THE HISTORICAL AND
PSYCHOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE
OF THE UNORGANIZED GAMES
OF NEW ZEALAND PRIMARY
SCHOOL CHILDREN

A THESIS

presented to the

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for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

by

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PREFACE

In the Spring of 1948 while teaching at a primary school, I observed a small group of girls playing a game called "Tip the Finger". During the game one of the players chanted the following rhyme :

"Draw a snake upon your back
And this is the way it went
North, South, East, West,
Who tipped your finger?"

I recognized immediately and with some surprise that this rhyme contained elements which were not invented by the children and were probably of some antiquity. I knew, for example, though only in a vague and unlearned manner, that the four pattern of the North, South, East and West and the Snake symbolism were recurrent motifs in mythology and folklore. I was aware also that there did not exist any specialized attempt to explain the part that games of this nature played in the lives of the players.

In order to give further consideration to the nature of such games, therefore, I proceeded to collect and investigate the unorganized games of the children of that primary school. In making this investigation I came face to face with questions such as the following :

Why are chasing games of such importance to primary school children? Why are there very few ^{un}organized Singing games in the

schools today? How is it that boys and girls have their own distinctive types of unorganized games? Where do the games rhymes come from and what do they mean to the children? Would it be any psychological loss to children if they had no unorganized games? Have the rhymes and games always been the same throughout New Zealand's history? Do the games differ from place to place? Is the variety of games increasing or decreasing? Why is it that only the younger children in the primary school play these unorganized games?

As a result of the preliminary survey I decided that it was impossible to answer these and the innumerable other questions which arose out of the investigation unless I made a country-wide survey of these games. In 1949-50, therefore, I set out to collect as much information as possible about the unorganized games of New Zealand Primary School children; unorganized games which had been played at any stage in the country's history.

This thesis presents an account of the manner in which this material was collected and interpreted.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

In the following pages an account is given of the way in which this investigation has been defined and the material about games collected and interpreted.

The Definition of the Investigation.

This thesis is entitled "The Historical and Psychological Significance of the Unorganized Games of New Zealand Primary School Children". At this point only that part of the title which reads "The Unorganized Games of New Zealand Primary School Children" will be dealt with.

By the term 'Unorganized' games it is meant that the investigation includes all the games which primary school children play of their own free will without the assistance of adults. In saying that these games are unorganized it is not meant that they are lacking in organization. It is meant rather, that although they are organized by the children themselves, they are not organized by adults. It is for this reason that they are said to be 'Unorganized'. Originally, of course, these games may have been organized by game-teaching adults such as relatives, school-teachers or scoutmasters. But if this is the case, the position adopted here, is that the games are never subsequently entitled to be termed 'unorganized' games unless they have become a part of

the children's own free play. The majority of these games, however, are handed on from one child to another, not given to children by adults. Think, for example, of the skipping and tagging games, which are played by children today, and of the singing games which were played by children before the first World War. Sports and other games which are played under the aegis of teachers and instructors do not come within the purview of this investigation. But these same sports and other games are included in the investigation when children conduct the games themselves. According to the above definition, when children conduct their games themselves, then the games are said to be 'Unorganized'. Particular attention is given in this thesis, for example, to children's unorganized variations of organized sports.

A "Game" is defined in the Oxford Dictionary as a 'jest', 'diversion', 'spell of play', 'amusing incident' or as a "contest played according to rules and decided by skill strength or luck".¹ Two main types of game can be distinguished in these definitions : namely, competitive and non-competitive games. The Handbook of British Folklore prefers to define only the former type as 'games' and refers to the non-competitive type of group play activities, as 'pastimes'.² In this thesis the two types are termed 'formal' and 'informal' games respectively.³ Both

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1. Fowler H.W. and F.G., The Concise Oxford Dictionary, Oxford, 1934, p.470.
 2. Moutray Read D.H., Games Sports and Pastimes, in Burns C.S. The Handbook of British Folklore, London, 1914, p.257.
 3. This is the distinction made by Rivlin H.N., Friedman B.M. and Quayle M.S., Play, The Encyclopedia of Modern Education, New York, 1943, p.592. In Section II of this thesis, chapters 13, 14, and 19 are "informal" games.

types are included in Nunn's definition of games, insofar as they are both group play "activities rules by a definite formula or routine".¹ The interest of this thesis is chiefly in the 'formal' unorganized games in which the 'formula or routine' is relatively stereotyped. These are the unorganized games proper; these are the games sometimes known as folk games or traditional games. The main reason for considering any of the less stereotyped 'informal' games is that a knowledge of some of them contributes towards the understanding of the formal games.

The "Primary School" period was chosen as the period for investigation because the preliminary study revealed that it is the period when unorganized formal games are at their peak: that is, between the ages of 7 and 13 years: in particular, between the ages of 8 and 11 years. The earlier period (before 7 years) contains many informal play activities, but does not contain many formal games. Furthermore the play of this earlier period has² been examined in detail by overseas workers. The play of the middle years, defined above, has not been studied so exhaustively. Beyond the primary school, on the otherhand, the stereotyped High School sports cast little light on the nature of unorganized games. It has been noted in this investigation, for example, that by the time children reach the upper classes of the primary school, they manifest already a penchant for organized sports, rather than for the unorganized type of games which are discussed in this thesis.

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1. Nunn Sir P., Education: Its Data and First Principles, p.84 London, 1945, p.84.
 2. In particular, Lowenfield M., Play in Childhood, 1935, and Isaacs S., Social Development in Young Children, London, 1933.

It was felt that the nature of these unorganized formal games could not be fully assessed without a "New Zealand" wide survey. The preliminary study in one school and the investigator's knowledge of other New Zealand schools suggested that the variety of unorganized games in any one school, and the differences which existed between different schools, were sufficiently small to make feasible such a broad study. However, a large scale study of this nature which was carried out by one investigator, would not have been possible in a country in which there was a larger and more heterogeneous population, a less standardized system of school physical education and sports training, and a less impoverished tradition of unorganized games, than was the case in New Zealand.

On the whole, the title "Unorganized Games of New Zealand Primary School Children" is meant to refer only to games of European origin. Those unorganized games which are of distinctively Maori origin, are not dealt with extensively in this thesis as they constitute a special class requiring specialist study.

The Collection of the Material.

From the beginning of the investigation it was clear that games are one of the most evanescent of social forms and hence one of the most difficult of such forms to record with accuracy. Records were at all times liable to considerable error as they had, perforce, ^{to} been taken from the oral and written reminiscences of old and young. There was only one way to resist this 'liability to error', inherent in the nature of the investigation, and that

was to check continually the various sources one against the other. With information about the play of historical times this was all that could be done. With present day material it was possible in many cases to add a further check. The children of today could often be observed while at play.

The various methods which were used in the collection of the information upon which this thesis is based were as follows:¹

Information on the unorganized games of the past was obtained through advertisement and interview.

The project was widely advertised in order to interest persons of all ages in contributing reports of the games they had played as children in New Zealand. Publicity was obtained through:- the Press and through Magazines, both at the beginning of the investigation and at other times when information was being collected in various centres; through radio interview and recorded talks; through correspondence with private persons^{to} whom it was recommended I should write because of the likelihood that they would be good sources of information. As the result of this publicity 94 manuscripts were received. 35 of these were sent by men and 59 by women. The source of these manuscripts shows clearly the most valuable type of appeal. As a result of radio publicity, 41 manuscripts were received; private letter, 29 ms⁵; newspaper, 14 ms⁵; magazines, 10ms⁵.

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1. Details concerning the methods of collection are to be found in Appendix I. This Appendix includes: dates and locations of Newspaper, Magazine and Radio publicity; names of informants; examples of "Reminiscence" sheets; details of Training College interviews; names of schools from which reports were received; names of schools visited; examples of class lists.

Old identities and others were interviewed in the various districts in which research was carried out. This was the most profitable method of obtaining information, but it was also the most time consuming. Information was received orally from 263 people including 176 men and 87 women. In 135 of these cases, information was noted down during lengthy interviews. In the other cases information was noted down as the result of conversation which lasted for short periods of time, generally from ten to twenty minutes. This latter type of casual interview generally occurred during a school lunch hour with a teacher in the playground, or during the morning break in a staff room.

Two Old People's Homes were visited: Eventide Home, Island Bay and The Ross Home, Dunedin. The old and often decrepit folk in these homes were not a good source of information. Further¹ visits of this nature were not, therefore, undertaken.

Lecture-interviews were held with groups of students at Dunedin, Wellington, Ardmore and Auckland Training Colleges. Some Training College groups were also asked to answer questionnaires. (See Appendix I).

During all these types of interviews 'Reminiscence Sheets' were often used. These sheets contained an outline of the nature of the investigation, an appeal for assistance, and lists of a variety of games and play activities such as are recorded throughout this volume. Naturally these sheets could not be compiled until several months after the research had been commenced. They

1. An article in the Auckland Weekly 5/6/50 illustrates this point.

were based on the knowledge of New Zealand games which was built up in these first few months. Individuals interviewed were asked to underline and to comment upon the games on the sheet and upon any other games that these listed games called to mind. During the interview, either the person(s) interviewed or the investigator, made additional notes. In this manner the reminiscences prompted by this 'Reminiscence Sheet' were recorded.

As a result of these various methods, information was received from the various provinces as follows :

Each number refers to an interview or report.

Areas:	Number of informants whose childhood days fell between the years:		
	1860 to 1900	1900 to 1920	1920 to 1935
Otago/Southland	41	25	33
Canterbury	12	20	5
West Coast	6	9	9
Golden Bay	22	7	5
Wellington (including Manawatu and Wairarapa)	14	22	24
Taranaki	5	6	-
Hawkes Bay	2	7	4
Auckland	5	15	11

The number of informants whose childhood days fell between the years 1935-1945 are as follows: The majority of these informants were Training College or University students.

Dunedin Area 15; Canterbury 14; West Coast 4; Wellington Area (including Taranaki, Manawatu, Wairarapa, Hawkes Bay, Golden Bay) 499; Auckland Area (including Taranaki, Hawkes Bay, Bay of Plenty,

East Coast, Rotorua, Waikato, North Auckland) 132.

Information on contemporary unorganized games was obtained through:- recurrent observations which extended over a two year period at a "decapitated school" (Island Bay, Wellington); 25 Wellington and Hutt schools which were contacted recurrently throughout the investigation in an attempt to "plot" the onset of children's play "seasons" in the city area; the toy-buyers of Woolworths, McKenzies, Aitkens and Sargood and Sons, Wellington, who were interviewed as a part of the attempt to discover the effect of commercial supply and demand upon the onset of children's play "seasons"; discussions which were held with teachers and physical education specialists concerning their observations in the playground; reports which were received from schools as the result of the publicity outlined in the preceeding pages (reports were received from 19 schools); visits which were made to 32 primary schools.

At the schools which were visited the children were interviewed, observed in the playground, asked to demonstrate the manner in which they played certain games and requested to make lists of the unorganized games they played. When making the lists the children were requested to write down all their games and ways of playing and things they played with when by themselves or with other children, anywhere, anytime, in the playground, at home, outside in the street, on parks, in the hills etc. They were told not to include games organized by adults, including teachers, at Clubs, in school drill and at organized sports. "They must be the games that you play and run yourselves", the children were told. When the lists were being made the children were not given

the names of any particular games as examples, nor were they allowed to mention the names of any, in case all the children then copied them down and thus gave those particular games an undue influence on the lists of that class. In those cases in which information was taken from infants, each child was asked to give the names of 5 games (or less) which he played at home and at school. The children came up in turns and their answers were noted down. In addition, as time allowed, classes of children were asked certain 'special' questions. For example, classes were asked to add to their lists such items as : their collections, their rhymes, their superstitions, the place where they played the games they had listed, their games at picnics and parties, the games (including sports) which they liked playing the best. However, there was not often time for specific questions. Although permission to enter the schools was given willingly by all Education Boards and by most Headmasters¹, it was always necessary to be as brief as possible. The children's lists were used to question individuals and groups of children on the nature of the games which they had listed. The lists were also used as one of the means by which the chronological progression of unorganized games through the school was established. This usage is discussed in the introduction to Part II, Section II. In most cases lists were taken only from classes S.3/4. It was found early in the investigation that at these ages the unorganized & formal games are at their peak. Information was also received from children about other schools which they had attended. It

1. Only one Headmaster said "Chaps like you are a damn nuisance."

was found advantageous for example, to interview children in the third form at District High Schools, and in this manner, build up a picture of the games in all the surrounding districts from which these children had come. This was done at Collingwood, Takaka, Granity and Hokitika.

Visits to schools outside Wellington were made as follows : 4 weeks were spent in Dunedin, March-April, 1949; 1 week in North Otago, April, 49; 2 weeks in Nelson, Golden Bay, July, 49; 1 week in the West Coast Mining Districts north of Westport, August, 1949; 1 week in the Southern West Coast area, August 49; 1 week Wairarapa, November, 49; 1 week Ardmore/Auckland, November, 50; 1 day Christchurch, November, 50. A total of some ten weeks was spent in visiting and travelling.

In summary, the generalizations which are made throughout this thesis are based on the material collected as above. As far as the data on historical times is concerned the investigation is overweighted with material from the Southern portion of New Zealand, that is, south of and including the Wellington Province. There is sufficient material available from the other areas, however, to make it clear that any lack of representativeness in the sample, is not a serious handicap.

From 1935 onwards the sampling is more widely distributed. Large amounts of material from students in Otago, Wellington and Auckland Training College areas gives a fairly complete picture of the typical conditions in the last twenty years. These students come from every part of New Zealand.

With reference to conditions today, the sample is again especially influenced by those places which have been visited.

However, as visits have been made to schools in the four main provinces the sample is reasonably representative, from this point of view.

With respect to both historical and present day material, however, the ultimate justification for the claim that the sample is a representative one, lies in the fact that the provincial differences revealed are in all cases very slight. In addition, the ethnic, political and educational homogeneity of the New Zealand population together with the large amount of internal migration which has gone on¹ in this country are further grounds for accepting the sample as representative, and for not expecting any major differences in the patterns of games to be found in those areas from which samples have not been taken. There is good reason to believe, therefore, that this thesis includes all the main forms of the unorganized games (although not all their variations) played by New Zealand children of yesterday and today.

The Method of Interpretation.

There are several possible methods of interpreting the collected material.

First, there is the system of interpretation customarily employed by those who study Juvenile Folklore. In this system games are explained chiefly by reference to their historical origins. Games are classified in order to illustrate the

1. Robb, G.H., The Concept of National Character and Some Applications of that Concept to New Zealand, M.A. Thesis, V.U.C., 1946, p.30.

historically primitive rituals which are supposed to be embodied in their contents. This explanatory approach is not adopted here. Apart from the inadequacies inherent in this method of interpretation,¹ it is doubtful if a New Zealand student working at a distance from the main sources of information,² can contribute much ^{to} knowledge of this sort. Consequently, the historical origins of games are not mentioned throughout this thesis unless relevant to the discussion at hand. This thesis does not, for example, investigate the historical origins of the Snake and Mandala symbols in the game of "Tip the Finger" which has been mentioned in the preface. The historical origins of the games that are mentioned or discussed in this thesis can be ascertained by reference to standard source works.³ In order to save space, cross references to these texts are seldom given.

Secondly, there is the type of approach which has been suggested by Findlay. In his "Foundations of Education" published in 1928, he said: "There is no doubt that the surroundings of childhood since the intrusion of active and

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1. For an account of which, see further Section II, Part II, Chapter 15.
 2. Such as the English Folk-Lore Library. There are many standard texts on games which are not available in New Zealand. I mention a few in the hope that some day this position may be remedied. Culin R.S., Ethnology of Games; Culin R.S., Korean Games, Philadelphia; Carrington-Boulton H., Counting-Out Rhymes; Newall W.W., The Games and Songs of American Children, New York, 1884. Complete details of these works were not available.
 3. For example Comme Alice B., Dictionary of British Folklore, Part I, Traditional Games of England, Scotland and Ireland, London, 1844, Vols. 1 and 2, and other volumes in this series.

successful schooling, has tended to crush out these traditional plays. One needs another Cecil Sharp to give his life time to watching unobserved the school activities of urban and rural children and discovering how far tradition still plays a part in their repertoire."¹ At the time Findlay was writing, his wish had been, in part, already fulfilled by the work of Lady A.B. Gomme in the 1890's and by the much slighter contribution² of Norman Douglas, published in 1916. It is a wish, however, that has not as yet been fulfilled in New Zealand.

As applied to the particular circumstances of the unorganized and traditional games of New Zealand children, Findlay's question may be rephrased to read : to what extent and with what changes have the traditional games of England been preserved in New Zealand? This question is in part answered by the material set out in Section I of this thesis. However, the answers to Findlay's question, given there, are incidental rather than fundamental to the main purpose of that section. A study of the nature suggested by Findlay is a study of social change; a study in the changes wrought in games, as social phenomena, by the migration of the players and the reconstruction of their lives in a new environment. It is a study which can be carried out satisfactorily only if the nature of the English Traditional games³ at the time of emigration and at the points of departure are known. It is a study which would be greatly assisted by comparative

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1. Findlay J.J., The Foundations of Education, London, 1928, Vol 1, p.27.
 2. Douglas Norman, London Street-Games, London, 1916.
 3. See further introduction to Section I.

investigations in other parts of the world.¹ Neither of these conditions exists at present.

For these and other reasons Findlay's approach is not employed in this thesis. The main reason for rejecting his type of approach, however, has been the fact that there is, at hand, a method of interpretation which promises to be of greater practical importance to educationists.²

This last method of interpretation has been suggested by the collected material. As the investigation proceeded it was noted that the opportunities for the play of unorganized games had varied in different historical periods. It was decided, therefore, to set aside one section of the thesis to study the nature and reasons for these changes. This is done in Section I, which is termed the Historical Section.

Further, it was noted that these unorganized games appeared to have an important significance for the physical and mental development of the players. In Section II, which is termed the Psychological Section, this significance is considered.

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1. Contact has been made with Folklore Societies all over the world. e.g. The British Folklore Society; The English Folk Dance and Song Society; Irish Folklore Commission; Scottish National Dictionary; Western Folklore; The American Folklore Society; American Square Dance Group; New York Folklore Society; Nordiska Museet Stockholm.
 2. Originally it was intended to provide with this thesis a companion volume which was to contain descriptions of all the games which were collected. This anthology of games would have been available for an interpretation of the type that Findlay suggests. Unfortunately, the time and expenditure involved in the production of this volume made its completion impossible. Throughout this thesis, descriptions of games are provided only where they seem relevant to the main discussion.

Finally, in a third section, the generalities arising from these two other sections are weighed against each other and ¹ conclusions are drawn.

In summary, and by way of example, the game of Tip the Finger, which was originally observed in the school playground, and which gave rise to the spirit of enquiry that has been the mainspring of the present investigation, is treated to an historical and a psychological analysis. An enquiry is made as to what has happened to this game over the past hundred years. Its role in children's growth is sought out. And then, finally, on the basis of these preliminary enquiries, the significance of its historical fate is assessed.

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1. The abbreviations used throughout the rest of this thesis are as follows : Class standards are not written in full but are abbreviated so that standard six becomes S6. and Standards three and four becomes S3/4. Training College becomes T.C. and Wellington Training College, W.T.C. When games are reported, the year in which the game was first known and the place at which it was played are recorded in parenthesis, thus (Hampden 70). Only the year is given in these cases, not the century. Thus numbers from 50 to 00 represent the years 1850 to 1900, and numbers from 1 to 49, represent the years from 1901 to 1949. Any years which fall outside these dates are recorded in full, for example 1844 or 1951.

Illustrative material is of great importance in this thesis. As this material often interrupts the main lines of argument, large sections of the material are headed by the caption Illustrative Material page 6 to page 60.

In the footnotes, the initials S.J.M. stand for School Jubilee Magazine.

S E C T I O N O N E

H I S T O R I C A L

INTRODUCTION

In this historical section the changes which have occurred in children's unorganized games throughout the last hundred years are recorded. These changes are evaluated in a later section.

It must be emphasized from the beginning that this is not a detailed history of children's games or a history of the social background which that history of games would necessarily entail. Instead this history provides little but a comparison of the differences between the games played at different historical periods, (with the exception that the very important transition period between 1900 and the first World War is dealt with in more historical detail). The reason for this economical procedure is simply that there is no alternative. The full history of children's games cannot be written. And this occurs because it is only more recently that these games have been systematically recorded. The mention of children's games in historical material (N.Z.) before the nineteen twenties is highly exceptional.¹ Further, there is as yet no general New Zealand history of sports, no general history of recreation and no comprehensive social history without which the complete history

1. The most important and interesting exception is the Rev. J. Miller Thomson's, The Bush Boy of New Zealand, London, 1905.

of children's games cannot be written.¹ This means, in effect that even ^anarrowly defined history of children's games in New Zealand can be established only by reference to living persons and to written material of more recent years. Both of these sources, however, take the investigator back only to the 1870's. The play of children between 1840-70 must be conjectured from the nature of the picture drawn of the period from 1870 onwards and also from what is known of the general conditions of life and recreation in the earlier period, both in England and New Zealand.

It might be supposed that a knowledge of the games of the English districts, from which the first New Zealand settlers came, would be of some aid. But here again little can be established. English folklorists did not begin recording games extensively till the end of the nineteenth century. Their recording activities were not of the scientific district-survey type, which would be necessary if definite games were to be located in

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1. Even in England and America systematic general historical surveys of sports and games appeared as late as the 1940's, (For example: Hole Christina, English Sports and Pastimes, London, 1949; Wymer N., Sport in England, London, 1949; Dulles, F.R., America Learns to Play, New York, 1940). In these countries, however, the interest in recording adult sports traces back long before that. It began seriously at the end of the eighteenth century and was connected with the burgeoning of distinctly national (as contrasted with local) sporting interests which occurred at that time. (See for example: Nevill Ralph, Old English Sporting Books, London, 1924; Strutt Joseph, The Sports and Pastimes of the English People, London, 1801). It will be noted that a fairly complete insight into the background and atmosphere in which these games were played is also recent (For example, Hole Christina, *ibid*, and Thompson Flora, From Lark Rise to Candleford, London, 1945; and Uttley Alison, Country Things, London, 1946;), although such an insight into the conditions of play often appeared previously incidentally in literature. (For example: Eliot George, Adam Bede, London, 1859; Howitt William, The Rural Life of England, London, 1838).

definite districts, and then connected with the emigrants who came from those districts. Further the New Zealand immigrants were of a mixed nature. As a general rule they did not all come from one district, but ranged over a large area including both country districts and towns. There were settlers from as far apart as Belfast, Cork, Dublin, Glasgow and London.¹ Nevertheless, the general themes of play and recreation in the British Isles between 1840-70 are known. There is no space here to go into detail, but something of these conditions can be indicated. They do help us to understand what happened to recreation in New Zealand during the last century.

The period between 1840-70 was one of transition in popular recreation throughout the British Isles. In this period there were still important remnants of the traditional village types of recreation; there was the upgrowth of the new professional and spectator recreations and, toward the end of the period, the emergence of organized sports as we know them today.

The traditional village pattern of recreation was a pattern of fair and festival breaking periodically with great zest upon the monotony of the labouring year.² These festival occasions were essentially "people's holidays".³ The whole community was present. There were market booths and a variety of sports and games, roundabouts, swings, coconutshies, dancing-on the green, races wrestling, bear-baiting, cock-fighting, feasting and morris dancing.⁴

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1. Sutch W.B., The Quest for Security in N.Z., Middlesex, 1942, p.18.
 2. Findlay J.J., The Children of England, London, 1929, p.68.
 3. Thompson F., op. cit., p.458.
 4. Hole Christina, op. cit., p.110.

At 'Lark Rise' in the eighties, which was in some senses a 'survival' of earlier conditions, there were two major festivals occasions in the year (Feast Day and Harvest festival), and two minor ones (Palm Sunday and Christmas), with a few smaller ventures for children (May Day). Many of the sports and games that the children learned at these festivals they practised in the long summer evenings on the village green. Prior to the nineteenth century many of the children's own particular singing games and country dances which they also played on the village green were played by adolescents and adults alike both at the festivals and on the village 'green'.¹ All games of Fair and Green were played in an informal and unregulated spirit (as compared with today), whether games of a gentle hue (Poor Sally), or games of a rougher texture (Shinty), Thompson lists some seventeen singing games as being known by the girls of Lark Rise and in addition the following local games:² Marbles, Pegtops, Skipping-ropes, 'Tip-it', Hopscotch, 'Dibs', Catchball, Pin-a-sight, Kick an old tin, Catapults, Nesting, Mushrooms, Climbing, Blowing eggs, Spadgering. Otherwise village recreation at Lark Rise appears to have been restricted to sewing parties, casual conversation, the Inn, and, as the century advanced, church socials, concerts, and penny readings.

We can expect that many of the immigrants who arrived in New Zealand between 1840-70 would have a repertoire of traditional lore about as extensive as that outlined above. Most were, as

1. Sharpe C., and Oppe A.P., The Dance, London, 1924, p.31.

2. op. cit., p.126.

Trevellyan say, if not villagers then "only at one remove from the villager"¹. Others, however, must have had their game stock impoverished by the impropitious industrial conditions of the 'Bleak Age'² which preceeded emigration, and by the current³ religious reaction against all forms of entertainment.

In the first half of the nineteenth century these village patterns were interrupted by a tremendous upgrowth in spectator and professional sports : circuses, minstrel shows, amusement parks, dance-halls, concert-saloons, beer gardens and horse racing.⁴ People whose work had become less vigorous and whose opportunities for recreation were extremely limited, developed the habit of watching professional entertainers and professional sportsmen rather than participating themselves.

After the mid-point of the century this interest in passive entertainment was, in its turn, partially succeeded by another phase of recreation. There arose an interest in amateur participation in recreation in contradistinction to professional participation only.⁵ Improved communications, the proliferation of national organizations, the conditions of urban life, and military events contributed to the new turn of events. The "New Era" burst upon England and America in the 'sixties and 'seventies but was not fully noticeable in New Zealand till the 'eighties and 'nineties.

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1. Trevellyan G.M., English Social History, London, 1942, p.475.
 2. Hammond J.L. and Barbara, The Bleak Age, London, 1934, Chapter 6, "The Loss of Play grounds".
 3. Dulles, op. cit., p.85.
 4. Dulles, op. cit., p. 98.
 5. Wymer N., op. cit., Chap. II, "The Dawn of a New Era"; Dulles op. cit., p.183.

The following chapters investigate the manner in which these conditions of play and recreation were reproduced and modified in New Zealand from 1840 onwards.

CHAPTER ONE

PIONEER CHILDREN

There are several important points about the play and games of New Zealand children in the early years.¹

Firstly, in a pioneering settlement children were an economic asset. They were often left with little spare time to play. Secondly, when they did have spare time, they tended to use it (especially the boys) in exploring and experimenting with the wild life and adventures offered by the natural environment, not in playing traditional games. Thirdly, as there was no tradition of play, no established hamlet 'greens' or village sports, children had to learn their play habits as best they could. Older children, who should have been their natural teachers, were largely occupied with work. And, where they were not thus occupied, neither older children nor adults could tell the younger children what tradition said they should and must do. For these younger children were the first white children ever to play in the new land.² In these circumstances

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1. There is record also of their activities on the boat trip to N.Z. These included, climbing the rigging, imitating the sailors, wading in the deck water, snowballing, races, fishing and round games, etc. For details see Soper Eileen L., The Otago of Our Mothers, Dunedin, 1948, p.16; Cowan J., Settlers and Pioneers, Wellington, 1940, p.6,7,9,18; Simpson Helen M., The Women of New Zealand, Wellington, 1940, p.53.
 2. See further Faris R.E.L., Ecological Factors in Human Behaviour, in Hunt M.C.V., Personality and the Behaviour Disorders, New York, 1945, p.754.

these children largely had to make their own approach to play, although there were, of course, many aspects of tradition which they found were relevant to the new environment. In addition, children could imitate some of their play activities from the conditions of adult life going on around them, and as these adult activities were often of a crude nature the children's play activities mirrored that fact. Fourthly, there was the circumstance of the Maori Wars which placed an additional restriction on the freedom of children and their play in the North Island Provinces.

Given these conditions, it cannot be expected that there would be any great opportunity for the development of traditional games in the colony's earliest years. Whether or not the settlers knew many games, they would have little occasion to put their knowledge into practice. In the rest of this chapter the points above are dealt with.

Firstly, the necessity for children to work^{as} not only a well established principle in the religious philosophies of the time; it was also the inevitable and often crushing burden of the

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1. The attitude of many adults of the nineteenth century is well typified by Sean O'Casey in the following exert from his, I Knock at the Door, London, 1939, p.123. : "A little soldier of Christ has to learn many things, beside the way to play marbles; and you are a little soldier of Christ aren't you?" "Yes sir". "Much nicer than just playing marbles, isn't it, John?" "Don't know, Sir, I'd rather be playing marbles". "But marble playing is just idleness, John;" and hardness came to the voice of the Reverend Mr. Hunter. "Don't you remember what the bible says about idleness?"

¹
 pioneer state. In the very earliest days nothing was provided. Everything must be done by the settlers themselves: washing, making bread, making clothes, making soap and making lights. Children could help with these tasks. "The Poneke boys of the very early days (1840-50) had no easy times. Many of them were sent to work at a very tender age; some assisted their parents at house building, and brick making, and shell burning and tree felling; while those not actually set to do a day's work had to help at home to make both ends meet. The younger members of the family had to provide the necessary firewood for the household, and although in the earlier years the fuel was convenient yet the labour of wood chopping was considerable for the hardy youths of eight and nine, upon whom devolved the duty".² It is possible, as Soper mentions, that in some cases children made a game out of these activities, but it is doubtful if any but the very first days were as 'exhilarating'³ as she suggests or "more or less a picnic" for the children.⁴ Further, large numbers of settlers had more than just the natural difficulties of pioneering to deal with. From the very beginning they had as well to contend with an economic arrangement "which bred poverty".⁵ Their natural difficulties were augmented by the insecurity of unemployment.

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1. Findlay J.J., The Children of England, p.44.
 2. Macmorran George, Some Schools and Schoolmasters of Early Wellington, London, 1900, p.1. See also Irvine-Smith F.L., The Streets of My City, Wellington, 1948, p.40.
 3. Soper Eileen L., The Otago of our Mothers, p.49.
 4. Reed, A.H., The Story of Canterbury, Wellington, 1948, p.49.
 5. Sutch, W.B., The Quest for Security in New Zealand, p.27.

It is difficult, however, to deal accurately with generalities of this broad nature. Clearly children's conditions must have differed from home to home. It is perhaps a step nearer the truth to deal with rural and town children separately, always remembering, of course, that in the very earliest years the life of a town child differed very little from the life of his rural counterpart.

Consider first the rural children. The position of some rural children appears to have been similar to that of children who lived in an earlier condition of English village life before the commons were enclosed. In Lark Rise, for example, we get a glimpse of 'Old Sally' who spent her childhood in this condition at the beginning of the nineteenth century. "Everybody worked; the father and mother from daybreak till dark. Sally's job was to mind the cow and drive the geese to the best green patches."¹ Lady Barker's description of the New Zealand "Cockatoo's" children in the early days is very similar. These 'Cockatoos' were labourers who had earned, or brought to New Zealand, sufficient money to buy a little land, generally not very good land, in the back country. "They have an abundance of excellent food. Each cottager has one or two cows, and the little ones take these out to pasture on the hills, so they are in the open air nearly all the day; but their ignorance is appalling! Many of them have never been christened; there was no school or church within thirty miles or more The father and elder sons work hard all day; the mother has to do everything, even to making the candles, for the family; there is not time or possibility of teaching children."²

1. Thompson F., From Lark Rise to Candleford, p.69.

2. Barker Lady, Station Life in New Zealand, London, 1870, p.iii.

However, children's conditions were not everywhere as rigorous as this,¹ although there can be no doubt that work came first, both in principle and practice, in most rural areas until the end of the century. The school holidays, for example, were adapted to the seasonal demands of the farmer's year. The Christmas holidays lasted only ten days. Children went back for a fortnight and then there were the long harvest holidays. This holiday was held at the end of January and continued into February^{which} was, in fact, no holiday for the older children. Even after 1877 when school attendance became compulsory, the recurrent demands for the labour of rural children continued to assert themselves as is well recorded in various country school log-books : "A big falling off in attendance is due to the heavy work at home the children are obliged to do in the morning before coming to school." Horoeke Log Book. Nov. 30th, 1900. "Shearing is now in full swing and the attendance of the boys has fallen in consequence. Murdock Macleod and John Milne will be absent for some time." Ngaturi Log Book Oct. 23rd, 1898. "Two eldest Christiansons away looking after cows." Ngaturi Log Book August 3rd, 1898.²

Even today in rural areas heavy demands are still made upon the time of children. One writer, referring to the twentieth century, says, "On farms where there is milking to be done, both boys and girls, from the age of seven upwards, do their share of the milking, and I have seen small boys wielding an axe

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1. Waite Hon. F., Pioneering in South Otago, Dunedin, 1948, p.48.
 2. These Logbooks are located in the schools mentioned.

nearly as big as themselves and chopping logs for the fire.

They learn to ride as soon as they can walk and bare back they¹
canter over the paddocks and roads to school."

In the towns on the otherhand, once the first few years of pioneering were over, and notwithstanding the notorious 'sweated' child labour of ^{the} eighties,² there appears to have been fewer demands made upon the time of children. Speaking of the late forties in Wellington, an old identity interviewed by the Evening Post in 1912 said "Those were long and happy days for the children. Very few household tasks, and very little³ schooling." Here in the towns there was a variety of interesting and novel occurrences to attract the children free from work or school.

Illustrative material page 28 to page 30.

The arrival of boats was always a time of activity. In Dunedin there were "The chubby faced children romping on the newly landed goods, the robust boys ever doing something - here rowing a boat, there pulling a rope - doing more mischief than good."⁴ In Wellington, "Red letter days in the schoolboy's calendar were those on which a cattle ship arrived from Sydney." Often the cattle overran the town and the ubiquitous schoolboy was there in school hours. For which of course, he received a ~~w~~acking the next day. "Then there were the wild attractive scenes sometimes

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1. Roberts Eileen, New Zealand. Land of My Choice, London, 1935, P.167.
 2. Sutch W.B., op. cit., p.62.
 3. Evening Post, 4th May 1912, in the Scrapbook of Elsdon Best, Book 3, Turnbull Library, Wellington.
 4. Soper op. cit., p.49.

when whalers came ashore after a successful season to knock down their cheque." They had rowing and swimming contests and there would be fights in Upper Sydney Street when "Often, unseen by those below, there crouched among the Ti-tree¹ sundry youths who might have been better employed elsewhere."

There were also a variety of exciting visitors. The Toms, Guards, Worsers, Barretts and Rauparaha." easily imagine the dread fascination the savage chief exercised upon the youth of Petone.¹

"There was life and colour and movement when the redcoats landed. I shall never forget the 14th Regiment - 'the Fighting Fourteenth' - The cry would go down the beach : 'Up with your shutters and put out your light the 14th are coming down.' And all the lights were out in a moment, for come they did, smashing windows and everything else which came in their way. One summer morning, between three and four o'clock we heard the strains of martial music - tramp, tramp, tramp, they went marching by. We jumped out of bed to see them pass. The band struck up, I remember - "Oh, Susannah, don't you cry for me, I'm going to Alabama, my true love for to see." The men took up the chorus and it swelled through the air, something fine to hear. Men of the fighting fourteenth -- they were shot² down like pigeons by Rauparaha and his men."

There were innumerable other items of interest for children to watch, absorb and perhaps even imitate in their play. For example : (a) We had strange pets, too. My father bought a little

1. McMorran op. cit., pp3-4.
2. Evening Post op. cit.

white pig from a Maori woman for sixpence. Adolphus we called him. He was bathed each day, and slept in a little box at the foot of the cubby-house till he grew too big. He followed us everywhere - Adolphus, however, put on weight, and a sad though usual fate befell him."¹ (b) "All the children in Wellington gathered to see the milking of the first cow. To my mind it was a pretty sight, the boys in their nondescript garments, the girls in their prints and sunbonnets."¹ (c) "One of the first warehouses on the Quay was surmounted by a lion, and the children were told that when the lion heard the cannon roar (daily at 12) it would open its mouth. Many a time I've seen them waiting and watching."² (d) "The hill behind Lambton Quay was a favourite haunt of growing lads; there, ensconced amongst the ti-tree, they overlooked the scattered township, speculated on the shipping, on the future as boys understand it."³ (e) After the earthquake of 1848 "When the morning dawned the sea had retreated, leaving behind a harvest of fish and oysters, and all sorts of queer things. We children had a fine time, but the mothers were left lamenting."²

[N.P.
Secondly, once settled, and with little guide from adults, children soon established for themselves a pattern of play

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1. ^{E.P. op. cit.} ~~ibid.~~ The practice of keeping a pig - an old English village custom was tried in most of the early settlements. See also Reed A.H., op. cit. p.160 and Hunter M., The History of Early Lyttleton, M.A. thesis, Christchurch, 1929, p.199.
 2. Macmorran op. cit., p.3,4.
 3. Evening Post op. cit.

appropriate to the environment in which they found themselves. A pattern, moreover, not entirely without precedent as is evidenced by the list of some of the 'Lark Rise' children's activities in the previous chapter. It was a pattern of play chiefly of the kind which is labelled 'hunting' skills. (Chapter 22). Thus in Wellington : "The freedom of the settlement was consoling, the fine white sandy beach, from Pipitea to Oriental Bay, was a precious possession; and as yet there were few bathing restrictions and fewer vigilant policemen bent on curtailing the enjoyment of young Wellington. Then besides sea-fishing there were numerous streams, with the Te Aro Swamp available where inungas and eels could with little skill and very homely fishing outfit, be easily captured. The stem of the toe toe was rod enough, while the flax fibre provided a line sufficiently tough to pull the eel from his slimy haunts. Why, on Te Aro flat boys could get conveniently lost for a day, be unseen and almost undiscoverable, amongst the flax bushes, and yet enjoy themselves to their heart's content. There sometimes a pair of rascals would betake themselves provided, one with tobacco and the other with a pipe and suffer initiation to the fragrant (or nauseous) weed."¹ In Christchurch it can be assumed that Hagley Park "a wilderness of 400 acres of fern, flax, tutu, toetoe and low scrub" provided a similar refuge for boyhood.² In Dunedin also "Pioneering appealed to children. . All reminiscences of childhood in the

1. Macmorran, op. cit., p.2.

2. Reed A.H., op. cit., p.160.

early days breathe that excitement and joy that come from care-free living in the open air. The hills enticed youngsters to scramble and explore and the bush made a natural playground with supplejacks to swing on, and trees to climb and sometimes a valley to call across while the woods on the otherside 'tossed back our voices'¹. Country areas - weren't all areas virtually country areas in those days? - provided still more scope for this type of activity.² Even the children at school had their share. Running past Wellington's first school "was the Kumutoto Stream, long since covered in, running down what is now Woodward Street, where the boys at dinner time caught eels and bullies, while on its banks where now stands the Wellington Club, was the Kumutoto Pa with its dusky inmates peering through the palisades at the strangeness of pakeha ways. Further back was the hilly ground covered with manuka scrub, and in the gullies heavier bush ripe for bird-nesting."³

Thirdly, with respect to the activities the children imitated from adults : as the years passed large numbers of working-class children continued to be effectively banned from school attendance because their parents could not afford the fees. Presumably some of these children in urban areas worked, (practically all would do so in rural areas as we have seen) some are likely to have indulged in hunting pursuits and others in some of the games to be set out in a later chapter. (Chapter 5).

1. Soper Eileen L., op. cit., 49.

2. Miller H., New Zealand, London, 1950, p.94.

3. Irvine-Smith F.L., op. cit., p.39.

However, by the 1860's in the towns at least their numbers were becoming too great to pass unnoticed. Thus in Dunedin there is report of "idle, loitering groups of boys who spent their days in the public streets,"¹ and in 1867 the report of a Commissioner calling attention "to the number of uneducated children in the city and suburbs of Auckland. In the pensioner settlement, and in the more recently established military immigrant settlements their condition is most deplorable."² And at Tua Marina, Marlborough, there is record of a letter written to the Marlborough Express, Dec. 23rd., 1867, protesting along the same lines. "For the past two years we have been promised a school at Tua Marina. It is not commenced yet, and I wonder if it is ever to be. Crime is on the increase." And then the writer adds, "You may even see men, and boys too, breaking the Sabbath like so many pagans."³ but whether this is an illustration of the crime that is going on, or just an additional emphasis, it is hard to say.

What did these "loitering" children do? The chances are that they imitated some of the rougher sides of the life going on about them. Speaking of 1870, Reeves says, "Education was not universal, and the want of recreation and human society was so great as to lead notoriously to drunkenness and coarse debauchery."⁴ Indeed drunkenness and assault were the most frequent offences before the lower courts of the day.⁵

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1. Butchers A.G., Young New Zealand, Dunedin, 1929, p.225.
 2. *ibid* p.228.
 3. Tua Marina Sch. 78th. Ann. S.J.M., p.11.
 4. Reeves William Pember, The Long White Cloud, London, 1934, p.244.
 5. Sutch W.B., *op. cit.*, p.31.

In these circumstances we cannot expect too much from the "loitering" children. Some of them appear to have formed into gangs. In Wellington we read that "The Thorndon and Te Aro ends of the town were declared rivals to each other ... Clay Point the corner of Willis Street and Lambton Quay was the boundary line, and woe-betide any boy caught trespassing out of business hours Occasionally youthful bands of Te Aro "flats" and Thorndon "Sharps" met by arrangement, armed with branches of ti-tree, or other weapon, and for the time being settled the question of superiority. There was very little friendly¹ intercourse between the boys of the two ends of the town." "The boys of Thorndon flat would go out on the warpath, stripped to the waist, dubbed with whale oil (stolen) and red ochre, and armed with sticks. Their great ambition was to catch the Te Aro flat boys unawares which was seldom. A great encounter would take place and there would be a regular fight. This was a favourite game and borrowed from the Maoris. The ring leaders would be threatened parentally with the stocks. Yes, we actually had stocks. They stood on Thorndon Flat, at once a menace to² evil doers and an object of derision. I never saw them used."

Further examples of gang-fighting are given in Chapter 5. These gangs of nineteenth century children were reflecting, among other things, the hostility which existed between neighbouring districts throughout, and for many years after, the Provincial Era. When Rugby football later became the national criterion of

1. Macmorran, op. cit., p.7.

2. Evening Post, op. cit.

"maleness", these same district rivalries usually came to a head on the occasion of the annual football match. Football came to serve the purposes of inter-district hostility in New Zealand just as it had served those purposes in England for ¹ hundred of years. One informant, for example, claims there was seldom a rugby match in the nineties between Waikouaiti and Palmerston South which did not involve fights amongst the players and/or amongst the spectators, and in some cases amongst both together. This is an example which could be multiplied many times. Even today intense and often unpleasant feeling crops up in football matches between rival districts.

But the youth of these early days did not just use their spare time to fight with each other. The following examples give further insight into the way in which these pioneer children, who were relatively untutored in the ways of the past, developed in their own spare time. Campbell quotes an Inspector's report in the 'eighties on the nature of many of the children. The Inspector complains of "the marked want of common politeness ... they are sure to disregard your civil salutation, and probably laugh rudely in your face and stare you out of countenance. There are even villages in which I account it an honour not to have my name called out as I pass along the street." ² And Lady Barker "I cannot say that I think colonial children prepossessing in either manners or appearances in spite of their ruddy cheeks and sturdy limbs. Even quite little things are pert and independent,

1. Wymer N., Sport in England, p.236.

2. Campbell A.E., Educating New Zealand, Wellington, 1941, p.81.

and give me the idea of being very much spoiled. When you reflect on the utter absence of anyone who can really be called a nurse, this is not to be wondered at. The mothers are thoroughly domestic and devoted to their homeduties, far more so than the generality of the same class at home ... (the) colonial sister is very hard worked ... the poor mother has them (children) with her all day long; if she goes out to pay visits (the only recognized social duty here) she has to take the elder children with her, but this early introduction into society does not appear to polish the young visitors manners in the least."¹

One of the "young visitors" recollects their manner this way. "We were carefree children run rather wild, with little clothes and no boots except on Sunday and inclined to laugh at anything and everyone. While very young we went shooting, rode horses and were pitched off on our heads, and played in small canoes. Good taste was not studied in our ideas of humour. When we were kindly entertained we sometimes returned home pretending the food had disagreed with us. On one occasion the sickness² was so well acted that one of the family lost his tea." Two informants recollected their attitudes thus : "We never played formal games much. We were forced to play them at an occasional tea-party but we were surly and antagonistic to that sort of thing. We preferred to be where we were most of the time -- in the bush with shanghais or chasing." (Takaka 90) "We were at the best gauche in the company of adults or the opposite sex." (Gisborne 95).

1. op. cit., p.58.

2. Brereton C.B., No Roll of Drums, Wellington, 1947, p.66.

All things being considered, there is little wonder that there was some concern about these children loitering in the streets before the advent of universal education. It might well be asked why the children were so assertively independent. While the full answer cannot be given, their excessive independence must have been due in part to the fact that they were untutored in the ways of the past and had no traditional avenues through which to direct their energies.¹ In turn this condition must have depended to a great extent upon the fact -- implicit in Lady Barker's statement -- that neither their mothers nor other adults had the time to inculcate in them the traditional customs and manners of English society. Indeed preoccupied with an immensity of household tasks, the mothers must have encouraged independence in their infants from the earliest years. An independence which was quite unmodified by any training in the social graces.²

Fourthly, with respect to the Maori Wars: New Zealand children had known the excitement and dangers of Maoris threatening in the vicinity from the early missionary days.³ The restricting effect of this 'threat' upon their play is seen

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1. There is something to be said for the view that a great deal of this forceful independence later received its most typical expression in terms of Rugby Football.
 2. It will be clear that although these remarks may apply to the general run of working class pioneer children, they need not apply to children reared in homes of a more elevated class status, in which servants were employed.
 3. Harcourt Melville, The Day Before Yesterday, Dunedin, 1940, p.59.

in the following quotation which concerns Wellington in 1843, just after the Wairau massacre. These were days of great peril, days when mothers charged their children not to stray into the scrub or bush, when boys in the twilight scarcely dared to run out for the necessary firewood lest the dusky foe should dart out, when the report of a gun, used in pigeon shooting, was construed into the threatened attack of the Maori.¹ "The point for us is that for nearly thirty years the wonderful Maori warriors kept the North Island colonists in a perpetual state of anxiety."²

Further evidence to this effect is provided in the following account which I took down orally from a woman of 86 years who spent her childhood at Tuakau in the Waikato during the late 'sixties and early 'seventies.

Illustrative Material page 38 to page 42.

"I was born in Birmingham in 1864 and came out to New Zealand with my parents in 1865. On the voyage out thirty of some hundred children died of whooping cough. Three days before we arrived in Auckland a young brother was born. From Auckland we went to Tuakau where my grandfather had set up a bakery business. He sold most of his bread up the Waikato river at Mercer. And it was not a long step from here to Rangariri where one of the most important battles with the Maoris had been fought by General Cameron in 1864.³ Tuakau was a small settlement with only a

1. Macmorran op. cit., p.6.

2. Butchers op. cit., p.93.

3. For an account of this battle, see Reeves W. Pember, p.208.

scattering of families most of whom were Roman Catholics. In 1868 the birth of another brother made my mother seriously ill. I remember them shifting her away from the district because they feared attacks from the Maoris. (pronounced as "Moorees" by this old lady) But she received little attention and died shortly afterwards. As there was no cow in the district at that time, the baby boy was brought up by my grandmother on the suck of a muslin bag containing bread and sugar. He lived to 80 years.

At Tuakau in the danger periods of the early seventies it was our job as children to go up on an Island in the middle of the Waikato River and watch for Maoris coming down the stream. While we were there we spent most of our time talking or chopping down cabbage trees. That was our favourite occupation; to see how many cabbage trees we could chop down. We ate some red berries too. We called them 'cat's tails' and fetched them down with a forked manuka stick. These berries were bead shaped and when the corner was stripped off, tasted like jelly. At home we stole cream to have with them. The pheasants were very fond of these berries.

At other times we were expected to watch for the Maoris all day from the top of a hill down by the beach, because my grandfather had his bakehouse down by the landing. If we saw a lot of Maoris coming down the river we would run and give the warning, and everybody would fly off to the blockhouse. At one stage my father was called with the militia to Mercer, and in an engagement there, had the top of one of his fingers bitten off in a fight with a Maori. We washed his finger with bluestone as it went sceptic. Most of the 'Moorees' who accumulated by the landing were 'tame Moorees' not

'savage Moorees'. They would cook 'punga' there in a stone oven in a hollow by the landing place. Sometimes too the tribes would meet there and do war dances until the earth trembled. We were so frightened we would run off and hide under our beds.

When I was 8 years old I went to the first school. It was just a shed with beams across the top. I remember one Maori boy coming dressed only in a shirt which hung down to his ankles. There was another boy, an Irish boy, who always wore his father's red uniform. The master beat him so frequently that the boy finally "took to" the master, jumped out of the window and never came back. At that school we only had one song. It was called "Ring the Bell Watchman". Most of our lunch hour we spent in the bush round about the school. But we did have one game. It was called 'Sides'. There were two sides and they had turns at rushing across the space by the school. The side that got the most over without being stopped by the other side would win the game.¹ In the bush there were peach and cherry² trees and we hunted for the fruit when it was in season.

Out of school we also spent most of our time in the bush. Some of the children stole corn from a Maori's plantation and the owner came to school and demanded retribution. When in season we would fish for whitebait at the beach. Usually we would take my grandfather's fishing net instead of using our own scrim. We

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1. This looks like one of the original forms of 'Bar the Door'. See further Section II, Chapter 16.
 2. According to Cowan, these were planted by the Maoris. Settlers and Pioneers, p.44.

would get a hiding for doing this. If possible we would get it dry again afterwards so that he wouldn't know we'd had it. We also fished for mullet and kawai and of course swam in the river in the summer. Some of the older boys shot pheasants. In summer too we sledged down the grassy slopes on sacks, pulling each other in turns. At home, we had no toys. I never saw marbles, tops or dolls, and regarded it as a special treat to be allowed to look into my grandmother's boxes of clothes and to play with my mother's crinoline.

Then there was always work to do. When my father took the bread to Mercer in the canoe, it was my job to go with him in the boat and bail the water out. The river was our best means of transport. In winter the roads were up to the horses knees in mud. Cattle and stores had to be swum across the river at times. Another job we sometimes got was to fetch a woman's cows for her. She would give us a penny for doing this. The cows had bells round their necks and would wander off for miles in the bush. When they were brought back, they were milked into a round tin. Another job was to fetch water from the river for an old lady. The children next door made a harness and cart and put their dog into it. They used the cart to bring tins of water up from the river and to have rides in. For awhile also there was money to be made from a Scotsman who made flax into rope. He gave us sixpence an afternoon for turning the rope wheel while he walked backwards with the tow round his middle. When one strand was done, another would be done the same way; us turning the wheel and him walking backwards. At this time

the rope-maker worked on the beach and he would pay anybody, man, woman or child, to turn his wheel. Later he built a water mill to do the job.

At twelve I went to Newmarket, Auckland and saw my first train and my first banana! Our only recreation there was at the Sunday School where we had sing-songs, and at Sunday School picnics. There was nothing else. It was too young to go¹ to the 'Plays' although I did once see a circus."

The above account has the value that it shows very clearly the way in which the circumstances of the Maori Wars affected the play of children. It shows also the way in which their play was impoverished by the fact that it took place in a relatively unpeopled environment; an environment without tradition and an environment in which the adults were too hard at work to spend time on the culture of their children's recreation. Further it was an environment in which the children themselves were often too hard at work to have time to play. In this account there is mention of only one traditional game.

1. Reported to me by Mrs. Hall of Wellington. Born 1864, died 1950, a month after this interview took place.

CHAPTER TWO

ADULT RECREATION

In the last chapter the plight of children was figured in circumstances in which the oral play-tradition of centuries had been broken. The break in this tradition, however, was never complete. The colonists harked back to their memories of the homeland for a lead with their recreations and entertainments, just as they harked back to the homeland for a lead with so many of their other social institutions. In recreation as well as, say, education, they attempted nostalgically to carry on in the new environment something of the traditions of the land that they had left behind them. But whereas education was not immediately very much affected by the day to day struggle for survival, recreation was. Where education could follow for many decades the somewhat outmoded patterns of a no longer existent English society, recreation could not. Recreation was affected more directly than education by the novel conditions of the new environment and the stringent necessities of the struggle to keep alive. In recreation, what Campbell has termed the 'Geographical Principle' of adaption to the environment, largely triumphed over the 'Traditional Principle' of historical

continuity.¹ For that reason the previous chapter preceeds this one.

In this chapter and the next, the influence of the Traditional Principle is studied; the extent to which the early settlers compromised in their recreation between the demands of the environment and the traditions of England. In this chapter alone the indirect recreative example which adults (and adolescents) provided for children is considered. The treatment of this general pattern of nineteenth century adult recreation is as follows : fairs and sports meetings, informal sports, organized sports, and social recreation, are dealt with in turn. However, there is space here to mention only those aspects of this historical process of changing recreation which impinged upon the lives of children.

In the very first years of the colony's life we catch a glimpse of Fair and Sports Meetings which were akin in many ways to their English counterparts of the same period. Both shared the characteristic generality and informality of their English prototypes. The New Zealand Fairs, like the traditional English Fairs were general peoples' festivals. But they were unlike the English Fairs because they did not contain all their elements; they carried on their festive and sporting sides rather than their commercial functions. In doing so the New Zealand 'Fairs' transformed the nature of the traditional Fair and assumed the name of "Annual Sports Gatherings". In New Zealand, the "social

1. Campbell A.E., Educating New Zealand, Chapter 1.

legatee" of the English Fair was not a Fair, it was the Annual Sports gathering.

Consider, the nature of this Sports Festival : in most of the early settlements Anniversary Day became the day for the annual festival. In the South, however, New Year's Day, the traditional Festival day of the Scots retained the honour. The first Anniversary Day in Wellington appears to have contained a goodly mixture of traditional entertainments, but no country dances. The Scots in the South were the only ones who retained¹ their traditional dancing in the pioneering era. There was dancing to Bagpipes at the first Caledonian Festival in 1863,² Dunedin. Elsewhere ballroom dancing in the evening was the general rule. Here is a description of A Wellington Anniversary Day in the early forties "as Anniversary Day drew near, we held a two day's fair and races on Te Aro Flat. All the settlement turned out in its best, man, woman and child. It was quite a family affair. Such fun we had. There were funny calico-coloured booths, and a Punch and Judy Show, and a queer little grandstand from which we watched the races. Then there was a clown, a Grimaldi we called him. He used to rush about and pretend to kiss the women. Fancy a Grimaldi at Trentham! You might well laugh. Then there was the greasy pig to chase -- and what shouts of laughter there were, and wheelbarrow races, and a greasy pole, and sack races in which everybody joined. It was

1. Albany Street, Dunedin, S.J.M., p.24.

2. Otago Jubilee Celebrations, Evening Star Dunedin, Feb. 24th, 1948, p.19.

also a part of the days sport for all the young bucks to try and mount a white Spanish donkey, which belonged to my father. But no-one ever did and he appeared to thoroughly enjoy the fun. Afterwards the races were held at Beramphore, and we used to drive out to them in bullock drays. Dear me, how we used to bump over the dreadful road, and rattle over the stones and roots of trees.¹

The Caledonian and other Anniversary Sports' Meetings of a later period contained many of the same elements as the above fair. Some typical events which are recorded as having occurred at different Sports Meetings are : the highland fling, hammer throwing, wrestling, footraces, sack races, quoiting, pole-vaulting, caber tossing, bagpipe music, small sword exercises, walking, acrobats, professional sportsmen, merry go rounds, Aunt Sally, horse-racing, catching the pig, jumping, wood-chopping, sawing, blind-wheelbarrow, punches and poney.² Children were present at these meetings : racing, eating, dancing and generally interesting themselves in the variegated and novel sights and sounds. At the Caledonian Sports, Dunedin, 1871..."With as one cynic said --- a zeal worthy of a better cause, a number of lads and lassies took part in an unofficial game of Kiss in the Ring".³

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1. Evening Post 4/5/12, Scrapbook of Elsdon Best, Bk.3.
 2. For details see: N.Z. Centennial, Supplement to The Press, 19/3/40; Mayhew W.R., Tuapeka: The Land and Its People, Dunedin, 1949, p.216; Soper E.L., The Otago of our Mothers, p.73; Shaw M.G. and Farrant E.D., The Taieri Plain, Dunedin, 1949, p.195; Story Edith Mary, Our Fathers Have Told Us, Dunedin, 1926, p.391.
 3. Otago Jubilee Celebrations, Evening Star, op. cit.

Later, when sports developed along more specialized lines, these sports gatherings lost their communal significance. Something of their general and festive nature, however, was continued in the Agricultural and Pastoral Shows. These Shows developed as soon as the economic nature of the country's life became manifest. In the last thirty years of the century they appropriated to themselves the festive and general characteristics of the traditional Fair, and at the same time gave birth once more the Fair's commercial characteristics. There were Agricultural Shows, Pastoral Shows, Poultry and Horticultural Shows, Ploughing Matches and Dog Trials, nearly all of which ended with a banquet in the evening. Children were usually present, either with or without permission. As one erstwhile child says "What makes me remember that Show? (The first Masterton Show 1871) I played the wag from school and when I went back after the Show I got a good dose of supplejack."¹ The children also played on the Show grounds after the Show day. With machinery left on the Showground "We schoolboys used to grind dried cow dung in a corn crusher. I can recall two boys who had a finger crushed."¹

In smaller areas the 'general community festival' was, in the first place, a school or Sunday school picnic. These particular festive events are dealt with in the next chapter.

Next, with respect to particular sports, in contradistinction to 'general' sports gatherings. There were informal games of adults ^{which} children could imitate. In Wellington in the forties for example,

1. Bannister C., Early History of the Wairarapa, Masterton, 1940, p.86.

"The Scotch boys introduced a game of Shinty, which for a long time remained a favourite. On Anniversary Days for several years, besides the now abandoned sports of greasy pole climbing, greased pig chasing there was a royal game of Shinty on Te Aro Flat."¹ Most of the Sports of the forties, fifties and sixties were of an "all-in" and sporadic nature, like this game of Shinty, or like the traditional games of Village Green.^{the} In Wellington "Football was indulged in the streets (most of them yet unformed), but there were few rules and no umpires." In the same unorganized form, football was played sporadically in several places throughout New Zealand before the onset of Rugby Union in the early 'seventies. Several areas had the experience of some form or other of football (and sometimes of several forms in different halves).² Cricket, likewise, was played in an informal spirit, with this difference, that it was much more widespread and came within the experience of many boys within the first thirty years³ whereas football did not.

In addition most areas had their own special forms of recreation which were sampled by the children in these years. In the mining districts there was wrestling and most of the 'styles' of the time were reproduced in the school playgrounds.^a In the South there were the activities that go with ice and snow

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1. Macmorran, Some Schools and Schoolmasters of Early Wellington, p.4.
 2. Stallworth John, Early Northern Wairoa, Dargaville, 1916, p.69, Shaw and Farrant op. cit., p.195; The Press op. cit.
 3. Reece T.W., New Zealand Cricket, 1841-1914, Christchurch, 1927, p.21; Reed A.H., The Story of Canterbury, p.158; Waite Hon. F., Pioneering in South Otago, p.150; Irvine Smith, The Streets of My City, p.36; Mayhew, op. cit., p.221.

curling, skating and sledging. Elsewhere there was boat races and children sailed their toy boats in imitation. There were steeplechases and a little later, in the well-to-do homes, croquet. Lawn Tennis arrived in the last twenty years of the century but, again, this was mainly for those who could afford the expense of a 'green'.¹

It must have been of some satisfaction to the early settlers in New Zealand that the time honoured poaching war between landowners and peasantry was in this country transformed into sport in which all classes, and not just the privileged could share.² In England poaching, as Trevellyan says, had been "not only the livelihood of outlaws, but the passion of men of all classes."³ In New Zealand hunting became one of the earliest forms of recreation, a means of providing food, and in some cases a necessity for self-protection.⁴ There were pig-stalking, eeling, pigeon-shooting, duck and pheasant shooting and trout fishing.⁵ One informant speaks of his job as a boy in the Taranaki (80's) when he was given a rifle with which to shoot any animals (pigs or wild horses) which he saw while the men were clearing off the scrub.

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1. For details of these activities in the above order see, Mayhew W.R., op. cit., p.215; Cowan Janet C., Down the Years in the Maniototo, Dunedin, 1948, p.154; Barker Lady, Station Amusements in New Zealand, London, 1875, p.79; McKenzie Norman, The Gael Fares Forth, Wellington, 1935, p.215; Simpson Helen M., The Women of New Zealand, p.130; Lancelot Watson, The Story of Oxford, Christchurch, 1932, p.73; Seffern William H.J., Chronicles of the Garden of New Zealand, Known as Taranaki, New Plymouth, 1896, p.156.
 2. Simpson H.M. op. cit., p.75.
 3. Trevellyan G.M., English Social History, p.22.
 4. Miller H., New Zealand, p.89
 5. Sumpter D.J. and Lewis J.J., The Story of Tokomairiro, Dunedin, 1949, p.181.

The competitive spirit, in the organized form that we know it today, was apparently often lacking in these early sports, as is evidenced from the comments of writer in the Christchurch Press in 1863. He points out that "it is a common source of complaint that Christchurch is singularly destitute of healthy and invigorating amusement ... The Football Club has languished. We have always held the game to be a very hateful one under any circumstances, and it is only among boys that it can be played without fear of serious consequences .." Cricket takes too long, Christy's Minstrels are entertaining but not exercising, a constitutional is unthinkable and the boat club is more given to beer and tobacco than rowing. In all, it was a condition of affairs which seems to have been fairly general before the colony began to take its sports with a stern seriousness from the eighties onwards.¹

Here, then, is a pattern of sport which has many of the features we associate with English Village life. It would hardly be wise to expect sporting recreation of another order from children.

Next, with reference to organized sports : the period between 1870 and 1900 was one of increasing activity of this nature. By the 'seventies and 'eighties practically every sport of any moment in England was organized into large scale associations.² The effects of this organization were felt in

1. The Press op. cit.

2. Wymer Norman, Sport in England, p.209

New Zealand but not fully acted upon until well into the twentieth century. Although cricket had been known from the earliest days it was not till this later period that, along with football, it gained a firm footing and play was well organized.

Finally, with reference to social recreation : The pattern of social recreation in the very early years was much like the pattern of the early sports insofar as it was sporadic, vigorous, and, on the whole, informal.¹ English social functions which survived in the new country were the 'frolics', 'feasts', 'weddings', 'Harvest Homes' and 'Christmas Festivals'. The nature of much of the settlers' regular social life, however, was dictated by the geography of pioneering. The roughness of the terrain and sparseness of settlement, for example, made social intercourse difficult at first.² Again when and where visits were possible, new social media sprang up. People who had lived, and whose forbears had lived, in the same village with the same group for centuries did not need to be eternally visiting each other. But pioneers scattered in a new country, with no great common background needed all the contact they could get as the reassurance of their social bond. This need and lack of other alternatives dictated many of the peculiarly colonial recreations. In particular, letter reading, tea-cupping and that most universal social affair the "Soiree".³ The latter was held

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1. The best survey of early 'social recreation is to be found in Helen M. Simpson's, The Women of New Zealand, Chapter 4, "Social Pleasures".
 2. Miller, op. cit., p.90; Soper, op. cit., p.74; McKenzie, op. cit., p.107.
 3. Thompson A.B., Adult Education in New Zealand, Wellington, 1945, p.25. Seffern op. cit., p.200.

on every available occasion. Often at school openings or anniversaries children participated by eating and occasionally by playing games. Children occasionally participated also in the frequent musical and part-singing evenings, visiting the ships, sewing frolics, working bees, making things for bazaars, afternoon teas; at the Blacksmiths, at the Local Store, weddings, harvest homes, and Christmas parties.¹ There is record of special harvest home picnics for children and Christmas parties.² Dancing which, alongside feasting, was the most important and vigorous of pioneer recreations also made its demands on children.³ Many old identities especially those who parents were 'well-off' report of much time spent in their early teens learning the formal steps from the local dancing master.⁴ Sometimes these rituals were something of a penance! In a few cases dances were for all ages, 7 to 70, and children directly participated.⁵ There was occasionally, but not often, a place for children at the improvised (and later professional) spectator amusements which sprang up as soon as organized life of any kind was established. That is, at theatres, institutes,

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1. Kempthorne W. Oke., Kempthorne Family History, typescript in library of Early Settlers' Association, Dunedin, p.98; Fraser Ann Black, I Remember 1848-1866, Pamphlet, c/o Early Settlers' Association, Dunedin, p.6; Stewart William Downie, The Journal of George Hepburn, 1934, p.157; Barker Lady, Station Life in New Zealand, p.101; Jubilee Number of the Canterbury Times, Dec., 16th, 1900; McKenzie N., op. cit., p.107; Soper E.L., op. cit., p.73; Irvine-Smith, op. cit., p.42.
 2. Fulton R., Medical Practice in the Early Days, Dunedin, 1922, p.12.
 3. Links With the Past, Pamphlet 1933, Alexander Turnbull Library.
 4. Gray Arthur J., An Ulster Plantation, Wellington, 1950, p.104.
 5. Silk D.V., History of Puhoi, Dunedin, 1923, p.103.

concerts, glee-clubs, minstrels, readings, drama clubs, bands,
and musicians.¹ Some circuses even provided contests for
children as a part of their program.²

In summary, it will be seen from this account of the sporting and social recreations of early New Zealand that the adults of the day did not provide, from their own example, any great abundance of game lore which children could imitate. Their recreation was improvised, informal and sporadic rather than a regular round of traditional procedures. In these first thirty years of recreation the whole community followed, more or less, the ebb and flow of fad, fancy and season, in the same manner as the lower and unorganized levels of the school
playground do today.³

1. Hunter M., op. cit., p.194.

2. Bannister C., op. cit., p.69.

3. Which is described in Chapter 13, The Play Season.

CHAPTER THREE

PICNIC AND PARLOUR

In the previous chapter the concern was, in the main, with the recreation of adults. Here and there, children were glimpsed on the fringe of Fair, Show and Harvest Home. In this chapter the concern is with the way in which adults directly (not indirectly) handed on to children their methods of play. Picnics for adults and for children, parlour games and party games are the subjects dealt with.

Firstly, with reference to the picnics of adults. It is only in the later stages of the century that distinctly children's picnics became an important feature in community recreation. In the earliest days picnics were either small scale excursions engaged upon by only a small group of friends (the form of the traditional English picnic),¹ general community festival-picnics, or a combination of both these forms. The combination type was the more usual, and the picnic was generally held on one, several, or all of the following occasions : New Year, Christmas, Boxing Day, Anniversary Day or the Queen's Birthday. These combination picnics were both an expedition to some spot

1. Hole Christina, English Sports and Pastimes, p.94.

of beauty and a general community occasion for games. As such they contained a mixture of the elements to be found in the 'traditional' picnic and the traditional Fair. It might even be said of these excursion cum game cum festive cum 'people's picnics', that, as a resort to some remote spot of beauty, they were in effect an annual and perhaps nostalgic, pilgrimage to the spirit of the Village Green.

The expedition type of picnic, involved simply a long walk or ride, scenery, food, campfire (kettle and roast potatoes) and a rest. It might be to bush, to beach, be by daylight or moonlight, and if on a large scale, might well end in the evening with a dance which, as likely as not, would go on till the dawn of the new day.¹ It appears likely that the annual sports which have been spoken of, began in some places on these general community picnic occasions. This was definitely the pattern in some districts.² It was also the pattern in some American States in this period. These picnics, with their sports in the afternoon, were as Dulles says "the nearest approach to the old rural pastimes."³

In order to give an idea of the manner in which the general community picnics grew, ultimately catered for children and then split up into separate picnics, some for adults and some for children, I include the following account of the growth of the

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1. Seffern W.H.J., op. cit., p.200; Soper, op. cit., p.74; Barker Lady, Station Amusements in New Zealand, p.29; Miller H., op. cit., p.90.
 2. Waite, Hon. F., op. cit., p.55 and p.150.
 3. Dulles F.R., America Learns to Play, p.163.

Annual picnic at Taieri, Otago.¹ Of the Taieri estate, Shaw and Farrant say "Donald Reid's estate at Salisbury was typical of the larger holding when life centred round the economy of the farm. Crops were hand sown and harvested, and the wool and grain were processed in the home, while a steady trade in farm products was developing with the town."²

"In 1859 Reid, realizing that the single labourers were homesick and lonely began taking the men annually for a (excursion) picnic amongst the native bush. Later, trees were planted on the hillside and grew up to provide a sheltered place for the annual picnic. At this site, on a long form, Mr. Reid provided bread, rounds of corned beef carved by himself, milk and a small keg of beer. The latter was an important amenity to homesick people. This picnic was the event of the year, the Christmas festivity. There were no other holidays and nothing to do even if you had them. There were no conveyances. Gradually this picnic grew very large until it embraced the whole population at that end of the Taieri plain. By 1873 there were some 200 people at every picnic. As the families increased it was called the 'School Picnic' simply because there were more children and because they made provision for them. The day generally began with a lolly scramble. It was a joke to start things off. The lollies were thrown out of an enormous cannister containing

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1. The account is taken verbatim from Miss Reid, daughter of D. Reid.
 2. Shaw M.G., and Farrant E.D., The Taieri Plain, p.21.

boiled lollies and conversations, mixed with half a bag of hazel nuts. Up would go the lollies and the gathered folks roared with laughter as the lads and lasses scrambled and dived, the more timid ones skirmishing on the outskirts with little success. The next day some of the boys would comb the grass for residues. They might find a trinket or two, but there was little money about in those days. A man with a big tin which he beat with a stick yelled out each event: "Roll up for the married ladies race!" or "Roll up for the Tug-o-War." For the men there was the Tug-o-War, tossing the caber, pole-vaulting (without a bar), wrestling, (which was a struggle to put the other man off his feet) throwing quoits or horseshoes, obstacle races through horsecollars, hop-step and jump and long jump, sack-race. The sackrace was one of the most important at Christmas. The men would cheat, put a hole in their sack and generally fool and tumble in order to make the children laugh. The great event of the day was the 'Married Ladies Race'. For years either Mrs. --- or Mrs. ---, the female racehorses of the district won the earthenware teapot. There were few other prizes.

The young people played ring games - Rounders and French Tig. The slightly older couples spent a lot of time on the fringe of the picnic flirting and 'whatnotting'. For the school age children there were races and hop step and jump, with little prizes. Boys and girls races were separate.

As the years passed the size of the keg increased. Not that there was ever enough in the early days for more than mild satisfaction. By the 'eighties, however, the keg had a much

more central place in the proceedings although still well camouflaged. The local Minister, moved by current prohibition agitation, decided to remove the Sunday School children from the picnic. They were afterwards catered for separately. As the school children and the Sunday school children were the same there was only the one picnic. In the late 'eighties the adult picnic faded out of existence although the Sunday School one continued. When the picnic was lost to the children in this way some of the older people carried on meeting each other in the 'eighties and 'nineties at clan gatherings where they played such things as Thread the needle, Egg and spoon, Trim the hat, Whistle while your tie is done up, etc."

According to Kempthorne the women (not the local landowner) were often the first to get these picnics together, for whereas the men could meet at the store, Pub. or Blacksmiths, (just as they did at 'Lark Rise') there was no equivalent meeting place for women. "Picnics were one of the pleasures of the time. There was one given by Mrs. McKellar of Brooksdale and she invited anyone who could bring some children. Father took the waggon.¹ In very isolated districts these were often the only social occasions of the year. (as at Taieri above). Consequently, they tended to be numerous. One informant reported that at Takataki in South Otago between 1875/80, every year there would be the School picnic, the Church picnic, the Early Settler's picnic, and a picnic put on by the local landowner for his

1. Kempthorne W.D., Kempthorne Family History, p.100.

daughter's birthday. In addition, the children of Tahataki would go off to the picnic of the adjacent school at Purekerekereki. Attending the picnics at an adjacent school seems to have been a widespread practice. Thus the Horoeke Log-Book for Feb. 10th, 1905, records "Only fourteen children present today owing to a large number of them going to the Pukehinau School picnic." A later and wiser(?) teacher at the same school cut his cloth accordingly. On March 11th, 1910, the same Log-Book reads: "School closed on account of Pukehinau picnic as there would be no attendance."

Clearly, any occasion might be an excuse for a picnic. It was largely a case of no picnic, no society. And this continued to be so in isolated districts well into the new century. For example : "The school was closed to allow the children to attend a picnic to celebrate the opening of the local creamery" (Log Book: Horoeke, Wairarapa, Dec. 4th, 1903).

The games at these general community picnics seem to have been played mainly by adolescents and to have been ring couple games with a slightly 'erotic' flavour about them. In some cases adults and children were full participants. In others, they participated only sporadically, but conditions differed from place to place, and it ^{is} was difficult to generalize freely. I include, therefore, some examples of details of the variant practices in various districts.

Illustrative Material page 59 to page 61.

"The grown-ups, mainly adolescents, played Rounders, Kiss in the Ring, and the Jolly Miller. The children joined in a little but mainly imitated afterwards in the school grounds." (Sth. Clutha 75).

"Oranges and Lemons, Rounders, Nuts and May, Tug-o-War, Jolly Miller, Green Gravels, and Kiss in the Ring were all played especially by those who had just left school, and the last was the most popular." (Waikouaiti 95).

"Nuts and May, 2's and 3's, Kiss in the Ring, and Bull in the Ring with children and adults playing. The young adults would all be in for Kiss in the Ring." (Naseby 00).

"Kiss in the Ring, Drop the Handkerchief, 2's and 3's, were played by all present." (Bay of Plenty 85).

"The teens would play Nuts and May and the adults would join in for Jolly Miller. But children alone played Oranges and Lemons, Green Gravels, Pretty Little Girl of Mine, Ring a Ring a Roses and Pop Goes the Weasel." (Dunedin 90).

The O'Briens "Often gave an afternoon party in their paddock where a crowd gathered on horse back and in traps. Then there were games of cricket, Rounders, Prisoner's base, Teazel, Drop the handkerchief, and races for sweets until we all sat down to cakes and other luxuries on the grass before retiring home to our evening duties. Some of the boys who attended these feasts can remember their feeling of sadness when the wish to eat more remained but the feeling of fullness prevented their gratifying it." (Motueka 80's).

"A Potato race and others for all." (Rockville 95).

"Sack-races, Potato races, Mulberry Bush, Jolly Miller, Oranges and Lemons, Nuts and May, Green Gravels. A case of all in." (Wakefield 75).

"The township school picnic day was an outing long looked for and enjoyed with zest. Plump and busted beauty played 'Jolly Miller' with whiskered manhood under the peach trees, and the dames picked up their skirts for the foot races and ran like wekas .." (Waikato 80's).

"Stock games were 'rounders' and 'twos and threes ... In spite of the cramping dresses, the ladies were able to put much energy into their games, quite comparable to that which the present generation can do in much more suitable attire. 'Kiss in the Ring', as I remember, was not often played by the proper young ladies of the time, although I have seen it engaged in.

Dancing on the green did not get much vogue on account of the miserable roughness of the green and the type of dancing at that time being too decorous for such activities." (Heriot 1881).

"Quoits, Cricket, Skittles. No singing games." (Takaka 70).

"Games were played in which everybody joined." (Port Chalmers 60).

"In the first decades of this century when I was a boy in the Waimea not a school tea-party (an all-district event) went by without playing "Bingo" and/or "Drop the Handkerchief". These were also the usual games at "hop-sprees", end-of-picking payouts and gingerpop, or better.. The nucleus of the same company was present at both. They were also seasonal games amongst children, or at least, a pre-tea-party craze used to set in beforehand and

taper off again soon afterwards, perhaps to break out in a fresh place unexpectedly. November was tea-party time and March and April were the hop-picking months and at these times there seemed to be an almost intuitive urge towards the games, as if the urge were in the air." (Waimea West 10).

Secondly, with respect to children's picnics: one way in which the children's picnics grew out of these general community picnics, has already been suggested. The prohibition movement which grew in force during the eighties and came to a head in 1893¹ acted, as it were, "catalytically" on the adult community picnic. As one informant says "In the nineties the publican's booth disappeared from the picnic." (Lawrence) In part, however, the separation of the children from the adult or general picnic arose simply out of the sheer increase of picnics and picnickers. "In the 'Eighties, the one picnic in each district seemed to suffice, but in the 'Nineties² and onwards, additional opportunities for meeting were made".

A further factor which may have contributed to the growth of children's picnics, was perhaps the increased interest in children's welfare which marked the latter half of the nineteenth century. As Trevellyan says, "This enlarged sympathy with children was one of the chief contributions made by the Victorian English to real civilization."³ The picture given in Chapter One makes it apparent that this factor must not

1. Reeves W.P., The Long White Cloud, p.286.

2. Kempthorne W.O., *op. cit.*, p.100.

3. Trevellyan G.M., English Social History, p.545.

be over-emphasized. It is, however, a factor which certainly contributed to the changes in adult attitude outlined in Chapters six and seven.

The fact that there ~~was~~ gradually more provision for children's picnics does not mean that, in the first place, there was always the ^{adult} picnic and then later there was the school picnic. Often the very first picnics were called school or Sunday school picnics even though in fact they catered as much or more for adults than for children. "It is somewhat difficult to distinguish what were purely school picnics, and what were not. Such events were made an opportunity for a social gathering, of much wider appeal than merely the entertainment of school children."¹

In some areas there were Church or Sunday School picnics, from the very beginning. In early Otago in many districts, for example, church and school were practically one. There existed a parochial unity embracing all phases of life. It was natural that this unity should be expressed in terms of a Church or Sunday School picnic.² Elsewhere the school rather than the church was the community centre. The school picnic was more typical of those places where the population was religiously of a heterogeneous nature and of insufficient size to support separate "general" church picnics. In many cases school picnics existed from the beginning of the settlement and were clearly general community picnics as well as children's 'school'

1. Kempthorne, op. cit., p.97.

2. These Church picnics perhaps carried on something of the tradition of the Church Wakes which died out in England during the Nineteenth Century.

functions. This continued to be the case in the more isolated rural areas till a much later date. Thus at Horoeke, on Feb. 21st, 1903, the school picnic was held: "It being a beautiful day, over 100 people journeyed to the Waihi Falls. During the afternoon prizes for merit were presented ... a jolly little dance was held in the school in the evening."

The change that took place over the years then was not so much a change in the name of the picnics, but, in the larger areas, a change in their function. The school or Sunday school picnics of the nineties catered more specifically for children. That was their main function, whereas children had only been catered for incidentally in the 'general' picnics of the earlier period whether named Sunday school picnics or otherwise.

The new and specifically children's picnics of the nineties then, symbolized the breaking up of the general community picnic festival, in the same way as the football clubs of the eighties and the amateur athletic clubs of the nineties represented the breaking up of the general community nature of sports' gatherings. Both the organized sports clubs and the children's picnics heralded a new era of specialized recreation and rung out long centuries of communalism in social enjoyment.

The games that children learned at these picnics were as follows :

Illustrative Material page 63 to page 65.

"We met at the school in drays and buggies. The drays were decorated. Then there was a great procession to Moeraki. The

band from Oamaru played all day long. There were prizes for elocution and singing (!) Running, Jumping, Hop Step and Jump for prizes. The races were held along an old railway track. There was no Nuts and May in my day, that came later." (Hampden 85).

"The annual Anglican picnic was held close to town. They provided big basketfuls of sandwiches and mugs of tea for lunch and buns and tea for the afternoon interval. We would run races all the afternoon, Footraces, short and long jumps for girls and boys. Prizes were 6d. for 1st and 3d. for 2nd. If you were very fast you could win a lot in an afternoon." (Oamaru 80).

"All the food was provided. Yeast buns were the treat. We would sit round in a circle to get it so no one would get an extra share. In the evening we would get cake and ginger bread." (Hampden 85).

"There was 2's and 3's, Rounders, Jolly Miller, Drop the Handkerchief, and Jingo Ring. The adults would join in. We went in waggons on Boxing Day and the Prince of Wales Birthday." (Timaru 80).

"The only time the boys ever played Oranges and Lemons was at picnics. Older folks joined in, but it was principally the children and the teachers who played." (Waikouaiti 95).

"Each youngster got a paper bag with an orange, an apple, a few sweets, two buns and a fig or two. There was always a tug-o-war if there was a rope, races, sweet scrambles and swings. Oranges and Lemons, Nuts and May, Drop the Handkerchief and Rounders." (Dunedin 75).

"Jolly Miller, Grand old Duke of York." (Dunedin 90).

"Ring a Ring a Rosie, Merry Ma Tansa, Mulberry Bush." (Dunedin 75).

"Drop the Handkerchief, Farmer in the Dell." (Dunedin 90).

"Jolly Miller, Thread the Needle races, Drop the Handkerchief, Fill the Gap, 2's and 3's. Throwing conversation lollies and Kiss in the Ring by the adolescents." (Moeraki 90).

"Oranges and Lemons, Nuts and May, Prisoner's Base, Green Gravels." (Granity 95).

"2's and 3's, Jolly Miller, Jinga Ring, Drop the Handkerchief.

These were at sport's meetings and New Year. There were few school picnics and only an occasional sunday school picnic." (Ngakawau 90).

"2's and 3's, Oranges and Lemons, Rounders, Nuts and May, Jolly Miller, Green Gravels, Mulberry Bush." (Westport 95).

"Drop the Handkerchief, Oranges and Lemons, Nuts and May, The Three Dukes, Grand old Duke of York, Mother Mother." (Nelson 75).

"Jolly Miller, Green Gravels, footraces, Jumping and Kiss in the Ring in which adults joined in. A man would have lollies sewn in little bags to his coat. That was one of the things we thought was just all right. We went to the picnic for this more than anything. Of course he had to be young and vigorous. There was a lolly scramble for the younger children and a small greasy pig for the older ones." (Carterton 95).

"State school picnics did not come into my experience till about 1901. During 1880/1900 Church organizations held picnics regularly and sometimes ran short social evenings for children. It was only on those occasions outside their homes that boys and girls played together." (Taranaki 80.)

Finally, with respect to games played at parties and in the parlour : the other place at which adults took children in hand and taught them games was at home. Often this teaching was quite incidental, taking place on any evening when there was time to spare, or at 'evenings' among friends. There were also 'special occasions' when games were played. On these occasions and at other times the main participants seem to have been the youths, with younger children and adults participating less frequently.

There are no extensive records of children's parties and parlour games in the first thirty years, but there are sufficient records to indicate that, although on a less extensive scale, the pattern was much the same as it was in the latter part of the century. There is mention, for example, of a tea party for children in Dunedin as early as 1851, of school feasts in Wellington during the forties and of school and children's¹ treats elsewhere. The better communications in the last thirty years of the century and the tremendous growth in population, led to a marked increase in parties for children and evenings for adults. "Although the homes, were, on the whole, neither large nor elaborately furnished, there was a large measure of social intercourse, and musical evenings at which social games were held, were a feature of the life of the 'sixties', 'seventies' and 'eighties'. Charade evenings became very popular during the 'eighties' and 'nineties' and featured very largely

1. Simpson H., op. cit., p.134; Fulton R., op. cit., p.12; Thompson A.B., op. cit., p.31; Reed A.H., op. cit., p.102; Mayhew W.R., op. cit., p.170; Oamaru South, S.J.M. p.21.

as a popular pastime of that period."¹

The churches for their part ran afternoons for the children. An informant (Waikouaiti 80) speaks of the local Presbyterian and Methodist church "Bun-rushes", so-called because buns and tea were provided. As has already been indicated (in connection with picnics) buns were regarded as a treat. There was seldom any cake to be had either at home or at the 'Rush'. In Timaru (80) children called the same affair a "Bun-fight"; in Invercargill a "Tea-Fight" (70's). To the adults it was a tea-meeting or 'soiree'. These tea-meetings were the early form of what later became the church social with games. (and of what is today the Bible Class dance). But games do not appear to have had a great part in the earliest of these bun-rushes. They were not necessarily places where games were played. More often they were occasions for eating. They were perhaps the childhood equivalent to the banquet, which was a pioneer recreation, second only to dancing in popularity. The children's tea-party (or banquet) offered a golden and seldom obtained opportunity from a mild gorge, enlivened by an element of hearty competition for the spoils, as the terms "fight" and "rush" suggest.

For children in 'well to do' homes there were private afternoons. "We had our own 'acting' afternoons. They might be called, for example, 'a book afternoon' or a 'song afternoon'. Each child came in fancy dress supposedly representing the title of a book or song or whatever the afternoon was supposed to be.

1. Bowman H.O., Port Chalmers : Gateway to Otago, Dunedin, 1948, p.193.

There were games." (Wellington 80's) All youngsters, however, did not have the experience of these socials.

The types of games played at afternoon and evening parties are indicated in the following quotations :

Illustrative Material page 68 to 70.

"The O'Briens loved to entertain children in their beautiful home and parties with games, music and dainty suppers gave us a pleasant glimpse of cultured life and their picture books, magazines and the Illustrated London News were a treat we fully appreciated." (Motueka 80's).

"Up till the early nineties we had many large children's parties. Also at evening parties in the late 80's and 90's we played Musical Chairs, Spin the Trencher, Family Coach, Dumb Crambo, Charades, The Priest of the Parish has lost his Considering Cap, Russian Scandal, Queen Anne's Dead, General Post and perhaps once during an evening, I see a Ghost." (Nelson 85).

"We did such things as imagining we were having tea out of pieces of broken crockery. We all dressed up, which was a frequent diversion at parties." (Wakefield 75).

"Consequences, Author, Artist, Poet; Proverbs, Telegrams, Making little words out of one big one; Word-making; Cards such as Beg-o-my neighbour, Snip-snap, snorum, borum, bass; Poker, Vingt-et-un, and Grab, especially Animal grab." (Palmerston North 1900).

"Postman's knock, Blind Man's Buff and Consequences. (Bay of Plenty 85).

"Blind Man's Buff, Hide the Thimble, Consequences, Forfeits,

Musical Chairs, Simon Says." (Moeraki 90).

"Forfeits, Postman's Knock, Tit tat toe, Mrs. McKenzies Dead."
(Nth. Taieri 70).

"The Priest of the Parish has lost his Considering Cap,
Blind Man's Buff, Fire Air Water, Noughts and Crosses,
Shuttlecock, Musical Chairs." (Dunedin 70).

"Dooking for Apples, Hunt the Slipper, Forfeits, Postman's
Knock, Family Coach." (Dunedin 70).

"Blind Man's Buff, Hide the Thimble, Postman's Knock,
Consequences, Forfeits, Musical Chairs, Family Coach,
The Priest of the Parish has lost his Considering Cap, Simon
Says, Charades and Acting." (Nelson 80).

"We had nothing to do in the evening except play cards with
the neighbours." (Takaka 80).

"Spoons, How Many eggs in the Bush, Winks, Queen Sheba."
(Rockville 90).

"Postman's Knock, Consequences, The Priest of the Parish has lost
his Considering Cap, and pandemonium reigned while they were
played." (Westport 95).

Several other quotations which refer particularly to
adults are worth citing because of their applicability also to
children :

"In the past six decades the whole outlook regarding the recreation
and sports and the pastimes of the people has changed."

...They thought they were "having a jolly good time if they sat
through a couple of hours of sentimental songs and recitations,
to be followed by a cup of tea with cakes and a polite farewell

at the door". (Auckland 70).¹

"The modern feverish thirst for excitement and amusements was unknown to the class that worked ... young folks helped their parents in the housework and never felt the lack of picture shows or skating rinks."² (Auckland 80).

"The things we did without simply because we had never heard of them -- at any rate we youngsters had not -- were legion. We were happy at home; those evenings were never monotonous.³ We had books at any rate."

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1. Auckland Star Diamond Jubilee, May 7th, 1930, p.21.
 2. N.Z. Herald, Nov. 13th, 1913, p.10.
 3. Cowan James, Settlers and Pioneers, p.46.

CHAPTER FOUR

SCHOOL AND ENVIRONMENT

The last thirty years of the century saw the beginnings of universal and compulsory education - 1877 - and signified the appearance of the school as an institution of importance in the lives of practically all children. For the first time, the children in every district had a definite locale for games. Before that there was seldom a general community centre where all could, and did, play regularly. Now, by the compulsion of school attendance children were forced to attend five times a week upon a common pitch. It will be noted in Chapter 12 that it is in these circumstances that games proliferate. It is little wonder, therefore, that the period between 1870 and 1905 was the heyday of unorganized games in New Zealand. It was a period when all children were brought by the accident of universal education to a free, secular and compulsory village green. Herded diurnally in this situation and with little direct adult guidance, they carried on the games and the sports acquired at picnic, parlour, and sports meeting, from older children and from the homeland memories of their parents and grandparents.

In this chapter the conditions within which children went to school and played on the cell-sized quarter acre allotted

to them by their Victorian fathers are considered. The chapter takes up the rather "stern" geographical note of chapter one and traces out its workings until the end of the century. The following topics are discussed : firstly, the harsh conditions within schools and the rebellious informal plays to which they gave rise, including open rebellion, pranks and truancy; secondly, the conditions of the school playgrounds, the school environment, buildings, and the habiliments of the children. All these matters are, however, of a prefatory nature. They provide the background in terms of which the actual nature of children's play in nineteenth century playground must be considered. The nature of this play is outlined in Chapter Five which is, in effect, a continuation of this chapter. It has been found convenient to separate Chapter Five from this chapter, however, as it is composed almost entirely of illustrative material.¹

Firstly, with reference to the schools : the syllabus of 1877 was narrow and formal, and teaching methods in accord with this were often arid and rigid. "The months immediately preceeding the examination were apt to degenerate into an orgy of cram, involving much 'keeping-in', long hours of home-work, and unremitting punishment for 'carelessness' or 'laziness'."² For children habituated to an open-air life, and the hard work mentioned in Chapter One, this type of routine

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1. Most of the illustrative material of this and the next Chapter, which is not derived from oral reminiscence, is to be found in the 70 School Jubilee Magazines listed in the bibliography.
 2. Campbell A.E., Educating New Zealand, p.85.

was oppressive. Consider, for example, the following account of a boy's life in the '80's at Queenstown and then consider how this boy would have taken to the above routine. "As a boy playing games and generally finding amusement in the 80's, one of my outstanding recollections is : that practically NOTHING was provided for us to help us in our play; from our own initiative, labour and pence (hard earned) we had to achieve our play in the hard way. This rule applied to the making of such things as shanghais (from forked manuka sticks), stilts, kites, sledges, skates, hoops (from the blacksmith), building huts and forts, and last, but not least, excavating and levelling off a piece of sloping ground in the school ground on which the older boys could play at cricket. For bathing, swimming and boating Lake Wakatipu provided the water. For climbing and mountaineering the hills surrounding Queenstown (not forgetting the well known Remarkable, 7688 ft, which I scaled on two occasions) gave us full scope for our energies. On the same hills we engaged in rabbiting with traps, ferrets, dogs and guns, also the shooting of wild goats. Bird-nesting was tame, but it found its place. Gymnastics on the horizontal bar came into the picture. Horse-riding was a daily act at which the writer became so expert as to emulate the circus rider standing erect on the horse's back whilst it was in active motion!" (Queenstown 80's).

Little wonder that, as Campbell says, "Often enough ... there existed a state of open warfare between teachers and pupils, with rebellion from below breaking out at periodic intervals and

being put down from above by merciless flogging."¹ Many informants have spoken of the occasion when a big boy who had been beaten and strapped for a long period, finally came into open conflict with the teacher, broke his cane or did some other rebellious act and left the school for ever! For example "At ten years old I consistently got sums right that the bigger boys in their early teens could not. For which they received a tongue-lashing and were held to shame. Finally, once when the teacher's back was turned, one of the older boys turned to me and hissed "You little black bitch!" I began to cry. The teacher wanted to know why. And the boy concerned was caned, but in the midst of the whacking he suddenly siezed that cane, broke it and walked out of the

school for life."² (Karakamea 79). The number of tales about flagellating teachers is legend. One of the causes³ contributing to this friction was the age of the boys. Many of them did not start school till eight, nine or ten and were well into their teens by the time they reached or neared Standard⁴ four. One authority says : on behalf of a teacher appropriately nicknamed "the thrashing machine", "it should be remembered in his favour that many of his pupils, fresh from farms and runs, were approaching manhood, and were "husky" youths at that, tough customers in a rough and tumble. Some of them, I believe, wore

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1. Campbell, A.E., op. cit., p.37.
 2. Another case has been cited in Chapter 1.
 3. Butchers A.G., Young New Zealand, p.157; Main School Timaru Jub. Souv. 1874-1929, S.J.M., p.70; Otepopo Reunion, 1864-1929, S.J.M., p.14.
 4. Sumpter D.J. and Lewis J.J., The Story of Tokomairiro, p.69. The last sentence of this quotation contains an ambiguity of some interest.(footnote 1. over page)

¹
kilts."

The roughness of community life has already been mentioned. This, and the surly attitude of some children towards authority (mentioned in Chapter One) would contribute to the stern fibre of the school scene. One can readily believe that in some cases "thrashing" was a form of pedagogic self-defence. In others, that the thrasher was merely giving vent to attitudes which many adults of the day deemed appropriate with unruly children.² There is a story current in the Takaka district that somewhere round about 1900 a teacher strapped a four-year-old boy '144' times and killed him. It may not be a fact, but fact or no, it is a significant legend. There is another story of the early days in Dunedin in which it is reputed that between 1870/80 the Education Board issued punishment books in order to put a stop to the immense amount of punishment going on. They were to be entered up during the year and returned at its end. The story goes that the books were filled before the first term ended and the Board ran out of its supply of punishment books. Such examples of heavy punishment and turbulent conditions are numerous. Children, however, seemed to be able to make a game out of practically any situation and Takaka 80, reports of a rather grim game in which the boys competed to see who could get the most supplejacks to take back to the teacher as canes.³ ~~But children could retaliate.~~ More often, however,

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1. Invercargill Jubilee, 1873-1923, S.J.M.
 2. Campbell A.E., op. cit., p.80.
 3. For other examples, see: Invercargill Middle School, S.J.M., p.52 and p.57; Ravensbourne Jubilee, 1877-1927, S.J.M., p.5; Chapman-Cohen G., East Takaka and Lower Taka School, 1860-1949, S.J.M., p.26; West Christchurch, 1874-1924, S.J.M., p.21, p.23; Sumpter and Lewis, op. cit., p.85.

the children were simply sent out, by the teacher, to the bush to cut a "nice bit of supplejack" to be used on themselves. But the children could retaliate. There is a report of another teacher who had the outside edges of his strap hand stitched with copper wire in order to prevent the boys from cutting it up.¹

There are reports of school boy strikes in these years.

Illustrative Material page 76 to page 77.

(Hampden 85) spoke of a teacher who was a former military man. "Boys who broke his law would be put into coventry and any other children who spoke to them would be tanned. One morning, by conspiracy, sick of the long endured suffering, the boys 'went for him'. The teacher rushed for the door and they after him. At the door, he stopped, locked it, turned around, and rolled up his sleeves and 'beat up those kids till twelve o'clock'."

"Influenced by press reports of the Maritime Strike ... between twenty or thirty of us declared a 'strike' and one morning, instead of marching into school we marched off to seaward bush and stayed there until hunger drove us home."² (Invercargill).

"Between 1895 and 1900 the standard four to six children of George Street school, Dunedin, struck for less homework. We waylaid a boy who was sent to our homes with letters for our parents and prevented him from carrying out the mission. At three o'clock we sent a note by a smaller boy outlining our demands for less homework. At three o'clock we turned up in force at school to see if our demands had been acceded to. We

1. Tua Marina 78th Anniversary, S.J.M., p.25.

2. Invercargill Middle School, S.J.M., p.62, p.69.

were thereupon forcibly siezed and strapped." (Dunedin 98).

"There was a riot at Mt. Cook School shortly after he went there ..
The master of Standard V1, a Mr. Reeves, had his arm broken in
the fracas and rioting schoolboys took the cane from the
headmaster, a Mr. Hardy, and used it on him, in the course
of this historic rebellion against authority. Inkwells were
thrown through windows and the constabulary were called in to
restore order."¹

"A sole-charge female teacher was chased round and round the
school building, by the older pupils. Fortunately for her the
school committee chairman happened to be riding along the road past
the school. He went in and restored order." (Hawkes Bay 1910).

"I was an observer of a riot about 1906. It began with the
morning whacking for spelling. The headmaster was pelted with
inkwells and slates and then rushed and "downed". About six
advanced adolescents were expelled." (Christchurch).

The struggle between teacher and children usually went
on in other less overtly rebellious terms than those mentioned.
Some examples of typical classroom "play" expressions of this
rebellious motif, are as follows :

Illustrative Material page 77 to page 80.

The following account refers to Waitara 1899/1905² "Once a

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1. Cited Southern Cross Oct. 10th, 1950, during the course of the Mt. Cook school 75 th Jubilee celebrations; taken from 81 year old Mr. Boyes and refers to Mt. Cook between 1875/85. Another pupil of the school places the date of the riot as 1878. See Grey Powina, Recollected and Collected Poetry, published Evelyn Macdonald, 70 Pretoria St., Hutt, under heading Old Mt. Cook School, 1878, p.241.
 2. The one diagonal line separates the anecdotes in this first account.

flounder was nailed to the under-side of the Master's table. He could not see it, but after a day or so he could smell it, and very plainly at that. He kept pulling the drawer out and hunting round about the table, but not examining it from underneath. / Boys who were required to touch their toes to receive corporal punishment, sometimes donned an extra pair of trousers to soften the blow. Once, the inner pair of trousers being longer in the leg than the outer pair, by that reason revealed their presence. The insertion of cardboard or leather in the seat of the trousers was a useful precaution, if its presence was not revealed in one way or another, which was frequently and unhappily the case. / Another trick was to chew paper into soft wads and place it at the end of a flat ruler, through the springiness of which the paper was shot through the air with great speed. When it hit the ceiling it remained stuck. The school ceiling consequently was well spotted over most of its surface with these, to us, delightful splodges. But the master was not amused, as owing to the height of the ceiling, their removal was difficult. / On Fridays we used to have singing and one of the boys was deputed to drape the tonic solfa table (which consisted of a long canvas scroll and rolled up like a window blind) over the blackboard, for exhibition to the class. By constant wear and tear the scroll developed a split in the middle, and to the great delight of the class of both sexes, and the annoyance of the Master, the boy used to so arrange it that one of the wooden pegs on which the blackboard rested used to protrude through the split and look like nobody's business. The Master with his wand used always

to adjust the scroll so that the peg would remain hidden./

One song we used to sing had these lines .. "Far away, far away, over the hills and meadows gay etc." The first far away was sung full voice and the second quite softly. Some of the 'very rude' boys used to add a letter to the word 'far' and while everyone sang the first 'far away' lustily (with embellishments) the Master could not detect anything wrong, but on one occasion they forgetfully sang the second 'far away' loudly as the first, while the rest of the class sang it softly. And then of course there was trouble."

The use of singing as a "vent" is reported elsewhere and any teacher of experience knows that it is readily used by children for this purpose even today. Referring to their first school in 1877 held in a church for lack of other accommodation one writer says : "At the close of each day we sang hymns, and the favourite hymn was 'There are angels hovering round'. The teacher had no need to ask us to sing louder."¹

Other examples of pranks on the teacher are innumerable. It must suffice to mention a few in summary form.

²
Examples : hiding the log book in the ventilator; talking in

1. Ravensbourne Jub., S.J.M., p.5.

2. Details of these pranks are to be found in the following sources: Invercargill, S.J.M., pp. 75, 76, 78, 52, 46; Waianiwa Jubilee 1863-1933, S.J.M., pp.104,127; Ravensbourne, S.J.M., pp.13,23; Albany St. School, Dunedin, 1874-1924; S.J.M., pp.14; College St. School, Palmerston North, 1893-1943, S.J.M., p.2; Elsthorpe School Golden Jubilee, 1898-1948, S.J.M., under "Enquiries Here"; Parks High School, Dunedin, 1864-1924, S.J.M., p.10; St. Albans School District Jubilee, 1873-1933, S.J.M., p.25; Rangitumau School Jubilee Celebrations 1893-1946, S.J.M., p.7; Caversham School, 65th Anniversary Celebration, 1861-1926, S.J.M., p.30; Christchurch East School Official Souvenir of 75th Anniversary Celebration, p.25 and p.26.

the Master's absence about the Kelly Gang; Playing the Jew's harp and dancing in the Master's absence; cutting the Master's strap to pieces; mixing gum and aniseed with the school ink; attaching a notice to the teacher's back; drawing faces on the back of the boy in front's celluloid collar; poking a ruler through a hole in the floor; sliding down the bannisters, both inside and outside school buildings; eating green apples in school; sticking darts into the roof; putting pins into other children; sticking penholder to your tongue and up your nose; overloading the coal cart, which the master was to push; chewing kauri gum and passing it round from mouth to mouth; chewing whole wheat in the winter months; chewing coffee beans; passing conversation lollies; over-flowing newly filled inkwells with lumps of carbide; stealing teacher's bicycle tyres; stealing school bell tongue; wearing out the desk footrail by rubbing at it continually with feet - competition to see who could get through first; Exploding gunpowder in the classroom. For example : "Guy Fawkes Day occurred a day too soon in Manakau School, for Willie Hiwi exploded a detonator during lessons! Old pupils still recount how the marks of poor Willie's fingers¹ lingered on the ceiling for years."

