A note on style

In a book that celebrates the diversity and idiosyncrasies of children's folklore, it seemed appropriate to present Dorothy Howard's articles as they were originally published. In resetting the text, the editors have therefore retained the complete text of the original articles. The editors have made minor exceptions to this principle; changes have been made to capitalisation, punctuation and endnotes to create some consistency in the articles, which were necessarily subject to the differing house styles of their original publishers. Dorothy Howard's terminology describing Australian Aboriginal peoples is outdated and inconsistent, and has been standardised in modern usage.

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Contents

Foreword

Fifty years ago, children in school playgrounds around Australia were chanting, running, skipping, catching, flicking marbles and throwing jacks. Dorothy Howard, an American scholar on a study trip to Australia and a self-confessed 'playground sleuth', was there to record their activities. The result of her observations was a series of articles published mainly in academic journals in the United States and Britain. Buried on library shelves, Dorothy Howard's descriptions of the games and folklore of Australian children have never received the attention they deserve, either among the general Australian reading public or among an international audience increasingly interested in the diversity of children's play and creativity. This collection of Dorothy Howard's writings on the folklore of Australian children seeks to correct that silence.

Dorothy Howard was both observer and crusader. She is repeatedly critical of parents and educators who stifle children's free play, although she also understands the fears that result in 'puzzled parents, harassed teachers, desperate policemen and innocent do-gooders herding children together in smaller and smaller compounds'. Her articles are an extended celebration of children's inventiveness in play, seen from the perspective of scholar and educator, but energised by her own sense of play, never abandoned from her childhood.

It has taken a similar kind of passion and energy to see this collection gathered together for the first time. June Factor has championed this volume for many years, and it is therefore most appropriate that she has written the introductory essay, outlining the significance of Dorothy Howard's work for the study of the folklore of Australian children. We are also indebted to Kate Darian-Smith for her historical essay, which places Dorothy Howard's research in the context of the changes occurring in post-war Australia.

When Dorothy Howard published her Australian research in the 1950s and 1960s, she sometimes referred to parallel work being undertaken in New Zealand. Those initial studies by Brian Sutton-Smith expanded into a career exploring the meanings of children's play in New Zealand and the United States that has spanned over 50 years. Sutton-Smith's essay in this volume on the contemporary significance of Dorothy Howard's work is particularly welcome.

Dorothy Howard's research notes from her time in Australia now form part of the Australian Children's Folklore Collection, established by June Factor and Gwenda Davey in the 1970s, and now cared for by Museum Victoria. In addition to Dorothy Howard's files, the collection includes interviews, audiotapes and videos of children's play and over 10,000 card files listing children's folklore. The museum is actively engaged in preserving and presenting children's folklore through the 'Playgrounds' display at Melbourne Museum, activities at its Children's Museum and through the biannual newsletter *Play and Folklore*.

During the production of this book, the importance of the Australian Children's Folklore Collection was recognised by its addition to the Australian Memory of the World register, a UNESCO program that promotes the significance of the world's documentary and archival heritage. It is a fitting tribute to Dorothy Howard's pioneering work — and to the playground cultures she observed.

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A Forgotten Pioneer

June Factor

Dorothy Howard notes the rules of marbles at a school in Perth, 1955.
Australian marble games in 1954–55 had thus far eluded scheming adults.

Dorothy Howard was an American, slight of body and neat in appearance.[1] During her 10 months in Australia in the mid-1950s, photographs show her wearing a suit, a hat, and sometimes gloves as well. Her conventional exterior is misleading: she was in fact an intellectual pioneer on two continents, an innovative educator, an outstanding ethnographer and a writer unafraid to challenge orthodox opinion — in her own words, 'a maverick in the academic corral'.[2]

Born Dorothy Gray Mills into an old American family in rural East Texas in 1902, she spent her early childhood steeped in nature and surrounded by relatives, songs and stories in Sabine Bottom, a speck on the southwestern frontier. Her memories of visiting preachers, tornadoes, eloping couples, seasonal work on the farm, domestic chores, and especially the games and songs of her play life, are vividly evoked in *Dorothy's World*, her 'personal memoir … social document, and study in … the cognitive process'.[3]

Graduating from Teachers College in Denton, Texas, in 1923, Howard taught in public schools until 1944 when she became a professor of English at Frostburg State Teachers College in Maryland. In 1967 she was a professor in the Faculty of Education at the University of Nebraska,

from where she retired to her 'fake adobe' house in Roswell, New Mexico, in 1969. She lived there, continuing her research and writing, until failing health meant a reluctant shift to retirement accommodation in Roswell in December 1991. Her last years were spent with her daughter in Greenfield, Massachusetts, where she died in 1996, three months short of her 94th birthday.

