements of approval:

1. The approval of this project is conditional upon your continuing compliance with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007).
2. Approval will be for a period of five (5) years subject to the provision of annual reports.

Progress Report 1 Due: 28/11/15

Progress Report 2 Due: 28/11/16

Progress Report 3 Due: 28/11/17

Progress Report 4 Due: 28/11/18

Final Report Due: 28/11/19

NB: If you complete the work earlier than you had planned you must submit a Final Report as soon as the work is completed. If the project has been discontinued or not commenced for any reason, you are also required to submit a Final Report for the project.

Progress reports and Final Reports are available at the following website:

[http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how\\_to\\_obtain\\_ethics\\_approval/](http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/)

human\_research\_ethics/forms

3. If the project has run for more than five (5) years you cannot renew approval for the project. You will need to complete and submit a Final Report and submit a new application for the project. (The five year limit on renewal of approvals allows the Committee to fully re-review research in an environment where legislation, guidelines and requirements are continually changing, for example, new child protection and privacy laws).
4. All amendments to the project must be reviewed and approved by the Committee before implementation. Please complete and submit a Request for Amendment Form available at the following website:

[http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how\\_to\\_obtain\\_ethics\\_approval/human\\_research\\_ethics/forms](http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics/forms)

5. Please notify the Committee immediately in the event of any adverse effects on participants or of any unforeseen events that affect the continued ethical acceptability of the project.
6. At all times you are responsible for the ethical conduct of your research in accordance with the guidelines established by the University. This information is available at the following websites:

<http://www.mq.edu.au/policy/>

[http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how\\_to\\_obtain\\_ethics\\_approval/human\\_research\\_ethics/policy](http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics/policy)

If you will be applying for or have applied for internal or external funding for the above project it is your responsibility to provide the

Macquarie University's Research Grants Management Assistant with a copy of this email as soon as possible. Internal and External funding agencies will not be informed that you have approval for your project and funds will not be released until the Research Grants Management Assistant has received a copy of this email.

If you need to provide a hard copy letter of approval to an external organisation as evidence that you have approval, please do not hesitate to contact the Faculty of Arts Research Office at [ArtsRO@mq.edu.au](mailto:ArtsRO@mq.edu.au)

Please retain a copy of this email as this is your official notification of ethics approval.

Yours sincerely

Dr Mianna Lotz  
Chair, Faculty of Arts Human Research Ethics Committee  
Level 7, W6A Building  
Macquarie University  
Balaclava Rd  
NSW 2109 Australia  
[Mianna.Lotz@mq.edu.au](mailto:Mianna.Lotz@mq.edu.au)

## Appendix C – Interview Consent Form



Department of Modern History, Politics and  
International Relations  
Faculty of Arts  
MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY NSW 2109

**Phone: +61 (2) 9850 8840**

Mobile: +61 (2) 0425 262 969

Email: [michelle.arrow@mq.edu.au](mailto:michelle.arrow@mq.edu.au)

Dr Michelle Arrow

Associate Professor, Director of Undergraduate Programs

### **Interview Consent Form: child**

#### ***Introduction***

Hello \_\_\_\_\_

I'm Kylie Flack, a third year PhD student at Macquarie University, researching junior historical fiction by Australian authors published since 1945. As part of my research, I am the Co-Investigator for a project exploring how children learn about the past outside of school. In particular, I am interested in hearing what children think about historical fiction as a way of learning about Australian history. My project is overseen by Associate Professor Michelle Arrow, who works in the Department of Modern History, Politics and International Relations, Faculty of Arts, Macquarie University.

Thank you for helping me with my research. Your input is a really important part of helping me to understand more about the activities involving history that kids do outside of school.

This interview should take about fifteen minutes. I will be recording the discussion so that I can listen to what you are saying rather than worrying about writing things down. We will have to speak clearly so the recording is OK.

Everything you say will be confidential. I will be the only person using the information and anything I put into my university thesis will not identify you in any way. If one day my work is published, your comments but not your name might appear in a book or other publication. Your participation is completely voluntary and you don't have to talk about anything you don't want to. You may end the interview at any time.