Considering the harsh conditions in the schools, it is not unnatural that one of the most important informal plays of this period was "Playing the Wag". There are other factors, which contributed to this "play". We have already mentioned the fact that even towards the end of the century children were still

1. Manakau School, 1888-1948, S.J.M., p.7.

regarded as an economic asset in many rural areas, and New Zealand was dominantly a rural country ^till the end of the century. Labour was thought of as their lot and little love was lost by many of the settlers for the children's new and compulsory tutor-authority, the school. For example : "The children of those days must have known what hard work was. Throughout the minutes the committee and teachers complained of lack of attendance. Apparently parents thought they were more useful on the farm." ¹ (Papakura 80's). As late as 1901 the Annual Report of the teacher at Waione (W.H. Gould) to the school committee, records, "Irregular attendance has, throughout the year, been a most serious drawback. There are a few parents in the district, who it is depolorable to note, do not seem to recognize their responsibilities as parents. As a result a number of children are growing up in total ignorance of anything scholastic." ²

In addition roads were bad and attendance was laxly enforced by the local school committees. The following description of Tokomairiro schools before 1877, for example, is a description true of many other schools till the end of the century. "The fact that before 1876 parents were free to keep their children at home explains why in nearly all the earliest schools the boys always outnumbered the girls by approximately three to one. This unequal distribution is probably further explained, first, by the need of the mothers to have help at home, and secondly, by the fact that the boys ^{were} considered more

1. Papakura, 1877-1937, S.J.M., p.12.

2. Waione Sch. Log Book, Mar. 31st. 1901. See also Waikane Sch. Jubilee Souvenir, 1896-1946, S.J.M., p.25.

hardy and, therefore, more fit to undergo the rigours of travelling long distances to school in all weathers."¹ In small rural areas there is constant reference to children being away because it is wet, or late because the roads are bad. "River flooded, roads impassable, weather stormy, no attendance." (Waione Log Book, Sept. 3rd, 1900) "All early this morning: not one late; a record. Fighting late comers for weeks, as this school is fearful for late comers." (Horoeka Log Book, August 17th, 1903).

With the incentives to attendance so low, truancy came quite easily to many children. Any passing event might attract them away from the school. This is not surprising, since at a time when recreations were sparse, any recreation which did occur took on a certain 'spectacular' quality, which it could not have so easily in a modern community habituated to a regular round of amusements. For example: "St. Patrick's Day. The majority of the children were away at the Weber Sports" (Waione Log Book, 1904, Mar. 17th). "The practice of being absent on Friday afternoon is common". (April 24th, 1893). "Seventy pupils succumbed to the attraction of the Fire Brigade procession." (Aug. 31st, 1895). "Polo Tournament at Hokowhitu -- very poor attendance at school." (Mar. 13th, 1896).² "Fifty pupils absent at races." (Feb. 24th, 1898).

There were occasions also when the teaching staff aided and abetted the truant. A dull pupil might be told to remain away from school while exams were in progress in order not to lower the percentage of passes by his presence.³

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1. Sumpter D.J. and Lewis J.J., op. cit., p.85.
 2. All from the College Street School, S.J.M., p.6.
 3. Campbell A.E., op. cit., p.85.

The fact that truancy was everywhere a serious matter is indicated by the existence of Education Board truant officers. Nevertheless, the amount of this truancy appears to have varied from district to district. Informants recall the "play" as follows: "There was not much. We were made an example of if we did and got an almighty thrashing. Only the outlaw type of kid persisted." (Gisborne 90). "Only certain boys." (Wakefield 75). "Truant officers were unknown in the early days of the school; but there was little truancy, for the parents were always willing to hand the offenders over to justice. On one occasion might be seen a mother leading her truant son to school - on the end of a dog chain! The culprit was handed over to the Head Master. The cure was permanent."¹ (Invercargill 70).

In other districts the situation was apparently somewhat different. "Playing the wag was very common. We made for the bush, but it was difficult to time one's arrival at home correctly." (Dunedin 75). "We called it playing 'Tally'". (Wakefield 75). "On any fine day". (Tapanui 80). "In the early days of our school, truancy was very common ... If the pupils were absent, inquiry was made as to whether the absentees names were on the Albany Street Roll, and later on the policeman was asked to report on any "waggers."² (Albany St., 1877) "When we got into standard three .. some of us became badly infected with the spirit of lawlessness and disorder, or probably the trouble was sheer laziness. At any rate 'wagging' it became

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1. Invercargill, S.J.M., op. cit., p.79.
 2. Albany Street, S.J.M., op. cit., p.8.

a popular pastime, and I doubt very much whether the truants averaged more than three days a week at school. I know that in that year our party explored the banks of the Waihopai from Woodend to Kennington, made an exhaustive personal study of the sawmilling industry from McCallum's mill on Puni Creek to the recesses of Seaward Bush where the men were at work felling trees, and got a fair idea of the flora and fauna of Cruickshank's bush, round where the woollen mills now stand -- all in the time when we should have been in class. It must have been torture for the good lady whose misfortune it was to be in charge of us; every now and again I pass her in the street and I feel inclined to slink round the corner in order to escape her accusing eye. Of course, detection and punishment followed, but we got hardened to that and it made no difference, and at the end came the inevitable result -- failure.¹

Having considered the conditions within the school and the informal plays to which they gave rise, the conditions of the school playground and environment are now discussed.

In the early days the small official playground, particularly in rural areas did little to restrict the play of the children. Most country schools were surrounded by open paddocks, hills and sometimes bush. In some rural areas it was the custom to allow the teacher to keep a cow and a horse which further extended the normal playground space. (For example Tahataki 75). It was only in the towns and at a much later date

1. Invercargill, S.J.M., p.68.

in rural areas that the effects of the pernicious "quarter acre act" were felt. Here is a glimpse of one of the more picturesque of these early rural playgrounds. "There was a neat little school and teacher's dwelling, with the background of native bush in its various shades of green, bedecked in spring and summer with lovely flowers of the clematis, wild bramble and many other varieties. Then there were the native birds each pouring forth its song ... especially the tui and bell bird ... the scent of the flowers and the song of the birds remains with us still. Meandering through the bush there was a creek running into a watercourse which ran through the playground. In this watercourse grew rushes and native plants. In normal times the creek was only a murmuring ripple, but in the rainy seasons it rose to a turbulent stream, rushing over the footbridge and road, then dashing over a bank on the further side like a miniature waterfall, and spreading itself over the flat beneath."¹

Most of the first playgrounds, however, though they may have had their beauty in season, were very primitive. For example :

Illustrative Material page 85 to page 86.

"When the school was first built there was no shed, just the bare school in the middle of a paddock." (Tahataki 75).

"In a number of schools...²the only game we could play was hide and seek as the surrounding ground was thickly covered with tall

1. Waianiwa, S.J.M., p.48.

rushes right to the school door." ¹ (Kaitangata 1858).

"On wet days a convenient flax ² push was the only outside shelter or playshed." (Owaka 1875).

"We had an immense playground in those days, and we used to roam all about the hills. One of our games was for a boy to go into a hollow and the others would go up above and roll stones over his head. That went on for quite a long time until an accident happened." ³ (Green Island 1850's).

The town belt was used as a playground. "Any day one might have seen dozens of boys; each hanging on to a calf's tail, being dragged up hill and down dale." ⁴ (Dunedin 1860's).

"There were no school games save marbles, as the school grounds were on the hillside, but the bush and the sea provided great experiences and the Peninsular permitted plenty of excursions on Saturdays." ⁵ (Pigeon Bay, Canterbury 1866).

"We had no lawns to mow, no garden plots to keep tidy. Neither were we troubled by visiting drill instructors, doctors or dental clinics. Finger nails were not subject to scrutiny, nor were we brought to brook with the reproach "Did you nugget your boots this morning." ⁶ (Waianiwa).

In some cases it was the property adjoining the playground rather than the playground itself that determined the form of the

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1. Waite Hon. F., Pioneering in South Otago, p.69; North West Valley School 81st Anniversary, 1851-1932, S.J.M., p.2; Kaitangata School, 61st Anniversary, 1866-1927, S.J.M., p.10.
 2. Owaka District High School, 1875-1935, S.J.M., p.14.
 3. Green Island School, 1853-1928, S.J.M., p.71.
 4. Parks' High School, S.J.M., p.10.
 5. Wilkinson Jas.R., Early Reminiscences from 1866, C/o N.Z.C.E.R.
 6. Waianiwa, S.J.M., p.48. For other references to early playground conditions, see Newtown Sch. Jub. Souv., 1879-1934, S.J.M., p.9; Manakau, S.J.M., p.7.

play. Next door to the Balclutha School, for example, there was an orchard, and round this orchard hangs a history of escapades. Much to the chagrin of the scholars it was¹ replaced by a school garden in 1907. Next door to the Union St. Normal School, Dunedin, there were Chinese Gardens and furthermore there was no fence between the two. There are many records of lost footballs, stolen carrots and² parsnips, and fights with the chinese owners.

Some of the playgrounds were of decidedly dangerous nature. "One cannot but be struck with the difficulties the boys must have faced when playing their games on those slippery and precipitous hillsides. In March, 1874, Moeller, when playing a game of prisoner's base, fell and broke his collar bone, and a son of Colonel St. John dislocated his ankle while engaged in³ the same game."

In the winter many of these playgrounds were turned into a sea of mud. "The committee this week put down bundles of manuka round the school to keep the children out of the mud." (Horoeka Log Book, July 14th. 1905). And the rain did not always make its presence felt only in the playground. "Closed school this afternoon on account of rain coming in through the⁴ roof in a regular stream." (Whakarongo 80's). Children, of course, made use of the various and notorious mud holes in⁵ and out of the playground when they desired to 'fix' a victim.

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1. Balclutha Public School Souvenir Booklet 1863-1931.
 2. Union St. School 69th Anniversary, 1862-1929.
 3. Eckie Frank M., Early History of Wellington College, Wellington 1933, p.121.
 4. Whakaronga School 1877-1937, S.J.M., p.77; Opawa School 77th Jub. Celebrations, S.J.M.
 5. Invercargill, S.J.M., p.52.

The roads to school were no better and often worse than the state of the playground. "A letter sent to Mr. Alfred Bailey asking that 18 chains of road from the school to the bridge over the Waianiwa creek be gravelled, 'for the pupils are wading to the knees in mud and water'.¹" "The children had to travel long distances to school by various means -- on sledges, on ponies, on horses and in horse drawn conveyances of all kinds; but by far the commonest method was on foot over rough and muddy roads and tracks or across country through grass and tussocks. When they reached the school there were no asphalt playgrounds, and in wintertime the mud of the roads challenged the mire of the playgrounds."² Some even came in boats.³ One old identity describes the plight of the children as follows : "As a boy of about six years, with heavy boots, I trudged to school a distance of about two and three quarter miles on roads, partly unformed through mud and tussocks, and in the winter months it was almost impossible to arrive at school dry; there would always be a ring of children around the school fire having their clothes dry, and others sitting in their desks with brown paper round their legs."⁴ Little wonder as one informant says "We had plenty of exercise walking to school let alone playing." (Hampden 80).

These conditions meant that footwear had to be solid -- not

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1. Waianiwa, S.J.M., p.59.
 2. Sumpter and Lewis, op. cit., p.68.
 3. Owaka S.J.M., p.16.
 4. Waianiwa, S.J.M., p.91. For other references to children's travelling conditions see: Waites Hon. F., op. cit., p.157; Invercargill S.J.M., p.42; Karamu School Jub. Mag., 1889-1939, Newtown School S.J.M., p.26.

the kind in fact that lent itself to rapid or supple movements. The New Zealand Physical Training Syllabus of 1920 disgressing on footwear remarks, "even if boots and shoes are of good quality, they are often stiff and unyielding."¹ No wonder! -- considering the state of the playgrounds and roads throughout the preceeding twenty years. In the North barefeet were often possible, but in settlements with an eye to such things, not² on Sundays.

Clothes, in their turn, were seldom more suited to free play than the boots. Although perhaps it could be argued that they were very much suited to some of the turbulent types of play which characterized the times. One informant describes the clothing of the period as follows. "For boys there were Galatea jackets, moleskin, velveteen or corduroy trousers; long thick woollen stockings, caps of all shades and sizes, hob-nailed boots dubbined or oiled. For girls, woollen dresses in winter, print in summer, long woollen stockings, pinafores, sun bonnets and leather boots." (Invercargill 70's). "Many of the lads wore long trousers kept up by a wonderful belt fastened in some cases by a venomous looking brass snake."³ (Waianiwa 70's). When the boys moleskin trousers were wet they would give off a rather unpleasant damp smell. It is reported that in some places boys insisted on having these trousers patched with square patches. If they were patched with circular patches then the boy who owned them would be jeered at and called "Cat's Eye", an

1. Syllabus of Physical Training for Schools, Wellington, 1920.

2. Mckenzie N.R., The Gael Fares Forth, p.120.

3. Waianiwa School Jubilee Magazine, op. cit., p.78.

appellation which could be silenced only with fists. (Dunedin 70).¹

In some areas the children's clothes were practically as rough as the playgrounds they played in. "When it was wet we would wear just a sack to keep the rain off us. That's all we had." (Hampden 80).

Within these playgrounds there were yet other conditions of the time which were wont to have their influence upon the children's play. We consider in turn, drinking facilities, play-sheds, latrines and the segregation of the sexes.

A recurrent note in reminiscences on the playground of the early years is the reference to drinking water. One is apt to forget, if not thus reminded, that children are as perpetually thirsty as they are hungry. Water was supplied at spring, at nearby houses, in a tank or with a pump. And all these places were the loci for escapades. For example, "Boys working their pump vigorously to prevent girls from getting any water, and girls retaliating. Or again we threw water at one another..." (Waianiwa 70's).² In wet weather children generally would be allowed to play in the school or gather round the fire. "We would play Puss in the Corner, one in each corner of the room. There wouldn't be many present when it was wet and the teacher would allow us to push some of the seats back for floor space." (Tahataki 75). "We would play marbles on the floor in school." (Takaka 70). "We had spelling bees, singing, made paper and string models." (Waianiwa 80's).

1. Union St., S.J.M., p.24.

2. Waianiwa S.J.M., p.78. See further Invercargill S.J.M., p.46; Ravensbourne S.J.M., pp.10 and 23; Owaka S.J.M.

Later most of the schools had playsheds and the children could retreat to these in wet weather. Some of them gained favour for special purposes. Generations of boys at Waikouaiti, for example, swung along the rafters in their shed until they became as smoothed and polished as varnished wood. At Karakamea holes were carved out of the wall between the boys and the girls shed and billets-doux passed between. (70's). Then, as now, not only the sheds but also the Latrines were used as a place for escapades in wet weather or fine. (See further Chapter 17). Some informants speak of the conveniences as filthy and evil smelling buildings placed necessarily at an inconvenient distance from the school and at the best, camouflaged with perfumed roses and honeysuckle. As they were often open at the back it was possible to play disconcerting pranks upon the sedentary occupants.

A further feature of most early playgrounds was the strict segregation of boys and girls; (Waikouaiti 1900). Many informants of one sex have only the haziest notion of what the other sex did in their playground. There was sometimes a high and concrete or brick wall between the two separate playgrounds. (Tapanui 80). "We grew up like two races apart" says one informant, "consequently on the few occasions we did meet we were absolutely at a loss." (Gisborne 95).

Were the concrete walls meant to keep the boys out, the girls in, or to preserve privacy? Whichever it was, even out of school, girls of all ages were well supervised and made little appearance in the life of the colony except on festive occasions.

An informant speaking of her years at Private School Wellington in the 80's said that girls (of her social class) were not permitted to play on the streets. They were transported to College and met at the stop by a lady teacher who marched them to school. On one such occasion the marching girls suddenly came upon several men engaged in a brawl in the street through which they had to pass. "Young ladies, eyes down!" shrilled the teacher and they all went solemnly past ostensibly with their eyes to the ground. This piece of scandal was the talk of the school for days.

Other examples : "In our school there were separate playgrounds and play together was never encouraged. (Lower Moutere 1900).

"The wooden turnstiles which acted as gates at the old school, were all cut and carved with initials. The boys went through one gate - the girls through the other. Brave was the boy who defied the school regulations and went through the girls' gate, but sorry was he if he was caught out." (College St. 90's).

In other schools, on the other hand, particularly one teacher schools, it was only by playing together that the dozen or so children could get any play at all. (For example: Tahataki 75); Wyllie's Crossing School, Taieri 1898; Rockville 85). In these places boys and girls would often play their cricket and rounders together. Perhaps even their skipping : "Strange to say our favourite was skipping and the boys held a big tether rope, and the girls formed in a queue and as we followed to have our skip the boys called us all by a pet name of their own and some of them were not always very complimentary." (Upper Tutaenui Marton 90). "In some cases even at that early stage

they played football together. (Murchison 90). Today some of the happiest and most 'amiable' accounts of school play-life come from these little one teacher country schools whose whole population ranges from ten to twenty-five pupils.

In summary, considering the harsh circumstances within and without the schools of the day ----- the rigid curriculum, the strict and often harsh discipline, rough playgrounds and rugged roads to school ---- it would be surprising if the play of the children was a picture only of sweetness and gentility. We would expect, that to some extent, it would reflect the crude conditions of the school and the school environment. It is necessary to emphasize this fact, otherwise there might be a tendency, as there always is when adults reflect on the ways of childhood, to create an idyllic picture of children gambolling on the rural play- "green"; a misleading idyll in the spirit of Kenneth Grahame's "Golden Age".

CHAPTER FIVE

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY PLAYGROUND

In this chapter the details of the way in which games were played on the way to school and in the Nineteenth Century Playground, are dealt with. Before proceeding, however, let us briefly recapitulate the conditions within which the games that follow took place.

For many children their time out of school was still a time for work. Work, not recreation, nor sport, nor entertainment, was the main current both in practice and ideal of contemporary life. Conditions of playground and countryside moreover were not always favourable to free play. This age may have been the heyday of traditional games, but it was certainly not the heyday of games as games.

Within this setting, what did the children manage to play? First with respect to the "Pathways to School". The initiation of universal schooling not only created a compulsory playground, it created as well a number of by-ways of play. These "Pathways to School", often walks or rides of many miles and of hours in length, became tributary playgrounds pouring in upon the central point. Children living afar off or at work nearby, did not arrive at school till the hour of nine (and often later) and they left the school sharp on closing time in

order to cover the long distance back home, or to help with household chores. Along the way to and from school they played; especially on the way home when they could all set out together. Of their play Flora Thompson says : "It has been said that every child is born a little savage and has to be civilized. The process of civilization had not gone very far with some ... children; although one civilization had them in hand at home and another at school, they were able to throw off both on the road between the two places and revert to a state of nature."¹

Consider for example the following examples. Here is a typical boyhood account of play on the way home from school. "The journey home from school often had its little incidents. We would get as far as Kennard's gravel pit. That would be our first stop. Kennards used that wide water hole for their duck pond. Of course there would come a day when someone would be sure to kill one of their ducks ... Our next stop would be the spring by McPersons. We would play round there getting a drink. Someone would get his head ducked in the water and that generally would start a fight. Before we left we would dirty up the water so that girls did not get a drink ... I remember one time there was a swarm of bees settled in a hollow post by the side of the road. Every night we would throw stones at the post. Soon there were no bees left ... As we travelled we began to get hungry. Just over the fence was McDermid's turnip patch. "Lets have a turnip," About a dozen of us would go and get a turnip. We would have to pull two or three before we found one that suited us.

1. Thompson Flora, Lark Rise to Candleford, p.157.

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We would keep this up every night."

And here is an account of a girl going to the same school. "By 8.30 many children had collected at the store. We divided into groups each choosing to walk with his or her particular chum. The Hall section was alive with insect life, crickets and locusts chirruping gleefully. Fred Kennedy was an expert at finding a green one; he was sure to have one in his pocket. When looking for crickets and playing among the big tussocks we often found clusters of potato berries that were good to eat. Nearing Willow Bank farm we would see Mr. McDermid; if it was winter time he would perhaps be helping Peter to get ready for a ploughing match ... Mr. McDermid had not much faith in our Southland weather; he would say to us, with a withering look to the South, "Girls, go home for your ulsters; this sunshine can't last, it will no be long dry," Not wanting any advice we went on our way ... Next we would come to Annfield farm, a home at which we feared to call. They had a dog called Jack which frightened Nickless McNaughton and me one morning. In my bag I was then carrying a crochet needle which pierced my leg. We thought it very serious and called on the kindly assistance of Mr. McPherson who removed the needle with all the tenderness of an expert surgeon. Passing on we came to an old homestead nestling beside delightful native bush. I remember this place by the beautiful raspberries growing in the garden ... Sometimes a child would have a message to give Johnnie Crawford whose little home and garden were in from the main road. We have vivid

1. Waianiwa S.J.M., p.113.

recollections of luscious gooseberries grown in his garden and of his mother, a typical highland woman, who wore a beautiful white mutch, with lace and frills, a wonder to us all. 'She was wont to remind us that we could never be as clever as the scotch lassies. But we retained our unspoken doubts on that point .. We would always see Mr. Kennard dressed for work in beautiful white moleskins, tied below the knee with "bow-yangs". He thought it wise to be on the road when the school children were near for he had a fine flock of ducks swimming in the gravel pit beside his home .. Very often Mr. Robertson would be sitting on the edge of the bush just opposite the school. We children all enjoyed listening to the stories he had to tell of the very early pioneering days .. Very often we would get a ride to school .. the two seniors .. would take us on horseback. It was a glorious sensation to canter along the road. Katie Wallace very often had her milk-cart filled with children."¹

Other characteristic incidents from along the way are the following :

"The hounds and cats knew as if by instinct the time of our passing and would get well under cover."²

"Hanging on to traps, milk carts or any vehicle passing along was eagerly availed of, and often we would take a lot of whip before we would let go."³

"There were sometimes as many as eight riders covering that

1. Waianiwa S.J.M., p.85.

2, 3. Waianiwa, S.J.M., p.14; p.14; For a good account see also John A. Lee, Children of the Poor, London, 1939, p.81.

staunch, good natured old horse from his ears to his tail. They faced backwards; the boys would hit the horse and stir him to trot, and then the girls would slide to the ground one at a time over his tail.¹

"Even to make flax reins and turn ourselves into a spanking team of horses and their driver was better than trudging along like tired swaggers."²

"We would select a stone and kick it before us for miles, but this was frowned on by parents and teachers as too destructive of shoe leather. We skipped with willow ropes, made willow whistles, ate berries and collected plants." (Lower Moutere 1900).

"We followed my leader everywhere: along the rails on the side of the road, up the banks and through the mud." (Dunedin 75).

In these accounts and other it is noticeable that some games were particularly appropriate to the 'Pathways to School' and hence thrived upon them :

³
(a) Games of movement naturally had ample scope. What better place to gallop as horses, drive hoops, whip tops, drive 'cats' in Tip-cat, walk on stilts, run races, leap the frog and follow the leader, or play 'Follows' in marbles?

(b) It was a place also for those anti-social plays called play of protest; for the raiding of orchards, the staging of fights, the lighting of fires and throwing stones. As one teacher of the time said,⁴ "I don't know how it is but the children quarrel very much on the way to and from school."

1,2. Waianiwa S.J.M., p.85; p.117, respectively. For a good account also see John A Lee, Children of the Poor, London, 1939, p.81.

3. The system of classification will be referred to again later in the Chapter.

4. Paekakariki, 1886-1946, S.J.M., p.16.

(c) There was scope for hunting skills with shanghai, pea shooter, bow and arrow.

(d) And scope also for an interest in nature, the collection of flowers and ferns and the tasting of natural foods, berries and fruit.

Secondly, with reference to the "Quarter Acre Green".

Certain games have been played in nearly all areas of which I have information. These games are termed here "Universals". There are other games which would probably also turn out to be 'Universals' if sufficient information was available. The 'Universals', or widely known games, are listed below. As well there are lists of games which were not so widely known. The larger lists of this second type which are listed under some provinces occur solely because more information has come to hand from those provinces. In order to give an idea of the number and variety of games played at any one school, there follows, after the above lists, the lists of games played at several representative individual schools. The indications are that, in these early days, there were no sweeping differences between schools in different provinces. Nor were there great differences between individual schools, although, as today, some school had a wider range of games than others did, and some schools specialized in games that other schools did not play.

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After these various lists there follow accounts of the way in which these games were played in and outside the school playground.

Finally, in order to take the picture that this chapter presents one step nearer towards the real conditions of the time, there are two accounts of individual play life. These pictures bring together into one piece the various facets of children's play life that are outlined elsewhere. The first individual account presents a picture of playlife amongst working class children in a rural environment. The second account presents a picture of playlife amongst 'well to do' children in an urban environment.

The following games are recorded in several different provinces. We can assume, therefore, that they were all widespread before 1900, although ^{not} necessarily played everywhere. Most of them continued to be general in the period from 1900 to 1920. Those of which there is little record after 1900 are as follows :

Pre - 1900: Sally Waters, Jingo Ring, Last Pair Out (or Run), Punch King, Chivvy Chase, Chibby, Pole-vaults, Duckstones, Lazy-stick, Cunning Joe (Cronje, Cunjo or Cunny), Buttons, Buck Buck

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1. The Provincial lists and the lists of 'Universals' were composed as follows. The games in every separate report and interview throughout the investigation were listed separately. These separate lists were then grouped according to the Province in which the games were played and the year in which they were played. The lists which are given in the following pages are drawn from an analysis of the many individual lists grouped together in this way.

(Jump little Nagtail or Monkey on the Bridge), Queen Anne's Dead, Ickety Bickety, Tip Tap Toe, Dumb Crambo, How Many miles to Babylon, Queen of Sheba.

Other games of which there is also little or no record after 1900 but which were not so generally known before 1900 are as follows. Games of which the name only was remembered by the informant are marked with an (x).

Otago: Carry my Lady to London (x), Jack a Ling Lingo, Babbity Bowster (x), Wallflowers (x), Oats and Beans and Barley (x), Merry Ma Tansa, Follow old Mum to Market, Kick post one, Peggy, Trip and Go, Horney, Mingle the Bonnets, Hop the Hats, Pinch, Dooking for Apples, Cum je Cum, Nivvy Nivvy Nack, Hot Cockles. Canterbury: Down in the Valley (x), Curly Locks (x), Here Comes a Lusty Wooer (x), As I was walking (x), Bold jolly lads (x), Boys and girls (x), Green grow the leaves (x), Three little Ships, Baloo Baloo Balight, Tursie, Hop the Hats, Block Hammer and Nail, Judge and Jury, There was an Old Woman, Button. Golden Bay: Here's a prisoner, Duck under water, Would you lend my Mother a Saucepan, Cap-it, Hopping Base, Hop-peg, Bumpers, Horney.

Wellington: Merry go rounds, Mummy, Blackthorn, Run the ball, Cockly hole, Cap-oh.

Taranaki: Dumpy, Hopping base, Hats, All in, Flicks, Tekegrams, I love my bean with an A, Putting an eye in the peg.

Hawkes Bay: Fool Fool Come to School (x) Brother Ebenezer (x)

Auckland: Wallflowers, Aunt Sally has gone to Paris.

1900-1920:

Games which were played generally before 1900 and were

also well known up to 1920 but not greatly thereafter are as follows :

Jolly Miller, Green Gravels, Pretty Little Girl of Mine, The three Dukes (or one Duke or two Dukes or Saucy Duke), Thread the Needle, Smuggling the geg (or gag), Egg Cap, Stagknife (or Knifey or Momley peg), Fly the Garter (Flying the Gap), Shinty, Cat's Cradle, Tip-cat (Cat and dog) Knucklebones (Jacks, knuckles, chuckstones, chucklebones), Trim the Hat, General Post, Bingo, Honeypots, Bells, Lotto, Shuttlecock, Quoits, Egg and spoon, Croquet, Skittles, Botany Bay, Butcher's Bat, Fill the Gap.

Those less generally known:

Otago: London Bridge, When I was a Lady, Follow her to London, Round and Round the Village, Goosey, Touch, Space Ring, Space to Space, Holding, Kit-Cat, Scramble, Wiggle Waggle, Hurling.

Canterbury: Trading, Brewer, Chuck Farthing, Parson's Cat, What Colour's the sky.

Golden Bay: Jenny Jones, Teazle, Tallyho, Homaiacky, Stealing Grass, King Pin.

1900-1950:

Games which were played generally before 1900 and are still played today are as follows. In most cases it should be noted the games are seldom played as much today as they were in the earlier years. - games played as much or more today are underlined.

Horse, Trains, Circuses, Houses, Schools, Shops, Dressing-up, Sledges, Stiffs, Kites, Hoops, Shanghais, Darts, Bows and Arrows, Pea-shooters, Whips, Transfers, Peep-shows, Dolls, Daisy-chains,

Tinker-tailor grass, Oranges and Lemons, Nuts and May, Kiss in the Ring, Ring a Ring a Roses, Drop the Handkerchief, Draw a Bucket of Water (or a Pail), Poor Sally (or Jenny or Alice), is A Weeping, In and Out the Windows, Mother Mother the Pot Boils Over, Ghost in the Garden, Mulberry Bush, Rotten Eggs, Moonlight Starlight, Tig or Tag, Puss in the Corner, Two's and Threes, Tiggy Tiggy Touchwood, Hide and Seek, French and English, Bar the Door (or Red Rover or King Sene etc.), Kick the Tin (or Boot), Tom Tiddler, Sheep Sheep, No Man Standing, Hen and Chickens (Fox and Goose, Sheep and Wolf), Rounders, Hop-Scotch Skipping, Marbles, Leap-frog, Bull in the ring, Follow the Leader, Sacks on the Mill, Cockfighting, King-o-the Castle, Paper chase, Hares and Hounds (Fox and Hounds), Football, Cricket, Tops, Hop Step and Jump, Jumps, Skipping Stones, Races, Throwing Stones, Ducks and Drakes, Soldiers, (or Conkers), Bird-nesting, Fishing, Rabbiting, Swimming, Swinging, Prisoner's Base, Pitch and Toss, Eggs in the Basket, Musical chairs, Hide the Thimble (or Key), Blind Man's Buff, I Spy, Hunt the Slipper, Forfeits, Consequences, Simon Says, Draughts, Cards, Noughts and Crosses, Postman's knock, Charades, Priest of the Parish, Fire air water, Mineral animal vegetable, Word-making, Snakes and Ladders, Whispers, Family Coach, Statues, Giant Strides.

Those games generally known before 1900 but still played today :

Otago: Tip the Finger, Tip tap, Twopenny catches.

Canterbury: Bedlams, Odd Man, Prisoners, Trading, Pat-ball, Do as I do, Spin the Trencher.

Taranaki: Steps and Strides, Tailing the Donkey, Telegrams.

School Lists.

Examples of the range of games which were played in some schools before 1900 are as follows. Naturally the examples chosen are those about which records appeared to be fairly complete. Nevertheless, even these cannot be considered exhaustive.

South Clutha 1875, (Male).

Fire on the Mountains, Sally Water, Merrra Ma Tansa, Rounders, Chuckie Stones, Stagknife, Tip Cat, Chevey Chase, Jolly Miller, Hot Cockles, Cockfighting, Pitch and Toss, Tip tap toe, Hurling, Shinty, Buck Buck Buck, Leap Frog, Hop Scotch, Cat's Cradle, Wiggle Waggle,

Tahataki 1879, Otago. (Female).

Bar the Door, Nivvy, Nivvy Nack, Pinny Show, Tops, Leap Frog, Blind Man's Buff, Cricket, Rounders, Football, Catching and bouncing balls against wall, Hop Scotch, Marbles, Jingo Ring, Trip and Go, Hide and Seek, Twos and Threes, Bingo, Drop the Handkerchief, Puss in Corner, Tig, Green Grass, London Bridge, Honey Pots, Forfeits, King of the Castle, Hickety Bickety, Sacks on the Mill, Jolly Miller, Kiss in the Ring, Nuts and May, Pretty Little Girls.

Stillwater 1885, Nelson. (Male).

Smuggle the Gag, Fly the Garter, Rounders, Tops, Marbles, Fox and Hounds, Bar the Door, Cricket, Hockey, Paper Chase, Duckstones, Skipping, Kites, Stilts, Hop Scotch, Cockfighting, Hide and Seek.

Taranaki 1880, (Male).

Cockfighting, Stagknife, Tops, Bull in the Ring, Hopping Base, Stilts, Wrestling, Fly the Garter, King O'Seeny, Kites, Marbles, Follow the Leader, Whips, Hoops, Paper Chase, Skipping, Eggs in the Basket, Finger Stones, Knock Backs, Hop Scotch, Puss in the Corner, Kick the Tin, All in, Hide and Seek, Twos and Threes, Filling the Gap, Prisoner's Base, Oranges and Lemons, French and English, Rounders, Last Couple Out, Kiss in the Ring,¹ Sally Waters, Nuts in May.

There are certain salient characteristics of the early playgrounds. The games were run entirely by the children themselves; their play apparatus was of their own manufacture. There were many 'rough' games and other 'rough' play and fighting which were a normal part of the playground life then, but which do not exist in the playgrounds of today. Apart from this stern note, the play was on the whole, less sophisticated than it is today. Older children played at games in which present day children would scorn to indulge. Organized sports were only beginning, and many other games had nearly as much importance. There was consequently a far greater variety of games in existence than is the case today. The school play year was divided into many small seasons rather than into two major ones which tends to be the case at present. Further there was much more rigidity about the limits of these seasons than is now the case. Today, organized sports have ridden rough-shod across

1. These lists were taken down in interviews with the following people: South Clutha: Dr. James Brugh, Dunedin. Tahataki: Mrs. Johnstone, Dunedin. Stillwater: Mr. Isdell, Greymouth.

these original seasonal boundaries.

The following description of the children's play is not restricted to the school playground. There is space only for a selection of representative examples.

The system of classification used here will be explained fully in Section 11, Part 11. At this point it is used merely for convenience. Its basis does not need to be understood. Briefly, however, the categories used are as follows :

Imitative Games, Games with Play Objects (toys and any other articles used by children for toys), Singing games; He Games, (all games of chasing and tagging); Leader Games, (a special type of girl's game), Pack Games (boy's games of the Cowboy and Indian variety); Plays of Protest, (informal plays with an aggressive or anti-social character); Skill Games, (competitive games involving physical and intellectual skills).

Imitative Games:

In this era there are many reports of older children -- children of the upper primary school -- playing imitative games which today are, on the whole, played only by the younger children of the lower primary school, although older children in some rural areas still play these games.¹ This lack of sophistication was due primarily to the fact that the children of the day were not positively influenced by adults - a consideration which is the main concern of Chapters Seven and Nine. The children's lack of sophistication was due also to the fact there were fewer available toy materials. There was, in consequence, a greater implicit

1. See section 11, part 1.

demand made upon them for improvisation in their make-believe play, with the result that their own complex make-believe games had a more mature appeal in them than have the simplified less creative counterparts of children today. There is space to quote here only a few of the examples received which bear out the above points. It will be noted that some of the games derived their stimulus from aspects of adult life which no longer exist today.

Illustrative Material page 107 to page 112.

"Even the big boys did not think it beneath their dignity to play¹ Marbles, Hop-scotch, Horses or Rounders."

Houses - "All through the primary school we played it with old broken crockery and dolls." (Catlins 95). "All the girls would bring flowers for their houses under the pine trees beside the school." (Waikouaiti 95). "We played it in the flax tussocks and got into a row because we tied together the tussocks and flax for seats and the horses were tripped by them." (Hampden 85).

"With the passing importance of horses, coaches and bullocks games based on these activities slipped ignominiously down the age scale. In the nineteenth century they were a very important part of the life of both men and children, thus in 1890 it is noted in the College Street School, Log Book (Palmerston North) that "The beautification of the grounds was handicapped by the fact that all the trees planted had to be protected from the children's horses."² Others write: "We played horses even in

1. Andersons Bay School 1858-1928, 70th Anniversary, S.J.M., p.17.

2. See also Lee J.A., Children of the Poor, p.44 and Union St, S.J.M., p.13.

S.5. We would career round riding a stick and using a switch. There would be horses everywhere and a lot of 'horse-talk' or at least our idea of it." (Gisborne 90). "Horses were played with some children as horses (with reins, usually knitted ones, decorated with little brass bells,) and other children as drivers. At another time with our cousins we had 'horses' of sticks of toi-toi, the grassy heads making effective manes for the horses which were decorated with coloured wools and ribbons. And nobody touched another one's horse without permission." (Dunedin 90).¹ "Another popular toy was made from a small branch of Kauri (*Agathi Australis*). These branches, when cast off by the tree, have a disc shaped enlargement at the end that was attached to the trunk. With the aid of a pocket knife, a boy could quickly carve the disc into the shape of a horse's² hoof. We would then take his imaginary horse into his hand like a walking stick and would be delighted to see the miniature hoof prints in the sand or the soft earth."² (Waipu 1870). "The senior boys were the horses, the lightweight juniors were the jockeys - and races followed. A development -- the horses were blindfolded, the jockeys steered the horses by their ears. I, as a jockey, either failed to steer well, or my horse was so intent on his running that he did not obey the steering, and ran into a tree -- result a bleeding nose."³ (Greendale late 80's).
 Bullock Teams:

"It was easy to make a team of working bullocks from pieces of

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1. See also Dannevirke South School, 1900-1950, S.J.M., p.31.
 2. McKenzie N.R., The Gael Fares Forth, p.115.
 3. Colee W.C., Reminiscences, c/o Council of Educational Research.

supplejack (*Rhipogonum scandens*) with their opposite branches doing duty as horns. The manufacture of yokes, substitutes for chains and model sledges gave a boy the pleasant feeling that accompanies successful achievement. Leading the team by a piece of string¹ was the next step. "We joined bottles together with flax end and dragged them along the road on the way to school in imitation of bullock teams." (Waikouaiti 70). "It was no uncommon sight to see a bullock team twenty strong in the playground and we knew the boys best suited for polers² and leaders." (Waianiwa 1885).

Coaches:

"On a cold and frosty morning we would have a dozen in a row as a coach, hands joined behind backs." (Waikouaiti 00). "For coaches, two children linked arms behind each others backs while standing side by side. Then they ran along imitating a pair of coach horses." (Moeraki 00).

~~Trains:~~

"We had a rope. All players held the rope with one hand. The first child was the engine whistle. They ran along in a line." (Moeraki 00). "We each held onto the coat of the one in front. As it gathered momentum the train swung sharply round the school much to the consternation of the rear. It was nothing to see twenty boys sprawled across the playground by the centrifugal force." (Dunedin 85).

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1. N.R. McKenzie, op. cit., p.115.
 2. Waianiwa S.J.M., p.114.

Ploughing Matches:

"Amongst other pastimes, miniature ploughing matches were held on the roadside, the furrows being turned by pocket knives or other small flat tools. I remember Bob Grieve constructing a miniature swing plough which he brought to school and tried out."¹ (Waianiwa 80's).

Circuses and Concerts:

There was plenty of stimulus for this type of play. As early² as 1857 Foley's Circus made its appearance in New Zealand.

"We used to sew up some old coal sacks and do handsprings and double somersaults on them. We would get into little trunks to perform." (Dunedin 75). For an example in the best Booth Tarkington tradition, consider the following from Invercargill 70-80. "The section on which Jim Kingsland's home stood in Esk Street ran to Tay Street, opposite to Adam Little's timber yard. Mr. Little's white horse, a placid old creature, was a valued adjunct to the yard. Jim had imagination and he saw in the combination of yard and horse -- a circus if you please. He got some sacking, taught the horse to do a few simple stunts, helped himself to some timber and pitched his tent at various points about the section. Once he got it up against his father's dwelling. It was used by some youthful smokers and the "reek" drifted indoors and Jim had to shift camp. Then he and his associates made a rare find in the timber yard - a fine span - a ship's mast in fact. It was too long, so taking Mr. Little's consent for granted, they sawed off ten feet or so, then rigged

1. Waianiwa, *ibid.* See also Waite, Pioneering in South Otago, p.55.

2. Supplement to the Press, March 19th, 1940.

round the pole a quantity of canvas. They also achieved a platform, and, with the help of some of the older girls in the vicinity, ventured to give an entertainment -- admission, a piece of slate pencil. This was the charge till some canny souls cut their admission to a mere stub, whereupon the management altered the charge to a marble....Of course a circus needed a band, and kerosene tins were promptly requisitioned. The music evolved might not have satisfied a Siddall or a Wills, but it drew a crowd, who one night enjoyed an unrehearsed effect -- the platform collapsed." (Invercargill 70's).¹

Bands:

We played on mouth organs, combs, jew's harps and accordeons. A piece of paper was put around a comb and blown or sung into. The boys in our street had contests against those in the next." (Dunedin 90).² The Salvation Army came in for its share as a play-source. "The Salvation Army was quite a new institution in those days and many a rotten trick including stale eggs and cabbages was played by the older toughs of the town on the small company of odd folk who held their meetings at the 'pub' corners. I have no recollection of any boys taking part in this typical intolerance. Perhaps they had no eggs. But just as a circus, the races, a tangi, or an ordinary funeral, a stock sale or even the riding of mares by women, provided the base for much of our acting, so the Salvation Army became one of our choice models. Occasionally there would be a gathering of the clan and we would

1. Invercargill S.J.M., p.77.

2. "Kerosene Tin Bands", Balclutha S.J.M.

parade the back streets (10 - 15 of us) with kerosene tins for drums, tops of tins for tambourines or cymbals, hollow cones of brown paper, several combs wrapped in tissue paper and squeakers. These were made of two pieces of tin or zinc between the slightly concave sides of which a piece of tape was tightly stretched and the ends firmly bound together with tape. Between the taped ends the pieces of tin were bare and slightly apart. When properly blown the instrument could make a noise like that made by an angry Kaka -- quite good enough for rhythm but hopeless for tune. The band played a number of tunes and shouted over and over again words that sometimes parodied the original words. Here is one I remember a part of :

Oh you must be a 'lover' of the Lord, of the Lord
Or you won't go to heaven when you die, when you die
Oh you must wear a collar and a tie, and a tie
Or you won't go to heaven when you die.

Once or twice we 'did the block' but I am afraid our collection was even more inadequate to our supposed needs than the Army's was to theirs. A Guy Fawkes appeal was much better supported. The Army was considered either irreverent or a pest." (New Plymouth 1880-90).¹

Play Objects.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the play of this era, was the manner in which the children of the day made and improvised their own toys and play-objects. The time and effort

1. Anderson J.C., Old Christchurch in Picture and Story, Christchurch, 1949, p.234, contains a similar incident. to that recorded above.

they put into the construction of these toy articles is weighty evidence for the view that children learn and learn most industriously when preoccupied with the articles of their own free play. Most of the play objects mentioned in the pages that follow refer to play out of school. Play which was usually at home or nearby the home.

Illustrative Material page 113 to page 121.

There were some manufactured toys available in this era though certainly not the vast quantities that exist today. Here are two examples. The first is from Waipu, 1870, and the second from a 'well to do' home in Nelson 1880. "In the early days, organized games like cricket (cricket was introduced in the 70's and football several years later) and football were out of the question and very few toys were procurable. Girls were usually able to get dolls at rare intervals while boys could perhaps get pop-guns, Jew's Harps and tin whistles. These, together with tops and marbles, exhaust the list of ready-made toys available in my childhood ... They made up their own crude games based on their limited experience or they adopted simple games suggested by their parents."¹ "We had battledress, shuttlecocks, cup and ball, ropequoits, jig-saw puzzles, blocks - picture and building, ninepins, toy trains, lead soldiers. Also from paper we made cocked-hats, paper boats, paper belows and from playing cards, we made houses and pancakes." Perhaps the most time-absorbing class of home-made play-objects of the day were the 'Motive Play Objects'. That is, the

1. McKenzie N.R., op. cit., p.115.

innumerable devices which children constructed to promote the movement either of themselves or some object. For example: Sledges which were carefully made out of runners and crossboards, or some simply from pieces of sheet iron or the universal cabbage tree branch.

Stilts, which were used for wading, racing and fights like cock-fights in which great groups of boys jostled each other in a struggle on sticks (Gisborne 90) and (Nelson 75). There were also the smaller tin or block stilts attached to the feet.

Billy carts served many purposes, but trolleys were not so widely known till a later age.

Hoops were a world in themselves; a story of eager hours¹ spent at the Blacksmith's forge and of tightly held sex distinctions with regard to the types of hoop used. "The girls were expected to run along gently with a light hoop which was usually kept closely in control with the attached looped handle. Of course the more vigorous boys forged past as if they were in² power dives by comparison." "It was in the winter quarter we all had hoops, the girls with wooden ones and the boys with iron ones. I remember earlier than my school days seeing the street full of College girls all beating their hoops along." (Nelson 88). Hoops came from other sources than the forge. They were made also from twisted wire, hoops off barrels and hoops off drainpipes. The team games that were played with hoops, (and with stilts) are evidence of the manner in which the

1. Mangatainoka School, 1889-1949, S.J.M., p.36.

2. Katita under the heading of "Nostalgia" in Otago Daily Times, 2nd April, 1949.

older children of the day developed these 'unsophisticated' play activities to levels of complexity which made them not only tolerable, but even a challenge to older children. For example: "There were evenings when the hoops were out and races or longer rambles took place, a dozen or more boys participating. Even stunts were not barred, for hurdles, tournament clashes and bowling in and out among bottles¹ often varied the programme." "Every second Saturday a Hoop Race was held a distance of about three miles. Of course the juniors got a good start with their small hoops but it was heart breaking just when you thought you were doing well to see one of these six foot hoops coming up in the rear; more heart breaking still it was when one thought he would receive a prize and his hoop broke at the welded joint." (Waimate 80). "In the team 'Hoop-Dance' there were about half a dozen on each side. They lined up opposite each other in two rows. A hoop was bowled down the two rows by a side A. person. A side B. person tried to run his hoop through the other at right angles. Turns were taken alternately and the side won that ran the most hoops through without knocking the other hoops over." (Takaka 90). Kites: "These took all day to make and a few moments to smash, but at least there were no electric light wires in the way." (Nelson 75). They sent 'messages up the tails' (Nelson 80) and this was a widespread practice. There were triangular kites, box kites, ~~box-kites~~ and occasionally other oddly shaped constructions. There were even fights between kites in which

1. Katita under the heading of "Nostalgia" in Otago Daily Times, 2nd April, 1949.

one kite attempted to pierce the other with its head. (Waitara 90). Windmills made out of squares of paper with slits along the diagonals are reported as early as 1860, (Taieri).

Perhaps the class of play-objects which came next in importance to the motile play-objects, were the "shooters". The construction and use of which appears to have absorbed an immense amount of time. Numerous accounts are to hand of bows and arrows, the bows made of willow, supplejack, broom, bamboo, umbrella ribs and corset wires. Arrows were of toi, toi, dock, bamboo and pampas. But willow bows fashioned in the Spring generally had pride of place. "We called ourselves the 'William Tell' boys. We didn't take our bows to school, though we took our slings concealed in our pockets." (Tapanui 80). Opinions vary as to the success with which the progeny of Tell and Hood scored hits on the local bird life.

¹
Shanghais (or Catapults) were the favourite projectiles throughout New Zealand. There is occasional reports of Slings. Stones and gun shot were used for pellets in these weapons. Shanghai elastic could be bought at the store in those laissez-faire days. Clay-shooters of supple willow sticks required less effort than the other shooters to make, but were also popular. Pea-shooters were made chiefly from elderberry wood. Wheat was the customary missile. Quill guns shot potato or parsnip. Spring guns were made with elderberry (or other) tubes and the spring from an old corset, (again!) Water shooters, sometimes called 'sausages' were made from old fashioned breast bottle tubes or old tennis balls.

1. See Davin D., The Corse Blooms Pale, p.57.

Darts were made from paper or matches.

Whips were made from flax plaited in various ways. They were used for cracking, for fighting, and "to flick off with a lash from the longest distance a small tin from the top of a post or a small stone from the top of a big one without moving the big one." (Taranaki 80).

In addition to the motile objects and shooters, there were many other objects which children could use as their 'toys'. There were animals with which to play. In rural areas then, as today, there were many pets. It is likely that in the more rural condition of the time, pets were more frequent than they are today.¹ One correspondent contends that there were more dogs in Christchurch before the first World War than there are now.

Considering the extension of traffic since that time, this seems feasible. Another writes, that as a boy in Wellington 70/80 he had for pets, cats, guinea pigs, ferrets, weasels and stoats -- an unlikely collection for the town child of today. But animals were not kept just as pets or used only in imitative games, (see above). There were other ways to play with them. "We used to tie tins to the dogs tails any evening after dark just to hear the row they would make." (Carterton 95). There is record also of lice races² and imitative cock-fighting with hawks and turkeys.³ (Kaikohe 1890).

Fires are always an attraction to children.

There was more scope for such activities in that age, however, and

1. See For Example, "Schooldays Change", Dominion, 14/2/51.

2. National Education, May 2nd, 1947, p.119.

3. Harcourt Melville, The Day Before Yesterday, p.246.

it cannot be gainsaid that the pioneers set the children an example. "I used to delight in going over the back country and lighting fires," (Richmond 70) says one informant.

Explosions were another favourite. Miniature brass cannons, no less than shanghai elastic, were sold in the shops at 3 pence and 6 pence. (Timaru 80) and as "life without gunpowder was practically a state of non-existence,"¹ explosions were frequent. Blasting powder could be bought from the store or gunpowder stolen off father. There are numbers of reports of experiments in exploding refilled cartridges. This is not unusual as nearly every house of the day had a gun and live and legitimate targets² were often at the back door.

Magnifying glasses were available not only for stamp collectors, but also for making fires, torturing enemies or marking initials. Not unassociated with these play-objects were the noiseproducers; the bull-roarers (Dunedin 70)³ and the 'Snory Bones'. (Moeraki 95). The latter was a button whirled around on a piece of string. Of greatest importance, however, were the willow stick whistles which were made with infinite patience and care.

Then there were the water-wheels made at the stream's edge in imitation of the local flour mill (Taieri 60); water-fights with stones; damming streams⁴ and the sailing of toy boats with the universal flax sticks.⁵

1. Norman Lindsay, Saturdee, p.67.

2. See further: College St., S.J.M., and Mangatainoka, S.J.M., p.39.

3. See Haddon A.C., Study of Man, London, 1898, p.277.

4. Combs F.L., Ben, Sch. Jnl., March 50, No. 2, Pt.1V, p.53.

5. Morris Stella, Wiremu, Hamilton, p.16.

One cannot help but be impressed by the important place of the pocket knife in those days. As a play object it was the factotum of childhood. It was used for Stagknife, whittling, carving, erasing inkblots and making all kinds of shooters, shanghais, pea shooters and whistles. The pin also had its place albeit a less important one. "They carried them on occasions -- an interesting apparatus for diversion in a humdrum meeting."¹

Games which were more characteristically female pleasures had a quieter note about them. Either they were less exuberant or they were centred on the home. Of the former type are the girls explorations among the flora of the countryside -- the daisy chains, tinker-tailor divinations and in some places games with flowers, the interest of boys in grass games tended more towards stuffing grass down each others necks or slipping creepy grass up a trouser leg. In addition for girls there were Pinny Shows :

"A pin or a bull or a button

To see a rary rary show show show." (Takataki 75). called Pin Dips (Waimate 80) or Poppy Shows (Wakefield and Nelson 75) and the Fairy Gardens, which were a reproduction perhaps of the London child's grotto.² Then there were the see saws.

Some of this informal play centred round 'natural' foods. Around Kei Kei (Giggy) hunting for example,³ (Taranaki 80, Granity 95) although this activity was not restricted to girls. In the countryside there were to be eaten willow shoots, broom shoots

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1. Thomson J. Miller, The Bush Boys of New Zealand, Chap. 8.
 2. Douglas N., London Street Games, p.106.
 3. Thomson, op. cit., p.179.

young briar rose stems, honey from spring flowers, elderberries, (Moutere 1900), lawyerberries, whiteberries of the stink wood, brambles and fuschia and red berries of white pine trees, and innumerable others. (Waiianiwa 80/90).

There is record also of many hours spent playing indoors with play-objects, for example, in making necklaces out of beads, blowing bubbles, playing string games, making hand shadows on the walls, hand games such as "Here's the Church". (Waikouaiti 90, Nelson 80), "Wiggle Waggle", "Peter and Paul" (Taranaki 80), "Walk down the Path" (Nelson 80), "This little Boy went to market" (Wellington 70).

There were also collections. Before 1900, stamps, birds eggs, sea-shells and marbles appear most frequently in reports of collections. There is report also of collecting other natural objects.¹ But in these years collecting was seldom the craze that it became in the twentieth century. "We would make collections of road side wild flowers and grasses, and sometimes on arrival at home, these were lovingly pressed between paper or in a book, but they never survived for many months as there was no idea of sticking them down or cataloguing them." (Lower Moutere 1900). There were scrapbooks in which 'Transfers' and pictures could be pasted. As Anderson says "These were the days when coloured almanacs constituted the picture gallery of many people,"² and, it must be supposed, the source of many a scrapbook. There were many other play-objects. This sample should suffice, however, to illustrate some of the ways in which the children of

1. The position was the same as that in America in the same period. See Hall S., Aspects of Child Life and Education, Boston, 1907, p.205.

2. Anderson J.C., Old Christchurch, in Picture and Story, p.380.

the time occupied themselves at informal play.

Singing Games:

The singing games already listed for the picnics are those which appeared most frequently in the girl's playground in this age. Having seen them played by youths and adults and having on occasions participated in them themselves, the girls of the day readily produced them in their playground play. The fact that in the majority of cases the girls were segregated in their play - sometimes by a concrete wall - permitted them to carry on these tranquil 'sports' undisturbed by marauding boys. In these years Oranges and Lemons, Nuts and May, Green Gravels and the Jolly Miller appear to have been the four singing games most universally known. Those that appeared most frequently in the playground were : Oranges and Lemons, Nuts in May, Green Gravels, Jingo Ring, Draw a Pail of Water, Pretty Little Girl of Mine, Ring a Ring a Roses, Farmer in the Dell, Sally Waters, Poor Sally is Weeping, Drop the Handkerchief, Mother Mother the Pot Boils Over and Bingo. Those played more frequently in the presence of adults but occasionally also in the playground were, Jolly Miller, Three Dukes, London Bridge and the Duke of York.

The particular value of these ring games for girls, especially in small schools, with a diversified age range, was their democratic character. They were games in which the children of all ages could participate. It is clear, however, that these singing games were not universally played at schools by girls. The practice differed from place to place. Consider for example the following :

"Oranges and Lemons would come in crazes, different age groups

having their own circle. We had also Draw a Pail of Water." (Waikouaiti 90).

"The Jolly Miller came later in the 80's but not while I was at school." (Wakefield 70).

"The Jolly Miller, Pretty Little Girls of Mine and others were played in the playground." (Tahataki 75).

"The singing games were played more often on the Reserve next to the school. I remember especially Sally Waters." (Sth. Clutha 75).

"We did not play any of the singing games at school but played them only at home and at friend's places." (Palmerston Nth. 00).

"Green Gravels was played at school and I have a feeling it might have been a bit sexy in party." (Nelson 90).

"We all joined in Nuts and May at school." (Timaru 80).

"We played Nuts in May in the school grounds and inside school if it was too cold." (Otago 70).

He Games.

There appears to have been fewer He games before 1900. This may be no more than a surface appearance, because the great variety of tagging and chasing games occurs mainly in the play of the S3/4 age-group and this is an age which is easily forgotten by the reminiscer. He tends to remember only the more obvious and advanced games of his S5/6 years. Thus "tig" is always remembered though its innumerable forms may not be. On the other hand some informants claim that they never played tig in its present haphazard forms, but only in a 'circle' (Cat and Mouse or 2's and 3's formation; "with the mouse running round and 'jinking' the cat by getting another player between herself and

the cat player." (Tahataki 75; Waikouaiti 80; South Clutha 75).

We could expect that the circle formation might have been the more general form as children would imitate it from picnics and adult practice. Further it is likely that the less vigorous and circle forms of tig would have been more suitable to the starched and heavy habiliments of the time, particularly as far as the girls were concerned. It would also be the form naturally adopted by the older -tig players. Children of the upper school classes were prepared to play tig just as they were prepared to play some of the imitative games.

However, the greater attention given to these formal tig games can only have been a matter of emphasis. All the main forms were played then as they are today. Tiggy tiggy touchwood and Hide and Seek for example, which were universal, are very informal. Their structure is very loose. In addition, Fox and Geese, Bar the Door, Tom Tiddler's Ground, Prisoner's Base, French and English and Pass in the Corner were all common. There is trace also of other variants of a more formless type. "Tig round the School: You 'jinked' and turned back. We played it to warm us up but it was a dangerous game." (Taieri 60). "Trip and Go". (Tahataki 75). "Chase: As you caught the runners they joined your side." (Naseby 1900). "A lot of random tagging." (Christchurch 70).

In these early years there were both many different variants¹ of, and innumerable names for the Bar the Door games, for example: King Caesar, Julius Caesar, Seenio, King's Den, King O'Seenie, King O'weenie, Horney, Goosey, Keenie Seenie, Blackthorn, Black

1. These are discussed in Chapter 17.

Bull Bee. This variety probably reflects the diverse origins of the settlers. The game also had many different names in the British Isles. Subsequently there has been a tendency for the name Bar the Door to be more widely diffused in the South Island than the other games; perhaps due to the influence of teachers from Otago. In the North the name King Seenie or some close variant of that name has tended to become the most widespread.

Leader Games.

There is little record of girls Leader games in this period and it is clear that the more varied ones were not known. There is, however, record of all the root forms out of which the later varieties appear to have developed, namely, Giant Steps, Giant Strides, (Dunedin 1900) Statues, (Dunedin 90) Tip the Finger, (Moeraki 1900) Trading (Nth. Canterbury 90) and I am a Turkey Merchant, (Marton 90) Butcher's Bat, (Amberley 90).

Pack Games.

It will be explained in Section 11 that there appear to have been fewer Pack games, in these days because there were fewer common ideas to unite the Packs.¹ One interesting fact about Pack play in these (and later days) which has often been noted, is that New Zealand children have constantly played Indians but seldom at Maoris. "Generation after generation of New Zealand boys have fed with shining eyes on the stories of European and Indian Scouts and have scarcely realized that these

1. See further Chapter 19.

men have had prototypes in their own land."¹ "Cowboys and Indians was the main game in this series and there was no trouble in getting boys to take the part of Indians. They were scarcely regarded as enemies. It never occurred to use Maoris though Maoris were playing with us all the time. I mean it never occurred to us to play Maoris and Settlers." (Petone 1904). I attribute this situation to the fact that the pages of children's literature (and subsequently the film) were filled with the exploits of the Indians. From 1870 onwards the adventures of the arrow shooting, scalping West, spread across the world. Thus, Turner, speaking of the innumerable boys' magazines which sprang into being towards the end of the century, says "Sooner or later, a fictional hero had to pit his wits against red indians. Dick Turpin was shipped to America by the Blue Dwarf and found himself caught up in some stirring adventures with the Mohicans. Jack Harkaway had numerous blood thirsty encounters with redskins....Sexton Blake undertook at least one enquiry on behalf of a Red Indian Chief....And the boys of Greyfriars (Magnet) were as certain to be embroiled with Apaches on their trips to North America as they were on their trips to Paris."²

New Zealand on the otherhand has never seen any such glorification of the militant relationships of the Pakeha and the Maori. Our rather shamefaced attitude to the Maori Wars and our veneration of the anomalous Waitangi did not lead to the

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1. Mulgan A., From Track to Highway, Wellington, 1944, p.59. See also, Lee J.A., op. cit., p.121.
 2. Turner E.S., Boys will be Boys, London, 1948, p.233.

growth of a literature extolling the victories of 'self-reliant' colonial against the ravaging Hau Hau.¹ However, had the glorification of the Indian and of British soldiery elsewhere in the world not existed as a counter-influence it is quite conceivable that white children would have taken to Pack games of Maori and Pakeha. There are, for example, a few records of children having played these games. One has already been cited in Chapter one. Another: "Father's sister played at Red Indian at Waipu for a long time after the arrival of their ship from Nova Scotia, but the game was frowned upon by the strict elders of the Gaelic community. During the Maori Wars, the Red Indians became Maoris, though it was the same game of hiding and stalking." (Waipu 1860's). "I can remember some of us making a Maori Pa on Primrose Hill Paeroa, then covered with a dense growth of manuka, intersected by survey tracks." (Paeroa 1900).

Other 'ideas' for Pack games came from the literature and events of the time. Of great importance to the children of the day was the Kelly Gang in the 80's and 90's. For example: "When Fred Jackman led the Ravensbourne 'Kelly Gang' what stirring times! He was so enthusiastic in his tin helmet that he was quite a power among the scholars. What Mr. Kyte thought of the escapades we shall not tell. A broken leg ended Fred's career as Kelly."² "At Paeroa with the forest at our doors, and the exploits of the Kelly Gang our favourite bedtime story, we played bushrangers endlessly." (1900) Also mentioned - Dunedin 90, 'Bushrangers'; Dunedin 1885, 'Kelly Gang'; Naseby 1900,

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1. See for example Miller H., New Zealand, p.108; Beaglehole, New Zealand, A Short History, London, 1936, p.38.
 2. Ravensbourne S.J.M.

'Bushrangers'. The effects of other ideas and events on these games are seen in the following examples : "Robinhood, which included staff fighting injurious to heads. Jules Verne and the Wright Bros." (Dunedin 90). "Ivanhoe, Tom Sawyer, Arabian Nights". (Gisborne 95). "Russians and English with tussock and clod fights." (Hampden 80). "Indians: stalking each other through flax patch and swamp. We had different tribes of Indians and made wigwams from flax sticks." (Timaru 80). "De Wet and Boers." (Dunedin 1900). "When the Ohinemuri river spilled a flood of yellow water over the swamplands each winter, we were pirates with tin-lined boxes for our pirate ships, and many were the fierce Lepantos we fought." (Paeroa 1900). "Then there were the preparations for the great battles fought in Lindsay's paddock, the flax swords and koradi spears. How we girded on our swords and smote the French at Waterloo." (Waianiwa 70). "On another occasion there had been a bit of blood working up for days between two factions of boys. After holding a League of Nations Meeting (although not called that then) we decided to settle it with the sword. Buck Wilson was the captain on one side and I on the other. Some thought Wilson's side won and some thought it didn't. During the fight Porky was pressing Whirlie McNaughton very hard until Whirlie forgot the League of Nations rules and hit Porky round the ears with his sword. I think that ended the fight." (Waianiwa 80).

Plays of Protest.

Some of the informal games termed "Plays of Protest" which were typical of the times have already been outlined in

Chapter 4. It will be remembered that these were the informal plays of the classroom which the children of the day carried on in defiance of the authorities. There were other ways, however, in which the children of those days rebelled against adult authority and adult convention and asserted themselves individually and in their gangs; These "ways" were the "Plays of Protest" which were more characteristic¹ of this era than of a later one and justify the viewpoint that the play of these days was of a rougher nature than the play of today.

Illustrative Material page 128 to page 136.

Consider first ~~that~~ attacks on adult authority. One of the most characteristic of the forbidden activities of the day, was hanging on the back of horse drawn carts. "In those days butchers and bakers carts drove from town. They were not in the habit of dropping spoils to delay us, but we were in the habit of hanging on behind. They would lash at us with their whip over the back of the cart, and once I caught the stinging out of a lash on my ear. In retaliation I called out "Butcher, baker, candlestickmaker; they all jumped out of a rotten potato", The Man on the cart turned his head to tell me, "Heh! young man, if you're not more polite I'll take the whip to you." To keep up my end I informed him I'd knock his head off. He stopped his horse, leaped down and gave chase."²

The poor ventilation of the day gave rise to many opportunities for a characteristic type of trick. The trick was to fasten

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1. Other Plays of Protest which were played in this era but which were also characteristic of a latter one are dealt with in Ch. 20.
 2. Waianiwā S.J.M., p.118.

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tight the door of one of the old pioneer's huts or of the school room then block the chimney with a sack and wait for the inmates to be smoked out.² In addition water or other oddments, such as fish could be thrown down the chimney. For example:

"The scene is an old fishing village. Each hut has a wide open fire and a low chimney. One old chap who was very cantankerous was singled out to be teased. The boys played all manner of tricks on him. This night they made tiny pieces of paper up into balls, each ball containing a little gun-powder. These balls they tossed down the chimney into the half dead open fire place. The old man -- an Austrian, said afterwards, "I lie in bed and puffet my pipe. Tommit my cat, he lie by the fire. All at once "fiss bung, an Tommit hit the bloody roof. I not get out fishing for a week. Every time I stir the fire -- fizz bung, fizz bung all the bloody time." (Moeraki 95).

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There were many other tricks. "We would imitate a rooster in the evening and set all the chucks in the valley going."

(Takaka 95). "I used to crawl up a culvert when I saw a horse coming with the result that the horse would rear up to a stop at the culvert or jump over it. I had many a hiding for this." (Nelson 95). It is probably true that the children of the day

were more intolerant to strange adults (foreigners and others) than are the children of today.⁴ This was a natural reflection of the greater group intolerance of the time, an intolerance

1. Green Island S.J.M., p.13.

2. The trick on huts: A regional Survey of the Borough of Naseby, Dunedin, 1939, p.67; and Norman Lindsay, Saturdee, p.66. The trick on schools: Mangatainoka S.J.M., p.39; Owaka S.J.M., p.13.

3. See for example Lee J.A., op. cit., p.123.

4. For example McKenzie N.R., op. cit., p.129; Green Island S.J.M., p.21.

mentioned already in Chapter one.

Smoking, raiding orchards, pilfering and stone throwing were other outlets in which children flouted adult authority. There was obviously more scope for raiding orchards then than there is today, and perhaps, on account of hunger, more incentive to pilfering fruit and other forms of food.¹ Hunger was a permanent state according to some reports.² Not all, however, went to the following lengths. "It was a common trick of ours to kill a fowl. We put feed outside of the wire netting. When the fowl put his head through to eat we hit him over the head with a stick, then reached under the netting and dragged him away. In the bush we made a fire until the stones were red hot. We covered the fowl with clay, and put it on the red hot stones with a wet sack over it. As a result all the entrails and the feathers fell out and we ate the rest." (Dunedin 80).

³
Stone throwing incidents are well recorded.

Plays of Protest against the adult conventions of the day are naturally less well recorded. What information there is, however, suggests that some of the children of the day were no less interested in obscenities than are some of the children of today. However, in an age of poorer communications and less

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1. Waianiwa, S.J.M., p.17; Anderson J., op. cit., p.232 and 234; Leckie F.M., Early History of Wellington College, p.118; McKenzie N.R., op. cit., p.193; Wylie's Crossing School, Taieri Plain, Otago, 1894-1944, S.J.M., p.14; Blenheim Borough School, 1859-1937, S.J.M.; Jubilee Souvenir of Paraparaumu School, 1889-49, S.J.M., p.10; Sawyers Bay School 70th Anniversary, 1861-1931, S.J.M., p.7; Newtown, S.J.M., p.24; Balclutha, S.J.M.
 2. Albany St., S.J.M., p.31; Ravensbourne, S.J.M., p.32.
 3. Papakura, 1877-1937, S.J.M., p.4; Blenheim Borough, S.J.M.; Waianiwa, S.J.M., p.34.

pliant ethical standards, it is doubtful if obscenities spread as quickly as they can today, for example, in Intermediate and Consolidated schools. But there were exceptions : "To get new swear words we used to go to the Te Aro wharf and hear the cattle landed and get our vocabulary much enlarged." (Wellington 1870). One informant who spent his primary period in a school located in a gold mining district, described the manner in which the boys at his school competed to tell obscene jingles and stores. "The boy who could tell a new dirty jingle became the hero of the day. We would often chant these in groups to the girls to make them laugh or disgust them." (Naseby 95). I cite only two of a number of examples given by this informant in order to demonstrate that children of his day were capable of obscenity neither better nor worse than that of which children are capable today. Some present day examples are given in Chapter 20. "Oh Mother, Oh Mother come to me quick, And see the great Irishman's bloody big prick, As long as my arm and as thick as my wrist, And two bloody big balls the size of my fist. Oh Mother, Oh Mother he's into me now, As fast as a bull gets into a cow. He's into my shit bag, he's next to my liver, Oh Mother, Oh Mother, he's right up my quivver." And "Penny a look, twopence a feel, threepence a go at the hairy wheel. Fourpence an hour, fivepence a night, sixpence as long as you bloody well like."

Occasionally then, as now, a breach of conventional standards came before the eyes of the teacher. The following recordings in several Log Books can be regarded as typical :

"Thrashed severely A.H. for interfering indecently with the girls."

(Waione Log Book, May 7th, 1901),

"Today I punished a boy, for using obscene language in the playground. The punishment was administered with a light cane over the buttocks." (Pongaroa Log Book, 31/10/01).

"Mrs. P. called at the school this afternoon to investigate a complaint of using bad language which Mrs. W. had laid against her son. The boy admitted the words complained of but the girls had given him some provocation by teasing him.. As he is only 8 years of age and this is the first time a complaint has been made, it is probably he did not understand their impropriety. He has promised better behaviour." (Ngaturi Log Book 30/10/04).

Individual and Gang fighting are two activities which seem to have decreased markedly with the years. In this era, however, they were at their peak and were a reflection no doubt of the ruggedness of the age. An age to which W. Pember Reeves could posit the question "How's Trade," and receive as an appropriate answer "There aint bin a fight for a week!"¹ There is evidence² that some teachers³ of the time, along with Stanley Hall, saw some value in this 'noble strife'. Although this was not, always the case as the following record makes clear. "Two boys were punished for fighting in the school ground. They were encouraged by about thirty others who shared in the dividend at a somewhat lower rate of payment."⁴ There are many records of

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1. Reeves W. Pember, The Long White Cloud, p.231.
 2. Albany St., S.J.M., p.30; Invercargill Mid., S.J.M., p.23, p.73; Thomson J. Millar Rev., op. cit., p.76; Christchurch East Sch. 78th Anniversary Souvenir, S.J.M., p.9.
 3. Hall S., Youth, Its Education, Regimen, and Hygiene, London, 190' p.94.
 4. College St., S.J.M., Extract from Log Book, 1894, p.22.

schools having had their special fighting arena to which the pupils retired -- out of sight -- for the fight.¹ For example "We had an arena surrounded by black logs and blackberry bushes." (Nelson 95). "Hawthorn hedges round a gravel pit." (Palmerston North 1900). Often the fights were arranged for the entertainment of the older boys.² "They were arranged by the school bullies." (Nelson 95). "Small boys were induced to fight for sport." (Waipu 1880). "You even had to fight your boy friends if it was arranged for you." (Waikouaiti 95). "There was nothing organized for us, so we organized fighting." (Dunedin 75). "Fighting was arranged in a paddock. If one funk'd it he was crowned. The victor patted him three times on the back and spat over his head -- usually aiming too low. I never remember seeing any boy consent to crowning even when threatened. Sometimes he was held. Otherwise it was the ultimate humiliation which no one could stand and retain his self respect." (Petone 00). "She learnt further during the course of an incredulous investigation that every boy had to fight twice a week to retain respectability. Opponents were selected by a committee and the fights took place on Wednesdays and Fridays. It was "too, too much" but perhaps not surprising when one looked at the fathers."³ (Kaikohe 1890) But the fights were not always arranged. Sometimes they arose casually, often in connection with football.⁴ "They arose out of arguments amongst the barrackers."

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1. For other example see Sargeson F., When the Wind Blows, Ch.Ch., p.15; Ravensbourne, S.J.M., p.15; Blenheim, S.J.M.; Waianiwa S.J.M., p.113; Christchurch East School, S.J.M., p.9; Mangatainoka, S.J.M., p.31.
 2. N.R. McKenzie, op. cit., p.193.
 3. Harcourt M., The Day Before Yesterday, p.246.
 4. See also Mangatainoka S.J.M., p.31; Anderson, J.C., op.cit., p.383.

(Charleston 90). Girls are not often mentioned in this connection but there were some exceptions "I saw many fights in the gravel pit amongst the boys and on one occasion my sister scratched the face of one boy who was apparently winning in a fight with my brother. Sometimes girls fought in their own way -- hair pulling etc." (Moeraki 90).

It was natural enough that group differences would become a basis for group quarrels, that is, differences in school, religion and locality. These differences gave rise to group battles, some of them partly of a mock nature (as in the Pack games above) others in deadly earnest. For example: of those which appear to have been only partly serious, consider the following: "Clod fights were the favourite, especially with a stone in the clod." (Nelson 95). "The personal and the arranged individual fighting were dwarfed by the mass fighting of the Reds and Blues. Can you imagine twenty Reds pitted against twenty Blues, making use of straps with buckles on them, with waddies, with 6 foot manuka sticks confronting one another in real battle array and at a signal and with the use of rallying calls entering the fray determined to overcome and rout the enemy? Blood flowed, heads and bodies suffered, until one of other side was overcome through sheer exhaustion and casualties! This section fighting assumed such ugly proportions that authority, in the shape of the Head Master, stepped in and prohibited it." (Queenstown 80).

Fights of a more serious nature were as follows.¹ "It was a case of those going up the road versus those going down it.

1. See further Waianiwa S.J.M., p.18.

And we fought whenever we could." (Takaka 1900). "The boys in this valley challenged the ones from Church Valley. Dozens on each side challenged each other to fight. All lined up and picked opponents one after the other and set to, one fight at a time. This did not happen very often." (Wakefield 75). "Feuds between schools also occurred. Boys from Braigh school were often afraid to walk past the Central School alone. They either went quickly past the danger zone or formed a party strong enough to resist the enemy. Boys from Central School took similar precautions when passing the Braigh School, but they rarely had occasion to travel in that direction." (Waipu 80's). "It was the 'Home Gully' v the 'Wet Gully'. Occasionally we united to fight the town." (Naseby 1900). Religious differences, especially those between Protestants and Catholics were always regarded as a legitimate ground for conflict. Innumerable jingles centre around this particular dispute. To give one example "Catholic Catholic Ring the Bell, Proddy Dog, Proddy Dog, go to Hell."¹ (Takaka 1900).

A similar note of harshness was apparent also in some of the initiation ceremonies of the day. Ducking under the tap was the most widespread of these customs. But there were others with a more unique flavour. Of these "King of the Golden Sword" is probably the most interesting. "The new boy was made to face the fence with his hands behind his back. There was a long ceremony about his crowning and entry into the school and then finally the sword which had been dipped into the latrine

1. For others see Davin D., The Gorse Blooms Pale, p.10.

was pulled through his fingers."¹ (Mt. Cook 90, Taita 00, Clyde Quay 00). "Another initiation rite was 'Pee-Wee some more yet'. The initiate was blindfolded and ordered to pee-wee some more yet into another boy's cap. The cap turned out to be his own." (Mt. Cook 90). "One very interesting initiation ceremony was to take the new boys down to the stables and wait till a horse was urinating and then spin him under the stream." (Petone 00). "He had to eat half a tin of pipis." (Rangitoto 00). "He was invited to a tug of war with his cap. The cap was held in the teeth of the initiate and the teeth of one of the big boys. Hands were supposed to be behind backs. While the struggle was in progress the big boy urinated over the initiate who could not see the operation because of the hat, but learned about it only gradually and with surprise." (Takaka 70). These few examples must suffice to illustrate the point that although the children of the day had ample scope for creativity in their play, they had also scope for the expression of the more barbaric elements in their natures. Their freedom was clearly a mixed blessing.

Skill games.

In this era there were no major games. True, some of the games of the day were relatively more important than others, but none of these commanded the attention which is commanded by the 'major' school sports of today. The year brought instead a changing round of seasonal activities including games of all types.

1. Douglas N., op. cit., mentions a version called "Deliver the Golden Jewels". The game is mentioned also in Saturdee by N. Lindsay.

The more important of these skill games were as follows: Rounders was the most widespread summer game of both boys and girls, although it was played more often by the girls than by the boys. Shinty or Hockey was the most widespread winter game of boys. It was during these years, however, the 'eighties' and 'nineties' that cricket and rugby gradually replaced rounders and shinty as the playground games of boys. Rounders continued as the mainstay of girls' summer play even after the advent of tennis. Girls did not have a major winter game until the appearance of basketball.

A characteristic of the unorganized but important skill games of these years was the manner in which the children improvised their own sports gear. Just as they manufactured their own play - objects for their make-believe and less mature games, so they contrived play gear for their more complexly organized team games. Their are innumerable examples.

Illustrative Material page 137 to page 155.

Rounders: "We used a piece of old board for bat." (Waikouaiti 80). "A broom handle was the bat." (Dunedin 80). "We didn't play with a tennis ball till the end of my time at school. Usually it was an old stocking rolled up tight and sewn together." (Hampden 85). "A common bat was the stem of the Korari, from the flax bush. It had to be still wet because it was brittle when dry. We called it a Kaladdy." (Sth. Clutha 75). Often matches were arranged between girls and boys. One informant says. "At one time the boys would play the girls, and at other times the girls would play the boys." (Takaka 70).

This was a condition which is reported to have been general.¹
(Waikouaiti 95, Nelson 75).

Shinty: was played "With manuka roots for sticks and²
macrãcarpa nuts for balls." (Tua Marina 80's). "With tins
and sticks on the road." (Nelson 75). "We used the cry³
Hockey One, Shinty two, Cherry three and away." (Waikouaiti 1900).
"A supplejack root was pared down for a ball." (Collingwood 95).
"I sawed the wooden end off the bedstead for a ball." (Colac Bay
1900). "It was well named -- all the skin was off our shins and
there were often black eyes."⁴ There are other reports of the
game's roughness.⁵ The games was known also as Hurling.
(Sth. Clutha 75).

Cricket: "There was no cricket at the school, then. It came
later". (Tapanui 80/85). "Cricket had been in vogue since the
school opened in '73' but for the greater part of the half
century it was casual and intermittent." (Invercargill 80's).
"A kerosene tin for wicket, paling for bat, and dogs for scouters."
(Dunedin 70). "Pick handle bats and solid rubber balls" (Lawrence
80). "At first all material for games was either the product
of the boys or their parents or friends; very roughly made out
of anything convertible, viz., staves of barrels trimmed off for
bats or rough palings of boards similarly trimmed to shape with a
drawknife or spokeshave, or toned down by a pocketknife or chisel.
The wickets consisted of thin stakes cut to length and sharpened
with a knife. "Punk" taken from trees, at hand everywhere in the

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1. Waianiwa S.J.M., p.115.
 2. A History of Tua Marina School, A.M. Hale, 73th Anniversary, 1871-1949, p.5.
 3. See Invercargill, S.J.M., p.78.
 4. Waianiwa S.J.M., p.11 and p.111.
 5. For other reports: Anderson's Bay S.J.M., p.17.

bush, was often used for a ball. Large pieces of three or four pounds would cut two or three. Boys became quite expert in rounding these to make a ball somewhat resembling a polo ball. Gloves and pads were out of the question, so the boys knew how the hands were stung when a faulty hit was made." (Carterton 80's)¹.

Football: "Football was quite unknown to us. I never saw the game until long after I left school" (Lawrence 80).

"There was no football" (Tapanui 80). "We only once had a master who taught us. The rules were rafferty and we really had no idea of the game" (Waikouaiti 95). There were some

areas; where the game was played much earlier than these

quotations indicate. Where this was, the case, however, the play was generally stimulated by the school's association with a Secondary Department. Gear was improvised in this

game also. "We would go to a slaughter house out of Timaru for a bullock or a pig's bladder." (Timaru 80) "The bullock's bladder was quite good when dried out. We could get it from Patrick's on a Saturday morning, blow it up with our mouths through a piece of straw and tie it with string." (Dunedin 85).

In some country areas boys continued to play football with these bladders up till the first world war. (Waikouaiti).

There were other materials employed but animal bladders were always the most popular. "We used matagouri scrub in a sugar bag for a football. It was light and bouncy but bust very soon." (Hampden 80) "Punk, the fungus from a rotten tree, was used for a football." (Carterton 95). "Our football was made of

1. Carterton D.H.S., 1861-1937, S.J.M., p.13.

sea-weed. The shetlanders knew how to make them. They entwined the sea-weed round and round, plaiting it like the fender on a ship. The ends, tied with flax, never came undone." (Charleston 90).

Gear was also improvised by the children for their numerous other games, although many of these did not require the gear that was necessary for the above mentioned sports. These 'minor' games held almost as much importance in the school play year as Shinty, Football, Cricket and Rounders. We shall deal with these games in groups. There are two general features of these skill games: Firstly, the great majority of the skill games played were for boys. Games which were widespread and also more distinctively girls' games, can be numbered on one hand. (hopscotch, knucklebones, skipping.) Secondly, a large number of the boys' games were of a 'rough and tumble' character. This rough play along with the 'Plays of Protest', is our evidence for the claim, that the play of the day was of a more turbulent nature than its counterpart today.

Consider first some of the hitting, throwing, catching and pitching games whose place to some extent must have been taken later by cricket, tennis and baseball.

Of the hitting games the widely known, Tip Cat, was¹ without doubt the most important. In places where the ground was really not suitable for cricket, boys varied their

1. There are reports of the game under this name from all Provinces, but also under the name of Tippeny Tap (Carterton 95/05) and Jackstick (Stratford 00/05).

summer play at Rounders, with play at some form of Tip Cat. There were many variations of this game including individual games of simply hitting the little pointed six inch wooden 'cat' as far as possible, taking numbers of hits according to the number which fell upwards on a specially numbered cat, estimating the distance the cat was hit and then jumping that distance, 'bowling' the cat back to hit the bat at the 'hitting-off' place.¹ In addition there were team games of Tip Cat, many of which combined some of the elements above. Other team games notably games most widely known as Cumming Joe or Gunjo² (Auckland OO, Waikouaiti OO, Dunedin OO), Conjure (Anderson's Bay), Cronje (Paeroa OO), Cunny Jo, (Naseby OO), Cat and Dog (Leeston and Woolsten OO), were properly organized team games remarkably like cricket. These Tip Cat games were, in fact,³ one of the historical forerunners of the game of cricket. It is not surprising, therefore, that they readily gave way to cricket when reasonable pitches and supplies of cricket gear came to hand after the turn of the century. There are other reasons why Tip Cat gave way to cricket, however, as the following quotations readily evidence. "Tip Cat came in suddenly in seasons like marbles, but it was nearly always stopped straight away because children were hit with the flying 'cats' and windows were broken." (Carterton 90). It

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1. For further details see Haddon A.C., op. cit., p.267; Gomme A.B., Traditional Games, Vol.11, p.244.
 2. For a description see Anderson's Bay, S.J.M., p.18.
 3. Mehl Erwin, Baseball in the Stone Age, Journal of Western Folklore, Vol.vii, No.2, April 1948.

was hit through the windows." (Auckland 00). "One boy received a nasty gash over the eye from one of the sticks." (Stratford 00). "In a crowded playground, a lot were hurt." (Nelson 75). And so the game faded, which was perhaps a pity because the game had its harmless aspects. "Half the pleasure was whittling the stick into shape," says one correspondent. (Palmerston North 00).

Otherwise "Soldiers"^{which} was played with the heads of plaintain grass was the only generally known hitting game in this era. But there is mention also of "Conkers" (Christchurch 75), of "Staff-Fighting" in imitation of Robin Hood, of "Battledore and Shuttlecock" (Paeroa 1900), "Bumble-Puppy" (Palmerston Nth. 1900) and "Hildegarth" (Whakaronga 1890).¹

Tops, was the most widely known of the throwing games, with Duckstones occupying second place. As with Tip Cat, both of these games were boys' games. In the early days, Whip-tops, was the most highly esteemed of the top games, but Whip-tops gradually disappeared as roads became heavy with traffic and the flax retreated into the hinterland. Even in early days there were some areas without flax, where Whip tops was~~y~~ unknown. With the course of years, Pegging Tops, became the favourite game. In some places today, Spinning Tops alone remains. In these early years, however, there were as yet no signs of this coming degeneracy. There are records indeed of team forms of Whip and Peg top; two sides aiming to whip or peg tops in different directions towards prearranged goal mouths. (Peg: Dunedin 75,90;

1. Whakaronga, S.J.M., p.11.

Whipping: called "Dumpy" Taranaki 80). The Top game of 'Keep the Kettle Boiling' was also widespread, and in some areas, Humming Tops were popular. In some places the boys¹ Humming Tops were imitations of the Maori Humming Tops (Taranaki 80). The tops were sometimes made by a local carpenter or toy-maker, but often they were made by the boys themselves from willow, cotton or linen reels, the end of a chair or other suitable woods.

There were Duckstones in many varieties, including stones simply thrown at a small stone perched on a big stone; (called "Chuckstones" Sth. Clutha 75 and Duckstones: Wakefield 75, Stillwater 85); other versions which included chasing, (Granity 95, Seddonville 95); others which included collaring, (Takaka 70); and running team forms of the game. (Collingwood 90).

Throwing stones is about the only other throwing game of any wide spread importance. "Skipping" stones was fairly generally known as "Ducks and Drakes", and there is report that a round smooth stone thrown high above the river in order to land in it with as little splash as possible, was known as "Dead Man's Dive" (Nelson 80). Throwing and bowling boulders down hills² receives some mention in these years.

Catching games were more often played by girls but were not especially restricted to them. "Butcher's Bat" was a common game of the day and was played even by the older children.

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1. Best Elsdon, Games and Pastimes of the Maori, Dom. Mus. Bull., No. 8, p.88.
 2. Barker Lady, Station Life in New Zealand, p.136.

It was known sometimes as "Penny" or "Tuppeny" catches. The fact that older children knew so well a game as simple as this suggests that a much lower level of ball handling skill prevailed then, than prevails today. There were fewer opportunities then for ball handling practice.

Of the pitching games, Egg Cap was the most general. This was known variously as Egg in Cap (Charleston 90, Palmerston Nth 00), Egg in the Cap (Auckland 90, Bay of Plenty 85), Egg Cup (Whangarei 96), Rotten Egg (Nelson 75, Naseby 95), Mingle the Bonnetts (Otago 70); It was a pitching, chasing and ball tagging game involving the use of school caps or holes in the ground, into which the ball was pitched.¹ It was a summer game for boys.

Another pitching game of less importance but also widely known was "Pitch and Toss." This game was usually played with match box tops and called "Bells". There is mention of it being played also with Buttons. (Ngakawau 95). In secondary Schools of course, it was played with coins. Children also pitched horse-shoes as quoits (Epokongino 00) and rolled balls at skittles in imitation of the nine-pin alleys of the day (Wellington 00).

Next, consider some of the running, rough and tumble, jumping, hopping and athletic games of the day. Nearly all these were boys' games. Their place was taken later by rugby. The commonest of the running games --- and this was and is, the most universal of all the unorganized games in all historical

1. The Game of Egg Cap, New Zealand Physical Education Society Bulletin, Jan. 1947, Vol.11, No.4.

periods ---- was some form or variation of Bar the Door.

In addition to Bar the Door the majority of schools had at least one, and sometimes two, other important running games.

One type of such running game was the type played within a mapped-out area with team bases such as Prisoner's Base.

This running game rivalled Bar the Door in importance during these years. Types which were similar, but not quite so widespread were "Chibby" (Motueka 00, Nelson 00, Central Otago 80) and games which involved stealing some articles from the other team's base. (Stealing grass, Rockville 80; 'Stones' Dunedin 80; 'King Pin' Nelson 95).

The other type of running game which was popular in this era, was that in which the children ranged far and wide over a large an unspecified area; games such as the universal 'Hares and Hounds' and the not quite so well known 'Chevvy Chase' (Moeraki, 95; Clutha 75; Hampden 80; Dunedin 85). This later type of game was encouraged by the relatively rural surroundings of the schools. Again and again we read of the Hounds starting out after the Hares at the beginning of a school lunch hour and not returning till well into the afternoon. Paper Chases were more often arranged out of school time particularly, during the week ends. The event of Harriers and Football in the 'nineties and Boy Scout Tracking after the Boer War helped to replace these large-scale running pastimes.

Most schools appear to have had several rough and tumble games which appeared spasmodically throughout the play year but were not of quite the same seasonal length as the

running games mentioned above. These games were of about equivalent importance. Consider for example: Cock-fighting, Sacks on the Mill, No Man Standing, King of the Castle, Bull in the Ring, Follow the Leader.

There were, too, some varieties of Bar the Door, which included an extremely aggressive punching element. In 'Goosey' (Waikouaiti 00) Punch King (Dunedin 90) and Punch King Sinny Oh (Wellington), one team of players ¹werded off another team by punching them. It was one team's job to drag the other team out from a base and the other team's job to stay there by punching off the first team.

Bull in the Ring was also very boisterous. "A big fellow in the middle would terrify the smaller ones when he began to bang and punch his way out of the ring holding his two hands together." (Naseby 95).

There was cock-fighting on piggy-backs and also the squatting "game-cock" variety of cock-fighting. The latter was often played in a ring chalked on a shed or class floor, particularly, on a wet day.

Follow the Leader, could also be extremely rough as the Rev. ²Miller Thompson's account makes very clear.

No Man Standing was a matter of throwing everybody else off their feet, not just a matter of tagging those who were not squatting down as is often the case today. "Sacks on the Mill, More on Still" speaks for itself. In addition to individual games of King of the Castle there is record of team

1. Leckie F.M., op. cit., p.320.

2. Thompson, Rev. M., The Bush Boys of New Zealand, p.26.

games. For example at Nelson 90. "There was a team game in which a side of twenty sought to hold a platform of steps against the invading horde. The side of twenty wore caps and the invaders did not. It was the aim of the invaders to snatch the caps off the "Kings". It was an extremely dangerous game and after many had been bruised and broken and an eye nearly gouged out, the authorities stepped in and stopped the game."

In the jumping and hopping games girls gained more expression than they did in the other games of the day. Hopscotch, for example, although played to some extent by boys, was generally regarded as a girls' game. The hopscotch games of the day were more complex than those which are familiar in the playgrounds of today. "We used to have marathon contest that went on through playtime from one day to another." (Dunedin 90). Rectangular diagrams were the most common diagram then, as now, but they were rivalled in importance by the straight avenue diagrams. After World War I these straight avenue diagrams disappeared almost completely and they were replaced by the aeroplane pattern which is very common today. Skipping was also a distinctively girls' game. It was, in fact, their major winter game. There appears to be little difference between the skipping skill of girls in those days and girls of today. Although it is only the younger girls (S1/4) who play skipping regularly today, they equal, if not excel, the skill of the children in these earlier years. A condition due probably to improved playground surfaces and lighter footwear.

The other types of hopping games were boys' games. Namely,

Hop Peg (Takaka 70), Hop the Hats (Waianiwa 70), Hopping Base (Murchison 90, Takaka 80, Wakefield 75, Clutha 75, Dunedin 75) and of course, Hop Step and Jump.

The main jumping games were also boys' games. Of these, Fly the Garter was the most widespread. This was a form of Leap Frog and was played with many variations including Cap It (Nelson 90) and Cappon Pie (Featherston 00). In these particular variations, caps were piled up on the 'Back' in order to make it more difficult for the jumpers. to leap over him. Along with Leap Frog, Fly the Garter was generally a frosty weather game. Girls occasionally played Leap Frog. They would leap over backs who faced sideways rather than with their rears to the jumper.

Next in importance to Fly the Garter were the various forms of Buck Buck. This was played as an individual game (Adair 90, Dunedin 75, 90) and as a team game. In the former case it was known as Buck Buck and in the later under several names including: Saddle the Nag, (Queenstown 80); Jump Little Nagtail (Nelson 75, 90, Collingwood 90); and Monkey on the Bridge¹ (Granity 95). In the team form a team of half a dozen boys jumped up on the bending backs of a horse of half a dozen boys strung together in a line. It was just as much a rough and tumble game as some of those mentioned above.

Annual Sporting events and picnics had an effect on children's play in a way that they do not today. There was a tendency for children to imitate in their own play, the athletics

1. For a full description of these games, see Sutton-Smith B., New Zealand Variants of the Game of Buck Buck, Folklore, June, 51, p. 329.

which were of most importance at these events. We hear a lot in these years, for example, of children practising foot-races, three-legged races, sack races, wheel-barrow races, tug-o-war and in some cases, even pole-vaulting (Waikouaiti 95). In addition "We used to imitate the adult wrestling then in vogue at all the Sports Meetings, namely the Cumberland Style, Collar and Elbow, Catch as Catch can." (Lawrence 80). Informants report playing Lazy Stick which was a popular adult recreation in some areas at the time. (Moeraki 95, Rockville 95, Dunedin 95).

There are records also of children skating and, with them, the inevitable accounts of children falling through the ice.

¹
(Waikouaiti 00). There is reference to tobogganing and snowballing and, worthy of note, several accounts in which the teachers of the day took time off from school to let the children have pitched snow-battles.²

Swimming was in many places reckoned to be the summer sport for boys. "One of the major enjoyments was building the hole"³
(Wellington 00) Girls did not share this recreation quite so freely. The adult attitude to their swimming was sometimes:

"Mother May I go out to swim?"

"Yes, My darling daughter.

Hang your clothes on the gooseberry bush

And don't go near the water." (Palmerston Nth.00).⁴

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1. Whakaronga, S.J.M., Cowan J., Settlers and Pioneers, p.153.
 2. Waiianiwa, S.J.M., p.88; Oamaru South School, 1877-1929, S.J.M., p.13; Newtown, S.J.M., p.12.
 3. Ravensbourne, S.J.M., p.30; Mayhew W.R., Tuapeka, The Land And Its People, p.224.
 4. This rhyme quoted to me in innocence permits another interpretation.

There were in addition other quasi athletic games which were of a more distinctly childish nature. For example : "Merry Go Rounds" in which we all joined hands and danced round sideways. We did this on cold mornings to keep warm." (Stillwater 85).

There was much activity on swings, see-saws and giant strides largely because these were the recognized apparatus for children.¹ Balancing on one foot while picking up objects with the hand was another game (Stillwater 85). Most balancing, however, took place on tight-rope resembling structures. Thus "A high palisade fence was erected round the first school as a protection against the Maoris. Fortunately, it was never required for the purpose. The more nimble of the boys used to climb the palisade and walk along the parapet."² (Carterton 80's).

Climbing, of various sorts was always a widespread favourite. For example "I often think that had our fond parents but known the ploys their boys were engaged upon, their hair (the parents) would have stood on end, turned grey or fallen out; a ploy such as hide and seek on a moonlight night when a number of us would visit a plantation of 60 feet pines. There would be say six hiders and two seekers. The hiders would scale up the high trees, give the signal and the seekers would try their best to find and tig the hiders. Coming to the foot of a tree, the seeker would spy the hider, and proceed to climb the tree after him. The hider, knowing he was spotted would climb higher and higher, with the seeker hot on his trail. To avoid capture the hider would crawl further and still further

1. See further the next chapter.
2. Carterton D.H.S., S.J.M., p.11.

out on a swaying branch and just as the seeker was reaching out his hand to grab him would release his hold and trusting to sheer luck, drop, hoping to have his fall broken ere he reached the hard ground." (Queenstown 80's).

Sliding with boots was a favourite both on the dry autumn grass and in winter on ^awet slide. Water was poured down the latter to make it slippery. "One of our tricks was to put a peg in this track the last thing at night so that the first boy down the next morning would go head over heels." (Waikouaiti 95).

Ghost-walking was another game. "I think it must have been going out about 1901 or 1902, for I don't remember it later, but a cousin, twelve years older than I am, told me that all the children ghost-walked in her country school days, that would be the late 'eighties and early 'nineties. The movement was sideways, with the feet held close together. It was supposed to be noiseless in barefeet and competitive. Some of the girls were incredibly quick at it." (Paeroa 00).

Walking was another favourite of the times. Expeditions were occasionally arranged by teachers ¹ or by the boys themselves. "We enjoyed going on a Saturday morning ramble to watch the work in foundries, factories and on the wharves. (Mt. Cook, Wellington 1880).

One of the most important types of school games has now to be mentioned. This is the type comprising the manipulative

1. Leckie, op. cit., p.168; Albany St., S.J.M., P.14; Invercargill S.J.M., p.69. On a less vigorous scale, Walking was an adult divertimento also. Thus: "Without the distraction of motor cars, trams and motor buses, promenading had a quiet vogue" (Auckland 70) Auckland Star, Dim. Jub., 1931, p.21.

games. They played an important part in the school playground of the age but do not seem to have been absorbed into the Sports that ultimately helped to take their place.¹

Of the manipulative games marbles and stagknife for the boys, and knucklebones for the girls, were the most important.

Marbles as is well known, was a world in itself forming a universe complete with its own laws and its own champions.

Big and Little Ring or some form of Holey game were generally the favourites. In addition, Line games, Eye-drop, Knock-backs, Butcher's board, Mullibar, and Follows were games of subsidiary importance. Stagknife was also played practically everywhere. It was most generally known by that name but was known also as Bites (Collingwood 95); Jackknife (Timaru 80); Momley Peg (Marton 90); Knifey (Gisborne 95).

Other manipulative games of less importance were: Knucklebones,² which is dealt with elsewhere; Buttons, a boys game like marbles. (Wellington 90); Holes, a boys game (North Auckland 00) and a few others played mainly by girls: Cat's Cradle, (Akaroa 80, Sth. Clutha 75, Paeroa 00, Mt. Cook 90); Hand-clapping games such as 'My mother said' (Nelson 90, Palmerston 00); and 'Pease Pudding Hot' (Christchurch 00); Clumps in which the players put one hand on top of another (Palmerston 00, Waikouaiti 00).

The majority of the games dealt with have been boys' games. Some schools seem to have attempted to make up for the

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1. There appears to be less desire for these "quiet" manipulative games in the modern age, just as there is less desire and need for the home-centred "quiet" manipulative occupations of needlework and sewing.
 2. Chapter 12.

lack of games for girls (especially winter time games) by providing them with an assortment of indoor games. In some cases a box of such games which had been collected by the teacher was provided. This was called a Compendium of games. There is record of such a box having existed at Mt. Cook, Wellington 90 and of another at Anderson's Bay, Dunedin 1900/1910. The latter contained Noughts and crosses, Ludo, Draughts, Cards (quartettes), Tiddleywinks, Snakes and Ladders, Racing games and Dominoes. This provision of a Compendium, however, appears to have been the exception rather than the rule. Elsewhere the girls both at home and school played indoor games like those in the compendium and parlour games such as those mentioned in an earlier chapter. Especially mentioned in this connection, however, are the following: Charades and Botany Bay, (Fordell and Palmerston North 00); Imitations, (Rockville 80); Do as I do, (Wakefield 75); Whose got the Button, (Lower Moutere 00); My Aunt went to Paris, (Auckland 70, Lower Moutere 00); Wiggle Waggle, (Sth. Clutha 75); Buzz, (Dunedin 95); Word-making, (Fordell 00); Card games, such as Old Maid, Beggar my Neighbour and Grab, (Dunedin 90 - but never on Sundays); and most widely known of all, Animal, Vegetable and Mineral. There were in addition other indoor games which children, particularly, girls, played on slates and boards. Noughts and Crosses was the most universal of these. One informant claims that this game could be detected in school from the noises that were made on the slates. (Ngakawau 95). Other slate games were: Spiders, which was a game in which paper

pellets were flicked onto squares drawn on a slate, (Nelson 85); Noughts, in which the competitors joined together noughts drawn on the slate, (Christchurch 90); Tick Tack Toe, (Nelson 85, Waikouaiti 90, Sth. Clutha 75), or Rick tick Toe (Taieri 70), or Ickety Bickety my Black Hen, (Rockville 00), which were all games in which the players stabbed with a pin at numbers marked on their slates. Buttons, a game played with buttons arranged on a slate marked out in rectangles. It was very similar to noughts and crosses, (Nelson 85).

So far, the games of skill mentioned have been, on the whole, games of physical skill. There is record, however, of some games of intellectual skill, although not many. Most of the games of intellectual skill come into the categories of parlour and slate games above. Another category of intellectual games not yet mentioned, however, is that which includes games of chance. The greatest number of these games of chance in nineteenth century childhood were guessing games. And one of the most widely known of all guessing games was, "How Many Eggs in My Bush?". The other was, "I Spy". Less well known were, Nivvy Nivvy Nick Nack, (Tahataki 75) and Hot Cockles (Sth. Clutha 75). Other games of chance were Treasure Hunting games and Gambling games. The former were universal. The Gambling games were not, however, widespread. There is record of gambling with a marble board, (Rockville 95), and of gambling for marbles and matchsticks with miniature wheels. At Taieri (60), the wheel was called a "Pop em down Gents". "It would appear at school but only lasted a few days." The game was played with matches at Oamaru (95), and at the same school

the children played hoopla for matches.

Most of the above mentioned games were playground games, or at least games which if not always played in the playground, were played there on some occasions. The last type of games to be mentioned were not playground games at all. Yet they were one of the most important children's pastimes of the day. Again they were the pastimes of boys rather than girls. These were the hunting skills.¹ This was an age which offered ample scope for the type of hunting skills and way of living we associate with Huckleberry Finn and the childhood of farm children. Birdnesting for example was subsidized. The local councils paid money for the destruction of grain eaters. At Hampden 80 the rate was 18 pence per hundred eggs or heads; at Timaru 80, 2 pence a dozen. Boys shot birds with shanghais and guns or caught them with bird lime. "It was the source of our pocket money" (Palmerston Sth. 90). As well, there were rabbits to be caught with dogs, ferrets or guns. There was fishing and eeling. There was bees to be smoked out of trees. "Every boy of twelve had a dog and a gun." (Stillwater 80), and much of his play was related to that fact.

Individual Pictures.

A picture of Rural Childhood, Grovetown, Blenheim, 1870-85:²

"Grovetown at that time was a small farming community."

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1. For descriptions of these activities, see Collins S.R., A Childhood on a Farm, N.Z. Listener, Nov. 11, 1949.
 2. From an interview with Mr. and Mrs. Cheesman, Wellington, who both spent their childhood in Grovetown as above.

The greater part of the land was bush, flax or swamp. It was two miles from Blenheim. There was nothing but bush there when we first arrived. Later there was an Hotel, a Wheelwright and a Blacksmith, although stores continued to come from Blenheim. Before I was 16 years of age, I had been on a relation's farm, sewing, ploughing, stacking, thatching the stacks, reaping, digging potatoes, market gardening (we grew pea-seeds for a town firm). Before school in the mornings there were cows to milk and pigs to feed. On Saturday also there was always plenty of work to do. One of our special jobs when very small was to keep the cows moving so they could get new grass. As long as they were kept moving the Ranger couldn't take them. In the holidays there was harvesting to do. At 12 I was tying up corn and stooking it. In February-March the schools were closed down for about three weeks because no one went in any case. It was the hop-picking season and the parents took their children away with them.

For a girl there were always innumerable household jobs and cleaning; weeding the garden, feeding the fowls and collecting their eggs.