Howard may well have been the first person in the English-speaking world to gain a doctorate (from New York University in 1938) for a study of contemporary children's 'folk jingles' — in her case, the rhymes, chants and songs of American children in the 1930s.[4] She wanted to limit her study 'to one school and one group and to expand the inquiry to include the context of the verbal lore: the school (playground and classroom); the home (parent-child and sibling relationships); the church; the community'.[5] She wanted her dissertation to include 'hitherto unexplored areas of research', such as 'the teacher-learner relationship on the playground compared to the teacher-pupil adversary relationship in the classroom'.[6]

Despite the assistance of a professor who recognised the value of her research, and deaf to her protests, 'by decree of the doctoral sponsoring committee … the dissertation was limited to literary, verbal, and historic aspects of traditional play lore'.[7] In typical Howard fashion, she appears to have smuggled in a quantity of challenging material nonetheless. When the dissertation was accepted, she 'bought a gold tassel for her mortarboard and went her own solitary way, which led her into wider and wider fields both geographically and philosophically'.[8]

All her life, Dorothy Howard went her own way.

In an unpublished 'Post Script' to her doctoral thesis, written in 1990, Howard explained how she stumbled on the importance of playlore to children's development. From 1930 to 1944 she taught in public (state) schools in New York and New Jersey. These schools were full of immigrant children from many parts of Europe and from the West Indies. She was supposed to teach the children 'to read, write and speak "Standard" English':

> In 1930 I arrived in New York from Texas equipped with a bachelor's degree and a permanent certificate to teach … My pupils were cooperative and patient with me but after two months I knew I was a failure. Then one day at noontime — feeling complete frustration — I stood at an open classroom window looking down on the unsupervised playground. Balls were bouncing; ropes were turning; marbles were rolling and the little ones were chasing each other in tag games.
>
> I first became aware that they were playing the same games I had played in my childhood on a farm in East Texas. And as I listened, I heard — to my surprise — that they were all speaking English. Some of what I heard was familiar play language from my own childhood. But many of their play verses were strange to my ears …
>
> My frustration changed to fascination and wonder. Were these children learning English from each other on the playground faster than from their text books and from me in the classroom? Snatching a pencil and notebook from my desk, I wrote several verses I had heard; and by the time the bell rang bringing the children into the classroom, I had printed two or three of those verses on the blackboard …[9]

So began the development of Howard's own, most unconventional school curriculum. She recognised that by ignoring its pupils' lore and language, a school was also teaching children 'to be ashamed of their … backgrounds, so they are silent about the language, beliefs and customs of their homes'.[10] Bringing the 'play poetry' and the 'patterned cadences' of the schoolyard into the classroom enabled her to build a bridge: from the children's home culture, and the oral literature and traditional games of the playground, to formal school subjects such as reading, composition and social studies.[11]

No longer dependent on textbooks and rote learning, she grounded her teaching in the first instance in the experience and cultural forms of her students. She found that many of the children who once cringed when poetry was mentioned were masters of an array of oral lore — rhymes, chants, insults and songs. Discussions of metre and rhyme arose from her pupils' oral verse. The children wrote their own poetry long before

this was fashionable in schools. She put together anthologies of their verse and they began to read 'serious' poetry as fellow writers. Mindful of the dissonance between traditional classroom practice — teacher-centred, adult-disciplined, emphasising competition and 'right' answers — and the looser, more collaborative, child-initiated and child-organised playlore of the school playground, she gradually altered the classroom ethos from competition to cooperation. Her work was so successful that it became, for a time, the model for teacher preparation at the Frostburg State Teachers College, Maryland, where she lectured in folklore and in children's literature.[12]

Always an innovator, Howard was also a strong democrat, and she shared with the American educator John Dewey a belief that schooling must affirm and encourage democratic processes. In an account of her educational philosophy she wrote:

> [I]f the school functions in a democratic society ... then children need to learn to examine their own lives and, in the process, learn to make decisions by making decisions, in school and out; decisions related to the lives they actually live since they can not make decisions about superimposed abstract lives existing only in the minds of a teacher or in a textbook.[13]

Howard was determined to understand more about the ways in which children make decisions without adult direction, and 'what and how children teach each other and why'. To this end she continued to focus her attention on the school playground, where children were in large part the masters of their play.[14] This became a central part of her life's work: the collection, analysis and discussion of the play traditions of the young. She noted the importance of the play group — the usually quite small number of children who join together for a particular play activity. Howard suggests that this group, as well as the playground community as a whole, behaves 'as a society in microcosm, establishing its own system of law and order and acting together against outside interference from adults and other gangs or play groups'.[15]

Influenced by Gestalt theory, she kept detailed records of the play she observed, and constantly reassessed and refined her theories — the children always her teachers. She documented the ways in which rules for games were determined, the processes of transmission from one child generation to the next, the powerful attraction of ritual in children's play, and the richly poetic, rhythmic and collaborative qualities of the games and rhymes of the school playground.[16] Against most established pedagogic theory, she insisted on the educative character of children's own subcultures of verbal and kinetic play:

> In the beginning my attention had been concentrated on verbal aspects of children's play. But as I spent more and more time on the playground, I became more and more aware that children's voices accompanied other body movements and that children moved in group patterns — not chaotically as I had, at first, thought. Then I began to view the playground as an educational institution — as a school operating three feet below adult eye level and invisible to myopic adults.[17]

Howard's purpose was never 'that of an antiquarian making a pack rat, museum collection of fossils'.[18] Her study of what a century earlier a Scottish educator had called 'the uncovered classroom' of the playground[19] had an initial practical purpose: to understand and learn from children's inherited and adapted traditions of play in order to enhance her classroom teaching. Later that understanding enabled her to develop a broad elementary school curriculum, applicable far beyond her own schools. At the same time, the philosopher in Howard was puzzling over 'the history of children and their position in human society' as well as their folklore, and not just in America.[20]

In Britain, from the first years of the 19th century, individuals interested in traditional cultures, such as Strutt, Chambers and Halliwell, had conscientiously included playlore (though they did not call it that) collected from children and from the memories of adults.[21] Late in the century, a major work of scholarship appeared: Lady Alice Bertha Gomme's *The Traditional Games of England, Scotland, and Ireland.*

It was followed less than 20 years later by Norman Douglas's *London Street Games*.[22] In America in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Bolton and Newell, on a much smaller scale, had similarly begun the attempt to sample the range of children's playlore on that vast continent.[23] A number of European countries had a tradition of collection of folklore, including the lore of children. But Australia, apart from occasional articles in newspapers and descriptions of play in memoirs (mostly unpublished), was not represented in this scattered but worldwide effort to understand and record the lore and language of children.[24]

It was the absence of any record of such material in this country that initially aroused Howard's curiosity. In a speech she gave in Melbourne in 1955, she explained:

> Over the 25 years of my research in children's folklore I became increasingly interested in the subject of Australian children's play customs and increasingly aware of the absence of evidence that the subject had received any attention here. The great silence from 'Down Under' finally aroused my academic curiosity to come and explore.[25]

To satisfy her curiosity, in 1952 she applied for a Fulbright research grant to come to Australia. Once again, she had a tussle with officialdom:

> Over the years, as my interest in the context of children's play has increased, I have wanted to limit my attention to smaller and smaller groups in order to observe more thoroughly; in order to probe deeper into children's minds (for as Brian Sutton-Smith has so aptly said, 'Play is of the mind.') ... Unfortunately, in 1952, when I first applied for a Fulbright research grant to study the play life of Australian children and proposed to limit my study to one school in one community, I found my proposal unacceptable. Not until I proposed to 'survey' play life in the whole of Australia was the grant made in 1954.[26]

On this occasion we have reason to be grateful to the Fulbright assessors. For Howard's survey, conducted over 10 months in 1954–55, constitutes the most comprehensive study of Australia children's playlore ever undertaken in this country. She was the first person to systematically

collect, collate, transcribe, annotate, analyse and publish a wide sampling of Australian children's games, rhymes, riddles, jokes, parodies, oaths, nicknames, war cries, initiation rites, swap card collections, autograph albums and many other components of children's lore. It seems ironic that such a culturally significant task should be undertaken by a 'foreigner'.