Do you have any questions about what we are going to do?

Are you willing to participate in this interview?

Interviewee

Date

*The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics (telephone 001 612 9850 7854, fax*

001 612 9850 8799, email: [ethics@mq.edu.au](mailto:ethics@mq.edu.au)). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.

### **Interview questions**

Ok, let's get started but remember we can stop any time you like. I have some questions to guide us but I really just want to hear from you about how you learn about history outside of school and what you think about historical fiction.

1. As you know, there are a lot of ways kids can learn about Australia's history: they can read a non-fiction book; read a fiction book; talk to their parents, grandparents or other people; travel to an historic site; visit a museum; look up information on the internet; watch a television show or a movie; even listen to music. What types of activities do you do in your free time that help you to learn more about Australia's history? [If they cannot think of anything, probe a little by referring to the list of ways children can learn about history.]
2. Do you do any activities that help you learn about the history of other countries? [If yes, what activities do you do? If no, probe a little by referring to the list of ways children can learn about history.]
3. Do you read historical fiction in the form of novels or picture books? Does anyone recommend such fiction to you? What do you think about reading historical novels and picture books as a way of learning about the past?
4. What did you think about the extract from *My Father's War*? Would you like to read more? What do you think about war as a subject for a kids' book? What did you think about the other parts of the website? [Refer to photos; art; movie – probe what types of information they found appealing]
5. If you were able to give suggestions to adults who make historical products for kids, what would you recommend they do to make the products appealing to kids?
6. Is there anything you'd like to add?

I am going to analyse the responses of all the kids and adults involved and then write a research report about what I have found out. Later on, I will include my findings in a

chapter of my thesis. I'll be happy to send a copy of the research report to you to read if you are interested. I can highlight the comments that you made. You can then let me know if you have any questions or concerns. Your parents can also look at the draft chapter and let me know if they have any questions or concerns.

Would you like to see a copy of the research report? If you are not sure now or change your mind you can ask your parents to email me at [kylie-ann.flack@students.mq.edu.au](mailto:kylie-ann.flack@students.mq.edu.au).

Thanks again for talking with me today and for being involved in my project.



## Appendix D – ozhistory4kids

Project website is: <http://ozhistory4kids.com/>

I developed the project website, <http://ozhistory4kids.com/ozhistory4kidscom/Welcome.html> , as a stimulus for the qualitative research with children. The website provides information about the project, about the novel *My Father's War*, and about World War I. I

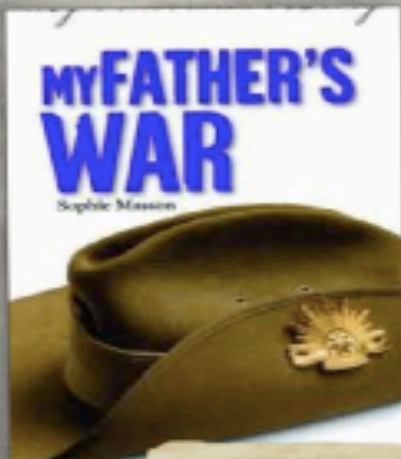
A key research aim was to learn more about what children think about different ways of learning about the past. Accordingly, I included a variety of sources of information about World War I, including photographs, art, cartoons, poems, and posters.

The website also contains all the project documentation, such as consent forms and interview questions.

This Appendix contains excerpts from the website.

# WELCOME

Welcome   Blog   About Sophie Masson  
My Father's War - summary and extract   Photographs - WWI  
Photographs - France today   Poems   Video clips   Cartoons  
Posters   Art 1   Art 2   Facts: Australian Government  
Facts: Fair Dinkum Histories   Facts: BBC  
Project information



Front cover of book

In *My Father's War*, Annie, the main character, goes to France with her mother in 1918. They are looking for Annie's father, a soldier. He has disappeared in Northern France and the army is not answering any questions...

## AUSTRALIAN HISTORY NOVELS: WHAT DO KIDS REALLY THINK?

Welcome to the research project website. Thank you again for helping out with my project.