At school we played Hockey with sticks and ball made out of manuka. Sometimes an old lady would make us a ball out of wool. A rubber ball would go too far at one hit. There was no football. It arrived suddenly in 1985. We played the town boys at cricket sometimes using solid wooden bats. There were few spring-handled bats about. At lunch time we frequently played Prisoner's Base. We played Marbles ring and eye-drop with taws, glassies, stonies and agots. Although

boys and girls were not separate in the playground, Knucklebones was a boy's game. (This is unusual). We aimed to see who could get the most knuckles on the back of his hand. We played also Mumblepeg, flicking the knife from the back and front of the hand, from the finger tips and head. In winter there were tops which we hit with flax whips. There were acres of flax handy. The whip was three feet long and made of flax strips. There were also Peg Tops, Bull in the Ring, Follow the leader and circus Acrobats on the trees, but we did not do handstands. There were no kites. We had Stilt races and competitions to see who could climb up the highest. Some were so high we couldn't get on them without the aid of a tree. We used them in the flood waters, of which there were plenty. In the floods also we often played, Skating the Stone. We bowled Hoops with a stick, not with a hook. The latter was altogether too inferior. We made a whistling toy out of a round piece of tin with jagged edges and with two holes in it and a circle of string through the holes. When the string was twisted and released the rim spun round and whistled loudly.

At the school the girls had a special croquet green, skipping (no rhymes) and a swing (for the girls only). Rhymes were used chiefly in picking-up games. Girls did not play Marbles, Knucklebones or Tops. Rounders would be played by girls and boys together on cold days. Hop-Scotch was played only by girls and that only of the kicking hop-scotch types. We also played Blind Man's Buff.

At school we had a lot of 'drilling' from the teacher who was a Frenchman. Drill, such as 'walking', standing upright,

arms swinging upwards and sideways etc. It was very difficult to get a teacher in those days and our teacher was half drunk most of the time. I remember a boy who threw a slate at the teacher and walked off leaving school. Plenty of us played truant. It was easy because there always were some absent in any case. Some of the boys were wild characters - their parents were of no class, just working men with little bit of farms. Even the men couldn't get together long without fighting. Half the time there was no foundation at all for a fight. It was just that there were a few always looking for a scrap. Some of the rougher boys would pick on you going to and from school for no reason at all. They'd have a down on you and tell you so. They'd try and give you a crack when you weren't looking.

On the way to school there was Tip Cat, Leap Frog, and Whip Tip as already mentioned. We raced our tops down the road lifting them 20 to 30 feet at a time. We had to get there before the tops stopped spinning on the worn gravel road. If it stopped we would start it again by whipping it, which we preferred, or by spinning it with a twist of the fingers.

Outside school, birdnesting was a high priority. We received 2d. a dozen for sparrows eggs from the Road Board as the sparrows destroyed the corn. We climbed the trees to get their nests. With a good nest we blocked the hole and let the nest drop to the ground. The eggs were not hurt. When the tree was a hard one to climb or we couldn't drop the eggs to the ground, we took them in our mouths. At first we blew

the eggs before taking them along to the City Council man. He said, however, that he wanted them whole. So next time we went along, we took a few rotten ones with us and 'accidentally' broke them in his presence. After that, he asked for them blown again. We collected many hundreds of eggs per year. In a good Poplar tree there would be a dozen to two dozen nests with five to six eggs in each nest. We also killed dozens of the birds with our shanghais -- a band of rubber, two pieces of bootlace and a pouch. Later we shot dozens at a time as they settled in their hundreds on the corn after thrashing.

Some Saturdays on a holiday, such as the Queen's Birthday, we would have a Paper Chase or Hares and Hounds in the bush. Generally the two Hares would end up in a tree in the middle of the bush somewhere. Once in the bush there was plenty to eat, lawyer berry, fuschia, blackberry, honey from the flax. ,There was a lot of honey in a big flax stick. We would suck the juice out of the toot leaves through a cloth in order to only get the juice. The berries were poisonous. In school we would "chaw" wheat. It was worth a hundred lines if we were caught. In summer there was swimming to be had in the Wairau (tidal and warm) in the Pawa (snow and cold). On Sundays we went to Sunday School and rode horses. We often had horse races, especially on the flat land by the Maori Pa. We were present at the pigeon and sparrow shoots. They caught the sparrows in big nets and let them out of boxes for the gunmen. At the pigeon shoots, we hung round the boundaries hoping to pick up any pigeons that had gone out of bounds. We

played Hide and Seek round the stacks after thrashing.

There were plenty of pranks too. We hung cotton reels onto doors at nights and then pulled them with cotton. We made dummy ghosts out of hollowed pumpkins with eyes and mouth cut in them and with a candle inside. One night we combined this with a sheet and so frightened two boys that they ran away through a paddock for all they could go, and tripped over a horse rope. The horse reared up and they really thought their end had come. Our favourite trick was to ring the school bell on New Year's eve. Although threatened with dire punishment if caught, we did this several times by attaching lacing twine to the bell which we then pulled over a willow and down into a neighbouring potato patch. Gates were always lifted off on New Year's Eve. Dock leaf was our tobacco.

At school our chief sport was racing and this was because we had racing, jumps, hop step and jump at the school sports. They had all these at the school picnic in a paddock lent by one of the farmers. There was a free lunch and a lolly scramble. They played Oranges and Lemons, Nuts and May, Jolly Miller and the Three Dukes. Also Merry Go Rounds in which the one in the centre would call a name, kiss the person selected and change places. Occasionally we would have a school picnic train excursion to Picton or Massacre Hill. (Wairau).

There were no birthday parties at all, only School and Sunday School picnics, nothing else. Several families might have a private picnic. Occasionally a party of men and boys

would go shooting. The school was used frequently for dancing in the winter including square dancing, polka, waltz and schottische. A man with a fiddle played the accompaniment. Some of the young lads in their early teens would practice "Buck Dancing" in an old house. On Christmas Day there would be a display at the Maori Pa with afternoon tea provided. Attached to the Hotel there were ninepins. These were going all night for the men who wanted them. Put a bob in and the winner shouts the beer. Side bets were also put on. Later their place was taken by billiards. There was no tennis although lots of people had croquet lawns. Cattle Shows arrived in the mid 'eighties.

In the evenings there were occasionally magic lantern shows, usually with a Russian Scene, starring the blowing up of Russian boats. At home we played Hide the Thimble, Postman's Knock, Musical Chairs, Pitch and Toss with half-pennies and Shove halfpenny. In Shove Halfpenny squares are drawn on the table. One knocked the halfpennies into these squares from the side of the table with a smack of the palm of the hand against the halfpenny as it projected over the edge of the table. The one who got the most halfpennies in the squares won. On winter nights there was Grib. My father said this was an education and made us play it. There was also sewing, school lessons, talking and reading (There was a library at Blenheim). Most of the time, however, we went to bed at dusk and were up at six o'clock.

We had lace-up boots with copper toes so you couldn't kick the toes out; tweed suits and moleskin trousers. The

latter were worn in winter and did not wear out very easily. For winter also there was a "Fore and After" cap which could be pulled down over the ears. We didn't take this off as it was too cold in the frosts. We also wore woollen underclothing or cotton shirts and jackets buttoned up to the neck."

A picture of Urban Childhood, Christchurch, 1870-85.¹

"We had an extensive amount of play at home. We made wooden swords with a sharpened end and a cross bar hilt at the top. We wore cocked hats made from a newspaper so I suppose we fought a few battles. At one time we had a fad for sword fighting with a basket protection round the hands. We played at Red Indians, largely as a result of reading Fennimore Cooper. We enacted Ballantyne's novels. I remember playing at 'The Gorilla Hunters' and 'The Little Duke'. Others who had an influence on our play were Scott, Dickens and Verne.

For toys we had lead soldiers, cavalry and infantry in the different regimental uniforms, also some fearsome looking cannons with which we mowed down with considerable ease long rows of the opposing army. For the greater part, however, our soldiers were made of cardboard. We cut the fingers out of paper and then pasted them on cardboard so they would stand up. For toys also there were wooden Noah's Arks with wooden figures representing animals.

1. This account is composed from two sources; from a report received from Geo. Von Haast and an interview with H. Von Haast.

At home we also played shops with my sister as shopkeeper and asked for the most impossible things and, of course, the change was never right. I remember also that after we had gone to bed at nights we made an impromptu pulpit and standing up in our nightshirts we would preach a sermon. I am afraid the reverend gentleman was somewhat irreverent at times. This would often result in a pillow fight of which the domestic authorities took a dim view.

There were our own made toys, bows and arrows, slings, shanghais and tweakers. We manufactured various articles such as paua shell hearts, coconut and silver rings and various articles from Kauri gum. Owing to my father's Museum interests I was an ardent collector of bird's eggs, plants (pressed and prepared), battered coins and curios generally. I was fond also of chemical experiments in which I made oxygen and hydrogen in a strong bottle wrapped with a towel and then applied a lighted match with the resultant loud explosion. I ground sulphur and chloride in a mortar until it exploded and many more, but my interest was mainly in the spectacular side of chemistry. In the backyard we rigged up a gymnastic bar and did performances on it. Most people, more or less, had a swing. We also had a private croquet lawn in the back yard and all the boys as well as the girls played this game. It was an amateur game and not highly specialized; practically everyone who had the space for it had a croquet lawn. Tennis came in the late 'eighties. We also had one of those early 'bone-shaker' bicycles, a rough wooden contraption that squeaked a good deal.

There were many other things to do at home. As there were five in our family we used to act plays and bring in friends and relations to watch our performances. We played at tea often with little miniature cups and saucers. We played with dominoes and cards, particularly at 'Black Peter' which was a form of Old Maid. If we lost this our father would give us a black moustache of burnt cork and the younger ones on receiving this would cry. The family did a lot of singing at home round the piano, particularly Minstrel songs and Old English Folk Songs. In addition there were glee and part singing evenings. At home we played Cat's Cradle, Sack races, Three-legged races, Rounders and Stilts.

We had various lessons to attend. There were colour painting lessons; flute lessons and dancing lessons in the early teens. The latter was presided over by a dancing master who played the violin, called out the directions and somewhat scathing comments from time to time. The square dances were all done to regular steps like the Minuet and Gavotte, not like the square dances of later years, such as the Lancers and Quadrilles which were danced in a lacksadaisical fashion, anything being good enough. At a later age we rode in buggies to innumerable dances in the country.

There were lots of parties, mostly birthday parties. There would be 10 to 20 of these in a year. All the guests brought a present for the birthday child. Nowadays the visitors all seem to get presents! We played Animal Vegetable Mineral, Musical Chairs, Postman's Knock (at a later age 12 to 16) Two's and Threes, Kick, Hide and Seek, Puss in Corner, Blind Man's

Buff, Consequences, French and English, Green Gravels, Ring Ring Rosie and at Christmas parties, always Oranges and Lemons and Nuts and May. Sometimes there were magic lantern shows at these parties. There were also social parties held in the gardens in the afternoon at which all the games were played. At an older age there were certain gags we put on at parties. For example, 'Rockets' in which all the boys stood in a row and imitated the SSS! of a rocket and the oohH! as it came down. They would slap their knees, pad pad pad, as it came down. Another was 'Sneezing' in which the whole lot said "Hish, hash, hosh" quickly together.

There were other entertainments. As children we were not allowed to attend the sixpenny evenings. Nor were we permitted to the Garden Parties at which the adults played croquet, drank tea and talked. Punch and Judy shows were sometimes available in the streets, but had to be paid for. There were the Anniversary Day sports in Latimer Square, which included races and a greasy pole. All the sports at these meetings were professional sports. There were no amateur sports then except the school sports. When the Amateur Athletic Clubs were founded later the Public Sports died out.

At the private Dame's School we went to, we played hockey with sticks and a block of wood in the street; King of the Castle on a hillock; Prisoner's Base in the street and another game in which we charged up the street with our hands linked catching each other. There was also a lot of random tagging, Stagknife (throwing at each others Knives); Tip Cat in season; very little Hopscotch; Leap Frog; Follow the Leader

over rough ground; Honey pots; Acrobats -- we imitated Blonden of circus tight-rope fame. We did this on every fence available, in particular a corrugated iron frame with spikes upon, which we expected every moment that we would fall down and get our testicles ripped out; Other games were Rotten Cricket with a stick; Tip and Run; Hares and Hounds and occasionally Paper Chase. These were succeeded by football practice when it arrived later; Marbles and Spinning Tops. All these games were very fugitive. They came for small periods then went away. There were no gangs, although in our early teens we formed a cricket club which we called the 'Robin Hood' Club.

At the Dame's Schools there were the usual tricks. For example, you tripped a fellow up: "What did you trip me up for?" "I didn't trip you, I put my leg out and you fell over it." Throwing darts into the ceiling was also a custom.

Being a day boy at Christ's College I was not initiated. There was fighting in the playground, at school and at Hagley Park often. At Christ's College, when it snowed there was always a snow fight between the boys and the 'louts'. One college boy lost his eye from a stone imbedded in a snowball.

At College we played the early football with as many a side as you liked and no stopping when the scrum collapsed. If a ball was caught on the full it could be run with. Otherwise it was all dribbling. At College too all the boys dug holes in the river bank called "Sausage Holes". Here they cooked their sausages in the dirt."

We wore an Eton jacket for smart occasions together with

knickerbockers, stockings and shirt. The shirts we wore always had stiff collars and we were afraid of getting them dirty which was a nuisance. At school in summer we wore straw hats and in winter, caps."

These two individual reports bring out clearly the effects of different social classes upon the play and entertainments of children. On the one hand, for example, there are no children's parties. On the other hand, there are many. These pictures serve also to give an idea of the distribution of games between the school and the home. In the first case practically the only traditional games are played in the school environment. In the second case, the school games are supplemented by many others which are played at home.

In both cases, however, it is clear that the school ground was the main place for playing traditional games in these years. Many informants have said, for example, that "We only played games at school." For it was the school playground which provided the constant playing pitch and the constant group of children in sufficient numbers for formal games to develop. It was here that in the later years of the nineteenth century many of the traditional singing, tagging and skill games came into their own once more.

We come now to the end of the first period in the history of the play of New Zealand children. It was a period in which many cross-cutting influences had their effects upon children's play; influences such as the possibilities for adventure

presented by the natural environment; the crude social and physical milieu; the Maori Wars; the community events of entertainment, sport, picnic and party; the 'rugged' conditions of school life, both inside the school, on the way to school and in the school playground.

It was the frontier period in the history of children's games. Never within the last hundred years have children been less stimulated and equipped by adults for their play; a state of affairs which was due, partly, to Victorian attitudes¹ to children and due partly to the exigencies of the pioneering economy. Never, on the otherhand, have children been so completely free from adult influence in their play. They had a play freedom which resulted in many intricate and complex developments within their games. There was acquaint^{ness}~~ances~~ and delicacy in their singing and imitative games just as there was much "graceless self-assertion" in their other games; a "graceless self-assertion" which was characteristic of many phases of² colonial life.

It is clear that New Zealand children in these years did not have the repertoire of singing and traditional games which, for example, the children of Lark Rise had. But New Zealand children did have a far greater scope for hunting skills. These children at play were miniature frontier settlers and the symbol of their play life, was not "Oats and Beans and Barley", it was the Shanghai.

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1. See Campbell A.E., op. cit., p.80; Butler S., The Way of All Flesh, Penguin, 1947, p.34.
 2. Beaglehole J.C., op. cit., p.130.

PART TWO 1900 - 1920.

INTRODUCTION

The history of the world-wide change from the negative Victorian attitude to children and their play, to the sympathetic attitude which exists today is too complex to be told here. Unless we recognize this change in attitudes, however, and its ultimate influence on New Zealand educationists, the story which follows is in part unintelligible. A few of the factors influencing the change can be mentioned.

The general world change in attitude had its onset in the third phase of nineteenth century recreation that has been mentioned, that is, during the upgrowth of an interest in organized sports. This was an interest which was later confirmed and accentuated by vast scale commercialization in the twentieth century. During this period new attitudes to adult recreation were in formation. Attitudes which can be traced back to the physical ideals of Basedow, Cutsmith, Jahn and Ling and later, in the British Isles, to McLaren; to the military needs of growing nation states; to a consciousness of health which arose out of deplorable metropolitan conditions out of the experience of War. At the same time, and as a part of the same change, attitudes to children's play were changing

Attitudes tracing to the educational ideals of Rousseau, Froebel; to the humanitarian interest in children; the rise of popular schooling; and finally to the child-study movement arising out of these and the new "evolutionary" science of the day.

But although they had their onset at the end of the ^{twentieth} nine/century the new positive attitudes to adult and child recreation did not become fully effective till after the first world war. From the eighteen nineties till the 1920's was a transition period in which the new ideas gradually sifted through into educational ideals and practice. It was the period in which adults began to take a new and positive interest in children's play and by so doing influenced that play in terms of the prevalent ideals of the adult culture.

We proceed now to trace the steps by which the world-
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wide transformation of adult attitudes to children and their play resulted in New Zealand in a transformation of the actual nature of the children's free play itself.

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1. Some useful references to the broader world background of change are the following: Dulles, America Learns to Play, p.229; Findlay J.J., Children of England, p.152; Curtis H.S., "The Growth and Present Extent and Prospects of the Playground Movement in America", The Pedagogical Seminary, Vol xvi, p.349, 1909; Nash J.B., "Playgrounds", Encyclopedia of Social Science, Vol.12, p.161; Williams J.F., Principles of Physical Education, Chap.6; Maistre E.H.Le, Physical Education, Melbourne, 1945; Christenson L.E. and Peder M. Trap, Textbook of Gymnastics, London, 1938; Mumford L., Culture of Cities, London, 1938, p.187 and p.270; Flugel J.C., A Hundred Years of Psychology, London, 1933, p.134.

CHAPTER SIX

SCHOOL TEACHER AND PLAYGROUND

In this chapter and the next the factors which gradually brought teachers to exert a greater influence in the playground are discussed. In this chapter various factors are considered which had an indirect influence upon children's play. They were factors, which did not affect the content of children's play, but which did help to break down those academic barriers which prevented the majority of teachers from looking at the playground in any but a negative light. The agencies which exerted this indirect influence and which first brought the school teachers into the playgrounds were: gymnastic apparatus, cadet drill, physical training and playground supervision.

Firstly, with reference to the effects of Gymnastic Apparatus. The gymnastic apparatus of swings, roman rings, ladders and giant strides is still to be found in some school playgrounds, particularly in Otago. There is little readily available information about the precise manner in which this apparatus was first introduced into the schools. It can only be assumed that some school committees and school teachers, influenced by prevailing world attitudes, sought to introduce the

apparatus for the benefit of their children.¹ For example, in his report for 1862, Dr. Hislop, secretary of the Otago Education Board and Inspector of Schools, reporting on the Waikouaiti School, wrote of the teacher : "He has received in an eminent degree the affection of his pupils, and he manifests much interest in the exercises of the playground, where he has erected a rotatory and a common swing, which are in constant requisition during playhours."² And, again: "I should like to mention the remarkable work of Mr. J. Walker in providing teachers and schools with a good type of physical instruction. It was a treat to see him put the West classes through Military Drill, or in charge of the Normal school Gym during an evening meeting, on the trapeze, with the Roman Rings or horizontal bars etc., He did great work persuading the Board to supply schools with gymnastic apparatus."³ (Christchurch late 70's).

How was this apparatus used? Consider the following : "We had ladders, horizontal bars and parallel bars, but those were only used by an enthusiastic few and occasionally for drill."⁴ (Papanui 75). "The playground was bare earth with a morsel of gravel round the 'giant stride'. In winter it became a

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1. Murdoch J.H., The High Schools of New Zealand, Wellington, 1943, p.194. Most of this apparatus was devised in Germany at the beginning of the nineteenth century. See, for examples, Christensen L.E. and Trap Peder M., Textbook of Gymnastics, p.4.
 2. I am indebted for this information to Mr A.M. Davidson of Dunedin who is at present working on the history of Education in Otago.
 3. Wilkinson Jas.R., Early Reminiscences from 1866, c/o New Zealand Council for Educational Research. (Abbreviated henceforth as N.Z.C.E.R.)
 4. Adams J.J., School Day Reminiscences, c/o N.Z.C.E.R.

quagmire. Boys who fell over and muddied their clothes were allowed to stay out of school while a comrade scraped off the mud with a pocket knife. Victims willing to roll in the mud and volunteers to scrape them down were seldom wanting." (Marton 03).¹ A later pupil of Waikouaiti (1900) describes the swings mentioned above by Hislop as follows: "They were made out of two great rounded heavy timbers and massive bolts, strong enough to hold a cartload of horses. They were placed in the girl's playground and used only by them." Even though strong, they were apparently not reckoned strong enough for the boys! Terrace End, Palmerston North 1905, reports a similar arrangement. Swings were placed in the girl's playground only. At Arthur Street, Dunedin 1890 the girls were less fortunate. There were giants strides, roman rings and a ladder in the sheds, but the girls were not allowed on these till the boys left the playground at four o'clock. The girls were then permitted just ten minutes. Elsewhere the girls had no say at all. For example at Invercargill, '70 "Talk about physical culture! We had it and no mistake. An open-air gymnasium, trapeze, roman rings, ladders and all. Its position was the eastern side of the playground. The boys became very expert but what about the girls? The Woman's Rights movement was then in its infancy,² and girls were not supposed to need physical culture." In

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1. Sutcliffe J.R., Reminiscences, c/o N.Z.C.E.R.; Campbell F.C., Some of My Educational Reminiscences, c/o N.Z.C.E.R.; Caversham, S.J.M., p.14; Oamaru Sth., S.J.M., p.22.
 2. Invercargill, S.J.M., p.78.

some smaller country schools on the otherhand, it was a matter of free for all, and first come first served, no matter what the sex. "A swing was the only thing we had to play with." (Tahataki, 75).

The provision of this equipment, however, did not imply that there was any supervision of its use. The strength of the material and in some cases the separation of the playing times of boys and girls, was meant apparently to guarantee the children's safety. However, in some cases the sexes were neither segregated, nor safe. At Ravensbourne School, Dunedin 1880 it is reported that "Swings were erected for boys and girls and many brave spirits went over the top each day."

The provision of this apparatus then appears to have been widespread. But its provision did not mean that there was any other provision for children's playground activities. Its provision symbolized only the recognition of a need. But that at least was the first step.

The second step occurred through the introduction of cadet drill. Teachers were first prepared for the idea that something might be done formally to organize extra-curricular activities by the introduction of a sprinkling of cadet companies in the closing stages of the Maori Wars.¹ These companies flourished in the early seventies but by the time they were written into the Education Act of 1877 they were

1. A few companies existed much earlier than this. See Murdoch, op. cit., p.198.

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 already on the decline. "In 1874 the military authorities began to complain of the waning interest in volunteer matters, and more particularly of the fall in attendance of Cadet Corps."² Before there revival in the 'nineties these companies were not extensive. Most teachers were too occupied with the normal duties of the classroom to take on the responsibility of instructing cadets and to spend the time keeping the necessary records. But Cadet instruction was the thin end of the wedge. The 1877 Act recognized in effect that extra-curricular activities were a legitimate part of schooling; that schooling could not be considered as a purely academic concern; that there were wider responsibilities to be taken into account. Military drill, therefore, was the first extension of school function to cast³ a shadow on the freedom of children outside the classroom.

But this extension of school function contained within itself the seeds of yet a second extension of school function. It was also mentioned in the 1877 Act that teachers should make provision for physical drill and in some cases this was done, although not always, it seems, in a very systematic manner. For example: "Mr. Bennett on cold mornings would lead the scholars round the ground at a trot in what was called the⁴ 'snake' run to warm them up." "We had drill of a kind, all over the shop." (Wakefield 1880). "The headmaster would take

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1. Butchers A.G., Education in New Zealand, Dunedin, 1930, p.86.
 2. Leckie F.M., The Early History of Wellington College, p.314.
 3. And this was the case in all countries. See Boyd, History of Western Education, London, 1932, 3rd Edition, p.401.
 4. Ravensbourne, S.J.M., p.31.

us to the top of the hill and spend a morning looking at and pointing out the houses. 'Exercîs^s' he called it." (Nelson 70). In the majority of cases, however, physical drill appears to have been neglected for military drill.¹ This first venture into the playground was, in fact, marked by all that sternness of mind we customarily associate with Victorian attitudes. It was perhaps no accident that the first officer appointed by the Southland Education Board combined the joint function of drill instructor and truant officer.

Before we proceed to discuss the manner in which both these movements, military and physical, became of increasing importance in the first decade of the new century, details must be noted of the "play-way" in which children adapted themselves to this adult intrusion into their playground.

Cadet drill naturally provided opportunities for escapade. Leckie speaks of "horse play with guns."² The military instructors sometimes provided their quota of amusement. Before these instructors were provided free to the Boards by the Government in 1893, they sometimes combined military instruction with the duties of janitor. There is Invercargill record, for example, of such a one, Mr. Patrick Walsh, "formerly a Sergeant of the Royal Irish Fusiliers and of Faugh - a - Ballagh fame."³ This gentleman was generally armed with a short length of broom handle and on one occasion

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1. Butchers, op. cit., p.86.
 2. Leckie, op. cit., p.377.
 3. Invercargill, S.J.M., p.53.

pursued a school Inspector who dared to criticise his methods. He pursued the latter with stick and lurid language. Before his dismissal, however, he had provided 'games' for the boys in an even more direct manner. "The call to 'Fall in' by that commanding voice of the bewhiskered, tall old Crimean Irish soldier was something to remember ever. No loyal soldiers got off the mark in quicker style than the boys at drill when ordered 'Forward at the double". They bolted to the tall boundary fence on the East. When the charging squad was a few yards off the fence, Pat's voice could be heard far in the rear commanding a halt. But the order would be conveniently mistaken for something else as the boys sprang to the top of the fence which suffered accordingly. At such a moment the stick was handy to stop some boy from knocking his mount to pieces."¹ Other instructors, however, did not provide amusement. Instead they exerted a severe and disciplinary influence, both outside the school and on the drill ground.² Some were ex-professional strong men.³

In addition to drill, the cadet companies engaged in sham fights and shooting competitions. The shooting competitions involved tests of skill between different schools and were, in most places, the first inter-school "organized" sports." These tests of skill and the annual visits and long trips they occasioned, provided ample

1. Invercargill. S.J.M., p.53.

2. ibid, p.49.

3. Baird D., The History of Physical Education in the Primary Schools of New Zealand, 1877-1947, M.A. Thesis, V.U.C., p.142.

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opportunity for escapade. In some schools where there were no such military ventures, the children reproduced the phenomenon in their own way. "Sham fights of a military nature were organized amongst us, probably in imitation of the military reviews that were for some years held on the Wallacetown plains when the volunteer corps from all over the Southland part of Otago would assemble and carry out sham fights and other military movements. With the boys, flax sticks and flax swords were the weapons used. In these affairs the court martial was not forgotten. Well do I remember an occasion when I was court martialled and sentenced to run the gauntlet along the road between two rows of such soldiers who were commanded to deal out to me as many cuts as they could while I passed. I can say that some prepared for it by obtaining harder weapons than mere flax ones. Needless to relate I did not loiter on that trip, but by the time I had travelled the lines, I had some good furrows and a quite warm feeling under my trousers." ² (Waianiwa 70's).

In the period between the turn of the century and the first world war, the adult interest in cadet drill and physical training grew more extensive. At first, imperialistic and Boer War enthusiasm was directed towards the Cadets rather than into the Physical Training Movement. Throughout

1. Albany St., S.J.M., p.15 and p.27.

2. Waianiwa, S.J.M., p.93.

this period, however, the extension of knowledge and understanding of the values of physical training, contributed towards the displacement of this first and predominant emphasis. After 1912 a great amount of the earlier cadet enthusiasm was directed into the new physical education scheme of those years. The details of this transition are of importance in understanding the transformation of the teacher from academic pedagogue to playmaster.

With respect to military drill, the important changes which took place in the new decade were: that a greater proportion of the drill throughout the country was actually taken by the teachers themselves and that, that drill was often undertaken with great enthusiasm. It was generally admitted by Headmasters and Inspectors that the cadet system helped to strengthen the internal discipline of the school -- which was often very very poor in the classes of young pupil teachers. They would have agreed heartily with the Duke of York's well chosen¹ metaphor, that the value of the cadets was that they "enabled the teachers to get a better grip of their boy."¹ In these Cadet companies there were dummy rifles, caps, uniforms, flags for the² children and Saturday morning classes for the teachers.

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1. When reviewing a Cadet-Corp. Camp, Ashburton, 1905, Deptl. File, E.I.D., 1905, p.7.
 2. The details of this section are drawn chiefly from the N.Z. Educational Institute's, Journal of Education, which came into existence in 1899, and from the Education Department's files: E. 36/I; E.36/I/A; E.I., 1912. The Journal of Education is hereafter abbreviated as the Jnl. of Edn.

Public support was extensive and by the middle of the decade, military camps, valuable presentations for rifle shooting (one ominously enough from the Colonial Ammunition Company) and articles and photos in the weekly newspapers, were a regular feature. In 1910, to cap it all, Kitchener himself arrived on the scene. In order to convey some inkling of the unabashed jingoism which prevailed in this decade and which it must have been difficult for teachers to resist even if they had wished to, consider the following report of Colonel Wolfe, officer in command of the Auckland Districts Junior Cadets. It is 1912 and he is commenting on a recent Junior Cadet parade: "Honour to whom honour is due. Your cadets were magnificent. I have never seen a finer performance wherever I have been. When one considers the dangers of our Empire at the present time, and the help that can be afforded to the Mother Country by the readiness for war of the Overseas Dominions, the hearts of all true Englishmen, Britishers, Colonials, or whatever one may call them, must bound with pride at the spectacle of last Tuesday's Parade. God and King is the watchword and I feel that this is the cry of all true Britons. Let the motto of our junior cadets be 'Excelsior', let them realize that they are coming forward as the first fruits of the Empire for defence. The Empire great as it is, is unaware of its latent strength."

1. Reported Auckland Herald, July 24th, 1912, and contained in Dept. Files, 36-1. (The pages of these files are not numbered.)

Suddenly in 1912 the junior cadet movement was in effect swept away; This occurred apparently for the following reasons: the compulsory clause in the 1909 defence act meant that the junior cadet system which was introduced primarily to encourage voluntary enlistment was rendered thereby superfluous; the same compulsory act meant that there was now a large amount of unprofitable overlapping between the junior cadet system of the primary schools and the new cadet system in the secondary schools; the Defence Department resented the existence of a military organization independent of itself (the junior cadets were placed under the Education Department by the act of 1901); the new government was bent on economy and not particularly attached to a system which had been an advertisement for previous politicians, in particular Seddon; the Physical Culturists and Medical Authorities saw little that was of any physical value for children in the existing system of military drill; even Baden-Powell criticized the system on behalf of the Boy Scout Movement which he contended was infinitely superior and might¹ wisely be incorporated in the school curriculum in its place.

From the point of view of this thesis, the most interesting feature of the "throes" which lead to the expulsion of the Junior Cadets system, was the manner in which teachers arose in defence of the system. Their enthusiasm for their

1. All this material is to be found in Departmental File 36/1/A. For the attitude of medical authorities see letter, 29/3/12; of physical culturists, 26/6/12; of Defence Dept. quote from "Dominion", Jan. 6, 1912; of Government quote, Auckland Herald, 29/7/12; Baden-Powell, Timaru Press, 21/6/42; See also Reeves W.P., op. cit., p.334.

new extra-curricular "Bull Ring" activities, was indicated by the way in which they reacted to a depreciatory statement made by General Godley of the Defence Department. He had the misfortune to refer to the junior cadet system as a "Bogus military organization". Strictly speaking he was more or less correct, but his remarks were not interpreted by the public and schoolteachers in any especially logical manner. There was instead an uproar throughout the country. Newspapers protested. Bodies of teachers were reported to be "up in arms". Godley's remarks were captioned a "Gratuitous¹ Insult", "Teachers take Umbrage", etc.

It must not be imagined, however, that in this first decade of the century all teachers had taken so kindly to their new and extended duties. Earlier in the decade there were echoes in the Journal of Education of that more narrowly academic attitude which previously had been the assumed attitude of all teachers. The protesting teachers were voicing the last cries of an older order of education in which the teacher was concerned with nothing but the subjects of the classroom. The views of this older order of teachers contrasted sharply with the attitudes of the Junior Cadet enthusiasts. It was clear that the new co-operative adult attitudes to children's extra-curricular activities --- attitudes which were later to be taken so much for granted --- were not to be born without struggle. In 1903 a pamphlet was put out by a group of Otago teachers inveighing against the new demands of technical

1. *ibid*, 16/6/12.

education, manual training, physical education and military drill, Earlier in the same year a teacher writer expressed the same attitude rather sardonically as follows "A few years ago no authority outside the Board's Inspectors dare enter a schoolroom and upset the usual arrangements. But we have changed that. Technical Inspectors come round from Wellington in order to give teachers much wise counsel about the 'brightening of school work and school life'. To this the practical man listens politely, but smiles to himself at the childlike ignorance displayed in regard to the actual difficulties of the schoolmaster's work. Now a very imposing person in the shape of a real live Major is touring our schools in order to show the poor ignorant teacher the futility of his methods of discipline and to indoctrinate him in the principles of military drill; again the school master listens; again the time-table arrangements are upset in order to introduce this new panacea¹ for all the ills of school life."

When the junior cadet system was abolished, the Department quickly channelled current teacher enthusiasms into the new physical education scheme. A new syllabus was issued, itinerant instructors were appointed, and courses organized for teachers throughout the country. According to an editorial of 1915 there was "a general state of enthusiasm for the physical training instructors and the new syllabus amongst teachers."²

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1. Jnl. of Edn., Mar. 21st, 1903, p.5.
 2. ibid, February, 1915.

Something of the background to this new interest was as follows. In Otago the gymnastic apparatus mentioned above was systematically incorporated in all rural and urban schools after 1900. Teachers were expected to take exercises on this apparatus and were examined for their work with it and for their work with the allied apparatus of wands, dumbbells, and clubs.¹ Informants speak of the efforts expended in raising the money in order to possess their own pair of dumbbells or clubs. Others, of the care lavished on silvering the clubs with aluminium paint in order to make them attractive for the school concert. (Waikouaiti 1905, Palmerston North 1908). In 1902 recommendations were made by the Education Departments military instructor that the Swedish system of exercises should be incorporated in a Physical Training Syllabus for schools. The promised syllabus did not arrive, however, till 1908.

Meanwhile readers of the Journal of Education were being gradually acquainted with the 'idea' of physical education by occasional articles appearing in that magazine. In 1901 there was an article on "Physical Culture in the Public Schools" taken from the Ohio Educational Monthly; in 1904 an article of faith by a Colonel Parker on "Physical Exercise" and its immense values. In 1906 the Physical Culture Society of Wellington investigated an reported very unfavourably upon the "Methods of physical training given in public schools."² Other investigators (mainly of eye efficiency), reported unfavourably

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1. Jnl. of Edn., Oct. 1st, 1900.
 2. ibid, April 2, 1906.

on the oppressive conditions of schooling.¹ Then half way through the year (1906), Dr. Truby King brought the matter of children's recreation before the public as a whole. He launched a crusade in the press and in lectures against the over-pressure of work he alleged to exist in New Zealand primary and post-primary schools. Great publicity was given to the fact that several former primary school scholarship winners, as a result of overstrain, had been sent to the Mental Hospital at Seacliffe.² Education Boards³ drew ministerial attention to this state of affairs. King recommended more attention by teachers to children's recreation and open-air games. In fact, with the influence of medical men like King and the influence of the Physical Culturists, the public and the teachers of the day were being well prepared for the time when every master would consider it his duty to be abroad in the playground. In 1907 the Journal of Education remarked for example, in an editorial "The mass of the people in this colony are, we believe, rapidly becoming alive to the fact that it is the duty of the state to attend to the physical welfare of the children in our public schools."⁴

In the meantime, however, while the attention of teachers was being turned towards the playground by the provision of playground apparatus and by the growing importance of cadet drill and physical training, their attention was

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1. { *ibid.*, Feb. 1st, 1906.
 2. { *ibid.*, Oct. 1906.
 3. { *ibid.*, Nov. 1st, 1906.
 4. { Jnl. of Edn., Mar. 15, 1907.

directed to the playground also by the increasing need to supervise the spontaneous activities of children going on within the playground. The sheer growing complexity of school organization, for example, made its demands. When children were massed together in their hundreds in small urban playgrounds, their play had to be supervised for safety's sake. How did this supervision come about? The quotation from Hislop above, (in connection with gymnastic apparatus) suggests that in some places before 1900 teachers paid attention to the playground. In his report of 1858 John McGlashan, secretary of the Otago Education Board, stressed the necessity "for cheerful and friendly relations between them (the children) and the teacher."¹ The general tendency of this period, however, was for teachers to neglect their charges during playhours. Thus Leckie says, "What strikes one as the weak spot in the School of these early years to 1881 was undoubtedly the lethargic attitude or positive indifference of the masters towards their charges after school hours. This lack of interest was responsible for loose discipline in all directions. It is sad to recall the splendid raw material going to waste year after year, without coaches of any description, or attempts to teach the youngsters, cricket, football, boxing or other sports. Letters appear in the local press from time to time referring to this very defect. There were no prefects, or at any rate, one cannot recall them or their office; consequently,

1. Davidson A.M., op. cit.

some of the boys got into mischief."¹ Other sources also claim that there was no attempt to provide for the supervision² of the children. Examples:

"There was much brutal sport, ducking, bleeding noses and black eyes with shirts torn in piggy-back fighting. Perhaps the play was a reflex of the brutal flogging within the classroom. We were left to follow the teachers example as we liked best. Later the parents complained about the torn shirts and I remember we had to stop the mass piggy back fights." (Dunedin 75).

"Like every other school there were countless fights among the boys ... One rule was that the playground should never be departed from during lunch hour. This deprived those who took pleasure in playing Fox and Hounds from extending their operations over miles of country within easy distance of the school. Of course the rule was regularly broken." (Green Island, Dunedin 70's).³

"School games were entirely unorganized, yet the pupils always had some sports every day in recess and at lunch time, many of which were invented by the pupils themselves." (Greendale 80's).

"In the late 70's and 80's the playground activities were practically in the hands of the children themselves. There was little in the way of organized games as we knew them in later years. Possibly the lack of younger teachers in a school of this size was responsible." (Papanui 75).

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1. Leckie, op. cit., p. 422.
 2. Waianiwa, S.J.M., p.54; Chapman Cohen G., East Takaka Lower Takaka Sch., p.24; Union St. School, S.J.M., p.131.
 3. Green Island, S.J.M., p.19.

"Of course we had our playground games. These were not organized in the modern sense for the teacher took little or no interest in them." (Waianiwa 1873).

"The master never participated in the playground. There was no such thing as practice after school or inter school matches, though I remember in 1896 a new Headmaster tried to get a game of Rounders going. It seemed funny to us that he should be mucking round with our play. Perhaps it was a first symptom of the new age." (Gisborne 90).

It would seem that playground supervision arrived initially to protect the school property and to protect the children. But the former was probably the more important in the first place. As soon, for example, as the grounds began to take on any semblance of respectability with grass and flowers, there was property for the teacher to protect and he was responsible to see that no damage was done. For example, "At his (the teachers) instance the scrub was cleared and a fine tarrace raised on two sides of the playground. Woe betide the boy or girl who walked on the turf edging. We can recall his look of annoyance, and shout of "Now now - keep¹ off the turf."

Attention to the school environment was stimulated by the Manual Training Legislation of Hogben. In the first two decades of the century school gardening became something of a fad -- (the Journal of Education in these years gives much space to

1. Waianiwa, S.J.M., op. cit., p.80.

Gardening and Nature notes)¹-- not, of course, an entirely misplaced fad, considering the wastelands of flax and slush, out of which the gardens had to be created. In many areas, trophies, shields etc. were awarded for the best kept school property in the district.² A further incentive was added after 1916 when teachers received specially allocated grading marks for their "taste and care with respect to the school environment."³ Obviously, children playing in the midst of school properties, valued to the extent of five grading marks, could hardly be left unsupervised.

By 1900 the school population was of a sufficient size for the rougher games of an earlier period to present a positive danger to children crowded within a diminutive playground area.

[^{N.P.} It was not until 1908, however, that the Journal of Education made its first mention of the problem. Health was in the air during these years. "The question of increased area of school grounds is one that must soon be faced by the Education Department. The large number of children already crowded into confined spaces in our urban and suburban schools, must ultimately effect their physical welfare."⁴ But by this time - 1908 - most of the more dangerous games had already gone, at least from the playground. Supervision of some sort was an established practice.

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1. See for example, Editorial April 15, 1911, p.50.
 2. See Inspectorial Reports on Primary School E-2.
 3. Special Reports on Educational Subjects No.12. The Grading of Teachers 1916.
 4. Jnl. of Edn., Nov. 16, 1908, p.234.

As could have been expected the teaching staff made use of the cadet organization to help with playground supervision and protect children and property. We read in Palmerston North, in the early 1900¹s of the "school cadet who wore his uniform with a red sash each day. It was his duty to see that no bread crusts or paper were thrown on the school ground."¹ In 1907 there was an article in the Journal of Education advocating this usage for cadets. The aims of supervision as set forth in this article are, probably, a fair comment on existing playground conditions. "To ensure increased super~~x~~vision over the playground, to prevent marking, scribbling and writing about the buildings, to keep the grounds neat and tidy, to promote suitable games, and to see that all, especially young children and new pupils, receive fair treatment, I have been in the habit of electing monitors and monitresses... the elected deal with playground supervision in their own way, only reporting to me when there is a deadlock, or when they are unable to cope with the case. Occasionally I am called in to assist with advice, which is eagerly put into practice ... Latterly, instead of electing the boys, I have appointed as monitors the sergeants and corporals of the cadets. Each then takes his turn as officer² of the day."

The first record of law-making with regard to playground supervision is to be found in the regulations of the Otago

1. College St., S.J.M.

2. Jnl. of Edn., Oct. 15th, 1907, p.185.

Education Board (1902) Clause 47, which says, "every member of the staff shall take his turn in the supervision of the playground."¹ In the Departmental Regulations of 1904 it was stated that Inspectors should, among other things, report² on the teacher's supervision of the playground during recess. This suggests that the practice had been established for some time and was already an unwritten law in many schools.

However, although "Supervision in recess" was mentioned in the Departmental regulations of 1904, as far as can be ascertained, details on the nature of this supervision did not appear in most Board By-Laws until the 'twenties and 'thirties.³ No doubt in these earlier years there were playground accidents and other matters which brought irate parents to school and led teachers to keep a more careful watch on their charges. If there were, however, there is little record of the fact. Perhaps in those times, there was a greater implicit acceptance by the parents of the hazards of the playground. The first mention of accidents in the Journal of Education occurs in 1921, when under the heading of 'Accidents to Pupils' an overseas article is quoted, the editor explaining, "This highly interesting article is of some topical interest to teachers in view of recent cases in court." The first mention of the subject in the Education Gazette occurs in the early thirties. "The attention of the Department has been

1. A.M. Davidson, op. cit.

2. Regulations under the Education Act of 1877, p.96.

3. For example, Wellington 1928, Nelson 1932, Taranaki 1923.

drawn to accidents which occur from time to time in the playgrounds. In some cases parents are inclined to think that these are due to lax supervision. Teachers are, therefore, urged to supervise with special care whenever the work or play is such as contains possibilities of personal injury.¹ There were also several articles on accidents in 'National Education' during the thirties. In fact the thirties seems to have been a period in which there was a new consciousness of the dangers of playground accidents.² This was the case not only in New Zealand but also in England. Perhaps this accentuated consciousness was correlated with the final exorcism of ruggedness from the playground which took place in that decade. But that is a matter to which we must return in a later chapter.

In conclusion, in this chapter the first steps which school teachers took into the playground have been shown.

Because teachers took an interest in gymnastic apparatus, cadet drill, physical training and school supervision, they were drawn closer to the playground. But these factors did not influence children's play in a marked way. Gymnastic apparatus introduced new acrobatics to children; drill and physical training provided new subjects for imitation; the new supervision replaced the previous lack of supervision, but it was of a negative rather than a positive nature, a

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1. Education Gazette, Vol.12, No.9, Sept., 1933, p.139.
 2. Bridges C.E. and D.E., The Physical Training Teachers' Legal Rights and Responsibilities, London, 1941.
 3. See Wellington City Consolidated Bylaw No.1, 1933, Sub. cl. (24)

preventitive rather than a stimulant (and on the whole this negative approach remained general until the first world war).

The main effect of these various influences was indirect rather than direct. They accustomed teachers to the idea that the playground was their concern but they did not themselves greatly affect the teachers attitudes about the nature of the play which should take place in the playground.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE PLAYMASTERS.

In this chapter the influences which had a direct effect upon the play of children are considered.

While the influences described in the above chapter were gradually changing the nature of teacher attitudes to the playground, other forces were also in embryo; forces which ultimately had the effect of transforming playground supervision from a negative activity aimed at the prevention of crime and accident, to a positive duty leading to the promotion of certain specialized play activities. These new influences, which ultimately became all important in the teacher's attitude to the playground, were organized sport and the philosophy of play which paralleled it.

With reference first to organized sports for children. During the 'eighties football and cricket clubs had sprung up throughout the country. In 1888 the first Anglo-Welsh football team toured the country. The New Zealanders acquitted themselves reasonably well and football grew apace, particularly after the depression years. In 1890 there were 700 clubs in the country and in 1892, the New Zealand Rugby Football Union

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 was formed. Then from 1903 to 1905 several events occurred which were destined to have an immense effect on the New Zealander's attitude to sport, particularly to Rugby. In 1903 a New Zealand rugby team won all its matches in New South Wales scoring 400 points to 13. In 1904 a New Zealand team defeated an English touring side and finally in 1905 the touring New Zealand team won 31 out of 32 of its matches in England, scoring 839 points to 39. It was momentous. For a young colonial country the achievement was dazzling. Politics bowed to sport. The Prime Minister is said to have cabled his country's congratulations. Overnight, as one writer says "The 1905 tour ... provided us with a national Myth."²

This national event, which had such an immense effect upon the general public can hardly have failed to influence the schools and their teachers. Up till about the 1890's in most areas teachers appear to have paid little attention to the sport. As early as the 'eighties there is record of some inter-school rugby matches, but little account of teacher participation.³ In most cases the game seems to have been spread not by teachers but by the boys. "Later several boys .. returned from Grammar school in Wellington and brought with them a knowledge of the Rugby game and one of them had a football.

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1. Swan A.C., History of New Zealand Rugby Football, Wellington, 1947, p.109.
 2. Weller S., Our Rugby: Alive and Kicking, Here and Now, Oct. 49, p.24.
 3. Waianiwa, S.J.M., op. cit., p.86; Albany St., S.J.M., op. cit., p.16; Invercargill, S.J.M., op. cit., p.74.

This was the start of the game in Carterton ... The chief difficulty was the ground, for few clear paddocks of the necessary area were free of logs and stumps. Learning to punt, drop kick and place kick were about all that could be done at first."¹ (Carterton 80's). There is record that primary school boys in the 70's and 80's even formed clubs² to seek matches with teams of equivalent merit²

It seems that in many cases pupil teachers were finally responsible for bridging the hiatus which existed between the interests of teacher and pupil. And, in this respect, although themselves the products of educational abstemiousness, these pupil teachers had a broadening effect upon the sympathies of the system within which they worked so hard. In most of the schools in the early years teachers were in the main mature 'Dominies' or 'Masters', not typically interested in the playground activities of their children. One reminiscer referring to the relations between teacher and pupil says "There was a feeling of detachment and each seemed to hold aloof from the otherWith the passing of the years, however, with younger and more ardent teachers on the staff, the atmosphere changed and a degree of mutual confidence was engendered."³ (Fapanui 1875). Pupil teachers of 13 or 14 years or more were not always loath to join in the playground games that they had been playing themselves as pupils a year or so before.

1. Carterton D.H.S., S.J.M., p.14.

2. Swan A.C., op. cit., p.109.

3. Adams J.J., See also Otepopo Reunion, 1864-1929, S.J.M., p.4.

Apart from their natural interest in the games, perhaps, burdened as they were, it was their only chance for exercise, or their only chance (albeit not always a successful one) to take it out on some of their unruly age-mate pupils. Pupil teachers going to new districts took their games with them and handed them on. Thus: "Mr. McLeod came to the school when I was in the Headmaster's room, he being but little senior to many of the boys, we did not take him too seriously .. Looking back now I am convinced that we went over the edge at times. He earned our thanks by introducing Rugby Football into the school; he played with us and taught us the game. We seemed to take a special delight in bringing him down, but being more careful of his clothes and appearance than we were, he did not give us many chances. He got rid of the ball promptly and as he was the teacher, we could not mix it with him or tackly him unless he had the ball." (Waianiwa 80's¹).

By the later 'nineties a new generation of teachers had arrived. Teachers who, as boys, had themselves played in the sporadic inter school fixtures of the preceeding twenty years, now gave their time voluntarily to coaching and organizing school teams.² In the last decade of the old century and the first decade of the new, there are records of regular inter-school sporting competition. In Wellington, for example, there is a report of Primary School football championships

1. Waianiwa, S.J.M., p.89.

2. In some schools the game was organized as early as the 'seventies and 'eighties. See, for example, Invercargill, S.J.M., and Caversham, S.J.M.

in the 'nineties and also primary school matches against Wairarapa.¹ After 1900 there were regular football, cricket and tennis practices and inter school games in Wellington. In 1907 there is a record of a Wellington City School Sport's Association.² There are records also of the organization of primary school cricket and football in other centres in these years.³

One old identity and teacher surveys the changes in rural schools between 1880 and 1920 as follows: "Till I was fourteen years of age and had left Taranaki no teacher ever took the slightest interest in the many games played by boys. Even the few inter-school games boys played were organized and arranged by the boys themselves. In the period between 1890-1900 only one teacher took an interest in school football or cricket. After that period, adult interest became more general. Any other game was ignored or opposed. As late as 1920 soccer and hockey met with considerably opposition, and in some cases were quite barred. Between 1900 and 1910 at Horowhenua an inter school athletics meeting was arranged and our little grade three school participated. Again in Wellington between 1910/20 our Grade four school took part annually in an inter-school athletic competition." Athletics, it is worth noting, had in these years a position of importance paralleling that of the major sports, cricket and football; a direct carry

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1. The Evening Post, 6/10/50.
 2. Jnl. of Edn., June 15, 1907.
 3. Albany St., S.J.M., p.18.

over from the importance of athletics in the Annual Sports Meetings of this and particularly the preceeding age.

The same period saw also the growth of an interest in the recreation of girls. After the Boer War, for example, physical education for girls had become an accepted doctrine even if not the unexceptioned practice. This drill was sometimes taken by "drill sergeants"; but in some places, women teachers played their part. "The Physical Education of girls, consisting of poles, clubs, dumbbells etc. are now exclusively done by women" reports the Journal in 1908.¹ As a part of the same interest there was, at the same time, a growing concern for the health and physical welfare of girls. The recommendations of the Physical Culture Society in 1906 are a pointer to the new attitudes and a fair comment on existing conditions. "That teachers receive instructions in the matters of hygiene and dress, and that they be enjoined to direct the attention of the girls particularly to the injurious effect of tight under clothing, and that the boys, wherever possible be allowed to exercise without coats and collars."²

This new attitude to girl's recreation posed a problem which did not occur in the case of boys. The boys now had football, but what was to be the recreation for older girls? In 1901 in the Journal there appeared an article "Games for Children" and in 1903 another entitled "Games for Growing Girls".

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1. Jnl. of Edn., Oct. 1st, 1908.
 2. ibid, April 2nd, 1906.

Both were articles from overseas sources and the introduction to the second indicated the contemporary problem. "It is not easy to entertain young girls ranging in ages from 12 to 16 years. The managers of clubs, guilds, associations and Girls' Friendly Societies often seek in vain for some solution to the constantly recurring problem 'How shall we amuse the girls who are too old for childish games?'"¹ "The problem was not easily solved and it was the lack of a solution that largely accounted for the overwhelming success of girls' indoor basketball when it was introduced into bible classes in the second half of the first decade. In 1906 the Rev. J.C. Jamieson, a Presbyterian youth worker, toured New Zealand introducing the game to girls' bible classes. It achieved great popularity although first regarded as somewhat ridiculous by the onlookers. From this source it spread to the primary schools as an outdoor game and after 1910 became the first organized sport for girls carried out on an extensive scale. By 1912 for example, 15 girls teams were entered for the primary schools' basketball competition in Auckland."² Associations for primary school basketball were established in Dunedin and Wellington in 1914.

It is clear that in the first decade of the twentieth century the pattern of preventive supervision which had replaced the earlier lack of supervision, was itself modified by voluntary coaching of a sporadic but often vigorous nature.

1. *ibid*, March 2nd, 1903.

2. *Jnl. of Edn.*, Sept. 14, 1912.

But the football-loving community and the football-loving masters did not just proceed in mute silence to the task of turning child players into sportsmen. There were teachers interested, not just in taking sport, but also interested in the ideas behind their undertaking. These ideas were at first often expressed as a part of the hostility of some teachers to the prevailing extra-curricular activity, military drill. One letter writer to the Journal in 1909 for example said: "All boys, both in town and country, at this age are eager for games, cricket, football, and the like, and to insist upon the continuance of military drill is, I fear, to make our growing lads thoroughly sick of soldiering... If plenty of training of other kinds is found for our lads, training on the discipline of the football and cricket field they may later on be brought in for the final military training." ¹ The italics are mine. The connection made between discipline and sport is worth noting. It will recur again and again.

One of the first spokesmen of the new outlook was Mr. H.A.E. Milne, Principal of the Auckland Teachers' Training College. Under his aegis the first Training College women teacher of physical education was appointed to instruct women in 1910. ² Mr. Milne was an advocate of bodily training and

1. Jnl. of Edn., Sept. 15, 1909, p.154.

2. See Hall's, Youth, Its Education, Regimen and Hygiene, Chap. 6.

physical fitness and his views read like a local rendering of the 'spartanism' of Stanley Hall.¹ Milne, however, was ploughing a new furrow as is evident from his training college report of 1910. "Tennis was played by every student in the college. Everyone received two separate hours per week but some looked upon this as a waste of time and it was difficult to get them to see and feel the need for a break which increased vitality and greater output." He went on --- and here is Rousseau, Spencer, Hall -- "The longer I live the more I am convinced of the need of active sweating exercises followed by cold baths, for young people --- it clears them physically and mentally .. a student unable to take part in a game is not, in my opinion suited for school teaching. Playing with your children is the surest help to influencing them that I know, and if the teacher is unable to do this he loses a help he cannot get in any other way."²

This was a comparatively 'new view' in 1910. Today it is a schoolmaster's commonplace. It is the wise 'tip' of every Headmaster to every young student on the problem of discipline! In some respects Milne's views read like an echo of the English Public School Attitudes of the previous century.³

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1. See Hall's, Youth, Its Education, Regimen and Hygiene, Chap. 6.
 2. Quoted Baird, The History of Physical Education -- in N.Z., p.24.
 3. See for example Richmond Kenneth, Education in England, Middlesex, 1945, p.84; or Strachy Lytton, "Eminent Victorians"; "Dr. Arnold"; p.221, Penguin Edition, 1948. Also Murdoch J.H., op. cit., p.183.

They read also like an echo of the New Zealand Reproductions of the English Public School. Thus one writer, off to Christ's College in 1870 wrote : "It was of course a great advance in my educational life.....giving me a place in the renowned College Sports, tops and marbles of course being derided, and great emphasis being placed on cricket, football and the Fives Court."¹ This is reminiscent of Stalky's attitude to similar infantile diversions.

Milne's views are important because they have become in forty years the unquestioned assumption of the majority of teachers. In 1912 he said, (we quote in extenso) "As character training is admitted to be our goal, it is interesting to see what effect the play of the school games has on it, and consequently comes the corollary, what are the most suitable games to produce this effect." Mr. Milne assumes the answer and proceeds. "Games undoubtedly have a great effect on character, summed up in the one word "sportsmanlike". They give it its true initiative, promptitude, courage, unselfishness, and the power of leadership; they promote social growth and in many other ways improve one's powers, but when all is said and done, it is learning to 'play the game' and never to hit 'below the belt' that constitute the great values."² It was 'mens sana in corpore sano' again. But the New Zealand version was destined to be somewhat muddier

1. Wilkinson J.R., Early Reminiscences from 1866, c/o N.Z.C.E.R.
 2. Jnl. of Edn., Sept., 1912, p.183, article on 'Basketball'.

and definitely more proletarian.

The new outlook received support from other directions. It was an answer for those who felt that the state of children's health was so poor "that scores of children ought to be roaming the hillsides."¹ It supplied purpose to physical education and tangibility to play-theory. And most important of all it was easily intelligible to the sport-minded public.

In 1914 the Journal published an article (its first) on "Play Factor in Education" by J.S. Tennant (later Professor of Education at Victoria University College) who put before Institute members the latest views on play (chiefly those of Groos). He gave the views a twist however, which made them particularly relevant to the local ethos. "We must recognize the necessity for teaching our children how to play", he said. And then added, as if the two were equivalent, "We should teach them all the games we can." It was an appeal as necessary then as it is in part superfluous today. Physical educationists for their part also gave stress to games. In 1912 "The official attention was directed to the value of organized games and these weekly found a place in the programme."² The Journal in 1913 records the appeals of a number of teachers for help in organizing their games programmes.³ In 1916 the President of the Educational Institute devoted a

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1. From a report of the President of the Institute. Jnl. of Edn., May 15, 1912, p.83.
 2. Butchers A.G., op. cit., p.235.
 3. Jnl. of Edn., May, 1913, p.82, 86.

great proportion of his presidential address to the question of Sports and Character. It was the first presidential address in which a place had been given to sport. He said: "Inseparably connected with the health of children are the physical conditions under which they pass their school life.....so long as certificates of proficiency are granted almost solely on work done in a few academic subjects, and no official recognition is given to skill in some of the broader activities of school life the pupil does not realize a material need to excel in such physical exercises as swimming and jumping....In emphasizing the need for many qualities the war is already making a demand on the schools for their development in the young...In England the President of the Board of Education is asking for the inculcation of a patriotic spirit in school children. I believe it will be through school work in the playground that we shall have to stiffen up the moral fibre....The value of team games for adolescents in developing co-ordination of effort and esprit de corps has long been recognized as of great educational value... As a people we probably owe much of our character development to our love of these games."¹ Once again it was the alliance of sport and character that was stressed.

It is clear from the above statements that the carefree, albeit strenuous approach which had characterized the sports of the old village green was going. Sport, in particular Rugby,

1. Jnl. of Edn., April, 1916.

was beginning to take a place of much greater importance in the national ethos, than that to which it would be entitled as a mere recreation. Perhaps, as Murdoch says, "Through Rugby a young country conscious of its weakness found a justification for national pride."¹ The subsequent "All Black" victories of 1924 did little to alleviate this tendency to high seriousness in the matter of Rugby Football. In fact, it may be true, as Mulgan says that in the years that followed Rugby almost ceased to be a sport and became instead a "religious exercise."²

Whether or not this was the case, there is no doubt that football and sport generally helped to break down the 'isolationism' of the syllabus bound school in the first decades of the new century. The community ideals of sport influenced both the teachers and the children; the community placed a new and intense value on certain types of recreation; the teachers followed in step; there arose a philosophy of sport and play which was fated to change drastically the teachers' approach to the children and to their play, and in turn was fated to change just as drastically the nature of the children's play itself.

1. Murdoch J.H., op. cit., p.207.

2. Mulgan A., From Track to Highway, p.15.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE END OF AN ERA

Before considering the effects of the 'New Philosophy' on children's play (after the first World War) it is necessary to pause briefly to consider the children's playground itself in this period, between 1900 and 1930. Gymnastic apparatus, drill and physical training had brought the teacher to the border of the playground. Supervision, sport, and the new outlook, had begun to take him into it. Meanwhile what were the children doing? In this chapter first, the changes in children's recreation beyond the school and secondly, the changes in play within the school playground are considered.

Between 1900 and 1920 changes were going on in the general recreative patterns of the community which also had their effects on the play of children. By 1900 communications were much improved and the colony was more prosperous. As a result the new energy liberated for recreative purposes manifested itself in an intensification of the recreative forms which had characterized the preceeding twenty years. It was the last, although frenzied phase of nineteenth century recreation. Parlour evenings, school concerts, prize givings,

and picnics flourished with a much greater intensity than previously. Mulgan, speaking of 1900, paints the general picture as follows: "Much more than today, people stayed at home and made their own amusements. They gathered round the piano and played card or round games. There may have been a few gramophones. The moving picture was still a curiosity; Hollywood was in the future. Stage plays, however, and musical comedy and vaudeville, came frequently, and for its size New Zealand received a remarkable number of overseas entertainers of all kinds."¹

In these days the schools sometimes held grand garden parties to raise funds. "The children were all trained by the teachers in the Maypole Dance for the annual garden party. There was also the Ribbon Dance, in which we did massed drill with coloured scarves." (Temuka 10). Concerts were also popular with the children and their preparation occupied a large amount of time. The effort required to train the children was often something of a persecution for the teachers.² Boys clad in uniforms and with wooden muskets performed cadet evolutions on the stage.³ Children acted, recited and sung. In some cases there were even mock debates by children on such subjects as 'Should women enter Parliament'. "Very popular entertainments were the 'magic lantern' shows. Serious gentlemen with illustrated travel talks toured the district

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1. Mulgan Alan, *The Past has another Pattern*, N.Z. Listener, Dec. 30th, 1949.
 2. Jnl. of Edn., April, 1911.
 3. Ravensbourne, S.J.M., p.13; Invercargill, S.J.M., p.62.

with horse and trap; some specializing in visiting schools to collect the nimble threepences from the children." (Otago 90's). Then there were the break-up ceremonies: "What great prize givings we had. Assembled in the quadrangle we listened to speeches from the Mayor of the town, the Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, and waited for the announcement, 'school is now closed until ----- the date generally being lost in a burst of cheering.'" ¹ (Invercargill) School bands made a call on some children's time. Many of these were founded in the eighties and lapsed and revived sporadically thereafter. They provided their own peculiar opportunities for escapade.. Thus in 1888, Dunedin, we have a report that "the drum was punctured by a stone thrown by a larrikin from above the quarry." ² The Queen's Birthday, The Inspector's visit, The Royal Visit of the Duke and Duchess of York (1901) were the occasion for special holidays and perhaps provided opportunities for play. There was often a picnic held on the Queen's Birthday. And what a boon the Boer War must have been. "In the stirring days when bells and whistles were wont to sound the paen of some fresh victory -- Lady Smith relieved, Cronje surrendered, Mafeking relieved --- the schools promptly emptied into the streets. Streams of boys and girls making for the Post Office Square, swelled the din and excitement of the noisy demonstrations, to which even staid and venerable citizens contributed." ³

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1. Invercargill, S.J.M., p.47.
 2. Albany, S.J.M., p.12.
 3. Invercargill, S.J.M., p.29.

In these years, picnics, always of importance rose in some areas to a fetiche. One teacher writing in 1910 says: "In Dunedin the 'picnic holiday' occupies the whole of February and a large part of March. During this time the various occupations, trades, houses, schools etc. all set apart separate days for a picnic. In all this time the whole of school work is interfered with by irregular attendances. Its worst effect, however, in the upsetting of the pupils' minds and their disinclination to attack work. They have just come back from six weeks holiday and are kept in a simmer of excitement during another six weeks." ¹ The picnic itself retained much the same form as has been described above with, if anything, a decrease in the number of traditional games played. An informant describes one of these latter day picnics as follows: "Picnic Day was the great event of the year and it was a tragedy if it was wet. By 5 a.m. we had the blind up watching to see if it were fine. We were too excited to do more than play with breakfast and then followed a frantic cleaning of white shoes -- with mother saying they should have been done last night -- looking out the white hat for the period, worrying whether we should catch the boat or train --- and we always did. Arrived at the place of the picnic, we rushed to the hills, as though we did not roam the hills near home every day, till word would flash round that the races were starting and we rushed back to take part. I never won anything. Lollie scrambles, distribution

1. Jnl. of Edn., March 15, 1910, p.34.

of lime-juice --- watered down to tastelessness -- with everyone sitting in rows so as not to get two lots. Then the rumour that the drink was running out before reaching us, and the relief when it was replenished. Complaints from mother that I had been away when the photographs were taken -- I always was away no matter how long I hung around. The occasion may have been organized by the school or the Sunday school (strange the number of previously unknown adherents such Sunday Schools had when the picnic day arrived). Sometimes it was just a private affair and the latter had thrills all their own. Fishing for cockerbullies, those small fish having no conceivable use except to be caught by small children at private picnics; lighting the fire and boiling the billy. This involved the use of about two cords of wood, resulting in it being impossible to get near enough to the fire to boil a kettle until it had died nearly out. The water was always smoked. Toast made by this fire tasted so much better, and if we could roast a few pipis or cockles the meal was perfect though the shellfish were full of sand. Soft drinks were a feature and in those days they were in queer shaped bottles, with a pinched in neck containing a marble pressed against a rubber washer at the top by gas pressure. Cars were not available to ordinary people so a long tramp to the nearest suitable place was usually involved with hampers of food, fishing lines, bats and balls. The end of the day came too soon. Or did it? By the time the sun-burned tired bodies had struggled back to civilization -- twice as far on the return

journey -- and had crept to bed, it was usually voted a long, but very good day. And we woke in the morning with a very red back to find sand on our pillows." (Petone 1910).

But this pattern of parlour evening and communal picnic outings was in its last, even if climacteric, phase. The attempts of some school masters, to justify the annual school picnic on the grounds that it increased the children's knowledge of the local geography was a symptom of decay.¹ Reason is no aid to the festive spirit. This order of recreation may be said to have finished with the first world war.

1900 to 1920 was also a period of heightened activity in children's unorganized games. Taken as a whole there were slightly fewer traditional games than there were before 1900. But the games that had gone were mainly the rougher ones of the boys' playground and that in itself was symptomatic. Just as the tenor of community life had quietened so did the tenor of the playground quietened in these years. The increased provision for children, in parlour, picnic, concert, military drill and sport left less need for some of the older and rougher forms of outlet. At the same time teachers proceeded through their supervision to exercise some of the more strenuous pursuits from the play-arena. The teaming of the playground thus proceeded in two directions, one positive, the other negative. Both assisting towards the same end. The only

1. Invercargill, S.J.M., op. cit., p.30.

other games that seem to have disappeared in this period are some of the more remote games of the earlier period, known by only a few old identities and never generally played in any case. Quite often the identities concerned could remember the name of the game only, but no details about it.

With these exceptions, the general picture of the period is one of both heightened and varied activity. In those places where there was an amplitude of children and sufficient playground space the new freedom (a more prosperous community, less child labour, better roads, no pioneering exigencies, no Maori threat, little unemployment) resulted in a new abundance in play, particularly for girls, the great majority of whom were as yet untainted by the demands of modern sport. Boys had experienced their sport since the 'nineties and in these decades of the twentieth century it no doubt had its taming effects upon them.. Girls on the otherhand were in no need of taming. Their greatest need was liberation, and this age gave them their first important experience of freedom before the dawn of a new era after 1920.

Illustrative Material page 214 to page 217.

Although some of the rougher games faded from the playground that does not mean that they did not continue to be played outside the school.¹ In the school, however, there was

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1. Some of them were carried on in Secondary Schools for some time. There are records of Tip Cat and Fly the Garter having been played at various Secondary Schools up until World War, 1914.

little place for Duckstones with its dangerous stone-throwing; tip-cat with 'cats' a danger to eye and window in a crowded area; Buck buck with its back breaking potentialities, particularly on asphalt; Punching forms of Bar the Door; Cap-On and Fly the Garter also a danger with hard grounds and in crowded area; Hoops, Whip Tops and Kites for which there was less space. As we have seen many of the more strenuous He and skill forms also lost their former importance in this period because the skills they employed were now adequately utilized in football practice. (Bull in the Ring, Hares and Hounds, Cock fighting, Paperchase, French and English, Prisoner's Base.) There is reason to believe too that the throwing and hitting skills of cricket decreased the importance of Tip-cat, Cunjo, Egg Cap etc.

But if some of the rougher games went from the boys' playground and many of them waned in importance in this period, against these must be counterbalanced the fact that there was now a much better provision for the equipment and coaching of football and cricket. There was in many places a new opportunity to play those sports, without there being as yet the sportsmania which militated against playing anything else. On the whole, sport was still the pre-occupation of individual enthusiasts, not the obsession of a whole people. This made for variety.

Some of the most characteristic of informal games which grew to importance in this period were those connected with scrap-books, collecting and "swapping". Scrapbooks and collections became more important and transfers and scraps

more readily available. Postcards were a craze after 1900 and special albums could be bought in which to put them. The various weeklies (for example, the Otago Witness), asked children through their Children's Pages to write about their collections and their hobbies. Children were encouraged to join the 'Little Folk's Circle' etc. "In consequence, the children who were members regarded themselves as a select band in the school. They were more important than the others both in their own eyes and in the eyes of the others." (Waikouaiti 1900). The weeklies in those days were far more concerned about domestic matters than they are today. There were far more hints to the housewife and articles on family matters which children could cut out and put in their scrapbooks. Coloured papers and all sorts of pictures were not used so freely in the schools and were not so easily obtainable out of them, consequently they had a far greater value in the children's eyes. Some firms of the period even found a way of employing child labour at a distance. Though the periodicals they advertized for children to sell their "Scented Sachets" for prizes of cheap brooches, beads etc. Prick Books, Poppy Shows and Bottles of Coloured Glass were a greater craze than they had been in previous years. Old Judge, Vanity Fair, and Cameo already contained cigarette cards which were of interest to children although they were focussed chiefly at the smokers. They were mainly cigarette cards starring the actresses of the day. It was after 1918, however, that cigarette cards -- animals, scenes, stamps etc. -- as well as pictures of sporting stars

in boys' magazines, poured on the market in great profusion. Then with free albums and prizes offered for complete sets, "Swapping" set in as an informal game of some seriousness.

The important thing about these particular informal games is that they were all incidents in the domestication of the playground. They reflected the increasing introduction into the playground of games which were of a quieter hue. They represented also the first steps in the transference of children's play interests from the world of their own play-objects, to a world of play-objects contrived by adults for commercial purposes. The children's play world was, in fact, on the verge of that vast scale commercial exploitation which occurred to it in the years that followed the first world war.

There is evidence that Leader games began to be of importance in this period. There are references to 'Giant Steps' (Waikouaiti 05), 'Steps and Stairs' (Blenheim 1911), 'Calling Games' (Waitara 02/09). This in itself is an indication that the girls of the day were enjoying a greater freedom. As has been mentioned the period was notable for the variety in girls' play. In those places where girls were segregated from boys, freer than hitherto in dress and footwear, and unchallenged by sport, there was often a quite remarkable variety in their play. There follows several lists of the girl's games played in different schools of the period :

Onehunga, 1905-11 a large urban school. "Most of the singing games were played round the centre pole of the shelter shed.

Sometimes, however, they were played outside. They included, Green Gravels, Duke A Riding, Surrender the Tower, Jenny A Weeping, Rushes and Reeds and Bending, My Fair Young Lady, Draw a Bucket of Water, Merry Go Rounds, Mother Mother the Pot Boils over, Other games were Hop-scotch, Skipping with rhymes, Pounds Shillings and Pence, How Many Eggs in the Bush, Tig, Rounders, Penny Catches. Knucklebones was on the way out. We played it mostly at home. There was no Basketball. Others were Sheep Sheep, Wiggle Waggle and Solomon Says.

Ohau, 1912-20: "This school was for most of this time a two teacher one and about half the children came from two Maori Pah's in the district. Probably on account of the Maori element the games played in that school were more diverse, skilled and co-operative than those of any school I have observed since. I remember two essentially Maori games Cat's Cradle and Homai, but the others were all traditional English games I think. These others included: Fill the Gap, I wrote a Letter, Twos and Threes, Green Gravels, Fox and Geese, Oranges and Lemons, Puss in the Corner, Slip the Button, Rotten Eggs, Hide and Seek, Drop the Handkerchief, Here Comes two Nuns, Colours, Bells, Marbles, Hoops, Kick the Tin, The Black Hole of Calcutta, Stones, Butcher Bats. Skipping with a few rhymes, Knucklebones with stones, Mother Mother the Pot Boils over, Honeypots."

Rakaia, 1910-20, country school, Mid Canterbury. "Games included, Walls, Hop-scotch, Knucklebones, Kick the Tin, Butcher's Bat, Trains, Drop the Handkerchief, Teasle, Hoops

Prisoner's Base, Rats and Rabbit and Rips, Marbles, Quoits, Consequences, Poisoned Stag, Bar the Door, Ghost in the Garden, Whose that Going Round My Stone Wall, Skin the Snake, Poor Old Tom, Poor Sally is a Weeping, Hands on Hands, Stacks on Mill, Steps, Giant Strides, Statues, Eggs in the Nest, Elements, Walking on Hands, Rounders, Tinker Tailor, Bites or Knifey.

Additional games recorded in this period but of which there is no record before 1900 are as follows :-

West Coast: Dunk and Davey, Spang Weazling.

Wellington: Who Goes Round My Stone Wall, Beg O' My Neighbour, Bellahonie, Run a Mile, On and Off the Bridge, Here Comes Two Nuns, Colours, Isaac and Rebecca, Scrag, Diabolo, Bumble Puppy, Homai, Fives.

Auckland: My Fair Young Lady, Rushes and Reeds, Surrender the Tower, Walls, Ball Hop-scotch, Ball games, Solomon Says.

Hawkes Bay: Wolf Wolf Go Home, Homai.

Canterbury: Poor Old Tom, Rats, Rabbits and Rips, Steps, Skin the Snake, Steal a Peg, Toodle-em-buck, The Gag.

Golden Bay: Whose that Walking Round My House Tonight, I've Come To See Poor Mary Jane, Steps and Stairs, Creeping, Branding, O'Leary.

Otago: Sir Roger de Coverley, Whose that Knocking at my Door.

PART III : 1920-50.

....." football itself, before which men
made oblation of souls as purely
constituted as those of mediæval mystics." p.136
J.C. Beaglehole : "New Zealand. A Short History"

CHAPTER NINE

THE ORGANIZATION OF GAMES

In this chapter the various ways are discussed in which the "New Philosophy" of the playground influenced the children. The following matters are dealt with. Firstly, the way in which educational legislation was affected by the new attitude to sport; secondly, the way in which the teacher and the community came to give overwhelming importance to the place of organized sports in schools; thirdly the manner in which this emphasis was both abetted and counter-acted by movements in physical education and minor games; and finally, the way in which it was assisted by changes in school organization. Detailed attention is given to the importance of organized games because it is held that their "importance" has contributed more than anything else to the desuetude of the traditional

and unorganized games.

Firstly, with respect to legislation. In the changing attitudes of teachers, there has been observed a steady movement away from the nineteenth century narrow, but scholarly criteria of education, towards an attitude approximating to the sport-loving outlook of the ordinary New Zealander. In the final period which is dealt with in this historical section, from the First World War onwards this sport-loving attitude became firmly embedded into the structure of the educational system by the circumstance of official but pliant enactment. There were various regulations which compulsorily fastened the teachers' interest in the playground. They did not, however, determine the last jot and tittle of what the teacher should do when in the playground. In consequence, the sport-loving attitudes of the ordinary teacher and ordinary citizen permeated the regulations giving their own particular substance to the regulations' content, even if not changing their original form.

This process of change occurred as follows. Organized games were first mentioned officially in the Physical Education Syllabus of 1912, but, as has been shown, they were already being regularly practised in the main centres well before that date. At refresher courses in physical education, which were held throughout the country in the years after 1912, Physical Education Specialists drew the notice of other teachers to the recreative value of these games. It was natural, therefore, that when the attention of teachers was called officially to the

playground by the Grading Regulations of 1916, they should think of playground activities in terms of these games. The Grading Regulations themselves contained no mention of games, but they did contain a clause giving special grading marks for attention to the environment. This clause referred specifically to school grounds and to work in the community but it was interpreted generally to refer as well to organized games. The increased attention which teachers gave to organized games after the issue of these regulations, was very noticeable. Inspectors' Reports of 1917 stressed the whole-hearted manner in which teachers were undertaking this new branch of school activity. The Wanganui Board report of 1917, says, for example "Organized games now form an important feature of the playground activities of pupils, and there are few teachers who fail to give adequate attention to playground duty. During the coming year we hope the Physical Instructors and the Medical Officer will formulate some simple system of testing the effects of drill and games, so that we may have more reliable data than we have at present on which to base a conclusion."

This report indicates a difficulty which existed at the time. If teachers were to be graded on their work in organized games, how was this to be done? One method proposed, was for the Physical Education specialists to assist the Inspectors. In 1919, therefore, the physical instructors were asked to make reports on the physical instruction carried out by the teachers so that these reports could be used by the inspectors when grading the teachers. "Organized Games" was

one of the most important categories under which the instructors were asked to report. These new responsibilities of the physical instructors implied that not only the teachers, but also the Inspectors were interpreting the new regulations to mean that children should be coached in the major sports. During the twenties a writer in the Education Gazette¹ explained the new official attitude as follows: "Increasing attention is being paid everywhere to games as a part of school life, and Inspectors now take official cognisance of the teacher's work in connection with their organization and superintendence. The new progress card provides specifically for the entry every year of the teacher's estimate of each pupil's activities in this respect. Consequently the theoretical importance long attached to games has begun to take intensely practical shape. Versatile skill in games.... will not be overlooked in grading....." It is clear from the same article that, the 'official' as well as the teachers' attitude was also the popular or public attitude. The writer says : "These inter-school contests in seasonal games, in athletics and in swimming have rapidly become a feature of primary school life throughout the country in the conduct of which parents have heartily co-operated with the teaching staffs." The same writer expresses the fear, however, that this sporting movement might take an undesirable direction..."It is emphasized that the use of grounds and apparatus must not be unduly appropriated by representative teams alone." This was an

1. Butchers A.G., Education in New Zealand, quoted p.495.

appropriate comment on what was actually happening. The writer did not realize that teacher and public co-operation in games would lead inevitably to the all consuming emphasis on representative teams which he so deprecated. Teachers' enthusiasm for the new order was further indicated by their requests of 1921 "That the Minister of Education ... given official recognition to sport by setting aside one half day a week for the sole purpose of physical recreation, the syllabus to be re-arranged accordingly."¹

However, having collaborated with the teachers in their tendentious interpretation of the 1916 regulations, and thus, more or less, led them into the playground with the use of the grading incentive, officialdom was content to leave teachers there with less specific attention to their grading rewards. Or at least so it seemed to many teachers. But the fault lay as much in the teachers' interpretation of the regulations as, strictly speaking, in any deficiency on the Departments part. In 1921 for example the special grading marks given for work in the Environment were assimilated into other categories. There followed complaints from many teachers that their work with organized games was no longer being adequately recognized. The Press gave publicity to their protests. At a meeting of teachers, The Director of Education earnestly claimed that it was not so. "The Department was heart and soul in favour of school sport" he said and teachers "were still

1. 18th Annual Meeting N.Z.E.I. Remit 12 (Southland)
Jnl. of Edn., Feb. 1921.

graded for their work but under different categories."¹
 The teachers at the meeting did not appear to be over
 satisfied with the Director's assurances and apparently
 their unrest was not quickly allayed. A further protest
 along the same lines appeared in National Education as late
 as 1930.² However, grading or no grading there was clearly
 unanimity in all quarters about the worthwhileness of school
 sport. The new "Ideal" itself was ~~never~~^{seldom} questioned.

Meanwhile other changes had been going on in the same
 period. Girls also came in for their share of increased
 attention. Basketball grew rapidly, particularly in such
 organizations as the Y.W.C.A., and a New Zealand Association
 was formed in 1923. The rules were standardized in 1928
 and the sport flourished after that date. To give some
 idea of its increase amongst adults (and children); there were
 in 1930 only eight adult basketball associations in the North
 Island, whereas in 1948 there were twenty two. As there had
 previously been no organized game for girls in the winter, and
 as there was now a demand for one, it was natural that such a
 suitable game should make rapid progress. One informant
 speaks of the change in attitude as follows. "The attitude
 of older people was a bit scoffing. I remember hearing
 people say that it was a silly game with so much waving of

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1. Jnl. of Edn., Dec. 1st, 1923, p.397, under heading, "Work
 of Teacher should be Recognized"; report of a meeting
 between the Director and teachers in Christchurch.
 2. National Education, June 1st, 1930, p.298.

arms in it, and I know that my own parents thought in the years, 1917-18 and 19, that girls ought to be interested in something better than a game like that. By the time, I went to Training College in 1923 the attitude had changed." (Dunedin). Women's hockey was also played in the early 'twenties, but the large space required for hockey as compared with basketball, did not allow the former to develop as extensively as basketball. Basketball was so appropriate to the Victorian legacy of quarter acres and tennis courts.

As the 'twenties proceeded the vogue of sport for boys and girls increased in importance. Community attitudes to sport continued to have a greater influence on the new approach to children's play than did the ideals emanating from playtheorists, physical educationists and medical authorities.¹ As a consequence the world-wide post war boom in sport expressed itself at the primary level, particularly for boys in highly competitive and 'glorified' matches between representative school teams. Teachers and community took a live, but narrowly directed, interest in children's play. Previously children had been left to make their own way in the playground. In these years adults intervened on behalf of sport. They began to influence children towards thinking about their play in a definite manner, towards thinking of their play as a means to the development of skills in sport. They may not have done

1. Dulles F.R., America Learns to Play, p.348.

this consciously but it was implicit in their coaching, the cups and trophies they were awarded and in their own adult enthusiasm for sport; not an enthusiasm, let it be noted, for the traditional game remnants of some bygone age. Even the schoolboy literature of the time moved towards the same end. "Any Historian of the remote future relying exclusively on old volumes of boys' magazines for his knowledge of the British way of life in the early twentieth century, notably the 1920's and the 1930's" says Turner "will record that the country was the battleground of an unending civil war between a small vigorous race known as Sportsmen and a larger, sluggish and corrupt race known as Slackers."¹ So severe in fact was the sports competition which adults and teachers encouraged between schools, that in some cases, this teacher and community co-operation did more than just influence children's play, it threatened to upset the normal balance of education itself. Already in the early 'twenties there was a reaction in the secondary schools against the "Gladiatorial combats" of rugby and cricket.² In the primary schools the same reaction did not gain force until the 'thirties, although some misgivings were felt much earlier as is evidenced by the quotation above on the official attitude to sport in primary schools. The reaction was naturally later in primary schools as the games

1. Turner E.S., Boys Will Be Boys, p.247.

2. Murdoch J.H., The High Schools of New Zealand, p.186.

there were placed on an organized footing at a later date than was the case in secondary schools. In addition, matches between primary school boys did not have the spectacular quality and community wide interest that characterized the matches between secondary school boys.

Nevertheless, the tendency in the primary schools was in the same direction as that in the secondary schools. As early as 1912 an Inspector's Report of Wellington, says, "a real danger exists in allowing these games to take up too much of the school time, and to occupy the minds of the scholars to the exclusion of school work. We are constrained to give this warning, as there are signs that in some city schools, football, an excellent game in its proper place, has lately been engaging too much of the attention of many of our boys."¹ By the 'twenties things had developed further. In the late 'twenties we read of grand scale inter-school and inter-provincial primary school sports tournaments. Athletic tournaments between Hutt and Wellington were held up till 1929. In Tennis and Swimming cups were awarded in the mid 'twenties and tournaments and carnivals held until the early 'thirties. Rugby continued its tournaments up till the second world war. Rugby Tournaments were held in the Wellington Province for example including representative teams from Wairarapa, Taranaki, Wanganui, Manawatu, Hutt Valley, Horowhenua, Rangitikei and Wellington. The movement reached

1. Inspectors' Report E-2, Appendix C, 1912.

its peak in 1929/30 when with the first issues of the special classroom supplements by National Education, notes on sports took a place of equivalent honour alongside the other subjects of the curriculum. It was a vast contrast to the place of such things in the same Journal prior to World War I.¹

In the early 1930's, the Primary School Headmasters' Association in Wellington, became concerned at this trend of events; at the growing competitiveness in school sports. In an effort to put an end to it they communicated with all the primary school sports associations asking them to abandon the practice of awarding trophies. The same concern was felt by some of these Associations themselves. The minutes of the Wellington Basketball Association, for example, refer in a deprecating manner to the roughness of play (1927) undesirable barracking (1930) and the poor spirit and rude remarks of some of the contestants (1931). In 1931 one member of the Association "spoke to the effect that basketball was becoming too serious a matter in our schools -- much of the joy of the game was being lost in the effort to win. In some schools the shield loomed too large and filled the children's minds to the exclusion of the fun of playing matches with other schools." Another member suggested that the shield

1. The material that follows is taken from the Minute Books of the Wellington Primary School Sports Association (1940); Rugby Football Asscn. (1935); Cricket (1929); Swimming (1941); Basketball (1927); Soccer (1921). The records available go back only to the dates given. As far as is known this information is consistent with conditions in the other main centres.

should be dispensed with and that the 'game for the game's sake' spirit should be encouraged.¹ In Dunedin at the same time similar trouble was being experienced. A correspondent writes: "Good basketball was being played in the schools then, but over-keenness led to bad feeling between schools in certain areas. There was enough of it in evidence to produce an anti-trophy bias. The anti-tournament emphasis developed from the same spirit, partly because the semi-final and final games produced much barracking and too much excitement over the winning of the tournament."

In the end the Headmasters gained their wish. In Wellington girls basketball tournaments ceased in 1934, swimming carnivals waned, athletics faded except in one school district. Even the cricketers modified their use of the 'Bradman Bat'. Games for points were abolished. No records were kept and publicity was avoided. The demands of sports' associations for Saturday play by schoolboys were firmly resisted. Schools felt they could maintain standards adequately without outside help.

The school which had allowed itself to be so influenced by the community in the guidance of its play activities had suffered an "overdose". There were higher educational ideals and values for play than the grossly competitive forms of sport which had grown up in the previous decade. In the 'thirties the schools in effect drew in upon themselves and resisted the

1. Minutes of Primary School's Girls Basketball Assocn., Wellington; April 23rd, 1931.

temptation to any further extremes of "sport-mongering". In 1935 the Annual N.Z. Headmasters' conference capped the reaction by observing that the team spirit had been very much overdone, representative matches were an evil and inter school competition was giving the wrong kind of recommendation to physical achievement.¹

This reaction did not mean, however, that organized sports did not continue in the schools. On the contrary, organized sports had come to stay. The major games, rugby, cricket, basketball and hockey continued as before with the modifications mentioned above, although swimming and athletics suffered the loss of a tournament incentive. Furthermore the major sports were, as ever, impatient of competition from alternative and rival sports such as baseball and association football. Each major code sought to maintain and extend its hegemony.² Towards the end of the 'thirties what might be termed the "normal" course of development resumed (although without the earlier harshly competitive note) Athletic and Swimming Carnivals were revived. There was renewed attention to publicity. In 1939/40 a Wellington Primary School Sports Association "was formed to co-ordinate the functions of all the separate sports bodies. Meanwhile the children continued to receive additional sporting stimulus in their reading. In these years 'Champions' and 'Triumphs' had a large sale throughout the country. Turner says: "In the Champion, just before

1. Quoted by Baird D., The History of Physical Education in the Primary Schools of New Zealand, p.107.

2. See Minutes Wn. Ckt. Assn. and Wn. Ftbl. Assn., 1939

World War II, sport grew from a fetish to a frenzy."¹

The war years themselves brought few important changes in attitude. In some areas organized competition decreased because there were difficulties in coaching the teams and fears that an invasion might catch the sportsmen widely scattered. (Dunedin). But even in these areas schools continued to carry on organized games with each other. In most cases there was no interruption. Sports carried on as fervently as before, being what might be termed the only really regular 'religious' exercise in a secular curriculum.

In Wellington in 1942, a member of the celibate clergy brought before the Primary School Sports' Association the "aberrant" proposal that "all organized inter-school sport should be suspended for the duration of the war." The minutes report that a lively debate followed. In this debate the words morale and character appeared frequently in conjunction with the word sport. For example: Miss -----"deprecated any proposal to abandon inter-school competitions, which were the most effective ~~aid~~ to character building the teacher possessed. The effect of such a move on school and community morale would be deplorable." Mr -----stated that if the proposal was accepted "the standards of sport would deteriorate rapidly". The Hon. Secretary said: "Morale must be maintained and the abandonment of school sport would be a serious blow at morale. Women had stepped forward to do men's work in many

1. Turner E.S., op. cit., p.254.

other community activities -- they would the same for the children's sport.¹

In other directions also sport continued to be treated with the same stern seriousness. "Strenuous and sustained campaigns" were waged by the executive of the Sports Association. "against the alarming manner in which the city parks and reserves had been taken over by the military authorities."² It was apparent that the "serious loss of playing grounds by the schools" was of as much, if not more importance to the "Playmasters" of sport, than the requirements of the military authorities. This was not, an entirely unhealthy attitude. In the same year the Minutes of the Wellington Primary School Sports' Association report^{ed} that the World of Business was also interfering with the sphere of children's sport. It was reported that boys were being prevented from playing in teams because of pressure applied by their newsagent employers. Members of the Sports' Association interviewed the employers, and fortunately these men saw reason in a way that the army authorities did not. The minutes report, "These gentlemen gave ready co-operation and it was agreed that boys should not be required at the earliest until 4.30 p.m., with the exception of those on long and arduous rounds."³

In 1945, Saturday morning coaching in cricket and football which had been so strenuously resisted in the thirties, was

1. Minutes of 2nd Ann. Gen. Mtg., 12th Feb., 1942.

2. *ibid.* 1943.

3. Minutes Sports Assn. Management Com., 12th July, 1943.

approved by the Sport's Association. The difficulties of coaching children with the restricted male staffs available in wartime led to a fairly general fear that 'standards would drop'. 'Standards in Sport' it seemed were now, as in the thirties, the ultimate arbiter, in matter of children's sport, of the school's relationship to the rest of the community.

Thirdly, with respect to Physical Education. Since the first World War changes had been occurring in Physical Education which had partly contributed to, and partly counter-acted, the importance of organized games. In 1921 the new physical education syllabus introduced minor recreative games including singing games for infants.¹ It might be thought that this attention to minor games would have offset too excessive an attention to major sports. This was not the case. The minor games made little headway. The games were not explained in detail in the syllabus and only about one of the references given was at all generally available in New Zealand.² For practically twenty years thereafter physical education progressed at the best, very slowly. First, there was the long and somewhat fruitless controversy over Renfrew White's postural system and then, added to this, there were the debilitating effects of the depression. reductions in expenditure on education.³

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1. Syllabus of Physical Training for Schools, 1920. As early as 1912 attention had been called to games but nothing had been included in the syllabus. This had been the cause for some criticism in subsequent years.
 2. Namely Bancroft J.H., Games for the Playground, Home School and Gymnasium, New York, 1909.
 3. Butchers A.G., op. cit., p.494.

The national games won this round by default.

1939 witnessed the appointment of a new Director of Physical Education. It was the beginning of a new outlook in physical education, which was based on the enlightened English Syllabus of 1933.¹ The most general effect of this new movement however -- probably in spite of the intentions of its protagonists -- was to place stress upon the importance of training children in those fundamental skills which contribute to the efficiency of the larger scale movements involved in sports. Maximum attention was given, for example, to the ball-handling skills. This training occurred particularly in group work which was perhaps the most characteristic and most successful phase of the new approach to physical training. Naturally an emphasis of this nature assisted rather than countered the importance of the major organized games. It freshened and cleaned up the tributaries but did not in any way counter the direction of the main stream.

It must be confessed, however, that notwithstanding this implicit contribution to the 'main philosophy', the new movement in physical education displayed quite heterodox tendencies, tendencies not without precedent in the 1921 syllabus as we have already seen. It revived again, but this time with new force, the attention to minor games, and assisted by a growing understanding of the broader educational ideals involved in physical education, the movement gained much

1. Syllabus of Physical Training for Schools, Bd. of Education, London, 1933.

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support for this revival. The effects of the revival however, were not to be discovered in the official enactments of the department, but in the disputes of teachers.

During the 'forties there was in the primary schools a new, and in some cases very practical, emphasis upon the importance of organized games for all children, not just for representative team players.² It was insisted that those who were too young or too infirm to find a place in the school representative teams should not therefore be deprived of the enjoyment of organized games. Most teachers concurred with this viewpoint. The difficulty arose only when steps were taken to implement the belief. It was at this point that the "importance" of organized sport usually re-asserted itself. For example, if all the 'sportsmen' and the 'sportswomen' on the school staff quitted the school on sport's afternoon to travel with the school's representative teams, as they usually did, who then was left to take the minors for minor games? Who, but the aged, the decrepit and those who had a constitutional indifference if not repugnance for all vigorous forms of physical activity? Out of this situation arose heresy. And in Wellington during the war years, with a shortage of male teachers to accentuate the difficulty, heresy certainly arose.

For example, it was suggested before the Primary School Sport's Association in 1942 that "House Games", that is, games

1. Murdoch J.H., op. cit., p.202.

2. In theory at least this is not a new emphasis as we have seen in our quotation from the 1920's.

within each separate school, should replace inter-school games. The request was connected with invasion fears, the shortage of men teachers for coaching purposes, and the positive attitude to the games of minors mentioned above. The proposal, however, was strenuously opposed on the grounds that "standards would drop."¹ In 1944 the matter cropped up once more. It was supported by several Headmasters because, "It provided for greater pupil participation and better use of staff It was considered that under the existing system of sport on an inter-school basis, the entire organization of the school was upset every Wednesday afternoon, when teachers left with teams taking part in inter-school matches. Nothing worthwhile could be done recreatively speaking, with those children left behind, and they wasted their time."² (The position, we might add, for the preceeding twenty years). Once again this proposal was sternly opposed on the same grounds that 'standards would drop'. One speaker urged that, "The healthy and desirable competitive sporting element encouraged by inter-school competitions could be lost if inter-house games obtained." ... "The house system alone provided little incentive to the children and while attempting mass participation, neglected standard of play." The upshot of this argument was that three schools, including one Headmaster who in 1942 had regarded the house system as unworkable but now tergiversated, broke away from the main city

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1. Ann. Gen. Mtg. of P.S.S.A., 12th Feb., 1942.
 2. W.P.S.S.S.A. Management Com. Mtg., May 2nd, 1944.

scheme of inter-school competition.

In 1946 a more heretic and perhaps even 'hair-brained' scheme was proposed. An attempt was made, quite seriously, to assimilate minor games into the system of inter-school organized sport-competitions. A member of the Association suggested that there should be inter-school minor games competitions. Originally this motion had added, "even if necessary by the curtailment of the advantages now given to school teams playing in inter school games." The proposer maintained that inter-school games catered for perhaps only 20% of children and that these were already naturally gifted physically. The meeting accepted this proposal favourably and moved that schools should try out some such arrangement but, significantly enough, deleted from the motion the above clause that if necessary the advantages of representative school teams should be curtailed. The Sports Association was not prepared to do anything active about this proposal itself, and was prepared to entertain only the 'idea' of an even greater extension of inter-school competitive sport if it did not interfere with existing arrangements.¹

It was clear that the growth of the minor games movement was to be tolerated only as long as it did not interfere with the existing hegemonies of the major sports. Nevertheless, the movement itself, and the fact that most city schools now made some organized games provision for the younger children, was evidence of a broadening in attitude.

1. W.P.S.S.A. Management Com. Mtg., 15th July, 1946.

The same expansion of vision was to be seen in the larger tolerance which existed in both 'primary' and 'post-primary' schools towards alternative major sports, baseball, hockey¹ and soccer.

After the war the regular inter-school sports competitions proceeded apace. Quadrangular football tournaments were resumed, swimming and athletic tournaments re-instituted; national councils for some primary school sports were proposed.² And in 1949 the three apostate Wellington schools which had adopted the 'House' system in 1944 returned to the inter-school fold. It appears that standards had dropped.

Finally, with reference to school organization. Beeby in his survey of the "The Intermediate Schools of New Zealand" 1936 expressed the hope that with the general extension of decapitation, "The highly organized competitive sport of the primary school will give way to something more childish and informal."³ In actual fact of course nothing of the sort has occurred. Where previously the senior teams

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1. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to over-emphasize the stability of this minor-games movement. There is no guarantee that it will continue without the continued enthusiasm and stimulus of physical education specialists. In a number of schools, for example, I observed that the minor games afternoons were being used for little more than coaching in football and other major sports skills. Standard one boys in one Dunedin school spent the games-period practising passing rushes with a football. This is not an exceptional incident. In some areas the conflicting claims of Rugby and League football have led to Saturday Football for infant-school "midgets".
 2. Evening Post, 1/11/49, for cricket.
 3. Beeby C.E., The Intermediate Schools of N.Z., Wellington, 1936, p.129.

were drafted from Standards 5/6 with an occasional player from S.4. now, the players have been drawn from S.3/4 with the occasional player from S.2. The system of inter-school sport, which means chiefly rugby and cricket, has extended downwards in the school. Even where decapitation has not existed, more scope has been given to the S.3/4 children to play in organized teams against the S.3/4 children from the decapitated schools.

Notwithstanding this fact, that changes in school organization have tended to increase rather than to counter the importance of organized sport, it is true that the new decapitated schools have provided opportunities for a broader concept of organized games than existed previously. And in some areas the most has been made of this opportunity. Here and there physical educationists have sought to give point to the minor games of some decapitated schools by providing annual field days.¹ These field days have catered for all the children from S.1 to S.4. Children from groups of decapitated schools (usually about 6) have been brought together for a day of folk-dancing, community singing, a few races and many minor games in tabloid form. This annual festive occasion has provided an objective for the minor games afternoons of the rest of the year.

This example is particularly worthy of note because it

1. I am familiar with Experiments along these lines in the Hutt Valley and Wairarapa.

is such an exception to the general practice in which the dominance of a few major sports exercises its sway over the minds of all, young and old alike. A dominance moreover which as has been shown, defines the content of regulations, determines the relationship of the school to outside sporting bodies, directs the momentum of physical education, delimits the role of alternative games and in facts defines the only acceptable meaning of the term play itself.

CHAPTER TEN

THE INCUBUS OF AN ORGANIZED WORLD.

Of the other influences which have changed the old order of children's recreation, there is little to say. Knowledge of these other influences requires extensive sociological surveys of a type which have not to my knowledge been carried out in this country. It would appear that the dominant influence in negating the older order of recreation has been the community "importance" of organized games. Other influences which have been tributary to this major one are as follows.

Firstly, in modern civilization there is an ever increasing mesh of roadways, telegraph poles and crowded living quarters which present their own particular threat to children's games. Telegraph wires lie like prison bars across the line of a kite's flight;¹ automobile infested roads permit

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1. Education Gazette, Vol. XIII, No.11, Nov. 1, 1934, under heading "Electric Wires and Kites --- The Canterbury Education Board has received from the Public Works Department a letter regarding a child's Kite which was found entangled in the 66,000 volt transmission lines near Temuka. The Public Works Department was put to some trouble and expense in removing the kite which, with its wet string trailing to the ground, constituted not only a menace to the power supply, but to human life. Children should be warned of the danger of flying kites in the vicinity of electric wires."

1

little progress to the hoop or the whip top: bitumen surfaces and asphalt playgrounds are too fast for marbles, too impregnable for stagknives, and present an emotional barrier to those many games which require soft earth, dirt and grass. But these factors must not, be exaggerated. There is still ample space and suitable conditions for most of the old games even in the more crowded parts of New Zealand. "Even the larger towns cover with their suburbs so many square miles of ground that a European would smile at hearing them spoken of as thickly populated urban areas.. There are very few spots in towns where trees, flower gardens, and grass are not close at hand, and even orchards and fields not far away."

2

If traditional games are to thrive, urban conditions may be a handicap, therefore, but they are not a complete barrier. It is quite possible for traditional games to proliferate within urban conditions, as is evidenced in Norman Douglas' "London Street Games", 1916, and by recent articles on London's Play Streets. ³ Something other than mere external difficulty is necessary to wither the game-making

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1. Education Gazette, Sept. 1, 1936, p.153, Vol.15, under heading "School Children on Public Roads" teacher's attention is drawn to the report of a conference on road safety. The Minister of Transport said "Attention should be drawn to the dangers of the following practices...(a) Playing games on the footpath or highway...(b) Chasing one another or throwing balls...(c) Playing tricks with moving vehicles, e.g. touching them with sticks.
 2. Reeves W.P., The Long White Cloud, p.363. Revised edition 1924. This is practically as true in 1950.
 3. Daiken L., Street Plan and Play Streets, Picture Post Vol.47, No. 2, p.30-33.

spirit when it is directed along the lines of traditional play.

Secondly, a more important factor contributing to the change in games is the very nature of modern entertainment and recreation itself. Modern recreation is of such a nature as to be, in effect, antipathetical to the older and self-motivating types of recreation, including the traditional games.

Recreations yesterday were few and far between and in many cases involved creative effort of some sort on the part of the participants. Today the mode of recreation is different. Entertainment is commercialized. It is standardized. For the greater part no individual effort is required on the part of the audience, but that it should passively appreciate. "One has¹.. to remember that the mass of people are getting steadily less and less inclined to exertion in the matter of recreation." Organizations compete for public attention, then reward the attending public with a round of entertainment (think particularly of the cinema and the radio) which is stimulating, ever-changing and often sensational. Even in the case of those recreations in which adults themselves actively participate there is a similar

1. Hatfield H. Stafford, The Inventor And His World, Middlesex, 1948, p.173.

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emphasis on stimulation and change. "One of the most striking characteristics of this era is the unparalleled rapidity with which millions of men and women have turned their attention, their talk and their emotional interest upon a series of tremendous trifles."

2

The child world is assailed by similar emphases. On the one hand organizations compete for children's attention, on the other they subject that attention to an ever changing round of 'fads and fancies' ranging from a new 'Peter the Pilot' album which "you simply must have", to the reincarnation of the Batman at the local theatre.

All the most characteristic modern recreative agencies, therefore, reward children for attention and attendance. The implicit premise that children learn from these modern recreative agencies is that entertainment or recreation which does not give such rewards is neither recreating nor entertaining.

3

Naturally, when life is full of an ever changing variety of stimulating sensations of the above nature, unrewarded perseverance at the old traditional games becomes pointless. Knucklebone, stagknife, marbles and others all require patience and practice to acquire the skill that alone makes them worthwhile. There is no less intrinsic reward for the

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1. Consider, for example, the adult crazes: Diabolo (1907), Ping Pong (1913), Mah Jong (1923), Crosswords (1924), Miniature Golf (1930), Contract Bridge (1931). The dates apply to the U.S.A. See Dulles, op. cit., p.333.
 2. Dulles, op. cit. p.333.
 3. In actual fact of course Modern Agencies often do not recreate they only stimulate! See Manvell R., Film, Penguin Edit., 1949, p.120.

application of this patience and practice today than there was yesterday. In comparison to the extrinsic rewards that exist in connection with the modern recreative agencies, however, there is in the old games, in effect, no reward at all.