Howard came to Australia under the auspices of the Faculty of Education at the University of Melbourne. Her visit was part of her post-doctoral research, and she set out to study Australian children's 'traditional [play] customs which have been handed down from one generation of children to another without supervision of teachers, parents or other adults.'[27] In a letter written in 1984, Howard recalled wryly:

> My application was approved by our US Fulbright committee three months before your Canberra office could find a sponsoring institution. Nobody knew what my project was about. Finally, Professor Browne [Faculty of Education, University of Melbourne], though he, too, didn't know, decided to gamble on me.[28]

Despite this somewhat awkward beginning, Howard always acknowledged that her time at the university was a happy one, as indeed were her months of constant travel and documentation. She provides a succinct summary of her work in an unpublished account:

> The terms of the Fulbright grant permitted me to spend only one or two months in each state and none in the Northern Territory. Information was collected: by visiting playgrounds and classrooms of both government and non-government schools; visiting public playgrounds; visiting in homes; loitering on street and public beaches where children played; from written compositions of school children and letters from older people; by talking with school masters and mistresses, fathers, mothers, educationists, physical educationists, ministers, priests, anthropologists, psychologists; with people in buses, trams, trains and planes; by studying school syllabi; searching libraries; visiting toyshops; through response to publicity in newspapers, magazines and radio addresses in Canberra and Perth. No attempt was made to study Aboriginal Australian children's play nor to assess interaction —

if any — that may have taken place in some areas between English-speaking children and Aborigines.[29]

Her arrival was greeted with the same expressions of regret about the supposed demise of children's folklore in this country as confronted the British children's folklorists Iona and Peter Opie when they began their research in Britain in the 1950s. According to the Opies:

> The generally held opinion, both inside and outside academic circles, was that children no longer cherished their traditional lore. We were told that the young had lost the power of entertaining themselves; that first the cinema, and now television had become the focus of their attention; and that we had started our investigation fifty years too late.[30]

At about the time the Opies were being told their enterprise was doomed to failure, Howard arrived in Australia to a warm but pessimistic greeting:

> Upon landing in Australia I was kindly cautioned that most Australian adults believe first, that their children have no folklore; second, that any traditional games ever known here came from the British Isles and are therefore not Australian; and third, that most of the old games which came from the British Isles are dead now.[31]

The outcome, of course, confounded these predictions. Far from a folklore *terra nullius*, Howard could assert with confidence:

> The collection of [Australian children's playlore] data indicated: 1) that all of the old games were not dead; 2) many old games and playways had been adapted to Australian climate, history, economy, geography, flora and fauna.
>
> Sometimes the change had been in name only: British Bulldog became Australian Dingo, so a small boy told me, 'Because me mum forbade me to play British Bulldog, when I tore me shirt.' In the game of Quandongs in Western Australia, horse-chestnuts were unavailable for Conkers — the same game. Bushrangers and Miners was (in name and manner of play) a peculiarly Australian adaptation of an ancient game — older than the history of the British Isles. In Brisbane children played Puss in the Corner with a tennis ball in the shade under the house; the form and the game-name remained but the tennis ball bouncing against the house-foundation timbers necessitated a new set of rules.[32]

Howard documented many hundreds of examples of Australian children's verbal and kinetic lore, noting again and again the two constant threads of folklore: continuity and change. Among children everywhere she found 'a strong conservative force, preserving the ritual of ancient words and sounds, the memory of old customs, the color of the past'. But this conservative force is 'in perpetual conflict with its opposite, the creative imagination'.[33] 'Those who have observed children's traditional games over a period of years know that tradition is not static. Change, adaptation, modification are intrinsic in the process of oral and para-linguistic communication and, therefore, in transmission of lore from one generation to another.'[34]

Local variation — differences in the play customs of Australian children growing up in different regions or eras — was a subject of great interest to Howard, and she returns to it many times. She drew attention to a Hopscotch diagram from Queensland that resembled 'a house built on high piles with many steps leading into it'.[35] Her explanation for this variant is one well known to folklorists:

> The Queensland children have adapted the game to their local way of life and that adaptation is indigenous. The quality of being indigenous is not absolute but a matter of degree in children's traditional games. Tradition, though stable, is never static. Tradition changes slowly or rapidly but change it must.[36]

In her discussion of the Australian versions of the games called Knucklebones or Jacks — games so old they were known to Aristophanes and to the ancient Egyptians — Howard demonstrates her unfailing ability to illustrate the effects of time, and circumstance, on the way in which a game may evolve. In Australia in the mid-1950s the children played the game with moves called 'ups find downs', 'clicks', 'no clicks, 'cut the cabbage', 'scatters', 'granny's false teeth' and 'snake

in the grass', all requiring the throwing, catching and picking up of five small objects, usually knucklebones. According to Howard:

> [T]he city butcher who, 25 years ago, sold sheep's knucklebones in sets of five, no longer caters to juvenile trade ...
>
> In the old days a child bought his bones for 'tuppenny,' took them home to mother who boiled them clean, then dyed them with ink or with the juice of berries. A child today needs great patience and ingenuity to collect a set of real bones — he needs an amiable neighborhood butcher or a cooperative uncle who owns sheep, and one by one he hoards the bones until he has a set of five. Meanwhile, or if no friendly butcher or helpful uncle is available, he must go to the neighborhood shop and buy for two shillings nine pence a set of plastic bones colored pink, white, green, red and yellow ...
>
> The children who have no [money or bones] revert to stones ...[37]

It is unlikely that there are now Australian children who collect and dye sheep knucklebones. But in 1954, 'according to reports' received by Howard, children in Tasmania continued this practice; 'because of their island position and their small rural population' they were said to be involved in more traditional playways than 'their fellow Australians on the mainland'.[38] Howard also observed that contemporary (that is, 1950s) versions of the game of Knucklebones were shorter, and were associated with less verbal ritual than the variants collected from older informants. She commented similarly on the apparent decrease in verbal ritual in other Australian children's games:

> [V]erbal ritual appears to be decreasing; some games with lengthy verbal ritual are gone. In some cases the verbal accompaniment is shortened (as in Oranges and Lemons). Counting-out rhymes to determine who will be 'He' or 'It' are not as numerous, as popular, nor as intricate; the counting-out rhymes still in use are short ones.[39]

Howard was intrigued by a gambling game associated with one of Australia's favourite public events. A number of sources provided her

with descriptions of variants of a game called Toodlembuck or Scone on Stick or Cherry Bobs. The game was played during Melbourne Cup week in November — a time when betting fever infected many adults. November is also the first month of the cherry season, and cherry bobs (cherry stones) were the betting currency. According to one of Howard's informants — a woman remembering her childhood between 1906 and 1912 — a Toodlembuck was made from a circle of cardboard tacked on to a cotton reel, and fitted onto a stick so that it spun when a string was pulled. The cardboard was divided into segments, each inscribed with the name of a horse in that year's Melbourne Cup. Players staked cherry bobs on the result of the spin.[40]

Although Howard doesn't refer to Toodlembuck's antecedents, it may have been an adaptation of a game known as All in the Well, recorded by Lady Gomme as played in Newcastle and other parts of Northumberland in the 19th century. According to Gomme it was 'practised at the Newcastle Races and other places of amusement in the North'.[41] There was also a pitching game called Toodle-em-Buck in New Zealand at about the same time. Brian Sutton-Smith, the author of a history of New Zealand children's play, says that 'the game was played to the cry of "Roll up, tumble up, come and play the game of Toodle-em-Buck"'.[42]

Children's folklore is not all tolerance, friendliness and cooperation. Play is an arena for marking enmities as well as friendships. Children's verbal lore is the richest of plum puddings: there is mimicry and mockery, puns, parodies, the pleasures of sound rather than sense, slapstick, satire, taboo words, the politics of family and school life, and the merciless exposure of adult hypocrisy.