On the website you will find a summary of *My Father's War* and a short extract for you to read, photographs, poems, stories, facts and other bits and pieces about World War One.

You will also find some extra information about the author of *My Father's War*, Sophie Masson.

I hope that the website will give you more ways of thinking about historical fiction and Australian history.



# BLOG

Welcome   **Blog**   About Sophie Masson  
My Father's War - summary and extract   Photographs - WWI  
Photographs - France today   Poems   Video clips   Cartoons  
Posters   Art 1   Art 2   Facts: Australian Government  
Facts: Fair Dinkum Histories   Facts: BBC  
Project information

## ABOUT ME

I am a Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) candidate in the Department of Modern History, Politics and International Relations at Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia. I have a longstanding interest in Australian History and creative writing, although my working life has been spent in public policy research and corporate writing.

My PhD research at Macquarie University aims to contribute to a more thorough understanding of the children's history marketplace and children's private history-making activities in Australia since 1945. Historical fiction published since 1945 will be a focus of my research. I also think it is vital to ask children what they think about the products being made for them. I hope that through this research project the value of asking children what they think about historical fiction is demonstrated.

In this blog, I will comment on progress with the research project.



Wednesday, 20 January, 2016  
**getting started in 2016**

I am looking forward to recruiting kids and their parents/carers for my research in 2016. I am hoping to interview 30 kids about their views on historical fiction. They need to be in Year 6 or Year 7 this year. I can do the interviews via Skype, FaceTime or over the phone.

My Gallipoli by Ruth Starke...

[Read more...](#)



Monday, 16 November, 2015  
**Research in NSW schools**

I have just received permission from the Department of Education to undertake focus groups in 6 schools. Looking forward to hearing what kids think about historical fiction and other ways of learning about the past in leisure time.

[Read more...](#)

Wednesday, 7 August, 2013  
**first Ad in dhanara**

Very happy to see the ad for research participants in Dhanara.

Back in August, 1918...

On 8 August 1918, the most decisive battle on the Western Front began. Canada/Australian/British troops broke through German lines with 600 tanks, pushing the enemy back several kilometres. The success was a big...

[Read more...](#)



# SOPHIE MASSON

Welcome   Blog   About Sophie Masson  
My Father's War - summary and extract   Photographs - WWI  
Photographs - France today   Poems   Video clips   Cartoons  
Posters   Art 1   Art 2   Facts: Australian Government  
Facts: Fair Dinkum Histories   Facts: BBC  
Project information



## SOPHIE MASSON

"BORN IN INDONESIA OF FRENCH PARENTS, SOPHIE MASSON SPENT HER CHILDHOOD MOVING BACK AND FORTH BETWEEN FRANCE AND AUSTRALIA. A DEDICATED BOOKWORM AS A KID, SOPHIE ALSO LOVED WRITING STORIES TO ENTERTAIN HERSELF AND HER YOUNGER SISTERS AND BROTHERS.

NOW THE AUTHOR OF MORE THAN FIFTY NOVELS FOR YOUNG PEOPLE, SOPHIE IS PUBLISHED IN MANY DIFFERENT COUNTRIES. SHE LIVES IN RURAL NEW SOUTH WALES WITH HER HUSBAND AND HAS THREE GROWN-UP CHILDREN.

SOPHIE'S OTHER BOOKS INCLUDE THE HUNT FOR NED KELLY AND THE THE PHAR LAP MYSTERY, BOTH PART OF THE MY AUSTRALIAN STORY SERIES, AND THE UNDERSTUDY'S REVENGE." (INSIDE BACK COVER, MY FATHER'S WAR)

<http://www.sophiemasson.org>

# MY FATHER'S WAR

Welcome   Blog   About Sophie Masson  
**My Father's War - summary and extract**   Photographs - WWI  
Photographs - France today   Poems   Video clips   Cartoons  
Posters   Art 1   Art 2   Facts: Australian Government  
Facts: Fair Dinkum Histories   Facts: BBC  
Project information

## SUMMARY

Annie Cliff is 12 years old. Her dad is in the Australian Army, in northern France in 1918. Annie and her family have heard nothing from him for months - not a letter or a postcard or advice from the army. Annie's mother, Marie-Claude (who is French), refuses to wait at home, so sets sail with Annie to France in the hope that they can find him. As they search for him, Annie meets French civilians and Australian soldiers and nurses who help her follow the clues about her father's disappearance. She experiences the horrors of war firsthand, as she writes in her diary...