In other words, modern entertainment and recreation have the same influence on traditional games as do modern sports. Both teach the child to participate only for adult recognized culture rewards. There are stimulating rewards for being entertained just as there are prestige rewards for devoting one's time to sporting practice. Sports and modern entertainment bring in their train adult interest and encouragement. Traditional games whose only incentive is the enjoyment of playing them cannot compete with these other influences in contrary directions. That any such games still persist is testament not just to the conservatism of children but also to the intrinsic importance and meaningfulness of these games to the child players.

Some details of the manner in which modern recreation exerts its influence are as follows:

Illustrative Material page 246 to page 250.

Children are implicitly discouraged from the construction of self-made play-objects by the existence of a variety of attractive commercial play-objects within easy reach. In the last twenty years there has been an enormous extension and vast-scale commercialization of the 'children's market'. This is material evidence of the fact that children's play interests,

once ignored, are now regarded as a paying concern. It is worth note that Chainstores appeared in New Zealand at the end of the 'twenties and in the early 'thirties. These stores from there very beginning starred large numbers of cheap toys. Toy buyers report that since the Second World War, toys have¹ become one of the greatest concerns of these Chainstores. Adults have justified and assisted this commercial interest in children's toys simply by buying the toys for children and by giving children more money to spend.² For example, it is the custom today for children to have money spent on toys for them and to get amounts of pocket money to which their fathers did not have access. Children in the 1890's might, at the most, collect a few shillings with their Guy Fawkes guy. Any child who takes it seriously today is more likely to collect several pounds. In summary children who can so easily buy toys, do not have the incentive to spend the time their predecessors did on making play-objects. They have very little incentive even to be interested in such comparatively unattractive home-made objects.

Pocket money, however, does not only buy toys. It also opens the way into many modern recreative worlds, the engagement with which leaves little time or desire for traditional play-objects or games. One investigation reported

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1. Toy Buyers: Woolworth's; McKenzie's; Sargood and Sons; Aitkens; all of Wellington.
 2. For details of the amounts children have, see for example: Morris B., The Leisure Activities of Some City Children, M.A. Thesis, V.U.C., 1946, p.11.

that the children spent their pocket money on sweets, comics, aerated drinks, the theatre, concerts and skating. (See footnote previous page).

Children's time is absorbed as well in listening to radio, attending films and reading (particularly comics) in a way that it never was previously. Many attend as well extra lessons in gym, art, music, woodwork and dancing. It is highly probable in fact, that with all the free time that children have today, they actually have less time to devote to self-initiated ends, than did many of their forbears.

In addition, innumerable children's organizations compete for children's allegiance and time.¹ It is at these places that children nowadays are learning to play games. Practically all the complex games played by children today are organized by adults, either at clubs (scouts etc.) or on the school playing fields. The neighbourhood group is the only continuous children's group left free to develop a play life of its own. And the neighbourhood group is not usually² so constituted as to lead to complex game developments. In Section II Part I it will be shown the spontaneous development of games requires a continuous group, and a play-pitch and a time determined by the group. Today, most of the groups, the places and the times for the play of games are under adult

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1. See for example Harte M., The Organized Activities of Christchurch Children Outside the School, M.A. Thesis, C.U.C., 1936.
 2. See Section II, Part I.

direction. This does not typically lead to the maintenance and proliferation of unorganized games.

Further, picnics and parties today do not counter-act these other tendencies. In the first place they are relatively less important than they were. Secondly, children questioned as to the games they play at picnics and parties reveal that they get less acquaintance with traditional games through these agencies than was once the case. For example 22 children in the Caversham Model Class Dunedin, (P.4/S.6) each of whom had been to at least one picnic had played the following games at picnics. Oranges and Lemons, Races, Tag, Hide and Seek, Catches with basketball (Taieri Wrestling Club); Running, Cricket, Soccer, Sack-races (Wharfies picnic); Races, Skipping, Singing, Cricket, Running (Railways picnic); Ring a Ring a Roses, Oranges and Lemons, Farmer in the Dell, Draw a Pail of Water, (Sunday School picnic). Children questioned at other schools demonstrated, likewise, that most of the games they had played at picnics were skill games. Where there were still a few traditional games, these were played mainly at the Sunday School picnics where some of the old practices persist in an unbroken line from the nineteenth century. In a similar manner the Parties of today were shown to provide little coaching in the old games. The same Caversham children had played the following games at parties: Musical Chairs, Musical Statues, Noughts and Crosses with chairs, Charades, Postman's Knock, Tail on the donkey, Blindman's Buff, Oranges and Lemons, Hide and Seek, Hunt the

Thimble, Winks.

^{These}
~~Here~~ observations suggest that the prestige of organized sport, early defines for children the 'true' meaning of play. There are playing fields, coaching practices, and "first-fifteen" honours for the conformers. The prestige of sport and the structure of urban civilization do not foster the older pursuits. The modern mode of recreation implicitly discourages them.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE PLAYGROUND TODAY.

"Marbles are going down in the school, that's certain." Says Mr. Perkins, "Marbles are going out of fashion, because they're getting unpopular....marbles are not stimulating enough for modern life. Its the same with religions, don't you see? Now take Nonconformity..."¹

This chapter sketches only some of the broader characteristics of the modern playground, as seen in the historical perspective of this section. The details of play in the modern playground are to be found in Section II of this thesis. That section is, in one sense, merely an extensive enlargement of the present chapter.

The three important characteristics of the modern playground, as compared with the nineteenth century playground are, that its players are more sophisticated in the content of their play, that the playground of today is a speedier place in which to play, and that children are less turbulent

1. Norman Douglas, London Street Games, p.116.

in the way in which they play.

Firstly, with respect to the sophistication of the modern playground: Practically all the old games which have persisted in the school playgrounds of today have slipped¹ down the age-scale. That is, they are played by younger children than was formerly the case. The variant influences and incentives noted in the previous two chapters are responsible for this.

Imitative plays no longer have the place that they² had with the older children in yesterday's playground. Play-objects are, on the whole, of a more sophisticated and commercialized nature. The construction of toy play-objects, cap guns, water-pistols and shanghais, although it still continues, is the work of the boys of the early primary years. These play-objects are seldom any longer the concern of boys in the upper primary school. In spite of the arguments advanced in the preceeding chapter, however, modern conditions have, in some respects, released rather than attenuated the creative spirit. Think for example of the comparative ease with which modern boys can obtain hobby materials; model aeroplanes, meccano and carpenter's tools. Even the greater accessibility

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1. The same tendency is apparent in children's literature; "with the progressive sophistication of the modern child, what once suited the sixteen year old is now outgrown at fourteen or earlier" Trease G., Tales Out of School, London, 1948, p.14. See also the quotation which heads this chapter.
 2. Further details on Imitative games are to be found in Chapter 14. Further details about the other games mentioned are to be found in the chapters that follow Chapter 14.

of trolley wheels and used tyres helps. They all play their part in novel and unorganized constructive play with play-objects. These new opportunities for creative outlet are, however, of subsidiary importance in the modern era.

Today, children in most schools know and play only a few singing games, and these are played more often by the infants than by the older children. Ring a Ring a Roses, Nuts and May, Oranges and Lemons and Wash the Dishes are the only universals, with Farmer in the Dell and Sally is a Weeping following a close second. Most of the others have gone. Singing games introduced by means of the Infant Syllabuses of the 1920's are sometimes played in the schools. Farmer in the Dell, and to a lesser extent, the Alley Alley Ooh have carried over into children's spontaneous play. More recently, Punchinello, introduced by the physical education specialists, has had widespread success. Here and there other remnants and new games have appeared. The widespread use of Singing-Game Books (and other books of games) from the 1920's onwards, however, means that many "odd" singing (and other) games may appear from time to time in different schools.¹

The great variety of skill games has also gone. Here and

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1. These Singing-Game Books arose directly out of the folk-song recording work of Cecil Sharp in the first two decades of the twentieth century. See Strangways A.H. Fox, Cecil Sharp, London, 1933, Familiar Singing-Game Books in New Zealand are
Songtime Dearmer P. and Shaw M., London, 1915 pub.
One Hundred Singing Games, Kidson F. and Moffat A. 1916 pub.
Favourite Singing Games, Adams A., Melbourne, 1926 pub.

there, there are "pockets" of tradition" in which some of the old individual skill games continue -- Whip tops, Knucklebones, Stagknife, Big and Wee. But with a few exceptions, all the older unorganized team skill games have gone. Most children, for example, still know games like Bull in the Ring, Leap Frog, French and English, Follow the leader, Sacks on the Mill, Cockfighting, King of the Castle, Paper Chase, Kites, Hoops, Stilts, Hop Step and Jump, but play them only infrequently or only under the guidance of adults in physical drill or at club meetings. One new minor game which has been introduced by physical education specialists and which has taken on spontaneously almost everywhere is Longball. It contains elements of Ball Tag and Bar the Door. These are two of the older games which have persisted with great success into the modern era. Longball is played mainly by S.3/4 children who also play the two latter games. Hence probably its success. Prisoner's Base, a revival, rather than a new game, has also taken on spontaneously in some schools.

The general trend in skill games is reflected in the fate that has overcome tops and marbles. Tops faded much earlier than marbles. One report claims that as early as 1910 the game seemed to be on the fade in Fetons. As flax became less accessible and streets more populated Whip Tops naturally departed from the scene. Today where Tops is played it tends to be played by the younger boys of S.1/2. Occasionally there are exceptions where the game is the practice of older boys as heretofore. Marbles has maintained a stronger hold; although

it too has tended to be played by children in the lower (S.1/4) rather than the upper school. The second world war seriously effected marble playing. Many children grew up without any knowledge of the game.¹ Now that supplies have arrived again there are flickers of interest here and there in places where the game has been moribund. It is difficult to say whether or not the few boys to be seen playing the game where it has been thus revived, will ever develop the game into school seasons on a grand scale once more. Can a broken tradition of this sort be re-established? Elsewhere the tradition has continued unbroken (with 'chippies' throughout the war) and strong seasons still flourish. The present position may be summarized as follows. Of 25 Wellington and Hutt City schools in 1949 -

for tops:	7	reported big seasons	(9/25)
	2	" a small sprinkling.	
for Marbles:	10	" big seasons	(15/25)
	5	" a small sprinkling.	

Yet every old identity reported playing both tops and marbles in one fashion or other, and reported also the occurrence of large school seasons in these games.

One of the most interesting features of the modern playground is the marked increase which has occurred in the Chasing and Leader games which characterize the play of the children of the lower primary school. There has not been any

1. Some fathers have had the satisfaction of amazing their sons with the skills of yesterday.

parallel increase in the spontaneous plays of the children of the upper primary school. The reasons for this increase in the games of younger children seem to be as follows: The increase is due in part to the lighter clothing and shoes of children today; the encouragement given to children to play actively, the restriction of their playing space. (It is in urban areas that these games mostly develop); the fact that the children who develop these games are the children of the early primary years, the only children of the modern school who are relatively free from the biases of modern sport and yet old enough to develop games of some formal complexity. The development of these games is a testament to the fact that children given the conditions of freedom and opportunity can and still do develop formal games of their own accord.

This brings us to the second major characteristic of the modern playground, namely, that it is a much faster moving place than the playground of early days. This characteristic is, of course, not unconnected with what has been termed the "sophistication" of the modern playground. Just as there is much more speed and movement in the modern world, than there was in the relatively leisurely world of the nineteenth century, so, in the modern playground there is much more movement. Modern playgrounds present a picture of constant movement. The Nineteenth Century Playgrounds did not. Not, of course, that there was no movement in these Nineteenth Century Playgrounds; only that there was comparatively little of it. There was little in the girls' section of the playground and what movement there was in the boys' playground

was interspersed with many important seasons concerned with more static pursuits. For examples, marbles, stagknife, tops, buttons, knucklebones.

Even the rhyming interests of girls today reflect this change. The greatest number of the game rhymes of yesterday were attached to the almost static Singing games. Today, the most important rhymes are those used by girls in their active Skipping games. The fate of Counting-Out rhymes also reflects the same change. There are not so many of these today. This must be due partially at least to the fact that the tagging-game players of today are more impatient than were their forerunners to get on with business of actually chasing.¹ They are not so prepared to tolerate the long delay involved in working the counting out rhyme to its ultimate conclusion. On the otherhand, while the counting-out rhymes have decreased, a new class of rhymes have come into popular currency. These are the ball-bouncing rhymes, which have grown apace with the growth of the ball bouncing games, namely, O'Leary, Sevens etc. The asphalt playgrounds and an amplitude of bouncing balls have contributed to this state of affairs. In part, however, these games and these rhymes are also a reflection of the more motile character of the modern playground.

The ball in fact has become the play-object of the modern era. It has become to the twentieth century playground, what the knife was to the nineteenth century playground. In its variegated shapes and sizes it has replaced practically all the

1. There are other reasons and these are given later. Section II, Chapter 17.

other unorganized game play objects. Balls are used in innumerable modern games; games which had little or no place in the play of yesterday. They are used in ball-bouncing games, He and Leader games such as Echo, Pig in the Middle, Queenie, Ball Tag, Donkey and even in the new unorganized variant, ball hop-scotch. The swiftness and motility of the ball as contrasted with stagknives, pocket-knives, knucklebones, marbles, buttons, bells, caps, tip-cats, is an index of the increase in playground speed. This increase in playground movement is connected also with the greater physical suppleness of the modern players; a suppleness manifested in their acrobatic and hand-standing games and in the ever-changing turning and twisting movements of their variant and endless chasing games; a suppleness due to factors already outlined above in connection with the developments which have taken place in He and Leader games.

In quite another respect too, the modern playground is swifter than its predecessors. It exhibits a greater amount of intellectual "slickness". There are few conventional rhymes for set occasions ¹ and a greater emphasis on impromptu wisecracks ² slangisms and verbal tricks. Even the game of marbles, where it is still played in force, pays greater heed ³ to the verbal side than was customary in earlier stages.

Finally, the playground of today is a less aggressive and turbulent place in which to play. There is neither the

1. See later Chapter 16.
 2. " " " 21.
 3. " " " 22.

roughness in the playground nor the fighting out of it that there used to be. This is reflected both in the games the children play and the remarks of countless teachers. The reasons for this state of 'quietude' are no doubt innumerable. A few can be suggested. It is a reflex of a quieter and more ordered condition of general community life. New Zealand in the last fifteen years has known a state of economic well being for all classes never previously experienced in this country. There is more attention to children and their needs, more satisfactions and security than there ever was. As a part of the "New Education" the schools have become increasingly places where children learn how to live together. This learning is one of the greatest factors in decreasing hostility between human beings.¹ Previously schools made little or no attempt to teach children the techniques of dealing with one another; or if they did so, they did it inadvertently with strap or cane. At times teachers even egged the injured child to stand up for himself and fight the aggressor -- the "eye for an eye" philosophy. Teachers now tend to have a better understanding of the ways and means of dealing with these situations.

In addition there has been more opportunity in the last thirty years for children to express their hostile and aggressive feelings per media of organized sports, and to be rewarded for effective but controlled aggression along these lines. In this

1. Morlan G.K., A Note on the Frustration-Aggression Theories of Dollard and his Associates, Psych. Review, Vol.51, No.1, Jan.,49, p.1.

respect it is clear that the organized sport of post World War I has served a purpose within the school curriculum which was previously served by cadet drill. Irrespective of their respective importances in the outside community, both of these extra-curricular concerns have enabled the teachers "to get a better grip of their boy". They have been of immense assistance in solving the problem of internal discipline -- always a problem of some magnitude in New Zealand schools (See again, Chapter 4). "Organized" sport, therefore, must be seen in the perspective of the teacher's immediate and pressing experience of "disorganized" boyhood. It must always be granted that although organized sports have exerted a narrowing effect on children's play, they have, at the same time, exerted a taming influence.

CONCLUSION TO SECTION ONE.

A glance at the unorganized games listed in the preceeding pages makes it apparent that very few of the unorganized games of the Nineteenth Century Playground are still generally played by children today. Further, it makes it clear, that very few other unorganized games have come to take the place of these unorganized games which have gone. Over the last hundred years then, unorganized games have gradually come to occupy a decreasingly important place in the leisure hourse of New Zealand children.

SECTION TWO

PSYCHOLOGICAL

INTRODUCTION TO SECTION TWO.

It was the conclusion of Section I that unorganized games have a smaller part to play in the lives of children today than they had previously. It is now necessary to assess the importance of this historical change. It is not possible to do this, however, unless the psychological significance of unorganized games is known.

This Section considers the psychological significance of children's unorganized games. The conditions within which these games are played are considered in the first part of this section, (Part I); the relationship between the games and the groups of players is discussed in the second part, (Part II).

INTRODUCTION TO PART ONE

In this part an attempt is made to discover the psychological significance of children's unorganized games by considering the nature of various factors which influence those games.

It was noted in Section One, for example, that the nature of unorganized games is, to some extent, dependent upon the nature of the environment. A pioneering environment has different effects upon the nature of games than an urban environment does; the road to school has different effects from the school playground. Chapter 12 deals with the nature of the relationship between the environment and the games which take place within that environment.

It was also noted in Section One that the nature of games is dependent upon the time at which these games are played. Games played during school hours differ from games played out of school hours. Games played during Spring differ from games played during autumn. Chapter 13 deals with the relationship between games and the time at which they are played.

In addition, the whole of Part I is, in a sense, a bridge between the historical material of the previous section and the psychological material of Part II of this section.

The treatment adopted is partly historical and partly psychological. Historical themes which have already been mentioned are re-emphasized and the way is prepared for the thorough-going psychological assessment of these themes.

CHAPTER 12.

THE PLAY PITCH.

The Place at which Games Are Played

The physical environment affects games in two and analagous ways. It affects games, firstly, by imposing limiting conditions on the nature of the games themselves, and secondly, by imposing limiting conditions on the nature of the groups that play those games. The first type of influence will be termed here, the direct influence of the physical environment on games. The second type of influence will be termed the indirect influence of the physical environment on games.

Firstly, with respect to the direct influence of the physical environment upon games; clearly, the physical environment always has some influence upon games. "Man lives in physical surroundings which constantly influence him and set their seals upon all the forms of his life."¹ The viewpoint taken here, however is, that this influence is of a limiting rather than of a determining nature. "The position of those who qualify the extreme environmentalist point of view has been that the habitat of a people acts as a limiting rather than a

1. Cassirer E., Essay on Man, Yale, 1944, p.202.

determining factor in influencing culture."¹ Which is to say, that the physical environment never wholly determines the form of games which are played within its boundaries, but rather that the physical environment limits the games which can be played therein because it restricts the scope for some types of play and provides opportunities for the practise of other types of play. In the following pages examples are given of the way in which: School Environs, School Playgrounds, The Home, Rural Areas and certain specialized environments may delimit the games of children by restricting or providing opportunity for play.

Illustrative Material page 267 to page 277.

School differences in play may be created by a thousand and one differences in school environments. For example, at Caversham, Dunedin, there was, for a city school, more than usual attention to the rural interests of boys and arrows, sledges, clod-fights, bird-nesting, climbing, and hut-making. This occurred because near to the school there was an extensive pine plantation. The same school which was situated near to a macadamized hill roadway evidenced a greater interest in trolleys and kites, than did brother city schools situated nearby on the flat and without the same natural advantages of gravity and wind-power. At another Dunedin city school, St. Clair, which was several miles away from Caversham, but was located near to the beach and the baths, there was more attention

1. Herskovits M., Man and His Works, New York, 1948, p.159.

to swimming than there was at Caversham.

At Akitio on the East Coast of the Wairarapa, the beach across the gravel road was the school's main playground. Throwing rocks into the sea, skipping stones on the water, collecting mussels along the beach were playground activities. But the perennial interest of the twenty-four children was in damming the ever-flowing stream which passed along side the school and spread out in radial fashion across the beach.

Hit the Bucket, Rounders, Base and Stop were games whose presence was aided by the ease with which children could mark the necessary bases on the sand. At Collingwood school which stands on a hill besides a shallow, but darkly beautiful lagoon, there was special mention of sailing fafts and fishing. At Kohinui, in the Wairarapa, the children recorded an almost excessive attention to horses. They played park games of wild-horses, imitative games of stable horses, and at home kept scrapbooks about horses. One S.6 girl wrote "The game I like playing best is horses. I have two books in which I have written all the names of my horses. I have their sire and dame, the year they were born, their age, how many foals they have had and what colour they are. In the other book I have their saddles, bridles, covers, rugs, rollers and halters, also how many trucks, cars and horse floats I have. I have stable boys too so I write down a precise sentence about them. I pretend to catch the horses, saddle them, bridle them and ride them. Quite often I have sick horses to attend to. That is my favourite make-believe." It appears that at the nearest town to Kohinui, namely Pahiatua, there was a pony

club to which several of the children belonged and all the rest of the children wished they could belong. In addition, the Dannevirke Hunt Club held two or three hunts in the district every year which the children attended on their ponies. The teacher admitted to possessing eight horses or ponies bred to jump. Something of the children's enthusiasm can be understood from her written remark that "If 'horses' are the worst they learn from me I don't think they'll do so badly after all."

At Northland, a Wellington City School, the influence of an urban environment was apparent in the S.3/4 lists which included frequent mention of playing at buses, taxis, milk-trucks, water-trucks, city council trucks, police cars, dirt-trucks, ambulances, fire-engines and aeroplanes.

Besides school environs school playgrounds also affect games. The shapes and markings of the playgrounds lend themselves to the development of certain games.

At Aohunga, the concrete squares in front of the school -- the only paved area -- together with the fact that there were more girls than boys in this school, accounted for an intensified development of Hop-scotch. The game was known under the names of "hoppings", "crossings", "missings", "blinds" and "Cabbages".

At Forbury, Dunedin, similar concrete squares in the playground were used for the game of Fuss in the Corner, although this game was, in most schools, played indoors or in sheds. Its intense development out of doors in this school may have been due

partly to an unusual ban on nearly all the normal playground sports which prevailed in this school. At Waione, the one concrete slab at the doorway was used for Fuss in the Corner and for Keep off the Concrete, Tig. In the Waione playground, composed mainly of mud and grass, there was nowhere else where these games could be played. Here then are three examples of particular play-pitches being used intensively and games being developed intensively on these pitches, because of the suitability of the pitches for those particular games and because the children were restricted to those games by a paucity of alternative play opportunities. The markings of tennis and basketball courts^{also} provide a stimulus to play. 'Chasing on the White Lines' is practically a universal game. "If you go off the lines you are 'He'. The corners are the dens and you can't be tagged there. You can pass each other on the lines but you must keep contact with the line either with hand or foot." (St. Clair). At Kaiata, the rectangular markings of the tennis court and the adjacent concrete steps led to the development of a quite complex game of tagging which included certain forbidden areas and ways of running. At Mangatainoka "racing opposite directions round the tennis court to see who can be back first at the beginning point," was the customary diversion of the children while waiting for the bus.

Grass at Waione gave rise to a marked emphasis on Rough and Tumbles, Stacks on the mill and Cock-fighting. At Mataura (25) abundant feathery grass was used as the sea in a tagging game of 'Whales in the ocean' in which the whales and the fishes had

their dens in the thick grass. Grass ^{is} was also an encouragement to girls' actrobats. The girls of St. Clair and Forbury practised actrobatics assiduously on small strips of grass alongside the school fence and were extremely proficient at that pastime. There are many accounts from old identities in which it is recorded that children sat leisurely on the autumn grass and prestidigitated with knucklebones.

In sheds, He and Leader games tend to flourish. In Leader games the leader stands up upon the seat at the end of the shed. Puss in the shed corners is also a universal. Seat Tig is widespread. At Forbury I found small boys (S.1) playing a tig game of 'Under the Seat'. They could not be tigged while crawling along under the seat but only when they came out from their seats in order to cross the gap at the shed opening. Last on the Boat is He for Sharky, was another variation of this game at Hampden. Players jumped up and down on the seats. While they were up, they were safe. While they were down, they could be tigged.

Trees are everywhere the roofs of houses in imitative games.

They also provide scope for tig. Tree Tig is widespread.

"You were only allowed to tig while up the macrocarpa tree.

The master didn't prevent the game but he stipulated that if we were down late for the bell he would wack us. We used to slide down the outside." (Outram 27). Again, you are "Not allowed to tag on the ground; only up the tree. You must count 10 before chasing. We play it at home." (Karori) "Once on the ground you're safe. As soon as you begin to climb again you can be tagged." (Hampden).

Ground texture: In nearly all schools where I saw marbles in an active state the game was played in holes, on clay or on gravelly ground. At Caversham the Headmaster had been wise enough to rope off a small area of the football field and in season hundreds of boys fitted into this small and pock-marked space. "A distinct relief to the playground pressure elsewhere," the Headmaster said. All the West Coast marble games were played on soft ground. In one of the only areas in which I have seen marbles played satisfactorily on bitumen it was played in and out of a small stream running through the centre of the playground (Te Aro). Wooden marbles were an asset in this game. Throughout the West Coast and Golden Bay "mud" entered into the children's catalogues of their play, more than it did elsewhere. There were, for example, many references to mud-fights. Hopscotch may flourish on gravel (as it did at Collingwood) or on bitumen (Island Bay). Some Headmasters, however, disliked the hopscotch markings on the school grounds and the labyrinth symbol was barred. (Caversham, Waikouaiti). Soft grounds are necessary for many games and the modern school tends to provide less and less scope for these games, simply by surfacing all the available area. Egg-cap, Tip-cat, Stag-knife, Acrobatic, Constructive and Rough and tumble games flourish only where the grounds are soft.

Asphalting may contribute to the running and ball games but it glosses a barrier over the centres of many other forms of play satisfaction.

Other features of the playground may be used in games.

For example: Chasing round the V, which was the name of a game of tag and referred to the lay-out of the school lawns and paths (Bainham); Chasing round the Cinerator, (Caversham); Creeping Round the School, (Karori); King of the Castle, on a sloping piece of concrete (Island Bay). The playground at Clyde Quay, Wellington, was asphalted and surrounded by high concrete walls. Teachers reported a high level of ball-handling skill. The game of Sevens flourished.

Home Environments in which there are few children, less space and more time to be spent inside, usually stimulate indoor parlour and board games. Homes are also places where the players are well known to each other and are secure in each other's presence. There is, therefore, greater scope for the imagination, and in consequence imitative and play-object games are played more at home than they are at school. These games are further encouraged in the home environment by the greater number of play props that exist in that environment. At school, the players have less in common and can, therefore, allow only a smaller place for the sheer individuality of imaginative play. The relatively stereotyped and predetermined patterns of their formal games safeguard the solidarity of their group¹. It is in the nature of these formal games that there is little of an untoward nature that can occur.

Further, homes provide bushes and places of refuge which are

1. See further Chapter 16.

very suitable for Hide and Seedk games, particularly as most children are confined to their homes (or neighbourhoods) at dusk, which is the most exciting time to play these games.

Rural schools often have large playgrounds and are nearly always handy to large playing spaces. These large playing areas provide opportunities for play of a kind which does not exist in urban schools.¹ The games of Hares and Hounds (Stoke, Pongaroa, Ratapiko, Pakawau, Onekaka, Manganakau) and Paper Chase (Hampden, Kohimui, Pongaroa) were mentioned in such schools with a frequency that did not and could not occur in urban schools. Play objects of the traditional variety still abounded in rural schools, but were not found to the same extent in urban schools. There was mention of; Willow whistles (Brightwater); Whips, Shooters, Sledges (Waikouaiti); Hunting and other skills appropriate to the natural environment were also in evidence. Consider the following items from the school lists of: Stoke: bird and pig shooting, crab-catching, creek jumping. Waikouaiti: sledge racing on pine needle courses, fishing mullet, trout, eels, and butterfish with spears and lines in the lagoon, spears for flounders, gaff for eels, hooks and lines for the others, rolling boulders down Mt. Baldey, mushrooming in the bush in the week-ends, crab and crawley hunting, throwing bricks at the crawley's placed on rocks. Collingwood: Kites, stilts, boats, flax whips,

1. Sinclair H.I., The Elementary Rural Schools of N.Z., M.A. Thesis, C.U.C., 1927, p.26.

airguns, catapults, sledges, building dams, fishing, horse-riding, tree climbing, eeling, deer stalking, hare shooting, hut making and whittling. Aorere: Kite competitions, sledging on the steep hill behind the school, shooting, fishing and tramping in the weekends. Granity: bows and arrows, crawley-fishing, stone-fights, kites, catching birds, trapping opossums, shanghai fights, lance fights, mud fights, riding sledges on mud tracks, sailing rafts on the pond, catching goats, cone fights, collecting mussels from the beach, chopping down trees, shanghaiing wild cats, building sandforts and huts. Hokitika: mudfights, cooking spuds, catching birds, sod fights, shanghais, bird-nesting, throwing stones at cats, lassoes with ropes. Kanieri: fishing mountain trout. Ruatapu: playing in the sawmill, making huts, on tree creepers. Nth. Auckland: climbing trees, swimming, diving off boat, chasing calves, exploring farm, riding pony.

The omnipresence of so many opportunities to test their skills against the features of the natural environment means that rural children shape their maturity to a greater extent in terms of a conflict with rugged nature than do urban children. The latter must develop their skills more particularly in group team pursuits or in isolated sports-skill training.

Some individual cases which illustrate other aspects of the environmental influence upon games are as follows: Moeraki (1900) "We played games on the local beach, we ploughed the beach, built sand castles, fished off the rocks and in punts.

We wrote and drew on the sand, made kelp shoes and skipping ropes, gathered shells and stones, skipped flat stones on the sea and thought we were clever if they struck twice or more. We paddled, bathed and splashed each other. We climbed on to scrub bushes and rocked. We swung on black vines which hung parasite like from tree-tops."

Martin's Bay (1880) "I was brought up from the age of three years in one of the loneliest spots in New Zealand, Martin's Bay, fifteen miles north of Milford Sound on an impassable rock bound coast. For many years there was no school and no other playmates. There were five of us. The only children's game we knew was Rounders. Our recreation, besides work, was building sand castles to be swept away by the next tide, fishing for butter fish off the rocks, making swings of knotted flax tied to the branch of a tree. Father used to make up paper kites to fly by long strings of flax, which there was a lot. It was all bush country and over sixty miles to Wakatipu."

Eketahuna (1936) "When I was five, and my sister six, we used to ride five and a half miles to school. We would leave for school at 7.30 a.m. and wouldn't arrive home till about five p.m. We used to have lots of fun on the way home from school by changing horses with our friends, jumping ditches and playing Hide and Seek in the scrub. At one part of the year we had horse-fights. The school was at a fork junction of three roads and the children of each road would fight against the other children. We all had our own straps which we hid in the grass a little way up our road. We always fought on our

horses so the horses came off the worst although we didn't think so at the time. There were only about thirty pupils in the school and practically everybody from primers to S.6 took part in these fights which lasted for about a quarter of an hour each night. During this part of my life, in fact, I can't remember ever having played with dolls. We much preferred grooming our ponies, going for rides around the farm, making huts and cooking scones etc. in a frying pan over a fire outside. Later on we took to sliding down hills on hearts from the cabbage tree. This was only done in summer and autumn when the grass was dry."

The conclusion to this study of the direct effects of the environment upon games must be that these direct environmental effects are as numerous as are the environments in which games take place. Games always occur in some environment and the influence of that environment is always to be discerned in the games which occur within it. Notwithstanding these effects, we have not yet produced any evidence to completely explain why children make use of any particular environment in the particular way in which they do. The existence of a tree in their presence makes it likely that the children will use that tree in their play. The tree itself, however, cannot finally determine whether the children will use the tree for climbing, tagging or just as a target for stones. The tree, or environment, which provides the opportunity for play and thereby delimits the types of play which can be engaged upon, is only one of the determinants which contribute to the game which is ultimately chosen by the players. The

second portion of this chapter is concerned with some of the other determinants.

The same environments already discussed, and others about to be discussed, may not contribute to games in the way mentioned above. They may contribute to games in another and perhaps more fundamental manner. This they do, not by directly affecting the content of the games, but by affecting the groups that play the games. This is what is meant by saying that these environments have an indirect effect upon games. It is indirect because it operates through the group of players to the games, not directly upon the games themselves.

The following pages discuss the manner in which various types of environment effect a variety of playing groups. In contradistinction to the first part of this chapter, this part discusses the effects of social as well as physical environments. The types of environments discussed are: any constant environment; private school environments; boarding school environments; socially exclusive environments; special places for children away from their parents; rural environments; static communities; old localities; provincial environments; the cultural environment provided by the meeting of Pakeha and Maori cultures.

Illustrative Material page 278 to page 311.

The primary way in which an environment exerts an influence upon a playing group is by isolating that group from

the effects of other environments. When this isolation occurs, the group tends to develop its games intensively along certain specialized lines; specialized lines which are an issue of the psychology of the isolated group as well as an issue of the nature of the restricted environment in which that group is isolated. All the environments to be discussed in the following pages, isolate groups in one way or another.

In the first place, when any form of environmental isolation continues and a group exists in the one place over a period of time, then that group tends to develop forms of group behaviour which are constant, just as the environment in which that group develops these games is itself constant. These constant forms of group behaviour may come to be known as the traditions of the group. If the same groups remain constant in the same environment over a long period the constancy of the forms of group behaviour intensifies and the group tradition becomes more and more definite with the passing of time. Indeed, in time, the "tradition" comes to be regarded as the symbol of group solidarity; it represents the conservatism of the group; it stands for the groups' own "group-nature". Thus it occurs that, in games, the local rules come to be preferred to the rules of outsiders because the local rules are the issues of the local group in the local environment. They are the group's meaning in that environment. They are its very existence.

The everyday isolation of any children's group in one environment helps to explain a fact, which many have noted, namely

that children are often extremely conservative in respect to their habitual game ways. It should be noted, however, that their conservatism is not dependent solely upon the fact that they are a constant group situated in one environment. Their conservatism is also reinforced by the very precariousness of the emotional bases of their group life itself. In fact it could be said that the obsessional manner in which children will sometimes cling to their group habits may be regarded as a measure of their very uncertainty about the cohesiveness of the group itself.

It is little wonder, therefore, that there are records of school 'habits' or games persisting over many years. At Island Bay, for example, the game known everywhere else in Wellington as 'Bar the Door', was termed "Collaring". That had been its name for the last forty years. It was the original name of the game at Wellington's first school, Mt. Cook in the 1890's. Presumably "Collaring" will continue to be the game's name at Island Bay as long as children continue to enter that school in the normal way and continue to strive after the skills of the older children above them. A teacher at Millerton reported that the names and moves in marbles were the same there today as they had been when he was a boy player at the school thirty years previously.

Notwithstanding this group conservatism, however, changes do occur in school traditions of play. If this were not so we could not account for the immense amount of variation which exists throughout the country in all games, but particularly in popular games such as Hopscotch and Marbles. The

variability from place to place in fact is equally as marked as the conservatism in any one place. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion, therefore, that one of the main reasons for the preservation of a game like Hop-sotch is the susceptibility of that game to creative variation. What seems to occur in this and other games is, that, even within the one school, (apart from certain basic rules without which the game could not be the game it is) there are other variable rules which allow players to vary the game in certain ways when and if they wish to do so. The 'borderline' rules of marbles are the most salient example of such variable rules.¹

How does this variation occur within the conservative tradition of a school? In the first place, younger children, (especially younger children) and also older children, are constantly suggesting variations of the rules which they hope will react to their own advantage. If any of these suggestions are 'congenial' to the rest of the group they may in time become established as group conventions. Again, variations occur because according to some girl informants (St. Clair) part of the fun of their hop-sotch (and this held also for Sevens) lay in making up new variations. Thus within school groups, although the traditions may be strong, and in some places seem never to vary, in other places change goes on side by side with conservation. A Wellington teacher for example who was an enthusiastic marble player reported his experience

1. See Chapter 22.

at Johnsonville 1949 as follows. In the beginning of the first term he took an active part in the marbles, competing on equal terms with the boys in 'Holey'. He understood all the terms, including "Cracks Again", "Evens Again", "Nuts", "Track Many Rounds" etc. When the season resumed in the third term, however, he did not participate till towards the end of that term, and when he did, he found, much to his chagrin, that he was completely out played by a new set of variations which had developed such as "Edgies" and "No Edgies", "Sleeps One" and others.

Another way in which variations can occur is that new rules may be introduced from outside the school by new entrants. If an entrant can induce one or more players to accept his version, even if only temporarily, that version may in time become diffused throughout the school group. Where the school group does not have a strong game tradition of its own but is susceptible to that type of game, the outside influence is likely to be strongest. At Hampden, for example, the marble playing tradition had fallen into desuetude as a result of wartime conditions. Only a little marbles was played - and that with gooseberries. An entrant from Dunedin in 1949 introduced a new and highly interesting approach to the game and it revived in some strength. By contrast a Millerton boy coming from a strong marble playing school to Granity, another strong marble school, found that he had to give up marbles. He could not understand the Granity rules. "They seemed all wrong to me," he said. The existing tradition was too strong for him to influence it. Sometimes, however, it is the very strength

of the group tradition rather than its weakness which leads to the adoption of the "outsiders" suggestions. There is reason to believe, for example, that it was partly the strength of the Maori tradition of knucklebones which led some Maori groups to adopt knucklebone variations which were peculiar to the European tradition of Knucklebones.¹

When changes occur in the games of a school on a very big scale, these changes appear to come about as follows: Within a school the tendency is for the older players to be quite definite about the rules (for practical purposes that is) and the younger players to be indefinite. As the younger children grow up in the school they must conform to the game habits of the older children or be non-players. Big changes can only occur when the power of the older age players over the group is broken, or new influences which appeal to the whole group are introduced. In the last thirty years there has been an immense amount of both of these types of change as was shown in the Historical section. As older players have been attracted away from the minor games and these games have become the pre-occupation of younger players, change has become inevitable. Consequently, as a result of these and other factors there appears to be less rigidity in the rules of games today (hop-scotch, marbles) than there was in earlier years. And, as we shall see, this holds also for the onset of the seasons.

Notwithstanding this modern trend, it will be shown below, that on the whole, the effect of a constant environment upon a

1. See further below, The Meeting of Maori and Pakeha Cultures.

constant group is to lead to constancy in the games that are played in that environment.

Secondly, with respect to Private Schools. Private Schools provide a form of isolation which has its effects upon games. This follows because these schools often have a greater pride in their group tradition, and also because their social and/or religious selectiveness sometimes keeps them a little apart from the main play currents of the day.

Nevertheless, the evidence which I have obtained, suggests that, by and large, the range and nature of the games played in the private schools of New Zealand does not differ fundamentally from the range and nature of the games played in the public schools of New Zealand. As far as games are concerned, these schools are not the "pockets of tradition" that might be expected. Their selective environments do not lead to many unusual developments in games. I visited Hokitika Convent and received the lists of games of children from other convents and private schools. These lists did not differ greatly from those of public school children. Nevertheless, although this was the general picture some differences were noticeable. At Hokitika Convent for example, the children had a special variety of Relievo called "Scat" which was not shared by their age-mates in the Hokitika Public School. In addition they specialized in a game of "National Ball".. This was a game introduced into Loretta College Papanui by the Viennese Boy's Choir and brought to Hokitika by one of the teaching sisters. American Baseball introduced by the same

Sister also flourished. But these three "special" games constituted the only differences between the Hokitika Convent and Public schools. As both schools had forty games in common, the difference was slight. It was little more than that which is usually found between one public school and another.

Other private schools also had a few 'special' games, for example: St. Margaret's Christchurch played Netball in preference to Basketball (ibid, Chilton St. James Lower Hutt) Netball was brought to New Zealand in the early 'twenties by English School mistresses and there was some dispute at the time as to which game, netball or basketball, should be played in the New Zealand public schools. Basketball which was said to depend more on team effort and less on individual brilliance was adopted. Some private school, however, continued to play netball. The existence in other private schools of a few odd relics which have faded elsewhere leads one to suspect that in some cases the isolation of these schools has preserved a group tradition at variance with current trends. For example: 'Red Rover' at St. Anne's, Newtown 1940; 'Stagknife' at Wairoa Convent 1940.

The most general special game of private schools is 'Knucklebones'. Of 165 Wellington Training College Students in 1949 underlining the reminiscence sheet only some 20 had played knucklebones. Of these 165 students, 8 had come from Convents and 3 of these had played the game; 2 had come from other private schools and both of these had played the game. That is, 5 out of the 10 from private schools had played the

game when only 15 out of 155 from public schools had played it. It is necessary to be careful not to take these figures too seriously. Unfortunately there were insufficient numbers of students from private schools at Training College to make a respectable comparison. However if the figures can be taken on their face value an interesting conclusion can be drawn.

Campbell has pointed out that New Zealand Secondary Schools and this applies particularly to private schools, have always had a pious regard for tradition and have tended to copy a homeland of some "of 20 years before, ... an idealised and never existent land seen through the mists of the softening years."¹ In the last century, in England, Knucklebones "was played at most private and grammar schools and was a regular middle-class amusement... the possession of a set of bones.. implied that the owner belonged to a family who were able to afford legs of mutton or lamb."² Such a respectable game was naturally reproduced in the private schools of New Zealand. As the years passed, however, conditions changed in England. "Nowadays it is restricted to the poorer districts of large towns especially in the North and to country children. It is fairly easy in sheep rearing rural districts to obtain a nice set of bones." (1941). By playing Knucklebones today, therefore, the private schools of New Zealand are perpetuating a tie with the private schools of England in the last century and not with the private schools of England today.

1. Campbell A.E., Educating New Zealand, p.5.

2. Budd Elsie G., and Newman Leslie F., Knucklebones - An Old Game of Skill, Folklore, March 1941, Vol.LII, p.8.

Thirdly, with respect to Boarding Schools: Little information has been collected about play which characterizes private or public boarding schools. The information which I have received, however, suggests that in these schools the isolation of homogeneous groups of primary aged children leads, in some cases, to an intensive development of those aspects of play which have been termed the "Plays of Protest." (The reasons for these plays are discussed fully in Chapter 20) For example: There is a great emphasis on 'pranks'.¹

"Such silly pranks as toe-roping, paper burning and blackening faces while the victims were fast asleep, a trick that yielded its climax in mutual astonishment the following morning, will be remembered."² (Invercargill 80's). "A favourite when all were in bed and when it was thought that all our guardians were in bed, was to take a boy out of the dorm and tie him to a tree. He was there relieved of his pygamas. Tying him up was never meant to be secure, but only a means of delaying his return. Anyone who pined on us after such treatment was completely ostracized." (Wellington 30's). Secret societies have a greater chance to flourish in these conditions of isolation than they do in normal day school life. "We had many elaborate dodes, all kept in a secret book which was not used much. We chiefly liked making them up. We built huts, had secret signs

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1. All the following quotations refer to Boarding Schools.
 2. Invercargill, S.J.M., p.54.

and hidden notes." (Nth. Auckland 30's). "A Klu Klux Klan existed, every member having a hood. It had secret meetings in a woodshed at night time. The main object was to tell dirty yarns and rhymes. A password was necessary. Anyone not giving the correct password was scragged." (Wellington 35). Naturally initiations can become more elaborate in these circumstances than is the case in day schools. "Initiation consisted in taking a new boy out of bed and out into an old outhouse where he was tied, his pygamas removed and his scrotum blackened with nugget. No set convention was arranged. His arse would be gently placed on the concrete to condition him to the cold." (Wellington 30's).

There tends also to be more scope for sexually aberrant play in these conditions. Ever since Alex Waugh's "The Loom of Youth", literature on the English Public School has often contained references to this sort of thing. See for example, Denton Welch's "In Youth is Pleasure"; Noel Langley's "There's A Porpoise Close Behind Us"; Bruce Marshall's "George Brown's Schooldays"; Henry Williamson's "Dandelion Days". "Copulation between males was common in the S.5/6 class. Boys got into bed with each other forming unstable love associations, played with each other, and sometimes copulated. Such behaviour seemed absolutely natural to some." ¹ (Wellington 30's).

Play which was mentioned as particular to their boarding school experience by Wellington Training College students was:

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1. The Wellington references are to a ^{section} ~~detached~~ primary boarding school for boys Wellington.

"A new boys socks and shoes were scattered afar"; "Gauntlets with belts"; Soapings and floggings"; "Pitch and Toss" (Secondary); "Breaking bounds and doing what we were not supposed to"; "Roughing new comers"; Mid-night feasts"; "Pillow fights"; "Apple-pie beds"; "Dares". (Primary).

Fourthly, with respect to socially exclusive environments: Children may be isolated by the economic circumstances or social outlook of their parents. This is observable even in the lists of two schools. North East Valley and Karori in Appendix I. The former is situated in a working-class area, the latter in an area peopled with the homes of the 'well-to-do'. In the latter there is greater mention of indoor board and card games and expensive play-objects (such as bicycles) at an earlier age than is the case at North East Valley. This suggests that in good 'social areas' children have greater access to toys. It suggests among other things that their parents may have a greater and more intelligent appreciation of the importance of their play to them. The provision of interesting home-play equipment must have the effect of isolating the fortunate children from the play of the streets where children, who are less well catered for must find and make their own play and play-objects. Social isolation of this nature was probably more explicit yesterday than today, although of course it still exists. (Consider for example the difference between Case 1 and Case 11 in the individual samples given in conjunction with the

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Nineteenth Century Playground. One informant speaking of Wellington in the 1870's says "To fully understand children's game in those days one must realize that family life was much closer. Class distinction was very real and games were played only with children of equal status. We as a family were always supervised by mother, elder sister or nurse." Other informants speak of being disallowed to go out and play with the 'street' children; (Wellington 80's) of being confined to their own backyard and excluded from such general children's delights as hawking the Guy (Dunedin 1895).

Fifthly, whenever children are thrown together in environmental conditions which allow extensive group freedom (that is, away from the normal routines and restrictions that help to hold them responsive to adult demands) unusual plays may develop. An example of this has already been given in Chapter five in connection with the "Pathways to School". Picture theatres, Sunday Schools etc. are other places which offer children opportunity for the enterprise of "Protest". (Chapter 20). Activities and expressions, suppressed elsewhere are here undeterred. Often, too, the disciplinary power of the adults in these places is restricted by the fact that the children concerned are not their children and they cannot punish them severely for misdemeanour. Children are not always unconscious of this fact.

1. See further Henlock E.B., Child Development, New York, 1942, p.284.

Examples are given of play at picture theatres, on vehicles, at church, at first-aid meetings, at football and at a Maori Meeting place.

In places of entertainment such as a picture theatre, especially at a matinee where few adults are present, a heterogeneous body of children are thrown together with little in common except their temporary location in that one place. In the exciting circumstance of semi-darkness and with the safeguard of anonymity, there is ample scope for a boisterous assertion of individuality.¹ Some examples of picture-theatre "play" are as follows: Examples from a group of S.5/6 boys at Dobsen 1949 are: "Rubber band guns, pea-shooters, horse bites in the back of the neck, pull the hair of those in front, tacks on the seat, putting pins in their backsides, lolly papers on the side of their face, lift their seat up so that they sit on the floor when sitting down, sit up on raised seat so that the people behind can't see, throw peanuts and paper, stick chewing gum on the seat especially on the part where they lean back and put their head, (With a bit of luck they get it on their hair), let bottles roll down under the seats". (Dobsen 49) Examples from Wellington Training College Students: Aim paper between head and shoulders of people down in front of theatre, Throw ice cream, Pea-shooting from upstairs, Throwing down rubbish from the gallery, Throwing things, Throwing paper, Sticking chewing gum on things,

1. For further examples see Sutton-Smith B., Our Street, A Free Show, p.36.

Drop paper down from upstairs, Shouting out aloud.

English investigations reveal that conditions can be¹
much worse than those indicated here.

Secondly, with reference to play on vehicles. A large number of reports mentioned the singing that was carried out in moving vehicles. The constancy of the travelling group often gives it a chance to develop a group singing tradition. Singing on vehicles may be related to the suggestive effects of the motor or engine's rhythm. It is noticeable that singing immediately seems "flat" once the engine stops. The nature of the vehicles and the speed of locomotion also present opportunities for other types of play. Examples of children hanging on behind vehicles have been given in Chapter 5. Other examples from W.T.C. are: Singing, practical and dirty jokes, and propellers, I spye with my little eye, Making tickets into whistles, Hand games and Maori poi games (Rangiwahāa); Sitting on another's legs to make them go to sleep, Pinching, punching and shoulder jolts, Dodging the conductor, Hanging handkerchiefs and tickets out the window, Bouncing up and down on the seats. "I was a train pupil and left home early in the morning and got back late at night with little time left for games. Sometimes we played Hide and Seek in the empty carriages when it was quite dark. The boys played a kind of cricket on the railway station while waiting for the train". (Halcombe).

1. Reported "Dominion" 'What Study of Children in Cinemas Revealed', 31/7/50.

Thirdly, at Sunday Schools, W.T.C. reports: Tying the person in front's plaits to the chapel form, Firing rubber bands and match sticks, Comparing cards. "At bible class we throw bibles at each other, erect booby traps over the door, pass notes and deliberately lose the place; we swing on the rafters." (South Wellington 50).

Fourthly, at First-Aid classes: Balance on top of stools, Slide round the floor, Play the piano." (Dobsen).

Fifthly, at a Maori Meeting House: Hiding everyone's bicycles or riding off with their horses. (Tokomaru).

Finally at Football Matches: Kneel behind someone and another pushes him over. Trip them up as they run past. Put matches in the hat of the man in front. Push and shove each other.
¹
(Dobsen 43).

Sixthly, some of the most interesting effects of environmental isolation upon play groups are to be found in rural areas. In rural schools the smallness of the isolated groups, their heterogeneity, the occasional imbalance between the sexes, and the constancy of the school group all have their own play consequences. For example: The play of small isolated sole-charge rural groups (which are composed of children of diverse ages) is affected by the size and composition of the groups. Boys and girls often play together in a way that they do not elsewhere. Sometimes they make provision in their play for children of all age levels. "We played a game of

1. See Our Street, op. cit., Chap. 4 'Football'.

Rounders in which all could participate. There were different rules for the divergent age-groups within the same game. Either we did this or there would not have been enough to play" (Denniston 30). "Girls played hockey and sometimes even football with us," (Kaiata 49). "Boys and girls played both basketball and football together," (Otira 35). "Boys and girls were together for most games including singing games and football," (Tarakohe 49).

Clearly the heterogeneity of the age group in isolated schools has important effects upon the group's play. It means that if the players are to play together at all they must submerge their divergent interests and accept some lowest common denominator of play which is acceptable to all ages. "Play activities must be chosen in terms of the average age of the group."¹ That this occurs, was observable when older rural children of S.4/6 openly admitted playing (childish) imitative, pack and play-object games. Their urban counterparts would not admit such play. This lack of self-consciousness was observed in the play of Cowboys and Indians by S.5/6 children at Hampden (2 teacher), Waikouaiti (3 teacher), Kaiata (2 teacher), and Mangatainoka (2 teacher). It was observed also in the predominance of younger-age games in the lists of older children in other rural schools. Houses (Chapter 14), farms (Pongaroa) and horses (Ratapiko, Kohimui) flourished as much at the upper levels of

1. Lehmann H.C. and Mitty P.A., The Psychology of Play Activities, New York, 1927, p.131.

these rural schools as they did at the lower levels of the urban primary schools.

These unsophisticated pursuits of older rural children have led some writers to declare that rural children are "extremely immature" in their play.¹ It is doubtful, however, if this position can be accepted without careful qualification. There are many factors involved in this "immaturity" and these complicate interpretation. The immaturity may be due: (a) to the group necessity of finding average-age games. That is, due simply to the fact that there is no alternative; there are insufficient players for the more mature team games. Rural children would play the team games if they had the opportunity. In many rural schools a few older children are often to be seen trying to play these games (two-aside football, etc.) (b) to the fact that these "immature" games are more realistic (and hence more mature) in the rural environment where there are the natural "props" of trees, grass, bush, sods and cones. In the rural environment the imaginative games of houses and warfare are more like real houses and real warfare. (c) to that fact that the scattered rural children have actually had less opportunity for and experience in group play away from school and are consequently really less 'mature' in their experience of group play. Some writers have claimed that this is the case; that the rural child is not as sensitive to group needs as is the urban child; that

1. Marshall H., Children's Play, Games and Amusements, in Murchison G., Handbook of Child Psychology, Mass., 1933, p.523.

he is "self-assertive"¹ and has "an exaggerated view of his own skill".² If this is true, if it is true that rural children are comparatively 'immature' because of their lack of group experience, it has to be emphasized at the same time that, when away from school, the same children's very lack of equal-age group experience, and the demands made by a farming economy, leads to a form of maturity in the face of the natural environment, in hunting, shooting and fishing, which their urban counterparts do not possess. This very maturity, independence^{ncd} and 'individualism' away from school may foster a type of personality which contributes to the 'immaturity' of the same children when at school. The 'individualism' perhaps makes it difficult for them to make the more extensive types of compromise required in team games. Whatever the final assessment of the rural children's contradictory traits of maturity and immaturity, however, the evidence indicates that it is the type of group experience (or lack of it) which determines the type of play developed and stage of development of the players.

The heterogenous nature of the small isolated school has, however, yet other effects on group play. If there are more girls than boys in these small rural schools or vice versa, the whole routine of play will tend to reflect this difference between the sexes. For example, at Aohunga, (16 children) the

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1. Price F.R., An Educo-Sociological Survey of the A...District, M.A. Thesis, C.U.C., 1929, p.8.
 2. Sinclair H.I., The Elementary-Rural Schools of New Zealand, p.98.

play was dominated by the presence in the group of three girls of the ages of 13, 13 and 15 years. There were only two other children above S.3, a boy and a girl. Consequently, under the leadership of the older girls, the play took characteristically female patterns. Skipping and hop-scootch were both unusually well developed for a rural school.

The girls had a range of rhymes as large as that normal in a city school. This was partly due to the fact that most of the children were immigrants to the district. (The main industry at Aohunga was collecting sea-weed for Agar). But the rhymes would not have been sustained if they had not had such a strong place in the school life. For some games, (notably rounders, jumping and skipping), these three girls spontaneously organized the children in the same way in which they were organized for their physical drill lessons. It was an extreme example of the type of Leader organization of younger children that is carried on by girls at all stages in the primary school. (Chapter 18).

At Makuri (22) in the upper standards there were only two girls, but there were 14 boys, ten years of age or over. As a result, highly organized team sports were at a premium in the boys' spontaneous play. Football was in progress when I arrived with line-outs, scrums and well-established team formations. As I watched, in the course of ten minutes, two footballs disappeared into the pines which skirted one side of the narrow mud and gravel playing field.¹ Immediately

1. I was told they would come down in the next Southerly.

there was a rapid transformation. In less than three minutes a game of cricket was in progress resuming from where it had left off at some previous date. Scores were taken down in a score book, (old note book). The fielding team bowled from both ends alternately and the movement of play was extremely rapid. Only the hitter ran. In the case of an uneven number of runs the other batsman moved down to the other wicket. The players strangely enough had the erroneous idea that l.b.w. must be called before it left the bowlers hand, otherwise it was not valid. It should be mentioned that this spontaneous play was completely uninfluenced by the teacher, a middle-aged woman. At this school the boys being in the majority never played with the girls. The girls, who included four infants and two others of very different ages (in the upper primary standards) had very few games to record.

But even in small one teacher schools, if the balance between the sexes is about equal, and there are sufficient children for two separate play groups, the play tends to be a microcosmic reproduction of the patterns characteristic of larger schools (Hoereka) although, naturally, the game repertoire of these smaller schools is less extensive.

When the isolated school group remains constant over a period other 'special' developments are possible. In rural schools for example nearly all the children stay at school for lunch. This gives them the chance to develop indoor parlour games like Postman's Knock and Blindman's Buff which play a greater part in the regular playground play of

rural schools than urban schools.

Where the isolated group remains constant throughout the school and into the secondary department children have an opportunity to develop their group's games to a level of complexity that is not possible where there are many breaks in school life. Examples of the effects of group constancy and continuity on play are shown by the development¹ of "Egg Pie" at Alexandra and of "Sevens" at Lawrence.

Alexandra and Lawrence are isolated District High Schools in Central Otago in which primary and secondary pupils are members of the one school. In both these schools these games are played most capably by the older pupils. At Alexandra in particular, "Egg Pie" which died out nearly everywhere else before the first world war, is also played by the students of the secondary department. The school children learn the game in a primary school group and carry on playing the same game in that group right up into the higher forms of the secondary department. The constancy of their group and constancy of the pitch on which they play, has allowed the game to develop to a high level of complexity.

The importance of the continuity and constancy of the playing group and its effects upon play can be evidenced also by reference to conditions which prevail in some urban schools. For example, when the upper primary school children (S.5/6) of Intermediate and non-decapitated schools are compared, differences

1. For details see the New Zealand Physical Education Society Bulletin: Vol.2, No.4, Jan., 1947; and Vol.4, No.1, Nov., 1948.

are observable in their play. The children of S.5/6 of the non-decapitated Dunedin school, North East Valley who had suffered no breaks in their school life continued to include in their play such informal diversions as Marbles, Tops, Tip-tap, Black Peter and others (See Appendix I). But the children of the Macandrew Intermediate who had been broken away from their old school group after S.4, included fewer unorganized games in their playground play. The playground play at the Intermediate school was devoted almost wholly to the practice of sports and allied skills. This situation occurs partly because the transfer of the children to the new school and to new groups (at S.4, the peak-game making age) completely breaks the tradition of school play and play-pitches to which the children have been accustomed. The children's play environment is changed, their group is changed, continuity is destroyed. A new sense of community must be developed before spontaneous games of any complexity can emerge. Into this, void the school throws eager Sport's Masters and Mistresses, footballs and basketballs. Children quick to put 'childishness' behind them and gain acceptance in their new and massive institution, react avidly to the new incentives. Apart from a few deviate boys from the lowest class (and that is very low) playing Tag round the back of the school; some girls who had developed a game of Tag on the circular concrete, and some other girls playing Hop-scotch, I saw not a sign of play at the Intermediate that was anything but organized sport. And there was an immense amount of the later, on playing field and playing court.

In Wellington a portion of an Intermediate school (4 classes of Form II, 150) which was evacuated to another school and forced to spend all their playhours on a playground the size of two tennis courts did little but feebly try to play their cricket and basketball in this restricted space. The majority merely loitered about. A few boys took to ball tag. On the whole the girls showed the most initiative, 'regressing' to skipping on an extensive scale -- a thing they had not done when housed in the Intermediate school grounds.

At the Hutt Intermediate (2nd Term, 1951) on the other hand, because the adjacent football fields were out of action, and the concrete squares of the paths lent themselves to Hop-scotch, there was gradually a large-scale reversion to that game. At first, most of the boys played soccer tennis ball and only a few of either sex played Hop-scotch. As the term continued, however, and the hundreds of boys and girls continued to be compressed into a playground the size of several tennis courts, more and more children of both sexes took to Hop-scotch. Further, as the term progressed other forms of Hop-scotch developed and other types of "beds" were marked out on the playground. Thus because of the unusual circumstances many finally played a game originally played by only a few. The same circumstances occurred with Tops. In the previous year only a handful of boys had bought Tops in the winter term. This year the season which ran for about a month included, throughout, 40 to 50 boys (out of some 300 at the school). At the end of the term there appeared another

game directly suggested by the nature of the concrete squares on the footpath. This was hand tennis ball, played according to the rules of table tennis. Despite these "regressions" and "developments", however, throughout the term, the great majority of boys played only soccer tennis ball. For the majority, these minor games were games of the past, not respectable games of the present or future.

The Intermediate school interruption of play-group continuity does not mean that many Intermediate school children do not continue to play some, at least, of the older games when back in their home-environment after school. Here they return to a traditional 'pitch' and a well established group, and if they have not been over infected by the new ideals they continue to play the more 'childish' games of Relievo, Hide and Seek etc. However, if games are to develop to the complexity and detail of "Egg Cap" at Alexandra the continuity of the play group must be more extensive than ^{the} sporadic continuity of local and heterogeneous backyard groups.

With respect now to static communities: group constancy is most assured where it is supported by the constancy (the static and isolated nature) of the community in which the children live. Often, particularly isolated rural districts retain modes of recreation which were once quite typical, but have now been widely supplanted elsewhere by the advent of urban entertainments, (films etc.) In several rural areas there was a greater predominance of children's games, which, although they were often known, were not mentioned so frequently

by children in urban schools. It appears that, in these isolated places, the persistence of these games is sometimes due to the fact that they are still today the mainstay of children's parties. That is, the rural groups have remained more constant in nature and habit over the past forty years than have groups elsewhere. ~~Examples~~ Examples are given of games well known to many children at Pongaroa, Collingwood, and Hokitika. Collingwood: Knucklebones, Forfeits, Lucy Lucy Locket, Spin the Tin, Here's a thing and a very pretty thing, Charades, Old fashioned plays. Others more universal today: Musical bumps, Penny under the chair, Round the table, Ping-Pong, Postman's Knock, Blind Man's Buff, Poor Pussy, Hide the Thimble, Tail on the Donkey, I spye, Air land and water. Pongaroa: Apple-bobbing, Consequences, Kiss in the Ring, Hobble Horse, Charades, Addition race, Taking the Key, Potato Race, Wheelbarrow race, I spye, Treasure Hunt, Musical Chairs, Postman's Knock and Hangman. Hokitika: Ghosts, Musical Chairs-Cushions, Sppons, Bumps, Honeymoons, Dipping for an Apple, Geography Quiz, Treasure Hunt, Spin the Bottle, My Aunt went to Paris, Hide the Thimble, Hide and Seek in a dark room, Blind Man's Buff, Drop the Handkerchief, Squeak Piggy squeak, Farmyard, Posts, Old woman in the Woods, Aeroplane flight, Egg and spoon, Black Magic, Mystery Parcels, Fuss in the Corner, Rats and Rabbits, Pillow Fights.

In other isolated schools one finds occasional isolated 'relics' of a former period. For example: Bainham: Old Tom, Bum Bum here we come, and Walking on Tom Tiddler's ground.

Horoeaka: Eggs in the Nest. Ratapiko: Black Bull Bee.

With respect to "old" areas where the isolated school is located in an "old" area, that is, an area with long standing traditions, then there is more chance that there will be a background of traditional games from which the children can derive their present day games. Even, for example, in Dunedin, the most isolated of the four main cities, there is a greater variety of traditional games in the children's lists than there is in the lists of the Wellington children. (Compare the lists for North East Valley and Karori in Appendix I). The best examples of the effects of isolation and of an 'old' area on games are to be found amongst schools on the West Coast of the South Island - the most isolated province; particularly in the isolated and close-living mining districts¹ of Stockton, Millerton, Denniston and Granity. The first three of these are located on mountain tops and are particularly inaccessible. Until the (post-depression) later the 'thirties, communications and facilities were on the whole poor. Entertainments were provided largely by the people themselves. Moreover many of the recreations were shared by all and had a note of the village 'green', or rather village 'mud-patch' about them. The preservation and intensification of these recreations was guaranteed by the

1. For a description of these districts and their conditions, see Muir T., Buller Mining Districts, Community Centres, Education, May 1949, Vol. 2, No. 2, p.27.

homogeneity and relatively static nature of the local population. Practically every member of the community and every school child was (and still is) connected in some way with the mines. New entrants to any of the mining communities did not change this pattern. They tended to come either from other mines on the West Coast or from British mines where traditional recreations flourished long after they were dead in New Zealand. In many cases groups of families from the British Isles came out in blocks. Original British mining villages were in a sense transplanted. Other miners came from Australian mines. The register of Granity school tells the tale. Between 1880 and 1909 entrants to Granity came mainly from within N.Z., from Denniston, Seddonville, Waimangaroa, Westport, Ngakawau, Millerton, Stockton and Brunner, that is from neighbouring mining fields. After 1909 children of immigrants from the British Isles began to appear in the school, from Scotland, Cobden, Southport, Lanarkshire, Goldsborough and Staffordshire. But the majority of immigrants came after the first World War. At Denniston the Scots were predominant; at Stockton, the Welshmen; at Millerton the Scots and the 'Lanks'!

Some of the traditional games of the 'mud patches' in those years were as follows. Hand-ball, a game like fives, is said to have been the main game amongst the miners of Burnett's Face, Denniston around about 1900. Later, about 1910, Lazy-stick came into prominence. These and other games were played in the week-ends or on long summer nights. Every Hotel in every mining district had, of course, its quoits

pitch and its local champions. (Quoits performed the function in these mining districts that nine-pins performed everywhere else before the advent of billiards). Through the years (and even today, to a lesser extent) children were accustomed to observing these games played by the young men and bin boys outside the 'Pub', or outside the Library and Recreation Clubs. It was natural that the children would copy and perpetuate many of these games in their own play. Thus games like Monkey on the Bridge, Duckstones, Fly the Garter, Run Sheepie Run, Shinty, Sinio, Gag or no Gag, which faded elsewhere soon after 1900 continued to be played in these mining areas into the 30's. In the depression of the 'thirties, most of these games had their last intense flutter before extinction. They were played by the adolescents and younger men during the period in which they were out of work; the older men stood round and watched. The games played during the depression by men at Stockton and Millerton included, Rounders, Monkey on the Bridge, Cricket, Fly the Garter, Kicking footballs, Mark and Collar, and Bar the Door with tackling. After 1935 when these districts became more subject to outside influence many of these games faded. Even during the depression, however, the roots of this demise were present in the marked decrease in the size of the population. The drop in the Millerton school from a Five to a Two teacher school during those years must have caused a break in the group play-traditions of the school.

Even today, however, remnants of these and other traditional games, which must have existed beforehand, are

still in existence in these mining villages. For example, in Denniston: Iron hoops, Big and Wee (a remnant of Monkey on the Bridge, or rather of some allied form), Strike the Crayfish (known as Spang-Weazling in the 20's), Cat and Bat (Tip Cat), Leap the Frog, Hideygo (Hide and Seek - the only other record I have of Hide and Seek under this name comes from the Mining District of Glen Massey Waikato 1918 which was opened up in 1914 and included amongst its population miners who had moved up from Denniston and other Southern mining towns), Black Peter (Bar the Door), Hoop-La, Quoits and Skittles (These are still in existence at some of the Hotels. The traditional West Coast quoits have thick iron rims with an inward slope. These are cast towards an iron pin which rises out of a carefully tendered patch of viscous mud. The players get points according as the encircle or approximate to the pin. It is not the cleanest of sports), Humpty Dumpty (known as Dunk and Davey in the 20's), Kick the Tin and Hot Rice.

At Millerton: Sheep Sheep, Jack of All sorts, Cripple Jack, Pancakes, Hot Rice, Bedlam, Taliho, Humpty Dumpty, Duckstones, Sevens, Cauliflowers, Cabbages and Guy Fawkes rhymes more extensive than is usual elsewhere. Most of these games were played at Millerton till several years ago when the event of a new and sport-minded teacher led to their rapid demise. This teacher concentrated instead on football and basketball and their associated skills.

At Stockton: Mark and Collar, King-a-Sene, Hot Rice, Circle Hop Scotch, Leap the Frog.

At Granity a teacher reported that some of the boys still knew Fly the Garter under the name of 'Fly' but that Monkey on the Bridge was no longer known. In all these areas, and in fact throughout the West Coast, Marbles still exists in a more advanced state than is general elsewhere.

There is an additional reason for the retention of older gameforms in these areas. Not only were the children's play groups, isolated, constant and spurred by adult example, but children also shared more freely in other adult recreations than was general elsewhere in New Zealand. That is, there was a continuity between child and adult groups not only in games but in practically everything. In the years before the depression the scattered Buller mining districts of this area were relatively well linked by contests at cards and athletics, by recurrent dances, concerts, male-voice choirs and even operettas. Today, also, the children have a part in adult activities. For example, today at Stockton most of the children are said to attend the three weekly film showings with adults on Saturdays, Sundays and Wednesdays. School Homework is said to be quite impossible. The children attend the same gymnasium classes, boxing classes and Community Centre Choirs. They travel with the adult football teams. Every Buller Soccer and Rugby club has a school team which travels with it by bus in the weekend. The boys at the Stockton school for example play in the boys' rugby team on the Saturday and then on the Sunday they re-form themselves to play in the boys' soccer team. (The effect of all this organized play is observable in the playground. The boys will not play an informal

game of rugby or soccer without the presence of a referee and whistle, a function which is usually discharged by one of the bin boys off duty. If no referee is available kicks alone must suffice. Children are present also at the adult card evenings (Usually of '45's', the 'Irish-Poker' of the West Coast).

Here, then, are districts, isolated, with strong ethnic groups, group constancy and continuity between child and adult community, which have preserved and developed traditional games in a way not general.¹

[^{N.P.} Provincial Environments : The isolation of a group of players in one province has not led in New Zealand to very unusual developments in play. As one writer says: "There is throughout New Zealand a high degree of homogeneity."² The differences between Provinces are not therefore marked. What early differences there may have been have subsequently been blurred over. Some differences, however, have been created because the more isolated provinces have preserved something of an older order of play that has been lost elsewhere.³ Marbles, for example continues to thrive in Otago and the West Coast in a way that it does not in Wellington. Isolated areas of North Auckland and Hawkes Bay retain practices, such as Whip-top,

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1. Although of course paralleled many times in England. See, for example Marsden F.H., Some Notes on the Folklore of Upper Calderdale, Folklore, Vol. XIII, 1932, No. 3, Sept., p.249.
 2. Robb, G.H., The Concept of National Character, p.79.
 3. This difference will be dealt with more fully later.

stagknife and knucklebones once played, but long since forgotten elsewhere.

For the greater part, however, differences between Provinces are differences in name only. What is termed Bar the Door in the South is known as Keeny Seeny in the North; Kiwi in the South, Queenie in the North; This is the way the wheel goes round in the south, Tip the finger in the north, etc.

Different areas, as well as Provinces, show some consistency in the currency of names. It is noticeable for example that large towns tend to have their "catchment" areas. Thus the games (or names) of Waikouaiti and Hampden in North Otago bear a stronger resemblance to the games of Dunedin than they do to those of Wellington. Similarly the surrounding districts of Hokitika, and Takaka mirror the games known in those towns. If Bar the Door is called say Charley over the Water at Hokitika then generally that will be the name of the game in the surrounding schools (as it is in Ross, Ruatapu, Kanieri, Koiterangi, Kumara). Twenty miles north at Greymouth, however, the same game is called "Sally Over" and consistently enough that is the name which flourishes in the districts adjacent to Greymouth, Kaiata and Dobs²on.

Finally, it should be mentioned, that the meeting of Maori and European cultures ~~has~~ also provided an environment of a "special" nature. In general it can be said that in this "new" environment the spontaneous games of the Maori children gave way to the games of the European. There were, however, some important exceptions. Hand games, Knucklebones, Stilts

Whip-Tops and String Games were traditional Maori games which survived the meeting of the two cultures. Yet all these particular games had their counterparts in the European traditions of play. A fact which suggests that because the games of the two cultures overlapped, the existence of the parallel games in the European Tradition acted as a "permissive" factor on the same games of Maori children; that the Maori children were implicitly encouraged to continue with these particular games in preference to others, because these particular games were intelligible to the European tradition of play. Perhaps Missionaries and others, who are said to have done such damage to Maori pastimes, even looked with a more lenient eye upon Maori pastimes which they recognized as the pastimes of "civilized" and not just "heathen" children.¹

In conclusion, it is clear that playing groups make use of the limitations and opportunities of their Environment in the games that they develop, but that these direct influences on their games do not finally determine the forms of the games themselves. Again, it is clear that groups of players require a constant environment if their games are to develop

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1. The spontaneous games of Maori children were not included within the scope of this investigation. Nevertheless I received a number of reports on the spontaneous games played by Maori children and have recorded the material of these reports in an article entitled, "The Meeting of Maori and European Cultures and Its Effects upon the Unorganized Games of Maori Children" in the Journal of the N.Z. Polynesian Society, September, 1951.

spontaneously to any extent.¹ If anything further is to be discovered about the nature of games it is clearly necessary to look further into the nature of the groups playing those games.

Before taking this matter up more fully in the next chapter, however, something further can be concluded about the nature of these playing groups (on the basis of the material which is set out in this chapter). It is evident from the above material, for example, that children's play groups seek and need a common pitch in order to express and confirm their own unique group nature.² This 'pitch-seeking' tendency of the group is further illustrated by the manner in which children seek out and build forts and dens in which to play. On a more ephemeral scale the same pitch seeking tendency of groups is observable in the school playground. Groups of children tend to adopt meeting places where they all assemble at the beginning of each play hour and around about which the greater part of their play is centred. This is particularly true of the younger children up to about S.3. Older children tend to meet where a definite type of game is being played rather than a definite place for play. But by the upper primary years co-operation is relatively well assured and the game-pitch alone is sufficient to hold the group together.

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1. English metropolitan areas give interesting examples of the way in which children's games may proliferate in these circumstances. There they have an artificially induced type of isolation. There are no available playing fields or counter influences. Children living virtually on top of each other in restricted spaces develop their own game traditions in amazing abundance. See Norman Douglas, London Street Games, and Leslie Daiken, Street Play and Play Streets, Picture Post, Vol. 47, No. 2, p. 30
 2. This is dealt with further in chapter 19.

But the younger children seem almost to need reminding of their group existence. Co-operation cannot be taken for granted so play issues forth from a group place. The group place comes first. When the group is established at its place, then, and only then, can the game begin. The constant pitch is the implicit premise without which their games cannot develop.

It seems legitimate to conclude therefore that, in the early years of Primary school, a common pitch, a place of meeting, a definite environment, becomes the first basis for independent group action. It probably gives to infants¹ their first inkling of a base (a home) beyond the home. It is the base about which they establish both their group nature and their group independence.

1. A matter which is dealt with fully in Chapter 17.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE PLAY SEASON

The Time At Which Games Are Played

Chanson Innocent.

in Just-
spring when the world is mud-
luscious the little
lame baloonman

whistles far and wee
and eddieandbill come
running from marbles and
piracies and it's
spring

when the world is puddle-wonderful

the queer
old baloonman whistles
far and wee

and bettyandisbel come dancing
from hop-scotch and jump-rope and

it's
spring
and

 the
 goat-footed
baloonman whistles
far
and
wee

E.E. Cummings.

In the last chapter it was concluded that further
insight into the nature of games would require further

understanding of the nature of the group playing those games. In this chapter in which the relationship between games and the time at which they are played, is considered, that conclusion is taken into account. The relationship between time and games is approached through a study of the nature of the playing group. The question asked is ---- if children deem certain times and seasons appropriate for their play, how do they know when those times and seasons have arrived? How do they know when it is time to fly the Kite and when it is time to Leap the Frog?

The supposedly mysterious way in which children's games come and go, wax and wane; the unusual rapidity with which a season arrives, and, as if by magic, all the children are playing only marbles or tops or skipping, has been remarked¹ upon by the romanticist of children's games at great length. It is a favourite theme, and the complexity of the factors involved easily lends itself to mysticism. In my presence a teacher marvelled at the way in which, overnight, throughout the whole country, the games were transformed and the seasons changed as if by some widespread general intuition upon the part of the children.

But, if the complexity of the factors involved leads easily to mysticism of this nature it does not lead so easily to scientific investigation. Nevertheless, in a general way,

1. Uttley Alison, Country Things, p.54; Daiken L., Children's Games, p.168; A new Game and an Old Puzzle, N.Z. Listener, May 30, 1948. Consider the poem by Cummings which heads this chapter.

it is possible to build up a reasonably clear picture of the manner in which it happens that today a game is 'timely', it is 'in season', and tomorrow it is not.

At St. Clair, Dunedin, March 1949, on the Infant playground, I saw the whole pattern of change, enacted in miniature in the course of half an hour or so. In a lunch-time half hour, the infant children swung their attention from one activity to another with amazing rapidity and with intense concentration upon each new activity as it arose. When I arrived "trains", ~ strings of children running round and hanging on to each other's coat tails, was in progress. A few minutes later one child (an inventor ?) seized another by the hands and they both lifted up their arms into an arch. A "train" of six children passed underneath. These two children represented a tunnel. In a few more minutes there were tunnels as well as trains all over the playground. Meanwhile, local points of friction occurred within the running carriages. Girls here and there protested that their dresses were being pulled too hard. (Perhaps some boys were introducing an illicit motive.) A train broke at one of these points of friction and a new train set off along the railway tracks (white lines). From one of these irruptions several aggressive boys broke away on their own, their ebullience hurling them off the tracks so that they encircled a girl in their midst. "You're a Fish!" cried a boy. (Another inventor ?) And without further ado, they all raced off round the playground catching the 'Fishes in the Net'. Their chain-net enlarged into a great string which broke off into other strings. In the course of several

minutes the playground became a meshwork of these lashing chains; all catching each other in their nets. "Trains" had gone as suddenly as it had come. 'Fish in the Net', however, being more aggressive than trains, did not suit all tastes and a large number of children multiplied about the loose gravel in one corner of the playground where all lunch hour a few children had been busying themselves making gravel mudpies with plastic spoons.

If this is a picture in miniature of the larger scale patterns which occur in the seasonal changes of games, how is this picture to be interpreted in terms of group psychology?

The above picture records that the attention of the younger players is limited in duration, that it swings readily from one activity to another. Their "attention is mobile, exploratory; it continually seeks something fresh for examination."¹ They have a hunger for novel experience² "for fresh things to do, fresh interests, and fresh knowledge."³ As Cary illustrates, "We were always in a hurry for the next things, the next game, tomorrow, or birthdays, a party, a sail, supper. The present fell out of our hands like a new toy at Christmas, before we knew what it was for."⁴

These fluctuations in attention and the hunger for novelty which goes with them, are, I believe, the ultimate

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1. Woodworth R.S., Psychology, London, 1940, p.48.
 2. Linton R., The Cultural Background of Personality, London, 1947, p.6.
 3. Fleming C.M., The Social Psychology of Education, London, 1944, p.17.
 4. Cary Joyce, A House of Children, p.10.

psychological roots of the seasonal character of children's games. In what follows we describe the manner in which other influences enter into this fundamental pattern of human variability, and give it the characteristics which are observable in the temporal changes of the playground.

The nature of the play group, however, introduces important modifications into the patterns of individual variability stated above. It is observable for example that groups of children do not just vary and change in any haphazard manner. They vary together. They vary in groups. Children appear to want to do just what other children are doing. It is more important to them that they should do something with a certain group than that they should do any one particular thing. The activity of heterogeneous rural groups, which was cited in the last chapter, is an illustration of this tendency. As Lee says, the child "does not care to excel in the game that nobody else is playing".¹ This same gregariousness is observable in the way in which children approach novelties. A new game, as a novel interest, is a means through which children can get a social response from others and at the same time satisfy their hunger for novelty. But a new game is never adopted simply because it is new. The group as a whole must be ready for it.

The changeability of the group, and its 'readiness' for novel activities will now be considered in detail.

1. Lee, J., Play in Education, New York, 1916, p.199.

Firstly, group changeability: in the primary school the seasonal games, and the passing fads and fancies, project onto a larger scale the same pattern of change that has already been noted in the St. Clair infant playground lunch hour. The children of the older age-level are more mature, their skills are more developed, and their powers of attention, consequently, are more durable. Not, of course, that infant children are not capable of sustained attention over very long periods as long as their activity contains within itself sufficient variety. The infant boys at Island Bay, for example, made roads and tunnels and played with toy motor cars on the playground's clay banks for two or three months in the autumn of 1950. Unfortunately, the bitumen road above began to cave in and the authorities interrupted this experiment in 'seasonal' longevity. Generally, however, the infant playground seasons are fleeting ones. In the primary school (and in adult life) the mercurial hungers of the infant groups are, on the other-hand, "writ large". The existence of ever changing school crazes of several weeks or months duration is constantly commented on both by children and teachers in various schools. For example, When I arrived at North East Valley the children had that term passed through a series of crazes which included: Bangers, Paper-darts, Tops, Fortune-telling; At Waikouaiti: Handstands, Tennis Ball Hitting, Leader Games; At Wakefield: Kit Carson, (the new serial), Free Pass; At Karori: Note-sending, Rubber band and Pellet guns (until confiscated), Taking the girls' basket-ball; At Collingwood: Cops and Robbers,

Hop Scotch, Wooden Aeroplane Gliders, Wooden guns with rubber bands. Practically any toy object, passing event, film, book, famous visitors or sporting contest, may provide the element of novelty upon which the group (or groups) exercises its hunger. Often several crazes co-exist with different groups in the same school. At St. Clair, a local film serial, the 'Sea Rover' was being enacted in the playground. At the same time the effect of the annual primary school sports was still obvious in a number of children running round and round the outside of the playground. Again the effects of a physical education film was observable in girls handstanding, and the effects of a nature-study film apparent in S.1 boys playing beavers and catching each other in the traps of their outstretched legs.

Even when these passing changes do not take the intense form of "crazes" they are none the less observable. Teachers and children are inclined to note only the more obvious changes such as occur when nearly all the children are involved (marbles, skipping etc.). I have observed at Island Bay that at least some of the children remain in much the same groups throughout the year; that these groups have a continuity of their own and pass through a series of changes which is peculiar to the group itself; that from time to time the activities of each group interweave and overlap with activities which are common to many groups, activities such as Cricket, Basketball and Collaring. I have noticed one group of S.2 boys pass through the following stages in the first two terms of 1950: Collaring, Cowboys, and Indians, Ball Tag, Cowboys with handkerchiefs,

Kicking a Football, Tagging in the shed, Collaring, Skipping with the girls, Tagging in the shed, Collaring, Rounders. A group of S.3 girls passed through these phases: Collaring, Hop Scotch, Leader games, Goals, Skipping.

An interesting point is the way in which children themselves notice and are surprised at the "mystery" with which their crazes suddenly arrive and just as suddenly disappear. It is probable that each human being is at root more emotionally impressed by his difference and isolation from all other human beings than he is by his likeness to them. He thus finds more surprising the way in which individuals suddenly act all together than he does the way in which they differ from each other. The fact of group convergence is 'surprising' when it happens in this impressive "seasonal" manner. It is, however, quite simply accounted for by the desire of every child to be the same as every other child as quickly as possible.

Secondly, Group readiness: a groups' interest in any novelty is always counter-acted by an intense interest in something which that group is already doing. Children do not just indiscriminately take to any novelty that arises. They take to that novelty only when in a state of psychological 'readiness' for it. Of course we cannot measure just how long a group will consider any given activity sufficiently interesting to continue it and neglect alternative outlets. The length of interest in one activity and readiness for another are an outcome of the interaction between the members of the group and between them and the nature of their interest. In the school

playground variations of the major games have the longest seasons and this is partly due to the older age of the children who play these games and the stimulation provided by a weekly match against opponents. At Island Bay, Skipping Hop Scotch and Collaring have the next longest seasons, (these mainly with the S.2/3 group). Playing in the sandpit by S.1. boys lasted for two to three months which was an unusually long period. The longevity of the latter activity suggests that there are great possibilities of intense and long lived play awaiting those playgrounds which provide opportunities for constructive activity of this nature.

It is difficult to know how often children introduce some novel activity for which the rest of the group are not ready. It is probable that most children in the group reflect sufficiently the feelings of the majority, not to introduce something 'out of time'. However, such inappropriateness does occur. At Island Bay I found a young S.2 girl playing Hop Scotch when Skipping was at its peak (June, 1950). It appears that she did not know how to play Hop Scotch very well but had seen her S.4 cousin playing the game at home and had asked that cousin to draw the diagram for her on the school playground. I saw her playing the game again the day after with another S.2 girl. They played it for only the one day and were there after absorbed back into Skipping. The group as a whole was not ready for Hop Scotch at that time of the year. In September, 1950, several girls again introduced Hop Scotch, and beds were drawn on the playground. Strangely enough it did not develop into a season, as

it had in September, 1949. After several days the few beds disappeared.

Why then was the introduction of Hop Scotch inappropriate in 1950, when the previous year at the same date it was so timely? The reason may be that in 1950 Skipping had been given a renewed length of life by the use of skipping ropes for the purpose of jumping. Girls had been jumping skipping ropes for several weeks at the time when the previous year's Hop Scotch date arrived. Their attention was given to this other matter. There was, however, an additional reason why they did not take to Hop Scotch again at this date. Hop Scotch had not only been played in the third term of the previous year, it was also revived in the first term of 1950. On the revival the rectangular bed was used, whereas when the game was first played, the aeroplane diagram had been in favour. In addition, the game was also played on and off through out the winter of 1950 in private backyards and on public streets. It would appear, therefore, that the 1950 spring introduction of the game by these girls did not bring with it sufficient novelty to offset the existing pre-occupation with Skipping and Jumping.

The unreadiness of a group may enter into its consciousness. Thus Uttley records: "Once when I turned up at school with a skipping rope before the correct skipping season, I was regarded as if I had committed a crime." And "We found time for everything going, either in the school

1. Uttley A., op. cit., p.54.

grounds or the streets in their various mysterious seasons,¹
and woe to him who dared to play any game out of season."

On the otherhand when the introduction of some novelty coincides with a 'readiness' then a season or a craze sets in. This occurred at Waterloo (Lower Hutt decapitated school) in February 1949. A moving form of French Cricket was being played by most of the boys on the wide expanse of grass. It had been in progress for several weeks. One day Tops arrived. I was fortunate enough to be able to locate the boy concerned. He had brought his top on the Friday morning. There were several more by the lunch hour of that day. On the Monday they arrived in hordes. My conversation with the innovator proceeded as follows: "Why did you bring your top?" "Oh, I've got three at home and there's nothing to do at school." "But its the wrong season isn't it?" "Yes". "What about cricket?" "I don't like cricket." His discontent and its expression found an answering readiness, particularly in the other boys of S.1/2 who, like him, were unable to compete on equal terms with the cricketers of S.3/4.. As quickly as they could, all those who were predisposed to do so by their existing dissatisfaction, followed in the path of the innovator and shared in the new joy of throwing and spinning tops. Tops "boomed" for a season of several months.

But crazes or fashions or seasons in games are not

1. Sir James Her^ennan, Mt. Cook School, Evening Post, 6/10/50.

purely a matter of the psychology of group hungers and group readiness. They are also a matter of many other influences which both limit the outlets the groups can take and suggest novelties which the groups might assume. In other words these group seasons do not just arise out of those factors in the group psychology which have been discussed. They arise out of those group factors working in conjunction with other factors about to be discussed. When all the factors psychological and otherwise are brought together, it is then that our account of the relationship of the seasons and the games assumes the complexity which we associate with the living phenomena.

In the following pages the effects of the following influences upon the times and seasons at which children play their games are discussed - Weather; Temperature; Organized Sports seasons and Traditional seasons; Special and Traditional Occasions; Other Influences; Commercial Influences; Illustrative Material page 325 to page 361.

The seasonableness of games is affected by the weather. The first and most obvious way in which the weather acts as a selective influence upon games is by restricting the play of certain types of games. Wet weather, for example, drives children from their current playground pursuits to pursuits appropriate to other playing places, such as exist inside the school and in the play shed. Inside the school the children play games which, apart from the inclement weather, they might not have played. And this is particularly so in those schools

where children are at school during the lunch hour. Examples: Snakes and Ladders (Bainham), Blind Man's Buff, Charades, Farmer in the Dell (Aorere), Fuss in the Corner, Cards (Onekaka), Musical Chairs, Cards (Tarakohe), Ludo, Snakes and Ladders, Steeplechase and Dancing (Motupipi), Read books, throw balls or dusters, dodge in and out of desks, Postman's Knock in the teacher's room (Millerton), Folk dances and Singing games (Stockton).

Shed activity has already been mentioned. In the very wettest lunch hours when only the older S.6 incorrigibles are still abroad in the playground they will occasionally be seen playing boisterous forms of Fuss in the Corner in the playshed (Moeraki 25, Musselburgh 35, Brooklyn 48).

Wet weather also affects play by interfering with the pitches of the major seasonal games. Often when the weather has been very wet it leaves the grounds unsuitable for football or cricket and there is scope for minor games. When I arrived at Granity (Aug. 1949), it had been raining for months. Football was impossible but now that the weather had cleared again all the boys, both primary and secondary, had taken to marbles with an intensity that had not been known for many seasons. Leap frog was also played around the edges of the waterlogged ground. At Stockton, the same weather produced a similar reaction, but at Collingwood, where there was no marble tradition, the same weather led the children including the secondary boys, to Hop Scotch and Leader games.

Wet weather suggests certain types of play of which Puddle-splashing, Boats in the drains and Wading through the water

are the most obvious examples. There are other suggestions of a more indirect nature. At Island Bay wet sand in the sand pit meant new possibilities in road construction and revived for a further few weeks an interest in the sandpit which had begun to wane after two months of intensive concentration. Wet ground under foot, and cold weather, almost invariably suggests chain tug on the semi-dry concrete or asphalt. Children who are not permitted to go inside can do little but join hands and run about to keep warm (Waikouaiti 49, Nelson 00, Dunedin 05).

But wet weather affects also the feelings of the players. By increasing the amount of confinement the children must undergo and by restricting the number of normal play expressions for their ebullience, wet weather typically leads to fights in the shed and piggy-back fights of a mock and of a fistic nature.

Windy weather: Boisterous windy weather is paralleled by an increase of movement in the playground. Semi-consciously the children appear to be reacting to feelings of being pushed and whirled in the cavorting winds. The play activity on a windy day is characteristically unco-ordinated. It is difficult to see who belongs to which group. The struggle against the wind makes group effort and common purposes less effective. Noise, too is increased. Any teacher who supervises a playground on a windy day knows that. Windy noise can only be overcome by noisy children. Unless the child shouts it cannot be heard. But perhaps children are not just reacting to, and trying to overcome the negating effects of the wind upon their

play. Perhaps something of their noisiness and the helter-skelter of their movements is also their way of echoing the rushing noises and the inconstant gusts of wind; Perhaps it is an empathy with the forces of nature of which the folklorists made so much.¹ I have, for example, seen children, whirling themselves about, here and there, flinging their arms up and around though they were bits of paper flung by the wind (Island Bay). Here is a play accentuation of their experience of the wind; a reflection also of how they must in part feel the 'being' of the wind, even when they are not playing at that in particular.

In sunny weather children play less. More of them sit round contentedly in the sun, presumably feeling as sunny inside as it is outside. One is struck by the silent solidarity which often seems to pervade children when they are sitting sun wise; sitting together with points of mutual contact. The sun and their bodies are their common links. Nothing else seems necessary. Talk may be irrelevant.

Temperature: influences play rather by influencing the players than by affecting the play pitches. I have observed for example at Island Bay that a change from a warm northerly wind to the cold southerly which comes up from the beach practically doubles the amount of activity in the playground. All the non-participants are forced to be active or to be uncomfortably cold. Any active games will do to counteract

1. Consider also in this light the insight into child feeling shown by R.L.S. in his 'The Wind' from A Child's Garden of Verses.

the cold, although, naturally, the greatest attention is given to those chasing games, which involve a large amount of movement. Informal tig, for example, appears to be preferred on days like this, to the relatively formal Bar the Door, in which some of the children are inactive some of the time. It is possible that the larger number and variety of He games collected in the Otago area is connected with the coldness of the Otago climate. Further South (I have been informed by Physical Education specialists) the winter temperatures are often so cold that the children do not react with active play at all. Instead they often spend a large proportion of the winter standing around in their waterproof boots and heavy clothing.

The fact that He games flourish in summer at dusk may be due in part to the cooler atmosphere at that time of day. A coolness which comes as a pleasant and energizing relief to the inactivity of the day's heat. Wayne Dennis has noticed that this is the case with Hopi children living in tropical conditions.¹ Other examples of types of play carried out in cool weather are as follows: Soccer tennis ball is everywhere a favourite game - reaction to the cold weather. If necessary it can even be played with the hands in the pockets. Nuts in May (Waikouaiti), Farmer in the Dell (Aotere), Goosey, Tig, Nuts and May (Waikouaiti), Hen and Chickens, Tig and Shinty (Taieri 60).

1. Dennis Wayne, The Hopi Child, in Barker R.G. and Kounin J.S., Child Behaviour and Development, New York, 1943, p.632.

Warm temperatures and sunny weather are naturally enough a precondition for most major and minor summer pursuits. In warm weather leisurely, rather than strenuous games are the rule.¹ The greater amount of ball bouncing games reputed (by Physical Education Specialists) to be prevalent in the Northern half of the North Island may be connected with the warmer temperatures which are general there.² Ball bouncing games, although widely known, are probably too leisurely to multiply where temperatures and fingers are cold. Perhaps for the same reasons Knucklebones and Stagknife are more prevalent in the North.

Seasons: The changing climatic seasons introduce other elements of novelty into the restrictive and suggestive influences brought to bear by weather and temperatures. But in the modern playground the effect of the changing climatic seasons is very much obscured by the existence of other factors brought into being by the organization of sport. Thus football begins at an arbitrarily chosen date sometime after Easter, not when the feeling arrives that "Ah! this is football weather." There is, of course, a rough correspondence between the nature of organized games and the onset of their seasons.

It might be thought that a closer connection between the nature of a game and the nature of its season would be observable in the case of minor games. This is only partly so. In New Zealand minor games have had to adapt themselves

1. Mitchell E.D. and Mason B.S., The Theory of Play, New York, 1947.

to the conventions of organized sport. They have ~~either~~ had to fit into the interstices of these sports or fade. At a certain date, for example, the first football practice is arranged. There is a craze for football which affects everybody for a few weeks, and the chosen teams for the rest of the fixed 'season'. It is only when this initial craze has died down that the younger children and the disappointed sportsmen are sufficiently free from the group enthusiasm to turn elsewhere to some other novelty. At this point seasonal change may have an influence on a dissentient group sated with the current organized sport. But the influence is of a general nature only. Not of the specific nature indicated by some folklorists when they say "The feeling of spring in the air which made the children spin¹ the lambs dance, and flowers rise from the earth, brought the gay little wooden tops to the villages." September "Brings the gradually lengthening daylight which is put to good use in the seasonal urge to hop, leap and move the arms and legs to rhythmic games."² Allowing for the fact that these are English writers, and that in Europe the Spring sometimes³ has "seemingly miraculous" effects, from the New Zealand point of view, these statements express half truths only. It is true, as Huntington has claimed at some length, that the Spring seasonal change does increase human vitality.⁴ That

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1. Uttley A., Country Things, p.96.
 2. Daiken L., Childrens Games, Throughout the Year, p.22.
 3. Spence L., Myth, Ritual in Dance Game & Rhyme, London, 1947, p.28.
 4. Huntington E., Seasonal Fluctuations in Physiological Vigour, Mainsprings of Civilization, New York, 1945, p.315.

in itself, however, is no indication of just what type of reaction human beings will take when this seasonal change arrives. In this country, at least, there is no narrow determinism. To link the somewhat anthropomorphic "feeling of spring" and the "seasonal urge" together with the specific games, of Tops, hopping leaping, jumping and rhythm as Uttley and Daiken do, is hardly justifiable. A cool change at Island Bay, as we have seen, increases the children's reaction, but only in that respect does it have any determining effect. The specific forms the increased reaction takes depend entirely on the age, the existing preoccupations of the children, and other psychological factors to be traced in Part II. Spring may result in tops and jumping etc., but there are too many other factors involved to ever state definitely that it will result in these activities. The example of the Spring change has been used because that is reckoned to be the most salient example of seasonal change. These remarks could, however, apply as well to any other type of seasonal change.

In New Zealand, then, there is only a general, and never decisive, correspondence between season and game. This, apparently, is also the position in parts of the U.S.A. Lehmann and Witty after an exhaustive investigation claimed that "The bulk of the play life of the child is not subject to marked variation effected by seasonal change."¹ In fact, with the game of marbles, which is generally reckoned to be

1. Lehmann H.C., and Witty P.A., The Psychology of Play Activities, p.201.

a 'seasonal' game, Lehmann and Witty found that the game was played at all times in the year. "Marbles was being played with considerable frequency in at least one of the neighbourhoods studied during each of the three seasons of the year, but at no one time was 'marbles' being played generally in every neighbourhood studied." From this they concluded that "Playing marbles appears to be not so much a product of seasonal change as of the whims of the community."¹ In other words the basis of the 'seasonal' change in marbles is psychological rather than 'seasonal', in the climatic sense.

Notwithstanding this fact, however, it would be wrong if the impression was conveyed that the changing climatic seasons had no influence whatsoever on game "seasons". They do make a contribution. They do have a general, if not a rigidly determining influence. Consider for example the following chart. Forty Wellington Training College Students were asked to indicate in what seasons - Autumn, Winter, Spring and Summer, they had played: Marbles, Tops, Kites, Skipping and Hopscotch, Hoops and Tyres. In every case the activities were spread throughout the year although there were certain modes for each activity.² The numbers in parenthesis refer to

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1. Lehmann H.C. and Witty P.A., The Psychology of Play Activities, p.201
 2. In the following accounts the references to overseas seasons come from the following sources: Unites States of America: Lehmann H.C. and Witty P.A., Psychology of Play Activities; Scotland: David Murison, Editor of Scottish National Dictionary by correspondence; England: Spence, Myth & Ritual in Dance Game & Rhyme, Gomme, Traditional Games (London), Douglas, London Street Games, (London), Uttley, Country Things (Countryside); Ireland: Daiken L., Childrens Games Throughout the Year.

the numbers ^{who} stated~~ed~~ that they played the game in that season.

Marbles: Autumn (18) Winter (5) Summer (3) Summer and Autumn (2) Summer/Spring (1)

Tops: Winter (10) Spring (4) Summer (4) Winter/Spring (2) Spring/Autumn (1) All year (1)

Kites: Spring (7) Autumn (5) Summer (4) Winter (2) Winter/Spring (1) Autumn/Winter (1) Spring/Summer (1) All year (1)

Skipping: Winter (15) Autumn (4) Autumn/Winter (3) All year (2) Spring (1) Winter/Spring (1) Winter/Spring/Summer (1)

Hop Scotch: Winter (7) All year (4) Summer (3) Spring/Autumn (2) Autumn/Winter (2) Summer/Spring (1) Winter/Spring (1) Winter/Summer (1) Spring (1)

Hoops: Winter (3) Summer (2)

Tyres: Summer (6) Winter (2)

Details on the seasonal play of each of the games mentioned in the above list are as follows: First, marbles: The majority of New Zealand reports stated that Autumn and Winter were the marble seasons. I have received 17 reports of marble seasons in the first term (8 connected with May 1st); 16 reports of marble seasons in the winter term: 9 reports of marble seasons in the third term. ¹ Overseas writers vary. ~~Daiken and Spence place marbles in autumn; Douglas in winter;~~ ^{as} Comme at the end of the winter; Murison and Lehmann in spring.

The Woolworth's toy-buyer of Wellington corroborated the autumn-winter emphasis. The peak sales for marbles, he said, were between the football and cricket seasons. The McKenzie's toy buyer reported that the peak sales for marbles were in winter. These statements, however, applied to those pre-war

1. These reports refer to all historical periods.

years when marbles were freely available. At present marbles which are always in short supply tend to sell when (and if) they come into the shops. The shortage plays havoc with the "normal" seasons. The fact that most New Zealand play has gone on in the Autumn and Winter is nevertheless commemorated by a rhyme which has been widely used, namely:

"The First of May
Is Smugglers' Day"

The rhyme is said

to have been used in: Carterton 95, Petone 05, Wellington 00, Dannevirke 34, Shirley 35, and is known today at Waddington and Mangatainaka today. (It is difficult to know whether or not any importance should be attributed to the fact that most of the reports of this rhyme centre in the Wellington Province.) This rhyme is not known by Folklorists in England, Scotland or the United States, although the term and habit of "smuggling" (that is, thieving marbles) are well known.¹ Several other New Zealand references with dates are: 'May 24th is Smuggler's Day' which was the expression Carterton 90. (This was the Queen's birthday and it is possible that the informant had the dates confused) and "1st of September

Marbles are out

Flicks are in

And Smuggles about" Hutt 31. and

1. Gommer op. cit., Vol. 2., p.302.

"String tops and whip tops are winter sport - marbles summer sport. In our days the old slogan was :

'First of May, smuggling day,

Tops are in, marbles are out.'

And if marbles appeared on May 1 we used to be quick to relieve
¹
 the owners of them."

Elsewhere, rhymes without a date were the rule, and this
²
 was also the recorded practice overseas. Thus the rhyme
 "Marbles are out, Smuggles about." (or smugglers are about) was
 used at Papanui 03, Etherick 34, Gisborne 85, Waikouaiti 95,
 Woolsten 06, East Gore 30. Variations on this rhyme were
 "Marbles are out, Smuggin is about" Dunedin 75, "Marbles are
 out, smugglers are out, dubs when the bell goes," X¹Mt. Cook,
 Wellington 00), "Marbles are out, Kick em about," Southland
 30.

There is little more consistency in overseas reports on
 the marble seasons than there is on the New Zealand ones although
 on the whole the overseas emphases seem to be on the winter and
 spring. Overseas marbles flourished through the winter and
 terminated at the end of spring, that is, round about May, whereas,
 on the whole, New Zealand marbles began about May and went on
 through the winter. In other words the two halves of the
 world have had in common their marbles in winter. They have
 had in common also the fact that the month of May was the
 limit of the season. In England it was the end-limit of the

1. Quoted Evening Post, 8/7/49.

2. An Australian informant refers to the expression "Smugs
 after Second Bell" (1920/25).

season; in New Zealand the beginning. In England, Marbles traditionally terminated on May 1st or thereabouts and then tops came in. The one New Zealand reproduction of this situation is to be found in the rhyme above where marbles finish on September 1st and flicks (cigarette cards) came in. But the customary New Zealand practice was to smuggle marbles on May 1st (if that was smugglers' day), and then, instead of going on to tops, to resume normal marble playing again the next day, for, after all, the season had only just begun.¹ It looks as if New Zealanders brought from England the habit of playing marbles in the winter and also the association of the season with May. In England May finished the season. In New Zealand May started it off.