None of this disturbed Howard. She was unfazed by children's vulgarity, acknowledged their sharp-eyed perspective on the adult world and delighted in their skilful play with language:

> *A man sat down by the sewer*
> *And by that sewer he died.*
> *When the case was brought to the coroner's court*
> *They called it suicide.*[43]

Years before coming to Australia, in an article in *The New Yorker* Howard wrote perceptively of the significance of humour and mockery in children's verbal lore:

> The child, the most indefatigable of jokers, finds all experience an occasion for humor. The whole spectacle of the world is comic. Specifically, he finds risible all physical peculiarities, such as fat or ugliness, all offensive smells, sounds, and actions, and love, and intoxication, and wounds and contusions ... His art fulfills the definition of art as a criticism of life, for he regards adult experience coldly, transfers it into concepts meaningful to himself, and states them in satirical and critical terms. He is a master of the change of pace, the shift of mood, the juxtaposition of pathos and bathos which is the humorist's most serviceable device ...
>
> [Children's] street and playground songs ... are not pure, not homely. They picture a world full of mockery, anger, primitive ribaldry. They are setting the essential key of an existence which a child perceives over the edge of childhood. They are, in a way, a preparation.[44]

A lifelong defender of children and their lore, Howard was never a sentimentalist.

More than half a century ago Dorothy Howard pointed to the significance of social and economic changes in Australia, visible even then to a 'tourist-collector', as she called herself:[45] increasing urbanisation, 'congestion of city play space', immigration.[46] (Her visit to Australia predates the introduction of television here in 1956.) In her non-didactic fashion she urged Australian adults who were interested in children's growth and development not to ignore the influence of such changes on children and their lore and language.

Because of her conviction of the importance of children's folklore, she emphasised its crucial evolutionary role:

> The persistent, stable elements in children's folklore, if probed, may reveal continuing needs of children for imaginative, expressive linguistic and physical action in group situations where each child — on his own — comes to terms with his contemporary society ... The child's mind ... has the ability to adapt to changing environments whatever the change — and to continue to create an embryonic cosmos with cohesiveness which adults seek to understand.[47]

As a scholar as well as educator, she was unimpressed by what she called 'impertinent pedagogical meddling with traditional play customs'.[48] Prime suspects were 'physical educationalists [who] were in ascendancy in the academic community and [whose] prevailing view was: adult-planned and supervised play, only, was worth serious attention',[49] and 'the steadily growing tendency ... toward regimentation of children's play by professional educators trying to "improve" fine old games ...'[50] While these sharp criticisms were initially directed at American practice, Howard privately acknowledged their equal relevance to Australia.[51]

Dorothy Howard arrived in this country to find that children's folklorists were unknown. There were no courses on folklore in Australian universities, and student teachers were offered little guidance to help them appreciate the informal culture of the school playground. Libraries held nothing much in the way of Australian children's folklore, apart from some monographs on Aboriginal children's games.[52]

Undeterred, she travelled the land, filling box after box with the playlore she heard and saw, together with notes, questions and comment, all carefully documented, written or typed on small white pieces of paper, three by five inches. Sociable, unthreatening, she appears to have had few difficulties communicating her interests — and receiving a plenitude of responses. The depth, range and analytical sophistication of the material in those boxes are testimony of her remarkable skills as an ethnographer.[53]

This wise, irrepressible, down-to-earth woman, knowing and respecting the diversity of children's informal cultures, saw no contradiction between the worlds of scholarship and education. Until infirmity in old age, she remained an energetic secular evangelist — informing adults of the power and significance of children's playlore, criticising

those social forces that limit and diminish children's lives, and looking always to a better future. At the age of 83, she sent a challenging message to the first Australian National Folklore Conference in November 1985:

> All of us (you and I) are pioneers. All of us still know little about children and childhood ...
>
> [In the US] most parents, teachers, policemen and others in charge of children are tyrants (benevolent or despotic) from whom children seek refuge and self-respect among their peers on the playground ...
>
> I suggest that while we are studying children on the playground, they are studying us in the classroom, at home and in public gatherings; and expressing their findings — not in esoteric, academic jargon but in subtle but direct satire. I suggest we can learn about ourselves by listening to them ...
>
> Do we remember the children we were? Do we remember sitting all day on our derriers, feet flat on the floor, hands on desks (so teachers could see what our hands were doing), silent, staring into the teacher's eyes as if giving her our complete attention — while our minds were escaping out the window to the playground?
>
> As far as I know, no folklorist, psychologist, anthropologist or sociologist has yet investigated the folklore of pedagogy — the myth that one learns best when the buttocks are numb ...
>
> We still have a long journey ahead: over the mountains, through the forests and across the sloughs of academic arrogance, ignorance and indifference.[54]

What better guide than Dorothy Howard on this long journey.