## EXTRACT

### *April 25 later*

It's the middle of the night and absolutely frantic. Lots of wounded men coming in from casualty stations after a massive battle fought by the Aussies at Villers-Bretonneux. Don't know all that happened yet, but apparently the Germans were taken by surprise in the night and and, after a ferocious fight, were routed in a major victory that everyone says will be long remembered as the other Anzac Day! (pp197-8)

Three days later Annie writes:

### *April 28*

I feel so discouraged. So hopeless. The deaths of poor Blue and Owl [Aussie soldiers who had helped Annie] still hang heavy in my mind. I can't help remembering how kind they were, how full of life. And that makes me think of the other people I know who've died .... Everything seems so dark and sad. (p205)



Made on a Mac



# PHOTOGRAPHS - WWI

Welcome   Blog   About Sophie Masson  
My Father's War - summary and extract   **Photographs - WWI**  
Photographs - France today   Poems   Video clips   Cartoons  
Posters   Art 1   Art 2   Facts: Australian Government  
Facts: Fair Dinkum Histories   Facts: BBC  
Project information

## IMAGES OF WAR - FRANCE, WORLD WAR ONE

THE PHOTOS WILL GIVE YOU AN IDEA OF WHAT ANNIE SAW AND HEARD ABOUT  
IN FRANCE IN 1918

[Play Slideshow](#)

[Subscribe](#)



Battle of the Somme Peronne,  
1916



'Dingbat Alley'  
Peronne, 1916



Belgian refugees



Canadian soldiers in  
Passchendaele, 1917



Notre Dame Cathedral  
Paris, 1918



Australian trench at Messines  
Ridge

# PHOTOGRAPHS - FRANCE TODAY

Welcome   Blog   About Sophie Masson  
My Father's War - summary and extract   Photographs - WWI  
Photographs - France today   Poems   Video clips   Cartoons  
Posters   Art 1   Art 2   Facts: Australian Government  
Facts: Fair Dinkum Histories   Facts: BBC  
Project information

## FRANCE, JULY 2013

Here are some photos from Paris and Normandy taken in July 2013. Today, the cities and villages show few scars of World War I or World War II. War memorials throughout the area do, however, provide a grim reminder of the devastation and loss of life on the Western Front all those years ago.

Today, fields of grain and vegetables thrive in what was once mud, tunnels and barbed wire. Small villages appear to nestle in to the countryside, or beside quiet beaches that once inspired Impressionist artists such as Claude Monet. Towns and cities bustle with activity. Churches, once damaged, reach for the sky with their spires. It is hard to imagine that this is the same world where the character Annie searches for her missing dad in *My Father's War*...

[Play Slideshow](#)

[Subscribe](#)



American Cemetery,  
Omaha Beach



D-day landing site  
(Omaha Beach)



Cemetery, Etretat



Cemetery, Etretat



# POEMS

Welcome   Blog   About Sophie Masson  
My Father's War - summary and extract   Photographs - WWI  
Photographs - France today   Poems   Video clips   Cartoons  
Posters   Art 1   Art 2   Facts: Australian Government  
Facts: Fair Dinkum Histories   Facts: BBC  
Project information

## AT THE FRONT

### STRETCHER-BEARERS

Stretcher-Bearers! Stretcher-Bearers!  
Seeking in the rain  
Out among the flying death  
For those who lie in pain,  
Bringing in the wounded men-  
Then out to seek again.  
Out amongst the tangled wire  
(Where they thickest fell)  
Snatching back the threads of life  
From out the jaws of Hell;  
Out amongst machine-gun sweep  
And blasts of shatt'ring shell.  
For you no mad, exciting charge,  
No swift, exultant fight,  
But just an endless plodding on  
Through the shuddering night;  
Making ('neath a star-shell's gleam)  
Where ere a face shines white.  
Stretcher-Bearers! Stretcher-Bearers!  
To you all praise be due,  
Who ne'er shirked the issue yet  
When there was work to do;  
We who've seen and know your worth  
All touch our hats to you.