The question arises, why should marbles be played mainly in the winter? It is clear from my reports and overseas reports that it can be (and often is) played at any time in the year. In favour of the winter, one could point to the pliability of the soil and its susceptibility to marble markings and holes. But this could be countered in turn by references to the dampness of the ground and the inappropriateness of such an inactive pastime to a wintry climate. The favourableness of summer and autumn warmth for the game could be offset by reference to the hardness of the ground. Again whatever might be said in favour of Spring could be countered by reference to chilblains. In fact, as long as marbles were

1. This viewpoint is also held by a writer "Katiti" in Nostalgia, No.1, Marbles, The Otago Daily Times, 13/4/49.

freely available there does not seem to have been any good climatic reason why marbles should have been played in any one season rather than another. Almost the only valid generalization that can be made is that marbles were not very frequently played in the summer and that marbles were associated with climatic coolness rather than with heat. Possibly it was preferable to play the game when the temperature was cool and the ground pliable rather than to play the game when the ground was hard, out in the midday sun.

There is, however, an additional factor which may have contributed its bias towards the winter season, that is the fact that although marbles of some sort have been known for thousands of years they have not been manufactured until the last few hundred years.¹ And, where they were not manufactured² the game was often played with Nuts, berries and round stones.³ In fact Daiken suggests that the game originated in this way. If this was the case then at one time the origin of each new craze would have had to wait upon the season of 'autumnal fruitfulness'. When the autumn nuts and berries were to hand, the game could commence and the season continue on from late autumn into the winter.

The termination of this winter season with May Day

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1. They are reported to have been first manufactured on a large scale in the 'eighteenth century by the Toy-makers, Guild of Nuremberg. (Private Correspondence) from "The Akro Agate Coy", Clarksburg, U.S.A.
 2. Strutt J., The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, p.304.
 3. Daiken, op. cit., p.167.

(Spring) 'smuggling' may well have been associated with rapacious May Day customs.¹ What would it matter if one's 'taws' - one's nuts and berries - were stolen, and probably eaten by others? Next season the trees would be laden with new ones.² The habit of playing marbles in the winter may have come down from those early times, preserved by nothing but the fact that groups, having a group tradition of when and where to play, tended to play each year in the same fashion as they had in the last. Such a tradition, however, would be a light bond. A bond easily interfered with by the commerce of marbles, the migration of people's and the dominance of organized sports. The present varied distribution of marble playing may be a reflection of all these, and many other factors, operating on the basis of this archetypical 'season'.

Second, Tops: Authorities on overseas tops, almost universally place top-playing in the spring and associate it with ancient spring rituals.³ There can be little doubt,

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1. Spence L., op. cit., p.31.
 2. I came across children at Hampden playing marbles with green gooseberries.
 3. Haddon A.C., The Study of Man, London, 1898, p.255; Gomme, op. cit., p.302; Uttley A., op. cit., p.96; Daiken L., op. cit., p.50; Murison, op. cit. There is an important exception. In an article Whip-Tops and Battledores and Shuttlecocks, Folklore, Vol.LVI, June, 1945, p.270. I.Gatty points out that Shrove Tuesday in winter was the traditional whip-top day. "Actually it was just about the worst possible time of the year..when roads are soft and muddy, it is not easy to discover a suitable spot." for a top. It seems highly probable, therefore, that where-as whip-top was a winter custom, peg-top was a spring event. The humming top of the manufactured kind, on the other hand, was more likely to have been a Christmas Toy.

however, that in New Zealand it was played more often as a winter game. In most cases its onset followed the flagging of interest in football just as the onset of marbles customarily followed the flagging of interest in cricket. One toy buyer stated that the commercial peak was in the early winter. I have three reports of the top season being in the first term;¹ 17 in the second term; 5 in the third term. Two reports specified that it was Whip Tops that was played in the winter and Peg Tops in the summer.

Third, Skipping: is a warming activity and takes its place fairly decisively in the cooler months of winter. Wet weather acts prohibitively on it. Wet ropes are likely to have a punishing effect on the imperfect player. At St. Clair on the seaside, skipping was at its peak in March -- the cool seaside breeze providing the stimulus that winter or spring coolness provided elsewhere. Odd children, particularly the younger ones, play the game throughout the year. (North East Valley, Island Bay). There is apparently no school seasonal bar today against such sporadic practice even though the school as a whole may have only one season. S.3 girls at Takaka expressed the seasonal influence as well as any: "We like to play it at the beginning of the winter when the frost is nipping our toes." The commercial peak is in winter. Overseas² authorities again place its occurrence in Spring. O'report

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1. "Report" here refers to reports from all the varied sources outlined in the introduction to this thesis.
 2. Daiken L., op. cit., p.58; Bett H., op. cit., p.55; Douglas - late spring; But Murison says late Summer/Autumn.

placed the season in the First term; 10 in the second term; 1 in the third term.

Fourth, Hop-Scotch: This has also a tendency to flourish in the winter but this is a modal tendency far less marked than with the other games. Hop-Scotch with its waiting players is also a game which has its leisurely aspects. Children report playing it at home irrespective of the fact that it is not 'in' at school. Hop-Scotch is also generally placed in the Spring by overseas writers.¹ There is 1 report of the game in the first term; 5 in the second term; and 4 in the third term.

Fifthly, Kites: At first sight Kites would appear to provide the clearest example of a seasonal influence. Most reports stated that Kites were played in March and September and many informants claimed that play with Kites at these times was connected with the equinoctial winds of March and September. y However, Kimble and Bush claim that "nowhere will you find much support for the popular idea that strong winds and gales are particularly common round about the spring equinox...Or the autumnal one for that matter."² It is probable, then, that the flying of Kites at these times has been due as much to the existence of school holidays in May and September as ~~to~~ ~~is~~ any particular windiness at those times of the year. This was brought out clearly in the Training College lists. Many students mentioned making their Kites in the May

1. Daiken, op. cit., p.58, and Marison.

2. Kimble G and Bush R., The Weather, Middlesex, 1943, p.93.

and August holidays and also in the Summer holidays. An investigation into the sale of Kites was carried out in 1946 by the toy buyer of Woolworths, Wellington. He wrote to Woolworths' Toy buyers throughout New Zealand asking them when they sold their greatest number of Kites. Their replies show^{ed} very clearly the seasonal appearance of the games.

Peak Kite Sales:

Wellington	April	September
Palmerston North	" (only one)	
Hamilton	March	Spring
Wanganui	"	
Hastings	"	
Timaru	May	
Gisborne	March	
New Plymouth	"	
Greymouth	-----	Spring
Whangarei	March/April	Sept/Oct.
Hawera	" "	
Dunedin	Autumn	
Auckland	March	September
Christchurch		Spring

Christchurch is reputed to be the biggest Kite-flying town in New Zealand. Tournaments were a regular feature there before the War.

Occasionally other games have been reported in connection with certain seasons; For example: In Summer - Cat's Cradles (Newtown 90, Dunedin 09); Gang activities on late nights (Wellington 30); Trolleys on summer nights (Wellington 30); Knucklebones (Newtown 90, Dunedin 09); Swimming, fishing for crayfish and eels (Lawrence 80); Sledges (Nth. Auckland 40, Wellington 35, Eketahuna 39); Acrobats and Handstands (St. Clair). In Autumn: Conkers (Rangiora 10, Christchurch 00). Winter: Hoops (Richmond 70); Snowballing, Snowmen, Skating (Lawrence 80); Spring: Bows and Arrows, Soldiers (Island Bay); Mud slingers with new willow shoots (Waione); Egg Cap (Alexandra).

Special and Traditional occasions: Sometimes the novelty a group will assume is conventionally fixed at a certain date. In these cases the suggestive influences may operate for a long time before the actual event arrives. (As for example with Guy Fawkes) This group is divided into two classes: firstly, events associated with tradition and secondly, certain 'special' occasions.

Firstly: If this were an account of English games, this section would be of greater importance than it is. The preservation of traditional occasions has, however, not been fostered by a migration to the other end of the globe. Nor by the fact that migration occurred in a century when most of the old traditional festivals were fast fading. Guy Fawkes and April Fool's Day are practically the only traditional occasions which have been of any importance in the unorganized play-life of New Zealand children although the Queen's Birthday once played a small part.

Guy Fawkes and April Fool's day have been perpetuated by children it seems because they continue to carry features which appeal to children today. The psychological interests which support these festivals, however, remain with children at all times, not just on these occasions. Bonfires and fireworks are ~~made~~ to children at any time, not just on Guy Fawkes day. Again, children tease and torment teachers (and children) at all times, not just on April Fool's Day. (See further Chapter 20). These interests and activities

are persistent. In fact, from one point of view, the traditional occasion, may be regarded as little but an excuse for an orgiastic outlet to a perennial appetite.

With reference first to Guy Fawkes Day,¹ Combs provides us with the atmosphere. "They were about all day on the 5th of November, and resumed their studies on the sixth with a high water mark of burnt cork, and in the case of their leader, all the hair burnt off one side of his head. A doublebanger went off in the corridor on the same day, and though morally certain who perpetrated the offence, I have² not been able to sheet it home to the culprit."

In the early days, Guy Fawkes meant only a bonfire,³ and that was the case with most English villages at that time. Throughout most of the nineteenth century not many children had much experience of fireworks: "There was little for us to do but gather round a bonfire," (Wakefield 70). There were few fireworks "but there was fuel available and for weeks beforehand the boys collected material suitable for a royal bonfire on the night of November 5th. Sometimes if the policemen had not been consulted, or if the pile was placed where it was likely to cause damage to adjoining property, the boys found their timber and branches scattered in all directions by the ruthless hand of the law."⁴ (Wellington 40's) In the larger towns by

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1. For the traditional origins of the Festival see Whistler Laurence, The English Festivals, London, 1947, p.205, and Betts op. cit., p.59.
 2. Combs F.L., The Harrowed Toad, p.27.
 3. Flora Thompson, Lark Rise, (Guild Books) p.211.
 4. Macmorran G. Some Schools and Schoolmasters of Early Wellington, p.8.

the end of the century Chinese Crackers are reported (Timaru 80) And by 1900 they are said to have abounded in Dunedin. In the South the 'fireworks' were held on New Year's night, the evening after the Caldedonian Sports, rather than on November 5th. One female informant - not a typical informant - describes the event in Dunedin as follows: "Guy Fawkes Day we celebrated with papier mache masks. I can remember the hot painty smell of them yet when you had worn them for awhile. We did not as a rule make a guy, though I seem to have a faint recollection of doing so once -- and we would certainly not have been allowed to drag one round and ask for pennies. We would let off a few crackers, but fireworks were generally associated with New Year's Eve. We always spent the Christmas and New Year fortnight at the seaside or in the country and my father usually took an assortment of simple fireworks with him for New Years Eve." (Dunedin 90).

According to Johannes Anderson the children's rhymes¹ of the 80's were more extensive than those of today. This seems to have been generally true although there are exceptions as we shall see. One old rhyme not generally used but reported from Dunedin (75) - a rhyme which was used in Scotland -- was used here on New Year's Eve. It went:

"Git up good wives and shake your feathers
 Dinna think that we are beggars
 Only bairnies come to play
 Git up an gi us our hog money."

1. Anderson Johannes C., Old Christchurch in Picture and Story, p.382.

The longest example of a Guy Fawkes rhyme that I have comes from Christchurch 1920. The informant claims that as children they would never get their money unless able to chant masterfully this particular rhyme from beginning to end. Often they would be lined up beside their 'Guys' and the money given to the child able to say his rhyme the best. And that generally meant the loudest. He remembers also the pennies that were thrown down to the crowded children from the Express Building in Christchurch. This practice and the following is reported also from other centres. Certain adults delighted in heating these pennies on a shovel held over the fire. These were thrown out amongst the other pennies, much to the consternation of the children, striving to catch or pick them up. Generally the children would pick them up irrespective of the burn or alternatively kick them into the gutter to cool in the water. Naturally many carried the scars (burns) of Guy Fawkes for many weeks after. Another trick was to wrap a penny up in silver paper so that it would look like a half-crown flying down. Alternatively pennies were occasionally dipped in hot lead with similar intent. One Christchurch informant had a trick, with the aid of which, he was always successful in getting many of the pennies thrown down. As the pennies fell, he would run forward jabbing at the bending children with an open safety pin. As they recoiled he would seize the coins. ^{The} A rhyme reported from Christchurch (1920) is:

"Please to remember the fifth of November

The gunpowder treason and plot

I see no reason why the gunpowder treason
Should ever be forgot.

Four and twenty barrels lain down below
Blow old England overflow.

Happy was the night, Happy was the day
See old Guy Fawkes going to his den
With a dark lantern and a candle in his hand.
Get out Get out you dirty ole man,
Holla Holla boys, make the bells ring.
Holla Holla boys God Save the King.

A pound of cheese to choke him
A bottle of beer to wash it down
A jolly good fire to roast him.
Xmas is coming, the pigs are getting fat,
Please put a penny in the old man's hat.
If you haven't got a penny a hapenny will do
If you haven't got a hapenny, God Bless you."

In most cases the rhymes used today are relics only,
although at Millerton on the West Coast I came across a rhyme
in a form more complete than usual "But the second verse isn't
important" said my girl informant, "because by the time you get
to it, everybody is outside looking at you and you feel so
embarrassed you don't want to go on." The Millerton rhyme was:
1st Verse.

- 1 "Guy Fawkes Guy, Stick him up high
- 2 Stick him on a lamppost and there let him die.
- 3 Xmas is coming, the goose is getting fat,
- 4 Please put a penny in the Old Man's hat

5 If you haven't got a penny, a halfpenny will do,

6 If you haven't got a halfpenny, God bless you.

2nd Verse.

Repeat 1 and 2 above.

7. A pound of cheese to choke him

8 A bottle of beer to wash it down

9 And a jolly good fire to roast him."

"In the past the full song was given, and by parties of half a dozen, producing an effective volume of sound; nothing like the tiny piping of the present."¹ The tiny piping is usually

little more than lines 1 and 2 above together with:

"Penny for the Guy

A halfpenny will do

If you haven't got a halfpenny,

You're a mingy Jew" (nothing will do, or God bless you) (Forbury)

In some places a little more is said. At North East Valley there were lines 1, 2, 7, 8, 9. The following comment in the "Evening Post" (5/11/49) is a fairly accurate description of what has happened today: "Guy Fawkes Day seems to be another honourable institution that is now on the decline. It seemed so this morning when a few desultory small boys roamed the streets seeking a few pennies to buy the traditional fireworks. "A penny for the guy, Mister?" was about the best that could be heard from most collectors. Gone are the good old songs and chants....Bands of juvenile pirates complete with hideous masks swarmed about the trams at Courtenay Place for awhile this

1. Anderson, op. cit., p.382.

morning like beggars in an Eastern Market. They did some brisk business too. A few scooters, carts and prams were decorated with the conventional stuffed sugar bags and old hats and coats, and these made some attempt at the time-honoured parading that precedes the real Guy Fawkes festival."

In the old days, however, it is clear that the festival was not always as 'pure' as it might have been. Gisborne (90) reports "We had few fireworks. There was not the money to buy such things. Instead we would get together in mobs and roam about causing mischief." and "Guy Fawkes day was a battle royal. Different parts of the village clashed together with flax whips and rotten eggs. Later all would combine to burn the Guy." (Collingwood 95). And today the evening also has its other sidelights "On these occasions, there were crackers down necks, in hair, and everywhere imaginable. I don't think we ever enjoyed anything more than Guy Fawkes Day. I remember the first time I went to such celebrations, though, I ran home screaming." (Hawkes Bay 45). "One of our special tricks was to tip a sky rocket over just as it was going off. Just to see the way it would make a clean sweep of a crowded street." (Wellington 35).

With respect to April Fool's Day:- As Eliot says in "The Wasteland", "April is the Cruellest Month" and the cruellest month is April for teachers who, of later years, have become the leading victims in this wasteland of yesteryear's ritual.¹ The practice of making a fool of the teacher on this

1. Whistler, op. cit., p.107.

day, is almost universal, although for the greater part moderately applied and benignly taken. There are not many reports of its application by children to teachers in early years. In the last century it was an adult hoax as much as a play activity of children. There is for example the well known Press hoax in the 80's at Dunedin. On April the first, the morning paper described a non-existent whale which had been washed up at Tomahawk beach. Crowds turned out to see the monster, and those returning elaborated on the immensity of this 'fish'.

Gisborne (95) claims that the distance between teachers and children in those days was too great for any worthwhile tricks. "The teachers' authority could be so peremptory you were never sure what might happen if you abused the license." Others fared more successfully "Another thing we remember well was sticking tails on him (the Headmaster) on April Fool's day. Hilarious laughter used to proceed from the class as he strutted round the room, with his long dust coat on and the tail sticking on to him; but he always had a trick of getting even with the class. In the middle of recitation there would suddenly be a dramatic pause and he would make a frantic rush to the window, exclaiming 'boys and girls', there is a house on fire'. After everyone had jumped up on their seats and were on the tip top of excitement, he would calmly walk back between the forms, and, ordering the class to sit down, resume work with a smile on his face."¹ (Green Island School 1874). "We were not happy till we had 'fooled' somebody before 12 o'clock or whatever the time

1. Green Island, S.J.M., p.21.

limit was. Grown ups for preference, and a teacher if possible. We were not very ingenious. "You dropped your handkerchief." was the favourite gag, or "Somebody wants to see you at the door." (Dunedin 90).

My observation of April Fool today is that it completely interrupts the normal playground play, at least for the preschool period 8.30 till 9.30. At Forbury I observed groups of children wandering around arm in arm as if fortifying each other by expressing their hostile tricks and jeers only against those outside the arm-linked group. Details: If they try to trick you after 12 o'clock you say:

"April Fool's Day is past
And you're the April Fool at last,
Four farthings make a penny
And you're a bigger fool than any."

(North East Valley) or simply

"Ya ha! You're the biggest April Fool" (Forbury). Sentiments may be expressed in terms of playground scibble: "A duck in the pond, a fish in the pool. Whoever reads this, Is a big April Fool" (North East Valley). Other tricks: "We put books on the cupboard so that they would fall on the teacher." (Wadestown, Wellington 35). "At one time, I used to dread April Fool's Day, as my mother was so good at putting things across me. When we were small our main gags on the way to school were "Look at the monkey over there in the paddock; So and so has a new duck pond, Look at it" (Hawkes Bay 45). "April Fool's day is a day on which you try to fool everyone without them knowing it, for example, pin paper on their backs,

put a drawing pin on a chair, tell a person to look in his or her letter box, and so on, everything being silly." (Devonport An. 49); "That boy has got two pairs of glasses on. You dropped your handkerchief. There's ice on the baths." (Forbury) "Eh mister, your tyres are flat. Eh, you've got your lights on." (Nelson 49).

The Queen's Birthday: The Queen's Birthday was always a holiday till the death of Victoria. Subsequently Royal Holidays appear to have been somewhat more commonplace. The fact is, of course, that in Queen Victoria's day any holiday was a community holiday and a reason for joint celebration. Today a holiday is everyone's private concern and there is consequently no peculiarly group 'lore' arising out of it. The Queen's birthday was an occasion for verse

"Hip hip hooray !

For the Queen's Birthday

If you don't give us a holiday

We'll all run away." (Dunedin 90 and 70)

or: "Hip hip hooray, for the Queen's birthday, on the 24th of May" (Charleston 90) "The list of events held on a holiday like the Queen's birthday in the 90's included football, rifle¹ shooting, and picnics at the favourite resorts."

Secondly, the special occasions which affect the "timeliness" of certain plays are the day of the Inspector's visit

1. Mayhew W.R., Tuapeka, The Land and Its People, p.24.

and the Last Day in the year. Both these occasions have qualities inherent in their nature which suggest and direct the nature of children's play. Group tension off the Inspector's day has certain interesting manifestations. On the Last day of the term the impending release from school routine and restriction is on many occasions too much for the anticipants and they 'beat the gun' in a wave of mildly cathartic and vindictive play.

The Inspector's Day: it is clear from all accounts that this day was almost universally a day of great strain both for teaching staffs and children.¹ "It was a day of extra tension and general anxiety. The school was polished and our slates washed. There were flowers in the fireplace and the teacher had his best suit on. Intuitively we felt it was an important day. The atmosphere was ceremonial. Fortunately these 'Educational Mussolinis' had a knack of expatiating on various subjects and a good deal of the inspection went by the board." (Gisborne 90). "It was a nightmare. All maps were turned to the wall, nobody was allowed home for a hot dinner; it was as if our last day had come." (Moerake 00). "A whole year's work led up to it; next year's work depended upon it. When the end of the year drew near, all the work was laid out and carried through with the Inspector's visit in view. We knew all the signs and portents, and when the day at last came, we sat in a sort of solemn hush until the door of the classroom opened to admit

1. See for example Campbell A.E., Educating New Zealand, p.85.

the arbiter of our fate."¹ As a counterbalance there are some women who record that they enjoyed putting on their best frocks for the occasion. (Palmerston 05).

The children's groups reacted to this situation of strain in three ways. Either they were numbed into inaction; relieved their pent-up feelings with a display of fisticuffs; or made use of their unusual liberty to play in an unaccustomed manner.

In the first case the atmosphere of the schoolroom spread over into the playground. Thus: "We were too scared to do much on Inspector's day." (Dunedin 75). "The children were more inclined to hang around the school on this day." (Nelson 95); "We were all too aware of the special occasion to play -- everyone was very quiet." (Newtown Wn. 32); "Too scared to play, we sat in the shed" (Clyde Quay, Wn. 34).

In some places aggressive play resulted. It will be shown in ^{Chapter 20} ~~Section 1~~ that fear often expresses itself in terms of an aggressive response. "Some years ago for some unexplained reason, many of the fights took place on examination day, when the inspector was making his annual visit."² (Carterton) "It was a time honoured custom upon the occasion of a visit from the Inspector, always to hold a fight between two boys. And it would be a fight to the finish too, with red noses and black eyes. Perhaps to pay off old scores or to show one's superiority at fisticuffs. The Inspector usually 'took' one class at a time,

1. Invercargill, S.J.M., p.66.

2. Carterton District High, S.J.M., p.19.

and the remaining classes used to wait in suspense like a panel of jurymen until they were wanted. And of course the suspense was relieved by witnessing, or participating in a fight." (Waitara 99).

The interruption of the normal routine on this occasion allowed other unusual play developments. The most characteristic of these seems to have been that girls and boys played together although this was not the normal habit. "The only times the girls and boys played together were on certain special occasions such as the Inspector's visit and the Last day in the year (the break-up day). On these occasions we wore our best clothes. The game we played was 2's and 3's and we played this in the boys' playground. On Inspector's day we had a lot of time in the playground because the Inspector examined only one class at a time. As well as playing the round game we would take turns at reading to each other from good books, for example, the latest edition of 'Cole's' comic book for children. Another thing about the day was the fact that when the children were all together everybody would say what they thought of each other's ability. It was a frank recognition of one's merits, in singing, arithmetic and other spheres which was never vouchsafed one at any other time in the year." (Waikouaiti 00). "At this time classes were frequently pushed out into the playground and boys and girls played together even at 'Kiss in the Ring'." (Westport 95). "At exam time we played Hares and Hounds all round the hill and in Pearson's bush."¹ (Ravensbourne 70). "Just on the

1. Ravensbourne, S.J.M., p.15.

very day when quietness was wanted the children seemed to make the greatest hullabaloo. A reaction to so much hushing-up perhaps. They all played Farmer in the Dell very noisily for example." (Caversham 48). "This was the only day the teacher organized games. On Inspector's Day we played In and Out the Windows, Twos and Threes, Drop the Handkerchief." (Temuka, 10).

But examinations and Inspectors had other consequences. Children might try to fortify themselves against an unknown future by resort to superstition: "Shivery grass, will make

you pass

A rusty nail, will make

you fail."

(Moutere 00).

Not a very adequate science perhaps but probably the best a child could contrive facing the odds of the 'unknown'.

Inspectors were not unknown to suggest a game the children.

The following example could hardly have been calculated to make the children see the Inspector in a kindly light. "The

Inspector made us all sit upright on the gravel. He then made us touch our toes with a jerking forward movement to see who could move the furthest from one sitting position to the next.

It was agony on the backside, but he wouldn't let us do it on the grass." (Takaka 70). Little wonder that eager hearts

sometimes avidly accepted rumour as gospel truth: "Rumour was always a lying jade but on this occasion she brought a

windfall. April 8th, 1904. School was closed today on account of a report which was afterwards found to be untrue, that Mr. X,

the Inspector had suddenly died."¹

Next The Last Day: This was a day for "letting off steam" in one way or another, as is commemorated in rhyme,:

"Two more weeks and we shall be
Out of the Gates of Misery,
No more writing, no more French,
No more sitting on a hard board bench.
No more walking two by two
Like the monkeys in the Zoo
No more spelling, No more sums
No more teachers to wack our bums." (Wellington 35).

Examples from Wellington Training College students:

"Terrific flouting off authority," "Many fights," "Follow the leader on bikes over all the areas prohibited during the year," "Cutting up teacher's strap and general vandalism," "Cutting up strap," Caversham 1860's: "On Break up day there was a departure from the established division of the playground into 'girls' and 'boys'. This license was given because the recognized game to finish the school year was "Kiss in the Ring."²

Other influences: There are many other accidental influences which in their turn limit and suggest outlet for children's groups at play. For example: At Queen's Park, Wanganui, 1938/39, extensive repairs to the grounds interrupted

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1. Papatawa, S.J.M., from the Log Book.
 2. Caversham, S.J.M., p.15.

the major sports for two years, and led to a resurgence of minor games such as Tops and Marbles which had not flourished intensively for many years.

At North East Valley, the fortune-telling craze was interrupted by the teaching staff who discovered, presumably, to their dismay, that in some of the fortunes told, obscene futures lurked beneath the folded paper.

At Nelson, Rotten Egg was generally played on Fridays because it was only on that day (sport's day) that the school basketball was available.

Commercial: Commercial influences do not introduce anything fundamentally different into the patterns discussed above. New goods may present novelties which are taken up in crazes by crowds of children. For example: there were a series of crazes in 1948 and 1949 which centred round the arrival of new plastic toys. First there was plastic furniture, then plastic tea-sets, next plastic scissors. These plastic toys were the largest selling line of toys in these years. Each variety enjoyed a "craze" of four to five months, after which it was impossible to sell it in the same quantities any more, although there continued to be a steady, but much smaller demand from the younger children coming on.

A shortage of supplies may accentuate a demand for those supplies and when the supplies are to hand, their availability will cut across all erstwhile seasons. In June 1949, marbles, which had been in short supply for some time, arrived in

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Wellington in a special shipment. As a result, in a number of Wellington schools there was a special marble season in June and July (Brooklyn, Te Aro, Ngaio, Clyde Quay). In some of these schools there had already been a small marble season in the first term but no school-wide season. In one case, at least, this was the first season since the early years of the war. (Brooklyn).

A similar incident occurred at North East Valley. In March 1948, one or two boys introduced tops, but their introduction of tops did not develop into a craze because there were no tops available at the local shop. In 1949 the same boys again introduced tops in March. This time there were tops available in the local shops and a large 'season' resulted. "Why did you bring your top?" I asked the boy concerned. "I saw it sitting there, and I just thought I'd take it to school," he said. "Besides, cricket's not very interesting so I just brought it along, but I didn't think it would turn out like this. Last year it didn't." At the same school, the availability of marbles put the 1948 season in June-July and the 1949 season in February.

At Island Bay in the second term of 1950, several boys brought steel cap firers to school which they had brought at the local shop. These firers were attached to string, a cap was fitted into their interstices, and a report was achieved by

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1. Marbles had been barred by import restrictions. This particular shipment arrived under the heading of ball-cocks for taps.

dropping them on the ground. For a few days the few boys who had these special gadgets, gathered round them an interested throng, who pleaded for turns and wondered at the spectacle. But the activity did not develop into a real season because most of the boys could not afford the price of the toy. Later, by contrast, the caps were sold quite cheaply in long strips. They were available to almost everyone. There was a big season. The craze spread-eagled the lower primary school population over the playground and throughout the streets of the Bay. At any time groups could be seen lying around vigorously hammering with a stone at strips of explosive caps, their eyes lighting up with each successive bang!

Other details on toy "seasons" from the commercial viewpoint are as follows: Xmas and to an increasing extent, Easter, are the peak periods for toy buying of all sorts. On the other hand, articles such as bubble-pipes, balls, guns, trolley-wheels, pop-guns, whistles, party-masks and balloons are in constant demand throughout the year. In the winter, major sports material, skipping ropes and indoor games have their peak sales (table-tennis, Ludo, Snakes and Ladders, Housey, Card and Board games). In Summer, October to February, beach apparatus leads the sales, that is, balls, yachts, spades, buckets. Cricket gear sells in the third term at the beginning of Summer but not thereafter. Guy Fawkes material sells everywhere in October and November and in Otago and Southland also at New Year. It is the practice in the

commercial chain stores to send all their surplus fireworks South after November the Fifth for the Scottish festival.

When these and other toys are regularly available then the seasons are determined by other factors than commercial availability. In the days when marbles were freely available, for example, the seasons had their fixed dates which had little to do with the supplies in the local store; except that wise storekeepers, knowing the season, bought out and displayed their marbles when the season was in the offing.

Supply and demand, therefore, only determine the seasons when there are shortages which are succeeded in turn by ample supplies.

In conclusion, it is clear, that the factors that have been discussed weather, temperature, sports' seasons, supply of play-objects, traditional and special occasions, all enter into the substance of games, but that they affect the 'timelines' of these games only through their effect upon the psychology of the group. They do not in themselves have the exclusively and 'mysteriously' determining effects that some have been wont to attribute to them. All the seasonal and 'mysterious' changes can be shown to be the result of the interaction of these factors with the basically variable and conservative nature of human groups. Any stability that manifests itself in the patterns of change within any school from year to year (there is no great correlation between different schools in different provinces) is due chiefly to the fact that a school group tends

to create and perpetuate a group tradition of "The Time to Play" just as it creates and perpetuates a group tradition of a place to play. Groups tend to act in a second year in the same way as they have acted in the first. An ordered sequence of events apparently gives the group something of the same stability that it is given by a constant location. This creation and conservation of an established 'order', then, is the main basis for the tradition^{al} seasons within schools. It is these group rituals, I believe, that have led so many people to think that children's play seasons come at quite fixed times everywhere as if laid down by some irrevocable natural law. Lack of comparative experience has made the 'reminiscer' fail to realize that the tradition of one school is relative to that school group and not necessarily any indication of the tradition anywhere else.

But there has been an historical change even in the matter of the rigidity of the traditional seasons within any one school. The much greater rate and unpredictability of seasonal change today means that seasonal change is no longer so adequate an expression of the play group's conservatism, although it still continues to be an expression of its hunger for novelty. This historical change had come about as follows.

These traditional school seasons could remain constant only so long as the play-group was always the arbiter of its own play destiny, as was the case when its play-objects were chiefly of its own manufacture, and its play-pitches of its own contrivance. Today, children's play-groups are subject

to the recurrent and unpredictable stimulation of novel play-objects entering the toy market. Because adults have taken a commercial interest in the children's play world, they have subjected that world to laws other than those narrowly conservative group laws which previously dominated it. In addition, the old seasons have been further upset by the fickleness of supply and demand in the war economy of the Modern world. Again the new sports' seasons have not only ridden rough-shod across the old traditional boundaries they have deprived those boundaries of their erstwhile and paramount importance. The boundaries of the minor seasons which continue to exist are consequently treated with greater carelessness by the participants. Deviators are regarded more tolerantly. Not necessarily because there is more tolerance in modern life, but simply because these minor seasons are now matters of trifling concern. The shift in attitude has not necessarily been one from intolerance, but has been a shift rather in the direction of intolerance. It would be rash to conclude for example, that the tolerance which exists towards deviators from the minor codes, also exists towards those who do not play the major sports.

In summary, yesterday, there was a play-world of many and varied seasons whose laws were constituted and often harshly maintained by the children themselves. Today the two major seasons are maintained, not just by the children concerned, but by the whole society in which they live. The attitude to those who deviate from the major seasons of today is perhaps ---- and of this I am uncertain ---- not as harsh as it was to those

who deviated from the minor seasons of yesterday, but the pervasive force of the major seasons of today is much greater. It is much more difficult to escape their totalitarian influence.

Yesterday the seasonal variations were initiated by children and ran their course more or less directly in accordance with laws of the children's nature. They arose spontaneously from the unorganized resources of children. Now the children's pattern of seasonal variation is responsive to many other influences which arise from outside the children's group. Seasonal variation, the play groups' hunger for novelty, has become another subject-matter for adult organization.

CONCLUSION TO PART I.

It is clear from the above treatment of children's play-pitches and play seasons, that any further understanding of children's games must be reached through a more detailed analysis of the psychology of the group of players.

INTRODUCTION TO PART TWO.

It was the conclusion of Part One that the nature of unorganized games depends, basically, upon the nature of the group of players playing those games. Part Two sets out to consider the nature of the groups of players. The method of doing this, however, is indirect. The groups of players are not themselves directly examined. Rather, their games are examined in order to see what these games indicate about the nature of the groups of players. When the unorganized games are arranged in their chronological order, for example, it is possible to trace patterns of development within the forms of these games.¹ In this part, these patterns of development within the forms of the games are analysed in order to see what they reflect of the common patterns of psychological and physical growth of the groups of players.² It is hoped by this method to show what the significance of these games is for the players' growth. And then, on this basis, to show, ultimately, the significance of the historical fate of unorganized games which has been traced in Section One.

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1. The term Development meaning in this context, successively more elaborate and complex forms.
 2. The meaning of the word reflect will not become fully clear until Section Three is reached. Its meaning is approached, rather than defined in this section.

A study of this nature clearly assumes that there is a positive correlation between the developments which take place in a series of games and the development of the mental and physical abilities of a constant group of players, playing that series of games.

There are several grounds for accepting this assumption. First, there is a purely logical ground for accepting it. To speak of a game form by itself is to speak in terms of an abstraction. The activities which are that game are conterminous with the psychological and physical activities of the players playing that game.¹ The two are separable in analysis but are not separate in the actual activity called a game; the games are nothing apart from the activities of the players who play them. To say, therefore, that there are developments in the games, is the same as to say there are developments in the players of those games.

This logical demonstration of an identification of the developments in the games and the developments in the players, however, does not imply that these 'player-game' developments need have any application beyond the game itself. It does not imply that there need be any transfer of training. Nevertheless, it has been generally held that this transfer does occur. Generations of play-theorists have held that view. The salient example, is, of course, Karl Groos who held the theory that play is a preparation for life.² The same

1. The causal nature of this relationship is discussed in Section Three.

2. Groos K., Play of Man, London, 1901.

assumption underlies much recent work in play-therapy. Thus it is said that developments in play help the player to "Make up for defeats, sufferings, and frustrations," .. "master¹ anxiety," "Harmlessly express aggression," "gain experience," "make social contacts," "integrate the personality,"² "bridge conscious and emotional experience,"³ "express dissatisfaction fear and hopes,"⁴ "deny reality."⁵

It is this assumption also which is one of the bases of the "play-way" in education. As Nunn says "school teaching would be immensely more efficient if teachers could learn to exploit⁶ the intellectual energy released so abundantly in play."

In summary, there are logical grounds for assuming throughout the rest of this thesis that developments which take place in games are identical with developments in the lives of the players of those games. There is as well, strong pragmatic grounds for accepting this assumption when it is known that it underlies the broader assumption made by many play theorists, that developments in games have, as well, a general application to the players lives beyond those games.

The approach to this section, however, relies on one further assumption which must be carefully stated. If the developments in the game forms are known, it is assumed in this

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1. Erikson E.H., Studies in the Interpretation of Play, Genetic Psych. Monograph, Nov. 1940, Vol.22, No.4, p.561.
 2. Winnicott D.W., Why Children Play, New Era, Jan. 1942, p.12.
 3. Lowenfield M., Play in Childhood, p.324.
 4. Gonn Jacob H., The Child Reveals Himself Through Play, Mental Hygiene, Vol.23, 1939, p.49.
 5. Freud A., The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defence, London, 1948, p.89.
 6. Nunn Sir P., Education, Its Data and First Principles, p.96.

thesis, that by analysing the nature of the developments in these game forms it is possible to state the nature of the developments which occur in the lives of the players. This must follow logically insofar as game developments and player developments are identical. Theoretically, at least, it should be possible to analyse games and then state the nature of the human activities which are involved in, and develop through, those games..In actual fact, of course, our ability to make announcements on the nature of these human activities and developments depends on the adequacy and¹ limitations of the methods of analysis used. Pragmatic sanction for the view, that it is possible to analyse games and then make statements about the players of those games, derives from several sources. It derives from similar analyses carried out in connection with play-therapy and cultural anthropology. Most analyses of this nature by play-therapists have been done on the free play of a typical children. But there have been, in addition, several experiments based on the same principles, in which the games of normal children have been analysed as a supplementary² anthropological device. In this thesis it is the latter method which has been adopted, rather than the former. The

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1. Recourse is had throughout this thesis to a variety of methods of analysing children's play. The greatest use has been made of the writings of psycho-analysts and cultural anthropologists. For the names of these, see footnotes to the succeeding chapters.
 2. Roheim G., *Children's Games of Duau*, American Anthropologist, No.1, Vol.45, 1945; Henry J and E., *Doll Play of Pilaga Indian Children*, in Murray H.A. and Kluckhohn C., Eds., Personality in Nature, Society and Culture, New York, 1948, p.232; Mead M., Male and Female, London, 1949, pp.65, 95.

concern here, is with the formal games of normal children rather than with the free play of abnormal children. But it should be stated at this point, that only a little of this type of game-analysis has been carried out previously, and further this has all been done with primitive groups. Consequently, this present extension of the same type of analysis to the games of the children of a complex culture is the first of its kind and its conclusions, therefore, must be regarded as of a tentative nature only.

Further support for this analytical usage of games comes from the successful use of parallel methods with folklore data.¹ Unorganized children's games are from one point of view, folk-games, most of which have had their historical origins in traditional folk/ceremonies. It is reasonable to believe that these spontaneous games express the minds of the child folk as adequately as does other folk material.

If, then, the assumption outlined above is soundly based, the present analysis will be of the following nature. In the first place, as has been stated with some repetition, games are group phenomena. They are group play activities "ruled by a definite formula or routine". An analysis of the

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1. Benedict R., Folklore, Encyclopedia of Social Science, New York, 1930, Vol. 5, p.291; Campbell J., Folklorist Commentary, in Scharl J., Ed. Grimm's Fairy Tales, London, 1948, p.833; It is claimed that similar analyses can be made from the spontaneous 'folk' material of today such as is to be found in newspapers, comics, humour etc., Robb G.H., The Concept of National Character, p.65; Gorer G., The Americans, A Study in National Character, London, 1948, p.33.

nature and development of games therefore, provides information about the nature and development of the group of players.

Because the games are shared activities, the analysis indicates only the formulas, routines, or patterns of development which are common to the players. An analysis of this sort does not give a complete picture of what each individual puts into the games. All the unique aspects of individual behaviour -- expressed, for example, in diverse gesticulations and facial contortions -- are lost to this type of analysis. A further limitation follows from the nature of analysis itself. That is, all the patterns of development which are traced throughout this section are theoretical constructions only. They are abstractions. They are tools for understanding what happens when games are played, but only tools. Not themselves a description of what actually occurs in any games, only the nearest approximation to description that is possible in general terms.¹ Now the abstractions used in this thesis which are termed, "common patterns of development", have, elsewhere been deviously termed by anthropologists, "National Character", "Character Structure", "Shared Habits", "Social Character" etc.² And this Social Character has been defined

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1. Linton R., The Cultural Background of Personality, terms these theoretical descriptions "culture-constructs". p.28.
 2. See Robb D., The Concept of National Character; Beagleholes E. and P., Some Modern Maoris, New Zealand, 1946, p.116; Gorer G. and Rickman J., The People of Great Russia, London, 1949, p.1; Gorer G., Japanese Character, Science News, 1946, No. 1, p.26.

for example, by Fromm as "the essential nucleus of the character structure of most members of a group which has developed as the result of the basic experiences and mode of life common to that group."¹ These terms will not be used in this thesis, as it is doubtful if the common patterns of development revealed in this study of games reflect any but a sampling of the 'basic experiences' through which all children pass. This survey of children's growth is, after all, only from the point of view of their games. In this thesis, therefore, the descriptive term 'common patterns of development' will alone be used.

Because this is an extensive survey of children's games and not an intensive survey, the common patterns that are hypothesized will still require verification. This can only be carried out by intensive analytical work on small groups; a task which is beyond the scope of the present thesis. In the meantime, as Gorer says "These patterns can be tentatively identified and then further evidence can be sought to confirm or disprove the prevalence of the shared² motives so identified."

In conclusion, this Section neither proves that the development of games is related to the development of the players, nor that by analysing the developments in one, statements can be made about developments in the other. If these

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1. Fromm E., Fear of Freedom, London, 1942, p.239.
 2. Gorer G., The Concept of National Character, Science News, 1950, No.18, p.105.

assumptions are valid, however, and there seems good reason¹ for believing that this is the case, then this Section purports to present certain hypotheses about the nature of the common patterns of psychological and physical development which are involved in games and give those games their significance in the lives of children.

The arrangement of this Section is as follows. First it has been necessary to establish the chronological progression which occurs in the games. The arrangement of this progression has been based on several types of evidence. It has been based on the children's lists of games, observations of the children at play, interviews with the children and the reports² of teachers.

At the beginning of the investigation lists of games were taken from all the primary classes in five Dunedin schools. These schools included 3 decapitated schools, the intermediate school they fed, together with a non-decapitated school in a different area. Later similar complete lists were taken from two Wellington schools, one decapitated and the other not. Complete lists were also taken from 5 sole charge schools (Waione, Makuri, Aohunga, Akitio, Horoeke) 3 two teacher

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1. A view also maintained by Bell J.E., Projective Techniques, New York, 1949, p.6.
 2. By using many methods I have attempted to overcome the limitations imposed by relying too greatly on one method alone. For an outline of the various possible methods and their limitations see: Marshall H., Children's Play, Games & Amusements, Hdbk. of Child Psychology, op. cit., p.517. Isaacs S., Intellectual Growth in Young Children, London, 1930, p.2,3. Lowenfield M., Play in Childhood, p.38. Lehmann and Witty, The Psychology of Play Activities, p.27.

schools (Hampden, Stockton, Waikouaiti) 1 three teacher
(Collingwood).¹

When the children in their different classes made
these lists,² it was felt that the games which were most
important to them at each stage would be the games which they
listed the most frequently. In this way the most important
games at each age level could be established by reference
to their lists. For the purpose of establishing this
chronological progression of games, the members of each class
were taken as approximating roughly to a certain age-level.
Thus S.1 was taken as containing, on the average, children
of 7 to 8 years of age, S.6 children of 12 to 13 years etc.
There was, however, so much overlapping between the games of
the different classes that in order not to give the investig-
ation an air of greater precision than actually existed, it was
decided, for the greater part, to speak not in terms of
classes but only in terms of three divisions of primary school
life. Namely, the early primary years (S.1/2), the mid-
primary years (S.3/4) and the upper primary years (S.5/6).
The written class lists were too easily affected by innumerable
influences (climatic, commercial environmental "seasonal" and
the nature of the investigator's questions) for generalizations
from their details to be valid. These variant influences
could only be held constant by making lists recurrently at
a large number of schools. But that would have been the work
of

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1. See Appendix 1 for examples of these lists.
 2. As outlined in the Introduction "Methods of Collection".

of a team of research workers, not the work of one investigator. Lehmann and Witty, in order to establish the same progression, had children tick the games they played on pre-established lists of games.¹ This method has its advantages but it presupposes that the investigator knows the games which it was the object of this investigation to establish. A further severe disadvantage of the ticking method is the tendency which younger children have, to say that they know games with which they actually are acquainted but do not play regularly themselves. They become acquainted with the games through occasionally playing them with older children particularly at home. They do not, however, reproduce them spontaneously in their homogeneous group play. When children are asked to write games on the otherhand they tend to write only those which are immediately most important to them.

The generalizations made on the basis of these lists were checked against the other sources of information mentioned in the Introduction, but in particular against the observations I made at one school over a two year period.

Historical material could be given only an hypothetical placing in the chronological scheme. In many cases informants had a relatively clear idea of the age level at which they had played certain games. In other cases it was necessary to guess at the age level, at which the game was played, from the nature and complexity of the game itself.

1. Lehmann and Witty, The Psychology of Play Activities, p. 36.

An arrangement of games in chronological sequence, however, although it is a necessary basis from which to draw conclusions is hardly the most suitable arrangement for the explanation of the games themselves; there is too great a variety of games at each age level and too much overlapping between one age-level and the next. It has been decided, therefore, to deal with the games in their different types rather than in their chronological order of progression. A chapter has been set aside for each type of game. This procedure breaks up the picture of development, but is more economical. The different developmental stages of each type of game are dealt with within the one chapter. Notwithstanding this arrangement, however, it has been possible to arrange the various types (chapters) of games in what is roughly their chronological order. In this way the general picture of development mirrored by all the chapters moves gradually up the age range, although any one chapter may contain a view of the whole age range from one particular point of view.

The classification of the types of games and the chapters which have been based on these types, has been suggested largely by the material collected during the investigation. Little help has been afforded by the classificatory systems of other investigators. Either these systems have been based on points of view which do not coincide with that used in this thesis or they have been of a non-interpretative nature. For example, folk-lorists have

classified games in terms of their historic origins,¹
 alphabetically,² in seasons,³ or in terms of certain external
 characteristics of the games.⁴ Pedagogues have classified
 games in terms of their use in the classroom.⁵ Further
 although most help of a general interpretative nature has been
 received from play-theorists, their classificatory systems
 have referred to play or growth as a whole rather than to
 games in particular.⁶

Within each chapter there is: a description of the
 type of game being dealt with in that chapter; illustrative
 material; examples of the distribution of the game; sex
 differences; hypotheses concerning the common patterns of
 behaviour and development which are believed to be reflected
 in the games set out in the illustrative material. Occasionally
 explanatory material is included in the midst of the illustrative
 material. This only occurs, however, when this explanatory
 material, is irrelevant to the arguments adopted in the main
 explanatory section.

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1. See Gomme A.B., Traditional Games; Betts H., History and Origin of Children's Games; Spence L., Myth and Ritual in Dance Game and Rhyme.
 2. The Country Volumes of British Folklore.
 3. Daiken L., Children's Games Throughout the Year.
 4. American Folklorists have typically used this approach, for example, Newall. I have received other examples of this type of approach from Paul G. Brewster, Juvenile Folklorist, c/o Jnl. of Am. Folklore. The most extensive example of this type comes from C.H. Tillhagen and is used by him in conjunction with the Nerdiska Museum, Stockholm. (Private Correspondence).
 5. e.g. Bancroft J., Games for the Playground, Home, School and Gymnasium.
 6. As for example: Lowenfield M., Play in Childhood;
 Lee J., Play in Education;
 Isaacs S., Social Development in Young Children.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN.

DISCOVERING THE PARENT

Imitative Games.

This chapter and the succeeding one deal with informal games. All the rest of the chapters in this Section, except Chapter 20, deal with formal games.

The term 'Imitative' has been a cause of long standing argument in play theory, particularly because the term was used in a rather indiscriminating manner by early play-¹ theorists and folklorists, but also because there have been many difficulties in defining the precise nature of the activity itself. However, as the activities for which the term is generally taken to stand---houses, doctors, schools etc.----are the activities which are being dealt with here, it is better to use this term, than to invent a new one. All that it is necessary to note, at the moment, is that in their imitative play children do not just imitate anything and everything which effects their lives. Their imitation is² always of a selective nature. It depends upon a variety of

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1. See Groos K., Play of Man, p.380. See further Chapter 16.
 2. Jackson L. and Todd K.M., Child Treatment and the Therapy of Play, London, 1946, p.5.

psychological factors, and is only occasionally strictly imitative.¹ As often as not it is more in the nature of mimicry, a romantic rendering, or a satirical representation of the imitated object or process.

With reference to the material that has been collected about the imitative games of New Zealand children: it was noted in this investigation that the patterns of these imitative games tend to be much the same throughout New Zealand. This occurs because the community activities which the children imitate, weddings, houses, dentists, and burials are "all more or less stereotyped in form".² They are carried on everywhere in much the same way. Because mothers feed babies, put them to bed, and take them out visiting almost everywhere, these patterns of motherhood are likely to be reproduced in children's play wherever that play takes place.

Nevertheless, although there are certain standard procedures in the way these community activities are carried on, standard procedures which are the main basis for whatever common patterns there are in these imitative games, the games themselves are not subject to set rules. They may be patterned but the rules are not stereotyped. Individual children interpret the pattern to suit themselves and "in shifting and unstable groups of players"³ their thoughts grow

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1. Lowenfield M., Play in Childhood, p.199. See also Langer Susan K., Philosophy in a New Key, p.153.
 2. Hurlock E.B., Child Development, New York, 1942, p.253.
 3. Breckenridge M.E., Vincent E.L., Child Development, Philadelphia, 1947, p.446.

as the play develops."¹ Consequently, there is little of a general nature that can be said about these games.

However, apart from the patterns mentioned, a few other general features of these games have been observed, and some of these deserve brief comment. The features chosen are those which have some bearing on the nature of the formal games to be outlined in later chapters.

Illustrative Material page 379 to page 385.

Throughout the country, in all historical periods, there are reports of children playing 'houses' in the presence and shelter of trees, particularly pine trees. This can be accounted for in at least two ways. Firstly, there is probably something 'house-like' in the nature of pine-needle softness and the quiet shades of trees, which stimulates children to play their usual house games in those particular places. Secondly, the quietness and carpet softness of these houses makes them like the "cosy places" that children love to build with blankets and chairs under sitting room tables. In these "cosy places", Isaacs points out, children can gain a womb-like security as they nestle together.² Here she says they can reduce ambivalence, by pretending all the bad things in their lives, tigers, wolves and father are outside their little houses. Inside is warmth, quietness and goodness. If the latter explanation is correct the motives behind this

1. Lowenfield, op. cit., p.177.

2. Isaacs S., Social Development in Young Children, p.362.

house play may well be connected with the motives behind hut-building and He games discussed in later chapters. Huts are also "cosy places" in which children can escape "He-like" creatures.

In the imitative games of 'Babies' two postures appear to be universal. An infant lain across the lap of another infant sitting on a school seat is held by the children to be in a nursing or feeding position. A more universal posture for babies, and one adopted by children in the lower primary school, as well as by children in the infant school, is the squatting position. Children who waddle about with their knees bent and their hands grasped by the mother child are held by these children represent babies or young infants. Presumably this huddled position, the smallness of the squatting child, and the awkwardness of its movements, are what babyhood seem like to young children. It is worth noting that in several of the Traditional Dialogue games, namely Honeypots and Mother Mother the Pot Boils Over, children in similar huddled up postures symbolize babyhood.

On the several occasion upon which I have seen 'Schools' played by the children at school, it was played with great exaggeration on the part of all characters. The teacher was excessively strict and the children excessively naughty. The spirit of this 'School' play is present in several school rhymes. For example

"Four and Four are twenty four
Kick the Teacher out the door.
If she squeals bring her in
Hang her on a safety pin."

This rhyme was current amongst the S.3/4 children at St. Clair and Forbury. At the North East Valley school the S.3/4 children had another and similar rhyme. When the child-teacher asked "What's the Date," the pupil replied:

"Thirty days has September

All the rest I can't remember.

The calendar is hanging on the wall,

Why bother me with this at all?" The same exaggerated authoritarian and anti-authoritarian play was noted also in the play of Houses, particularly when the game was played by the primary school children of the middle years. Babies constantly and noisily demanded meals, visits, and sweets. Parents, with complementary stridency, enforced an exacting discipline. Children's descriptions of their play at Houses and Schools when at home, however, contrasted with these other observations. In the home surroundings the exaggerated element, although still present, appeared not to be so dominant. The existence of many properties at home such as dolls, pencils, paper etc. gave the games a more realistic note. Whereas it is probable that at school the exaggeration of authoritarianism and of naughtiness was abetted by the absence of play materials to deploy interest in other directions. At school the group had only its group feelings as a common denominator for these games. And one of the groups common feelings which rises to importance at this age - the middle primary years -- is a group consciousness both of the dominance of adults and of a desire to resist that dominance. This is dealt with further in Chapter 20.

The game of Dentists, generally features a pre-occupation with filling up cavities of holes in wood, trees or desk tops. This motive enters into certain play-object play also (Next Chapter). There is a tendency to refer to the game-dentist (and to the real school dentist) in an exaggerated manner. "Here's for the butcher shop", or "I'm off to the horror house" (Waddington 49) or "Here's my grave number." (Forbury). These games are reported mainly by children of the mid-primary years. Their expressions conceal no doubt an admixture of real fear and the anti-authoritarian motive just mentioned.

Examples of the types of imitative games played in a sampling of different schools are given in the following lists. These games are noted down from the children's own lists: The classes and the numbers of children making these lists are noted in each case:

- Stockton (S.2/6) 11 Boys - Cops and Robbers, Cowboys and Indians, Miners, Bank Robbers, Batman, Black Eagle, Black Arrow.
- 7 Girls - Houses, Dolls, Dressing-up, Princesses.
- Granity (S.3/6) 16 Boys - Cowboys and Indians, Rustlers, Bandits, Robin Hood, Farmers, Robbery, Bushrangers.
- 11 Girls - Dentists, Hairdressers, Schools, Dolls, Houses, Dressing-up, Cops and Crooks.
- Hokitika (S.5/6) 21 Boys - Concerts, Chariot Races, Crooks and Robbers, Cowboys and Indians, Cops and Robbers, Indians,

Tarzan in the Bush.

25 Girls - Doctors, Ladies, Dentists,
Schools, Hospitals, Dolls, Act Serials, Mothers
and Fathers.

Collingwood (S.3/6) 15 Boys - Cowboys and Indians, Bandits,
Cowboys, Sword-fighting, Ghosts, Ambush, Garages,
Rapier Fighting.

21 Girls - Dolls, Dressing-up, Houses,
Dental Nurses, Roads, Farms, Schools, Cowboys and
Indians, Police and Robbers, Tracking, Concerts.

(S.1/2) 18 Boys - Rustlers, Cowboys and Indians,
Cops and Robbers, Monkeys in the Trees, Pirates.

20 Girls - Houses, Fairies and Witches,
Dolls, Dentists, Dressing-up, Mothers and Fathers,
Nurses, Concerts, Schools, Shops, Factories.

Pongaroa (S.4/6) 21 Boys - Tracking, Circuses, Shops, Cowboys
and Indians, Horses and Jockeys, Chariot Races, Tarzan,
Buck-Jumping, Farms.

11 Girls - Shops, Schools, Shows, Houses,
Ships, Huts, Horse and Jockey.

Aohunga (S.2/6) 4 Boys - Trucks, Cowboys and Indians,
Schools, Horses.

5 Girls - Cars, Babies, Ladies, Houses,
Schools, Horses, Mothers and Fathers.

The sex differences in these lists are marked.

Further illustration of the difference between the sexes is given in the following lists. Twenty-five men and twenty-five women Students (W.T.C.) were asked to note down the following games which they had played regularly as children. The numbers refer to the numbers who claimed to have played the games regularly. The results bear out those shown above.

		25 Men		25 Women
Houses	:	14 out of 25 men		23 out of 25 women
Horses	:	13	"	10
Mothers	:	4	"	23
Trains	:	18	"	6
Farms	:	6	"	9
Nurses	:	3	"	13
Shops	:	13	"	22
Aeroplanes	:	17	"	3
Schools	:	10	"	23
Dentists	:	4	"	13
Builders	:	4	"	3
Dressing-up	:	15	"	24
Circuses	:	3	"	3
Burials	:	3	"	9

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1. In each chapter there will be lists of games of this nature. In most cases only the school name is given with the names of the games. The classes from which these games are taken can be discovered by reference to Appendix 1. These lists aim to give only an idea of the different varieties of the games of the type concerned. Sex differences and age differences are illustrated adequately in the complete school lists in Appendix 1. In some cases, however, additional lists which illustrate sex and age differences are given within each chapter.

Weddings	:	2 out of 25 men	14 out of 25 women
Motor Cars	:	17 "	5 "
Ships	:	11 "	4 "

It will be noticed that the women have a much larger number of frequencies than the men. This would have been balanced to some extent if the list had also included the 'Pack Games', Cowboys and Indians etc. which are played mainly by boys. These are dealt with in Chapter 19.

The lists from the schools and the lists from the students show that there is much overlapping in the imitative play of boys and girls. They show also that there are marked differences in their imitative play.

The rest of this chapter is mainly of an interpretative nature. The sex differences have been outlined above in order to show the manner in which, on the whole, children in their imitative games, play at the activities of the same sex parents as themselves; to show also the manner in which these games reflect the attempts of children to model themselves and to grow up like the adults of the same sex as themselves.

If this is what happens, how does it come about? Margaret Mead suggests that it occurs this way: "the child at a very early age, soon after learning to talk, begins to take as its model the parent of the same sex. The child accepts the standards of that parent, as stated to the child, as its own, until, in the absence of the parent, the child learns to act as if the parent was still there and to choose and reject courses of action as it conceived the parent would

have done."¹ These imitative games, it is maintained here, mirror in this fashion the attempts of children to identify themselves with male or female social roles.

Judging by the above school lists girls tend to make use in their play of their own experience of the activities of mothers in the home, (mothers, houses, babies, dolls) the occupations of women (shops hairdressers, nurses, dentists, schools) and the interests of the female, (dressing-up Ladies,)

On the otherhand boys tend in their play to cast² themselves in a role associated with the activities of men.

(Cowboys, Rustlers, Bandits, Miners, Farmers, Jockeys and Truck drivers). It is noticeable that the girls' games centre mainly round the home. In addition most of the activities they portray in their games are of a stationary nature. They take place in one place. But the boys games imitate activities which take place beyond the home and are activities which involve^a large amount of movement and a large amount of noise. (It will be observed in the next chapter also that the play-objects of movement and noise are mainly³ the concern of boys.) Judging by the children's play,

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1. Mead M., Social Change and Cultural Surrogates in Personality in Nature, Society and Culture, op. cit., p.513.
 2. The sexual basis for this identification is dealt with by Susan Isaacs, in the Social Development of Young Children, p.380.
 3. This distinction between the sexes is supported by the investigation of Farewell L. into, The Reactions of Kindergarten 1st and 2nd Grade Children to Constructive Play Materials; Quoted by Terman, Psychological Sex Differences in Carmichael L. Ed. Manual of Child Psychology, New York, 1946, p.959.

therefore, it is legitimate to conclude that, as seen through the children eyes, the cultural venue of the female is the home and the female's activities are mainly those of a stationary nature. The cultural venue of the male on the otherhand is beyond the home and his activities involve movement and noise. There is one further difference. The girls' games tend more often to imitate real female activities (Houses). The boys' games on the otherhand tend to imitate the make-believe, as much as the/real occupations, of males (Cowboys and Indians). This difference will be dealt with further in Chapter 19.

But it would be wrong to overstress the difference between the sexes. It is clear from the lists above that either boys or girls may play any of the games mentioned above. In fact at some time or other most do. The main activities of a culture have some influence on both sexes. We are speaking here only in terms of general tendencies. Thus we say, on the whole, by and large, girls play houses more than boys and boys play motor cars more than girls. There are some activities which seem to affect the sexes equally, however, for example circuses and concerts.

But there is a further factor which must be taken into account when considering sex differences. Most of the differences stated here apply particularly to the public school playground where, boys under the eyes of other boys are expected to act as boys should, and not as 'sissies', and girls under the eyes of other girls are expected to act as members of a girl group should, and not like little hoydens. At home where these pressures no longer apply to the same

extent, complicating factors enter. For example, many writers have pointed out that when free to choose, children¹ pick playmates of the same age, intelligence and skill. At home and in the neighbourhood environment, on the otherhand children are not so free to choose. Their playmates are not chosen by them. They are allotted to them by the family in which they are born and the environment in which they live. Consequently, what they play depends on the nature of the group of which they are thus, more or less compulsorily, a part. And just as this group helps to determine the games they play it also does something to determine their attitudes towards these games, thus modifying the general attitudes which they have acquired from their age-mates of the school ground.² For example in a case at Caversham. One Standard 11 boy told me that playing with toy motor-cars was a "big sissy game" but that playing 'houses' with his older sisters was quite all right. Another Standard 11 boy from the same class, who had no siblings, and would not in the same manner be affected by the attitude of girls, regarded it as quite all right to play with toy motor cars, but highly "sissy" to play at the effeminate pursuit of houses.

If then the thesis that has been put forward here is accepted, namely that these imitative games reflect, among other

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1. Hurlock E.B., The Exptl. Investigation of Childhood Play, Psych. Bull. Vol.31., 1954.
 2. Other examples of the modification of games by the nature of the play group have been mentioned in Part 1, Chapter 12, above.

things, the attempts of children to model themselves on the same sex parent, the pattern of their development, as it is reflected in their imitative games, is as follows.¹

Up till about S.2/3 imitative games account for a large proportion of the games played.² Nearly all the children in these lower classes indicate that they play one or more of the following games: boats, cars, dolls, schools, shops, houses, cowboys. Above S.3 fewer children mention these or other imitative games, although where they still play these games, the games often take a more imaginative turn. For example in S.5/6 at North East Valley one or two girls' lists among others the following imitative games: Social Security, Post Offices, Libraries, Offices, Missionairies, Hairdressers and Printing Presses. The lists for the brightest S.6 boys at MacCandrew included the following: Chamber of Horrors, Magic Show, Torture Chamber, Hall of Death, Frankenstein and Dracula, Inventing Factories, A Crazy Walk.

With reference now to the girls alone. In the early primary years the girl's conception of the female role is manifested chiefly in such games as Mothers, Babies and Houses. These manifestations carry on all the way to S.6 although only a few girls indicate that they play games at that age-level. The Karori S.5/6 girls who indicated that they still played

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1. This account of development is based on the children's lists, examples of which are given in an Appendix, and on the other sources mentioned in the introduction.
 2. This is corroborated by Purfey, Lee and Pyle. Quoted by Hurlock E.B. in The Exptl. Investigation of Childhood Play, op. cit.

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these games, mentioned also that they played them alone.

As early as S.2, girls are often self-conscious about recounting the baby terms they used in their infant-school play at babies "Oh No, they're silly" (North East Valley). In practice large numbers of the girls going on using these terms in their primary school playground play up till about S.3 (Island Bay). It is a common thing to see large numbers of infant children playing Mother and Babies at school. S.1/2 girls play the game sporadically: S.3/4 girls play it seldom.

The early half of the Primary school is remarkable chiefly for the extension of these female imitative games beyond home-centredness to other concerns of the female. In S.2, 3 and 4 there is a wave of 'Schools' 'Dressing-up' and a similar but not so strong interest in 'Dentists' and 'Shops'. This suggests that the girls' awareness² of the female role has developed. In the infant years the girl discharge that role simply by carrying out a replica of her mother's household jobs. She now begins to imitate the dominant activities of females everywhere. In addition, girls at this mid-primary age are preoccupied with more than an imitation of the externals of the mother's and the females' activities. They are concerned also; it seems, to imitate something of the "social", the "mothering" and "leader" nature

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1. At certain schools the children were asked to put an A. on their lists after those items which they played on their own.
 2. The word "awareness" does not necessarily mean conscious awareness. Human beings may become aware of new experiences without consciously realizing they are doing so.

of the mothers or female's role. It is a typical girlhood desire of this period to be a leader or mother in her social relationship with the other players. This outlook will be dealt with in full when 'Leader' games are discussed in Chapter 18. All that need be noted here is that this 'mothering' attitude, an attitude which gets outlet in games such as 'schools' and 'shops', and also in skill games of skipping and Leader games, is not the pre-school child's ego-centric desire to be first. It is an attitude which involves a reciprocal social relationship with other children --
¹
 a mothering relationship. At this stage the younger players are commandeered for babies, pupils or subjects. They must sacrifice leadership for the sake of participation. In the Leader games of Chapter 18, however, a type of relationship has evolved where even equals may be leaders in turn.

In the upper-age groups of the primary school, girls' imitative games are played normally at home, where the emphasis seems to be mainly on display and finery, 'dressing-up' and 'ladies' and a diversity of other things feminine. It is as though in this stage the girls have "caught on" to the fact that the object of successful womanhood in our culture is gained only by the practice of effective display.

The girl, then, passes through three successive emphases. in her imitative play. In the first she concentrates on what a female does; in the second, she concentrates as well upon a

1. Gessell A., Infant and Child in the Culture of Today, New York, 1943, p.121.

female's relationship to others; in the third upon feminine display. At any stage the other facets may be present. Infant girls 'mother' those younger than themselves. A S.2 girl can be exceedingly exhibitionistic. The "stages" apparently are matters of emphasis only.

The boy may also be said to pass through three stages in his imitative play. Up till about S.1/2 his imitative favourites picture the objective doings of the male world -- boats, trucks, cars, trains. There is a great amount of attention to movement and noise. After the early primary years the imitative games of this type figure very lightly on the boy's lists. In the primary years the games of schools and shops are mentioned by only a few boys though it is clear from talking to boys that many play them at home with their sisters and with other boys. Apparently they are not played at school because they do not fit into the playground 'ethic' of boyhood. The main impetus of imitative play in the middle primary years is manifested in Pack games. Pack games, like the girl's Leader games, begin in the infant school and reach their peak of their importance in the early and middle years of the primary school. These Pack games are well known under such names as: Cowboys and Indians, Robbers, Pirates, Guns, Bombers etc. They represent the boys' second stage of imitative play. In Pack games boys appear to be expressing a new awareness of the nature of a man's relationship to his fellows. But this matter is dealt with fully in Chapter 19.

The third imitative stage for boys is less obvious than that for girls. There are not many boys' imitative games which have the ingenious nature of those listed above from the boys of MacAndrew S.S. The characteristic imitative plays for boys of the latter half of primary school are to be found chiefly in those activities in which boys realistically imitate the activities of 'pioneer' man; that is, by hunting with gun and shanghai, by fishing and eeling.

In this latter stage the imitative plays of both boys and girls usually take place in the midst of the groups which characterize those age-levels; in the midst of Gangs and Sets. (Chapter 20).

Imitative games then --- games which take their main, if not only cue, from the external environment --- reflect a process of continuous development throughout the primary school years.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

EXPLORING THE UNIVERSE.

Games with Play-Objects.

Throughout this thesis the term play-object is used to preference to the term toy because it has a wider connotation than the latter term. Children play with many objects -- including parts of their own bodies -- which can be regarded as objects of play, but which are not, strictly speaking, toys. The term Play-objects, however, does not refer to a class of objects which are employed only in one particular type of game. The term refers rather, to a miscellaneous body of objects which are of use in many different play-ways. They are brought together under the one heading chiefly because of the difficulty of classifying them adequately in any other manner. The same object, for example, may be used in many different types of game. For example, a Bow and Arrow, today a weapon in an Indian fantasy, may tomorrow be used in a test of skill and the next day operate successfully, as an instrument, in an act of vandalism. The miscellaneous nature of this chapter, therefore, gives it an heterogeneous appearance. It has been found more convenient, for example, to place most of the explanatory

material alongside the illustrative material to which it applies, rather than in a separate section after the illustrative material. A separate explanatory section is, however, reserved for an account of the patterns of development which can be observed in children's play with play-objects.

Numerous play-objects of New Zealand children have already been mentioned in the Historical Section. The play-objects that are mentioned in this chapter are included because of their psychological rather than their historical significance.¹ In many cases there are links between these play-objects and the games of other chapters. Attention is given mainly to those play-objects which appear to be sustained by motives which play a part elsewhere in this thesis. This attention must not obscure the fact, however, that all these play-objects may be enjoyed by the children because they have an immediate practical and intellectual interest in the intrinsic properties of the play-objects. Play-objects, in fact, provide an excellent illustration of the way in which children, in their experimental play, use practically anything and everything that comes to their hands. Play-objects include a whole host of physical objects which children seek to experiment with and combine in their other games. The same experimentalism and diversity is to be seen in the children's intellectual games (Chapter 21). In a sense, the same

1. Although the material of this chapter (like that in the other chapters of this section) also adds to the material of the Historical Section. It is in this sense that it has been said that the whole of Section 11 is an account of the Playground today.

experimentalism is also to be seen also in the variety of emotional situations with which the children play (Chapter 16-19). "Where there is no such thing as scientific experimentation, playful experimentation becomes the mother of invention and discovery" says Preyer.¹ Particular stress is made on this exploratory and experimental aspect of children's play at this point because, although this aspect was never overlooked by the early play-theorists,² it has tended to be overlooked in recent years. Play-theorists have so much stressed the "emotional" significance of these play-objects that they have underwritten, what Lowenfield terms, their "functional" significance.³ They have often made play-objects little but the vehicles for unconscious fantasy.⁴ Clearly they are more than that.⁵

Illustrative Material page 396 to page 408.

Some of the play-objects reported which were of general usage are as follows:

Motile-objects are chiefly, although not entirely, the concern of boys. There are two classes of these. There is the type in which the children control the movement (Motor car toys, Hoops, Tyres, Kites), and the type in which they ride on

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1. Quoted, Groos K., The Play of Man, p.45.
 2. For example Froebel F., The Education of Man, London, 1907, p.103.
 3. Lowenfield, op. cit., p.184.
 4. Symonds F.A., The Dynamics of Human Adjustment, New York, 1946, p.503.
 5. Isaac S., Intellectual Growth in Young Children, London, 1930, p.79.

a vehicle (Bicycles, Trolleys). Of the first type, play with motor cars, aeroplanes and trucks is universal, particularly amongst boys of the infants and early primary years. It is practically impossible to go anywhere where there are groups of boys, and suitable clay banks, and not discover the road systems they have made. These constructions are impressive evidence for the view that, in these games, the boys are identifying their own behaviour with the corresponding behaviour of men. Make-believe vehicles, in fact, fill a place of importance in the life of boys which corresponds to the place that dolls have in the life of girls. But not all the play at Motor Cars etc., is play with play-objects. Much of it is imitative play in which the boys themselves personify the objects, and say, "I am a motor car" (Karori S.1). The personification of modernized vehicles has replaced some of the earlier personification of horses. On the whole, however, it is my impression, that although, when they play with play-objects, children now think mainly in terms of modern vehicles, when playing imitative games of a running nature, they still think mainly in terms of 'horse-play'. Particularly as many of their running games are 'Pack Games' (Cowboys) which derive some of their stimulus from the Films where the horse still reigns supreme.

Other modern outlets for an interest in movement --- again largely the concern of boys --- are bowling bicycle wheels and tyres. These have helped to replace the hoops of yesterday although there is still occasional mention of the hoops (Denniston, Rural Hawkes Bay). The tyres are in many ways more flexible

than their hoop prototypes. They lend themselves more readily to acrobatics, rolling along inside the tyre, handstanding over the top of it. They are useful also for other non-motile purposes; for forts. It is doubtful, however, if tyres are as important to the children of today as Hoops were to the children of yesterday.

Cocoa or other tin lid hoops on wire are still seen occasionally. Kites do not seem to be as important as they were. They have been replaced to some extent by model aeroplanes and handkerchief parachutes.

Following the advent of bicycles, particularly after the first World War there are many references to games played by boys on these vehicles, e.g. Follow the Leader, Snail Races, Races, Stunts, Dirt Track Races, Bicycle Polo. The new interest in games on Bicycles may have helped to detract from the previous interest of boys in movement on Sledges and Stilts. Trolleys may have had a similar influence. Trolley games have a greater place today, whether in soap-box races, racing with sail-yachts or in miniature trolley derbys.

The Shooters are also mainly the concern of boys. Bows and Arrows, Shanghais, Catapults, Slings, Clay Shooters, Pop Guns, Pea-Shooters and Whips have a smaller place with the boys of today than with the boys of yesterday. Nevertheless the shooters still have an important place in children's play. In fact the numbers of some types of shooters have increased in the modern era, particularly elastic guns and water pistols. Shooters and other weapons are traditionally the equipment of men rather than women, so, here again, is further

evidence of the way in which boys identify themselves with maledom. Psycho-analysts also point out that the world of 'shooters' is the world of men in a fundamentally organic as well as cultural senses.¹

But these moving objects and shooters involve other motives than those already mentioned. There is the satisfaction of competing in terms of these objects and also of testing one's own skill (See Chapter 22). Again "Propulsive toys..... all present the peculiarity that the source of the enjoyment consists in the particular form of motion which may be imparted to them."² This feeling of bodily achievement in turn must heighten the child's sense of his own growing individuality (Chapter 17). As Sully says, "Is not the interest here due to the circumstance that the child controls a moving thing which in the capricious variations of its course simulates a free will of its own."³

Play-objects which involve explosions and noise are also reported chiefly by males. The greater noisiness of boys may well be associated with their greater uncertainty about their cultural role --- a condition discussed fully in Chapter 19. As Lowenfield says "Noise is inchoate, it has no shape, and is thus akin to the pressure of emotion within the child which itself has as yet not shape. Further, noise is external, objective, a something produced by the child which

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1. Mead Margaret, Male and Female, p.152.
 2. Roth Walter E., Games Sports and Amusements, Nth. Queensland Ethnograph Bull., No.4, 1902, p.2.
 3. Sully J., Studies in Childhood, London, 1903

everybody can hear, and therefore a comfort and a reassurance against the queerness and terror of the nameless, shapeless emotions within him." ¹ From examples already given in the Historical Section, however, it would appear that the motive for noise makers often derives from the power they give to the noise maker, himself. Common noise-makers mentioned by Wellington Training College students are the following. Cracking whips, Whistling through leaves (Karaka, Taupata, Balsam, Gum, Black-Eyed Susan petals) or through split grass, Running a stick along palings or along a corrugated iron fence, Bullroarers (Poverty Bay, Mahara) called Duckhonkers (Matemata), Combs and tissue paper, Running in discarded tin tanks, Blowing and whistling through hands and fingers, Clipped tops (Taihape), Cats concerts with matchbox, match, cotton reel and cotton, Cardboard flappers on bicycle wheel, Tin can bands, Willow whistles. Explosions figure occasionally in the reports of male T.C. students. They include: flash-bombs, exploding trees with T.N.T. and gunpowder bombs in cartridges. The Bolt-Bomb made out of two bolts and match heads is widespread in the North Island.

Some Play-Objects have a more obvious connection with the interest of girls. As might be expected (from Chapter 14) these particular play-object games are, on the whole, of a quieter nature and centre on the home. The majority of these have been dealt with already in Chapter 5. There are in

1. Lowenfield M., op. cit., p.64.

addition present day reports of dolls made from a variety of materials including pegs and fan shells (Collingwood). Girls still occasionally know hand games as Peter and Paul, and Here's the Church (Karori). There is also reports of making beads from wattleseds (Aramoho); hawthorn seeds and the seed boxes of wild roses (Ongarue); hawthorn berries and gum nuts (Marlborough).

Collections also indicate the manner in which the children model themselves on the same sex adults. Each sex has a tendency to collect those articles which reflect the interests of its own sex, although there are naturally many other individual and social motives involved.¹ Children at North East Valley, Waikouaiti, Hampden, Collingwood and Karori were asked to make lists of their collections -- "the things you collect or save just to see how many, and how many different kinds you can get." Because the survey was of a limited nature, and because the term "collection" is easily misunderstood by children, the conclusions presented here must be regarded as of a tentative nature only. They were, however, checked against the accounts of collections received from T.C. students, other people and overseas sources.²

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1. For examples of other possible motives, see Isaacs S., op.cit., p.225; Isaacs S., Childhood and After, London, 1948, p.39; Hurlock E.B., Childhood Development, p.267; Sherif M. and Cantril H., The Psychology of Ego-Involvements, New York, 1947, p.471.
 2. Lehmann and Witty, op. cit., p.186; Lehmann and Witty, Further Studies of Children interest in collecting Jnl. of Educ. Psych., Vol.21, 1930, p.113; Terman L., "Collections" in Carmichael Ed, op. cit., p.960; Whitley M.T., Children's Interest in Collecting, Jnl. of Ed. Psych., Vol. 20, 1929, p.249.

All investigators agree that the great majority of children engage in some collecting activity between the ages of 8 and 13, that there are sex differences in the type of material collected, and that girls tend to collect more than ¹ boys. The latter fact is probably accounted for by the tendency of girls to spend more time at home-centred occupations than boys do. The lists from the above schools indicated that, at all ages, stamps were collected by over two thirds of the pupils, of both sexes and that no other collecting activity was mentioned with anywhere near the frequency of this one. In some cases the whole class of boys and girls wrote down stamps but no other activity was listed more than half a dozen times. The collection of pictures was mentioned with the greatest frequency after stamps, then the collection of cards (wheatbix etc.). In the Upper age-levels pictures were almost as important as stamps. In the mid-primary school cards (wheatbix and cigarette) were next in importance after stamps. In rural areas there was more mention of leaves, eggs and shells, and live insects and animals.

The sex differences are most noticeable in the types of pictures the children collect. As would be expected the boys prefer to collect pictures that reflect the interest of the male world, namely, pictures of footballers, cricketers and other sportsmen, whereas girls collect pictures of the Royal Family, film stars, babies and children. It is noticeable

1. Hurlock E.B., The Exptl. Investigation of Childhood Play, op. cit.

in these lists of children's collections today, that a comparatively minor part is played by the cigarette cards which, in the 'twenties and 'thirties, were such an important aspect of school life. (In the '30's, in my recollection, the bronze Myrtle Grove, the very scarce brown coloured Victoria Crosses and the All Blacks, were favourites with most boys). There are occasional reports of other 'odd' collections which are of some interest: Bee stings on a wet belt (Auckland 15/20); numbers of strappings (this has been widely reported in the 1920/40 era); Memory Collections of the names of a variety of objects, for example, motor cars, aeroplanes etc; buttons off-¹ people's clothes (Nuhaka 35). But it is clear from the lists of the children and T.C. students that almost any detachable object is likely to be collected by children.

Other play-objects which seem to be of some interest to children are as follows: Trick-Objects made out of paper have become of increasing importance in the last forty years. Naturally in the days of slates there was less scope for this type of play. Children enjoy these tricks partly because of the power it enables them to wield over other children (See further Chapter 20) and partly because of the secrecy these tricks sometimes involve (See further Chapter 21).

For example, these motives occur in the tricks, : Hanging² Bailey, My Father Cut My Finger Off, and Fortune Telling.

Other tricks-objects are interesting because of their

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1. A traditional Pastime. See Welch D., Maiden Voyage, London, 1945, p.68.
 2. Dealt with fully Chapter 17.

similarity to real objects, and their ability to move. For example: Tractors with cotton reels, Tram-ticket-butt movies, Match-box cameras, Treacle-tin-telephones, Doodlebugs.

Play with orifices or holes is often mentioned; "the impulse to explore unknown cavities"¹. This interest may be at the root of the burrowing in Dentists, the digging on school desks, and the intense interest of upper primary school children in the Skeleton-Key Legend.² It is connected perhaps with the desire to build underground forts and explore caves. Most reports mention burrows in sand, gravel, gorse or haystacks. There are reports also of exploring underground caves (Denniston); the sewers (Feilding) and periwinkle creeper (Blenheim). The same motive is often employed in children's literature. It is a stock situation in the innumerable children's books of Enid Blyton. The motive may also be connected with the prominence of arches in traditional games and the 'Enclosure' motive explained in the next chapter.

Play with animals may take competitive forms (Chapter 22) or the form of cruelty (Chapter 20). Animals are also used extensively in children's imitative play. Cats are most frequently mentioned as the imitative babies upon which children lavish their affection and disapproval. The most widely known game with insects is a game named variously by T.C. students as Butcher Boys (Gisborne, New Plymouth, Kaponga,

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1. Hall S., Aspects of Child Life and Education, p.97.
 2. See Sutton-Smith B., Our Street, Chapter 16.

Te Pohu, Newall, Sth. Wgton), Butcher Bats (Ohau, Takaka), Penny Doctor Beetles (Tauranga, Pipiriki, Rotorua), or Fishing (Morunui). It is a game in which straws which have been suitably moistened with spittle are placed in an insects hole and are flicked out when the insect bites the end of the straw. Most of the reports of this practice come from the North Island, though it was known in the South as early as 1900 (Waikouaiti). Most other games with insects take the form of races: T.C. students mention races: with snails, with chickens to the mother, with caterpillars, ladybirds, beetles (fast and slow races) and ants. The greatest variety of insect and animal play, however, comes under the heading of cruelty to animals. Children gain outlet for their aggressive feelings on animals and insects in a way that they cannot gain outlet for these feelings in their social relationships. Often the outlet takes a direction favoured by adult attitudes, namely against white butterflies and caterpillars. Often it does not. Of the games mentioned the commonest is, inflating a frog through a straw and then either floating him on water, leaving him on the road to 'pop' when a car goes over the top or throwing stones at him. Others: chasing each other with crawlies, insect torture chambers with guillotine razor blades, burning with magnifying glass, blowing up butterflies in a bottle with a cracker, burning caterpillars at the stake, tying cats heads up in a paper bag, "Whizzing" the cat's tail by regulating the knobs on the wireless, putting an elastic band over the dog's mouth, catching bees in handkerchiefs and then putting them in holes

filled with flowers. Perhaps the most intriguing game of this nature is "Spang Weazling". This game was played at Denniston in 1930-35. A crawley was placed on the end of a stick the middle section of which lay balanced over a stone. Before the crawley could crawl off the stick a stone had to be thrown onto the other end of the stick so as to catapult the crawley off the stick and over the cliff. A variation of the same game was being played at Denniston when I visited there in 1949. It was called alternatively 'Hit the Crawley' or 'Strike the Crayfish'. In this version the other end of the stick was hit with a batting stick (as in Tip Cat) and when the crawley was catapulted into the air it was hit again with the bat. If the Crawley was hit into more than six pieces the striker was entitled to another turn. The number of pieces into which the Crawley broke was the strikers' score. Any number could play. It was difficult to hit the crawley because it would crawl off its end of the stick very quickly.

Water play figures largely in reports received. This includes, water fights, water bombs, play with boats, rafts, and damming streams. At Akitio, on the sea front, a stream flowed down beside the school and out across the beach. As a result 'Blocking the Creek' appeared on the list of every child in the school. It was their perennial interest.

There are also innumerable reports of play with sweets and with natural foods. Examples of play with sweets were taken from a class of S.5 children (Sth. Wgton). These included: making dolls table clothes with papers off toffees:-

Making egg cups with silver paper off chocolates; Throwing paper at others; Hitting people with liquorice strap; Putting fruit drops into an icecream and playing lucky dips; Making pepper pots and paper boats with lolly papers; Playing marbles with jaffas; Making false teeth with lollies in the mouth.

Wellington Training College students included the following natural objects amongst their lists of foods to eat:- Nectar from Nasturtium and Honeysuckle; Sucking honey from flowers of the flax plant; Chewing Oxalis grass stems and leaves for the sour taste; Eating Scotch thistle nuts; Eating monkey-nuts (a mallow). Table games recorded were: spinning serviette rings, flipping the spoon, and playing kettle drums with knives and forks. Examples of the types of play objects listed by the children are given below. (Parlour games are omitted).

Macandrew S.6: 21 boys (A class of average ability): Bikes, Huts, Stamps, Model aeroplanes, Sledges, Reading, Drawing, Gardening, Paint/Making things, Meccano, Model boats, Yachts, Card collecting, Photography, Science, Carpentry, Piano, Bows and arrows, Lassoos, Making toys, Pictures.

20 girls: Drawing, Sewing, Bicycle rides, Reading, Grayoning, Cooking, Picture-collecting, Stamps, Piano, Paper dolls, Knitting, Huts, Painting, Cut-outs, Baking.

S.5: 17 boys: Pea-shooters, Trolleys, Trolley tracks, Models, Cleaning streams, Building small bridges, Huts, Making guns, Sledges, Scooter, Frogs,

Bicycles, Motor-boats, Tyres, Claywork, Dog, Kite,
Drawing, Bows and arrows, Model aeroplanes.

16 girls: Horses, Knitting, Dolls, Piano, Baking,
Gardening, Bicycles, Chopsticks.

Caversham: S.4. 14 boys: Old Motors, Lead toys, Steam engines,
Bicycles, Bows and arrows, Boats, Whips, Meccano,
Table-tennis, Sledges, Scooter, Trolley, Tractors.

24 girls: Dolls, Dresses

S.3 23 boys: Kites, Bikes, Trolley, Cars, Bow and
arrow, Huts, Skittles, Hoopla, Guns.

18 girls: Dolls clothes, Skittles, Doll's houses.

S.2 25 boys: Bows and arrows, Sledges, Caddy, Cars,
Trucks, Trolleys, Swings, Huts, Roads.

17 girls: Doll's House, Kite, Swings, Rope.

S.1 13 boys: Scooter, Hornby, Bicycle, Pedal Car,
Trolley.

9 girls: Doll's pram, Doll's house, Kittens,
Stilts.

Hampden S.1/6: 20 boys: Ping-pong, Bows and arrows, Table
Croquet, Bowls, Car wheels, Tyres, Swing, Horse, Carts.

13 girls: Shops, Dolls, Table-tennis.

Other examples which give an idea of the variation from
place to place are the following: Hokitika lists included:
Skittles, Mud fights, Spud cooking, Catching birds, Sod-fights,
Shanghais, Beads, Huts, Sandcastles, Rope-lassooing;
Manganakau: Go-carts; Nelson: Fairy gardens in the sand,
Sledges, Rafts, Huts; Onekaka: Decorated houses in holes;
Tarakohe: Pine-needle houses;

Patterns of development are not so clear cut in the case of games with play-objects as they are with other games. In general, however, over the age range there is a steady increase in the complexity of the play-objects with which children play. In the days when play-objects were more often of a home-made nature and older boys even developed team games with play-objects, (See Historical Section, Chap. 5) it is probable that the pattern of development in play-objects was more obvious. The gradual extension of a boy's interest beyond the home for example would be mirrored in his increasing skill with increasing numbers of 'shooters' and motile objects.

Observation of the play-objects which are general in schools today indicates that, in the infant and early primary years, the play-objects with which children play are those which are used mainly in Imitative games like Houses and Roads. Beginning in these early primary years, however, and increasing thereafter, there is a tremendous growth in the variety of and intricacy^{of} play-objects. Many of these new play-objects are used in the game ways that are described in other chapters of this section.

It is noticeable in the children's lists that an interest in many different play-objects arises at about the same time as an interest in intellectual skills. (Chapter 21). It is probable that there is some correlation between the appearance of these two interests. On the otherhand the relatively sudden appearance of these interests may be more apparent than

real. Susan Issaacs' work on the intellectual development of children, demonstrates that there is a steady growth through infancy and early childhood of the children's interest in intellectual and practical relationships. What probably happens, therefore, is that at about the age of seven to nine years, children discover conventionally recognized vehicles for the expression of these interests. They are now old enough to express their interest in practical relationships in terms of meccano, and to express their interest in intellectual relationships in terms of riddles.

The children's lists indicate further that boys have a larger number of play-objects than girls. It will be noticed also that the majority of these play-objects relate to spheres beyond the garden gate. What appears to happen is that because the boys have a greater freedom to adventure forth beyond the home than the girls do, because the model for their cultural role is 'beyond the home' rather than within the home (See further Chapter 19) they come into contact earlier with a wider variety of play-objects. For the boy of the primary school there are new interests in motile objects, shooters and noise. For the girls on the otherhand there are few new play-objects. The girl's activities have remained centred in the home hence the play-material at their disposal has remained more or less static. During and after the mid-primary years, however, the girls make up the lee way to some extent when they grow more capable of developing their interest in realistic homecentred play-activities, namely, sewing, knitting, cooking and weaving. In part, however, the sex difference in

the number of play-objects (a difference which applies also to 19th century play) arises from the fact that girls spend much more of their time than boys do on real household activities.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

DRAMA OF THE OLD WOMAN

Singing Games, Dialogue Games and Game Rhymes.

The Singing and Dialogue games are formal games because in nearly all cases they involve an element of competition. The Dialogue games are said in some cases, to have been derived from the Singing games. In other cases, the Singing games are like the Dialogue games, because they include chants not songs. The Game Rhymes which are associated with the games of other chapters are also dealt with in this chapter because this chapter deals with the questions of rhythm ritual, music and Singing games, Dialogue games and Game-rhymes, however, have in common their relatively stereotyped and invariable verbal natures. The method of treatment is as follows: first, the Singing and Dialogue games are described, secondly their distribution is indicated and, thirdly, they are explained in psychological terms. Next the game-rhymes are described and then all these three types of play-phenomena are explained from the point of view of the rhythm, ritual, music and rhyme, contained within them. Finally, the developments which take place in all

these play phenomena are outlined.

Illustrative Material page 413 to page 442.

The significance of the classificatory system used in the description of Dialogue and Singing games will be explained later. These games are classified as follows:

Chain Singing Games: which include (a) Circle Chain games, which in their turn include, Marriage, Funeral, Pantomime and Ecstatic types. (b) Choral Chain Games which include Marriage and non-marriage types, and (c) Enclosure Chain games which include Serpentine, Arch Winding and Chanting types.

Dialogue Games: which include (a) Capture Dialogue Games and (b) Caricature Dialogue Games.

He-Girole Singing Games

Couple Singing Games which include (a) Round Couple Games and (b) Processional Couple Games.

The Chain Singing Games are games in which the players carry out various actions with their hands linked. According to Kennedy they are the oldest form of Singing game in Europe and date back to Mediaeval times. In England these dances were first known as 'carols', but later simply as 'country

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1. Frequent reference is made in the pages that follow to the following works. In each case only the author's name and the page number is given. The works are: Gomme A.B., Traditional Games in two volumes; Daiken L., Children's Games Throughout the Year; Betts H., The Games of Children; Spence L., Myth and Ritual in Dance Game and Rhyme; Douglas N., London Street Games; Eckenstein Lena Comparative Studies in Nursery Rhymes, London, 1906.

dances"¹. There are several types of New Zealand chain games. First there are the Circle Chain Games.

The first subdivision of Circle Chain Games refers to the circle chain games of marriage. Details concerning these are as follows:² There are only two reports of Down in the Valley (Gomme Vol.1, p.99). These come from Christchurch 70 and Avonside 76.

The Jingo Ring (Gomme V.1. p.284) is reported only from areas in Otago and South Canterbury. There are two verses to the game but in N.Z. only the first verse is reported. Accounts of the way in which the game is played suggest that it may have been a remnant of the much longer marriage game Merry Ma Tansa, particularly as there are several reports of that game having been played. (Granity 95, Dugedin 60, Taieri 75); Merry go Tansy (Christchurch 95).

Sally Waters (Gomme, V.2. p.167; Eckenstein, p.67; Betts, p.13) was more generally known than those above. There are reports from Otago, Canterbury, Nelson and Taranaki. This game although not quite so well known as some of those to be mentioned later, contains all the essential elements of the marriage games. The children march round in a circle with their hands linked and sing. At the end of the song, Sally, who performs actions in the middle of the circle to suit the words that are being sung, chooses her lover. They kiss,

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1. Kennedy D., England Dances, Folk Dancing Today and Yesterday, London, 1949, p.34.
 2. The music for these and other games is to be found in the references to Gomme.

Sally returns to the periphery, and a new Sally is chosen. The words the children sing are: "Sally, Sally Water, Sprinkle in the Pan. Rise Sally, rise Sally for a young man. Look to the East -- and look to the West -- and look to the very one that you love best."...When Sally had been chosen and the two are in the middle the rest sing again...."Now you're married we wish you joy, Every year a girl or boy. Loving each other like sister and brother. Pray young couple now kiss together...." (Dunedin 90) Other versions contain only minor differences from this one, such as "Bow to the West" (Christchurch 70) "Come choose from the West" (Tahataki 75).¹ "First a girl then a boy" (Nelson 80)

Pretty Little Girl of Mine was more widespread. There are reports from Wellington, Auckland, Canterbury, Nelson, Otago. Again the Pretty Little Girl chooses her lover. The most complete version comes from Tahataki 75 and this version is the same as that recorded by Gomme for Maxey (V2.p.69)....(1) "Oh this pretty little girl of mine, She's cost me many a bottle of wine. A bottle of wine or anything too To see what my little girl can do. (2) Down on the carpet she shall kneel While the grass grows in the field. Stand upright upon your feet, And choose the one you love so sweet. (3) Now you're married, you must obey, You must be true to all you say. You must be kind, you must be good. And help the wife to chop the wood." .. In most places only

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1. Slight variations of this nature are typical in the reports received of all the singing games. They will not therefore be quoted henceforth.
 2. These numbers refer to Verse numbers.

the first two verses were known. (Wgton 00, Auck. 90).
 At Christchurch 1905, the third verse was: "Now you're married we wish you joy, first a girl then a boy, seven years after, seven years to come, Pray young couple, Kiss and be done." And of this version the informant says: "I played this in Std. 1. The kissing was done quite unself-consciously in the game, but I got into a whale of a row for kissing the same girl goodbye the same day."

Poor Sally is a Weeping was known in all provinces. In the north it was known more generally as, Poor Jennie is a Weeping (Bay of Plenty 85, Tauranga 85, Auckland 00). This is of some interest because that was one of its titles in Dublin. There is a version reported from the Bay of Plenty 85 which is identical with a Dublin example given by Daiken p.75. The Hibernian settlement in early Auckland may have been responsible originally for this version of the game. The game is still played in some schools today. It occasionally has other names: Poor Alice is a Weeping (Christchurch 90) "Poor Mary is a Weeping" (Palm. Nth.10). The first verse was: "Poor Alice is a Weeping, a Weeping a Weeping, Poor Alice is a Weeping on a bright summer's day." And the first lines of the other verses: "Pray what is she weeping for", "She is Weeping for a Sweetheart", "Then pray stand up and choose one."

The Farmer in the Dell is better known today than previously owing to ^{it} the introduction into the Infant Syllabus in 1921. It was known earlier (Moeraki 90, Dunedin 90, Christchurch 05). In this game each child that is chosen

picks another child, and they all accumulate in the centre of the circle. The farmer picks a wife who picks a child, who picks a dog, cat, mouse, and cheese. All end up by maltreating the last child chosen as though she were in some way inferior.

There Stands a Lady on the Mountain has been reported only in the last twenty years.

(Gomme V.2, p.320)

Oats and Beans and Barley/has only occasional mention earlier (Christchurch 05). It reads "Oats and Beans and Barley grow (repeat) Do you or I or anyone know How Oats and Beans and Barley grow. First the farmer ploughs the field etc."

The second type of Chain Circle Games are those connected with Funerals: The Chain Circle Funeral Games.

Of these games Green Gravels (Gomme p.171; Daiken p.81) was the most widespread. It is said to be a relic of "old burial ceremonies" and there are reports of it from all provinces. Once again, children dance round in a circle singing. As each child is chosen by the one in the centre, she does not go into the centre herself, but turns outwards in the circle still holding onto the hands of the others. The most complete versions come from Fordell 90 and Christchurch 05.....(1)"Green Gravels, Green Gravels, the grass is so green. The fairest young lady that ever was seen. (2) We'll wash her in milk or dress her in silk, and write down her name with gold pen and ink.".....A partner is chosen... (3) "Dear Mary, Deary Mary, your true love is dead. He sends you a letter to turn round your head.".....the one chosen faces

away from circle. Verses one and three are usually reported from districts in Otago and Canterbury. Verses one and two are usually reported from districts in Nelson and Wellington provinces. When all heads are turned outwards the game finishes, although the method of finishing the game varies.

There are no other funeral games which were played generally in New Zealand. There are three others which have been reported. Jenny Jones (Gomme V.1, p.260; Daiken p.135) includes elements of marriage and burial (Rockville 80, Wellington 90). Wallflowers (Gomme V.2, p.329; Daiken, p.109) is reported only from Auckland 00 and Palmerston Nth. 10. Up and Down the Street is reported only from Levin 1930.

The third type of circle chain game is The Chain Circle Pantomime Game. In these games the players in the circle imitate the actions of the central player. None of these Pantomime games has played a very important part in the play of New Zealand children.

In the Mulberry Bush (Gomme V.1, p.404; Spence p.83) the children imitate a variety of household and everyday activities..."This is the way we scrub the floor, scrub the floor, scrub the floor. This is the way we scrub the floor, so early on Monday morning." ... Other imitations include such activities as going to school, cleaning teeth, wearing clothes, washing clothes, going to church. It was played Nelson 85, Wakefield 75, Christchurch 05. There are no other early reports although it is played quite frequently today.

When I was a Lady (Gomme p.363) is reported only in Dunedin 90. and consists in imitating a series of occupations....

"When I was a Lady, a lady, a lady. When I was a lady, a lady was I. It was this way (Curtseying to right) and that way (to left). When I was a lady, a lady was I.".....

Then there was the gentleman who bowed, the gardener who dug, the soldier who fixed his rifle, the washerwoman who rubbed clothes and others.

Of a similar type is Cobbler Cobbler Mend My Shoe. There are only two early reports of this (Christchurch 02; Auckland 80), though it has been known widely in more recent years.

Punchinello is reported only in the past fifteen years and is very widespread. In this game, as in others, the children imitate the centre child...."What can you do Punchinello funny fellow, What can you do Punchinello Funny Man" "We'll do it too, Punchinello Funny Fellow, We'll do it too Punchinello funny man."

The fourth type of game is the Circle Chain Ecstatic Game. This type includes games in which the main joy of the game consists in performing actions and chanting or singing words in vociferous unison. The important point of these games is that everyone should do the same things together throughout the games.

The first of these is LubyLoo (Auckland 80) known also as Baloo Balight (Christchurch 1900). Today it is known under the name of Hoki Toki and is played by adults at parties and in dance halls. Gomme says "It is a choral dance, and it may

owe its origin to a custom of wild antic dancing in celebration of the rites of some deity in which animal postures were assumed." (V.1, p.360).

Ring a Ring a Roses (Gomme p.108; Daiken p.88) which has been universally known is of a similar significance.

Oka Ball is reported only from Christchurch 75. In it the children danced round singing "Oka Ball day, the 29th of May, if we don't get a holiday we will all run away." They carried sprays of Oka (Betts p.35).¹

The second major type of Chain games is the Line Form of Chain Game which consists of two lines of players with hands linked, advancing towards, retiring from, and saying alternate verses to each other. All these games are concerned with some type of conflict. Several centre on the choice of a wife. She is chosen at the end of the verses. Of these Nuts in May (Gomme V.2, p.423; Daiken p.73; Spence p.84; Betts p.44), has been known in all historical periods. In this game the partners have a tug-o-war.

The Three Dukes (Gomme V.2, p.233) although not quite so well known as Nuts in May, was known in all provinces under various names: Two Dukes (Dunedin 80); Saucy Jack (Nelson 20); The Duke (Nelson 90); Here comes a Duke a Riding (Amberley 90). Here comes a Lusty Wooer (Avondale 75). The game was chanted rather than sung and

1. Evening Post 21/6/50 contains a reference to the practice in England.

there are many slight variations. Here is a version from Nelson 90....."Here comes a Duke a'riding, a'riding. Here comes a duke a riding to court your daughter Jane. My daughter Jane is yet too young to be controlled by such a one. Go back, go back, you saucy Jack, and clean your spurs for they are black. My spurs are bright and richly wrought, and in this town they were not bought. And in this town they'll not be sold, Neither for silver nor for gold. Go through the kitchen, go through the hall, and choose the fairest one of all. The fairest one that I can see is -- -- you come to me." And at this point he tugs her over to him.

There is only one early report of Surrender the Tower (Gomme V.2, p.18; Douglas p.104) (Onehunga 5/10). This is not a marriage game, and the two lines of players finish their alternating verses with a tug-o-war. One side represents the guardians of the tower and the other side the King and his soldiers. There is also only one report of Milking Cans (Levin 30). In this chain conflict game, the verses end by one line of players chasing the other line of players.

The third major type of chain games are the Enclosure Chain Games. This term refers to several classes of games, all of which have in common, the fact that they involve movements in which some players are enclosed by other players in a variety of ways.

In the Serpentine type of enclosure chain games, the chain of children partly encloses other single children by

winding in and out amongst them. These games are supposed to have originated in ever winding snake dances and labyrinth rituals (Gomme V.1, p.153). There are only two games of this type reported: a circle type of serpentine game and a winding type.

In and Out the Windows (Daiken p.76) has been widely known. There are reports from all provinces, although occasionally under different names, for example, Follow me to London (Christchurch 02, Waitara 00) Round and Round the Village (Wanganui 00). In and Out the Village (Palmerston Nth. 10). In all these variations one player winds in and out amongst the other players who stand in a circle then finally chooses a partner from amongst them. The chosen partner leads off, and the two players wind in and out as the single one did previously. Each time the song ends another player is chosen, until finally all the players are winding around the one player left in the circle. Each verse repeats the first line three times and then adds "As we have done before." The first lines of several versions are "In and out the windows ... Round and round the village Go and face your lover Follow her to London." ... (Moeraki 00). Most old versions, however, include only the first three of these verses. The same game is often played by children today under the name of In and Out the Dusty Bluebells.

In Rushes and Reeds of which there is only one report (Onehunga 00) eight players wind in and out amongst eight other players who are standing in a straight line.

In the Arch Enclosure chain games all the players pass under arches made by the arms of two other players. Single children are enclosed within those arched arms. Gomme says "I think the practice of going through an arch relates to the custom when people crept through holed stones or orifices to propitiate a presiding deity in order to obtain some particular favour." (V.2, p.503).

This type of game includes the universally known Oranges and Lemons in which children circle round underneath the arms of two players in the form of an arch. The arms of the arch go up and down over each player "Chip chop chip chop and this man's head right off"...until a player is enclosed completely by the arms. The chosen player then chooses one side of the arch and takes his place behind the back of that arch player. (Gomme V.2, p.25).. This has been the most popular and most widely known of all the singing games.

London Bridge similarly involves movements in which a prisoner is enclosed between the arms of two other players. (Gomme V.1, p.335). There is several early references to the game. (Christchurch 05; Tahataki 75). It was known also as, Here's a Prisoner (Collingwood 95) and as, What have the Robbers done to You (Onehunga 05). In both of the latter versions the enclosed child would be tortured...."Pull his ear and let him go and let him go and let him go. (repeat) My fine lady." and when tortured, the child would go behind one of the prison walls as is in the case in Oranges and Lemons. London Bridge is more frequently heard of after 1930.

How Many Miles to Babylon which is a similar type of

game is reported Arahura 00, Christchurch 20 and Avonside 75.
No descriptions are given.

There is only one Winding Enclosure Chain Game reported. "These games probably refer to the custom of encircling trees as an act of worship" (Gomme V.2, p.510). Players holding hands wind round and round each other completely enclosing those in the centre.