Notes

[1] Some parts of this chapter were first published in June Factor's *Captain Cook Chased a Chook: Children's Folklore in Australia*, Penguin, Melbourne, 1988, and in her obituary for Dorothy Howard in the Melbourne *Age*, 10 May 1996.

[2] D. Howard, *Dorothy's World: Childhood in Sabine Bottom 1902–1910*, Prentice-Hall, New Jersey, 1977, p. 296.

[3] Howard, *Dorothy's World*, p. ix.

[4] D. Howard, 'Folk Jingles of American Children: A Collection and Study of Rhymes Used by Children Today', unpublished PhD thesis, School of Education, New York University, 1938.

[5] D. Howard, 'Academia, 1930, Revisited 1980', unpublished, p. 3, Australian Children's Folklore Collection, Museum Victoria, Dorothy Howard Collection, box 7, series 3/14/1.

[6] Howard, *Dorothy's World*, p. 293.

[7] Howard, *Dorothy's World*, p. 293.

[8] Howard, *Dorothy's World*, p. 294.

[9] D. Howard, 'Post Script, 1990' to 'Folk Jingles of American Children: A Collection and Study of Rhymes used by Children Today', pp. 1–2, Australian Children's Folklore Collection, Museum Victoria, Dorothy Howard Collection, box 7, series 3/14/5.

[10] D. Howard, 'Folklore in the Schools', *New York Folklore Quarterly*, vol. 6, Summer 1950, p. 100.

[11] Howard, 'Post Script, 1990', pp. 3 and 4.

[12] See Howard's description of her teaching program in 'Folklore in the Schools'.

[13] Howard, *Dorothy's World*, p. 292.

[14] Howard, *Dorothy's World*, p. 293.

[15] Howard, *Dorothy's World*, p. 292.

[16] For traditional play, a generation of children is about seven years — the time it takes to move through the elementary (primary) school. In Howard's words: '[children's rhymes] are passed on from one childhood generation to another, and a childhood generation is only seven or eight years ...', 'Onward and Upward with the Arts: Songs of Innocence' (with Morris Bishop), *The New Yorker*, vol. 13, no. 39, 13 November 1937, p. 33.

[17] Howard, 'Academia, 1930, Revisited 1980', pp. 2–3.

[18] Howard, *Dorothy's World*, p. 293.

[19] D. Stow, *The Training System*, Longman, Green, Longman & Roberts, Glasgow, 1839, p. 189.

[20] D. Howard, 'Dorothy Howard Speaking', *Australian Children's Folklore Newsletter*, no. 8, May 1985, p. 10.

[21] J. Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*, Methuen, London, 1801; R. Chambers, *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1826; J. O. Halliwell, *Popular Rhymes and Nursery Tales of England*, Bodley Head, London, 1970 (1849).

[22] A. B. Gomme, *The Traditional Games of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, two vols, Dover Publications, New York, 1964 (1894 and 1898); N. Douglas, *London Street Games*, St Catherine Press, London, 1931 (1916). Iona and Peter Opie, the outstanding British collectors and interpreters of children's folklore in the second half of the 20th century, regard Douglas's work as coming 'nearest to being a predecessor' of their first effort in this field, *The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren*, p. v.

[23] H. C. Bolton, *The Counting-Out Rhymes of Children: Their Antiquity, Origin, and Wide Distribution*, Elliott Stock, London, 1888; W. W. Newell, *Games and Songs of American Children*, Dover Publications, New York, 1963 (1883).

[24] Howard did not learn of an early article on Australian children's song-games by the poet Victor Daley in *The Bulletin*, 26 February 1898 (reprinted in I. Turner, *Cinderella Dressed in Yella*, Heinemann Educational, Melbourne, 1969, pp. 121–24), but she does refer, in 'Marble Games of Australian Children', *Folklore*, vol. 71, September 1960, p. 165, to the remarkable unpublished memoir of childhood of Sir Joseph Verco. His 'Early Memories' is held in the Mortlock Library, State Library of South Australia, Adelaide.