An anonymous tribute to stretcher  
bearers written by an Australian  
soldier in 1918, in the AIF magazine,  
Aussie.

[http://www.awm.gov.au/exhibitions/1918/  
medical/](http://www.awm.gov.au/exhibitions/1918/medical/)

### DULCE ET DECORUM EST by WILFRED OWEN



Bent double, like old beggars under sacks,  
Knock-kneed, coughing like hags, we cursed through sludge,  
Till on the haunting flares we turned our backs  
And towards our distant rest began to trudge.  
Men marched asleep. Many had lost their boots  
But limped on, blood-shod. All went lame; all blind;  
Drunk with fatigue; deaf even to the hoots  
Of tired, outstripped Five-Nines that dropped behind.



# VIDEO CLIPS

Welcome   Blog   About Sophie Masson  
My Father's War - summary and extract   Photographs - WWI  
Photographs - France today   Poems   **Video clips**   Cartoons  
Posters   Art 1   Art 2   Facts: Australian Government  
Facts: Fair Dinkum Histories   Facts: BBC  
Project information

## OVER THE TOP

Click on the link below to see Australian soldiers on the Western Front.

<http://videomedia.aso.gov.au/titles/australi/australipr.mp4>

This is a silent black-and-white clip depicting a battle scene on the Western Front in France during the final months of the First World War. Possibly a re-enactment, the clip opens with barbed wire in the foreground as an artillery barrage goes on behind. It then cuts to companies of Australian soldiers, with bayonets fixed to their rifles, emerging from their trenches and going into action.

Source: australianscreen   [www.aso.gov.au](http://www.aso.gov.au)

## RETURNED ANZACS

Click on the link below to see returned soldiers marching in Melbourne in 1916 or 1917

<http://aso.gov.au/titles/newsreels/australasian-gazette-returned/clip1/>

This segment from an Australasian Gazette newsreel shows returned Anzacs marching through Melbourne streets as part of the 'Fill-the-Gap' recruitment drive. A marching band leads a parade of returned Anzac servicemen holding placards that say 'Wanted - A man to fill this gap'. A replica tank motors down the street followed by trams and floats with returned servicemen, while the crowd looks on.

Source: australianscreen   [www.aso.gov.au](http://www.aso.gov.au)

## RED CROSS ACTIVITIES

Click on the link below to see Red Cross activities during and after the war.

<http://aso.gov.au/titles/historical/red-cross-first-world-war/clip3/>

This clip shows a range of assistance and relief activities that the Red Cross undertook around the First World War including: preparing linen; serving tea and biscuits to troops; providing relief to convalescing soldiers; and packing and loading supply bundles.

Source: australianscreen   [www.aso.gov.au](http://www.aso.gov.au)



Made on a Mac

# CARTOONS

Welcome   Blog   About Sophie Masson  
My Father's War - summary and extract   Photographs - WWI  
Photographs - France today   Poems   Video clips   **Cartoons**  
Posters   Art 1   Art 2   Facts: Australian Government  
Facts: Fair Dinkum Histories   Facts: BBC  
Project information

## AT THE FRONT: KEEPING A SENSE OF HUMOUR



Drawn by G. W. Dickinson.

### EN ROUTE FOR BLIGHTY.

The Dag: "I bet these poor blighters are cussing the Fritz that did this to me more than I am."

A cartoon by G.W. Dickinson that appeared in the AIF publication Aussie, written and produced in 1918 by Australian soldiers.

Here, "Blighty" refers to England; "The Dag" is the injured soldier and the "Fritz" is the name for a German soldier.