The Eely Iley Oh (Gomme V.1, p.119; Daiken p.163) is reported seldom in the early period (Christchurch 02, Nelson 70)... "We used to join hands in a long line with the head of the line putting her spare hand on a wall or post to make an arch. Then while all sang the tail threaded through the arches beginning at the head. The line followed through until all the players were standing cross-armed, turned about by the tail going through the arch. When all were turned, the head and tail joined arms and we circled still singing our chant. Next the head and tail unjoined. The head joined back to the post again and we unthreaded from the tail and. "The chant was simply 'The Big Ship Sails Through the Eely Iley Oh' " This game was incorporated into the 1921 syllabus and has subsequently been played more frequently. I saw children playing it spontaneously at St. Clair as "The Big Ship sails through the Alley Alley Ooh, On the nineteenth of December."

The Chanting Enclosure Chain Games include a number of games in which children enclose and hold each other in a variety of ways. They are games of no great length as compared with the other enclosure games.

Draw a Bucket of Water (Gomme V.1, p.100; Spence p.77; Daiken p.111) has been known in all provinces, and is reputed to have been originally connected with customs of well-worship. The Leeston OO, example is ... "Draw a bucket of Water, for a lady's daughter, One in a bush, two in a bush, This little lady goes under.".... It was known also occasionally as Draw a Pail of Water and that was more often the name of the game in England. It is not unnatural that the name changed to the more familiar 'bucket' in N.Z. The game involves four children with arms linked across in pairs moving in and out of their own arms.

Wash the Dishes although widely reported in the last twenty years has not been reported before 1900. It involves two children chanting the words and turning about each other. They face with arms outstretched and say "Wash the Dishes, Dry the dishes, Turn the Dishes Over" and at 'over' they turn while still holding their hands. The chant is repeated and they resume the original position.

There is only one report of Skip a Basket (Levin 1930).

The Second Major Category of Games dealt with in this chapter are the Dialogue Games. Of these games Gomme says (V.2, p.49). The dialogue games appear to me to be later in form than both line and circle games.. They are, in fact, developments of these earlier forms.....I will point out only that this group has allowed the dramatic element to have full scope with the result that a pure dialogue has been evolved, while custom and usage (including singing) has to some extent

been pushed in the background."

There are two types of dialogue games namely those that involve the capture or stealing of children, and those that involve the caricature and teasing of adults.

The Dialogue Games of Capture include Ghost in the Garden (Gomme V.1, p.149). There are several reports of this game in earlier times and it is reported occasionally today (Dunedin 90; Nelson 80; Wellington 00). I found it in a very active state in several Otago schools, namely, Forbury, North East Valley and Waikouaiti. In the Forbury version the mother smacks her children and tells them to go and wash their hands. The children run out into the garden, see a ghost and come running back crying "Oh mummy, there's a Ghost in the Garden". The mother says "It's only my pink pants on the line", and she tells them to go and wash their hands as before. They do so, but come running back with ^{the} same complaint that there is a ghost in the garden. This time the mother says "It's only Daddy's white pants on the line." The same happens again and this time the mother tells them to go and feel the pants. They run back crying "Oh, It's got fur on it Mummy." The Mother says "Come with me and I'll go and see." To the Ghost she says "What are you doing in my garden?" The Ghost says: "Picking up sticks". The mother: "What do you want the sticks for."

G: "To light a fire" M: "What do you want ~~the~~ fire for?"

G: "To boil a pot" M: "What ~~do~~ you want the pot for?"

G: "To boil a stone" M: "What do you want the ~~stane~~ for?"

G: "To sharpen a knife".... and at this point the girls scream.

M: "What do you want the knife for?" G: "To cut off your head." The ghost then chases mother and children. The player who is caught becomes the next Ghost. In the North East Valley and Waikouaiti versions there is another element to the game which appears to have been joined onto this game from the game Mother Mother the Pet Boils Over. In these versions, when the Ghost catches a child it takes the child to the Ghost's shop and there the child becomes a fruit or a vegetable. When several children have been caught, the mother goes to the Ghost's shop and asks what wares the Ghost has. The mother says "Is there any oranges?" If none of the captured children have been named an orange by the Ghost then nothing happens. If one has, then the Ghost says "Yes" and that captured child puts its foot through the legs of the Ghost from behind. The mother looks at the foot. "Too dirty" or "Must be rotten" she says. Then the child puts its head between the Ghost's legs. The mother says "This will do". In the Waikouaiti version "Why, this is one of my children" and then "Poke out your tongue and spit on the ground, then stamp on the place you spat on." "Now get home you naughty girl."

It was of some interest that in this game most of the girls (North East Valley) did not want the spitting part to go on record. One of their number had learned it off her Grandma, however, and with some coaxing she gave the information. No version cited by Gomme includes the two elements above. They are, however, recorded separately in two different games. (Gomme V.1, p.149 and V.2, p.15).

In a version from Dunedin 90 only the first part of the above game takes place, and in this game there isn't any Ghost at all as the mother finds out when she goes into the garden. She chases the children and gives those she can catch a hiding.

Mother Mother the Pot Boils Over (See Gomme V.1, p.396; Douglas 46) has been, and is, a more widely known game than Ghost in the Garden. It has been known under various names: Mother mother the Kettle's Boiling Over (Dunedin 80) Blackman (Waikari 20) Fox and Family (Nelson 90) Rotten Eggs (Ohau 10) Old Digley Bones (Bay of Plenty 85) Witch (Pakawau 49) Blacksmith (Kaitia 49) Pancakes (Millerton 49) Witch and the Jam Pots (Wellington 49). It was known under the main heading given above at Richmond 85, Wakefield 75, Arahura 00, Waitara 00, Birchfield 15, Granity 95, Marton 90. Gomme says: "In this game the chorus (of the singing game) has disappeared; the principal characters tell the story in dialogue, the minor characters only acting when the dialogue necessitates it, and then in dumb show ... It is a complete drama of domestic life at a time when child stealing and witchcraft were rife. A mother goes out to work, and returns to find one of her seven children missing. The game describes the stealing of them, one by one, by the witch, but the little drama tells even more than this. It probably indicates some of the practices and customs connected with fire worship and the worship of the hearth.....After the children are stolen the mother has evidently a long and troublesome journey in search of them; obstacles are placed in the path quite in the manner of the

folk tale. As is the case with Ghost in the Garden, the versions received are of a fluid nature. Some include elements that others don't and the words although approximately the same vary from one version to the next. In some versions the children are named by the days of the week or by the names of fruits etc. There is a mother and a housemaid or elder sister.. While the mother goes out to do some shopping or on some other errand she tells the maid to look after the children. While she is gone the maid calls out (Ohau 10) "Mother Mother the Kettles Boiling over." M: "Get a spoon and stir it" Md.: "The spoons broken" M: "Get the tinker" Md.: "Tinker's dead" M: "Oh well I'll be home in a minute." At Nelson 90 the same conversation went as follows: "Mother Mother the Pot Boils over" M: "Get a spoon and stir it" Md.: "Can't reach" M: "Stand on a chair" Md.: "The chair's broken" M: "Use the table" Md.: "The table's gone to be mended." M: "Well I'll be home in a minute." And at Ngapara 49: "Mother mother the Kettles Boiling over" M: "Lift the Lid" Md: "It's too hot." M: "Get the dish cloth." Md: "It's down the drain. Mother mother come home." When the mother comes home she finds that one of her children is gone. In some versions the witch comes and steals her silently away. In others she talks to the housemaid. At Waikari 20 a Blackman comes to the door and says "I want a match" The maid says "Spit on the floor and take one". The Blackman takes one of the children whereupon the maid shouts "Mother mother the Pot Boils Over." At Pakawau 49 the witch says "I want a child for my stew".

Then the mother comes home "Where's my peach" she says to the maid. "I was just going upstairs" says the maid and makes up some long story, "And when I came down Peach was gone." "It was thrilling when the mother found the child was gone. She wacked the maid with a stick and the maid yelled blue murder." (Ohau 10). "The maid said, Old Digley Bones came and took her. What did he give you asks the mother? A bottle of wine and my big toe. Where is my share? Upstairs. How am I to get up? Sticks and Chairs and broken stairs. Suppose I fall down and break my nose? I don't care. Then the mother whips the maid" (Bay of Plenty 85). This sequence of events is repeated several times until all the children are gone. The mother then sets off to find them. "She goes to Digley who has all the children sitting in a row with their pinnies over their heads. She says to Digley, have you seen my Monday, and he says, no. But I have some jam and he names the jam. The mother pretends to taste it and says why this jam is just like my Monday. She pulls the pinny off and says, it is my Monday, whereupon she whips her back home." (Bay of Plenty 85). At Ohau, 10, the mother goes to the Tinker to buy some meat "I want a nice leg of beef" she says. The tinker pulls a girl's foot through his legs (as in Ghost in the Garden). The mother tastes it. "This tastes just like my peach" she says. She pulls the peach right through the tinker's legs and says "Naughty girl where have you been?" Peach and the other girls then squat on the ground holding onto their legs. The mother and the Tinker swing them by

the arms. If the children let go their hold on their legs before three swings they are Rotten Eggs. In some versions the children sitting in this position are called honey pots or pots of jam, and their weight or value is the number of times they can be swung without letting go their hold on their legs. In the Kaitaia 49 version the mother goes to the Blacksmith and the following conversation takes place

M: "I want to go inside" B: "Your shoes are too dirty"
 M: "I'll take my shoes off" B: "Your feet are too dirty"
 M: "I'll cut my feet off" B: "The blood will drip on
 my new carpet" M: "I'll wrap a blanket round them"
 B: "The blood will soak through" M: "I'll put glass slippers
 on" B: "Come in".

In some versions the game finishes with a game of Fox and Geese, in which the mother tries to get her children back off the witch (Nelson 90; Millerton 49; Waikari 20). In all the others the children get a good thrashing.

In Who Goes Round My Stone Wall (Gomme V.2, p.375).

There are various names: Jack a Lingo (Waikouaiti 90); Bobby Bingo (Palmerston Nth 10; Ellington 10); Who goes round my Stony Wall (Waitara 00), Who Goes Round My Garden Wall (Rakaia 10), Old Tom (Bainham 49). The description of the Moutere 00 version is as follows: "Two players are chosen, one for mother and one for Tom. All the other players, any number, sit on the grass in a circle. Mother stands in the middle. Tom walks round the outside and mother asks "Whose going round my house tonight?" Tom replies "Only Poor Old Tom"
 M: "Don't touch any of my poor chicken" T: "Only this poor

one". The chicken touched falls backwards. The mother attempts to rescue her by taking both the chickens hands, and placing her right foot below the chicken's feet and pulling. If the chicken can be pulled to her feet without bending her knees, she sits in the ring again. If the knees bend she is left lying dead.. The rhyme is repeated until all have been saved or are dead. Tom then chases the lot and the first two caught are Tom and the mother for the next game. In other versions, it is simply a matter of whether Bobby Bingo can snatch the player out of the circle before the mother catches her. (Bainham). In others the game includes a fox and chickens. All the players hold on behind the mother and the Fox tries to sieze the player off the end of the file.

Hen and Chickens or Fox and Geese is universally known. When on its own it is simply a game of skill as described above. It seems, however, to have been originally a part of a Dialogue game. In Wolf and Geese (Putoki 20) the Mother Goose keeps shouting "You won't get any of my fat geese".

The Dialogue games of Caricature includes The Old Lady from Botany Bay. In this game the children must not laugh at the old lady although she does her best to proveke them to do so. It has been known as Diggley Bones (Auckland 00), And Old Man from B.B. (Palmerston 10), An Old Lady from Poverty Bay (Wellington 00). It is widely reported in the last twenty years. The Old Lady comes up to the children and says "Here comes an old lady from Botany Bay, and what

have you got to give her today. You must neither laugh nor smile but say -----" Then the child would say something funny but try not to laugh when doing so.

"Sausages is a frequent reply" (Nelson 49).

There are no early reports of Old Mother Gray (Gomme V.1, p.390). Gomme says "There seems to be no other object in the game as now played except the pleasure of teasing and showing defiance to mother's commands and trying to escape the consequences of disobedience by flight." As reported at Brooklyn 49 (Similar versions were received from Dobsen 49 and Nelson 49) it was played as follows: There is one "He," who is Old Mother Gray, and a group of children. The children come up to her and say. "Old Mother Gray can we come out to play? We won't go near the water to shoo the ducks away." She says "Yes" or "No.". If she says "No" they go away and come back and ask again. When she calls out "Yes" they go and shoo the ducks away until she calls out

"Children where have you been?"

"To grandmother's house," they reply.

"What did she give you?"

"Strawberries and cream."

"Where's my share?"

"Up in the air."

"How shall I get it?"

"Table and chair."

"What say I fall?"

"We don't care."

She chases the children and the one caught becomes "He".

The third major category of Games dealt with in this chapter are the He-Circle Singing Games. In these circle games unlike the chain circle games, it is the aim of the players to avoid the centre position in the circle.

Bobby Bingo (Gomme V.1, p.29) is a circle singing game of alertness. Unless the players are alert they may be unable to give the correct letter in the spelling of Bobby Bingo. They will then have to become Bobby Bingo in the centre of the circle. The game was known in all provinces.

The other games of this type are nearer to the couple games described in the next section because in them the He-player seeks a partner on the periphery. The circles in these He-circle games, however, are not composed of couples. The games concerned are Kiss in the Ring and Drop the Handkerchief. In both of these games an erotic interest is involved. Both are more widely reported than Bingo.

Drop the Handkerchief (Gomme V.1, p.119) is a chanting game. It was widely known under this title but was also known as "I wrote a letter." (Wellington 00, Moeraki 90), "I had a little Dog" (East Taieri 70). It is a chasing as well as a singing game.

Kiss in the Ring (Gomme V.1, p.306) is often another name for the game Drop the Handkerchief. It differs from the other game only insofar as it involves kissing.

The fourth major type of Singing games are the Couple

Singing Games. Kennedy says "The formal dances of bower and hall that succeeded the mediaeval carolling were all couple dances ... this distinction between the couple dance of the gentry and the linked dance of the country people was maintained until the dance of the country people eventually invaded the Court and was adopted by Society in tudor times."¹ In their turn these couple dances of the court are said to have been adopted by the folk. Some authorities claim, that the courts were originally the source² of all dance forms, linked and couple alike.

Whatever their origin, it is true that the couple dance or game is the more sophisticated form of dance. It is more suited to the maturity of adults and youths than to the psychology of children. There are few records of these games being played spontaneously by children in their playgrounds, though there are many references to them being played at parties and picnics by an older group of players. There are two forms: The Round Couple games in which the players move round in a circle in couples and the Processional Couple games in which the players move in a long ways set.

In the Round Couple games, the player in the centre attempts to get out of the centre and find a partner amongst the couples marching round. In all these games all the

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1. Kennedy D., op. cit., p.35; and Lewis Charles B., The Part of the Folk in the Making of Folklore", Folklore, Vol. XLVI, 1935, p.37.
 2. Lord Raglan, The Origin of Folk Culture, Folklore, June 1947, p.225.

players seize a partner when the music stops or the song ends. The one left over then goes into the centre.

The Jolly Miller was the most widely known of these games. There are reports from all provinces prior to 1900. The game was played at Fordell 1900 as follows: "The partners walked in opposite directions around in a circle. There was an odd man out. The song was a lively romp to a merry tune. It went: "There was a Jolly Miller and he lived by himself. As the wheel went round he made his wealth. One hand on the hopper and the other in the bag. As the wheel went round he made his grab." Here all grab partners and march round the circle arm in arm singing "A hunting we will go, a-hunting we will go, we'll catch a fox and put it in a box. And a hunting we will go." This version is also reported Nelson 90, and Napier 90. But in most versions there was only the first verse and this is true also of all the versions quoted by Gomme (V.1, p.289).

Will you lend my Mother a Saucepan was played in the same manner as The Jolly Miller. There is only one report of this game. (Rockville 85)

Fire on the Mountains is also reported only once (Clutha 75). Half the company kneel, the other half run around them singing"Fire on the Mountains, Lit by the sun, Fire on the Mountains, Run boys run.".....At the word, "Stop", they all try to place their hands on a kneeling players head.

In the Processional Couple Games, the players hold

hands together and move up and downwards in long ways set. There are few reports of games of this sort. There are two types. One type is similar to the Round Couple games, the other not.

The Last Couple Out also involves an extra player who tries to beat one of the players for his partner in a race. (Taranaki 90; Collingwood 00).

In all the other types mentioned the partners proceed together making various dancing and encircling movements and moving under arches. Games of this type mentioned are Duck under Water (Moutere 1900) (Gomme V.1, p.112). The Grand Old Duke of York (Dunedin 90, Christchurch 05, Fordell 00, Nelson 75). This has been known more frequently in recent years. Thread the Needle (Dunedin 65; Taieri 60; Waianiwa 63) Roger de Coverley (Dunedin 05).

Examples of the distribution of Singing Games in recent years are as follows.

36 Wellington Training College students (18 men and 18 women) were asked to list the singing games they had played when children and to note whether they played the games spontaneously in the playground, at parties or at picnics. Their records refer to the period between 1935 and 1945.

<u>GAME</u> Played at	<u>MALES</u>			<u>FEMALES</u>		
	<u>Playground;</u>	<u>Party;</u>	<u>Picnic;;</u>	<u>Playground;</u>	<u>Party;</u>	<u>Picnic;</u>
Oranges and Lemons	: 4	7	5	10	16	8
Nuts in May	: 2	5	2	8	12	5
Farmer in the Dell	: 1	1	-	3	5	2
Ring a Ring a Roses	: -	1	1	3	2	-
Drop the Handkerchief	: -	-	-	2	2	2
Poor Sally is a Weeping:	-	--	-	2	5	1
I wrote a letter	: -	-	-	1	2	-
In and Out Windows	: 3	-	-	-	1	1
Paw Paw Patch	: 1	-	-	-	-	-
Punchinello	: -	-	-	-	1	-
Old Roger	: -	-	-	-	1	-
Green Gravels	: -	-	-	1	1	-
Jolly Miller	: -	-	-	-	1	-
Luby Loo	: -	-	-	-	1	1

It is probable the frequencies would have been higher had the students been given lists of games to tick. In many cases there must have been games which were simply not recalled. However, the sex difference and the relative importance of the games correlates well with other sources of information.

Examples of the variety of games known in different schools in the 35/45 period are as follows. These examples are taken from the reports of Training College students. The examples are Greytown: Nuts and May, Oranges and Lemons, Ring a Ring a Roses, Poor Sally is A Weeping; Morrinsville: Nuts and May, Oranges and Lemons, In and Out the Windows, Ring a Ring a Roses, Old Mother Gray, Bobby Bingo, Jolly Miller, Poor Sally is A Weeping; Te Hapara: Grand Old Duke of York,

Drop the Handkerchief, Nuts and May, Oranges and Lemons,
 In and Out the Windows, Ring a Ring a Roses, Bobby Bingo,
 Thread the Needle, On the Mountain Stands a Lady; Fordell:
 Bobby Bingo, Jolly Miller, Fire on the Mountain, Nuts and May,
 Oranges and Lemons, Ring a Ring a Roses, Bobby Bingo.
 Kaiporora: Oranges and Lemons, Ring a Ring a Roses;
 Taumaranui: Bobby Bingo, Poor Sally is A Weeping, Nuts and
 May, Oranges and Lemons, Ring a Ring a Roses. Nuhaka:
 Bobby Bingo, Jolly Miller, Thread the Needle, Oranges and
 Lemons, Nuts and May, In and Out the Windows, Ring a Ring a
 Roses, Punchinello. Napier: How Many Miles to Babylon,
 Fire on the Mountain, Nuts and May, Oranges and Lemons,
 Ring a Ring a Roses, Bobby Bingo, Old Mother Gray. Palmerston
 North: Bobby Bingo, Thread the Needle, Poor Sally is A
 Weeping, Nuts and May, Oranges and Lemons, In and Out the
 Windows. Mt. Cook, Wellington: Poor Sally is A Weeping,
 Old Mother Gray, Bobby Bingo. Westport: Jolly Miller,
 Thread the Needle. Pongaroa: Fire on the Mountain,
 Jolly Miller.

In the following 34 schools (1949-50) the following
 Singing and Dialogue games were listed by the children. The
 schools were: Karori, North East Valley, Caversham, Forbury,
 Brightwater, Westport Nth. Ratapiko, Pongaroa, Hampden,
 Clifton Terrace, Bainham, Stoke, Horoeke, Makuri, Collingwood,
 Aorere, Bainham, Pakawau, Nelson, Upper Moutere, Onekaka,
 Motupipi, Kotinga, Stockton, Seddonville, Paenga, Lake Rotoma,
 Granity, Denniston, Millerton, Hokitika, Dobsen, Kaiata,
 Hokitika Convent. The games were listed with the following
 frequencies:

Oranges and Lemons was present in the lists of 24 schools out of 34

Farmers in the Dell	24	
Nuts in May	17	
Drop the Handkerchief	14	} 20
I wrote a Letter (which is the same game)	5	
Lucy Lucy Locket " " "	1	
Ring a Ring a Roses	12	
In and Out the Windows	2	} 8
Follow me to London (which is the same game)	1	
In and Out the Dusty Blue bells " "	2	
Round and Round the Village " "	3	
Punchinello	5	
Mulberry Bush	4	
Bingo	4	
Paw Paw Patch	3	
Jolly Miller	3	
Wash the Dishes	3	
Draw a Bucket of Water	3	
The Big Ship Sails	3	
The Grand Old Duke of York	3	
Old Ma Witch	2	} 4
Blackie (the same game)	1	
Mother Mother the Pot (the same game)	1	
Luby Loo	2	} 3
Hoki Toki (the same Game)	1	
Ghost in the Garden	2	
Old Mother Gray	2	
Poor Sally is A Weeping	2	

Botany Bay was present in the lists of	2 schools out of 34
Who Goes Round My Stone Wall	2
Here Comes a Duke a Riding	1
Sally Waters	1
Shoo Fly	1
Thread the Needle	1
Fire on the Mountains	1
Cobbler Shoe	1
Kiss in the Ring	1
Oats and Beans and Barley	1

From these lists it could hardly be concluded that Singing Games are in a thriving state in the schools today.

Examples of the range of games known at different schools are as follows. It is clear from these lists that the games the children know in the schools today is very dependent upon what is taught in the school. With a few isolated and individual exceptions these games are listed by the girls and not by the boys.

Forbury: Ghost in the Garden, Ring a Ring a Roses, Farmer in the Dell, Alley Alley Ooh, Punchinello, Oranges and Lemons, Nuts and May, I wrote a Letter, Round and Round the Village, Draw a Bucket of Water.

Christchurch Normal: Farmer in the Dell, I wrote a Letter, Oranges and Lemons, Old Mother Gray, Wash the Dishes, Lets go to London, See Saw Margery Daw.

Kohimui: Poor Jenny is A Weeping

Stoke: Witch and Jampots, Old Mother Gray, Jolly Miller, Poor Sally is A Weeping.

Horoeke: Drop the Handkerchief.

Ngaturi: Nil.

Aohunga: Nil.

Collingwood: Oranges and Lemons, Nuts and May, Ring a Ring a
Roses, Farmer in the Dell, Botany Bay, Fox and Chickens,

Bainham: Oranges and Lemons, Nuts and May.

Pakawau: Blackie

Nelson: Botany Bay.

Upper Moutere: Nuts and May, Oranges and Lemons, Drop the
Handkerchief.

Kotinga: Nuts and May, Farmer in the Dell, Ring a Ring a Roses,
Drop the Handkerchief.

Tarakohe: Oranges and Lemons, Nuts and May, Farmer in the Dell,
Punchinello.

Denniston: I wrote a Letter, Ships are Sailing, Ring a Ring a
Roses, Oranges and Lemons.

Millerton: Pancakes, Ring a Ring a Roses, Farmer in the Dell,
Bobby Bingo, I wrote a Letter.

Seddonville: Mother, daughter and wolf, Grand old Duke of York.

Paenga: Honki-Tonk, Cobbler's Shoe, Drop the Handkerchief,
Good Morning Oh. King.

Hokitika: Wash the Dishes, In and Out the Windows, Nuts and
May, The Sleeping Queen.

Those who have been most concerned with the explanation
of Singing and Dialogue Games, have been the folklorists. Their
interpretation of these games has remained practically
unchallenged for fifty years although this is not because their

theses have been incontestable. It is, rather that no one has arisen to contest them, which has occurred because the folklorists have been practically the only ones interested in these formal games. In actual fact the assumptions upon which their approach to games has rested have been refuted many times, but the refutation of these assumptions has not been applied specifically to games. Consequently, in this field of child lore, outmoded habits of interpretation have persisted.

As it is the aim of this thesis to understand what significance these games have (and had) in the lives of the child players, the best approach to the matter of explanation would appear to be through a review of the explanations made by the juvenile folklorists.

Before the foundation of the English Folklore Society, antiquarian activity was in the main concerned with the collection of folklore materials (including games) rather than with the explanation of them.¹ On the whole, the English Folklore Society, after its initiation in 1878, adopted a similar attitude.² Nevertheless, early in the history of the English Folklore Society, several writers

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1. See in particular: Strutt Joseph, Sports and Pastimes of the English People, 1801; Chambers Robert, Popular Rhymes of Scotland, London, 1870; Northall G.F., English Folk Rhymes, London, 1892; The English, County Books of Folklore, and the English and American Journals of Folklore.
 2. An approach formulated by W.J. Thoms in 1846. See appendix to Folklore Record, Vol. 11, 1879 and prospectus attached to Folklore Record, Vol. 1, 1878, p.1.

formulated the conception that the material of folklore was replete with the survivals of earlier and historical times, and that these survivals in folklore material, could be¹ used to reconstruct the nature of those earlier times. That is, they believed that a study of folklore could be² used to throw light on the course of history. It should be made clear at this point that the 'reconstruction of history'³ was the main concern of the contemporary anthropology. Juvenile Folklorists in England, in particular Lady A.B. Gomme, applied this thesis about the use of survivals in⁴ folklore to the study of folkgames. She sought to use games⁵ for the light they could throw on history. Most of her work was carried on in the 1880's and '90's. Subsequently folklorists took over her habit of discussing games in terms of their historical origins, and converted it into a method of

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1. In particular in England, Tylor. See Tylor E.B., Primitive Culture, London, 1871, Vol.1, p.16-17, and Anthropology, London, 1881, p.305; Marret R.R. E.B. Tylor, London, 1936, p.26, and Psychology and Folklore, London, 1919, c/o the chapter on 'Survivals'.
 2. Haddon A.C., History of Anthropology, London, 1910, p.139, derives the conception from the work of German scholars on Grimm's "Märchen". According to Archer Taylor (American Folklore Society) the German scholar who applied this thesis to games was Rocholz whose work "Alemannishches kinderlied und kin erspiel" appeared about 1857 and influenced the leading early American Juvenile Folklorist W.W. Newall whose work Games and Songs of American Children appeared in 1881 (Private correspondence).
 3. Herskovits M.J., Man and His Works, New York, 1948, p.17 & p.467.
 4. Gomme A.B., Dictionary of British Folklore, Part 1 Traditional Games, Vols. 1 and 11. She was affected most immediately by Tylor op. cit., and her husband Sir L. Gomme, particularly his Ethnology in Folklore, London, 1892, p.14.
 5. *ibid.* Vol.11, p.458.

explaining them. In their hands the quest for the origins of the games, for their historical value, subtly slipped into a quest for the games' origins for their explanatory value. It is not possible to say at what point this change in attitude took place because originally there was no distinction made. In the period, generally known as the period of 'Classical Anthropology', the two activities, historical and hermeneutic, were not separate.

Lewis Spence was the first juvenile folklorist to indicate any awareness that there were difficulties involved in this position. In a very brief preface in his "Myth and Ritual in Dance, Game and Rhyme" 1947, he sought to justify the traditional folklorist explanation of games in terms of their historical origins. His justification, however, ---which included a scornful reference to 'psychological factors' ---- was not a detailed defence of the position. It was only an assertion of the position's¹ validity.

As Spence, and most other juvenile folklorists, have had much the same explanatory approach as that adopted by Lady Gomme, it is appropriate to deal in some detail with her views. These views can be stated as four theses. Firstly, she believed that children's games originated in adult customs. Secondly, she held that the children imitated their games from these adult customs. Thirdly, she maintained that the children's games were preserved intact over the centuries by virtue of a 'dramatic faculty' in

1. As quoted Spence p. i - v.

children, and fourthly, that games could be used to throw light on history.

To deal with her theses in turn: Gomme's view, that children's games had their origins in adult customs, never made it clear how immature young children could have derived their complex traditional games directly from these adult customs. And it is difficult to see how this could have occurred. Firstly, because the adult customs which were supposed to have been the basis of the games were, in reality, very different from them. The custom of Marriage by Capture was not really very much like the game of Nuts and May, which was supposed, by Gomme, to have been based upon it.¹ Secondly, the majority of the traditional games (Singing and Dialogue) were far too complex for children to have invented them of their own accord. Gomme's references to the process of transformation from custom to game were full of confusion.² Contrary to her belief, that children derived their games from adult customs, it seems clear that, originally, children must have derived their games from adult games, not from adult customs (which were not games). The adults, not the children, that is, were the original inventors of the games.³ The Folklorists and ethnologists who came after Gomme claimed that games. (whether adult or children's games, it was seldom clearly stated) were derived from a particular type of adult

1. op. cit., Vol. 1, p.47.

2. Compare for example Vol.11, p.484, with Vol. 11, p.517.

3. A point supported by Bancroft J.H., Games, p.23.

custom, namely, from ritual practices.¹ But in the presentation of their views, these authorities seldom gave any detailed explanation of the way in which the ritual practices were supposed to have given rise to the children's games. More recently Huizinga has claimed, that their position was indefensible, that play and games preceeded,² and were not originated by ritual activities.

Gomme's second thesis, a thesis allied with the first, was, that the transformation from adult custom to child game took place because the children 'imitated' the adult customs. The concept of imitation was a much over used method of explaining children's play and games, in Gomme's day.³ The concept is subject to the criticisms already made, that is, that children themselves could not have been responsible for imitating and originating their complex games. Later Juvenile Folklorists continued to use the concept of imitation. Sometimes they spoke simply of 'Imitation', and at others they dignified the concept as the, "Faculty of Imitation"⁴ or "Mimesis".⁵ The greatest weakness in their use of this concept was the fact that in using it,

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1. For example: Haddon A.C., The Study of Man, p.364; Culin S., The Games of North American Indians, 24th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1907; Burns C.S. Ed., The Handbook of Folklore, p.248; Betts H., The Games of Children - Their Origin and History; Lewis Spence, op. cit.; Daiken Leslie, Children's Games Throughout the Year.
 2. Huizinga J., Homo Ludens, London, 1949, p.17. See also Benedict R., Ritual, c/o Encyclopedia of Social Science, Vol.13, p.396.
 3. See, for example, Flugel J.C., A Hundred Years of Psychology, p.140.
 4. Betts, op. cit., p.8.
 5. Spence, op. cit., p.69.

they overlooked the fundamentally imaginative nature of children's play. They overlooked the fact that children's play is seldom directly imitative but is always selective¹ and contains subjective as well as objective traits.

Gomme's third thesis was that games once imitated from custom were preserved over the centuries by virtue of² the dramatic faculty in children. In a somewhat obscure manner she invoked the scholastic concept of unitary mental faculties. This dramatic faculty in children was supposed to have retained the games of long ago, unchanged throughout hundreds of years. But there is no justification in her work for any detailed analysis of her rather obscure application of this doctrine. It is sufficient to realize that the doctrine was still largely unchallenged in her time and could be presupposed in her work.³ Other folklorists explained the preservation of old customs in games in terms of the conservatism of young children.⁴ There is evidence to suggest, however, that games were not retained by children for centuries after they were originated. For example, it seems that the children's games of today were quite recently the games of adults.⁵

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1. Their weakness at this point was a weakness which runs all the way through folklore says Benedict R., Folklore, Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Vol. 5, p.292.
 2. *ibid.* Vol. 11, p.514.
 3. Burt, C., Historical Note on Faculty Training, c/o Spens Report. Valentine C.W., The Faculty Psychology and the Doctrine of Formal Training, A Review of Educational Thought, London, p.60.
 4. Opie P., Children's Links with Long Ago, John O'London's Weekly, Dec. 23rd, 1949, p.781.
 5. For example Eckenstein L., Comparative Studies in Nursery Rhymes, p.57; Opie P., *ibid*; Haddon, op. cit., p.334.

And there is other evidence to suggest that in earlier times they were constantly changing. Even Gomme cites evidence to this effect without apparently realizing its¹ inconsistency with her main theses.

Gomme's fourth thesis was that games could be used to reconstruct the passage of history, but, games, which are essentially of an imaginative nature, can hardly be used as historical evidence without the support of real evidence² from other and non-imaginative sources. Tylor and Culin originally accepted the view that games could be used for³ historical reconstruction, but this view was later modified⁴ by Culin himself and also by Haddon. Raglan and Benedict⁵ claimed that the idea is not feasible; that Folk material cannot be used as a type of historical evidence.

The upshot of these various criticisms is that it is not possible to understand games purely in terms of their historical origins -- for the greater part it is not even possible to know very accurately what those origins were.

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1. *op. cit.*, Vol. 11, p.500.
 2. See for example Gomme, *op. cit.*, Vol. 11, p.360.
 3. Tylor E., *Remarks on the Geographical Distribution of Games*, *Jnl. of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 1X, 1880, p.23; Culin S., *Mancala, the National Games of Africa*, *Smithsonian Institute Report*, 1894, p.597.
 4. Culin, S., *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 11, 1898, p.24; Haddon, *op. cit.*, p.282.
 5. Benedict R., *op. cit.*; Raglan Lord, *The Origin of Folk-culture*, *Folklore*, Vol. 46, 1935, p.37. See also Lord Raglan, *The Hero*, London, 1949, Chapter 1.

It is clear from this discussion of the folklorist approach to games, that some alternative, or rather additional approach must be made if these games are to be fully explained. An alternative and psychological approach has been suggested by Ernest Jones. He says we should seek a solution for the significance of folkgames, their ultimate origins and survivals in the analysis of unconscious impulses. He says, for example, "the actual psycho-analysis of young children has shown that both their spontaneously invented games and the traditional ones they adopt so eagerly are often the symbolic expression of infantile sexuality."¹ It is held here that such an approach has something to add to the folklorist explanation of these games in terms of their historical origins.

In the pages that follow suggestions are made about the significance that these games seem to have for children and reasons are offered to explain why children have continued to play some of these Singing and Dialogue games until the present day. It must be insisted however, that the explanations advanced are considered to be of a tentative nature only. The topics for discussion are as follows: the social significance of chain circle forms; the social significance of the choral form; the unconscious significance of the circle forms, of the enclosure games and of the dialogue games; then the social^{and} unconscious significance

1. Quoted James E.O., *The Approach to the Study of Folklore*, Folklore Vol. XLVII, 1931, p.233.

of the couple games and the He-circle games. It will be clear from the following discussion that the classificatory system adopted above is based partly on historical and partly on psychological considerations.

The question to be asked first, is why do children play games with a chain circle formation? Gomme says, "The circle games I consider to be survivals of dramatic representations of customs performed by the people of one village or of one town or tribe ... Thus I am inclined to consider joining of hands in a circle as a sign of amity, alliance and kinship ... When hands are joined all round so that a circle is formed, all are concerned in the performance of the same ceremony. There is no division of parties, neither is difference of opinions shown either by action or words in circle games."¹ Modern play psychologists have also stressed this social significance of the games, though of course they omit the historical reference, which is Gomme's chief point. Thus Lee says "There is in the ring game the sense of belonging to a social whole ... we feel and care about the ring itself. There is a sense of personal loss if it gets broken -- to have it squashed in on one side gives a sense of impaired personality."² There is evidence in the playground that the circle formation has this social significance attributed to it by the psychologists. It is

1. Gomme, op. cit., Vol.11, p.478.

2. Lee J., Play in Education, p.139.

an everyday fact of the infant playground, for example, that children will express their 'togetherness' by joining hands. Long lines of infants can be seen at any time running around the playground hand in hand, crying, "Who'll play Cowboys and Indians, Who'll Play, Who'll Play." "Who'll play Cowboys and Indians, Who'll Play, Who'll Play." They will cry this "chant" aloud for a whole "playtime" but may never begin to actually play the game. Obviously they enjoy the 'vocal' and 'physical' corporateness of this pastime. At other times, infants, using the same information, will turn it into a game such as, Catching the girls, or Fish in the Net. In drill the same activity is officially known as "Chain Tag". Occasionally the game is to be seen in the primary school, and then mostly on wet days as a game for 'warming-up'. After the infant school years, however, boys do not typically express their 'togetherness' by holding hands,¹ although girls continue to do so. Groups of primary girls, generally three or four, are often to be seen wandering round the playground, arms linked together or behind each others backs, doing little else but 'chattering' and occasionally singing. Females continue to express their sociability in this way to an advanced age. Quite often I have seen adolescent girls basket-ball players so linked as they walked along the street. Perhaps children 'learn' this spontaneous method for expressing sociability when their mothers first lead them

1. See further Chapter 19.

by the hand.

However, although infants spontaneously and frequently link hands, I have never seen infant children spontaneously form themselves into a circle formation. They seldom form these spontaneously themselves until the primary years, although they will readily join in such activities when they are led by teachers or older children. This account is not, however, quite complete. In their chain linked formations infants occasionally form into, or almost into, a circle. This happens at those climacteric points in a game of, Fish in the Net, when the net closes round and encloses the pursued person. At these moments and by the accident of the desire to 'catch' someone, these chain-linked players learn that encirclement is then an effective expression of their united purpose. The circle-formation is, therefore, not entirely 'learned' from others, though the original hand-holding upon which it depends, may well be. The forms of chain circle games in which this 'social' motive appears quite sufficient to sustain the games as they now exist, are the 'Ecstatic' forms. In these games the enjoyment consists almost entirely in singing and shouting certain words and doing certain actions in unison. And of these Ring a Ring a Roses is the most typical.

The line ^{type} of game, or the choral front chain game involves two lines of players advancing towards and retiring from each other. There are fewer examples of this form than of the chain circle form. (Nuts and May, The Three Dukes Surrender the Tower). This form does not, therefore, seem

to have been as natural to young children as was the chain circle form. An older age-level was probably required to manage the two team formation of the choral front game.

It is of interest that this type of game is said by Sachs to have occurred at a later historical period than the ring game.¹ Certain changing and advanced conditions of psychological development may have been as necessary for the historical growth of the two team form, as they are for the development of the two team form by children today. However, the establishment of such an ontogenetic and phylogenetic parallel is no proof that that was the case.

According to Gomme, the line chain game is a survival of historical customs of conflict in contradistinction to the circle chain game which is a survival of kinship customs.² Gomme's approach, however, neglects the existence of psychological factors. For example, it has been mentioned that she attempts to explain the nature of Nuts in May by reference to an ancient custom of 'Marriage by Capture'. She assumes that this custom was generally practised in early times. But Raglan presents evidence to show that this type of marriage was not general. Nevertheless, although the game of Nuts in May may not have originated in any custom of marriage by capture, it is a feasible proposition that it (and others of a like nature) arose out of a psychological motive, out of a desire to marry in a capturing manner, or out

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1. Sachs Curt, World History of the Dance, London, 1938, p.144.
 2. Gomme, op. cit., V.11, p.477.

of a desire to seize a partner for oneself. This is, surely, not a very remote piece of psychological analysis. It can be shown as supporting evidence that there are capturing games of the school playground today in which children of the opposite sexes play out just such a desire to seize one another in a capturing manner. (Chapter 17).

The view that the line formation expresses conflict appears to have a valid psychological foundation. It has been noted above that young children spontaneously link hands together to pursue other children when they are chasing them. That is, they link hands to pursue other children with whom they are in conflict. The linked hands expresses the groups' unity. The open formation may express, among other things, the groups' preparedness for conflict. There are, for example, records of older forms of the He games, Bar the Door and Prisoner's Base (Chapter 17) in which one team opposed the other in this hand linked line formation. One team held hands in a long line and the individuals of the other team tried to smash their way through those hands. ('Horney' Wakefield 75 and Waianiwa 70; 'Peggy' Waikowaiti 85) Strutt records that several hundred years ago the hand-linked type of Prisoner's base was the typical form.¹ In the more recent forms of these games, on the otherhand, the tendency has been for the team to line out across its area, but not to join hands. The same tendency is apparent in Rugby Football. The two opposing back

1. Strutt J., op. cit., p.67.

formations line up opposite each other, but their hands are not linked. It may be that the tendency to join hands in the historically older forms of these He games (and Singing Games) was an expression of the greater 'group-mindedness' that prevailed in earlier times. An expression perhaps of¹ what Fromm calls the bonds of pre-individualistic society. Perhaps today, when co-operation takes place in these games, it arises upon a more individualistic basis and thus is expressed not in a hand-linked group, but in a line of individuals.

But there are other characteristics of these chain circle and chain line games which have not yet been explained. And to explain them it appears necessary to call upon theses concerning the unconscious motivation of the players. This section, therefore, must be regarded as of a more speculative nature than that which preceded it. Consider first the circle chain games.

Daiken says "The ring game, *ronde*, as it is called in France, and *round* in the Middle English Period, is a survival among children of very ancient tribal customs and fertility rituals."² He implies that in these fertility rituals the ring formation, with the individual in the centre and the players grouped round, symbolizes the male and female sexual organs respectively. What he means by this is clarified by Sach who says, that it is customary in primitive circle dances to dance round a phallic object such as a tree a pole or a fire.³

1. Fromm E., The Fear of Freedom, p.39.

2. Daiken, op. cit., p.77.

3. Sachs K., op. cit., p.146.

It is clear from Sachs's writings, however, that the form of this sexual symbolism varies from culture to culture.¹ At first sight it is difficult to see that this attribution of unconscious sexual motives to the original primitive practice of circle games has any relevance to the circle games of young children. However, Sachs further explains that the sexual significance of these primitive games is not just the fact that the circle and the centre player have the phallic and other significance attributed to them. "The Fertility rites ... do not take the outward motor (sex) act as a theme. They strive after a mystic taking possession of one sex by the enclosing and circling of the other."² How then, could this apply to children? Could it be held that in enclosing each other in circles children satisfy some need to completely enclose some other person? If this is the case, what then could that need be? Psychoanalysts claim that the young child's sexual need expresses itself along just these lines; that their sexual need expresses itself as a desire to obtain someone else exclusively for oneself. Thus it is said: "The oedipus complex, to which so many sinister allusions are made ... is merely a handy, almost algebraical way of denoting the whole set of feelings attached to the natural impulse of all children to crave for exclusive love usually from the parent of the opposite sex."³

1. Sachs K., op. cit., p.146.

2. *ibid*, p.67.

3. Freud A., The Psycho-Analytical Treatment of Children, p.vi/ There are other ways of defining the oedipus situation. See e.g. Levin A.J., The Oedipus Myth in History and Psychiatry, Psychiatry Vol.11, No.3, 1948.

If it can be claimed that the child identifies herself with the encircling group --- and unless she can do this, she is a non-player -- then perhaps she reads into the encircling and enclosing activities of that group her own oedipal desires. That is when the group completely encloses another player she reads into that group act of enclosure, her desire for the opposite player in the drama of her own unconscious life.

There are other characteristics of these games which support interpretation along these lines. Firstly, there is in these games much attention given to the matter of choice. In most of the circle chain games the central character chooses someone from the periphery - "The Farmer takes a Wife" (Farmer in the Dell), "Who do you choose Punchinello?" (Punchinello), "Stand up straight upon your feet and choose the one you love so sweet?" (Pretty Little girl of Mine), "Look to the East and Look to the West and look to the very one that you love best." (Sally Waters.) Now, if it is true that children desire exclusive possession of the parent of the opposite sex, and if it is true that children can read such an unconscious desire into a game of this nature, then clearly to be chosen by the central character (unconsciously identified as the opposite sex parent) would be every child's wish.

Further, if these assumptions be accepted, and if children do make this identification of oedipal desires with the actions of the chain circle games, then it is highly probable that the circle shape itself --- always from ancient

times a symbol of completion ¹ --- symbolizes for the children the unity and security of their own homes. Children would make this identification of the circle with their home, not because the circle is spatially much like a house, but simply because both the circle and the home confine the children within their spatial boundaries. It is probable that the children's attitude to spatial arrangements -- like that of some primitive peoples -- is not determined by any sense of objective measurements, but is determined by an emotional recognition of the values which certain types of spaces have for them. ² The confining space of both home and circle, in this respect, would share emotional essentials.

Within this circle, this enclosing home, children may be chosen by the central character. Alternatively -- and even better -- they may become the centre, the innermost character themselves (the *pia mater*) -- and have the right to choose whomsoever they will. But this motive of choice can be seen from another point of view. When a girl has the right to choose the other players she is temporarily the leader of the game. It is no coincidence therefore that it is at -- what will later be termed -- the leader game age (S.2/3) that girls enjoy running singing games (See Chapter 18). It is probable that the contemporary popularity of *Punchinello* and *Farmer in the Dell* is partially due to the allowance these

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1. Jung G.J., *The Integration Of Personality*, London, 1940, p.46.
 2. Frankforts Mr. & Mrs. H., Wilson J.A., Thorkild J., Before Philosophy, Penguin Books, 1949, p.36.

games make for so many alternating leaders who can choose as they please.

It is worth noting that some of the enclosure chain games contain a similar element of choice (that is, as well as the circle chain games and the choral chain games). In 'Oranges and Lemons' for example, the individual player who is caught must choose between the two players who form the arch. She must choose between 'Gold' and 'Silver' or some such. Daiken contends that the chopping action which precedes the choosing in this game "enshrines ancient sacrificial killing."¹ All that can be said about the chopping motive today (but see further Chapter 17) is that, when the player goes under the arch and the arch players chant "Chip chop, chip chop, this man's head right off", then the chopped player is out of the game. She loses her independence of action. Next she chooses between one of the two arch players and takes up her stand behind that player. Finally, when all the players have been "chopped off" and have chosen one of the two sides, there is a tug of war. Each individual pulls on the side she has chosen. If her group wins the tug of war then, in effect, she wins the game. In other words, each player identifies herself with one arch player in order to win power over the other arch player. This type of choice may also have the significance that momentarily at least it enables the player to choose another person exclusively for herself. On the

1. Daiken, op. cit., p.100.

otherhand the game may draw upon another experience which is said to occur in the oedipus situation. It is said that the child who desires the exclusive possession of the opposite sex parent, unable to achieve this, identifies itself with, and models itself upon, the same sex parent. Thereafter it adopts the tactics of the same sex parent as its own role, in this case represented by the 'Tug O War'.

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The chain circle pantomime games¹ in which the children in the circle imitate the actions of the lady in the centre, the Punchinello, and their household chores, add further support to the view that children identify in these games the affairs and relationships of their "family circle".²

When the Singing games of Enclosure are considered, the above mentioned motives require amplification. It will be recalled that in the description of 'Enclosure' games the players are 'encircled' in various ways, either the players wind in and out amongst other players or wind right around them, encircle them or hold them.

It has already been suggested that children identify the circle 'enclosure' with the enclosing nature of the home and the love ties within the home. What is the significance of the analagous acts of encirclement in these enclosure games?

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1. Originally the mimicry of these games is said to have been also of, what Spence terms, a 'methectic' nature. That is intended to urge on the object of imitation to activity. Thus Oats and Beans and Barley was meant to urge on the Spring Growth. See Spence op. cit., p.7; see also Huizinga, op. cit., p.15.
 2. The expression 'family circle' may contain a deeper psychological truth than is generally realized.

The thesis presented here is that these games represent various ways in which children identify, in game form, the 'enclosing' activities they experience in the home. It is doubtful, however, if the particular type of game enclosure could be traced to a particular type of home experience. Too many other factors enter into the nature of games to make any such simple identification possible. It is held, nevertheless, that in a general way, children unconsciously identify in these game forms, enjoyments of a nature analogous to those they have previously experienced in the home; enjoyments of the home, such as being hugged by parents, being held by parents in a variety of ways, being wound up in clothes, being tucked into bed, being enclosed in a home by parents. Children have always enjoyed these physical acts of enclosure. It would not be surprising if their games continued to embody similar types of enjoyment, or rather, types of enjoyment based on the same motives. Again, some of the children's enjoyment of these enclosing games may arise from the protective significance which the circles have -- a protective significance not unlike enclosing arms. Some circle games quite definitely express a protective function. Consider, for example, the circle that protects the mouse from the cat¹ in Cat and Mouse.

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1. The protective significance that circle games may have, is brought out more clearly in the descriptions of the circle games of the Muria. See Elwin Verrier, The Muria and their Ghotul, London, 1947, particularly the game Mao Karsana p.572, and Round Games p.576.

The question may well be asked, however, why is it that in games of this nature, children should draw upon experiences which are more relevant to their past than their present? These 'enclosing' experiences they have shared with their parents, are experiences which they gradually grow out of. Why, therefore, should the games continue to perpetuate these experiences? The answer seems to be that these games do not arise just as an imitation of these erstwhile experiences (children do not regularly imitate what lies behind them in growth) but that they arise out of a regressive desire for these earlier experiences. And this regressive desire arises because as children grow in independence they experience anxieties associated with that independence, and cast longing eyes back to the greater security of their previous dependence upon the home. (Matters dealt with more fully in the next chapter).

Alexander expresses the conflict this way. "The progression from birth to maturity can be viewed as a series of steps towards the mastery of functions which make the human being independent of its parents ... The child, however, clearly resists his own progress towards maturity and clings to acquired adjustments ... particularly successful previous adjustments serve as fixation points."¹

We may not agree with Alexander that previous adjustments necessarily serve as fixation points (except in atypical cases) but it is possible to agree with him that

1. Alexander Franz, Fundamentals of Psychoanalysis, London, 1949, p.42.

that successful adjustments leave as their emotional residue, the desire for their continuation. The fact that the children's experiences of this nature are taken up into game form, and in that manner transformed, is an indication that the children are able, in this play, to develop beyond the experience itself. In other words the previous adjustment leaves an 'inclination' towards the past, but where that 'inclination' is incorporated in a new and developing activity, then the inclination does not serve as a fixation point. Rather it is 'reminscent' of the past and serves as an emotional 'bridge' between the old form of enjoyment and the new form. This is the viewpoint¹ taken by Gesell.

Alexander's statement, that previous successful experiences are fixation points, indicates a weakness which is prevalent in most psycho-analytic writing; that is, the existence of a tendency amongst psycho-analysts to judge the whole nature of an activity -- in this case a game -- by reference to the regressive characteristics the activity contains, when, on the contrary, the regressive characteristics should be considered in the light of the whole nature of the game. Even Isaacs has this negative emphasis when she speaks of the primary school child's striving for skills in play² (Chapter 22 in this thesis) as a "flight to reality". By

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1. Quoted by Mead M., On the Implications for Anthropology of the Gesell-Ilg approach to Maturation, in Haring D.G., Ed., Personal Character and Cultural Milieu, New York, 1949, p.510.
 2. Isaacs S., The Social Development of Young Children, p.320.

emphasizing that the acquisition of independent skills, means giving up the satisfactions of dependence on the mother's skills; and by terming the former a 'flight' to reality, she implies that all growth is essentially a matter¹ of running away from a more desired to a less desired fate. This fallacy arises from attributing prime causal and metaphysical importance to those facets of life which are of most importance in psycho-analytic study. From a point of view of this thesis, the important thing to notice is that, with normal children, the real path is taken towards independence, not that at the points of departure from earlier psychological states, play gives expression to regressive impulses towards there earlier and more² dependent states. For example, Roheim, discussing the children's games of Duau, also illustrates the manner in which games can mirror both backward looking tendencies and also themselves represent a step forwards, a new adjustment. In discussing Duau children's parallels to the above enclosure games. He says, "In the light of Hermann's findings on the grasping reflex of clinging to the mother, and the tendency to find substitutes to cling to, we gain further insight into the motives underlying these (enclosure) games ... The loss of the enclosing mother is not an irretrievable loss, for in the group the playing child finds a substitute

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1. See Nunn's comments in this essentially negative approach of psycho-analysis, Education, Its Data and First Principles, p.74.
 2. We return to this point in Section 111, Chapter 24.

for the absent mother."¹

In order to discuss the Dialogue games adequately, which is our next concern, the regressive impulses just mentioned, require even further elaboration. Jung has something to say about the fantasy creations that result from a regressive but unsatisfied desire to turn back.² He claims that there is evidence in mythology and folklore to show that the desire to turn back (in his terms, 'the regressive portion of the libido') expresses itself in the 'fantasy' belief that if the individual can return to the womb he will be born again in a new and more valued form.³ He says that in mythology the "motive of encöiling" (the same motive of enclosure we are discussing here in connection with games) is associated with the symbolism of the mother and rebirth.⁴ To be "encoiled", he says, is to be taken back into the mother's care (or womb), and from thence to be born again in a way more remarkable than the first. But, he says,

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1. Roheim G., Children's Games and Rhymes in Duaua, Am. Anthropol. Vol. no.45, p.117.
 2. Jung C.G., Psychology of the Unconscious, London, 1919, p.152.
 3. He is supported in this by Jones E., The Psychology of Religion, in Lorand S., Ed., Psycho Analysis today, London, 1948, p.320.
 4. The similarity of the motives in mythology and games and their analagous expressions may well be misleading. Jung's writings are based on the acceptance of the psychic unity of mankind and, consequently, he makes statements about mankind. ^{which should be made about only a portion of mankind.} Nevertheless, the parallel made here seems to be illuminating. For criticisms of Jung's type of approach, see: Weston La Barre, Psychology and Folklore, Jnl. of Am. Folklore, Vol. 61, No. 242, 1948, p.289; and Benedict R., Folklore, Encyclopedia of Soc. Sci., Vol. 5, p.289.

this very desire to turn back is forbidden. Growth thrusts the child forwards, not backwards. A desire to return to the womb, says Jung, is an incestuous desire and therefore illicit. Consequently, mythology represents this 'regressive libido' not only as the desire to return to womb dependence but also as the fear of doing so. In the mythology there is ambivalence; the desire to be encoiled by the woman and the¹ fear of being so encoiled.

In Dialogue games there appear to be representations of both these impulses .. There appear to be representations of the desire to be encoiled or captured by the women and representations of the fear of being encoiled or captured by the women. The Dialogue games of the Capture or stealing type embody these tendencies. In the games "Who Goes Round My Stone Wall" and "The Ghost in the Garden" the children are frightened that they will be stolen away. In "Mother Mother the Pot Boils Over", still widespread throughout New Zealand, the hated lady actually incorporates the children. One by one the Witch catches the children, 'Monday, 'Tuesday', 'Wednesday' etc., and eats them up. Later they are found once more by their 'good' mother, after which, they are reborn as honeypots, vegetables, or pieces of meat through the Witch's legs. These new born baby-children then hold

1. This is, of course, only the very barest and general statement of the motives which are involved. The matter is more complex than is suggested here. See for example, Roheim's remarks on the "Witch Drama" in various cultures in "Psychoanalysis and Anthropology" Ed. Harding. op. cit., p. 578.

their arms round their legs in the curled up fashion of a
¹ neonate. In this position they are swung to and fro by
 the arms, and their value is adjudged by the length of the
 time they can retain the neonate posture while being swung.
 There are other games also in which the same motives appear
 to operate. In some He-games children talk of being "eaten-
² up" when they are caught. In these He games (of the next
 chapter) however, there is some evidence for the view that
 the 'eating-up' is done by a He character not a Witch
 character. It seems that the Ghost in the garden (which is
 only daddy's night shirt) and the Wolf or the Fox round the
 stone wall, may also have He-characteristics.

It is probable that the same witch motive is at the
 basis of some of Grimm's Fairy Tales. For example, The "Wolf
 and Seven Kids"; in this story the wolf gobbles up the kids
 in a fashion and circumstances remarkably like those portrayed
 in "Mother Mother the Pot Boils Over." Later the mother
 goat rescues the kids from the wolf's stomach just as the
³ Pot Mother takes them from between the Witch's legs.

There may perhaps be some connection between this
 fear of being swallowed up by the Witch and that widespread
 phobia of childhood, that the child will be "sucked down the

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1. For parallels examples of birth through the legs in legend and primitive practice. See Frazer Sir J., The Golden Bough, Abrid. Edit., London, 1949, p.14-15.
 2. These may be interpreted alternatively as related to the oral-sadistic impulses which Klein describes. Klein M., The Early Development of Conscience, Psycho-analysis Today, op. cit., p.69.
 3. Scharl Joseph, Grimm's Fairy Tales, Complete edit. p.39.

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waste-pipe of the bath!"

The other Dialogue games involve elements of caricature and teasing. Old Mother Gray is teased by the children until she chases them. The Old Woman from Botany Bay mustn't be laughed at. In 'Mother Mother the Pot Boils Over' there is a large amount of beating, thrashing and whipping. The fact that all the children are whipped after they have been stolen away, suggests that the mother knows that it is really their fault (their desire) that they were so stolen. It is not the Witch's fault, it is their fault. They are the naughty children. These caricature and teasing games may be a variation on the Witch theme already suggested. Perhaps by taunting the 'feared' woman the children are unconsciously attempting to grow out of their real fear of her. On the otherhand this taunted mother may be a representation of one aspect of the children's normally ambivalent attitude towards their mothers. Susan Isaacs has pointed out, that the children's conflict over their love and hate for the one parent, is the fundamental conflict in their life.

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One manner in which the children can help to solve this conflict for themselves, she says, is by dividing the love and hate for the one parent into separate characters. The children can project the hated

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1. Hughes Richard, Childhood Days -- The World of the Nose, in Eng. Listener, July 13th, 1950. See also Hartley L.P., The Shrimp and the Anemone, p.147.
 2. Isaacs Susan is, The Nursery as a Community in Richman J. Ed., On Bringing Up of Children.

mother onto other people, or represent her in a game of this nature. Old Mother Gray can be taunted and teased because she is not the good mother and there is no fear of her love being withdrawn. This same ambivalence is probably responsible for the fact that several of the games contain a good and a bad mother. There is the Mother and the Witch, the Mother and the Ghost, and the Mother and the Grandmother.

The fact that the mother has charge of the other players means that these Dialogue games also provide scope for the Leader interest in young girls lives (See Chapter 18).

As has been already mentioned the Couple Singing Games appear to have been historically an older game than the chain games. Psychologically they are of a more mature nature.

It was noted that the object of the players in the chain circle games was to gain the central position, or to be chosen by the central player. In the Round Couple games on the contrary the object of the players is to keep out of the central position. All the players in couple games, male and female, walk round the circle going in opposite directions. There is always an unequal number of players. After the players have "made their grab" for a partner the one left over is unpartnered. But this player is not the cynosure of the chain circle games, he is the unpartnered fool.¹ In that respect he resembles the traditional fool of folklore.

1. See for example Kennedy, op. cit., 'The First Actor', p.91; and Fraser, op. cit., 'Public Scapegoats', p.562.

The difference between the position of the central players in the two different types of games reflects fairly clearly the difference between the outlooks of the youths who play the couple games and the young girls who play the chain circle games. The youths wish to couple with another player on the periphery of the circle. The young children wish themselves to be the central player and to be enclosed by all the rest. If, as has been suggested, the circle symbolizes for the younger players, security and a central place in the family circle, then the couple games indicate that the youths no longer want that position of infantile centrality.

The He-Circle games take up an intermediary position between the chain circle and the round couple games. In the chain circle games the players want the central position. In the He circle games which have chain circle form the players do not want to be the centre player. They do not want to be Bingo. They want to stay by themselves on the periphery. Kiss in the Ring and Drop the Handkerchief take the matter one step further. The players on the periphery are still in chain circle form, they still do not want to be the centre player, they still do not want to be chased by the centre player, but, in Drop the Handkerchief, like it or not, they are now occasionally having dealings with a partner on this outer circle. Kiss in the Ring goes one step further. Some players probably desire the partner and the kiss. Others may not, but, in either case, the advantage of a

partner in the outer circle is being clearly demonstrated. In the Round Couple games the matter is taken a final step. Every player now seeks a partner.

In summary, in the chain circle games all the players want the central position, in the He circle games they want to avoid the centre position and in the round couple games the centre player is the unpartnered fool who has been unable to find himself a wife in the circular procession of love.

The processional couple games are of two types. In one type there is an extra player (Last Couple Out) as is the case with the round couple games. In the majority of these processional games, however, there is no competition and the players proceed their appointed ways through arches in circles and in other formations, unchallenged in their partnership. In the arches, winding, circles and pair-dancing, these dances recapitulate some of the actions of the earlier chain dances but in the new setting of partnership. These games are the final type as far as childhood is concerned.

In conclusion, it is noticeable that, of the types of games mentioned above, the games which have survived are those which are played mainly by the younger children and which give scope to motives which are important in their psychology. The couple games have gone from children's spontaneous play. But the games which give scope for central players, leader-play and enclosure-play have survived. The circle chain games were always the most numerous and of these, Poor Sally is A Weeping and Farmer in

the Dell have survived. None of the funeral games have survived, and this may be due to the fact that the central player is not important in these games. Of the pantomime games, Punchinello has come to take the place of the others that have faded. Ring a Ring a Roses is an ecstatic circle game which persists. Nuts in May is the only survivor of the line chain games but I suspect that this often survives only because adults continue to organize it at parties. Of the enclosure chain games, In and Out the Windows and the Alley Alley Ooh have a modest patronage. Oranges and Lemons and Wash the Dishes are more widespread. Few of the Dialogue games are in a strong state of survival although Ghost in the Garden and Mother Mother the Pot Boils Over, are occasionally reported. Drop the Handkerchief persists, but none of the other He-circle games or Couple games do.

It seems legitimate to conclude, that the 'survival' of these traditional games is due to the fact that they continue to correspond to important and contemporary needs of the child players. Traditional games are not preserved, therefore, just because of childish conservatism.

The fact that the majority of these Singing and Dialogue games centre round the children's desire to be mothers, to act like mothers, or their fear of the Witch Mother, is the reason why this chapter has been entitled, The Drama of the Old Woman.

It is not imagined that these games which have been described above, are as yet adequately explained. Other

elements have yet to be dealt with. First, however, it is necessary to describe the nature of children's game rhymes.

Illustrative Material page 474 to page 486.

The largest number of Children's Game Rhymes in existence today are children's obscene rhymes. Next come the teasing rhymes, the skipping rhymes, the counting-out rhymes, the singing-game rhymes, the ball-bouncing rhymes, and innumerable other rhymes attached to various phases of child-life. All of these rhymes will be dealt with in turn except the obscene, teasing and nonsense rhymes which are dealt with in Chapter 20. The nature of the singing-game rhymes, has, already been indicated.

First, with reference to the Skipping Rhymes of Children. There are more skipping rhymes in children's play today than there were in earlier days. It is legitimate to infer that the interest which girls have in rhyme, has transferred from their Singing games (which are in a moribund state) to their skipping games which are very much alive. There are approximately fifty skipping rhymes in currency today of which I have record, whereas there is report of very few of these rhymes before 1900. Many of those interviewed claimed there were no skipping rhymes in their day (Timaru 80, Dunedin 90, Wakefield 75, Mt. Cook, Wn. 1880). Others reported that there were a few of these rhymes. "We had some rhymes" (Nelson 80) "We had chants" (Amberley 90). The only early rhyme of which I have record, is 'House to Let'. (Wellington 00, Dunedin 00). The fact that the English

Folklorists mention only a few skipping rhymes bears out the view that there were fewer skipping rhymes in earlier days. ¹ Uttley mentions only one (A.B.C. Silk Satin etc.) and Gomme ² who records hundreds of singing game rhymes mentions only ³ thirteen skipping rhymes. Thompson ⁴ does not mention any although she records many singing games. But, writing of London after 1910, Douglas records a whole host of these rhymes. This suggests that skipping rhymes arose into prominence in the transition period between 1900 and 1910. In New Zealand more rhymes appeared on the scene in this period. For example: Under the Water and When I was a Lady (Dunedin OO) Handy Pandy (Auckland OO) and 'Anzy Panzy' (Ohaupo 10). There is record of still more after World War 1. Thus: Cups and Saucers (Brightwater) All in Together (Cashmere) Old Mother Mason, House to Let, Mother mother I am ill, Bluebells Cockleshells, Ladybird (Waikari). And from this time onwards the rhymes gradually became as frequent as they are today.

These skipping game rhymes seem to have a variety of origins. Some derive from former singing games. Some come from old counting-out rhymes and other miscellaneous rhymes of childhood. Some are ^a mixture of many rhymes. "Rhymes frequently become tagged onto each other, in order to sustain

1. Uttley A., Country Things, p.63.

2. Gomme, op. cit., V.2. p.

3. Thompson F., Lark Rise.

4. The difficulty of discovering skipping rhymes for this early period cannot be reduced simply to obsolescence on the part of those interviewed. The same people had no difficulty remembering singing game rhymes.

the continuity in skipping such enjambement is a perfectly natural way of filling gaps caused through loss of memory."¹ Some rhymes, are old rhymes from other sources adjusted to the rhythmic nature of the skipping movements. Daiken points out that the metrical system of most skipping rhymes is extremely ancient, and that even the 'new' rhymes² are so stressed as to contribute to this old metre. There is definite evidence that the majority of the rhymes recorded³ have come from overseas. Adequate overseas documentation would probably establish the fact that possibly, with a few exceptions, they have all derived from overseas.

There are various types of skipping rhymes, and these can be classified in many ways. The classification chosen here is one that is appropriate to the 'themes' of other chapters in this section. In the first place all skipping games are tests of skill and alertness (Chapter 22). The first lines of the skipping game which are predominantly of this nature are:- All in together girls, Bread and Butter for my supper, Over the garden wall let the baby fall, Five, ten fifteen twenty, House to Let, Early in the Morning, What Oh she bumps, Calling in calling out, Baker Baker, Crossing the Bridge, Crackers, There was an Old Man, Bake a pudding, One to make ready, Cinderella, Mabel mabel, One two three, red white and blue, Doctor Brown, Handy Pandy, Pounds Shillings

1. Daiken, op. cit., p.62.

2. Daiken, op. cit., p.69.

3. See for example the lists given by Gomme, Daiken, Douglas; and Botkin C.A., The American People, London, 1946.

and Pence, I want a Teddy Bear, Pitch Patch Poo, Dancing Dolly, Onery Twoery (24 rhymes). An example of this type is: "One to make ready, and two to prepare, Good luck to the rider, And away goes the mare, Salt, Mustard, Vinegar Pepper." (Hokitika). In the majority of this skill type of skipping rhyme the players carry on till they trip.

Almost as many skipping rhymes are of a divinatory nature. They are rhymes of chance (Chapter 21). The skipping player seeks to find out the initial letter of her lover's name, whether he will marry her, in what month he will marry her, how many kisses she will get, how many days she has to live, how many stitches in her britches, how many dishes she has to wash etc.; In all these rhymes the children skip on until they trip. The rope turners (or the chorers as they are called in Otago) meanwhile count out numbers, letters, or yes, no, yes, no, and the trip establishes the answer they are seeking. The first lines of the divinatory rhymes are as follows:- I like coffee, Raspberry, Strawberry, my jam tart, Charlie Chaplin, Bluebells Gockle-shells, Old Ma Mason, Mother Mother I feel ill, My little sister, The Butcher the Baker, Cups and Saucers, Polly on the railways, Tinker Tailor, Daddy is a butcher, Grace grace, Barney Barney, Early one morning, On the Way to London town (16 rhymes). An example of this type is: "My little sister dressed in pink. She washed the dishes in the sink, How many dishes did she break, 1, 2, 3, 4," (Dobsen).

The other main category of skipping rhymes are the imitative skipping rhymes (chapter 14) in which the children imitate the actions of various persons. Thus the Girl Guide bows to the Queen, salutes to the King etc., while the rope is being turned. This class includes: I am a Girl Guide, Madame Moral, Teddy Bear Teddy Bear, Charlie Chaplin, Mother Brown, Lady Bird Lady Bird, Lady lady drop your purse, One two touch my shoe, Two little Dicky birds (9 rhymes). An example: "Madame Morale she went to the well, She never forgets her soap or towel, She washes her hands, She drys and drys, She combs her hair, She jumps up high, And touches the sky, She twirls around until she drops." (Karori).

A few of the games make slighting or satirical reference to adults and thus incorporate something of the motive of protest (Chapter 20). These rhymes are: Ching Chong Chinaman, Doctor Foster, Never mind, Pontius Pilate, Pound Shillings and Pence. (5 rhymes). An example: "Ching Chong Chinaman, Bought a toy doll, Washed it, Dyed it, Then he caught a cold, Sent for the Doctor, Doctor couldn't come, Because he had a pimple on his tum, tum, tum." (Christchurch 30) (Grand Total: 54 rhymes).

In all these skipping rhymes the contents refer mainly to things in which girls are particularly interested, namely the occupations of women, their attributes and their interests. The majority of the subject-matters refer to the household activities of women, for example: washing

dishes, dressing, cups and saucers, buying goods or shoes or beer or eggs, cooking, money, food, setting the table, baking cakes, pudding, pies. Some refer to the women's toilet, washing faces, and powdering faces; others to their interests as mothers: babies, doctors. Yet others to their interests of a general nature: receiving letters, postmen, weddings, kissing, boy friends, travelling, weather and houses to let.

In 21 schools which included Karori, South Wellington, Clifton Terrace, Dobsen, Seddonville, Millerton, Takaka, Caversham, St. Clair, Nth. East Valley, Waikouaiti, Rangataua, Denniston, Moutere, Stockton, Miramar, Onekaka, Hokitika, Collingwood, Napier, Westport, the following rhymes were listed with the following frequencies. Bluebells Cockleshells was reported in the lists of 20 schools, Girl Guides (13), Teddy Bear Teddy Bear (11), All in together (10), Mother Mother I feel ill (9), Apple Jelly Jam Tart (7), Over the Garden Wall (6), Bread and Butter (4), Andy Pandy (3), Raspberry Strawberry (3), Five ten fifteen twenty (3), Charlie on the Railway (3), Polly on the Railway (3), Dancing Dolly (2), Butcher Baker (2), House to Let (2), A.B.C. (2), Follow the leader (2), Lady lady drop your purse (2), Daddy is a butcher (2). Other rhymes recorded at least in one of these schools were: Madame Morale, There was an old woman, Ole Ma Mason, My little sister, Mother Brown, Crackers, Grace grace, Early in the Morning, Calling in Calling out, Mabel mabel, Tinker Tailor, Crossing the Bridge, Doctor Brown, Cups and Saucers, I want a Teddy Bear, One to make ready, Bake a pudding, One two touch my shoe, Onery Twoery,

Two Little Dicky Birds. (40 rhymes).

The position in the thirties was much the same as that recorded for the above schools today. In 21 reports by Wellington Women Training College Students, (the following frequencies were reported:- Bluebells Cockleshells (12), I like coffee (10), I am a Girl Guide (8), Teddy Bear Teddy Bear (4), Over the Garden Wall (4), All in together (4), Others recorded once were:- Early one morning, Queen Queen Caroline, Cups and Saucers, Piggy on the Railway, There was an old woman, Andy Pandly, On your way to London town, Five ten fifteen twenty, Ching Chong Chinaman, Buttercups and Daisies, Mabel Mabel, How many letters on the mat, Two little Dicky Birds, Dancing Dolly, A.B.C., (15 rhymes).

With reference to Singing Rhymes, it has already been pointed out that, although children have ceased to have any great interest in these, they have not ceased to be rhyme making creatures. It is only that the direction of their rhyming interest has changed.

Counting-out Rhymes have not faded to the extent that Singing game rhymes have. Nevertheless there is good evidence to suggest that these rhymes have not the importance in children's play today that they had forty years ago. The best known counting out rhymes before 1900 were Ickle Ockle, Eenie Meenie, and Onery Twoery. Today the most popular rhymes are Ickle Ockle and the much simpler "One potato, two potato, three potato, four, five potato, six potato, seven potato more." This simplification, in itself, suggests a

decrease in the importance of the rhymes. And this follows naturally from the fact, that as is the case with the skipping rhymes, these rhymes tend to enter only into the play of the younger children today (the early primary years). In addition, many quite complex rhymes have to come to hand from old identities which have no counterparts in the children's counting-out rhymes of today.

The frequency with which some of the more popular counting-out rhymes are mentioned in the different periods is as follows. The reports refer to 1949, the period between 1900 and 1930 and the period before 1900.

RHYME	In 25 Schools 1949	25 Reports 1900-30.	25 Reports Before 1900.
Ickle Ockle :	10	8	5
One Potato :	11	2	-
Eenah Deenah :	1	2	11
Eenie Meenie :	5	4	8
Inky Pinky :	3	2	3
1, 2, 3 Heaven:	3	10	-
Onery Twoery :	1	-	7

The majority of the rhymes are derived from numbers or from
¹
 the distortion of primitive numerals. For example

"Zintie Tintie Tetherie Metherie,
 Bamferie corie over dover,
 Dicky dell an tan toosh....."

1. Northall G.F., English Folk Rhymes, p.342.

This rhyme although unfinished was known in Clutha 75/80.
 The first lines of other counting-out rhymes of this numerical nature are: Ickle Ockle black bottle, One potato two potato, Eenah Deenah Dinah Doh, Eenie Meenie Minie Moh, Each peach pear plum, Onery Twoery, Dickery Seven, One two three four, One two sky blue, One it Two it, Two four six eight, Hibberty Bibberty I Salliberty, Intery Mintery, Ioky Acky chew the baoccy, Anna Manna Mona mike, Ina Mina ping pong, One two three Mother caught a flea, Monkey monkey draw the beer (18 rhymes).

All the rhymes are in a sense divinatory rhymes. There is an element of chance involved in all of them. According to the way the luck falls so a player is chosen fortuitously to be He. In some of the rhymes the players themselves pick a word (usually a colour) and the letters of that word are then used to count them out. For example "My mother and your mother were hanging out the clothes, My mother gave your mother a punch in the nose, What colour do you think it ran, (Say) Blue spells B.L.U.E. and out spells O.U.E." (Nelson). Others of this nature are: Engine

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1. Enquiries in the "Weekly Scotsman" Scotland, as to the way in which this rhyme finished brought the following answers from readers: "Zeentie, teentie, figgery fell, Ell, dell, draw my nell, Urkie purkie taurie rope, Ah'm Tam Toosie Jock" (Kent); "Inkty, Tinkty, Tethery, Wethery, Bankful, Evil, Over, Dover, Dicky, Dell, Dommy, Nell, Ann, Pan Toosh" (Somerset). "Eentie, teentie, hethertie, bethertie, Bamful, eerie, orie, dorie, Am Tam, Tousie Jock, You are out." (Edinburgh). "Zintee, tintee, titherie, mitherie, Bambol, evil oval dyke, I saw the easle peasle jumping over Jerusalem's stables, playing on his wee pea poe paragal pipe, You are out". (Middlesex).

engine on the line, As I was going over Piggy Wiggy hill,
My mother bought me a box of new ribbons. (4 Rhymes).

A number of the rhymes contain elements of "protest" including slighting references to adults, particularly to an 'old man' and an 'old woman'. The motives behind these rhymes may be similar to those behind the children's attitudes to the 'He' and the 'Witch' respectively. For example: "Go heerty, feerty, hally go lum, An Old man went out to get some fun, He got some fun and hurt his shin, Go heerty feerty hally go in." (Nelson 1890). An alternative version of the same rhyme at Nelson was to have a Fox got out to get some fun, and then tear his skin. The first lines of the other rhymes of this nature are: Ink Pink penny wink, Old Father Xmas guess what he did, Nebuchadnezzar King of the Jews, Cups and Saucers, Old Mother Ink, Did you ever see a bear, Piggy on the Railway, The peanut sat on the railway track (9 rhymes).

There is another class of very brief counting rhymes, each containing only one or two lines. Presumably these are used by children to speed up the process of picking the He. Significantly enough only two of these rhymes are not of recent vintage. They are "Inky Pinky Penny Wink, Out goes she" (Rockville 95) and "Penny on the water, tuppence on the sea, threepence on the railway, out goes she." (Nelson 90). The others are (first lines): Call lummy koo, O-u-t spells out, Auckland City Council (Known also as Wellington, Christchurch City Council), Umpa umpa stick him up the bumpa, Look up sky blue all out but you, Pig snout walk out, Its

quite fair that you should go he (9 rhymes). The total number of rhymes collected was 48.

Ball bouncing rhymes are not as widespread as ball-bouncing games. In many places the ball-bouncing game called Sevens is played without the presence of rhymes, although in these cases the counting of the number of bounces takes on a rhythmical quality. The numbers may even be distorted into a jingle. For example, "For bouncing a ball on a wall and catching we had the following which seemed to fit the rhythm perfectly - Penny, tummer, thrummer, forma, fivema, sixma and so on." (Christchurch 1906). The majority of the rhymes reported, however, are variations of the O'Leary ball bouncing rhyme. This is a rhyme of ancient lineage.¹ For example "One, two, three O'leary, (repeat twice more) One O'leary Postman. Open the Gate and let me through sir (Repeat twice) Early in the morning". (1st verse Westport, South Wellington). More frequently reported are the O'leary version in which there is some reference to eating mandarines, for example: "One two three O'leary, I saw Sister Mary, Down by Canterbury, Eating Mandarines." (Seddonville/Papakura Nth. Auckland). Other bouncing rhymes are "Two four six eight, Marys at the garden gate, Eating cherries off a plate, Two four six eight". (Waikare). "Bounce Bounce ball ball Twenty lassies on the wall,

1. For a discussion of the rhymes' origins see John O'London's Weekly, August 10th, 1948, p.396; October 15th, p.490; September 17th, p.454.

One boy among them all, Bounce bounce ball ball." (Westport Nth.)

The names of hand-clapping rhymes have already been mentioned. These have very little place in schools today. (They were mentioned only several times in the survey of schools. Hampden, Karori). They appear to have had a greater place fifty years ago.

There are numbers of miscellaneous rhymes. Some of these refer to school affairs, like the school rhymes cited in connection with Imitative games, they refer to school affairs in disparaging terms. We have, for example cited the widespread last day rhyme which begins: "Two more weeks and where shall we be, Out of the gates of misery." This was generally known in the shorter version "No more spelling, no more sums, no more teachers to wack our bums." or as it existed at Forbury "No more paddy wacks on our bums". Other rhymes refer to the teacher: "Mr. Low is a very good man, who tries to teach us all he can, Singing, spelling, arithmetic, He never forgets to give us the stick. Mr. Low is a very good man, he goes to church on Sunday. He prays to God to make us good and gives us the cuts on Monday." (Palmerston 10) or "Ole pa Watson's A very good man, He goes to Church on Sunday. He prays to God to give him strength to wack the kids on Monday". (Palmerston 15). The rhyme has been mitigated in a present day skipping version: "Dr. Brown is a very good man, He teachers children all he can, Please step out." (Dobsen).

There are in addition a number of other isolated rhymes all of which centre round topics of some interest to children. There are, for example, rhymes which refer to eating, swimming and guessing. An example of the first, is "Apple pip, apple pip, fly over my head, Bring me another apple before I go to bed (Blenheim 1911). A swimming rhyme has been given in Chapter 5. An example of a rhyme of chance is the following. This is a rhyme of very ancient vintage:¹

"Nivy Nivy Nick Nack

Which hand will you take

The right hand or the wrong

Or the old blind man." (Tahataki 75).

Then there are the spontaneous onomatopoeic rhymes which spring up endlessly amongst children, for example, "You're a poet but you didn't know it." And also the type that depends upon the extraction of different meaning from the same word. I remember, for example, chanting endlessly that "E'nos that E'nos that E'nos Enos". The first three being correctly recorded as "He knows" and the last as Enos, which is a type of fruit salts.

Up to this point the various games of this chapter have been explained only in psychological (and to some extent historical) terms. That, however, is a very incomplete method of explaining them. Without the elements of ritual, music rhythm and rhyme that they contain they would not exist. This follows because the meaning of a game can only be fully

1. Northall, op. cit., p.54.

understood by reference to the 'whole' game. To understand the game fully, it is necessary to take into account the experience and effects of the whole arrangement of words, music and movements which is the game. It is this 'gestalt' which is important. In this respect the game resembles the art form of which Langer says: "The meanings given through language are successively understood, and gathered into a whole by the process called discourse; the meanings of all other symbolic elements that compose a larger, articular symbol (such as a singing game) are understood only through the meaning of the whole, through their relations within the total structure. Their very functioning as symbols depends on the fact that they are involved in a simultaneous integral presentation."¹ It is important to hold this point in mind as so much attention has been given in this chapter to only a few of the factors involved in these games.

These other factors are now considered in turn. First with reference to movements. The importance of the muscular and physical movements as such, is brought out clearly in the 'ecstatic' games. Here the children's joy is simply in moving; moving arms and legs and moving the whole body in patterned directions. The simple and direct joy that children can experience from muscular movements is evidenced also by the "Summer Dance", which was listed by girls in

1. Langer S.K., Philosophy in a New Key, Harvard, 1942, p.97.

several Dunedin schools. I saw girls performing this terpsichorean antic on the green grass of the Dunedin Oval. With their arms outstretched, the girls whirled round and round and moved sideways across the green in the summer sun. Her was a form of simply kinaesthetic satisfaction of the whole body. A 'movement' satisfaction associated, perhaps, with the exhibitionism inherent in female psychology (see chapter 18), associated also with the smell of the green grass, the heat of the sun and perhaps even with the vertiginous effects of the light summer air. But the satisfaction which children gain from movements is to be seen more clearly in their rhythmic games, in the way in which they walk rhythmically around in their singing games and in the way in which they skip, and bounce balls. It is probable that purely physiological factors contribute to the particular satisfactions that children get from rhythmical repetitions of this nature.¹ However, rhythmical movements mean still more to children, when they are dramatic movements. In an American investigation in 1907-8 the S.2/3 children in 24 schools were asked which of their singing games they liked best, and "Why do you like that game best?" The great majority of the children indicated that they liked their chosen game because of the actions in it. Next in importance in their reasons for liking the games were, singing, the words, its novelty, humour, length, familiarity, and personal memories. But these other categories, even when all put together, did not

1. See further Nunn Sir P., op. cit., p.69.

equal the importance of the actions. The most frequently reported statement was, that it is "so much like acting." The investigator concluded, "If these children's confidences have any value, it seems to me that their value lies in the way in which they emphasize the fact that the "singing games" are not only much like acting, but are themselves acting, and acting of the most whole-hearted kind....The root of the whole matter of appreciation is the identification of the self, as completely as possible with the imaginary situation. The more complete this identification, the stronger is the delight experienced."¹

To this point we have emphasized the importance of the feeling of movement, rhythmical movement and the drama of the movement. There is yet another factor to be emphasized. It is the social factor. It is clear, for example, that the satisfaction involved in these games -- of winding in and out the village -- is not just the satisfaction of the winding actions it is the satisfaction of making this movement together with others; It is not just a pattern of movements that is liked, it is a social pattern of movements. The social context affirms the validity of the individual movement, and re-assures the mover of the rectitude of his actions. This social value can occur because the movements in the game have pattern and because they are of a repetitive nature.

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1. Heck Jean O., Poetry and Folk Criticism as illustrated by Cincinnati Children in Their Singing Games, Journal of American Folklore, Vol.40, 1927, p.1.

Secondly, in all games it is the repetitive nature of the games, or explained in another way, the constancy of the rules, which guarantees the group ability to go on being a group; to go on being a group in terms of those games. If the rules were not constant the game could not continue and the group could not persist. The game's constancy safeguards the group against dissolution. It projects outside the children a pattern of behaviour to which they can all cling as the recognizable and objective evidence of their own grouphood. In most games, however, although the plot remains the same, the actions vary. Consider, for example, Hide and Seek, and Marbles. In the formalized games that are being discussed in this chapter, on the otherhand, the pattern of movement is relatively static and predetermined. Very little of an untoward nature can occur. No doubt children get a particular satisfaction and security from games of this nature in which the order is cut and dried. The fixed game order allows them to participate in group life and at the same time safeguards them against being overwhelmed by other members of the group. It safeguards them also against emotions of their own which are irrelevant to the game, but which may arise to the surface when they are playing with other children; for example, emotions of an aggressive and narcissistic nature.

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1. Winch W.H., *The Psychology & Philosophy of Play*, *Mind*, Vol.15, Pt.2, p.189. This thesis is concerned with children's unorganized games. It is not assumed, however, that organized games are without value.

Why then should these highly formalized games be dominantly the games of girls? Several suggestions are fruitful. It may be that the girls are more susceptible to games that have this routine quality because they identify themselves with mothers and the relatively routine activities that mothers habitually follow. It is true of course that men's tasks are also of a routine nature, but children living in the home do not know this; they do not experience at first hand the routine of the fathers activities in the same sense as they experience at first hand the routine of the mother's activities; to them the father's routines are an unknown and therefore are thought of as relatively exciting. (This is discussed fully in the next two chapters). Boys experience mothers routine just as girls do but unlike the girls they do not identify themselves with the routine of the mothers. They identify themselves with the "unknown" excitements of the father's existence. Hence perhaps the greater proclivity of the girls for games which are essentially games of routine. Their routine games may be a representation of their attitude towards woman's habitual existence.

On the otherhand, the greater amount of routine in girls' games may be in the nature of a defence-mechanism. Girls' other games as well as these formal ones, provide far less outlet for aggressive feelings than the games of boys do. The very repetition of the formalized patterns therefore may be an indication that the girls have an unconscious fear that their group play will be disrupted by

the intrusion of aggressive motives. As Gorer says, "Behind the rituals of the individual obsessional can always be discovered a deeply hidden, unconscious and extremely strong desire to be aggressive."¹ Something of the same psychology may apply in the case of girls games. There are, after all, relatively few culturally acceptable outlets for aggression in the lives of women and children. The girls' persistence with long seasons of hop-scotch and skipping which are so contrary to other modern trends, may be explained partly in this way.

Thirdly,

With reference to the music in these games: The music of the games adds to their meaning in ways which can only vaguely be indicated by remarks such as the following quotation from Betty Smith's "A Tree in the Yard". She is describing the feelings of a little girl walking round in a singing game. "All the while her heart beat in rhythm to the poignant sadness of the song the children sang while walking round the ring with hands joined."² Or it can be further vaguely indicated by remarks such as: Green Gravels has a mournful mood, Sally is a Weeping has a plaintive mood, Nuts in May expresses exuberance etc. Yet although the musical meaning of the game can only be vaguely indicated in verbal terms, that 'meaning' is clear enough to the participants. "Because the forms of human feelings are much more congruent with musical forms than with the forms of

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1. Gorer J., The Japanese Character, Science News, No.1, p.47.
 2. page 31.

language, music can reveal the nature of feelings with a detail and truth that language cannot approach."¹ If this is the case, it is important to guard against the belief that because more can be said about the psychological meaning of these games than their musical meaning, then the psychological meaning is therefore more important, when considering the significance of these games in childhood. We must remember, as Sachs says that "Not only rhythmic but also melodic dance accompaniment carries the dancer with passion and exhilaration, even with intoxication in the strict sense of the word, into a state of ecstasy which is the innermost essence of the dance. Furthermore, the melodic accompaniment, which at first was always sung, tends to create a spiritual connection between the dance theme and the magic purpose of the movement."²

Fourthly, the words of rhymes also make their contribution to the whole meaning of the games.³ What they contain is of importance. Reference to ladies, weddings, babies is of great concern to young girls. It is doubtful, however, if these contents are as important to the players as the way the words are said. Consider, for example, the counting-out rhymes which the early folklorists sought to 'explain solely in terms of the old numbers contained within them; in terms, that is, of their origins in old superstitious

1. Langer, op. cit., p.235.

2. Sachs, op. cit., p.181.

3. Gullen F.D., apportions importance to the various aspects of the rhyme as follows: She says, "At the Nursery stage magic is far more than meaning and rhythm than either."
Traditional Number Rhymes and Games, London, 1950, p.2.

rites, "including incantations of old magicians and practices of divination by lot. The doggerel of counting-out rhymes is often traceable to old latin formulas used for these

purposes."¹ What is important to children, however, is not these origins but the fact that the jumble of the cumulative "Onery Twoery" or "Inky Pinky Fidgety Fell, Ell dell drom and ell" or "Deena deena dina duss, Catalaweena, wina wuss.", gives to the children a sense both of mystery and of something impending which as we shall see in the next chapter is the effect required in He games where these rhymes are used. Presumably children continue to use these nonsense rhymes because they still find satisfaction in that way of symbolising their feelings of mystery and impending fate. The cumulative effect of the increasing numbers adds to their feeling of something impending; the nonsense of the rhyme adds to their sense of mystery and magic. The point being made here is that the sense or nonsense of the rhymes may have a connotative value irrespective of their denotative values. They may express a mood in the same way as "Hallelujah" expresses a mood, and thus be quite meaningful in one sense, even though apparently meaningless in another. With a few other words and ideas interspersed amongst the nonsense, a chant can acquire a quite definite connotative meaning. Consider, further, the war cries used by secondary school boys in their football matches even today. For example: "Who are, Who are, Who are We? We are the boys of the S.P.C.W"

1. Bancroft J., Games, p.37.

(St. Pats, Wgton). or "Rickedy, Dickedy, Dick! Dick! Dick! School! School! School! A--Rickedy -- School! (A---Rickedy --- School!" (Palmerston Nth. Boys' High) or; "Shall we give them a Tooley Pie --NO! Shall we give them a chocolate cake -- NO! What shall we give them --- Glaxo! One and a half cheers for the Glaxo babies." (Auckland Grammar). Often the Haka used by some schools (for example Wgton. College) is so badly known by most boys and so poorly pronounced by the rest that a Maori might well think it Dutch. That does not matter. Along with the ego-cry of St. Pats and the 'Rickety' of Palmerston and the mockery of Auckland it carries definite meaning. In the main I take these hakas to mean 'We are proud, we will be victorious, we are aggressive,' or the like. Those who are shouting the hakas and those who are chanting the counting-out rhymes, in the act of shouting and in the act of chanting, understand perfectly well their general meaning and we can only gain some insight into this meaning by paying attention to the expression of the whole piece, haka or rhyme.

There are further explanations which help to clarify the power that words, particularly nonsense words can have in these games. In part it is simply due to the fact that, as Ogden and Richards point out, words, names and numbers, as such, have always tended to be regarded by mankind with some awe; as if in their own very nature they held and controlled the things to which they supposedly referred, even when their meaning was not strictly denotative at all.¹ Again, Money-Kyrle has put forward the claim that the magical significance of

1. Ogden C.K., and Richards I.A., The Meaning of Meaning, London, 1923, p.36.

the nonsense words derives from the fact that, originally, the child's incoherent babble attracted to the child, the parent's gratified attention, and in consequence, nonsense came to have¹ a magically pleasure-rewarding property for the child.

In conclusion, then it is clear that words also play an essential part in the meaning of the whole game. Whether sense or gabble they help to echo and enhance the movement and music. One reinforces the other. Music, movement and words are all symbols of human meaning. Consequently, the perfection of these games consists in the way in which they integrate all these diverse symbols into an articulate² whole. Hence perhaps also, their long~~evity~~.

There is little record about the development that takes place within the forms of these various games, because Singing games are no longer a 'live' game form. The developments which appear to have taken place in earlier days have been indicated. That is, the development through the chain circle games to the couple games. Some effort has been made also to indicate the significance of these games' developments in the lives of the players.

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1. Money-Kyrle R., Superstition and Society, London, 1939, p.102.
 2. See further Sharp C.J., English Folk Song, Some Conclusions, London, 1907, pp.11 and 12.

Today Singing games, if played at all, are played at only one age. The stage of development they represent is not therefore succeeded by developments within the singing games themselves, but by developments to be observed in other games, in particular, those recorded in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

DRAMA OF THE OLD MAN

... He Games

He games are those formal games which have often been termed chasing or tagging games. These games are described by Betts as follows: "The widespread game of Tag, Tig or Tiggy has developed many forms, but the essence of it is that one player runs after the others, and if he can touch them, the one who is touched becomes in his turn the pursuer."¹ As Douglas says, "All touch (tagging) games are "he" games, and this is the grandfather of the whole family."² In the past it has been customary to say that these games of tag or tig and chasing, imitated the 'Chase' or the 'Hunt', and in some tig games, it is true, there is an imitative element involved, for example, in Hares and Hounds. But, although the traditional chase has practically faded from the modern scene, tagging games have multiplied. It is necessary therefore to look elsewhere than to the chase for the basis of these He games. It is held in this chapter that although the motives for much of the running and chasing of these games

1. Betts Henry, The Games of Children, p.78.

2. Douglas N., London Street Games, p.139.

must arise out of the children's basic motor and physical constitutions (see Chapter 22) the form of the games can only be fully accounted for by a recourse to psychological analysis. It is the psychological analysis which, as will be seen, provides the term "He" games.

In this chapter the basic types of He games are first described and secondly explained. Next, the development which takes place in their terms is outlined. The treatment adopted here is to classify the various He games in such a way as to emphasize their characteristics. The divisions made are of an arbitrary nature and there is much overlapping between one category and the next. The order of discussion is as follows: the class of He games termed Security-He games, the multiple characteristics of the He character, Sex Chasing games, Help-He games, Circle-He games and Team He games.

Illustrative Material page 499 to page 523.

The description of these games is as follows.

The Security-He games are subdivided into two types, namely, the Safety-He games and the Hiding-He games. In the Safety-He games the children seek to escape the player who is called He and who chases them, by sheltering in a den, taking hold of some safe-object, performing some action or saying a word which because of its magical properties protects them from the He.

The commonest safe place is any den or wall which the children have agreed shall be the den.. They can return to this

whenever they wish to escape the player who is He, or when tired. "Sometimes there are rules about the number of times you can return to the den in Wolf" (Ngapara). Puss in the Corner is the universal Safety-He game. In this game the players are safe as long as they can stay in their corners. The He can't touch them as long as they remain there. The game is called Corners in some places (Taumaramui 35, Mononui 35). In Seat Tig, which is also widespread, the players are safe as long as their feet are on the shed seat, but they can be tagged if their feet are overlapping. It is also called Ups and Downs, (Dobsen); Toes off the Counter. (Whatman).

Children can be made safe by touching a safe object¹ as in the universal Tiggy Tiggy Touchwood (Otago) or Taggy Taggy Touchwood (Wgton. 80) or Tiki Tiki Touchwood (Brightwater). Other things besides wood can be used as the safe object in the same games. Thus "let's play Tiggy Tiggy Touchwood with bricks" -- (tin or iron) (St. Clair). At Caversham it was the He's prerogative to nominate what would be the "Tiggy Tiggy" or the safe object. Although painted wood is generally declared "out" it had to be used at St. Clair because all the wood was painted. In Wet and Dry, the dry patches are usually the safe patches, as in Tiggy on the Wet patches (Hokitika). In Colours (Dobsen) the He calls a colour and the others are only safe if they can find that colour to touch.

1. See further Betts, Origin & History of the Games of Children, p.79; and Daiken L., Children's Games, Throughout the Year, p.3.

In another class of similar games players are safe when they keep down on the ground, for example, in No Man Standing (Ngapara), Old Man Standing (Caversham) or Bob down Tiggy (Mangitainoka). In the Mangitainoka game it was permissible to bob down only three times. In Tree Tig the players are safe if they kept down on the ground (Karori, Hampden).

Children can be made safe by crying out a safe-term. At Mataura 25 the player was safe if she cried "Barley", but unsafe again once she cried "Broken Barley".¹ "Pax" or "Fans" are more generally known terms. But Cashmere, 28 reports, "You had a moral obligation to be tired or have a reason, such as bootlace undone or the like." In "Pax" the fingers are usually crossed.. Players may call out simple "fingers crossed." (Wgton 35). At Waikouaiti if either Keys or Pads was called the caller would not be tagged, but these safe-terms had to be called alternately. If the same term was said twice in succession, the caller was He. Generally speaking if players use a safe-term or a safe-object, they must stay in one place or retire to the den. (Bainham).

Of the Hiding-He games, Hide and Seek is the best known. In hiding games players hideaway in order to avoid capture by the He. In some types after having hidden from the He, the players attempt to get back safely to the den crying "One, two three, I'm not He." There are numbers of variants of Hide and Seek but the principle is everywhere the same. In Sardines one player runs and hides and the

1. Gomme, op. cit., V.1, p.299 for a similar call.

others seek to find him. As they find that player they hide with him, until they are all crouched in his hiding place. (Brooklyn, Island Bay, Hampden, Bainham). Other hiding games reported are: Coming Ready or Not (Mangitainoka); I Saw You (North East Valley), Opposum (Kaiata), I Spy (Waikouaiti). In some hiding games there are "calls", for example, when the He can't find the hiding players, he says "Call or cry or the game will die" (Hampden), "Possums" (Kaiata), or when he is ready he calls "Coming Ready or Not", or just "Coming". If a player manages to get back to home undetected that player may cry "Free Home" (St. Clair). There are also team forms of hiding games in which a team hides and another team comes out to catch them -- in some cases assisted by a Director from the hiding team ---. The hiding team, when they hear the Director telling the chasing team roughly where they are hiding, set out to get back to the base undetected. Examples: Rabbits and Dogs (Mangitainoka) Run Sheepie Run (Millerton) Tally Ho (Denniston).

The second major type of He-games are those which typify the characteristics of the He.

The He may take upon himself fearsome names as some of the following tagging game names indicate: Witches' Tig (Forbury), Policeman (Bainham), Beware the Bear (Moutere), Sharky (Hampden), Wolfie (Island Bay), Snakee (Collingwood), Hairy Man (Woodville), Sharks (Etherick 35), Whales in the Ocean (Mataura 35). Notwithstanding these names, the He is normally called just "He". But there are differences from

place to place. One correspondent writes "I lived in Wellington till 1923 when I went to Auckland. In Wellington we played tag, and one went He, but in Auckland it was tiggy, and one went It." Tig is the more usual term in the South Island. Occasionally the past tense 'tug' is heard. A group of 40 Wellington Training College students were asked to record the name they gave to the He. Only two used the term It. (Napier, Havelock Nth.) Some reported "in" as being used occasionally (Levin, Upper Hutt, Wellington).

Children enjoy playing He games in the darkness. Ghost games are typical He games in the dark. Many reports mention the intense excitement of playing chasing games at dusk. Twilight Tig (Dunedin 90) is described as follows. "This game was played on a cousin's lawn and garden which was dotted with shrubs. We played it before we went home after spending a day with them. It was played at dusk in complete silence after the first counting-out so that it was difficult to tell who was "He" until perhaps you felt a touch on your own shoulder and knew that it was yourself. The effect of the silent figures flitting and dodging in and out among the bushes in the half dark was eerie in the extreme, and I can feel it still." Some of the names given to other outside games of the darkness are: Who Steps in the Dark (Brooklyn), Wolf Wolf (Westport 90), Bush Tiggy (Granity). Perhaps the commonest outdoor dusk game is "Moonlight Starlight, Bogey won't come out tonight." At Forbury the children added the extra line "Moonlight Starlight we will take his gold." One player says of this game "I never used

to play 'Moonlight Starlight' unless I was dragged into it because I was terrified of the dark but would not give in because I was afraid I would be called a sissy". (Masterton 34). Indoor games of this type are Burglars and Householders (St. Clair), Burglars (Onkaka), Ghosts (Takaka, Collingwood), Murder (Hampden, St. Cuthberts), Bogies (Nelson).

The He may be bantored, taunted and teased even if he is fearsome. For example, in Old Man Standing (Caversham) the children cry out derisively, "Ole Man Standing Ole Mea---an Standing". It is customary to see the children (Island Bay) molesting the He. They run behind him, circle round him, jeer at him, but at the same time try to avoid being tagged by him. The Granity He game, "Catch me if you can", embodies the taunt in the name. War cries when used in Bar the Door are also employed as taunts. Gomme claims that some of these taunts, or "nominys", are remnants of the dialogue in more elaborate contest games¹ (Contest games like Nuts in May). Consider the following New Zealand examples: "King Caesar was a running game, very lively too, but motors have come now. In late afternoons in a quiet suburb, the area we loved was the street outside our homes. The property frontage set the boundaries. King Caesar was HE. He roamed the road. We had to keep moving or we would be challenged. We crossed from footpath to footpath. Once off the path we must gain the opposite side without being tagged, or go HE. x We sang derisively: "King king Cae-ree
"You'll stay he--ee!"

1. Gomme A.B., op. cit., §.1, p.483.

as we ran parallel to the path, dodging and taking risks before crossing." (Nelson 95). Another example from Heathcote Valley 99, is "When playing Bar the Door, the runner would dart out from the base crying "Here I come full sail, Cock-on-ee-bru--ah!"

The He may also be blindfolded, and it is generally on these occasions that he is teased the most. He is buffeted, pushed and pulled. Blindman's Buff is the universal Blindfold He game. It is played widely at schools today, as well as at home. In the game today the players seldom "buff" the Blindman (hit him with caps and hoods) but they pull and push him nevertheless. One good example of a variation of this game is Kikeri (Ratipiko) "Kikeri is a sort of mixture between Blindman's Buff and Tag only instead of your eyes being bandaged you all play in the dark. One of the players stays outside in a lighted room while the others go into a dark room. When all are hidden, they call out "Kikeri Kikeri" and the catcher comes in. The others try to get passed into the other room and if they do they call out "Kikeri". Whoever is caught has to go the next catcher." Other examples are "Who'll go Bogey Man (Waikouaiti), and Odd Man Out (Forbury). In the latter game the blindfold player must not catch one predetermined and odd player or else he stays He. Some of these blindfold games are played with guessing. In Running Waters (Brooklyn) the He must guess whom he touches. In French and English (Hawkes Bay) two sitting Blindfold players must guess who walks behind them. In Point to Heäl (Brooklyn) the blindfold

player in the centre of the circle has to point to the peripheral player who has the bell. In Penny under the Chair (Collingwood) the blindfold player sitting on a chair must detect where a player is who is crawling up to take a penny from underneath his chair. There are other circle blindfold games in which the players try to escape from the central and blindfold position. In Isaac and Rebecca (Palmerston Nth. 10) "Isaac who is blindfold goes into the centre, of the circle. Rebecca also goes into the centre but Isaac does not know who she is. Isaacs calls for her and she answers him in a falsified voice. When he catches her, Isaac must guess who she is." Usually players are tagged anywhere on the body. Sometimes, however, there are special rules about tagging and special types of tagging. In the widespread Shadow Tig, for example, players are tagged when the He stands on their shadows. In Tip Tap (Nth. East Valley), and Black Peter (Denniston), the He taps the outstretched hands of a line of players. If the He taps any of these hands on the underside, the owner of that hand chases the He. In some tagging games, sharp tags are not allows. At Granity instead of calling 'No sharp Tags' which is the customary call, the children cried "You're not allowed to tig your butcher." The Butcher was apparently the one who tagged the player. In Hares and Hounds (Brooklyn) the children say they are chopping off the Hares' heads and tails when they tag the Hares on the back of the neck and on the behind. In Donkey Tag (St. Clair) the players have a handkerchief in the back of their belts and

the He aims to pull this out to make them He. At Hokitika they played Tiggig below the Knees. In the universal Ball Tag it is generally conceded that the tag has a stinging power. The game was known, quite appropriately, as Brandy or Branding in the Golden Bay and West Coast areas. In Dodge Ball (Karori), and Dogs in Den (Kiwitea 47), the players stand against a wall or at one end of a shed. These players are out if they're hit by the ball. The last player left has next turn to throw the ball at the others.