[25] D. Howard, 'Folklore of Australian Children', *Journal of Education*, vol. 2, no. 1, March 1955, p. 30 (p. 41 in this publication).

[26] Howard, 'Academia, 1930, Revisited 1980', p. 4.

[27] Howard, 'Folklore of Australian Children', 1955, p. 30 (p. 41 in this publication).

[28] D. Howard, letter to June Factor, 27 May 1984.

[29] D. Howard, 'Introduction', unpublished, n.d. (after 1970), p. 2, Australian Children's Folklore Collection, Museum Victoria, Dorothy Howard Collection, box 7, series 3/13/9.

[30] I. & P. Opie, *The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren*, Paladin, St Albans, 1977 (1959), p. 5. The Opies went on to become internationally renowned for their books about British children's folklore.

[31] Howard, 'Folklore of Australian Children', 1955, p. 30 (p. 41 in this publication).

[32] Howard, 'Introduction', p. 2.

[33] Howard with Bishop, 'Onward & Upward with the Arts', pp. 34–35.

[34] Howard, 'Introduction', p. 3.

[35] Howard, 'Folklore of Australian Children', 1955, p. 34 (p. 46 in this publication).

[36] Howard, 'Folklore of Australian Children', 1955, p. 34 (p. 46 in this publication).

[37] D. Howard, 'The Game of "Knucklebones" in Australia', *Western Folklore*, vol. 17, no. 1, January 1958, p. 35 (p. 50 in this publication).

[38] Howard, 'The Game of "Knucklebones" in Australia', p. 35 (p. 51 in this publication).

[39] Howard, 'Folklore of Australian Children', 1955, p. 32 (p. 43 in this publication).

[40] This description of a game of Toodlembuck comes from the Dorothy Howard Collection, in the Australian Children's Folklore Collection at Museum Victoria. In her short account of the game in *Journal of American Folklore*, vol. 73, no. 287, January–March 1960, pp. 53–54, Howard suggests that while Australian children still gambled along with their elders in 1954, she was told that the Toodlembuck and cherry bobs had become 'extinct'. Not so. There is evidence it was still popular with some children into the 1970s.

[41] Gomme, vol. 1, p. 2.

[42] B. Sutton-Smith, *The Folkgames of Children*, University of Texas Press, Austin, 1972, p. 171.

[43] Collected by Howard from G. Morgan, Prospect Practising School, Adelaide, South Australia, in 1955, and held in the Australian Children's Folklore Collection, Museum Victoria, Dorothy Howard Collection, box 3, series 3/1/10.

[44] Howard with Bishop, 'Onward & Upward with the Arts', pp. 32 and 36.

[45] Letter to June Factor, 5 December 1980: 'Because I was a tourist-collector in Australia, I did not know enough about the context of Aussie children's play, and, therefore, refrained from theorizing.' In fact, Howard engaged in some interesting theorising in a number of her articles on Australian children's play — to our enduring benefit.

[46] Howard, 'Folklore of Australian Children', 1955, p. 34 (p. 46 in this publication).

[47] D. Howard, 'Rope-skipping Games: Language, Beliefs and Customs', *Maryland English Journal*, vol. 7, no. 1, Fall 1968, p. 18.

[48] D. Howard, book review in *Journal of American Folklore*, vol. 67, no. 263, January–March 1954, p. 92.

[49] Howard, 'Academia, 1930, Revisited 1980', p. 3.

[50] Howard, book review in *Journal of American Folklore*, p. 91.

[51] Howard, private discussions with June Factor, 1980s.

[52] Some 50 years later in Australia, folklore festivals flourish, the Oral History section of the National Library of Australia has recently changed its title to Oral History and Folklore, and books of and about folklore — including children's folklore — are far more readily available than in the 1950s. Yet there remains a disturbing lack of education in this field, including at tertiary level.

[53] The Howard Collection in the Australian Children's Folklore Collection also includes concertina files of correspondence of and about Australian children's folklore from children as young as eight and adults as old as 80.

[54] D. Howard, 'Dorothy Howard Speaking', audio tape transcription reproduced in *Australian Children's Folklore Newsletter*, no. 8, May 1985, pp. 9–11.