<http://www.awm.gov.au/exhibitions/1918/medical/>



## AT THE FRONT: MOCKING THE ENEMY



WALKER 11  
March 1918

A cartoon depicting the AIF's  
part in halting the German  
offensive  
(Courtesy of Gill Clark)

A cartoon from March 1918, showing the AIF halting the German forces. Taken from *The Broken Years* by Bill Gammage.

Source: Australian War Memorial

<http://www.awm.gov.au/exhibitions/1918/battles/dernancourt.asp>

## AT THE FRONT: FUNNY OR CRUEL?



A cartoon of an Australian soldier holding a German helmet, a soldier wearing a kilt and bonnet standing next to him, both laughing, a German soldier knocked down beside them. Title printed above. Printed beneath image: "Souvenir".

Postcards were enormously popular during World War I, millions were sent to and from those at war and those at home. They often carried sentimental or patriotic messages, being designed to promote patriotism and encourage enlistment.

(Source: State Library of Victoria  
(<http://digital.slv.vic.gov.au/>)



# POSTERS

Welcome   Blog   About Sophie Masson  
My Father's War - summary and extract   Photographs - WWI  
Photographs - France today   Poems   Video clips   Cartoons  
**Posters**   Art 1   Art 2   Facts: Australian Government  
Facts: Fair Dinkum Histories   Facts: BBC  
Project information

## RECRUITMENT POSTERS FOR THE RED CROSS



[http://www.redcross.org.au/common/images/photos/3\\_heritage\\_posters\\_new.jpg](http://www.redcross.org.au/common/images/photos/3_heritage_posters_new.jpg)

## SOLDIER RECRUITMENT POSTERS



# ART

Welcome Blog About Sophie Masson  
My Father's War - summary and extract Photographs - WWI  
Photographs - France today Poems Video clips Cartoons  
Posters **Art 1** Art 2 Facts: Australian Government  
Facts: Fair Dinkum Histories Facts: BBC  
Project information

## WILLIAM DYSON - OFFICIAL WAR ARTIST



Will Dyson First World War  
official war artist  
*A man of a visit from Corps*  
oil on cardboard  
painted in London 1920  
**ART 02427**



Will Dyson First World War  
official war artist  
*The bathman (Compre) washing his arm?*  
oil on canvas on wood panel  
painted in London 1920  
**ART 02431**





# ART

Welcome   Blog   About Sophie Masson  
My Father's War - summary and extract   Photographs - WWI  
Photographs - France today   Poems   Video clips   Cartoons  
Posters   Art 1   **Art 2**   Facts: Australian Government  
Facts: Fair Dinkum Histories   Facts: BBC |  
Project information

## OFFICIAL WAR ARTIST - SEPTIMUS POWER



Title: Stretcher bearers

Australian stretcher bearers with casualty on stretcher preparing to leave the battlefield, and another soldier attending to a second casualty. In performing their work, stretcher-bearers were regularly exposed to great danger as depicted in this work. Shells are bursting close to where they are rescuing the wounded soldiers.

In 1917, Power was appointed an official war artist with the rank of honorary lieutenant and attached to the 1st Division AIF. He worked in France from September to December. He was commissioned for a second time from August 1918 to March 1920, and then contracted on commissions for the Australian War Memorial until 1938.

A number of Power's commissions were for large paintings depicting significant campaigns of the Australian Light Horse during the First World War.

Septimus Power earned a legendary reputation for his vivid depictions of animals, particularly horses, featured in so many of the paintings he produced for the Australian War Memorial as an official war artist.

Source: Australian War Memorial - Permalink:  
<http://www.awm.gov.au/collection/ART03645>



# FACTS

Welcome   Blog   About Sophie Masson  
My Father's War - summary and extract   Photographs - WWI  
Photographs - France today   Poems   Video clips   Cartoons  
Posters   Art 1   Art 2   **Facts: Australian Government**  
Facts: Fair Dinkum Histories   Facts: BBC  
Project information

## AUSTRALIANS IN WWI

**Fast Facts File: Australia's involvement in World War I (from the Australian Government's Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations)**

### Overview

World War I, sometimes called the 'Great War', lasted four years, from 4 August 1914 until 11 November 1918. Initially it was a war between two sets of alliances: the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary and their allies) and the Triple Entente (Britain, France and Russia) and their allies, including the member countries of the British Empire, and the USA, which entered the war in 1917.