In some games the He tags his players by crowning them. Gomme says, in fact, that the practice of tagging may be descended from the universal practice of 'crowning' a captive on the head.¹ There are records of this practice existing in New Zealand in earlier days. For example "The fellow in the middle had to catch one of the runners and having done so, hold him, while he chanted a crowning ceremony."² (Gisborne 00). "He was required to crown the captive three times on the head crying "One-Two-Three-Sinio." (Granity 00). At Collingwood (00) the cry was "King Caesar -one-two-three", but in this case the running player could avoid being tagged by holding his hand on his head. A similar practice is reported from South Clutha (75), "When King Sene attempted to crown the player with the cry 'One-two-three, You're the man for me', the next player attempted to escape by punching and biting the He's hands in an effort to keep them off his head."

1. Gomme, op. cit., V.1, p.482.

2. Ingram W., World of Sport, Lower Hutt, 1948, p.45.

The best example of a crowning ceremony is one that was called Kinging. In this ceremony the captive was patted on the head while he lay flat on the ground with other players astride him. If he managed to move during the ceremony, then the rhyme must begin again. "King¹seeny, one two three, You're the very man for me. Keep him quiet, hold him down. Pat him thrice upon his crown. Blackball, blackball, one two three. Joseph Jackson, you are 'He'." There are no reports of elaborate crowning ceremonies later than 1900. It was probably displaced by Rugby tackling or frowned upon when playgrounds were supervised. It may also have lost some of its importance when the custom of wearing school caps lost some of its significance. In the days "when no boy, however, otherwise disreputable would dream² of flouting the decencies by not wearing a cap" it would be of some importance not to have the dirty hand of another boy on this symbol of your dignity.

The He's tag may completely poison, immobilize or deprive a player of his strength. In the universal Poison Tag (more generally known as French Tag in earlier years) the tagged player not only becomes He, but that player must also hold on to the tagged part of his body. This puts that part of his body out of action. It was known also as Touch Touch (Nelson 90), Snakee (Collingwood), Poisoned Stag (Rakaia 10). "The aim was to tag them on the foot in order to thoroughly

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1. Thompson, Rev. M., The Bush Boys of New Zealand, p.125.
 2. Combs F.L., quoted N.Z. Listener, Oct. 21st, 49, p.8.

incapacitate them", Poisoned Pig (Stillwater), Witches Tig, using a broomstick (Forbury), Poisonous Ball (Brooklyn). In the games known as Stone Tag (Pongaroa), or more commonly as Pebbles and Stones, the player touched by the He, must remain tied to the one spot, turned to stone. This is also known as Stiff Candles (Oxford). In the widespread game of Rotten Egg the player hit by the ball is 'poisoned'. He is seen as loathsome, he is declared to be a rotten egg, and cries of "pooh" "pooh" are raised. Variants of Rotten egg, exist under the names of Donkey (Mangitainoka), Base (Collingwood) Stockton), Baseball (Barrytown). There are team games of Rotten Egg. Other team games including ball tagging are the well known Echo, and Eggs in the Nest. There are also parlour games in which a player may be poisoned when he is left in possession of a poisonous object, or when he touches a poisonous object. In Love Bird's Nest (Brooklyn), Kick the Tin (Westport), Danger Zone (Hokitika), the players stand round in a circle with hands linked and try to pull each other onto a dangerous area in the centre of the circle. Any player touching this danger area, is out of the game. In Poisonous Stick (Brooklyn), Hot Spoon (Hokitika), Red Hot Poker (Waikouaiti) Pongaroa), Bouncing Broom (Gisborne) and Jack-a-Balon (Nth. Cant. 90), the poisonous article is passed round the circle. When the music or the song stops, the player with the article in his hand must drop out. The last player left wins. Jack-a-Balon is of some historical interest

because of its ancient associations. It is described as follows: "On winter nights we sat round the fire playing Jack-a-Balan. Someone takes a stick from the fire with a glowing end and says to his neighbours "Will yee hae Jack-a-Balan". "What if he dies in my han?" asks the neighbour. The answer is "You back shall bear the saddle ban, thro moss, thro moor, thro a the lan, tak him safe oot of my han." And so the burning stick goes the round until it goes out. The player who possesses the stick when the last spark goes must pay a forfeit and go through all sorts of tortures."

The He has to be carefully chosen. Generally speaking, the players do not choose to be the He themselves, so the He must be chosen by some chance method. The commonest method in earlier years was to pick the He with the aid of a counting-out rhyme. The mumbo-jumbo nature of these rhymes and their atmosphere of magic and mystery, suggests that the participants had a due appreciation of the great powers to be conferred upon the player who was ultimately to be the He. The counting-out is done by one player who points to the other players/as each word is said. In the one potato, two potato, of today the player in charge hits the extended fists of the players as each word is said. Each player stands with her two hands extended in front while the leader chants the rhyme and strikes the extended hands including her own. Each hand struck when

1. See Tylor E.B., Primitive Culture, Vol. 1, p. 76; and Betts, op. cit., p. 74.

the last word of the rhyme is said must be withdrawn from the group. And the owner of the last hand left must go He. Counting-out, and other methods of choosing the He apply also to the choice of sides in Team games. Other methods of picking the He or teams which are reported are "The Rules of Contrary" (Clutha 75/80); drawing lots with sticks (Gisborne 95); or with matchsticks (Karori); using rye grass; tossing or 'Flip-up' (Caversham); wet or dry (Waianiwa 75); plum-pudding, known also as foot-fit (Collingwood); Pointing - in which all stand in a circle. The one in the centre closes his eyes and whirls round with his arm outstretched. When he stops, the person he is pointing to, becomes He (Karori); by a statement such as "I bags not in" (St. Clair), or "Last Up's he" (Hampden, Forbury), "Last in's lousy," (Dunedin 75); the one who makes up the game (Waikouaiti).

The third major type of He games are the Sex Chasing games in which boys chase girls and girls chase boys.

There are the Ring chasing games like Kiss in the Ring in which it is the aim of the He to chase a player of the opposite sex and kiss that player.

There are reports also of more formless types of erotic chasing games. For example: At Denniston several children quite openly wrote in their lists that they played a game called "Catch and Kiss". When questioned, it turned out that this game was played mainly by S.6 pupils together with the young binboys from the mines and the girls at the 'works'. "We played it in the evenings by the garage down

at the village." One non-player picked out those who were to be partners. The boys chased his chosen girl helter-skelter everywhere and kissed her if and when he could catch her. At Waimate (25) an informant spoke of country school children playing a game of "Kissing Tag". Players were tagged by being kissed. Sometimes the same erotic interest is expressed in activities which are not directly games at all, for example: A correspondent writes: "I think boys despise girls' games as sissy and at primary school there was a kind of mild hostility between the sexes. There was one exception to this rule. One boy would chase a certain girl to kiss her on the way home from school. She would cover her face with her hands and threaten to tell her teacher." (Moeraki 90).

The fourth major type of He games, are the Multiplying-He games. In these games the players who are caught, do not go He, they join hands with the He and help him to catch the other players. The commonest example is Chain Tig. Other examples of this game are Fly Catchers (St. Clair), Bellahonie (Kelburn 10), Kick Post One (Hampden 80/85), Ballyhooley (Wellington 20). In a variant of the same game, the players who are tagged join hands in couples only. For example, in Couple Bar.¹

In the fifth major type of He games the players help

1. See N.Z. Physical Education Soc. BULL., Vol.2, No.6.

each other, but they do not help the He. These are the Help-He games.

Of the Help-He games, Kick the Tin, is the most widely known. A tin is placed in the centre of a circle. One He is in charge of the tin. He can only tag the other players when his tin is in the centre of the circle. Any players he catches must stay in the circle. Any non-caught player can help and free the other caught players by running through the circle and kicking the tin out of it. Other names for this game are: Kick the Boot (Gisborne 90), Knock the Block or Homaiacky (Nelson 95), Kick the football or Piacky (Mangitainoka). A similar type of game which is also widely known and which is not played in a circle, but played against a wall or post, is Release. A player may release those already trapped at the base by avoiding the He, tagging the base and crying "release". Other names for this game are Scat (Hokitika Convent), Bedlam (Christchurch 20, Caversham, Millerton, Karori), Relievo (Brooklyn), Lurky Relievo (Auckland 30), Three Fleas (Woodville). Another Help-He game is Cross Tag, in which players help a pursued player by crossing between that player and the He. The He must then chase the player who crosses in front of him (Brooklyn). In Caught and Free, which is yet another Help-He game, those who are not caught try to free those who are caught by tagging them. The players who are tagged by the He must stand still. This is known also as Help Tig (Caversham), but more generally as Pebbles and Stones or Witches and Stones, or Candlesticks or Stiff Candles; It is

known also as The Sun and Jack Frost (St. Clair).

The sixth major type of He games are the Circle He Games.

Blindfold and poisonous circle He games have already been mentioned. In those games the players attempted to avoid the centre position. The same motive holds in other circle He games. The aim in these others is to stay on the circle's edge and to avoid being the He who is not a part of the periphery. These circle games were once the great picnic games. They are not often played spontaneously by children today. The most widely known are Twos and Threes and Fill the Gap. These are similar to the games of Drop the Handkerchief and Kiss in the Ring mentioned in the last chapter but they do not have the kissing or singing elements of those games. Two's and Threes was also widely known in early years, in the Nelson and Wellington areas as Teazle. Fill the Gap was widely known in Otago as Space Ring or Space to Space. Drop the Handkerchief, a non-singing He Circle games, has been widely known also as Rotten Egg. In Rotten Egg, if "a player looks behind to see whether the handkerchief has been placed behind him he becomes a rotten egg, and then everyone says 'Pooh!' (Dunedin 20). Those who are caught out in some versions must sit in the middle; all the rotten eggs sit in the middle. At Hoeraka, when there are several players in the centre the rest join hands and squash them. This they call 'scrambling the eggs'. At Rockville 1920, all the players left in the middle were required to hold onto their legs, they were then swung individually by

the other players backwards and forwards three times as in Mother the Pot Boils Over. If they let go their hold, then, and only then, were they called Rotten Eggs. Cat and Mouse is another circle type of He game. It is known also as Cat and Dog (St. Clair), Toothbrush and Germ (Forbury).

The last major type of He games to be described are the Team He games.

The first type of Team He games to be dealt with are the Bar the Door games which are in effect bridge games between individual He games and Team He games. This follows because although the game begins with one player against the rest at one stage in the game, half the players are on one side and half the players are on the other side. It is described as follows: "Another game was 'Bar the Door', sometimes called Prisoners Base. Two lines were drawn across the playground any suitable distance apart. One boy stood on guard midway between the lines, and called a boy from behind one of the lines to run across. The boy on guard endeavoured to catch the runner and pat him three times on the back. If he succeeded the runner stood beside his captor and in turn called on a boy to run. Should a boy succeed in crossing, he called out "bar the door", and all the boys ran, as many as were caught taking their place between the line. Naturally the first boy called on was the weakest runner." (Anderson's Bay 70). The middle player is usually called the He: sometimes, however, he is called the 'catcher' (Bainham, Moeraki 00), or the King (Roxburgh 35). The players running across may be called the "Holy Mob" (Dunedin 80) or the

"Bull rush" (Napier 47). When a player gets past the He, he may cry, "Bar the Door", or "Red Rover all over" (Bainham), "All over" (Stirling 30), "Pass Over" (Wanganui 49), Free Pass (Brighton 49). This game has had more names than any other: King Seenie (Dunedin 75, Rockville 95, Auckland 15, Palmerston Nth. 95), Seenie (Granity 00), Keenie Seenie (Christchurch 05, Gisborne 00, Wanganui 49), King O Weenie (Takaka 10), King Osenie (Gisborne 95), King Caesar (Collingwood 95, Waianiwa 60, Nelson 95, Brooklyn 49), King 'Seize-her' (Tuatapere 20), Julius Caesar (Etherick 35), Caesar (Nelson 75), King's Den (Kapuka Sth. 20, Tokoiti 10), Punch King Seenio (Mt. Cook, Wn. 80, Wgton Coll. 80), Punch King (Levin 30, Hutt 35, Cashmere 25), Red Rover (Gisborne 00, Bainham 49, Southland 00, Naseby 05, Mt. Cook, Wn. 30), Horsey (Wakefield 75, Waianiwa 85), Bar the Door (Wellington 10, Heathcote Valley 00, Christchurch 04, Dunedin 90, Timaru 80, Dunedin 15, Dunedin 70, Hawkes Bay 48, Tahataki 75, Christchurch 20), By the Door (Petone 20, Hampden, Caversham, Nth. East Valley), Barbadoor (Miramar, Karori), Bar the Gate (Napier), Barley (St. Clair), Barley Goats (Eketahuna 30), Broken Barley (Eketahuna 40), Black Bull Bee (Waitara 90, Ratapiko), Blackthorn (Carterton 95), Goosey up and down (Moeraki 95), Goosey (Waikouaiti 85), Holding (George St. Dunedin 95), Last Over Call (Outram 25), All Over (Etherick), Last Man Over (Woodville), Pass Over (Wanganui), Free Pass (Brighton, Nelson Takaka), Running Through the Middle (Brooklyn). It will be generally recognized that as one male informant says: "Bar the door was easily the most popular boy's game of my schooldays" (Ch'Ch 05).

Punch King which was fairly widely known in the early days/a two team game similar to Bar the Door but of a rougher nature. It involved punching.¹ It was known also as Goosey (Waikouaiti 90), and Punch King Sinny Oh (Wgton. Coll.), Bar the Door (Kaikoura 95). Scragging was a game of Bar the Door played after the fashion of Rugby football, with centre players tackling the other players rather than tagging them. It has been known also as Collaring (Wellington 90), and Holding (Dunedin). A Waikouaiti boy informed me that even today their mothers refer to it as the "clothes tearing game".

There are records of other Bar the Door type games in which the two team basis was of a more definite nature. Consider, for example, the following games in which there are definitely two teams, and yet still an individual He.

Bar the Door as played at Timaru in 1880 is described as follows: "This was a very popular game before football was general. There were two sides with a captain for each side. Each team lined up on opposite side of a space, for example a street with boundaries marked with stones. The captain of one side would go out into the middle and call one person from the opposite side. That person would run across and attempt to avoid capture. If he succeeded the whole team would come after him. Everybody caught joined the team of this captain in the middle. Now the other captain would have his turn and

1. Leckie F.M., Early History of Wellington College, gives a good description of this game and its effects, p.320.

see how many he could catch for his team"; and as played at Rakaia 1910/20. "There were two lines of children facing each other at some distance with one on the middle. The one in the middle called children singly, in which case they were required to run across the ground and back to their own base. Players were called alternately from each side. Failing to catch any one, the player in the middle could call "Bar the Door" and both teams were required to run across the playground and back to their bases. This was a competition between teams to keep their numbers intact. A similar type of game was known as Black Bull Bee at Waitara 99.

In another class of Bar the Door games, there were just the two teams with no individual He in the middle. For example in Horney (Wakefield 75) "This was played outside the school along a cutting with banks eight to ten feet high on each side. One team joined hands so that the players (usually about six a side) advanced side by side up the cutting crying out "Horney" "Horney". The opposite team would race down the cutting in an attempt to get through or around the ends of this barrier. They would break their way through the closed hands if they could, or alternatively scramble up the steep side of the cutting in an attempt to go round the end of the line. Those caught would join on the end of the line until it stretched right across the road and up the bank. Those who broke through were safe. They stood behind the line and waited for the time when the extended line would turn around and, crying Horney, Horney, advance towards them." Games of this type were fairly widely known.

They are reported: King Seenie (Dunedin 75), Horney (Waianiwa 85), Blackthorn (Carterton 95), King O'weenie (Takaka 10), King's Den (Kapuka Sth. 1929).

After the Bar the Door type of team game, the running and capturing team He games have been of the greatest importance in the lives of New Zealand children. One of the Most popular of the capturing games has been French and English. It is reported from Outram 27 as follows: "We played the game on wet days in the off seasons between Rugby and Cricket. The two teams lined up at opposite ends of the playshed each having a corner of the shed as their den. The aim was to capture all the members of the other side and confine them to your den. When the weather allowed sortees, would be made into the trees and grounds surrounding the shed. To capture a member of the otherside it was only nedessary to have the physical strength to drag him to your den. On the other hand to release a prisoner of your own side from the den of the enemy it was nedessary to crown him on the head "One-two-three". Boys were often hurt on the floor of the concrete shed, while struggling to avoid capture." Games of a similar nature are reported elsewhere. They often involved the capture of treasure from another team. (Wainui-O-Mata 10, Hawkes Bay 30, Waianiwa 75, Dobsen, Ngapara). Prisoner's Base is another capturing and running game which has been widely known (Akaroa 80, Waitara 99, Nelson 90, Sth. Featherston 03). It was known at Waikouaiti as Peggy. Chibby (Mouteka 00, Nelson 75, Milton 10) and Chevvy Chase

(Moeraki 95) are two others of lesser importance.¹ Hares and Hounds, Paper Chase, Chevvy Chase and Tally Ho were the most widely known of these chasing team games.

Another type of team He chasing games, were the treasure He games. These will be dealt with in Chapter 22.

Examples of the types of He games listed at different schools today are as follows:

Papakura: May we cross the River Ole Black Joe, Ho Home stay Home, Hide and seek, King a Seenie, Poisonous Ball, Chasey, Tiggy, Bob Down Tiggy, Shadows, Donkey, Hoodman Blind, Feet off the ground, Puss in the Corner, Stand Still Tiggy, Donkey, Sick ill.

Auckland Normal: Hide and Seek, Chasey, Two-fence tiggy, Cats in the Corner, Bob Down Tiggy, King of Seenie, Animal Blindman's Buff, Chasey in Trees, Stone Tag, Water Tag, Guardians of the Gate, Go Home Stay Home, Ghosts.

St. Cuthberts, Auckland: Tig, King Seenie, Red Rover, Sheep Sheep, Two's and Threes, Kick the Tin, Fill the Gap, Hide and Seek, Puss in the Corner, Tom Tiddler, Moonlight Starlight, French and English.

Auckland Diocesan: Hide and seek, Tig and Tag, King Assini, Great Wall of China, Eggs in the Bush, Chasey, Sardines, Bob Down Tiggy, Release, Puss in Corner, Dog and Bone, Trunk Tig, Tig on Tree, Leaves, Tom Tiddler's Ground.

Woodville: Hairyman, Tally Ho, Three Fleas, Chase, Chinese Wall, Last Man over, Billy Johnsen's Big Black Pig, Drop the

1. See N.Z. Physical Education Soc. Bull. Vol.2, No.6.

Handkerchief, Hide and Seek, Ball Tag.

Pongaroa: Stone Tag, Moonlight Starlight, Sardines, Punch King, Red Rover Cross Over, Ball Stone Tag, Fish Tag, Fox and Hounds, Pulling Across, In the Pond out of the Pond, Two's and Threes, Cat and Mouse, Tracking in the Bush, Free and Caught, Hares and Hounds, Dog and Bone, Jumping Jimmy, Paper Chase, Biff Ball, Owl, Crab, Tree Flight.

Clifton Terrace: The Wolf, No Man Standing, Blindman, Chasing, Hide and Seek, Couple Tag, Hares and Hounds, Tiggy Tiggy Touchwood, Stones and Pebbles, Racing Round the Home, Fox and Goose, French and Englishmen.

Christchurch Normal: Hide and Seek, What's the Time Mr. Wolf, Donkey, Dog and Bone, Stiff Candles, Cat and Mouse, Poisonous Tag, Tiggy Tiggy Touchwood, Labour Door, Go Home Stay Home, Blindman's Buff, Kingi, Witches, No Man Standing.

Oxford: Donkey, Poisonous Touch, Ticky Ticky Touchwood, Kick the Tin, Stiff Candles, Tarstep.

Westport: Fives and Over, Stones, Witches and Stones, Donkey Puss in Corner, French and English, Moonlight Starlight, Kick the Tin, Stiff Candy, British Bulldog, Brandy.

Hokitika: Charley over the Water, Poison Taggy, Ball Tiggy, Touch, Scat, No Man Standing, Packed Sardines, Ghosts, Hot Rice.

Hampden: Last Up's He, Black Peter, Sheep Sheep Stay Home, Tig on the Seats, Gag or no Gag, Paper Chase, Kick the Tin, Tig Round the House, Beetle, Last on the Boat is He for Sharky, Knock the Block, Rotten Egg, Sharky.

Forbury: No Man Standing, Iron Tig, Puss in Corner, Twos and Threes, Cat and Mouse, Poison Tag, Track Tig, Sardines, By the

Door, Seat Tig, Farmer's Fears, Tiggy Tiggy Touchwood,
 Hide and Seek, Dog and Bone, Ball Tig, Tig, Pebbles and
 Stones, Odd Man Out, In and Out of the Pond, Ground Tig,
 Blind Tig.

An example of age and sex differences is given in the
 following lists. (See further Appendix 1).

Caversham:

- S.1, 13 boys: Poison Tig, Tiggy Tiggy Touchwood, Tig, Chasing,
 Hide and Seek.
- S.1, 9 girls: Hide and Seek, Chasing.
- S.2, 25 boys: Tig, Hide and Seek, Bar the Door, Cat and Mouse,
 Ball Tag, Chase, Tiggy Tiggy Touchwood.
- S.2, 17 girls: Hide and Seek, Tiggy Tiggy Touchwood, Cat and
 Mouse, Rats and Rabbits, Puss in the Corner, Fill
 the Gap, Tig, Chasing, Rabbit and Fox, Drop the
 Handkerchief.
- S.3, 23 boys: Tig, Hide and Seek, Ball Tig, Rotten Egg, Cat and
 Mouse, Fox and Mouse, Tickle Tig, Free Can Caught
 Bedlam, Chase, Poison Tig, Help Tig, Paper Chase.
- S.3, 18 girls: Witchy, Tig, Please Jack May We Cross Your Golden
 River, Peter Peter, Hide and Seek, Cat and Mouse,
 Rotten Egg, No Man Standing, Old Man Standing,
 By The Door, Barbadoor, Blind Man's Buff, Puss In
 Corner, Candesticks.
- S.4, 14 goys: Tig, Hide and Seek, Blind Man's Buff, Cat and Mouse,
 Ball Tig, Free and Caught, Tag, Poisonous, Tig.
- S.4, 24 girls: Tig, Rotten Egg, Blind Man's Buff, Hide and Seek,
 Puss In the Corner, Cat and Mouse, Poor Pussy,

Chain Tig, Team Tag, Stiff Candles, Tiggy Tiggy
 Touchwood, No Man Standing, Poisonous Tig, May We
 Cross Your Golden River, Bar the Door, Please Jack.

Macandrew: (the children from Caversham go to the Macandrew
 Intermediate School in S.5/6).

S.5, 17 boys: Chain Tig, Tig, Relays Tig, Hold the Flag,
 Hold the Bone, Blind Man's Buff, Free and Caught,
 Chasing Gas, Wood Tig, Rotten Egg, Kiwi, Hide and
 Seek, Ball Tig.

S.5, 16 girls: Hide and Seek, Tig Ball, Old Man Standing, Mother
 Goose, Monkey Bars, Chasing, Tig, Mr. Wolf,
 Poison Tig, Tag, Steeple-chasing, Indoor Ball Tig,
 By the Door, May we Cross your Golden River,
 Colours, Help Tig, Tig on Seats, Blind Man's Buff,
 Rotten Egg.

S.6, 21 boys: Tig, Ball Tig, Hide and Seek, Chasing with Torches,
 Poison Tag, Free can Caught, Rotten Egg, Blind
 Man's Buff, Poison Bush, Bar the Door, Chasing.

S.6, 20 girls: Tig, Bar the Door, Rotten Egg, Hide and Seek,
 Ball Tig, Blind Man's Buff, Puss in Corner,
 Hares and Hounds.

The explanation of these various He games proceeds as
 follows: The Security-He, He-typical and Sex chasing games are
 included in a discussion of the psychological bases of He games.
 The Multiplying-He, Help-He, Circle-He and Team-He games are
 included in a discussion of the development which takes place

in He games.

Two characteristics stand out in the description of He games. On the one hand children seek to escape the He, by skill, by hiding or by a retreat to some safe and secure place. On the otherhand they seek to challenge the He who is a fearsome character with dangerous powers. On the one hand there is the safety of the base and on the otherhand the lack of safety beyond the base. All He games revolve round this simple contrast.

The claim is made here that these chasing games ----
 which are the most important games of middle childhood ¹ ----
 reflect the children's psychological growth away from the safety of their homes into the unsafe world beyond their homes. From the safe to the unsafe in the games, reflects the ^{existence of} evidence a similar movement in the players' lives. Support for this hypothesis is found in the number of ways in which the events of the games can be shown to symbolize experiences ² in the underlying and parallel process of growth.

How is the underlying psychological process of growth from the safe to the unsafe to be described? Fromm describes it along the following lines. First there is the children's desire for independence. "One side of the growing process

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1. This viewpoint is corroborated by experiments of Sears with children's doll play. See Bell J.E., Projective Techniques, p.455.
 2. No other hypothesis seems adequate to account for the facts mentioned. But theoretical "adequacy" is not final proof. The hypothesis requires further verification.

of individuation is the growth of self-strength."¹ This strength leads the children to desire independence, to desire to grow away from previous infant dependence upon the home. Unless the children accept and grasp their maturing independence, they will never actually be all those truck drivers, horseriders and mothers that they want to be, but at which to date they have only been playing.

By the way of corroboration it can be shown that this desire of children for independence is reflected in their literature. Children love stories which picture children running away from their homes or living in a world in which parents don't exist. Innumerable children's books incorporate these themes.² He games also contain opportunity for the adventurous assertion of independence. In He games children venture out beyond a base and daringly assert their independence in the face of a powerful He.

But Fromm says also that the children's very desire to be independent is accompanied by a regressive desire to turn backwards from independence to the security of the home once more.³ As the child rejects the previous state of dependence he is assailed by anxieties, by a "Fear of Freedom". "The other aspect of the process of individuation is growing aloneness. The primary ties offer security and basic unity with the world

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1. Fromm E., The Fear of Freedom, p.23.
 2. See Trease Geoffrey, Tales Out of School, London, 1948, Chap. 10. The Family in Fiction and White Dorothy Neal, About Books for Children, N.Z., 1946, p.11.
 3. A regressive desire which has already been considered from a slightly different viewpoint in the last chapter.

outside himself. To the extent to which the child emerges from that world it becomes aware of being alone, of being an entity separate from all others. This separation from a world, which in comparison with one's own individual existence is overwhelmingly strong and powerful, and often threatening and dangerous, creates a feeling of powerlessness and anxiety.. When one has become an individual, one stands alone and faces the world in all its perilous and over-¹powering aspects." The fears and anxieties of this new situation are revealed in many directions; in children's dreams, their fairy tales and night fears. Descriptions of the fears are to be found in literature about children. Consider the following quotations: "Nothing you can do will protect your child from fear ---- worse fear than you yourself could face. He carries the jungle inside him People have remarked how little afraid, in the war, children seemed to be of bombs. But where is your sense of proportion? Why should a child fear the mere paltry chance of bombs, when he has schooled himself to fall asleep tranquilly every night² knowing -- knowing -- that there is a tiger under the cot?" And Wordsworth describes his fear of being pursued.

"No familiar shapes

Remained, no pleasant images of trees,

Of sea or sky, no colours of green fields;

But huge and mighty forms, that do not live

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1. A regressive desire which has already been considered from a slightly different viewpoint in the last chapter.
 2. Hughes Richard, *The World of the Nose*, English Listener, July 30, 1950, p.57.

Like living men, moved slowly through the mind
 By day, and were a trouble to my dreams."¹

It seems reasonable to assume that the same fears also find
 outlet in the exciting fears of He games; reasonable to assume,²
 when the children run shrieking with excited fear from the He,
 that they are drawing on psychological experiences such as
 those outlined above by Fromm.

The two experiences which are claimed here to be drawn upon in He games then are (a) the children's desire for independence and (b) their fear of the consequence of independence. In He games these two experiences are given play form roughly as follows. The players must assert their independence by advancing forth from a base or home and challenging the He Player. The players are then chased by the He player who threatens them, and they fly in simulated fear back to the base. Within the games the He appears to stand for all the powers of the unknown adult world against which the children are pitting themselves when they assert their new independence. The base or touchline stands for the security of the home for the place of rest where there is no danger. Children venture forth from the home to challenge the He.. They fly back to the home to escape him.

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1. Wordsworth W., The Prelude.
 2. One of the best descriptions in literature of The He-like character which inspires fear is Lewis Carroll's "Jabberwocky" of Alice Through the Looking Glass. The Jabberwocky has most of the characteristics of the He outlined in the following pages: "Beware the Jabberwock, my son! The jaws that bite, the claws that catch!"

First, with respect to the children's desire for security as it is manifested in He games. It was noted that security is achieved by remaining in a den, hiding in a "cosy place", holding onto a safe object or using a safe term. Something of the satisfaction children get from these activities, from "cosy places", has already been suggested in connection with Imitative and Singing games. When children are hiding in dens they have a satisfaction that is similar to the satisfaction they experience when they are in a "cosy place" in Houses or when they are in a fort in Pack games. Perhaps also it is similar to the satisfaction they get when they are in a neonate posture in Honeypots (Mother Mother The Pot Boils Over), when they are enclosed in a burrow or hole, or when they are enclosed in the arms of the arch in Oranges and Lemons. The children's love for being safely enclosed is noticeable even in their very informal play. It is noticeable, for example, that children love to jam themselves into places of physical confinement behind school gates, behind sheds, and at the back of school buildings, under shed seats and in the shed. One day I saw an infant climbing up behind the school gate at Island Bay and crying aloud to no audience. "I'm in gaol!" "I'm in gaol!"

The viewpoint adopted here is that in these home and safe places, the children are unconsciously (perhaps sometimes

even consciously)¹ recapitulating in their play, the safe "cosy" feelings they have always associated with their real homes; it is held that the homes and the bases in these games are, from a psychological point of view, a play representation of their real homes. One of the psychological functions of these 'Base' games may well be to serve as an emotional bridge for the children from a way of life which is centred in their primary ties with adults at home to a way of life which is centred in their own age group and its den. It is of interest to note that in the Traditional Games of Argyllshire, the den is commonly referred to as "The Old Wife".² It is noticeable that any player who resorts to a safe-place, safe-object word or act, must stay in one place if he or she is to remain safe. Safety is identified in these games with "stationariness". A player with crossed fingers is, in a sense, tied to one place. A player who is "Pax", is at rest in one place. It was noted previously, that 'stationariness' in the imitative play of girls, is associated with home-based play. Stationariness in the safe places and safety devices of He games may be further evidence that these He 'homes' represent emotionally the characteristics of children's real homes ----. For in the young children's experience homes are always one place (even if the location of that place changes).

It is my observation at Island Bay that it is the younger

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1. Children often regress quite consciously in play-therapy to earlier stages of development in order to live over again the satisfactions relevant to the earlier stage. See Axeline V.M., Play Therapy, Boston, 1947.
 2. MacLagen R.C., The Games of Argyllshire, London, 1901.

children of S.1/2, and the girls more than the boys, who make the greatest use of the sheds in their play. This is a conclusion which requires further verification. But, if it is true, it is a state of affairs which may be due to the fact that sheds and other 'home-like' places are most important to younger children, because those young children are relatively less independent of the home than their age superiors. Shed play may be more important to girls also because girls have a greater interest in real homes. Children of all ages, however, make sporadic use of the sheds as Bases for their He games.

Secondly, what is the nature of the He whom the children fear? The folklorists say "something of an ignominious or "evil" character had been originally associated with the 'unnamed' or 'tabooed' player It is possible that the game of touch has developed from the practice of choosing a victim by lot or from tabooing people suffering from certain diseases or subjected to some special punishment."¹ Betts associates the He with 'Fairies and Goblins' and whatever they may represent.² Speaking particularly of 'Blindman's Buff', Spence says, "It seems to me that here we have the reminiscence of an ancient rite in which the priest clad in an animal's hide .. was blindfolded and expected to seize upon a victim by chance -- a victim, too, who would be consumed by fire."³

1. Gomme, op. cit., V.2, p.473.

2. Betts H., op. cit., p.78.

3. Spence L., Myth & Ritual in Dance Game and Rhyme, p.75.

Kennedy says "He was doomed to undergo death and revival the unfortunate scapegoat ... beaten and trounced for the good of the community."¹ In these descriptions, the He is both dangerous and endangered. There are echoes of these traditional functions in the material that follows. The He described earlier was a feared person. A person sometimes blind and often associated with darkness. He had to be chosen by a special method. He was powerful. He could tag or crown a player and in so doing turn that player into a He. He could poison the players and immobilize them.

✕ What are the psychological bases for these characteristics? Fromm says that the outside world appears to the children as "overwhelmingly powerful and strong and often threatening and dangerous." The He has some of these characteristics. Perhaps, therefore, some of the children's fears of the outside world, are personified in the He. The He may well be a game-symbol for their common anxieties in face of the real world. It may be a composite receptacle for their split-off fears.

Those cases in which the fun fear of the games gives way to real fear, tend to demonstrate that the fun fear of the games is based on real fears in the players' lives. Occasionally in He games, the original fear breaks through into the game, interrupts the play-spirit which is the essence of the game and disrupts the game itself. An infant

1. Kennedy D., England's Dances, p.92-3. See further: Hall S., Youth, p.84; Douglas N., London Street Games, p.21; Mitchell E.D., and Mason, B.S., The Theory of Play, p.11.

teacher at the North East Valley school reports having to stop a game in which the "Wolf", a rather dull and somewhat fearsome looking boy, terrified the infant girls. Another informant speaks of her experience as a country school infant when, along with the other infants, she was appointed a 'fox' by the pursuing hunter-boys of S.6. She spoke of feeling almost frantic terror and exhaustion when the hunters were chasing her. An excellent description of this feeling is given by Joyce Cary in his "House of Children" (p.22) and also in his "Charley is My Darling" (p.46). In normal He games, however, the play fear of the He is not terrifying. The real fear is transformed into fun fear. As Anna Freud says "there are many children's games in which through the metamorphosis of the subject into the dreaded object, anxiety is converted into pleasurable security."¹ This pleasurable, or fun quality of the He games, is a quality of all true play phenomena (and will be discussed further into Section 111.) If the He was a 'real' creature, the children would not feel free to cheek and taunt him as they do. They would not be able to unload their aggressive feelings onto his shoulders as Klein suggests they do and as is evidenced by the way in which they buffet the Blind Man in Blind Man's Buff.²

It was suggested that the homes and bases in these games may serve as a bridge in children's emotional growth.

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1. A. Freud, The Ego and The Mechanisms of Defence, p.119
 2. Klein M., The Early Development of Conscience, in Psychoanalysis Today, p.66

The groups' play fear of the He may serve a similar function. It may serve as a bridge between the children's real feeling of aloneness before the outer world and their real feeling of identification with the group. Their common experience of aloneness before the outer world, personified into play terms as the He, gives them a common fantasy which unites them in a group activity itself. ^{In time the experience of the group activity} makes that particular common He-fantasy less necessary to them. The group activity generates other common 'ideas' around which the members can rally in common activity. In the early stages, however, the He fantasy may well serve as a bridge from the players' more ego-centric past to their more group-centric future. It is possible to trace this process of transformation even within the forms of the He games themselves. This process will be described later.

But it is not possible to explain all the characteristics of the He in terms of the above psychological experiences. What of the He's power to tag, to poison, to immobilize?

Psycho-analysts point out that children's growing independence does more than bring them into contact with an outside and perhaps hostile world. They claim that the children become involved also in an unconscious struggle with the parent of the same sex for the exclusive possession of the parent of the opposite sex. Once this conflict arises (commonly known as the Oedipus Conflict) it leads the children to fear they are in danger from their rival parent. The children fear that the opposite sexed parent will seek to oust

them from the oedipus competition by destroying their sexual potency. In boys, the desire to destroy the sexual potency of the father leads to the fear that the father will destroy their sexual organs. This is known as a "castration fear". The boys "attention and interest become narcissistically centred upon the penis and there develops in his unconscious ¹ the fear of being robbed by his father." Mead claims that in urban society girls also experience this ² fear, although not to the same extent as the boys.

The connection between He games and the existence of this fear is as follows. Psycho-analysts point out that "castration fears" are often symbolized in neurosis and mythology as fears of being bitten or cut or blinded or bound or immobilized. But as has been shown, the He has power to do all these things - to bite, bind and immobilize. This suggests that children are projecting into the He their unconscious experience of castration fears. The manner in ³ which some of these unconscious fears are projected in to the He appears to be as follows.

First, the blindfold He when he tags others has the power to make them blind., The players fear he will tag and blind them. But in the analyses of psycho-analysis the fear of blindness may be a symbol of castration. Ferenzl says "a castration complex, for instance often results in a phobia of blindness, the eye being one of the commonest somatic phallic

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1. Healey W., Bronner A.F., Bovers A.M., The Structure and Meaning of Psycho-Analysis, New York, 1930, p.13.
 2. Mead M., Male and Female, p.81.
 3. This term "projected" is considered in detail in section 111.

¹
symbols." In running from the blindfold He, the players may be, therefore, unconsciously personifying their castration fear. In blindfolding the He and buffeting him on the otherhand they are personifying their desire to castrate and injure the rival parent. No wonder then that the He has "something of an ignominious or 'evil character' and must be carefully chosen. For he is in effect a symbol of the players own hostile unconscious wishes. Wishes, which expressed even in this symbolic manner arouse the fear of retaliation -- the fear that the players themselves will be tagged.

But the He has also the power to poison, lame and
² blind. Writing of castration fears Money-Kyrle says "we often find some lesser injury such as laming or binding which we may nevertheless interpret as symbolic of it."³ In this connection consider the universal Poison Tag. Medusa-like, the He's touch turns the players to stone. (Stone Tag, Pebbles and Stones.) His touch may even lame them just as King Oedipus himself was lamed at birth.

In many marble games the He player, that is the player in a dominant position, has a similar poisoning power. If his tag -- his symbol of power -- has gone into the Holey or "Pow", then he has the right to poison or kill the other players. On the otherhand, in the Big Ring game of marbles quite the

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1. Quoted Jones E., The Theory of Symbolism, in Papers on Psycho-Analysis, London, 1920, p.158.
 2. Binding is dealt with in Chapter 19.
 3. Money-Kyrle R., Supersitition and Society, p.34.

contrary happens. If the player's marble goes into the centre of the ring and stays there, then that marble is just left there. It loses its power. The same happens to a player whose top stays in the ring in the game of "Peg in the Ring". The top is left in the circle and loses its power. It cannot be used again until it is hit out of the circle. Now this difference between the two types of marble games parallels the difference between the chain circle games and the couple circle games. It will be remembered that a player who was in the centre in a chain circle game was powerful, whereas a player who was in the centre of a couple circle game was impotent. He was the fool. He was the subject of taunts just as the player's peg top in the centre of the circle is subject to pegging. This difference between the two types of marble game may explain the reason why, in marble playing today, which is restricted to children of a younger age than hitherto, there appears to be more "Holey" playing and less "Big Ring". The majority of old identities mention "Big Ring" as the game of marbles. Children today seldom do so. Presumably the poisoning Hole game is more appropriate to the younger average age of the marble players today. There is, of course, a more everyday reason for this change in the preference for marble games. In the Hole game each player handles only his own taw. In the Big Ring, the player must think also of the dubs and that is, relatively speaking, a much more sophisticated process.

The readiness to act as if something external might

be poisonous or dangerous to themselves carries over also into other informal aspects of children's play. (Nelson 15/20). Reports children throwing a dirty rag at each other and crying "Pooh! Pooh!" at, and recoiling in mock horror from, anyone who was touched by the rag. The rag or dirty object in this sort of play may also represent a dangerous blow. On the otherhand the children may be drawing upon a tabooed interest in the obscene or the dirty. They avoid the rag as if it were faeces, or something that will defile and make them opprobrius. Money-Kyrle points out ^{that} excrement is not only dirty, it may have also the unconscious significance of magical power.¹ Children may unconsciously fear that the dirty rag will transfer to them some of its magical power or rather deprive them of their own magical power. In some cases, however, it is difficult to know whether either of these explanations in terms of unconscious psychology apply to the children's detestation for dirty objects. For example, when children pin another child with the rhyme. "I saw a dead rat. I won it. You two it". etc. "I seven it. You Ate it. Ugh! Ugh!" it seems hardly necessary to call on any unconscious motives to explain why the children should not themselves want to be accused of eating anything so repulsive as a dead rat. Even in a case as simple as this, however, the widespread nature of this rhyme and its persistence through the years, suggests that there may be also an unconscious component in the children's fear of eating the dead animal. This rhyme may also be an expression of a castration fear.

1. Money-Kyrle, op. cit., p.85.

The question of children's attitude to animals and to death is discussed fully in Chapter 19.

It is common experience to see children making a temporary ritual for themselves, such as: no stepping on the concrete, keeping only to the grass, or being in danger on the wet patches in Wet and Dry Tig. Here again is the same fear that something external to themselves is dangerous to them.¹ It seems clear, therefore, that the conscious and unconscious sources of the "poisonous" in children's play, are of a multiple nature.

But the tag of the He is also powerful, as well as poisonous.² It is a sort of mana. The He who strikes regains his normal personality as a player. He takes power from the one whom he strikes. The act of striking then appears to symbolize the transference of power. In some games the desire to strike must not be revealed or else the striker will be deprived of power. Tip the Finger, referred to in the preface and known also as Draw a Snake is of this nature; it is described in the next chapter. Why then should this desire to strike, which brings power to the striker, not be revealed? No doubt it expresses an unconscious and illicit desire, and must not, therefore, be made known. The illicit idea, which is not to be made known, is probably, the previously mention castration idea or some other idea of

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1. As a further illustration see A.L. Barker's story, The Iconoclasts, in Green G.F., Ed., First View, London, 1950, p.189. In this story the boy makes a ritual out of not using the top step, in a flight of concrete steps.
 2. Money-Kyrle, *ibid*, p.79.

sexual contact. A statement of Jung supports this view. He says, "The ritual act of striking has the significance of generating (fructifying), and is indeed, merely a variant¹ of the original phallic ceremonial."

The He's tagging powers may also be expressed in terms of biting and cutting. These activities are commonly associated with castration fears. Consider, for example the statement by the boy in Denton Welch's "Narcissus Bay", when he warns another boy "If you sit on the lavatory seat² too long a sword-fish will come up and bite you." Enquiries from several adults reveal that this expression of a castration fear is common in childhood. One woman said that as a child she feared that a snake would come up out of the lavatory and bite her. Another woman feared a dwarf. (Both are common phallic symbols). A man feared a lobster. I myself, feared something vague and diffuse which, at best, I can only describe as a crocodile. (Both are associated with Biting in the children's minds). Several other adults questioned had no memory of such a fear. The widespread play-object trick "My father's cut my finger off." is probably based on the experience of the same fear. In this trick one boy comes up to another and shows him a dismembered finger. He has the finger in a tobacco tin, lying on cotton wool and covered with blood. At North East Valley the boys say "Look my father's cut my finger off". In actual fact

1. Jung G.J., *Psychology of the Unconscious*, p.250

2. Denton Welch, *Narcissus Bay*, in *First View*, op. cit., p.49.

it is the player's own finger projecting through a hole in the bottom of the tin and covered with red ink. The Granity He game expression "Don't tig your butcher", suggests that the children regard the He as a butcher, that is, as one whose tagging power is somehow analagous to the butchers' ability to cut meat. There are several superstitions which appear to require interpretation in terms of children's castration fears. For example: "A weta's bite will kill you. Near Hendley Mill is the grave of a little girl who was bitten by one. The wetas bored through the manuka and out to the tips of the twigs where they wait to jump out and bite you." (Putoki 20). Modified versions of the same superstition are reported as still existent in that area. The following Bloodsucker superstition reported from Petone appears to need a similar interpretation: "There is one thing on looking back that intrigues me. That is The Great Bloodsucker Myth. I have wondered lately whether it was a remnant of the Vampire myth so ably written of by Bram Stoker in "Dracula". I know that when I read that book it seemed to fix properly the shudders at half glimpsed ideas in those days. Bloodsuckers, were so varied as to bear no resemblance to each other except in their believed functions. There was a worm we used to dig up on the sea edge. It was about six inches long, toughish in texture and as harmless as anything one could imagine. When cut in half a blackish kind of blood used to ooze out. Yet this poor thing was held in absolute horror by the small boys round about 1909/1911. I don't know if we believed it would suck our blood or if we thought the

fact that it had some blood in it was evidence that it had been at some hapless child. But it was a blood sucker and we hated it - honestly and sincerely. The worm had more reason to fear and hate us for we gave it a bad time when caught. Another blood-sucker, was the flower seed of the couch-grass, wild barley. This was put up the sleeve and as one moved the arm, it would creep up further and further. Our belief was that if allowed to get to the arm-pit, it entered and sucked the blood of its victim. I don't think this was so strongly held as the worm one but we gave it a fair chance and then suddenly deciding it had gone far enough would rip off our coats and recover the offender about the elbow. There was not the same horror about this and I don't think we really believed it. The way the thing made its way up a sleeve, was however rather like something having conscious life and may account for this belief. The dog-fish also was sometimes accredited with being a bloodsucker and I shudder to think of the bashings these harmless things received. This was more understandable though as when the tide goes out these fish bury themselves in the sand in shallow water and leave the mouth open. Often we stepped into the mouth and got a bit of a cut or bite. They were villanous looking things too; nearly all head and little body, apparently lying in wait for us. But the bloodsucker myth was a horror-producing one. There were other varieties of it which I have forgotten. This is the strange part of it, it was something we wanted to believe in and the nearest we ever came to real superstition, yet the Vampire myth was quite

unknown us." Another informant says "Our bloodsucker was a red growth which was to be seen in stagnant waters the red growth was the blood gorged suckers" (Christchurch 05). Collins reports New Zealand farm children regarding the Lamprey, a primitive form of fish, as a vampire.¹ When I was at school there was a general fear of the local Chinese green grocer which may have been an expression of this same unconscious fear. It was believed that if you cheeked the Chinese greengrocer he would drag you into the back of his shop and take to you with his great curved knife. An enquiry into the moral conceptions of some New Zealand children gives further evidence of 'cutting' fears in children's minds. The children were asked to write "what do you think are the wickedest things anyone can do." A marked tendency was noted on the part of the 8 to 9 year child -- the age when He games are at a peak --- "to mention torture and mutilation with special 'fearsomeness'" Examples of the mutilation and torture mentioned by the children as being especially wicked were as follows: "To pull people's eyes out; twist their arms around; cut people's heads off; get cut with a saw; cutting anybody's arms and legs off and blinding anyone; cut anybody; cut his tongue out; stab; to poke a dog's eyes out if he did not do his work." The investigator concludes "The fact that mutilations and tortures are mentioned so frequently,

1. Collins S.R., A Child on a Farm, N.Z. Listener, Nov.11, 1949. See Money-Kyrle op. cit., p.98, who suggests that children's vampire fears may derive from their unconscious experience of oral activities.

indicates a sensitiveness to horrors at this age. The frequent mentioning of "frightening" among minor offences supports this view.¹

If it is true that a castration fear is involved in these He games, then some of the games should turn about objects which have a phallic significance. That is, the objects in some of the games should derive some of their significance from the unconscious experience of the importance of phallic possession and power. And, indeed, there are many games in which the control of a certain object gives power to the one who controls it. The aim of the players is to get, or keep, control over the object. If they can do that, then they are potent and victorious. If they cannot then they lose their power and are defeated. Naturally the play-object may have a meaning for the game irrespective of any unconscious meaning which is being read into the possession of it.² Nevertheless there are many play-objects which appear to have also an unconscious meaning for the players.

It is relevant at this point to recall the remarks already made about circle He and circle singing games. It was shown that in circle chain games girls desired to gain the centre position in the ring. It was not suggested at the time, however, that that position had any phallic significance.

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1. Clark H.V., An enquiry into the Moral Conceptions of some New Zealand Children, M.A. Thesis, V.U.C., p.36-37.
 2. The question of the various levels of meaning involved in these games is dealt with in Section 111.

It was suggested rather that circle players wanted to be chosen and to be able to choose. They wanted to be completely enclosed, they wanted to be the cynosure. It follows in psycho-analytic theory, however, that whoever is the favoured one, the centrepiece in the triangle of unconscious love, is also the one who is phallicly powerful. Punchinello, "the funny little man" may well be but a contemporary representation of the phallic gnomes,¹ leprechauns and elf-men of folklore. If this is the case, then Punchinello may have phallic attributes in common with the centre piece in He circle games like Kick the Tin and Kick the Boot. In this latter game the He places his boot in the centre of a circle marked on the ground and sets off to tag the other players after the fashion of Hide and Seek. If the He tags the players, he sends them back to the circle where they must stand powerless. If, one of the untagged players can rush through the circle when the He is not there, and kick the boot out of the circle, then all the captured players may go free. The He cannot chase them again till he has restored his boot to the centre of the circle. It may well be that the children invest both the Punchinello and the Boot (a common phallic symbol) with an unconscious phallic significance.

The two types of circle game differ, however, insofar as there seems to be more sophistication in the He circle

1. Superman and Supermouse of the comics and films are more potent modern examples. See Jones E., Theory of Symbolism, op. cit., p.135.

chasing games than in the girls' chain circle games. The He circle chasing games represent a psychological step in advance of the chain circle singing games, just as the He circle singing games, Bingo and Drop the Handkerchief, also represented a step in advance of the ordinary chain circle singing games. In the circle chain games the children imagine that they can be the centre player themselves. In the He circle games (singing and chasing), the children no longer want to be the centre player although they attribute to the centre player dangerous properties. Presumably, the first stage represents the children's naive desire to be the centrepiece in the family, whereas the second stage represents the players' unconscious awareness of oedipus rivalry. In this latter stage the players have given up the belief that they can themselves be the centrepiece in the circle or the family. Nevertheless, they resent the He's phallic power and try to dethrone him by kicking him phallic boot out of the marked circle. But although they do this, they still regard his power as dangerous. As they threaten him, so also can he threaten them. They avoid him as they avoid the player whose marble is "pow" in Holey. In some parlour circle games the players also avoid the object in the centre of the circle, or the object which is passed round the periphery of the circle. If they touch this (phallic) object or if they are left in possession of it -- that is, if their unconscious desire for phallic power is revealed --- then they are out. (Consider in this light the above descriptions of Red Hot Poker, the Hot Spoon, the Poison Stick,

Jack a Balan, and the Love Bird's Nest.)

In the couple circle games the rivalry implicit in the He-circle games has become conscious. The players now consciously seek partners on the periphery of the circle. The player who is left in the centre is no longer the cynosure, nor is he dangerous, although he is still a rival at certain stages of the game, for example, when the music stops. It has been mentioned that he may be mocked. In some traditional dances he is the fool.¹ Perhaps he is the fool because he is the personification of that particular desire which all those who have sought partners on the outside of the circle, have long since repressed; a desire which they resent to see represented in the vestiments of another person. His position represents the simple desire of the chain circle child. It is a naive desire. The partnered players resent the unpartnered centre player because he is the embodiment of their once naive desire, their erstwhile foolishness. He must be made the fool, the scapegoat, the public sacrifice, just as their own naive desire was originally sacrificed. He is made the scapegoat in order that their repressions may be validated and the present order of partnership continue.

Other objects in He games have phallic^{underlines.} The boot in Kick the boot may have this significance. Sometimes this boot is given special names, such as "Paiacky" and "Homaiacky". (It is worth mentioning that when I read these names aloud to

1. Kennedy D., England's Dances, p.91.

a section of Training College students at Ardmore, the men roared with laughter. But on questioning no one was able to say why they had roared with laughter.) Not only boots but feet often have the same phallic significance. In the game of Seat Tig a player may be tagged if her feet project over the edge of the seat. In Mother Mother the Pot Boils Over, the mother is not allowed into the Witches's home until her feet are chopped off.¹ In one version of the same game the Witch gets children from the maid by giving to the maid her "big toe". The following singing game rhyme lends itself also to this type of interpretation. "Pitch Patch Poo, Oliver Cromwell lost his shoe, In the Battle of Waterloo." (Auckland). Fingers (Tip the Finger) and worm like objects (Bloodsuckers) have already been mentioned. Others with a similar significance are: Keys, If one can steal the 'keys' or the 'bell' from the blindfold He, in some circle He games then that He is out. Loss of a handkerchief trailed from the belt, a touch on the seat and on the head, all deprive a player of power. As long as players remain squatting on the ground, neonate fashion, in No Man Standing, they are safe. It is only when they are upreared on their feet or climbing up the phallic tree (in Tree Tig) --- The Golden Bough --- that they are in danger from the 'Old Man'. Then there are the phallic shaped cat in Tip Cat, which is called a "Pee-wee" in some variants, the Geg in Smuggle the Geg, the Pin in King

1. As heads are chopped off in Oranges and Lemons, "chip, chop, chip, chop, this head right off."

Pin, the Peg in Steal a Peg, the Taw in marbles; even perhaps the cricket ball which has the power to skittle the triadic symbol of the opposing players' power, the football which is reborn out the back of an arched scrum (just as a player is reborn out the back of an arch in Oranges and Lemons), and the soccer ball which is shot into the arched goal posts.

The top is a play-object whose phallic connections are more demonstrable. Whip tops are of ancient lineage and have been known in many parts of the world.¹ The peg top seems to have been a more recent invention.² The diffusion of tops has been dealt with in some detail by Haddon.³ Their origin is uncertain. It is known that in some places they were associated with seasonal festivals.⁴ Baring Gould has suggested that tops have developed from the spindle employed in weaving.⁵ Betts, however, connects tops with the spindle which was whirled round in the hand in ancient fire drills.⁶ If Betts is correct, then originally the tops may well have had, some phallic significance, because Jung has pointed out that fire drill with a spindle has itself a phallic significance.⁷ If the top then derives a phallic significance originally from its place in some fire ceremonial (or if it gets that significance from some

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1. Lowie R., Introduction to Cultural Anthropology, p.163.
 2. Strutt, J., The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, p.304.
 3. Haddon, A.C., The Study of Man, p.255.
 4. Gomme, op. cit., V.1, p.299.
 5. Quoted Daiken L., Children's Games, p.50.
 6. Betts H., The Games of Children, p.77.
 7. Jung C.J., op. cit., p.91.

other origin) then that phallic significance would help to explain the reason why the top has been regarded traditionally as a male toy. (The shuttlecock was generally regarded as a female toy). It would help to explain also why the top has been regarded in some places as a scapegoat, and was beaten out of the village in the "periodic expulsion of evils"...

"And while the men were whipping the devil off the ground, the top the women were beating him out of the air in the form of a shuttlecock."¹ It might explain also why the top was given such "Kingly" importance in Maori Legend.

There is, for example, one Maori Legend in which the tribe with the most powerful top (as a noise maker) was regarded as being the most powerful tribe and therefore the tribe with the right to choose the king.² In this case the top was the King maker. Nothing that has been said about the top here, however, can prove this phallic significance.

The psychological background to these historical references cannot be reconstructed. Nevertheless the view that, historically, the top may often have had a phallic significance does not seem an insupportable one. There is certainly a similarity between driving a top from the village and pegging a top on the ground. In both cases the top is the scapegoat. And in both cases the scapegoat top may well represent the scapegoat unconscious desires of the players..."it goes without saying that the top must be possessed by some sentient being.

1. Gatty I., Whip-Tops, Battledores, Shuttlecocks, Folklore, June 45, p.270.

2. Best E., Games and Pastimes of the Maori, p.89.

The way in which the thing writhes and leaps in description under the blow of the lash is evidence enough which can only be explained by some conscious spirit having entered into it. And what, in the name of common sense, can these spirits be but the devils."¹

Finally, we must ask again, who is the He that has all these threatening powers? Does anything real lie behind the fictional He? ^{Klein's} ~~Klein's~~ verdict is that real people lie behind these terrifying fears of the He. She says, "I have no doubt from my own analytic observations that the identities behind those imaginary terrifying figures are the child's own parents, and that these dreadful shapes in some way or other reflect the features of its father and mother, however distorted and fantastic the resemblance may be."²

It is concluded then, that the He that has all these He characteristics outlined above, is the "strong dangerous man"² who may castrate the player. He is called a He and not a she, because the He represents the fear of the outside world, and the outside world in our culture is essentially a male world. In becoming independent the child, in effect, issues a challenge to the authority of this outside male world and also to the authority of the individual male power within the home. In He games the child is not just challenging the He. The child is also challenging the proverbial "He-Man."

1. Gatty, op. cit., p.211.

2. Klein M., The Early of Development of Conscience in Psycho-Analysis Today, op. cit., p.65.

The next major type of He game to be considered are the sex-chasing games.

Strictly speaking, these games are not He games. Nevertheless they are considered here because they provide a clearer insight into the nature of He games. The hypothesis presented to explain these games is as follows: in the He games it was claimed that the "He" was the children's personification of their fear of the male power in, and outside the home. In these sex chasing games, the chasing player (previously the He) personifies not the children's fear of the male. The chasing player represents rather the children's identification with the male. The chaser represents what the children would like to do if they were the big He-man themselves.

When the youth kisses the girl in "Kiss in the Ring", he identifies himself with The Male, he does not exhibit a fear of males. Similarly in the more informal sex chasing games, the chasing player expresses an identification with maledom rather than a withdrawal from it.

Younger children in their sex chasing games, however, do not often express their sex interest in osculatory terms. They express their sex interest rather in terms of aggressive chasing and capture. Judging by their games, it seems as if the young children understand the sex relationship, not customarily as a matter of kissing, but more often as a matter of aggressive chasing and capture. For example one of the most characteristic and omnipresent features of the infant-school

playground is "Chasing the Girls" . Groups of boys chase and try to grasp and capture groups of girls. When they catch the girls, sometimes the boys will try to hold the girls or drag them to a den. Sometimes the girls will tug away and the game will proceed. Sometimes a girl will cry "I'll tell the teacher" and the game will dissolve. The drinking taps, the playshed and other places of confinement are places of refuge for the girls. I have seen fifteen girls cramped into the tiny shelter space of two fountain drinking taps crying in deafening unison, "Get Out!" Get Out!" The boys gathered round stood back -- repelled by the solid wall of noise and bodies. The customary place for a female retreat, however, is the lavatory. "Lavatoryitis", as one infant teacher, aptly, if incorrectly, termed it, goes on throughout the year in infant schools throughout the country. I have observed the same game occasionally amongst children in the lower primary school. There is record also of the game being played at older age levels. For example, an informant writing about what she described as "Cowboys and Indians" in a rural school (H.B.) says "Either teams were picked or we girls waged war against the boys. We always retreated to our lavatory block when too hard pressed, to be bombarded with missiles of all kinds from a respectable distance by the boys. Our main weapon was macrocarpa nuts, which certainly stung when they hit a soft spot, adding

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1. The following comments, unless otherwise mentioned are based upon my observations at Island Bay School.

agonized yells to the war whoops of the Indians." Repressive school rules usually cast a ban on this sort of play in the primary school.

It is not difficult to guess why the girls choose the 'lavatory' as their place of refuge. There is, after all, seldom any other place where they can be so 'safe'. This game may, of course, express a deeper intuition. The girls in truly feminine fashion may be opposing an unconventional approach by a retreat into convention -- a convention with four walls. The fact that girls' lavatories are tabooed places for boys no doubt adds its quota of excitement to the game.

But aggressive chasing also takes other and non-forbidden forms, forms which are very much like the Pack games of Chapter 19. Various groups of boys and girls at Island Bay School play Chasing the Girls and Chasing the boys, in recurrent "crazes". The girls have a den against the school wall and they are safe anywhere along this wall. Once they leave contact with it, they may be taken prisoner by marauding boys, unless, of course, they are sufficiently skillful to elude pursuit and escape. Girl prisoners are taken one at a time and are placed in an enclosing corner of the school. They must remain there until another prisoner is captured. Generally a boy stands guard.

When the girls chase the boys there are usually only one or two boys playing and large numbers of girls (10 to 15). When the boys chase the girls, however, the numbers are about equal. One of the more interesting facets of the "Girls

Chase the Boys" game, is the fact that when the girls have the He role they act with an aggressiveness that is seldom seen elsewhere in their play. They twist the boys' arms. They bring their knees up into the boys' rumps, push and pull them, tug their hair and so on. One informant speaks of a similar type of game in which groups of girls at Carterton (30) continually chased captured and tortured one particular boy whom they gave the appellation of "Pansy" - a name chorussed in vociferous accord as they hemmed and squashed him against the wall. It looks as though the girls' play at being chasers in this and other games is a reflection of their idea of what a male should be or is like -- their interpretation of the male sexual role. If anybody is "Pansy" enough to act the female in a game, then he is treated as females fear they will be treated by strong aggressive males. Malinowski has shown that in some cultures even grown women in groups will express their feelings towards isolated men in a similar manner, treating them in an aggressively sexual fashion.¹

In the same game of "Girls chasing the Boys", some boys appear to get immense satisfaction from being captured and imprisoned by the girls, that is, once they have put up some preliminary show of defiance and attempted escape. Perhaps the boys' enjoyment of this play capture is based on a regressive desire to be enclosed once more in the

1. Malinowski B., The Sexual Life of Savages, London, 1929, p.201.

proverbial apron-string; a regressive desire to return to the security of the home; a desire which was discussed in the last chapter in connection with games of Enclosure. I noticed at Island Bay, that it is nearly always the same boys and girls who are to be seen playing these games of "Boys Chase the Girls" and Girls Chase the Boys.¹"

In these chasing games, however, and for that matter, in all games, the boys generally act with more aggressiveness towards the girls than do the girls towards the boys. It seems to be one of the delights of boyhood to act aggressively towards girls. "Let's walk through the girls." said one S.3 boy to another (Island Bay). Without further ado, stiff-legged and stiff-armed they marched up to, and through a group of girls who were absorbed in some activity. They bowled the girls hither and thither. Some of the girls gave chase to the boys and a game began. In Country schools girls sometimes talk of having their efforts at building houses with pine-needles destroyed by marauding boys (Horoeke, Millerton). "Taking the Basketball off the Girls" crops up sporadically everywhere (Karori, Takaka, Tarakohe). In some small schools the girls retaliate and the school falls into two groups. "Everything was the girls against the boys." (Etherick 35). "Each had different colours. The girls were the 'Greens' and the boys were the 'Blacks'. (Otupipi 48).

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1. It is possible that these games are played by children with homo-sexual tendencies. The boys who enjoy these games may have tendencies to passive homo sexuality, and the girls towards active 'male' sexual roles. Its a matter worth further investigation.

In all the above mentioned Sex chasing games the pursuit, which it has been suggested is of a sexual nature, does not include any overt sexual behaviour. Aggression and capture stop short at the lavatory door. They go no further. This is probably due to the fact that our Culture deprecates any child-interest in the sexual organs themselves. In cultures where no such suppression is present the games of boy/girl pursuit may take a more obviously sexual character. The Henrys, for example, show that amongst the Pilaga Indians pursuit games and not with 'capture' or 'kissing', but as follows: "Pilaga children pass hours each day in violent sexual games of a rather simple character. One of these is what we have called the genitalia-snatching game. In this children go hurtling after one another trying to touch each others genitals. Usually the boys chase the girls. Often they throw them down, and try to touch the girls' genitals, while she shrieks with excitement ... The play may go on for hours, and it is accompanied by the excited screams of the children. This blending of violence and sexuality extends to many details of play."¹ Bodman explains the non-overt but aggressive Western variations on this sexual chasing theme as follows: "Because the boy identifies himself with the father who in the boy's phantasy is credited with superior strength.. (The chasing) is associated probably with the boy's phantasy of the father's sexual activity which is conceived as an aggressive attack on the mother; if the boy seeks a model for aggressive

1. Henry, Jules and Zunia, Doll Play of Pilaga Indian Children, in Kluckhohn and Murray, op. cit., p.240.

behaviour, he has one immediately at hand in the father."¹

It will be remembered that this aggressive capture and contact (mutilating contact) is just what the children fear from the He-male of the He games. Which means that in the He games the child fears what in the sexual chasing games it personifies itself. That is, these two types of chasing games appear to indicate that, at the same age as the child fears the He, it also identifies itself with the He and its powers. When the infant runs from the 'Bally Hooley' it passively experiences the He-threat. When the same infant chases a girl into a lavatory or a boy into a shed it actively experiences 'to threaten'. These two aspects of growth appear to go together.

In growing away from home-dependence, therefore, the child is experimenting with male-power at the same time as it is experiencing fear of male-power. These ambivalent aspects of the growing-away process are to some extent common to both boys and girls because the dominance of Male values in Western Culture equally affects boys and girls.² But the aggressive sex-chasing He forms are commoner amongst boys simply because boys, being boys, find it easier than girls do to adopt a typical male response to the growing-up process.³

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1. Bodman Frank, Aggressive Play, The New Era, Sept/Oct, 1945, p.186
 2. Mead M., Male and Female, p.81.
 3. Elsewhere I have mentioned that the 'capturing' sentiment in "Nuts and May" may derive as well from this childish interpretation of the male role, as from any custom of marriage by capture.

The difference between the sexes in the development of the He games is as follows: He games continue to be important in girl's' play long after this is the case with boys.¹ Boys' He play is at a peak in the early years of primary school whereas girl's' He play continues to be of far greater importance to them well after that age. Even up till S.6 girls continue to play Hide and Seek with a frequency quite unparalleled in boy's' play. One reason for the persistence of He games in girl's' play may be that the girls emerge from the security of the home later than boys and hence the He problem occurs at a later age with them. The greater importance of He games to them may occur also because it is according to children (as judged by their sex-chasing games) the nature of the 'female' sexual role to be pursued rather than to pursue, to continue to experience He-fears rather than aggressive male responses to these. As Terman says: "In general the evidence is fairly consistent in indicating that girls are more prone to fear responses than boys."² As early as S.2/3 the boys' He play is being diverted into male forms of outlet, into skill games, particularly Ball tag and Bar the Door which are the most important He forms for boys in the mid and upper primary school.

If it is true that these He games reflect the

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1. Lehmann and Witty, The Psychology Play Activities, found this true of their American group, p.99.
 2. Terman L., Psychological Sex Differences, in Carmichael Ed., op. cit., p.975.

psychological characteristics of children's growth that have been mentioned, then the phases of development in that growth, as reflected in the games, are as follows.

First, with reference to the Multiplying-He games: The most elementary type of He game provides every child with a direct relationship between itself and the He in the midst of other children. There exists in the earliest years in which these games are played, however, a tendency for the group of players to combine together. The players' earliest combinations are for the purpose of helping the He. They join hands together with the He and add to his power (as in Chain Tig or Bellahonie). This type of co-operation with the He is to be seen frequently in Infant school playgrounds, but less frequently in the Primary school. Children at the infant age level depend more upon adults, than they do upon other children.¹ They are only just beginning to experience the meaning of real independence. Perhaps, this is the reason why they are ever ready in these early He game types, to step back across the boundary, and to assist the parental He to chase all those other 'bad' children who have not stepped back (who have not been caught), but who continue to defy authority (the He) by running round and exhibiting their independence.

The Help-He games are more customary at a later age (S.2/3). In these games the players mutually assist each other to defy the He. The He does not now chase just an

1. Isaacs S., The Children We Teach, London, 1932, p.78.

aggregation of separate players. He chases a group of players who occasionally band together for mutual support. By supporting each other in this way, the children become more stabilized in their group independence. This group stability in its turn apparently enables them to endure a more permanent and a more menacing He. In Help-He games, in contradistinction to the earlier Multiplying He games and simple single He chasing games, the He is a static entity. One person tends to be He for the duration of the game. In the earlier games the position of the He was more fluid.¹ Presumably, as the children mature in independence and get more and more support from their co-mates they are able to tolerate the idea of separation from adult wills for a longer period. In addition, their early experience of playing the He themselves, must help to decrease their fear of the He.

The next stage in the development of He games is represented by the Bar the Door type of He games. These games come into importance about the same age as the Help-He type of game, (S.3/4), but they represent a stage in advance of these Help-He games because they include in their forms games which approximate to, and give experience to the children, of the team type of game formation. Bar the Door, which along with Hide and Seek is the most widespread New Zealand form of the He game, (apart from simple chasing), is a type of bridge game. Its nature has been described above in the Illustrative Section. It was noted there that although the game begins with

1. See further Lowenfield M., Play in Childhood, p.241.

one He against the rest, at one stage in the game there is a genuine, if transient, two team formation. As the game is characteristic of the middle primary years, there can be little doubt that it gives children some experience of team formations before they advance to the spontaneous organization of proper team games in the later primary years. Apparently, at each age children need recurrent, if evanescent experience, of the game forms which are appropriate to the next stage in their He game development before they are able to advance to that next stage. In the early years, Help-He games accustom the children to a little co-operation. In the mid-primary years, Bar the Door games habituate children to a mite of team organization. In each case the games express the amount of co-operation and organization that the children at those ages are sufficiently mature to manage and at the same time the games impart the experience upon which the later and more complex games are¹ based.

After Bar the Door, comes the other Bar the Door types of games, (described in the Illustrative section), which are intermediary in nature between Bar the Door and team games. All these intermediary forms were current in the years before children's free play was influenced by organized sport. These games are a testament to the fact that children of yesterday, children in the Upper primary years, gradually

1. Puffer reaches the same conclusion on Puffer J. Adams, The Boy and His Gang, New York, 1912, p.41.

developed their own team-like formations. There is record of games in which there is still a single He, but also two definite teams; games in which there are two teams which are without the He but themselves of a fluid nature; and finally record of games in which the two teams are of a static nature but based on the same running and chasing characteristics as Bar the Door. (For example: Chevvy Chase, Chibby, Gag or no Gag, Prisoner's Base, King Pin, Hares and Hounds, Tally Ho).

It is clear from the foregoing that the range of He games in which children interest themselves contains within its boundaries the picture of a psychological transformation from a relatively passive to a definitely active approach to the fear involved in these games. In the earlier forms of the game in which the He is a single person, the dominant motives in the game are fear and escape. But as the children learn to band together for mutual support beyond the home, then rivalry and contest assume a place, of equal importance. The isolated individual personified both his fears and his challenge as a single He. The co-operating group personify their common fears and group challenge in an opposing and group He. Early and more elementary motives are transcended by new and more complex ones. In the final and most developed forms the note of pursuit and escape, so important in the simple form, is still present, but instead of being the main theme of the game it is only one element amongst many. As early as Relievo and Bar the Door it is observable that the child's challenge to the He, and his skill in evading the He, have become as important to the

game as the mere desire to escape the He. Significantly enough, in this game the contest takes place between one home and another. In one successful run from base to base the player recapitulates his successful flight from the home to ^anew "home", a new security outside the home. The longer a player can defeat the growing He between the bases the more powerful that player is. In fact the player who holds out against all odds till the last becomes the next He --- the most powerful man! Paradoxically enough the one who adheres the longest to the spirit of the game and strives to be the last caught finds, finally, that everybody is against him. He may be the most powerful player but, step by step with his increase in power, the power of the group against him has also increased. In the end his fate is to have everyone else try to drag him down. The proportion of his power is the price of his ultimate downfall. Thus he who is most powerful is also, in a sense, the greatest victim, the greatest fool; a condition which oddly enough, was most certainly that of the innumerable ¹ public scapegoats, of history enumerated by Frazer.

Informants have often spoken of the way in which they would allow one player to escape right till the last in order, that with more players in the middle, they might the more thoroughly trounce him when he was caught. This, however, introduces an element of consciousness into the fool-making

1. Frazer Sir J.G., The Golden Bough, Chap.66 'Public Scapegoats'.

which does not occur in most of the games.

How can it be said that this characteristic of the game is drawn from the children's experience? It may be that there is inherent in the oedipus situation the fear that to express one's unconscious desire to contest the power of the rival male, is an act of folly, because it brings the player up against forces too great ever to be overcome. If this is so, then the game form may perhaps express this unconscious experience. The player who attempts to defeat the He forces, is shown ultimately to be the greatest fool. On the otherhand in a competitive culture, any individual who exerts himself sufficiently to rise above others, earns, among other things, the jealousy of some of those others. It is a fate experienced by every public man who, adhering to the rules of a competitive culture, strives to gain the top rung, only to find that in so doing he is rewarded by a far greater share of public malevolence than he experienced as a small and insignificant member of the populace. Here, then, is motive enough for the gameform. Though a motive not unconnected with the other oedipus one already mentioned.

When the team He games are considered, the discussion passes beyond the sphere of He games proper, into the sphere of games of skill. These team games are more relevant to an older age level and should in fact be dealt with in Chapter 22. They are dealt with briefly here, however, to demonstrate their continuity with the more elementary forms

of He games. There are two types of Team He game. There are the Team He games and the Ring He games.

In the running Team games the same He-like type of contest occurs as occurs in Bar the Door. The footballer's skill, for example, is adjudged by his ability to go out from the home territory (or base), defeat the otherwise (the He-term) and score (attain the other base). If he can smuggle his ball (Geg or King Pin) through the opponents' ranks, he becomes the triumphant player. But at the same time in his attempt to do this he brings down upon himself the whole of the defensive power of the other team. Similar contests take place in all the major winter sports -- hockey, soccer, and basketball. It is apparent, however, that in these sports many other elements besides the He elements also enter into the games. The players' skills with stick and ball, their management of the team and their team morale are of equal importance.

Ring He games are like the Singing games. Historically they are associated with the spontaneous play of youths and play at parties and picnics. They are not associated with the spontaneous play of children to any extent. Today they tend to be played by children only when the games are organized by adults.

Finally, it is worth noting that the ^{historical} ~~informal~~ changes in He games (and in Singing and Dialogue games) that have occurred over the years are changes which reflect the changing maturity of the players. The old team He-forms were maintained

by players psychologically capable of sustaining team organization. The simple He forms of today reflected the fact that He games are now played chiefly by younger children.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

BEING A LEADER WOMAN

Leader Games

The previous two chapters have explained games largely in terms of unconscious motivation. Chapter 16, outlined the unconscious drama of the Old Woman, chapter 17, the unconscious drama of the Old Man. Chapter 18 considered the children's regressive desire to withdraw within the security of the home and their fear of being withdrawn into the home. Chapter 17 discussed the children's desire for independence in and beyond the home, and their fear of that independence. This chapter and the next make some use of similar methods of explanation. On the whole, however, the explanations of this chapter and the next are similar to those used in the first two chapters of this section, namely Chapter 14, on Imitative games and Chapter 15, on play-objects. That is, this chapter and Chapter 19, explain their games chiefly in terms of the children's conscious identification with adult cultural roles, rather than in terms of motives in the children's unconscious minds. These explanations, however, are largely only matters of emphasis. It will be seen that in these games, as in all games, motives, both conscious and unconscious interweave and work towards the same ends.

The years at which the games of chapters 16, 17, 18 and 19 are most important are the years ranging from the late infant years to the first half of the primary school (P.3 to S.4). All these chapters reflect stages in this one phase of growth. The emphasis of the imitative games of Chapter 14 falls towards the beginning of this period.

Whereas of the Leader games of this chapter and the Pack games of the next chapter, falls toward the end of the period. As will be shown, these Leader and Pack games reflect a deeper type of awareness on the part of children than do the earlier Imitative games. In these Leader and Pack games the children show, not just that they are aware of the occupations of mothers and fathers, they demonstrate also that the children are aware of the forms of social relationship peculiar to men and women. Leader games reflect the girls' awareness of female social relationships and Pack games reflect the boys' awareness of male social relationships.

The games included in this chapter are called Leader games because they all have a triangular rather than the usual dual formation. In the usual dual form of game, two or more players compete against each other, to see who is the best at a certain skill. This happens in games like marbles, running, tops, chasing. In the triangular Leader type of game, on the otherhand, the players compete against each other not just to win, but in order to become the Leader or referee who is in charge of the game.

Illustrative Material page 569 to page 583.

The types of Leader games which are to be described below are as follows: Leader Games which included the following types:- Commanding types which include the subsidiary types, Letter games, Action games and Statues; Creeping types; Guessing types which include the subsidiary types: Queenie, and Acting types; Team Leader games; Subsidiary forms of Leader games which include:- He-types, Treasure types, Organized game types, Skill game types.

In the Commanding types of Leader games (as in most others) one player, the leader, stands out in front of the other players and gives commands to them. They stand away from her in a group and compete against each other as she commands. Usually the leader stands at one end of a pre-arranged space, (often up on the seat at one end of a school shed), and the group of players stand in a line at the other end of the space. The aim of each of the players, is to move up to the leader. The first player to get to the leader becomes leader herself. But the players can only move when the leader tells them to do so.

In Letters, the leader faces the players and calls out certain letters. She says in effect, "All those who have the letter A in their name take a stride towards me." Actually the leader just calls out A or X or B or any other letter at random. Then the players who have those letters in their names, know that they are to take a stride forward, when that letter is called. Generally, the rule is, that,

if the letter called out is an ordinary letter in the player's name, the player takes one step forward for every time she has that letter in her name. If it is a capital letter in her name she takes two steps forward. But sometimes the game is speeded up by getting the players to take more strides every time a letter is called. For example at Karori, the players take three strides when an ordinary letter is called, and six strides for a capital. Sometimes only the first and last names of the players are counted (St. Clair). At others, the players all assume some fictitious name, for example, the name of a tree. (Napier). The leader may often favour players by calling out letters she knows are in those players' names. (Reported by children at Karori, Forbury and North East Valley). The players may have to move just up to the leader to take her place, or they may have to move up to the leader and back again. The game is known also as Initials (St. Clair), Alphabets (Hokitika), Names (Forbury). A variant is colours. In this game all the players who possess an article of clothing containing a certain colour, take a step forward when that colour is called out. If they have two articles of clothing with the colour on, they take two steps forward (Forbury). This variant is known also as Clothes (Karori), Vegetables (Hokitika), Red and Blue (Forbury).

In the Action type of Commanding game --- known most widely as Steps and Strides, - the element of chance, which may play a part in the Letter Leader games, is missing. Here there is no haphazard choice of a letter. Instead the leader

chooses the actions that each player shall make. The leader tells the players in turn what they are to do. As before, the first player to cover the distance between the group starting place and the leader, becomes leader himself. In these Action Leader games a complete terminology for the movements has arisen. Generally the players in any one school know from six to a dozen different types of actions that can be commanded by the leader. The names of the movements at Waikouaiti and their meanings are:-

Needles (put the heel of one foot in front of the toe of the other foot. Move the hind foot up along side the front one), Pin (move forwards half a foot length), Lampost (go down on hands, feet remaining constant, hands stretching as far out in front as possible. Stand up on point where out-stretched fingers reach), Umbrella (whirl round and forwards until the command stop), Motor Cars (run up and back until the leaders says stop), Caterpillar (go down on hand and bring feet up to hands), Scissors (astride jump, then jump with legs crossing, then astride jump, then feet together), Steps, Strides, Jumps, Hops, Skips (which are self explanatory). The same terms often have different meanings at different schools. Some of the terms used at other schools are Hokitika: Cabbages, Lettuce, Ladder, Carrot, Needle, Pin, Stride; Forbury: Stride, Cabbage, Pin Needle, Lampost, Caterpillar, Banana Skin, Carrot, Scissors.

Because the powers of the leader are more arbitrary in the Action game, there is more reason for the players to cheat. Cheating is described by the children as follows:-

"You can cheat by edging up when the leader is not looking" (Nelson). "They're supposed to be fair but they often favour their own friends. A person who favours is only allowed to favour once. Otherwise you say "I won't play with a bad sport, 'a cowardy,' 'a cowardy cowardy custard', 'You're horrid'. You can cheat in movements too."

(Karori). Other names for these Action games are: Cauliflowers and Cabbages (Millerton), May I (Karori), Giant Strides (Napier).

In the Statue Leader game, the leader decides what postures the other players shall assume. She throws them into these postures then judges whether they maintain those postures adequately or not. But the nature of these games differ. The Leader may decide what the children shall do: "The leader swings the others round so that they land in a certain position. It is nominated beforehand how they are to land, for example, beautifully or gracefully. The swinger judges who is best and that person becomes the next swinger." (Dunedin 90). "Sometimes they are set a task. They are expected to be pretty or funny. The best position wins." (St. Clair). The players may name their own action. "Each child thinks of an action to suit her position. For example, if someone lands hunched up staring fixedly at the ground, she may be a scientist looking at a flea" (St. Cuthberts). "The leader shuts her eyes and counts sixty to a hundred while they take up positions (Takaka 35). "When they cry 'break-away' (she lets them go." (Rakaia 10). Some Statue games are of longer duration. "The player picked as the best helps

the leader the next time. Both nominate positions in turn, and the next best player becomes a leader also. The players left gradually have to pass through more and more actions. If the last player left cannot remember all the actions which she must do, she becomes a donkey or an ass." (Karori). "The leader does everything possible to make the players laugh or lose their statue position. If she succeeds that player falls out. The last player left becomes leader for the next game". (Waikouaiti). Some forms are more like He games. "The first player to move goes He for the next swing." (Waikouaiti).

In the Creeping type of Leader game, the leader has her back turned, and the other players endeavour to creep up and tag her. If they can tag her, they take her place. But the leader keeps turning round. And if she catches any of them moving she sends them back to the base line. Sometimes the leader counts out aloud from one to ten, then turns round. (Steps, Rakaia 10). Sometimes the players only go back one step when they are seen moving (Creepy Crawly, North East Valley). The game has many names¹ but Creeping-Up is the most widespread. Other names are Creepy (Brooklyn, Christchurch 20), Victoria (Hokitika), Creeping Jack (Stoke), Creep the Curtain (Aohunga) Peep

1. The game has been known widely as Giant Strides. See Dowd J.H., and Spender Brenda E., Important People.

behind the Curtain (Te Hapara), Grandmother's Footsteps (Waingake 35), Go, go stop (Bainham, Woodville).

The Guessing Leader games include Queenie. In this game the leader again has her back to the players. She throws a ball over her head. If any player catches the ball she takes Queenie's place. If no players catch the ball, whoever gets hold of it first hides it behind her back. Queenie then turns round and tries to guess who has her ball. If she guesses correctly she gets her ball back again and remains the leader. If she does not guess correctly the player who is hiding the ball behind her back becomes leader. The players generally call out "Queenie" when they want her to turn round and guess who has the ball. If a player catches Queenie's ball on the fall (at Nelson) that player is known as Butcher! The player calls out Butcher and takes Queenie's place. The game is generally known as Kiwi in the Otago district and Alla Balla or Ella Bella in the Christchurch district. In one Christchurch version all the players line up behind Alla Balla and chant "Alla Balla who has got the ball, See I haven't, see I haven't, See I haven't at all." And as they chant this rhyme they show each hand alternately. After which Alla Balla must make her guess. (Christchurch 05, 30). In a variation known as Folding Arms, at Karori, the Leader faces the players with her ball. The players have their arms folded. She throws the ball at them. If they miss they're out. But if she baulks and they unfold their arms they are also out. The last left in is the next leader.

Other similar types of Guessing Leader games are always appearing. For example: "One game I used to play in S.4 was very interesting. One person would stand up in front of a row of others and pick up some small object while the others had their back turned. Then the people are told what letter the object begins with and they have to guess what it is. The first person to guess right goes out in the front and the game begins again." (Auckland Intermediate).

In the other types of Guessing Leader games Acting and chasing are also involved. In these guessing types the leaders (a group) act generally at workaday occupations -- dustmen, firemen, housewives --- and the players who are He, try to guess what the leaders are acting. When the he-players guess what the leaders are acting, they chase the actors and try to take their place by tagging them before these leaders can reach a certain boundary. There are various forms of these Acting games. One form is very like an ordinary He game. In this type the group of players do the acting and one player is He (not a leader, because no one wants her position, they want to avoid her position). The He player chases and tries to tag the others when she guesses what they are acting. In Johnny in the Inkpot, "Johnny stands at the end of the hall or shed with his back turned. The rest of the players think of something to do such as paint a picture. They are at the other end of the hall. When they have thought what to do they run towards Johnny saying "Johnny in the Inkpot, what do we have to do today?" Johnny turns round and says "Set to work." They

do what they have thought of and if Johnny guesses, he tags one of the players who then goes Johnny the next time." (Brooklyn). Others of the same type are Busy Bee (Karori). The dialogue in this game is.. "Here comes some busy-bees to do some work." "What sort?" "All sorts." "Do it then." Another is Jack of All Sorts (Millerton). In this version the He stands with its back to the players. The greatest number of these Acting games, however, have the following formation. One or two players act (these are leaders). The rest of the players, the group, attempts to guess their act, chase, tag and replace them. Games of this sort include: Here come two Nuns (Ohau 12), Colours (Woodville), Film Stars (Wanganui, Macandrew), Cripple Jack (Millerton), Shops (Karori), I sent my Son (Nth. East Valley), Shopping (Brooklyn), Ivory (Caversham), I am a Turkey Merchant (Marton 90). There is another group of much the same type in which there is a runner as well as the leader actor. When the group guesses the action of the leader actor, they do not chase the actor, they chase the runner, which gives him a better chance to escape. Games of this type are Busy Bee (Oxford, Mangatāinoka, Mt. Cook), Times (Mangatāinoka), Sticks (Kotinga).

The Team Leader games are a development of the guessing acting games. In these games one group acts and the other group chases them when they have guessed the nature of the groups' act. The dialogue of Trades (Granity) is: "Here we come". "Where from?" "New York". "What's your trade?" "Find out". "Set to work". Other names for the same types of game are New York (Kapuka Sth.), Trades (Brooklyn), Trading

(Nth. Canterbury 90), Colours (Ohau 12), Bum Bum, here we come (Bainham), Grocers (Waikouaiti), Buzz Buzz Busy Bee (Ratapiko).

There are certain Subsidiary Types of Leader games, which are Leader games from one point of view, but could as well be classified under other headings.

There are He-types. There are girls' versions of Bar the Door. All these Bar the Door forms differ from the usual game only insofar as they introduce guessing and other variations, such as the use of colours, features which are of particular interest to the girl players. In Colours (Dobsen, Nth. East Valley) the runners at the end pick colours and the He player in the centre calls out the name of a colour at random. The player who has chosen the colour which is called, then runs across and tries to avoid the He in the centre. Others of a similar nature are Vegetables (Caversham), Fruits (St. Clair), Initials (Musselburgh 30). In, Please Jack May We Cross Your Golden River (Caversham), Jack, who is the He in the middle, replies to the players who ask that question, "Yes you may cross my golden river (a crack or line in the playground) if you have red on you" (He may say any colour). Those with that colour on them walk across. Those without it, run across and the He attempts to catch them. In Nigger Boys (Mangitainoka), the He nominates the number of Nigger Boys he wants to come across at a time. In Cross the Bar (Mangitainoka), the players who are caught by the He, do not stay in the centre, they fall out. They are called back into the centre, only when

the He finds it too difficult to tackle the last players on her own. This makes it easier for the smaller girls to go on running across. In Charlie over the Water (Hokitika), the game proceeds along the same lines as Bar the Door, until such time as there are three players in the centre. These players then turn with their backs to the rest. They put out their hands and stand at arms distance from each other. They drop their hands. The other players now try to creep up behind and run between the He-players. But if the He-players manage to quickly raise their hand and touch them on the way through the runners are out. If any get through, the He-players turn round the opposite way, and the runners try to come through again. It goes on this way until all are caught. The first player caught running through is He for the next game. Black Peter (North East Valley), is the same. Others of a similar nature are Chase the Leader (Hampden), Farmer and the Lion (Collingwood), Fishes and Whales (Waikouaiti). Perhaps the widest known of these girls variations of Bar the Door, is Sheep Sheep. This game is widely reported both in early days and in schools today. The Wolf stands in the middle, the sheep at one end of the space, and the Mother sheep at the other end. When the sheep run across and are caught by the Wolf they are out. A dialogue is carried on between Mother sheep and children sheep, as follows: "Sheep Sheep Come Home." "Afraid afraid". "What of?" "The Wolf". "The Wolfs gone to Devonshire and won't be back for seven years. Sheep sheep come home." Whereupon they all run across.

This version was played at Nelson 75, and is played at Bainham today. Similar, if abbreviated versions, have been played in most places. For example at Hampden today the dialogue is "Sheep Sheep Come Home." "The Wolf is there" "The Wolf has gone to Rattrey town, So Sheep Sheep come Home." In some versions the wolf is away for "One hundred years" (Takaka 00), in others till "nine o'clock" (Westport, 95), till ten tonight (Dunedin 15). Much shorter versions such as the following seem to be more common: "Sheep Sheep Come Home" --- "I'm afraid"----- "What are you afraid of?"-----"The Wolf" (Invercargill 30). Other versions are reported from Masterton 90, Hawkes Bay 20, Nelson 94, Marton 40.

Another and very widespread type of Leader He game is Tip the Finger, a game which is nearly always played by girls. The players stand behind the Leader-He player who stands with her back to them, and a finger outstretched behind her. The players chant a rhyme,¹ and one of the players tips the He's finger. The He turns around and tries to guess who did it. Before being told by the players whether she has guessed correctly, the He player tells the player she picks what that player must do as a penalty. If the He player has guessed wrongly, she must carry out the penalty herself while the other players go and hide. The game then turns into Hide and Seek, and the first player caught becomes He for the next game. The game is known by many names. For example: Tip the Finger (Brooklyn, Island Bay 35, Ratapiko), Draw the

1. See example in preface.

Snake (Bainham, Moutere, Mangitainoka -- this name is commonest in the Golden Bay area), Round and Round the Mulberry Bush (Collingwood, Dannevirke 30), Round and Round the Merry Go Round (Stockton), Palmerston Nth.10), Here we go round the Merry Go Round I tipped the finger (Onehunga 05), This is the way the world goes round, somebody must tip (Hampden, St. Clair, Caversham, Nth. East Valley, Invercargill 35 -- this is the commonest name in the Otago area), This is the way the windmill goes round and whose the one to touch it? (Oxford, Christchurch 30), Who tipped your finger last (Marton 44), Crown (Ratapiko).

In the Treasure types of subsidiary games, the Leader-He stands with her back to the players and the treasure behind her (a stone, a tin or a ball etc.) The players creep up and try to steal her treasure without her turning round and catching them moving. These games are similar in form to creeping-up, except that they include the treasure element which is dealt with more fully in Chapter 21. The player who succeeds in getting the treasure then tries to escape with it. If she escapes to the safety of the Base, the Leader-He must stay He. This game has a variety of different names and slight variations. Examples; The Giant and his Treasure (Onekaka), Giant's Treasure (Caversham, Karori, Stockton), Creeping Jack (Nelson), Steps and Stairs (Karori), Get the Keys (Northland), Find the Key (Woodville).

There are games which are played under the supervision of adults which have a Leader formation (the adult taking the

part of the Leader), and which occasionally carry over into children's play. They are not true Leader games, insofar as the Leader in the games is the organizer rather than an intrinsic part of the game. Examples: Man the Ship (Brooklyn), Cannon Balls (Caversham), Rats and Rabbits (St. Clair). In the Pond and Out of the Pond (Forbury, Nth. East Valley), Ducks in the Pond (St. Clair), Dog and Bone (Te Aroha 25), Fish in the Pond (Caversham).

In the Skill game types, the Leader is the player with the bat, the players are the ones who try to catch the ball which the leader hits with her bat. There is only one game of this type although it has its variations. It was widely known in earlier times and is, in the main, a girl's game. In Butcher's Bat (Amberly 90, Rakaia 10, Palmerston 00). "The batter stood about nine feet away from the others and hit the ball into the air. The players stood around about and the one who caught the ball became the next batter." More often the same game is played as "Tuppenny Catches" (Dunedin 15), or Penny Catches (Collingwood), or as Pounds Shillings and Pence (Karori, Ngapara, St. Clair). In these games the catchers cannot become batter until they have made a certain amount of money. Each time the batter hits up a ball she calls an amount of money, and the player who catches that ball has that amount of money to her credit. It is known also as Catcher (Wharetoa 30).

Girls' acrobatics have a tendency to fall into the same type of Leader formation. At several Dunedin schools

I found girls playing games of standing on their hands. The leader told the girls when to go up on their hands and she adjudged who was the winner.. The winner -- the girl who stayed up the longest -- then became the leader.

The relative importance of these games and their distribution is as follows. Sixty Training College students, thirty men and thirty women were asked to indicate which of the following games they had played in their childhood. The results were as follows:

Name of Game.	No. of Female Players.	No. of Male Players.
Queenie :	26	8
Steps and Strides :	24	10
Statues :	22	9
Initials :	19	5
Colours :	12	6
Letters :	14	1
Film Stars :	14	5
Creepy :	11	3
Giant Strides :	6	7

The types of Leader games to be found in different schools are as follows: With occasional exceptions Leader games are listed only by girls.

St. Guthberts: Trades, Tip the Finger, Colours, Queenie, Initials, Letters, Step and Strides, Creepy, Statues, Film Stars, Giant Strides, This is the way the Wheel goes Round.

Papakura: Ole Man Joe (Trades) Ole Woman from Botany Bay,
May we cross the River Ole Black Joe, Queenie, Statues,
Creeping Up, Penny Catches, Letters, Colours.

Hokitika: Who Tipped the Finger, Jack of All Trades, Touch
the Finger, Queen Victoria, Alphabets, Pounds Shillings and
Pence, Vegetables, Statues, Gymnastics, Sleeping Pirate,
Creeping Keys.

Denniston: Tip the Finger, Giant's Treasure, Queenie,
Alphabet, Strides, Colour Chasing, Statues, Camels,
City-Oh, Creeping-Up.

Forbury: Kiwi, Two men Working, Round and Round the World
goes Round, Colours, Steps and Strides, Round and Round the
Mulberry Bush.

Ratapiko: Crown, Buzz Buzz Busy Bee, New Orleans, Tip tap.

Pongaroa: Queenie, Stepping Stones, Tip the Finger, Round and
Round the Merry go Round, Colours, Cabbages, Statues, Police
Man's Step.

Clifton Terrace: Pounds Shillings and Pence, Giant's Treasure,
Granny Footsteps, Penny Catches.

Nelson: Colours, Queenie, Letters, Busy Bee, Creeping Jack,
Mulberry Bush, Draw the Snake.

Before proceeding to the explanation of these games
there are several other general characteristics which they
have, which must first be described.

First, it should be mentioned that the 'leader'
characteristics of these games are typical of many girls' group
games which are not strictly speaking Leader games. In Houses,

Mothers, Singing and Skipping games there is often one or more girls in a leader relationship to the other players. In fact this leader type of game organization appears to be the characteristic type of organization for girls' groups in primary schools. It is a type of organization not paralleled in the boys' groups, as will be shown in the next chapter.

The characteristics of the Leader in many girls' games (including Leader games and those other games just mentioned), are two. Firstly, the leader mothers, orders (or) leads the younger girl players and also the younger boy-players, where these are available. These older girls will ^{marshal} ~~material~~ the younger players into their positions for turns in skipping and singing. They will take them by the hand and show them the steps. They will arrange their places in Mothers and Schools. The organization of the games depend on this controlling influence being exerted by a leader. Secondly, the leader has many opportunities to exhibit herself in front of the others. Many girls' games provide the opportunity for the leader and other players to have turns at going out in front. In rotation each may be a Girl Guide dressed in blue, a Punchinello or a Lady on the Mountain.

In many of the ordinary girls' skill games, however, these leader characteristics are subsidiary to the skills which are involved in the games, (for example, in skipping games). In Leader games the characteristics are written into the forms of the games themselves. As was noted above, in Leader games, the leader is a temporary but monarchic

referee. Each player's progress depends almost entirely upon the whims of the leader. As often as not, the leader shows pronounced partiality. She favours players who are her friends. This partiality is mitigated by the fact that the games are generally played in small groups of three to six in which all the players are friends. The players, for their part, show little more respect for equity, than their leader. Cheating is rife. But cheating is forestalled by the arbitrary power of the Leader, who may penalize an errant player by making her start over again. In some games this omnipotence and arbitrariness is explicitly recognized in the form of the game. For example in May I? (Karori), a player requests "May I take two banana skins" (or some other action she chooses) but, she must be careful to finish with "Please" or else the Leader will refuse her request with an imperious "No!" If the Leader says "Yes, you may." then the player must be sure to say "Thank you", or the privilege will be withdrawn because of her lack of courtesy.

In Imitative Singing and Skipping games the same partiality of the Leader, although often present, is not written into the structure of the games. There is also a difference between the mothering elements of imitative games and Leader games. With the former the babies are often younger players and do not resist the endless pushing and ordering of the mother. I have seen a group of S.1 girls ordered, and pushed about, by a slightly bigger and prettier girl through play hour after play hour. Yet they

did not object. They seemed to enjoy it. Although she bossed them, she also carefully looked after them. When one of her charges was hit by a passing runner she hugged her, consoled her and delegated one of the other girls to remove her to the safety of the school verandah while the game went on. With a homogeneous group of S.3/4 girls, on the other-hand, the players have reached a stage where they nearly all want to be mothers rather than to be mothered. Leader games appear to have arisen naturally out of the conflicting elements in this situation.

The explanation of these games follows along several lines. It is claimed first, that these games reflect the attempts of girls to identify themselves with female cultural roles, secondly, that there are unconscious motives which are of some importance in these games. The consideration of the Competitive motives and the physical satisfactions involved in these games are not dealt with in this chapter. However, it is worthy of mention that Edna Balint conveys an idea of one of ^{the} types of physical satisfaction that children may get out of games of this nature. She says "In the game of statues...the children hold whatever position they have reached. Here the joy is in the feeling of the muscles standing still."¹

Consider first the two general characteristics of these games outlined above, namely their leader or 'mothering' nature

1. Balint Edna, Play and Imagination, The New Era, Dec.1947, p.211.

and their 'exhibitionistic' nature.

First with reference to the leader characteristics of these games. As referees of some partiality, girls appear to be drawing on their experience of the nature of the mother and the female role. In these years apparently they see the mother as the leader who according to her own whims and fancies allocates her pleasures and gifts as she wills. The mother disposes while the children propose. And so too do infant mistresses, dental nurses and shopkeepers females dispose. Because the girls identify themselves with these women, they readily adopt what they believe, is their type of behaviour. Girls who wish to be female leaders are as partial as the female leaders of their world appear to them to be.

The forms of the Leader games may derive some of their impetus from the model provided by the use of similar types of games in the Physical Education Syllabus. This syllabus which has been used in New Zealand schools during the last fifteen years contains many infant games in which the teacher takes a 'leader' relationship to the other players. That is, she stands out in front and determines the course of the game. What's the Time Mr. Wolf, Giant's Treasure, and Black Peter are three well known games which have this leader formation. The existence of these games in the ¹ syllabus means that schoolteachers not only give girls

1. Syllabus of Physical Training for Schools, Board of Education, 1935, see pages 209, 225, 231.

a model of leadership in a general sense, they also provide girls with a model of the way in which a leader should act in games.

The fact that the girls, and not the boys, imitate these game-examples given them by the teachers is due to several ^{factors} reasons. In the first place most of the children's first teachers (Infant-teachers) are women. Girls naturally model themselves on these authorities. Boys just as naturally look elsewhere for guidance. The fact that there are so many female authorities associated with the earlier years of children's education (Kindergarten and Infant School) may be one of the reasons why boys are notoriously contra-suggestible in the face of authority. It may be a reason also why girls always evince a greater¹ interest in people than boys, and why boys, on the whole, evince a greater interest in the things of the outside world than the girls do. (The greater numbers of boy play-objects was noted in chapter 15). It is naturally easier for the girls to identify themselves with the habits of schooling, when the authorities in the school are women.

Leader games are nearly always played in a shed or against a wall. They have been observed by several teachers to crop up very noticeably on wet days. (Takaka, Miramar, Brooklyn). They are, however, played at any time irrespective

1. Terman L., Psychological Sex Differences, Carmichael Ed., Manual of Child Psychology, p.971.

of the weather. When the girls play these games in a shed or against a wall, it may be a matter of convenience. After all, a wall or shed provides a clear indication of the boundaries of the game. If, on the otherhand, the leader in these games does stand in proxy for motherhood (one game is significantly enough, called Victoria, another Queenie), then it is probable that the walls and sheds symbolize the home in which the mother reigns supreme. It was noted in the previous chapter that young children and girls have a tendency to make "homes" and "dens" out of the school sheds.

In some small country schools I found ^{no} trace ^{no} of the Commanding Leader games of Letter and Action types. (Collingwood, Aorere, Bainham, Pakawau, Horoeke, Makuri), But in other country schools they were present. This position may be due to the fact that these games have not been adequately diffused to all isolated areas. On the otherhand it may be a reflex of the type of discipline prevalent in country schools. It is well known that there is more opportunity for child responsibility and leadership in country schools than there is in urban schools. Perhaps the country school girls have less interest in these Leader games simply because they have more opportunity in real life to play out their interest in leadership. It is a matter worthy of further investigation.

Secondly, girls appear to get satisfaction from the opportunities for self-exhibition which are involved in playing

the part of the leader. Presumably, it is a characteristic of mothers that they are pre-eminent in the arts of exhibition in the home. Children may derive some of their leader game satisfaction from this source. It has been observed already that girls get an analagous satisfaction from being the cynosure in circle games.