The war began soon after the assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne by a Serbian nationalist. Austria threatened to punish Serbia, an ally of Russia. Russia threatened Austria. Austria, in turn, appealed to Germany. Germany struck first by declaring war on Russia and its ally, France. When Germany invaded Belgium, Britain entered the war on the side of Russia and France. The date was 4 August 1914.

The war was fought on a number of fronts. In Europe, the Western Front was in France and Belgium. The Eastern Front involved Russia and Austria-Hungary. Africa was another front because of colonial possessions on that continent, and after Turkey entered the war on 1 November 1914, the Middle East became another theatre of war.

(Maps of the areas are available at  
<http://www.anzacday.org.au/education/maps/WW1/ww1.html>)

An estimated ten million lives were lost in the war and the dominance of trench warfare in Europe resulted in dreadful suffering for all troops. From 1917, the Allied Powers (the Triple Entente and its allies) began to overcome the Central Powers, and the battle at Amiens in June 1918 launched the victorious Allied offensive. On 11 November 1918 the Armistice was signed, signaling the defeat of the Central Powers.

On 18 June 1919 the peace treaty, the Treaty of Versailles, was signed and the League of Nations established. Under the terms of the treaty Germany was compelled to pay reparations for its actions during the war. (For further resources on World War I see: <http://worldwar1.com/>)

### Australian involvement in World War I

Although the theatres of war were very distant from Australia, its membership of the British Empire ensured that there was strong (although not universal) public support for involvement in the war. In 1914, Australia's Prime Minister, Andrew Fisher, immediately promised Australian support for Britain 'to the last man and the last shilling'.

The Australian population in 1914 was less than five million. A summary of the numbers of those who served and of the numbers of deaths and other casualties makes it clear that Australia made a major sacrifice for the Allied war effort. **Numbers involved:**

Enlisted and served overseas: 324,000

Dead: 61,720

Wounded: 155,000 (all services)

Prisoners of war: 4,044 (397 died while captive)

(Source: Australian War Memorial at <http://www.awm.gov.au/>)

### The Anzacs

Australian involvement in World War I is synonymous with the legend of the Anzacs (ANZAC = Australian and New Zealand Army Corps). The name became famous with the landing of the Corps on the Gallipoli Peninsula, Turkey on 25 April 1915. It was the first military engagement in which significant numbers of Australians fought and died as Australian nationals.

The Anzacs were part of an Allied campaign against the Turks to control the Dardanelles and thus open the way to Constantinople and Eastern Europe. This engagement ended with the evacuation of Australian troops on 19 - 20 December 1915.



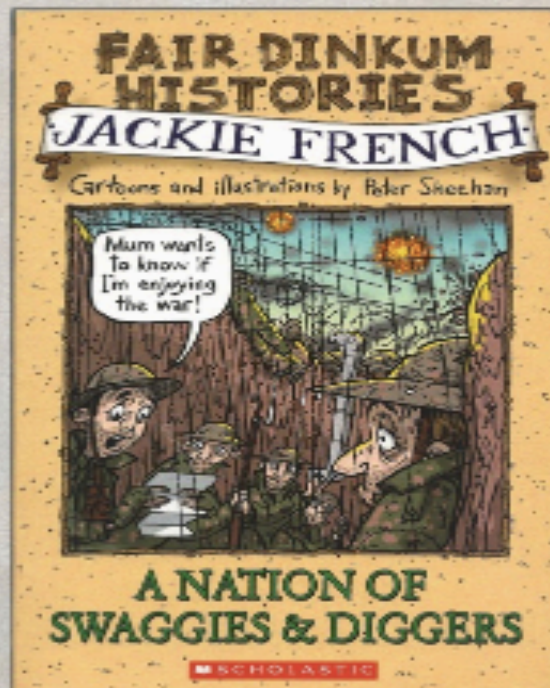
# FACTS

Welcome   Blog   About Sophie Masson  
My Father's War - summary and extract   Photographs - WWI  
Photographs - France today   Poems   Video clips   Cartoons  
Posters   Art 1   Art 2   Facts: Australian Government  
**Facts: Fair Dinkum Histories**   Facts: BBC  
Project information

CLICK ON THE LINK BELOW TO DOWNLOAD JACKIE  
FRENCH'S VERSION OF AUSTRALIA'S INVOLVEMENT IN  
WORLD WAR ONE

[Jackie\\_French\\_WW1.docx](#)

IF YOU WANT TO KNOW MORE, YOU MAY BE ABLE TO  
FIND HER BOOK AT THE SCHOOL LIBRARY...



Made on a Mac

# FACTS

Welcome   Blog   About Sophie Masson  
My Father's War - summary and extract   Photographs - WWI  
Photographs - France today   Poems   Video clips   Cartoons  
Posters   Art 1   Art 2   Facts: Australian Government  
Facts: Fair Dinkum Histories   Facts: BBC  
Project information

## A BRITISH HISTORY OF WWI

The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) has excellent internet resources on lots of historical topics. On this page I am showing the webpage for World War One. Click on the link at the bottom of the page, or any of the live hyperlinks, if you want to have a look.

8 May 2013

[Accessibility help](#)

[Text only](#)

[Schools](#)

[BBC Homepage](#)



[History Chat](#)

[Web Links](#)

[Schools Help](#)

[Copyright](#)

[Credits](#)

[Contact Us](#)

[Like this page?](#)

[Send it to a friend!](#)

[Home page](#)

## WORLD WAR ONE

### TRUE STORIES

Read and listen to stories of the War from the people who lived it. Explore diaries, letters, scrapbooks, newspaper cuttings, photos and keepsakes.



**THE OBSERVER**

A mystery woman's journal charts the events that led to war and 'August madness'.



**THE SOLDIER**

Letters from a heroic doctor tell of the horrors of the Western Front.



**THE SISTER**

Letters to America from a devoted sister describe life on the Home Front.



**THE PRISONER**

An ex-prisoner of war writes about the ups and downs of coming home to Britain.

**HQ**

Expand your subject knowledge. This site is aimed at KS3, GCSE & S3-4.





# PHOTOGRAPHS - WWI

Welcome   Blog   About Sophie Masson  
My Father's War - summary and extract   **Photographs - WWI**  
Photographs - France today   Poems   Video clips   Cartoons  
Posters   Art 1   Art 2   Facts: Australian Government  
Facts: Fair Dinkum Histories   Facts: BBC  
Project information

## IMAGES OF WAR - FRANCE, WORLD WAR ONE

THE PHOTOS WILL GIVE YOU AN IDEA OF WHAT ANNIE SAW AND HEARD ABOUT  
IN FRANCE IN 1918

 Play Slideshow

 Subscribe



Battle of the Somme Peronne, 1916



'Dingbat Alley'  
Peronne, 1916



Belgian refugees



Canadian soldiers in Passchendaele,  
1917



## **Appendix E – Participant Response Sample**

### **Pilot qualitative research: participant responses - a sample**

#### **What types of activities do you do in your free time that help you to learn more about Australia's history?**

I really love historical fiction books so generally if I want to learn about history I go to the library and find a book that I know is historical fiction. It's just a really easy way, creative as well. So, actually historical fiction, that's how I like to learn about Australia's history. (Amy)

#### **In your spare time if you were going to read a book would you choose a historical fiction book or would you choose something else?**

I usually choose something else. (Tom)

#### **What types of activities do you do in your free time that help you to learn more about Australia's history?**

I really love historical fiction books so generally if I want to learn about history I go to the library and find a book that I know is historical fiction. It's just a really easy way, creative as well. So, actually historical fiction, that's how I like to learn about Australia's history. (Amy)

#### **In your spare time if you were going to read a book would you choose a historical fiction book or would you choose something else?**

I usually choose something else. (Tom)