There are, however, other incentives in Western Culture which would lead a girl to glory in the opportunities for self-exhibition. Western Culture, particularly under American influence, commercializes the 'glamour' value of the female.¹ Every chocolate box, coca-cola or motorcar tends to be sold with the aid of a maiden's face, breasts or legs. Young girls are quick to realize and idealize the importance of self-exhibition. Their scrap books are full of pictures of the great female exhibitioners of the age -- Film Stars and the Royal Family. In their gangs, generally called sets, girls pay more attention to display, codes, badges and insignia than boys do in their boy-games. Leader games centre round names, colours and other items which can be associated with the female's interest in display. Talcott Parsons suggests, that it is the female's 'vocation' to compete in glamour. He says, in competitive modern society woman gets scope for individual achievement in "Social" outlets - dress, social functions, exhibition etc. "One might perhaps say

1. Gorer G., The Americans: A Study in National Character, p.101. Gorer has some suggestions to make about the psychology of this commercialization of the female.

that in a situation which strongly inhibits competition between the sexes on the same plane, the feminine glamour pattern has appeared as an offset to the masculine occupation status and to ¹its attendant symbols of prestige." . If Parson's analysis is correct, then it would account not only for this exhibitionism in Leader games, but also for certain special characteristics in girl's games of skill. The same motive may account for the greater penchant that girls have for actrobatics in these years than boys. Throughout the country I have observed (and this is supported by Physical ²Education specialists and overseas investigations) that in the pre-pubertal years girls rather than boys take a much greater interest in, and are more skilled at, the display of physical actrobatics, such as Handstands, cartwheels and spider-walking. And yet, considering the fact that males are usually thought to be the stronger and more active sex, this is hardly what might have been expected. Nevertheless, it is not the boys, but the girls who go to dancing classes and coach each other in the steps they learn; it is the girls who make the greatest use of gymnastic apparatus; it is the girls who perform most neatly and expertly in the various progressions that make up the 1933 syllabus. Note, that it is nearly always the girls who appear in the photos taken of this physical education work. Boys will sweep sporadically

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1. Parsons Talcott, Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the U.S.A., in Kluckhohn & Murney, Ed., Personality in Nature, Culture and Society, p.269.
 2. Lehmann and Witty, The Psychology of Play Activities, p.170.

onto gymnastic apparatus in their Packs, as part of some game of enthusiasm, and while on the apparatus they play very actively. But it is the girls who spend the most time on this apparatus even if they do spend much of their time merely standing on it. It is the girls who occasionally coach each other on the use of the Jym. My observations at Island Bay school confirm these sex differences. There are two Jungle Jyms in the infant playground at this school; one for each sex. These are climbing frames. There are about seventy infant children in the infant playground at a playtime. These children come from the P.1 to P.4 classes and range in age from five to eight years. The following observations were made approximately in the middle of the morning play hour on the dates indicated. The numbers refer to the number of infant boys and girls who were climbing on their respective Jungle Jyms when I made my observations at various unselected dates, 1949-50.¹

DATE:	No. of girls on Girls' Jungle Gym.	No. of boys on Boys' Jungle Gym.
23/ 9/49	16	8
26/ 9/49	8	3
27/ 9/49	9	0
28/ 9/49	15	0
29/ 9/49	15	5
1/11/49	13	2

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1. I have not had the opportunity to make more than a few observations of the use made of Jungle Gyms by the different sexes in a Kindergarten so I am uncertain how early this sex difference is observable. My impression was, however, that the difference was not so noticeable at the earlier age.

	Girls	Boys
2/11/49	15	1
14/11/49	13	1
18/11/49	16	6
7/2/ 50	10	5
8/ 3/50	16	8
9/ 3/50	14	0
15/ 3/50	17	4
20/ 3/50	18	8
30/ 3/50	10	0
3/ 4/50	14	2
14/ 4/50	16	5
20/ 4/50	8	2
30/ 5/50	10	0
7/ 6/50	10	4
12/ 6/50	12	5
22/ 6/50	10	6
13/ 7/50	6	1
25/ 7/50	8	8
28/ 7/50	9	2
11/ 8/50	10	10
14/ 8/50	10	11
5/ 9/50	12	5
23/ 9/50	10	7
9/10/50	7	7
24/10/50	12	3

The unusually large numbers for boys on 11/8/50 and 14/8/50, was due to the fact that during that week there were several gorse fires in the Bay. The South Wellington Fire-Engines

had attended these fires, and on these days, the boys on the Jungle Gyms were pretending that they were Fire-men riding to the fire on their Fire Engines.

The conclusion drawn from these observations was that the girls use the Jungle Gyms far more consistently than the boys do.

Is there any physical cause for this difference between boys and girls in their respective gymnastic interests? Although there is some physical difference between the sexes it is hardly sufficient to account for the great differences which take place in the sexes gymnastic behaviour.

Terman says "In skeletal development girls are superior to boys at birth and increase this superiority at a fairly steady rate until growth is complete. At age six, girls are a year more advanced in this respect than boys, at age nine, one and a half years, and at age thirteen about two¹ years. But as Linton says "Actually, pre-pubertal boys and girls differ very little in strength and activity and would be quite capable of participating in nearly all the same culture patterns. The distinction which is every where made between them is due to their anticipated differences as adults.² And what are these anticipated differences? It seems feasible that one of the girls' additional reasons for enjoying this activity must be that it allows them a leader position, as it were, out in front, up in the air like a big mother. And as the girls spend so much time up there merely

1. Terman L., op. cit., p.956.

2. Linton R. The Cultural Background of Personality, p.92

standing on the Jym, perhaps they also imagine the gym as a "house". A house of many rooms, cupboards and compartments, over which they are the leader mother. Again girls do not lead as dangerous an existence as boys do. But they must to some extent feel analagous dispositions towards adventure. Here on the Jungle Jym is perhaps one way in which they can climb and stand "dangerously" and yet be as safe as if they were in a house. On a Jungle Jym, in summary, they can be dominant, endangered and safe all at the same time. Girls also occasionally teach each other tricks on the apparatus. I have seen one girl line up others and give them turns, helping them at turning over a bar. All of which suggests that a variety of motives, based on the girls' physical maturity, but hinging round their leader role, attract them to the Jungle Jym.

This same "exhibitionistic" leader motive probably has some influence in preventing girls Sets from ever developing into the solid gangs which are so characteristic of boys' life. Henry Handell Richardson in a novel "The Getting of Wisdom", which is a story about a girl at a secondary school, provides innumerable examples of the same Leader motive disrupting girls' groups at the secondary school age. At the school written about girls are continually attempting to boost their own social standing in an attempt -- by virtue of the greater implicit prestige -- to outdo all the other girls, and put them on an inferior footing.

(It is necessary now to consider the Unconscious motives which are involved in these games.)

First, with reference to the Exhibitionism, Anna Freud says; that girls have a greater desire to exhibit themselves than boys. They like to show off in their dress and their physical activities. She says this showing off is an attempt to compensate for the feelings of penis envy.¹

Showing off, arises from the fact that unconsciously the girls bemoan the fact that they have nothing to show off, and fear that they have been deprived of something important to themselves. Just as the boys fear they will lose their potency, girls have a dread that they have already lost theirs, and are forever trying to reassure themselves that they have not done so. The girls' wish that she may have phallic power is reflected in the way she exhibits herself in Leader games, just as if she really did have phallic power.

Secondly, in trying to oust the leader, the competing players, are in effect, reproducing in play terms the characteristics of the oedipus situation (already mentioned) in which the child of one sex desires to oust the parent of the same sex (the leader) in order to take that parent's pre-eminent place in the home.

Thirdly, in many of the games the leader's back is turned.² This back-turned position, may have a similar unconscious significance as the blindfolding of the He. Neither the 'back-turned' leader nor the blindfold He player knows officially what the other players' intentions are, although, both the Leader and the He are continually trying to "catch

1. Freud A., The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defence, p.92.

2. Also in some Singing games: Green Gravels and Wallflowers.

the other players out." When not looking both He and Leader are "unconscious" of the players' intentions. The players of leader games, however, wish to deprive the Leader of her position and the He players wish to maltreat the blindfold He. As soon as the Leader and the He become "conscious" of the players' intentions, "catch the players", then they deprive those players of their power. Does this not mean that the children are projecting into the pattern of the game, their unconscious knowledge that, as long as their illicit intentions remain unconscious, they remain powerful, but that as soon as these intentions are revealed, they are rendered impotent? It is, after all, a truism of psycho-analytic teaching that unconscious intentions remain powerful only so long as they are not revealed.

The guessing leader games involve a variation of the same unconscious motivation. If a player of the game Queenie, catches Queenie's symbol of power, the ball, then that player becomes Queenie herself. Also, if a player can get hold of the ball, and not have her identity guessed by Queenie, that player takes Queenie's place. This pattern may again reflect the children's unconscious oedipus desire to take the great mother's place (Queenie). It may reflect also the children's unconscious awareness that if Queenie can guess their own intentions, they will lose this unconscious power. If Queenie names the player who has the ball, the player loses her unconscious power (the ball) and becomes simply herself again. Jung says "to give a name means to invest with a definite

personality."¹ -----a definite personality which is the conscious personality of the player when it is devoid of all the magical powers which reside in that player's unconscious. No wonder as Frazer says "To enquire, 'What is your name?'² is a very indelicate question in native society."

The same motive is present in folktakes. Thus Rumpelstiltskin sings: "Today I bake, tomorrow brew

The Next I'll have the young Queen's child.

Ha! glad I am that no one knew

That Rumpelstiltskin I am styled."³

But when the young Queen guesses the phallic man's elfin name, she deprives him of his unconscious power over her. A power which is quite definitely magical. It enables her to spin gold from straw. Stamping his foot on the floor the elf man stalks off in anger. He leaves behind him his phallic foot, stuck into the floor. Queenie's ball no doubt has a similar phallic significance. Why otherwise would the player who catches her ball be known as Queenie's butcher?

The motives in the subsidiary Leader games do not add greatly to what has been said already. The He-types which are really He games are included in this section because they are played almost exclusively by girls and contain elements overlapping with those in leader games, that is, the existence of the practices of naming and guessing the use of references to colours etc. It should be recognized that there is no abrupt

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1. Jung C.J., Psychology of the Unconscious, p.115.
 2. Fraser Sir J., The Golden Bough, p.246.
 3. Joseph Scharl, Grimm's Fairy Tales, p.264.

distinction between the two types (He and Leader games). In a leader game the players desire to become leader. In a He game the players try to avoid the He. There must be many occasions, however, when a player enjoys being He because it gives her something of a leader role. Some of the acting types are in effect intermediate in form, for both He and leader elements are combined. The leaders want to avoid those who are He, and those who are He want to become leaders. It is clear, therefore, that in making a distinction between Leader and He games, these chapters abstract aspects of children's experiences, they do not discover abrupt demarcations in their lives.

Tip the Finger is a hybrid sort of a game. It seems to have much the same guessing, significance as Queenie above, yet it is just as definitely a He-game. To tip the Finger or to catch the ball is to take hold of power. But to have one's identity guessed in the act is to lose that power. Treasure games are dealt with in full in a later chapter. Here it need only be noted that in Leader games the treasure has much the same significance as Queenie's ball or the finger in 'Tip the Finger'. The treasure sought is often called simply 'treasure'. Sometimes it has a more phallic significance, for example, as 'Giant's Treasure' or 'Keys'.

It seems that there are developments observable in the forms of these games. In the most elementary forms (the commanding types), the power of the leader is quite arbitrary. In the creeping up types, it is the player's

skill, rather than the leader's choice, which determines the issue. In the guessing and acting variations, all the players benefit by the guess of any one player. There is co-operation amongst the players. Here then is a shift from a passive and individualistic attitude towards the other players, to an active and co-operative attitude towards them. This transition from the passive to the active and from the individualistic to the co-operative is similar to that which has already been observed in He games. It is not, however, so marked as the transition in He games. In the acting types there are Leader and He elements. The leaders act and the He-group chases them. There is co-operation amongst the leaders in some cases. In these latter games the leaders are not acting as mothers in control, but as children who have become leaders and are now asserting their independence of the He. The children who occupy the role of He in the same games occupy a similar role to the Old Witch or Old Woman of the earlier Chapter who wanted to snatch the children back from their independence into the anonymity of the group. What after all, is all this acting of the Leader girls, but an assertive display of independence which the "Old Woman" always resists?

In my observations, the team forms were played by children of the Upper primary age group (Waikouaiti, Bainham, Brooklyn, Mangitainoka).

CHAPTER NINETEEN

BEING A PACK MEMBER

Pack Games.

Pack games are the most characteristic boys' games of the primary school years. The additional time that girls devote to Imitative, He and Leader games, boys give to Pack games.

Pack games are formal games because they involve groups in dramatized conflict. However, when these Pack games are compared with girls' group games, Pack games are seen to be of a relatively amorphous nature. The guiding principle in the most characteristic girls' games is a formal pattern of rules. Think, for example, of the nature of Singing and Leader games. In the boys' Pack games the guiding principle is not a formal pattern. It is some general idea. In this respect Pack games are nearer in nature to the informal Imitative plays of Chapter 14, than to the formal plays of the last chapter. The general ideas which are the guiding principles of these Pack games vary from game to game. One day the general idea may be an idea of Cowboys and Indians, another day it may be an idea of Roundheads and Cavaliers. Pack games, therefore, are as varied as the innumerable appropriate ideas which influence the players.

This situation means that there is some difficulty in describing the general features of these games. This chapter does not, therefore, contain a great amount of illustrative material. Some descriptions of Pack games, however, have already been given in Chapter 5, on the Nineteenth Century Playground.

Illustrative Material page 602 to page 607.

Pack games are described as follows.

Pack games have been variously reported. For example: "We fought with manuka swabs. There was no striking the face. We had hide-outs and a haven of safety." (Mt. Cook, Wn. 88). "We had gang sword fights with gorse sticks, that is sticks with lumps of gorse on the end. It was too bad if you turned your back, because if you did you got measles on the backside". (Waimea 25). "Roundheads and Cavaliers was a grand excuse for punching each others heads". (Kaikoura 30). "The game we played most was Cowboys and Indians. We all rode ponies and feathers were easily, if cautiously obtained. The willows supplied fine bows and arrows, and the wonder of it was that no one had their eyes shot out. A bent twig, an arrow scratched in the earth, or a twisted tuft of grass all meant a great deal to the initiated and our wigwams and lariats were something to marvel at. All this, of course, from frequent doses of Tom Mix and Co." (Masterton 30). "Two sides had regular fights on Sundays on the local hills, whipping at each other with flax strands." (Tikokino 30). "Cone fights." (Rotorua 40). "Karaka Berry fights" (Titorangi 35). "Cowboys and Indians,

Cops and Robbers, Goodies and Baddies, and when war broke out, Germans and English. Guns, cap-pistols, water-pistols, rubber bands and matches, all were used. Each gang had its den in a certain part of the playground and sides were usually picked up, though the same game went on for days. All ages had some form of the game. Each standard pretty well stuck to itself, though the bigger boys played together." (Musselburg 35). "Our Cowboys and Indians were all thoroughly planned beforehand. Guns and swords were carefully made. Weapons were our pride. Everyone desired the strongest sword in order to smash those of the opponents. Duelling was carefully imitated from the films, Errol Flynn and Douglas Fairbanks. Strong forts were built and dens became the sacred holy of holies. Paper bags filled with soot were hand grenades. Holsters were correctly swung and oiled. We spent hours practising speed on the draw. We made it a point never to run with the gun in hand. The achievement was to come face to face and beat the other fellow to the draw. We specialized in 'dive draws'. Capturing prisoners and exchanging same kept games going. The tying and gagging was in some cases too well done." (Palmerston 30). Other¹ similar games mentioned by children in schools today are: Commandoes (Kaitia), Police (Forbury), Mounted Police, Tarzan, Robin Hood, Musketeers, Trackers, Explorers (St. Clair), Goodies and Japs, Outlaws and Cowboys, Good and Bad Cowboys (Caversham), Kit Carson (Wakefield), Pirates (Waingake),

1. These games are mentioned mainly by boys, although some girls nearly always list Cowboys and Indians.

Guns (Kohinui), Bushrangers and Maoris (Pongaroa).

Girls' Pack games are described as follows. "In Witches and Fairies the witches would try to capture the fairies and boil them in a pot. The fairies would rescue them." (Napier 45). "Our particular invention was the Haunted Witchie, who wore a towel over her shoulders and a pixie hat over the face. She chased the fairies." (Hawkes Bay 40). "In Witchy, the witches chase the fairies and put spells over them. The captured fairies stay in the witches' house." (Caversham). "The witches run after the fairies, make friends with them, and then put poison in their pies. The poisoned fairies turn into witches. The fairies try to steal the witches' treasure that the witches have hidden in a secret passage." (Forbury).

Guns play an important part in Pack games. "The rule being not to shoot your own man." (Kohinui). Indians fire bow and arrows, drawing one arm back in imitation of the action and saying "ping" for the sound. Young children in the infant school sometimes say "bang" for the sound of a gun. This is soon replaced, however, by the more realistic rattling sound made in the back of the throat.

The capturing of prisoners, which is another essential feature of these games, sometimes takes on rather grim forms. "We had an eight foot circle. There were two keepers with flax whips. Their assistants caught prisoners from the other children who were put in the ring. If they tried to get out they ran the risk of a crack with the whip." (Sumner 05). "The main aim in Cowboys and Indians ~~wase~~ to drag the

other players into your own den." (Waikouaiti). "The leader will yell "charge", and we will try and surround some member of the other side and capture him." (St. Clair). One point of capturing is to bind the prisoners. "We tied them up with a rope to a tree." (Eketahuna).

Forts enter into the capturing process. "There was only one fort and we each tried to capture it off each other with the aid of Shanghais." (Charleston 90) "At the top of the hill was a cow shed which played an important part in sod battles." (Wellington 80). "Both sides have forts and each side aims to capture the fort of the otherside." (Kaiata).

Our hardest and most sustained work was put into building a fort. Between the school and town on a piece of first class unoccupied unfenced land was some of the thickest gorse I have ever seen. My town mate and I made a narrow low, winding tunnel, with one or two offshoots at the sides ending in 'dead ends' leading into the middle of this big gorse patch. There we cut out some of the gorse for a space of about 10' by 10' backed up the gorse and pulled it out piece by piece. Two poles from the bush were let into the ground, upright and tied back to the gorse at each end. A rope slung from pole to pole supported a piece of old sail cloth for roof and was tied back to the gorse at the sides. The walls were then lined. Many trips were made to the swamp for Raupo. This was straightened, tied in half a dozen places to make little bundles about $1\frac{1}{2}$ " or 2" thick and long enough to reach from the ground to the sailcloth roof.

They were tied close together one by one to the gorse at the back all round the hut. The flax tying was reinforced by split supple-jack lathes interlaced. (We'd seen plenty of Maori Whares. I'd spent a holiday of three months in one once). Then the floor was dug out, about 6" deep with a piece left about 2' wide all along each side and about 1' wide at each end; the 2' strips for beds and the 1' strips for seats. The dirt from the excavation was piled up against the raupo walls to raise the beds and the seats and then it was flattened. The seats had a covering of cut down sacks and the beds had a good thickness of dry fern and a sugar-bag pillow holding the soft tousled heads of the 'bully-bulls', the raupo heads. All this was done in great secrecy, and care was taken that no evidence remained near the entrance. The fort was used for Koreros, toymaking (tops, whips, bows and arrows etc.) and for feasts. Food was bought from home including herrings we had caught, cooked and put into vinegar. But 'bullies' mushrooms and whitebait were among the things cooked in the fort in old fruit tins on wire tripods over two or three ends of candles stuck on a board. Drinks were heated up in the same way. Only two or three others were ever 'let into the know', and then only after the gravest promise of secrecy and a "one two three, God cut my throat if I tell a lie", promise. These visitors were blindfolded some distance from the entrance and both before entering and after leaving the hut they were whizzed round on their feet and rolled over and over

on the ground. We never saw during two or three years any evidence that the hut entrance, blocked with gorse, was ever discovered. The hut was destroyed one year when the whole patch went up in smoke." (Waitara 80/90).

An example of the sex distribution of these games was given by 25 men and 25 women Training College Students. They were asked to tick the following games which they had played. The results were:

GAMES	MEN	WOMEN
Cowboys and Indians	25	19
Cops and Robbers	20	10
Witches and Fairies	3	8

Pack games are explained with reference to the following matters:- Their group basis; boys' pack forms; girls' forms of Pack games; the place of the horse, aeroplane and gun; capturing and binding; the fort; death.

First, with reference to the group basis of Pack games. It was stressed, in connection with He games, that children are driven together by their need for mutual support in face of the He. What other reason are advanced to explain children's gregariousness? Early play theorists, although accurately describing some of the characteristics of group play, did not go very deeply into the groups' origins. They ascribed these origins to an instinctive basis. Hall, for example, stated that at about 9 or 10 years there arose the pigmoid stage, a unique

stage of group independence from adults.¹ Nunn referred to the "definite emergence of the herd instinct or 'gregariousness' which is the main root of social conduct ... the boy of 10 is a gregarious but hardly socialized animal .. he is essentially a member of a hunting pack."²

Subsequent writers, who have made a more detailed study of children's growth, point out that it is impossible to speak of any sudden emergence of a group instinct. Their evidence suggests that in some, if minor respects, children are social animals from the very beginning of their existence. Susan Isaacs demonstrates, for example, that clear cut gregariousness emerges as early as the pre-school years. She says this gregariousness can be observed in the way in which children temporarily band together to focus their hostility on someone outside their groups.³ "Once he has overcome the first dread of other children as rivals and discovered the delights of togetherness with them, he finds that they can feel and act with him against the grown ups too, no less than against other rival groups of children. The fellow members of his group not only support him against other children outside his group -- they give him courage and power to face adults. He and they can join forces to defy the dreaded parent openly."

Psycho-analysts beginning with Freud, have always stressed, perhaps overstressed, the role of the dreaded parent

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1. Hall S., Youth, Its Education Regimen and Hygiene, p.1.
 2. Nunn Sir. P., Education: Its Data and First Principles, p.149.
 3. Isaacs S., The Social Development of Young Children, p.254.

in the formation of the group. They claim that out of the rivalry of the oedipus situation children who are denied the exclusive possession of the parent of the opposite sex, are driven together for mutual consolation and support against the parent of the same sex. This parent (the He) is their rival and the one whom they fear.¹ In addition, Edith Buxbaum points out the children are driven together by the fact that they have in common their rejection by the mother, and they are driven together also by the separation anxiety which arises out of that rejection. She says: "In the attempt to master this double pressure of rivalry and separation the child becomes more independent than he would wish to be. He reacts with the need to transfer his feelings from the mother to other people and is ready to be apart of a group because it offers him something he can't find elsewhere."² "The group helps him at the crucial point in his development, in his physical and emotional breaking away from the home."³

Other psycho-analysts have suggested that Isaacs "delights of togetherness" have a motivating power on their own account and are responsible for group activity irrespective of father fears and separation anxieties. Suttee states that a "pleasure in responsive companionship and tenderness"

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1. Freud S., Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego, p.94.
 2. Buxbaum Edith, Transference and Group Formation in Children and Adolescents, in The Psycho-Analytic Study of the Child, Vol. 1, 1945, p.356.
 3. Ibid, p.364.

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is as native to children as are sex drives.

A further motive for the identification of children with each other is indicated by Mead. She says that in Western Culture each "child is expected to become like the parent, is expected to take the parent as a model for his own life style. In periods of rapid change this requirement of the system is unattainable." Therefore "children soon after starting school begin to substitute the standards of other children for standards set by their parents."²

These then are the main explanations of the motives behind children's gregariousness. There are four emphases. There is an explanation in instinctive terms; an explanation in terms of unconscious motives; an explanation in terms of children's (cultural) identification with other children; and an explanation in terms of the intrinsic satisfactions of group activity. { The second and third types of explanation have already entered into the discussion of the preceeding chapters. The emphasis on instincts will be considered further in Chapter 23, and the emphasis on the intrinsic satisfactions of play activity will be considered in Chapter 24. }

But to continue, what about the groups themselves; what are their characteristics? Various investigations show^x that children's groups are characterized by the things they

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1. Suttie Ian D., The Origins of Love and Hate, London, 1935, p.6.
 2. Mead M., Social Change and Cultural Surrogates in Kluckhohn and Murray, Personality in Nature, Culture and Society, p.158.

share in common such as, similar chronological age, mental age, the same neighbourhood, like physical and academic attainments etc.¹ The conclusion to be drawn, therefore, is that the bases of children's groups are multiple. The evidence suggests that children come to identify themselves with each other because they have many things in common, because they share a similar plight in life. It suggests also that by coming together in groups children "find" themselves, and work out their own natures and meanings, in a way which they cannot through any other cultural institution which exists for them, such as the family, school or church. Children's groups exist because children are unable to express their natures and formulate their meanings outside the groups as well as they can inside them.

Secondly, with respect to boys' Pack games: In considering these Pack games, comparisons will be made throughout with the group games of girls which were discussed in the previous chapter. It should be made clear at this point that the Pack formation is as characteristic of boyhood as the Hen and Chickens formation is characteristic of girlhood.

What is the distinctive nature of boys' Pack games? It has been said that the organization of girls' groups, in Leader games, expresses the girls' conscious (and unconscious)

1. Hurlock Elizabeth, The Experimental Investigation of Childhood Play, Psychological Bulletin, Vol. 31, 1934.

awareness of the female "role". Boys' pack games similarly reflect an awareness of the adult male role. These games have three main characteristics which will be considered in turn. First, there is, in these games, a great amount of running and noise. Far more, in fact, than in the games of girls.¹ Secondly, although the playing group is of a friendly nature, it nearly always divides into two halves or Packs, which engage in dramatized conflict. Thirdly these Packs (and this applies also to boys' Gangs) are characterized not by their leadership, but by their subordination to a group 'ides'.

Firstly, with reference to the noise and running activity of Pack games. The model for girls' Leader games is ever present before the girls in the details of their mother's activities. Where is the model for boys' packs? Do fathers rush round in groups and engage in dramatized conflict? On surface appearances, at least, fathers do not do this. What fathers do, in fact, must be something of a puzzle for the majority of small boys. Fathers leave the home early in the morning for an unknown destination called "work" and return in the evening without any knowledge being gained by the boys meanwhile about the nature of their "Work". Parsons expresses this difference between the sexes as follows. "It is possible from an early age to initiate girls directly into many important aspects of the adult female

1. This is supported by Lehmann and Witty, The Psychology of Play Activities, p.92.

role. Their mothers are continually about the house and the meaning of many of the things they are doing is relatively tangible and easily understandable to a child. It is also possible for a girl to participate actively and usefully in many of these activities. Especially in the urban middle classes, however, the father does not work in the home and his son is not able to observe his work or participate in it from an early age. Furthermore many of the masculine functions are of a relatively abstract and intangible character; such that their meaning must remain almost wholly inaccessible to the child. This leaves the boy without a tangible model to emulate and without the possibility of a gradual initiation into the activities of the adult role.¹ Mead, suggests that the boys 'ignorance' about their prospective/^{adult}role has even deeper origins. She claims that the boys' ignorance of (or uncertainty about) their future role begins, in all known cultures, in the suckling situation. In this situation the girl, identifying herself with the mother learns to be as the mother is, to accept the mother's role as her own and to be relaxed. The boy, on the contrary, quickly discovers he cannot identify himself with the mother as "he must not accept but differentiate himself from her", become something else, act, seek achievement; "girls learn to be and boys learn the need to act."²

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1. Parson Talcott, Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the U.S.A. in Kluckhohn and Murray, Ed., op. cit., p.269.
 2. Mead M., Male and Female, pp.148-9.

Boys do know, however, that the male world beyond the garden gate is a world of movement and noise. Their awareness of this outside world is expressed and formulated in "strenuous outdoor play",¹ in imitative games of movement, in a large variety of games with motile and noisy play-objects, and also in the whooping tenor of Cowboy games. Much of the chasing which takes place in their Cowboy games however, must derive from the same motives as their chasing in their He games. This is probably one of the reasons that boys do not play He games to the same extent or in the same variety as girls. (Consider all the girls' Leader variations of He games). The boys have these Pack formulations for their He fears.

Secondly, with reference to the dramatized conflict that takes place in these Pack games. If boys can be certain that movement and noise are a genuine part of the male role, there are still many facts about that role which remain very uncertain to them. They have much less certainty about the nature of their role, than do the girls. Where human beings are uncertain for any length of time, about issues which are fundamental to them, they characteristically become insecure. And where individuals are habitually insecure, they customarily react to that insecurity by displaying aggressiveness. "In general anthropologists tell us that aggressiveness increases in a system in which there is

1. Hurlock E.B., op. cit., p.54.

insecurity.¹ The relative insecurity of boys as a sex group, therefore, can be regarded as one of the reasons why there is a larger amount of aggressive conflict in their play than there is in the play of girls. It may be one reason, also for the fact, that "in all known societies.... the boys live in a world of their own, indifferent or openly hostile to girls, concerned with gaining strength and mastery over one another."² This insecurity and aggressiveness of boys may be intensified in turn by the boys' increasing awareness with age of the competitive economic role which males occupy in Western Culture. In addition boys are predisposed by their 'purely physical' natures to take an aggressive type of outlet. "The significant fact is that the obvious central tendency towards male superiority in such traits as size, strength, and motor ability tends to set standard patterns of dominance, aggression, and energetic activity for all males and contrasting patterns for all females."³

But, the conflict in their play, is also an imitation of the large place that conflict plays in the lives of those glorified males who provide models for boys in comic, book and film. From these males, at least, boys do learn

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1. Symonds P.M., The Dynamics of Human Adjustment, p.96. See further Parsons Talcott, Certain Primary Sources and Patterns of Aggression in the Social Structure of the Western World, in Mullahy P., A Study of Interpersonal Relations, New York, 1949, p.269.
 2. Mead M., op. cit., p.109.
 3. Terman L., Psychological Sex Differences, in Carmichael Manual of Child Psych., p.955.

something definite about the life of (culture-hero) males. It is a life made glorious in conflict, by victory in battle and by success against tremendous odds.

It has yet to be explained, however, why all this conflict expresses itself in a two group formation. The explanation offered is that the group of boy players (with which each boy has identified himself) desires to "split-off" a part of its own nature.....each individual's inner conflict with aggressive feelings.....in order to make that conflict external to the group. This 'splitting-off' or externalizing or projecting of internal conflict has been shown to be the psychological process at work in He games. By making conflict in groups, the boys satisfy their desire to be identified with a group and their desire to be aggressive towards other groups of a like nature to themselves.

Thirdly, with reference to the solidarity of boy's Packs and their subordination to a group idea: Girls have ever present in the home a model for their guidance. The boys have no such model. Perhaps the only certainty they have, apart from movement and conflictmeagre certainties in comparisonis that, as a group, they have in common their "rejection from the Nursery" which provides no models
¹ for males. They have in common the awareness that to be true males they must go out from the Nursery and seek a role beyond the home in places of great uncertainty. This common experience of uncertainty, however, provides them, with more certainty than any of the male vocational roles, although it is

1. Suttie I.D., The Origins of Love and Hate, p.81.

about these male vocational roles that they seek certainty. In these circumstances, their shared uncertainty becomes a form of group certainty itself. This common uncertainty predisposes them to achieve security by getting together in Packs, in order to enjoy the experience of sharing an existence with others even if their anticipated destiny is itself uncertain. "Social integration is, in fact, an end in itself and not merely a means to practical ends; the brotherhood is constituted for its own sake."¹

The contrasts between boys' and girls' groups then are these. On the whole, by and large, girls' groups exist to serve the purposes of monarchic rule or some compromises of monarchic rule, as in Leader games. On the whole, boys' groups exist for the purpose of being a group. This does not mean, of course, that girls' groups do not also exist just for the sake of being a group. It means rather that the girls have as well this other Leader motivation which helps to determine the particular form their groups take. The greater gregariousness of boys' Packs is motivated by a greater emotional necessity for gregariousness as such. In consequence, boys' Packs are of a more stable nature than girls' leader type groups. The stability of boys' Packs together with their obstreperous and motile nature is, in part, the reason why boys' groups have always been more noticeable and obvious than girls' groups. But, the latter exist more frequently than is generally recognized. "Girls organize as frequently as boys but on less conspicuous bases,

1. Suttie I.D., The Origins of Love and Hate, p.82.

with the result that boys' gangs or clubs have been studied
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 more."

But there are other reasons why boys' groups are more conspicuous. Boys' groups are also more noticeable because they tend to be larger. This generalization is based only on my observations at Island Bay and needs further verification. In the school playground boys in their play are more often seen together in large packs ranging in size from 10 to 20, whereas girls are more often seen in smaller groups of 3 to 6. The larger boys' groups split^s up into two conflicting packs. The smaller girls' groups more characteristically play games of the leader type formation. Further, the very stability of boys' groups gives them a more conspicuous nature. Because girls' groups exist largely as a means to a balance of power, they are always reshuffling. On the otherhand boys' groups are an end in themselves. There is a constancy about boys' groups which is missing from the concatenation of coteries that makes up the existence of girls' groups. Brotherhood for the sake of brotherhood is a greater guarantor of group stability than is sisterhood for the sake of Big Sister's leadership. Cowboys, Gangs, Rugby Clubs, Rotary Clubs, Free Masons, Hotel 'Schools', men grouped together round a dance-hall door, stag smokes, are probably all representations of the greater need of males to be together for the sake of being together.

A further noticeable distinction between boys' and girls' groups, is to be seen in the way in which these groups

1. Burlock, op. cit., p.54.

express an affectionate relationship. Girls may express an affectionate relationship in games by holding hands or by expressing endearing sentiments (in Houses Babies etc.) Boys on the otherhand are seldom to be seen either holding hands or expressing endearing sentiments. On the contrary they express their affection, not in that "sissy" manner, but in a characteristically male form. They often express a close relationship with bosom pals by huddling together by pulling, punching, pushing and falling all over each other in high delight. Pack games and gang play are full of this physical and aggressive solidarity. Wrestling, Sacks on the Mill, Heave Ho, No Man Standing, Cock-fighting and boys' behaviour in Forts and Dens are characteristic activities which reflect this aggressive and physical solidarity. Boys will, of course, also express their sentiment in less aggressive forms. They will put arms round each others' shoulders and so on. These less aggressive expressions, however, are always liable to break into a wrestling bout.

What is the significance of this aggressive and huddling comradeship? Why do boys like packing together, and why do they feel that their solidarity is enhanced by elbow-jolts and headlocks. Part of the answer must be that boys only feel satisfied if they can express their affectionate relationships in terms of their manhood -- in terms, that is, of the aggressive qualities they associate with their manhood. But this answer accounts only for the aggressive qualities of their Pack play. Why do they like being close together? Why do they like huddling together? v Why have they a desire

similar to that of the Sengalese men, described by Graham Greene who "seemed to like to touch each other, as if it made them feel good to know the other man was there."¹ It is doubtful if their shared uncertainty and their aggressiveness can account fully for this desire for huddling comradeship. It may be due, however, to their unconscious home sexuality. Freud has pointed out that boys are brought together in groups because of the common link of their goal-inhibited sexuality.² The repression of their original oedipus desire drives them together as a home-sexual group. They look for satisfaction of the original desire amongst the members of the group. But they do not look for it in terms of the sexuality that has been repressed. Rather they look for it on a more elementary level of sexual desire to which they regress when their other desire is repressed. The more elementary level of sexual desire is expressed in the desire for close physical contact, "to touch each other", to push, to scrum, to heave and wrestle, but always to be reassured by physical contact.³ As Klein has pointed out, sheer physical contact, irrespective of genital contact, is the earliest manner of expressing sexuality.⁴

Here then is yet another basis for the "Packiness" of Packs.⁵

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1. Greene G., Journey without Maps, London, 1936, p.29.
 2. Freud S., op. cit., p.37.
 3. See what Lowenfield says about this contact Play in Childhood, p.73.
 4. Quoted Jersild A.T., Emotional Development in Carmichael, Manual of Child Psych, p.753.
 5. The best example of this 'packiness' in adult male life in New Zealand, is to be found in the manner in which men herd together when drinking at a Public Bar. There is a tendency for them to stand mutually supporting each other in close huddled contact.

The individuals of the Packs are driven together not only by their need for mutual support against the He (Chapter 16), and their mutual uncertainty, but also by the fact that the He drives them onto a regressive sexual level in their group relations. ¹)

A further factor which accounts for the solidarity of boys' groups has yet to be mentioned. It is observable that, it is not till the later primary years that boys have the necessary group experience to become well knit gangs. Before that age level boys do not unite so easily into gangs, unless the individual members of the group have in common some 'idea' which can unite them. It is the coalescence of

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1. If an element of goal-inhibited sexuality is involved in pack play it might perhaps account for a fact that several writers have observed, namely, the repression that is normally associated with the 'pack' activities of childhood. Puffer mentions that "the gang has an inconspicuous part in the literature of boyhood despite its omnipresence." (1) And Edmund Gosse says "Once more I have to record the fact, which I think is not without interest that precisely as my life ceases to be solitary it ceases to be distinct. I have no difficulty in recalling, with the minuteness of a photograph, scenes in which my Father and I were the sole actors within the four walls of a room, but of the glorious life among the wild boys on the margin of the sea I have nothing but vague and broken impressions, delicious and illusive" (2) It maybe that these memories are forgotten because of their association with repressed sexual intentions. On the otherhand, a simpler explanation is, that the obliviscence is due only to the fact that these group activities are so purely physical in character, involving scarcely any reflection, but a great amount of action. Reflection in childhood is a rarity which seems to take place more often when a child is estranged from the rest of his group by some form of atypicality. It is this reflection which is remembered in later days. Consider in this light for example "The Backward Son" by Stephen Spender; "The Apostate" by Forrest Reid; "The Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man", James Joyce.

- (1) Puffer J. Adams, The Boy and His Gang, p.7.
- (2) Gosse E., Father and Son, p.232.

unconscious and cultural predisposition with an imaginative idea that brings the Pack into existence.

The idea of Cowboys and Indians, for example, provides a common fantasy for younger boys who are still concerned largely with an imaginative approach to play. Under the leadership of the Cowboy 'idea' the separate individuals find it comparatively easy to achieve a form of co-operation. In consequence, a dominant role is often played by particular boys with a fertile imagination. The individual's ideas temporarily open great vistas of adventure into which the others can plunge with enthusiasm. If the boys' ideas appeal and are feasible they will temporarily furnish their owner with a position of leadership which his physical skill and prowess alone might not gain for him. (Consider, for example, Charley's brief role of leadership in "Charley is my Darling" by Joyce Cary p.20). This readiness of the Pack to subordinate itself to a group 'idea' is a characteristic of Packs. Girl's groups, in contrast, appear to be bound less by a common idea and more directly by the personal influence of the leader, and by the formal arrangements of the game. The pattern and the formalities are everywhere more important in girls' games than in the games of boys. Contrast for example the organization of Leader games and the organization of Pack games.

The importance of a group idea as well as the (unconscious and) cultural 'predisposition towards the group' is brought out clearly by the historical position of Cowboys and Indians in New Zealand. Reports received show that there is far less

mention of this sort of play in the early days when the stimulus to group ideas was to be found only in the literature that a few had read. As one informant says of Dunedin (90) "We used to dramatize some of the adventure stories of R.M. Ballantyne if I remember rightly and possibly Ellis's 'Deer-foot' series and others. I don't quite remember how we did it, --- we must have 'doubled' the various parts --- except that we would be shipwrecked among the gooseberry bushes in the orchard, which became Coral Islands growing all sorts of food supplies. We used to get the cousins into this sometimes but if they hadn't read the particular books we wanted to do they would be rather bored at having to enact characters they did not know anything about and I think we were happier playing this sort of thing by ourselves."

On the otherhand, when an event of such moment as ^{the} 'Kelly' affair occurred, there were ample common ideas for all. "Kelly Gangs" flourished throughout New Zealand in the 'eighties and 'nineties. In the second decade of this century the escape of a criminal by the name of 'Powelka' again fused the boys of the country together in imaginative 'Powelka' games. These games had about then a flavour of Hares and Hounds, or the Police hunting Powelka. Most of the reports of 'pack' games in the early days, however, apply rather to the gang play of older boys and have consequently a 'realistic' and often an anti-social, rather than an imaginative note. The films and the radio have done more to provide modern boys with common ideas for pack games than have any other agencies. Those influences alone account for the immense importance that these

games have assumed in the lives of primary school boys in the last thirty years. In addition, the World Wars, Comic Papers, Boys' Magazines and even Social Study Projects (usually the Romans) have had their influence. But the films have provided the greatest number of common ideas. In those rural areas where films are less frequent these pack games are usually nowhere near as pronounced as in urban areas. The characteristic activities are more of a hunting and naturalistic kind. At Akitio, a one teacher rural school on the East Coast of the Wairarapa, there was little mention of 'pack' games. There is no township at Akitio, only a large sheep station. Consequently these children seldom see the films. When questioned, the boys claimed that they did not play 'Cowboys and Indians' etc. Instead their attention was given to such pursuits as 'Bird Nesting', 'Rabbiting', Fishing, Shooting, Riding Horses, Eeling, Riding Sheep, Sliding, Playing with Pets. It is probably that further investigation would discover some traces of Pack play, nevertheless the difference from the typical urban school, was highly significant. At Maroa on the otherhand, a country saw-mill school, where the children saw pictures several nights in the week, the children are reported to have played practically nothing else but Pack games. Throughout the year, they rushed round and round the school playing out their experience of the films.

It is clear, from these observations on boys' Pack games that the important thing about any idea is that it should allow the group to exist in terms of the important details of

maleness. Leadership of ideas or skill, while never absent, is not the dominant note. There is a bias against too much importance being attached to the Leader and his display.¹ The emphasis is on the Pack as a Pack not on any particular He in the Pack. The same bias may be noted in men's attitude to clothes and in the strict equality of men's drinking 'schools'. It is noticeable also in those boys' games which are based on the principle that every player should attack any player that sets himself above the others, for example in Sorag, King of the Castle, and No Man Standing.

Having traced the motility, noisiness, aggressiveness and solidarity of boys' Packs to the boys' position of cultural uncertainty, (unconscious homo-sexuality) and their susceptibility to common ideas, it is now necessary to consider the distinctive nature of girls' Pack games. That is not girls' group games like those which have been considered already, but girl's' group games which resemble boys' Pack games.

Girls also play Pack games, although to what extent it is difficult to say. They do not exist as a regular feature of their playground play. Most of the girls who listed Cowboys and Indians admitted on questioning that they played it with their brothers and that they were usually forced into the role of 'baddies' or 'Indians'. But girls do play their own particular version of Pack games - a version which generally

1. Supported Furfey P.H., The Gang Age, p.136.

goes under the heading of "Witches and Fairies", "Witches", or "Good Fairies" and "Bad Fairies". These varieties of Pack game, however, are of a more imaginative nature and have less inter-group conflict than boys' Pack games do.

The girls' games contain the type of activity one finds in imitative Dialogue and He games. There is much mention of Witches who poison fairies, of secret plans and of hidden treasure. These plans and treasure must not be revealed to the enemy but can be stolen from her. To obtain an enemy's plans and treasure means to deprive her of her power. These motives it will be remembered were important also in girl's leader games. They enter a little into the Pack games of boys as, for example, when the boys seek to capture the plans from the other gang's fort. In addition, these girl's Pack games, in contradistinction to boys' Pack games, contain a greater verbal element. There is more talk and less action --- a feature already evident in girl's Leader games and girls' He variations.

Another interesting difference about girls' Pack games, but a difference which applies to all girl's play, is the fact that the girls seem to be more conscious of the pretence involved in their games. Girls explaining a game will say, "We pretend to be so and so", but the boys, who are much shyer and much more self-conscious about their imaginative play, will seldom refer to it in this way. They are in fact reluctant to describe the world of their imaginative play at all.

¹
Norman Douglas in his collecting activity also noticed this

1. Douglas N., London Street Games, p.91.

shyness of boys. It is a characteristic of males that continues right on into adulthood. Men are often unusually loath to recapitulate their childhood play. Women on the otherhand, whether old identities or Training College students, eagerly volunteer information. Most of the manuscripts I received came from women. When boys do describe their imaginative play, on the whole they don't say, "I 'pretend' to be Tom Mix". They say rather "I am 'Tom Mix' and he's 'Hop-a-long Cassidy'". Possibly boys do not like to feel that their play is an inferior substitute for the "real thing", especially when, as we have emphasized, they desperately desire to discover what the "real thing" is, in terms of their cultural role. Girls who are much more certain about their role than boys are less perturbed by the fact that their play is play, particularly if it is based on the important realities of the female world. In addition the girl's' greater sensitivity to adult values and verbal sophistication, permits them, when conversing with adults to adopt the attitudes that adults themselves have towards play, namely, that play is pretence.

Boys excel at describing their play when the description is about play-activities which are not imaginative but are the "real thing", namely, the activities catalogued in the chapter¹ titled the Plays of Protest. It is worthy of note that farm boys, who because of the continual presence of their fathers and their father's' activities, have a far greater understanding of the male role than their urban counterparts, differ from the

1. Norman Douglas, op. cit., p.96 also notes this.

urban boys in this respect. They are less self-conscious about their imaginative play. There is much less "devil"¹ in their account of their plays. They don't appear to get such a furtive delight from recounting vandalistic activities. It is not that they don't indulge in these, but rather that they express themselves on the subject with far less emotion and a certain matter of factness which their urban counterparts lack. The anti-social activities do not appear to be so emotionally 'important' to them. The reason for this may be that because farm boys have a firmer grip on their future "role" they are not self-consciously groping in the dark and trying to repudiate activities which they feel are perhaps childish. They are not reticent about activities which they suspect are associated with childhood 'pretence' and therefore with the rejected female. Farm boys who have "knowledge" do not have to over-emphasize their manliness. This is perhaps the reason as Talcott Parsons says "that farm boys tend to be "good" in a sense that is not typical of their urban brothers."²

It was mentioned above that infant school boys gallop endlessly round the school slapping their equine buttocks. Chasing games with boys take this horsey-form as much as they do He-forms. { If, as it has been suggested, He games involve a castration fear then it is probable that horse-play is a counter-emphasis to that fear and a play

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1. Noted at Hampden and Waikouaiti.
 2. Parsons Talcott, op. cit., p.269.

representation of the child's assertion of independence. The horse rider is suggesting that he is potent strong and aggressive like the cowboy film star and that he has nothing to fear from anyone more aggressive than himself. It has been said, for example, ^{that} the horse is a symbol of phallic potency.¹ Whether or not aeroplanes and other modern vehicles including guns and firing devices have also the phallic significance of the horse, it is difficult to say. In most cases vehicles are associated with imitative play rather than with the assertive play of Pack games. Nevertheless it is not unusual for S.1 boys to play at conflict games in which they represent dive-bombers and warships in a playground sea. (Karori). Guns, of course, play a pre-eminent place in the assertion of power. They are a constant object of interest for boys in the early primary years.)

As long as the cowboy remains the culture-hero of the films, and the yodelling boundary rider the idol of the radio, presumably horses will ^tremain their present day significance in the hearts of small boys ----- Horses will continue to have that position of potency because the films (and soon it is to be Television with Hop a Long Cassidy)² still continue to convince boys that horse-riders are He men!

One of the most important features of Pack play is 'Capture'. One must avoid being captured and put in the

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1. Brill A.A., The University of Symbols, Yearbook of Psycho-Analysis, Vol.1, 1945, p.74.
 2. And is apparently destined to remain so according to recent reports on Television.

other players' den; one must avoid being enclosed or sent home. The significance of this fear has already been suggested. If the player is to remain an independent cowboy he must not be put out of commission in this way: if the boy is to be an independent person he must not be tied once more to the servility of a home. In school playgrounds the captured child may be held in a 'den' a corner of the shed or building. As often as not he is held by agreement only, being allowed to go when the next prisoner arrives or when the guard is not looking. In some of the games of the smaller boys the capturer is a single person and fulfills a function similar to that of the He in individual He games. At Caversham this individual person was titled the "Policeman" in a S.1 boys' game. Games of Prisoner's base and other running games in which players are captured probably derive from the same elements in children's experience.

"Permanent elements in this form of play are a child's¹ love of tying up his fellows and being tied up himself."

"Once caught the Indians or Robbers were firmly trussed, up either an inch or so from some sharp acacia thorn by a fence so that if he moved he'd regret it, or forced up a suitable pine tree and tied in such a manner that if he moved he was likely to hang himself or do something drastic. The victim of the latter was often forgotten when the bell went and had to stay there till his absence was noticed." (Report from Hawkes Bay Country School 1946). Naturally enough there is not much of this sort of play observable in school playgrounds, though

1. Lowenfield M., op. cit., p.74.

according to the children it is often a feature of their out of school play. What could be more expressive of capture than to be bound, to be all swaddled up like a baby in fact? "The whole thing has evidently something to do with the tying and liberation of the body."¹ Being bound, one is babified,² robbed of power, perhaps even castrated.³

Many pack games involve forts - the defence of forts and the attacking of forts. These forts may be much in the nature of 'cosy nooks'. They may also be a home away from home -- to be defended to the last ditch -- the symbol of the new independence. To lose ones fort is to lose not only one's stronghold, it is also to lose the symbol of one's group and individual independence. As Froebel says "the feeling of his own power implies and soon demands the possession of his own space and his own material belonging exclusively to him."³

One of the most remarkable characteristics of boys' Pack play is the way in which the players are prepared to die; clutching their hearts boys will stagger a few steps and reel to the ground "dead", they will flop prone or sag at the knees coughing pitifully, shot through the stomach! The significance of much of this dramatic dying is seen at its

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1. Roheim G., *Children's Games and Rhymes in Duau*, op. cit., p.101.
 2. Money-Kyrle R., op. cit., p.34.
 3. Froebel F., The Education of Man, p.107. See also Gesell A., The Child From Five to Ten Years, New York, 1946, p.361.

clearest when boys actually play at "dying" as they occasionally do on a grassy slope or at the top of a hill or bank. "Dying" is a competition to see who can perform the most 'spectacular' death. Boys run up a slope, fling up their arms and throw themselves down the other side. A game of this nature seems to involve little more than a direct imitation of the "spectacular" deaths of 'he-men' seen in films and read in books, where "another redskin bites the dust" every page or so. In addition there are the experiences of muscular satisfactions involved in rolling and throwing themselves round in this fashion.

In Pack play the deaths of the warriors -- where they die willingly -- often embodies elements of this 'spectacularism'. For the greater part, however, as far as I can judge, dying is a make-believe convention which guarantees efficacy to the player's weapons and their power. What, after all, is the good of having 'guns' unless they have the power to put other players out of the game? A player therefore must stay down for the count of twenty or a hundred when he is shot. Death in the game is chiefly a symbol of victory for the shooter and defeat for the person killed rather than a state having much connection with the real nature of death. The make-believe death of an opponent -- like the gun or the horse -- is the guarantor of the shooting rider's power. Witness the large amount of argument which is carried on in these games as to whether a player really is dead or not.

"They shoot but sometimes they miss". said an infant.

"How do you know they miss?" I asked.

"It goes straight past you," he said.

There are innumerable arguments as to whether it went straight past or not. Generally one player virtually has to prod his gun into the others back to achieve his end. Sometimes they die willingly enough, either from an appreciation of real defeat, the desire for a spectacular demise, or the wish to retire from the game for a while. "Sometimes I feel too lazy to run," said a S.4 boy (Forbury). The manner in which some infants are prepared to lie flat on their backs, arms out, eyes shut, suggests that they get a certain satisfaction from their retirement. The bodily position of inertness, emotionally may have something to recommend it to young children. "The adoption of certain positions seems to express an unconscious hunger for some emotional satisfaction¹ which these positions symbolize."

Notwithstanding the fact that death in pack games is chiefly a symbol of defeat and attains its make-believe reality from the symbolic importance of having that function in the game, it is probable that something of the child's real attitude to death overflows into this importance. Some psycho-analysts have made much of the fact, that, as an aspect of oedipus rivalry, children harbour unconscious death wishes towards those intimates with whom they compete. The² death of an intimate is a triumph for the living they say. The children's triumph in shooting down the enemy; the hostile

1. Lowenfield M., op. cit., p.75.

2. Klein M., Mourning and Its Relation to Manic Depressive States, in Contributions to Psycho-Analysis, London, 1948 p.322.

glottal death rattle "Kggg Kggg Kggg", with which their bullets flow forth, may derive elements from this unconscious experience of death wishes. The death wish seems to have been potent enough in the following example. A reminiscence from (Taihape 1935) speaks of a group of infant boys who determined to take revenge on one of their number who had injured an infant girl by shanghai-ing a wire pellet into her leg. It was a severe injury and the pellet had to be cut out of the leg. The other boys, all equally guilty of shanghai-ing the girls with wire pellets, decided to in all seriousness to 'shoot-up' the offender and brought their cap-guns to school with that intention. For several days they pursued and harried him round and about "shooting him dead."

But "death" occurs in other than Pack games. As Truman Capote says, "All children are morbid, its their one saving grace."¹ Of fifty Training College students, asked to indicate whether they played funerals, 11 females and 3 males recorded having played funerals. The majority referred to animals. Their burials included 6 birds, 3 cats, a goldfish, hedgehog and doll. These results indicate that girls, more than boys, discharge their interest in death, in funeral ceremonies. Perhaps boys get their outlet for the same interest in Pack games. But funeral ceremonies appear to involve more than just a hostile death wish -- they involve also the child's complementary feeling that just because of its unconscious death wish it is in part responsible for the death, and therefore must atone for its guilt by grief and ceremony.

1. Capote Truman, Other Voices Other Rooms, p.77.

This has been pointed out at some length in Sylvia Anthony's¹ book "The Child's Discovery of Death"

Practically all the subjects of the funerals, it will be observed, are animals. This in turn introduces a further and complicating factor in the child's attitude towards death and funerals. Freud has pointed out that animals may become the unconscious representatives of the castrating father² whom the children are afraid of and wish to kill. As Mead says "Children dream and wake shrieking from their dreams of strange and terrifying animals that may destroy them -- counterparts of the parental recognition of impulses in the child that are called animal."³ When these death wishes are projected into an animal and the animal dies, children feel guilty and seek to atone for the animal's death. Isaacs states that projection occurs easily when the animals are the children's pets. Most of the animals listed as taking part⁴ in the funeral ceremonies were declared to be pets. There is reason to believe that New Zealand children could readily attribute to animals this symbolic significance. Oliver Duff for example, questions the effects upon New Zealand children of the undisguised knowledge that the economy of their country⁵ is based upon the slaughter of millions of animals? An investigation into the moral conceptions of some New Zealand

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1. Anthony Sylvia, The Child's Discovery of Death, London, 1940.
 2. Quoted Healey and Bronner The Structure and Meaning of Psycho-Analysis, p.215.
 3. Mead M., op. cit., p.184.
 4. Isaacs S., Intellectual Growth in Young Children, p.170.
 5. Duff Oliver, New Zealand Now, Wellington, 1941.

children and a comparison of these with the moral conceptions of some English children reveals that New Zealanders who have a greater experience of animal slaughter have at the same time a greater horror of cruelty to animals. Clark says, "Although the English investigators make no reference whatever to this offence (cruelty to animals)...offences of this type occurred amongst N.Z. children so frequently as to necessitate a special category. They are mentioned by all ages and by both girls and boys, rather more by the latter, as crimes, side by side with murder, torture etc....The persistence of this offence up to 11 years indicates at least that a distinct attitude of mind has been formed towards the treatment of animals." This suggests that the common knowledge of animal slaughter makes it easy for New Zealand children to identify in this slaughter something of their own unconscious wishes and this leads them to react with horror against the very cruelty in which, in unconscious wish, they are participating. That animals may have attributed to them this symbolic significance is further attested by the fact that "The offences mentioned often have a conventional ring about them i.e., "to hurt dumb animals. New Zealand children do not naturally refer to dumb animals, merely to animals."¹

Why then should they speak of animals as 'dumb' animals. This practice may perhaps be an expression of the same unconscious death wish. For what is an animal that is dumb, but an animal that is already incapacitated by the unconscious wish to incapacitate it. It is like a blindfold He. Note in this

1. Clark, An Enquiry into the Moral Conceptions of some N.Z. children, pp.41, 42.

connection that some He games take the name of animals (Sharky, Wolfie, Fox, Bear, Whale, Black Bull Bee). Here the animal and the father are apparently as one.

The fact may be more simply explained, however, by the prevalence of animal-names in children literature, and, although this prevalence may in its turn arise from similar unconscious sources it may well trace back to a time when animals were of a far greater importance in the economy of the original story tellers. The following P.2 girl's description of her game of 'Wolfie', however, seems to owe much to the unconscious motive that has been described. She said: "The Wolfie chases you, catches you and eats you all up so that you can't talk you can't see yourself and you are all numb." (Island Bay).

I conclude that the death in children's Pack games symbolizes the victory of the independent player over the other players. In these games and others, however the death or defeat of an opponent, animal or He, may also mean an unconscious victory over the dreaded He of the order we have discussed in connection with He games.

Pack games represent one stage in children's development. They are not a type of game in which development can be traced over a long period, as was the case in He games. The development that does occur in these games, however, is as follows:

The Pack games are observable first in the infant playground. In the early part of the infant year amorphous

groups and strings of galloping boys make their equestrian way around the school. As the year progresses these scattered horsemen fall into two group formations. By S.1 the two-group play is quite definite. Day after day the same boys can be seen picking sides and setting out to battle. At this age handkerchiefs round the mouth, guns and feathers in the hair¹ are still possible. From this age onwards such habiliments are considered childish. They are no longer adopted in playgrounds although they may persist in home play. By S.2/3, the players grow a little self-conscious of the game. A S.2 boy when asked if he played Cowboys and Indians screwed up his nose in scorn. "How about Cops and Robbers?" I asked, "Ooh Yes! We play that". In S.3/4 the game is played less in school hours although this depends very much on school opportunities. In one decapitated urban school, for example, where the children were forbidden to bring balls or any other sort of sport gear to school (because of the new paint) the older boys played little else but Pack games (Forbury). "If we want a change we'll just have to take up skipping", said one S.4 boy sardonically. When Pack games are played at this older age level, the characters are more clearly differentiated and the action more intricate. Often the parts and the plot are taken from the local picture serial. (St. Clair). By S.5/6 urban children will seldom admit that they play Cowboys and Indians or Cops and Robbers. "We just play it with the younger kids to give them a bit of fun." said a S.5 boy (Nth. East Valley). They carry on the same kind of play

1. Supported by Gesell A., The Child From 5 to 10 Years, p.151.

however, only in the form of more intricate warfare between forts and with all the paraphernalia of gang-play dealt with in the next chapter. Pack play refers particularly therefore to the imaginative group play of boys in the early primary school years whereas gang play refers to the group play in the later primary years. The latter gang play is more realistic than imaginative and presupposes some real team work, of which the younger boys, in pack formation, are not yet fully capable. Much of the S.5/6 enthusiasm for spontaneous group play is nowadays harnessed to the team formations of organized sport. Where such organization is lacking, however, these pack formations and the gang conflicts which arise out of them can develop into serious proportions.

CHAPTER TWENTY

PLAYS OF PROTEST

Plays of Protest are informal plays which characterize the upper primary school years. There are patterns in the way these plays are carried out, just as there are patterns in the informal imitative games. But Plays of Protest do not feature two sides of players entering into a competition according to prescribed rules. They are not therefore formal games. The patterns of the Plays of Protest, however, are relatively stereotyped in nature and are widespread throughout the country. It should be mentioned at this point that with a few exceptions, none of the Plays of Protest was intensively studied. Practically all the items listed in the following pages require further investigation. It was decided to include them in this thesis, however, because, considered from a psychological point of view, they are shown to reflect the development of certain of the psychological characteristics of childhood which have already been discussed in connection with the games of the preceeding four chapters.

In this chapter (as in Chapter 15)¹ the heterogeneous

1. Although to a more limited extent in that chapter.

and scanty nature of the material makes it convenient to include the explanatory material alongside the illustrative material. The procedure is, therefore, as follows. The Plays of Protest are defined, sex differences are indicated, and then the explanatory and illustrative material (in that order) is discussed in its relationship to the following four categories and the items they include. The categories include:- firstly, plays which represent a protest against adults and their institutions including tricks upon adults, pranks on certain special adults, raiding and stealing, stone throwing, pranks in special places, and truancy. Secondly, plays which represent a protest against adult conventions, including obscene language, obscene stories and swearing, play with urinary, excretory and sexual organs, nonsense play. Thirdly, plays which represent an assertion of the self through the exhibition of individual prowess and power including fighting daring, slanging, scribbling, nicknaming, smoking, torturing, playing tricks on other children and teasing them, teasing rhymes. Fourthly, plays which represent an assertion of the self through the establishment and maintenance of one's own gang, including gang fighting, initiation, coventry, activities, forts, Set activities, secret languages and codes.

The Plays of this chapter are defined as Plays of Protest for the following reason. It is held in this thesis that as children grow in independence they come into conflict with various aspects of the (adult) world around them. They feel critical towards some of the aspects of this world,

resistant, antagonistic, and aggressive towards other aspects. The term "Plays of Protest" is used in this thesis to stand for all those plays which reflect, either implicitly or explicitly, these and other negative attitudes of the children to the adult world. Plays of the first category above express direct antagonism to adults; Plays of the other three categories affect adults only indirectly. These latter plays reflect the children's protest against an adult "way of looking at things" which does not fully take into account their own natures and interests.

The Plays of Protest dealt with here, rise to importance in the upper primary school years and carry over into the secondary school years. Plays of Protest are not, however, restricted to these years. They are to be found at all ages. They coexist with plays which mirror the children's acceptance of adult authority. (See chapter 14 - Imitative games). Certain ages, however, have become noted for certain types of Protest Plays. Thus in the first four years of life 'being disobedient' appears to be one of the main ways in which children experiment with and play at their independence.¹ Late adolescence is said also to feature a revolt against society. This is the particular revolt which Mannheim terms the "Problem of Youth in Modern Society."²

The Plays of Protest which occur during and before puberty are

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1. Leitner C. and E., Your Child....Your Future, London, 1946, p.52.
 2. Mannheim K., Diagnosis of Our Time, London, 1943, p.31.

one of the favourite themes in books about children for adults.
 For example, "Saturday" by Norman Lindsay; "Studs Lonigan"
 A Trilogy by James T. Farrell; "Apostate" by Forrest Reid;
 "The Tree in the Yard" Betty Smith; "Stalky and Co."
 Rudyard Kipling. "Vice Versa" F. Anstey. "Portrait of
 the Artist as a Young Dog." by Dylan Thomas; "Charley is
 My Darling" Joyce Cary.

It will be clear from the lists above and from the
 descriptions that follow that these protest plays would not
 be reckoned generally as delinquent activities. As Burt
 says, "In the young much seeming criminality is simply play,
 or a pitiable substitute for play."² Some, however, might
 well regard many of the above activities as delinquent
 activities rather than play. The best way to demonstrate
 that these activities are legitimately regarded as play, is
 to show the manner in which they fit into the pattern of
 psychological development already sketched in the previous
 chapters.

Chapters 16 and 17 spoke in terms of the unconscious
 dramas of the Old Woman and Old Man. It was said that the

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1. Not many books along these lines are written for children. When children are permitted to read this type of literature it is generally because it has a fantastic and farcical bias, ---witness the "William" stories of Richmal Compton and Booth Tarkington's "Penrod", ----or because the children's realistic attacks on the adult environment are on behalf of the law, as in "The Otterbury Incident" by C. Day Lewis. Adults have always been reluctant to allow children to read stories containing "Plays of Protest" unless the moral has been made blatantly clear. Consider, for example, the fate of the "Our Street" School Journal stories. See Evening Post 23rd, November, 1942.
 2. Burt C., The Young Delinquent, London, 1944, p.491.

games of those chapters mirrored, among many other things, the children's psychic parturition from the primary family ties. The Chapters 18 and 19 were said to mirror simultaneously the first phases of the children's adjustment to their cultural role beyond the home. In leader-groups and pack-groups children were said to find substitutes for their parents and to experience types of social relationships relevant to the adult life of their respective sexes. The games of the first type were more imaginative, because their sources were more remote from the real world. The game of the second type were more realistic because they reflected the children's predestined relationships in the real world.

The Plays of Protest which arise in the same years as the above games but have their greatest importance in the late primary years take the children a step further into reality. In these games there is again the protest against the He, and there is again the formation of a Pack. But now the He is not an imaginative bogey and the Pack is not an Cowboy group. The He is now often a real person and the pack is a gang with a real impact on the local environment.

The reason that these children's gangs now have an impact on the real environment is due to the entrance into their lives in greater force, of the competitive motive. This motive is dealt with in detail in the next two chapters, which are complementary to this one. Children are now induced, not just to 'imagine' their unconscious fantasies and play relationships. They are induced to actually 'test' them out in terms of ^{the} real environment, not just in terms of the play

environment.

The origin of their "sortees" into the real environment, however, is a play origin. The children's concern is with the play expression of unconscious fantasy and cultural relationships. Their concern is with the play, not with the consequences of their play. They are not concerned to attack the real environment of adult persons and adult property for ulterior ends. A delinquent or criminal characteristically carries out his activities in order to achieve some ulterior ends. Children play in order to discover something about themselves and their relationship to their environment. This then is the way in which play can be distinguished from delinquency. Play is an end in itself. Delinquency intends an end beyond itself.

But clearly the division between the two is never clear out. As Woodworth says: "Whether adventure shall mean lawlessness depends largely on the facilities and standards of the neighbourhood."¹

No lists of the distribution of these plays are given. The items mentioned above do not often appear spontaneously in the children's lists. Occasionally gangs, forts, stone-throwing, fighting and smoking are mentioned, but generally, information on the Plays of Protest is only received in response to personal enquiry. Nor are the sources given for most of the material that follows. It would not be just to those who were frank enough to give this information, if any hint was given as to whom they were.

Nearly all the Protest Plays described are indulged
I. pp. 645-647 omitted. (typographical error)

in more by boys than girls, (teasing rhymes, set activities and codes are the exception). This occurs probably because the male packs and gangs have not the same assured sense of ~~their~~ cultural role as has the girl's group. Boys have not had the guidance in growing up that girls have had with the result that "girls are more apt to be relatively docile, to conform in general according to adult expectations. There is really no feminine equivalent of the expression 'bad boy'."¹ Without explicit guidance and models for its activity, the gang is, in a sense, outside society in these years. Therefore when the gang seeks to discover its own nature and 'role' it does so, in part, by attacking the society in which it wishes to find its place, and upon which it wishes to make its impression. Mannheim points out that "being young mostly means being a marginal man,"² being an outsider. Mannheim is thinking particularly of late adolescence. The same conditions of marginality, however, exist in pubertal years. They trace back emotionally to the unguided nature of the pack.

The psychological motives that children appear to be "working-out" in these plays are considered in relation to the above four categories. These categories are of an arbitrary nature and like the "types" of He games are employed only for

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1. Parsons Talcott, Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the U.S.A. in Kluckhohn and Murray, Personality in Nature, Society and Culture, p.270.
 2. Mannheim, op. cit., p.36.

the purposes of emphasis. Many of the items could be classified under several of the headings.

The Plays of Protest against Adult Authority include tricks upon adults, pranks on certain special adults, raiding and stealing, stone-throwing, pranks in special places, and truancy. In these plays the children are experimenting with their own independence in relation to the real environment. They find, however, that the adults of the real environment continually restrict complete freedom. As Tarkington says with some humour "One of the hardest conditions of boyhood is the almost continuous strain put upon the powers of invention by the constant and harassing necessity for explanations of every natural act."¹ Partly as a result of this, in this "Age on their Own" all adults become potential² enemies, and may be referred to slightly as "The Old Policeman", "The Crabby old Teacher" etc. The conflicting situation for the children, is that adults both demand independence from them and yet resent much of the independence they show. It is part of the business of growing-up, for children to discover which assertions of independence they can "get away with" and which they cannot. Conflict arises when they are testing out what "they can get away with".

Most of the aggressive aspects of the children's Protest plays arise from the fact that in this situation of conflict

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1. Tarkington Booth, Penrod, p.55.
 2. Combs F.L., Schools Sixty Years Ago, NZJBS., talk. 2YA, 21st February, 1950.

children feel their independence is threatened by the adults. Their aggressive reaction to the world is largely an expression of the fear they feel in face of these adults and their world, and a testament to the fact that they have not¹ learned other ways of asserting their independence. As Lindsay says "There is this subtlety about an illicit proposal -- that it becomes potent by the very thrill of funk² that urges you to reject it." In part, however, their play antagonism to adults in authority is a carry over from their antagonism to the dominant father -- the He -- who has excluded them from the first place in the family. Consequently much of the fun of this sort of play is of the same nature as that in He games where the taunting of the He is followed by the thrill of escape. There "is as much if not a greater interest in getting away"³ than there is in the anti-sociality which is involved. In this play "a child torments his elders in order to test out the danger involved, but he wants his elders to respond in the spirit of the play and not in dread reality."⁴ "It is as if the child were testing the lengths to which its endurance of the pleasurable qualities inherent in fear would go, and testing out its own capacity for sensation."⁵ Lee calls this testing "The Boy Problem". Sully terms it the

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1. See further Isaacs S., Social Development in Young Children, p.310.
 2. Lindsay N., Saturday, p.97.
 3. Lee J., Play in Education, p.203.
 4. Symonds P.A., The Dynamics of Human Adjustment, p.180.
 5. Groos K., The Play of Man, p.225

"Struggle with Law", and gives it a slightly different interpretation. Here, he says, lies liberty,"this antagonism to law .. is .. grounded on the expectation of liberty ... to be able to do what one likes without interference from others."¹

The root of these attacks on adults and their institutions, therefore, may be said to be the child's desire to overcome the great childhood fear, the fear of the powerful adult. It is still the He that it is being bucked, but this time it is a He who is one step nearer reality. A He who is no longer just the father authority but who is any and every form of authority, especially 'oppressive' authority.

The love of children for hills and places away from adults, however, makes it clear that in part the striving for independence takes these anti-adult forms only when there is insufficient possibilities for adventure and outlet in a more natural and less adult ordered milieu.²

Illustrative Material page 652 to page 657.

The illustrative and further explanatory material for the category of Protest against Adult Authority and Institutions is as follows:- There are characteristic types of pranks known throughout the country. These include: Knick Knock. In this game children knock on someone's door then run away. The game may, however, be played more elaborately, "In Tick Tack we stuck a pin into the middle sash of a window, a button was suspended from this on a piece of cotton. Then a long length of cotton was attached to the smaller piece and led away to

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1. Sully J., Studies in Childhood, p.63.
 2. Furfey P.H., The Gang Age, p.134.

the gate. The cotton was pulled every now and then and the button tapped against the window. It was night time and folks would pull up the blind and peer out. Some more adventurous spirits would come out and investigate and would maybe get entangled with the cotton. Then the culprit would run away to some other house." (Moeraki 00). "Usually a small youngster would be cajoled into this." (Gisborne 85).

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J.A. Lee mentions the game as Knocking on Doors. Other names are Tip Tap (Waikouaiti 85), Tit Tat (Caversham).

The majority of Wellington Training College students who refer to this game, however, speak of it as Knick Knock. Other widely known pranks are: Jingle the Penny, "Tie a string to a penny with a hole in it. Hide behind a hedge or on top of a verandah. Whisk it away as the person bends to pick it up." (Ngakawau 95). Rats, This is the same trick with a piece of fur or rag. "Men would strike at it with their walking sticks and ten to one, break them (Charleston 90). Dummy Parcels, containing mud and stones. This trick has been reported more often of recent years with motor traffic as the quarry. Children at Woodville speak of playing "Stop" with a dummy parcel on the main highway. It is an attempt to make motor cars stop, and then whisk away the parcel from under their nose. Reported at Kaitia, Portobello 37, Gisborne 39. Ooh My Toe, is either a dummy parcel or a paper bag with a stone in it. The passer by kicks the bag and suffers for it.

1. Lee J.A., Children of the Poor, p.123.

The name comes from Wellington 1900. Blocking up Chimneys, throwing things down chimneys, hanging onto moving vehicles, frightening horses and raising fowls have already been mentioned. J.A. Lee adds to these emptying peoples' ash cans on their verandahs, stretching a rope across a doorway, and tarring doorknobs for the unsuspecting.¹ Common tricks of a more recent hue include Posting Dummy Parcels (Forbury) delivered by the children themselves, and making false telephone calls. An example of the latter is to ring up the local greengrocer and say "Is your shop on the tramline?" "Yes". "Well shift it because a tram is coming". (Wellington 35).

Children play tricks on certain special adults, particularly foreigners, including Chinese, Germans, Jews and Hindus. They also play tricks on any other anomalous persons such as spinsters, old bachelors, inebriates and unpleasant people, and the archetypes of authority, the policeman and the schoolteacher come in for their share of banter. When children pick on a certain class of adults upon whom to focus their hostility, they mirror in their play the underlying prejudices of their parents. They make explicit the "in-groups" fear and dislike for the "out-group".² Adults communicate these fears to children from the time the children are young, either explicitly in comments or implicitly in 'wisecracks' and 'taboos' such as 'Keep away from so and so'.

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1. Lee, op. cit., p.133.
 2. Young Kimball, A Handbook of Social Psychology, London, 1946, p.190.

Often without realizing it, adults communicate to children their own negative attitudes and scorn towards certain classes of people. Sometimes the communication is more direct. In the seventies, for example, the Chinese were victimized by adults (who felt that their immigration represented a threat to the economic welfare of the whites.)¹ It is significant that when attacking authority children should strike at its weakest link, at the class of persons who although adults, are practically denied the full status by "real" adults. These attacked people are in a sense unconventional people. They are foreigners, spinsters, and sometimes oddly clothed and queer looking folks. Often their unconventional nature lies in their lack of adult like restraint. They may act like a He and chase the children, swear at them, and generally act in a childish manner. In this case, when the children torment these childish adults, they are, in effect, playing at their conception of the role of real adults. The children who are subject to punishment when childish or unconventional themselves, are now severely punishing the childishness or unconventional behaviour in others. Examples: The taunting skipping rhyme, Ching Chong Chinaman has already been cited in Chapter 16. Another common teasing jingle is "Tu la Marnie Dubble I Tite Tie" (Palmerston 35). Children at Kaitaia report shouting at the local chinese greengrocer "Ching Chong Chinaman, born in a jar, Christened in a tea pot,

1. See Fyfe Francis, The Immigration of the Chinese, M.A. Thesis, V.U.C., 1949.

Ha ha ha." and running away. Iky Moses King of the Jews is the first line of a teasing rhyme directed at Jewish people. There are reports of insults thrown at Germans, Hindus and Roman Catholics.¹ Also of attacks on other adults. For example, "We insulted a woman who spent most of her time sitting at the window. We would sit down across the road and mimic her." (Levin 40). "We mercilessly teased an old woman known as "Sally Simons". She was simple minded, wore numerous hideous clothes and would always respond to teasing either by an outburst of foul language or by chasing us." (Oamaru 35). "We persecuted an old man and his sister who seldom went out and when they did wore outlandish clothes." (Morrinsville). "An old bachelor who lived opposite the school and had a long dropping moustache. We called him walrus." (Tikokino 38). "A complaining old couple are the butt of the children at present. They are mean and will chase cheeky children with a stick." (Wakefield). Pranks² on the policeman are occasionally reported. Tricks on the teacher have already been enumerated. (Chapter 4). Some reports mention tricks played on father: "Sticking hedgehogs and prickles in my father's bed." (Alton 39).

Raiding orchards is mentioned by practically every Training College Student and old identity. Stealing from the pantry is also common, and stealing from shops more common amongst town children today than amongst children of yesterday

1. For examples, see McKenzie N.R., The Gael Fares Forth, pp.111, 119; Green Island S.J.M., p.21.

2. Blenheim S.J.M.

who had less opportunity for that particular prank. Lee says "Children, like the birds, the field mice, possums, see fruit on trees as something to which they have propriety¹ raiding rights. Stealing fruit is a great social game."

Stone throwing takes place everywhere. There is, however, a tendency for children to pick certain rooves onto which to throw their stones. "We used to throw stones on the rooves of old diggers who were on their own. Mainly cause¹ we could make a good 'get-a-way'" (Charleston 90).

Pranks in special places have been mentioned in Part 1 Chapter 12 and truancy in Section 1 Chapter 4.

Finally, as one informant says, "I think there are fewer such games of protest today? I remember all of them - but my own two boys don't seem to know anything about them."

With respect to the Plays of Protest against Adult conventions Fairburn says: "I would blush to set down in cold print some of the things I remember about that period² of my life." These plays include: obscene language, obscene stories and rhymes, plays with urinary, excretory and sexual organs and nonsense play. For the reason Fairburn gives there is not much information about this phase of children's lives. Nor, for that matter, was it easy material to collect. I had no mandate to investigate this type of

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1. Lee J., op. cit., p.144. Other examples: Waianiwa S.J.M., p.p. 17, 94; McKenzie, op. cit., p.193; Wyllie's S.J.M., p.14; College St., S.J.M., p.3; Anderson J., Old Christchurch, pp. 232, 234.
 2. Fairburn A.F.D., Does it Still Go On, Education Vol. 3, No. 1, 1950, p.50.

question I did not therefore specifically seek it out -- that would have been far too inflammatory a procedure and might well have endangered the rest of the investigation. What has come my way, however, I have duly recorded.

In various ways, most children at some time or other have a tilt at the standards of conventional behaviour which adults regard as acceptable. There is nothing very unusual about this, as most of these standards directly contradict some of children's natural interests, in sexual, excretory and other bodily functions. Adults are very stubborn about relaxing the unholy taboos which shroud the open discussion¹ of these matters with children. As a result children's interests of this sort may be hypostatized, "undergo no development, and .. remain a fixed image in the deeper layer of the mind."² The "bowling green mind" of many adults, their salacious interest in filthy stories and jests, demonstrates how these interests, unreleased and untutored in childhood, carry right on through life in their early and most primitive forms. Lowenfield claims that the interest in what we later term the 'obscene' "If allowed to take place at the proper time 'unobserved' or, more exactly, unreproved -- and in circumstances which offer many and varied interests ... is played through and disappears of its own accord as the small personality develops and life affords more interesting outlets."³ But these interests, where they display

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1. Butchers A.G., Education in New Zealand on Sex Education, p.497.
 2. Lowenfield M., Play in Childhood, p.107.
 3. *ibid*, p.109.

themselves, are seldom "unreproved" in our schools. It seems to me to be of some significance that although I collected game-rhymes throughout the whole of this investigation, (and although I made special attempts to collect obscene rhymes on only one occasion,) the number of different rhymes finally collected were,

95 obscene rhymes

55 teasing rhymes

54 skipping rhymes

46 Singing and Dialogue Game rhymes

41 Counting-out rhymes

and also half or

dozen or so rhymes each about the following activities: nonsense, school, bounce-ball, and handclapping. Further, in the one class in which I made an intensive attempt to get obscene rhymes, as well as other rhymes, I collected a total of 36 obscene rhymes and only 30 rhymes of all other types,

In obscene rhymes children have institutionalized their lack of recognition. These rhymes represent in effect their protest against the lack of adult recognition of these childish interests or rather they represent the children's own attempts to create a symbolism for these interests when no relevant symbolism is provided for them by adults. The examples given suggest that a large area of human emotion is being untapped and wasted in our culture simply because it is forced to take surreptitious outlets. Few though the examples are, they are enough to suggest that these interests are fairly 'normal' with primary school children and that there is no

latency of, for example, sex interest in the primary years. This view is supported by overseas workers. Jersild says "the findings indicate that there is a wide, and perhaps almost universal prevalence of varying degrees of interest and curiosity concerning sex in the pre-pubertal years roughly corresponding to the elementary school period. Many children during this period engage in experimentation, manipulation and sex play, but no definite answer can be given to the question as to the incidence of such activity in the normal population."¹ / Although most of the examples of this thesis are taken from the male sex this occurs solely because of the difficulties implicit in investigating this subject and because of the sex of the investigator. The fact that this information comes chiefly from males is no indication that the male is, necessarily, the greater purloiner of the obscene. On the contrary, an overseas investigation discovered that although boys generally excelled in the perpetration of delinquent behaviour, the kind "more frequently reported for girls was the writing of obscene notes."² /

Another way in which children protest against adult convention is by making nonsense of it. Nonsense is one of the chief delights of childhood. In their nonsense children escape from that oppressive environment called "commonsense". In nonsense they can express their many

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1. Jersild A.T., Emotional Development in Murchinson C., Manual of Child Psychology, p.780
 2. Terman L., Psychological Sex Differences, op. cit., p.978. For further information on the psychology of children's interests in so-called "obscene" functions see Lowenfield, op. cit., pp. 119, 131, 134.

negative feelings about the adult world without having to suffer the continual rebuke that they are lacking in commonsense. Their humour and many of their parlour games give expression to this motive. The conventional orders of adult reality are made to appear ridiculous. Adults fall over, their seats give way, their trousers get wet. Such film clowns as Laurel and Hardy, the Three Stooges and Abbot and Costello derive much of their popularity with children from the fact that they are continually doing the wrong thing.

Nonsense, however, does not just arise from these negative grounds - (the children's sense of the oppressiveness of the adult world and their desire to distort it for fun). It arises also from more positive grounds. Children have a capacity for seeing the world in their own way, for making what adults would consider unusual associations. Generally these erratic associations are frowned upon by the adults and are soon drummed out of the children. I have found, in fact, that I have to make a special effort to pay attention to children's activities which are of this nature. My immediate reaction is, that these activities are nonsense and not worth listening to. I have all the conventional adult associations and consequently tend to disregard these associations of children as erratic. It is possible, by specialized attention, however, attention of the type that James Thurber gives to the serious activities of adults, to consider these associations of children as things in their own right and as evidences of mental exploration and adventure on the part of the children. The examples of such novel associations which I have

noted recently are as follows. Some children were riding in an almost empty tram and playing with the seats. One boy ran the knuckles of his hand across the wooden platters of the seat. His hand made a staccato noise. "I'm playing a whizz-piano", he cried. Here was a novel association between the whizzing sound and piano-key like platters of the seat. Again an eight year old chinese boy went by me rolling a round stone up and down his cheek. What are you doing, I asked. "I'm steam-rolling my cheek" he said, This was a novel association between the rolling action of the steam roller, the roundness of the stone and the smoothness of the stone on his cheek which no doubt resembled to him, the smoothness of the bitumen once the steam roller has been over it. These examples, and others given below indicate that children's "nonsense" represents not only a protest against adult authority but also an intrinsic interest in associations which are regarded by adults as unusual. As Jean Cocteau has written "The child shares with the genius this peculiarity of making the most unexpected and most rapid connections between things. This results in a shock, a spark, a flash of light which cannot happen when the mechanism of the mind jogs on with prudence."¹ Green adds, "He has for instance a clarity of associations which is not yet stunned by verbal labels nor blinded by self-regarding calculations."²

Many books about children give evidence of this capacity of children for novel associations. The books of Denton Welch

1. Quoted by Green G.F., First View .. Stories of Childhood, p.14.
 2. *ibid*, p.15.

are particularly revealing in this respect. See, for example, his "In Youth is Pleasure", "Maiden Voyage" and "Brave and Cruel". Other books which also have this merit are "First View" by G.F. Green, "House of Children" by Joyce Cary, "Dandelion Days" and "The Beautiful Years" by Henry Williamson, "The Shrimp and the Anemone" by L.P. Hartley, "A High Wind in Jamaica" by Richard Hughes, "Other Voices Other Rooms" by Truman Capote, "Carrots" by Jules Renard and "The Ballad and the Source" by Rosamund Lehmann.

Illustrative Material page 619 to page 671.

Note: Before presenting the following data, I wish to make it quite clear that I am in some doubt as to whether or not it is in the best taste to do so. I fully realize that this is a delicate matter. Nevertheless, I feel that no useful purpose can be served by ignoring these "plays" which have such a fundamental place in children's development. In giving examples in chapter five and in this chapter, I wish to show mainly, the complete normality of this type of behaviour. Naturally, no one would wish to present such material as this in any published work. It would be a sad reflection on our cultural limitations, however, if it could not be examples in a scientific thesis. The importance of this matter has recently been brought home to the teaching profession. In 1950 charges were laid against a number of public school teachers by members of a religious sect, because the schoolchildren taught by those teachers were found to be indulging in "immoral practices". Now the immoral practices referred to were such as are covered in these pages; practices which represent one of the normal preoccupations (if not practices) of the majority of children. Because these practices were in a sense normal it is clear that a lenient attitude was necessary towards the children. I document the following examples, therefore, in case at some future date they may be of use to any public body of people who wish to demonstrate that their children are not "immoral", only "normal".

The romantic sexless conception of boy girl relationships¹ portrayed in the William and Penrod stories appears a little removed from the facts. Sex play appears to take several forms

1. Of Richmal Compton and Booth Tarkington respectively.

It may consist in a mutual inspection of the sexual organs,
 "A Show Party" as Studs Lonigan¹ calls it or "playing dirty"
 or "You show me and I'll show you".² Naturally I have
 insufficient information to allow me to come to any conclusion
 about the frequency of this type of play. The reports I have,
 however, indicate that this play is more frequent in rural
 communities where there is more opportunity to play beyond
 the supervision of adults. Another form of sex play consists
 in boys displaying their penis's, either to each other or
 exhibitionistically in front of girls.³ There is an
 aggressive note in this type of play which links it with the
 material of Chapter 17 on He games. In other forms, the
 sexual interest is more indirect. As Betty Smith says, "A
 few hypocrites devised such evasive games as 'playing-house'
 or 'doctor'".⁴ Several^{adult} informants speak of games played by
 girls and boys which figured mock-intercourse which was meant
 to be an imitation of the intercourse of animals. One such
 game was called Roosters and Hens, another Bulls and Cows.
 In each game the male animal mounted on the back of the female
 animal. Significantly enough all reports of this type of
 play come from country areas. There were only several reports
 of homo-sexual play. It is interesting to note that there
 are an increasing number of references to homo-sexuality in

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1. Farrell J.T., Studs Lonigan, p.106.
 2. Smith B., A Tree in the Backyard, p.183. See also Huxley A., Antic Hay, Penguin, 1948, p.14.
 3. See for example Sargeson F., When the Wind Blows, p.13.
 4. Smith B., *ibid*, p.183.

more recent novels about children and youths.¹ This literary movement which was started by Alec Waugh's "Loom of Youth" will no doubt be accentuated by such publications as the Kinsey report. Indirect references to sex are more frequent. For example, when a girl's dress blows in the air, boys will claim they have seen a "poppy show". This is a widespread term. Another indirect sexual play is the universal practice of "zipping" amongst boys. In my experience, this is practiced more by boys in the 12 to 15 year age group than by primary school boys. In this play, boys attempt to rip open each others trouser flys. In some overseas reports they try as well to rip the buttons right off the other boys' fly.² This is a practice which may well have some relationship to the castration fears outlined in Chapter 17.

Boys' urinary play is widespread. This takes several forms. Lee mentions little boys piddling from side to side as they walk down the street; they are imitating watering carts.³ More often this play is reported to take place in the vicinity of the lavatory. It consists in seeing which boy can urinate over the lavatory wall, which boy can make his initials on the wall, which boys can send his stream the furthest horizontally, or which can send it the highest

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1. For example: Marshall Bruce, George Brown's Schooldays. Welch Denton, In Youth is Pleasure. Capote Truman, OthersVoices Other Rooms.
 2. Welch Denton, Maiden Voyage, London, 1946, p.68.
 3. Lee, op. cit., p.20.

vertically. Sometimes it takes more imaginative forms, as when boys imagine they are making forests on the side of the concrete lavatory walls. Children at one present day school spoke of urinating in the water tank to spite the teacher.

Some reports speak of "farting" competitions amongst boys. "The important thing was to have these at the right time, namely a little while after lunch. We would lie down in a ditch by the school. The loudest and the quickest was the winner, but you mustn't go too deep." (A country school in the twenties). "We ate peanuts and sultanas to prepare us for the duel". (A town school in the twenties). "I remember the chapion of my class. His great ambition was to "play" through 'Fight the good fight', but could never get further than Christ." (1900).

There is occasional report also of spitting competitions

Children often swear. The sources of their swearing are probably multiple and depend very much on the example given them by parents. It may be for them, as it is for parents,¹ a form of emotional release. It may also be, in effect an assertion that they are He-men, like the real men who swear.

There are some games in which the children pervert the game-terms in the direction of the obscene. In marbles, for example, there is report of marbles which were named pee-wees, piss-wees, stinkies, and bum squashers and of marble "pats" known as cunts. Children often pervert ordinary names towards

1. See Graves Robert, The Future of Swearing, London, 1936.

the obscene. For example, one teacher lamented the fact that he could not get his pupils to pronounce correctly the name of the river Wainakauru. They insisted on calling it the Wainacker - rua! obviously delighting in the use of the term 'hacker', a crude term for the genitals.

Obscene stories are in my experience a pre-occupation of secondary school boys rather than of primary school boys although they are not unimportant to the latter. Large numbers of obscene stories collected from one class of S.6 children in an Intermediate school, however, inclines me to the view that (in Intermediate schools at least) obscene stories have a quite important 'play' role in the lives of children under 13 years. The majority of the stories collected related to bodily functions. Some examples are: "Heard the one about the absent minded professor who pulled himself and wiped the chain?"; "Jack and Mike and Mustard (who were favourites also in the thirties) lived in a three story flat. Jack on the bottom, Mike on the middle floor and Mustard on the top floor. Well Mustard had no dunny, so he did it out the window and it landed on a copper's hat. The copper came to the first story and asked Jack if he did it and Jack said it might have been Mike. Mike said it was Mustard. The cop said you bloody liar, it's pure shit."; "A man had three daughters about twenty years old. One night three men came to his place. The first man said I'm Vance, come to take Nance to a dance. The second said I'm Joe come to take Floe to a show. The third said I'm Buck come to ---- but he was interrupted by the Old Man, GET OUT OF HERE!" The

majority of the other stories collected had some reference to the sexual function.

Obscene rhymes have been of interest to children in all historical periods. A few of the older ones have already been quoted in Chapter 5. Fifty children (30 boys and 20 girls) in an Intermediate S.6 class were asked for all the rhymes they knew. They contributed 45 different rhymes in all. Thirty of these were non-obscene rhymes, skipping rhymes, counting out rhymes etc. Of the 15 obscene rhymes, 9 referred to the excretory processes, and 6 to the sexual process. Conditions being favourable, the boys were later urged to give more 'obscene' rhymes. 21 additional rhymes were forthcoming. 16 of these referred to the sexual process and 5 to the excretory processes. This means that in the first class interview, the children gave more excretory rhymes than sexual rhymes, but in the second class interview (under more secretive conditions) this position was reversed. Probably it is legitimate to conclude, therefore, that the children regard the excretory rhymes as less serious offences against the laws of propriety. But these rhymes were taken from S.6 children. The majority of rhymes volunteered by children in the mid-primary years refer to excretion rather than sex. For example of 19 rhymes contributed by all the children in four classes S.1/4 in one decapitated school, 6 rhymes were obscene and all of these referred to excretion. It is possible that more intensive work with younger children would also bring to light more rhymes of a sexual nature. Nevertheless, even although that may be so, I believe it is true that on the whole

the younger children of the primary school are concerned mainly (in their rhymes) with excretion and the ~~other excretion and the~~ older children with sex. Elsewhere in conditions of great frankness (particularly on the West Coast). I still received mainly excretory rhymes from the children of the younger group. It is no accident, therefore, that the most universally known of all obscene rhymes are "Ink Pink Pen and Ink, I smell a big stink and it comes from a Y.O.U." and Red White and Blue, You dirty Kangaroo, sitting on a lamppost and doing number two." The obscene rhymes which have been reported are of various types. The majority refer to the excretory process. There is much mention of faeces, posteriors and lavatories. For example "Press the button, pull the chain, Out comes chocolate aeroplane" and "Me no see, me no savvy. Me pull the chain and go down lavvy". Some 40 excretory rhymes were collected. About 25 rhymes which referred to the sexual functions were collected. These refer mainly to sexual intercourse and parturition. For example: "I wish I was a baby dressed in clothes, to see Mummy's hairy tunnel where Daddy's puff puff goes."; "There was a young man from the Cape who tried to bumscrew and Ape. The ape said you fool. You'll buggar your tool and put my arse out of shape."; "Down in the valley nobody knows, there lies a woman without her clothes. Along comes a man as hard as a brick. Down with his trousers and out with his prick. Three months later, all was well. Six months later she began to swell. Nine months later with an ugh! and a grunt, six little whores (Pronounced who-a) jumped out of her cunt." There is a

small group of "Poetic" obscenities. These consist of obscene perversions of songs, parodies on poems and limericks. The song, "Around the Marble Arch" was widely known in the thirties as "Around the Barber's Arse". The song "Abdul a Bull Bull Amir" has been widely distorted. A parody on the poem the slaves dream begins "His¹ balls were bare, his matted hair, lay buried in the sand..." Apart from the limericks, the poetic obscenities appear to be mainly a concern of secondary school children. Some 20 limericks have been reported. One of the most obscene of these is "There was a young girl of Shalet, who lived on jerk-off and snot, When she couldn't get these, she lived on the cheese, she scraped from the edge of her twot." A few of the obscene rhymes collected centred on swear words. "Oh my finger, Oh my thumb, Oh my belly, Oh my"¹ "I don't swear, I don't smoke, I don't drink. Oh bugger it all, I've left my pipe in the pub." Several figure 'indelicate' words. "Fat and skinny were fighting for nuts, Patty gave skinny a punch in the guts." There are a few other rhymes which have a veiled obscene significance. Often these are "acceptable" variations of obscene rhymes. Presumably children chant the acceptable version to any parent who partially overhears them at the other. For example: "Red white and blue You noseey Kangaroo, Sitting on a Lampost and Looking at the View" Sometimes these acceptable versions may be said in front of parents, as a feat of daring and in order to promote underground mirth at the parent's expense. A well known one is "High on the mountain,

1. Sargeson C., op. cit., p.14.

green grows the grass. Down came a nanny goat sliding in his overcoat." Others do not have substitute terms, but have an indirectly obscene reference. For example "Cowardy cowardy custard, You mother's making mustard." Mustard here, may have, for some children, the same significance as it has in the above story of Pat and Mike. Last of all, there are the Romantic (obscene) rhymes which figure very largely in children's autograph albums and refer quite discretely to marriage, having children and kissing. For example: "The higher the mountain, the cooler the breeze. The younger the couple the tighter the squeeze." /

Children may also protest against the conventional orders of the adult world through nonsense jingles and rhymes involving a distortion of the adult orders of reality. An example of a nonsense rhyme is: "Yesterday at three o'clock this morning, an empty house full of furniture caught a light. The fire brigade came and put it out before it started. Ran over a dead cat and half killed it. Two naked men came running down the stairs with their hands in their pockets. Two dead men went to hospital all right." An example of rhyme distorting reality is "Pounds shillings and pence, The elephant jumped the fence. He jumped so high, He reached the sky, And he didn't come back till the middle of July." Another is "Poor Old Ernie's dead. He died last night in bed. They put him in a coffin and he fell through the bottom, Poor old Ernie's dead."

Plays of Protest through the assertion of the self, plays

of which adults seldom approve, may be expressed in a variety of ways. They may be expressed aggressively through fighting daring and torturing. They may be expressed provocatively in pranks, teasing, nicknaming and slanging. They may be expressed exhibitionistically through scribbling and initialling, and finally they may be expressed in defiance of adult authority as in smoking, and as in all the other activities included in the preceeding two major categories. It has been pointed out that the aggressiveness of boys is probably an offshoot of their uncertainty about the male role and the fact that all male culture heroes, Cowboys and All Blacks are supremely aggressive if heroic beings.

Aggressiveness is the boy's means of asserting that he also is a big He and not just a little 'baby'; it both reveals and covers his own uncertainty about the fact. That he is uncertain is evidenced by the fact that he must continually try himself out. As Froebel says "At this age the healthy boy, brought up simply and naturally, never evades an obstacle."¹ He must try the obstacle to see if he is really as tough as he hopes he is. Smoking, for example, is one way in which boys can demonstrate their manhood. Hall, Groos and the early² theorists emphasized the sensory side of this activity. They tended to neglect the 'social' importance to boys of having passed the test of being able to smoke. Boys also try themselves out by fighting other boys and daying other boys. Lee says,

1. Froebel F., Education of Man, p.102.

2. Groos, K., Play of Man, p.17; Hall S., Youth, p.101.

"Of all his quest for reality during the Big Injun age the child's most passionate search is in himself. He wants to be somebody and to be aware of it. It is for this reason that he is so obsessed to weigh and measure himself against all kinds of obstacles and especially against his own companions... He seeks the testimony of his contemporaries not alone because they are his natural rivals, but also because they are his severest judges and least corruptible."¹

Girls scratch and fight on occasions also, though it is significant that we associate the "I'll tell on you" with girls rather than with boys. In time of difficulty girls appear more ready to refer back to authority than boys are. More often than not the girls' aggressive assertion is expressed in verbal fashion, through teasing or teasing rhyme. This provocative teasing, plays one of the largest roles in the Plays of Protest. The large part played by these plays, indicates that the children have their own ways of learning some of the basic significances of life in a competitive culture. The culture demands independence and assertiveness from them, and yet does not show the children how to express their feelings of independence and of assertiveness on all occasions. In teasing children find their own expressions. With respect to Teasing Rhymes, however, it is not easy to understand why children should express the interests that underly these rhymes in the form of rhymes. It has already been noted that adults do not provide the children with any

1. Lee, op. cit., p.186.

satisfying symbols for their interest in sexual and excretory functions either; and that the children cast their interest of that sort into rhymed form also. That is both, the children's obscene loves and their teasing hates are rendered into rhymes. The reason for this "rhyming" may be as follows. In the early primary years there is an upgrowth of interest in words and their intellectual relationships, in riddle-mongering and word-puzzle games; in manipulating the sheer verbal confluence of sounds and word echoes in their diverse relationships. This 'verbal' interest and a feeling for rhythm is common to all children. The interest in expressing hate and love in terms of teasing and obscenity is also common in these years. But in varying degrees children are aware of guilt-feelings in connection with these later interests. Perhaps by construing the unacceptable interests in terms of the acceptable interests, the teasing and obscenity in terms of the rhymes, children are able to make a compromise between the complete rejection of these interests, which adults demand, and the interests themselves. They use one part of their nature, accepted by adults as beyond suspicion, to sugar coat another part of their nature rejected by adults. Not of course that adults are any more likely to accept the sugar-coating, the "dirty Kangaroo sitting on the lamppost doing number two" than they are a direct interest in faeces. That, however, is not important. The compromise is not one between children and adults, but between two portions of the children's nature. The children themselves have at this stage only partially accepted because they only

partly understand the adult rejection of any direct interest in basic functions. That the children's rejection is only partial rejection is indicated by the fact that children still do express these interests. The borderline jokes of adults serve a similar function. A direct expression of an interest in the obscene would be deemed unseemly. As long as it is cloaked in the tricks of language and the ^{guise} guess of humour it is acceptable.

Word rhymes, then, are group symbols for group feelings. These rhymes must be understood by reference not only to their content, but also to the way they are said. The incanting of "giddy giddy gout, your shirt's hanging out," is a case in point. The emphasis may be on the absurdity of the words and their meanings or upon the scorn with which they are said. In the first case the chanting is a matter of mirth, in the second, of invective. Obscene rhymes are occasions chiefly for mirth, at a new verbal arrangement of an old interest. (Occasionally they reveal a salacious zest for some new light on the 'facts'. Some boys will explode in the telling.)

(Others will look at you with volumes of surprise in their eyes and their round mouths. Girls will suck their bottom lips and look at each other with and indrawn "Oh" registering all over their face. There is a great wonder that what has been so long suppressed may now be told.)

Illustrative Material page 675 to page 692.

Fighting has already been covered in some detail in Chapter 5. It is the most obvious test of a boy's power.

There is some, but not much, reference to regularly arranged fights between boys even in the twenties and thirties (Ohatu, Napier). In the reports of the Training College students, fighting, after the fashion which was described in Chapter 5, more often occurs in isolated rural districts.

There are no stereotyped forms of daring. Daring arises in any place at any time depending upon the opportunities that arise to challenge the players....."the other boys had practically dared him to carry it out. That is enough for a boy. Dare him to do anything and he'll do it, if it is do-able"¹ "Neither threats nor appeals elicited an admission of guilt. He frowned and alleged, 'Henry Hercus dared me'. This seemed irrelevant, but gangsters have their own mental processes."² Examples: "We dared each other to go across a railway viaduct near home." (Johnsonville 35), "To fight a certain person" (Masterton 30), "To kiss a girl" (Pahiatua 38).

Children may use slang competitively. Children reported trying to out-slang each other (Sth. Wellington). To use slang about another person is to assert oneself over that person. Melville says "I have actually seen a dozen grammar school boys with their volleys of slang expressions indicative of contempt and ridicule, put a bunch of rooters for a college football team off their bleachers. This language of contempt is unmistakably dynamic. It goes right home and hits the

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1. Thompson Rev. M., The Bush Boys of New Zealand, p. 9.
 2. Combs F.L., The Harrowed Toad, p.21.

¹
 mark." Some of the slang expressions listed by children in two schools are: "Up the shoot, going eyes out, bullswool, go jump in the lake, that's a tall one, go and take a running jump at yourself, shivery dick, shiver me timbers, ninconpoop, phoo and phooey, you're telling I, got it on the brain, like smoke in a wheelbarrow" (Kaitaia), "Sheila, crow, bud, frig it, grub, holy moses, blast it, mole, balls to you, shut your face, I'll bounce you, go hang yourself, nerts to you, go bite your back, have a roll, fluff off, scram, ants in your pants, rag bag, a poke in the snout, a kick in the chops, you're bats, dronk, drongo, dill, dip, dippy, ya big lug, greetings gruesome, whose dented your beack. (South Wellington).

Scribbling and initialling are usually an assertion of the self. "When the temper is hardy and pugnacious, people may require nature as a buffer on which to rain their mighty blows and carve their important initials."² Scribbling enables a child to hurl some taunt at another child without necessarily suffering the consequences of his taunt. It provides the security of remote control. The child can write "Jack is mad" and have the satisfaction of recording his sentiment in a relatively permanent way, and have also security. Jack need not know that he did it. It is usually infant

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1. Melville A.H., An Investigation of the Function and Use of Slang, Pedagogical Seminary, Vol. XIX, No.1, 1912.
 2. Santayana, Epilogue on My Host the World, Horizon, Jan, 49, p.9.

children who draw faces and their own names on the pavement. In part their activity is a natural transfer from their newly found class room skill in printing. In my observation it is the children of the early primary years who use the pavement most for invective purposes. It is they, also, who perpetrate the relatively sophisticated scribble: "I am mad", which involves the perception of the relationship between the writer and the reader. Some teachers report that much of the pavement scribbling occurs at hop-scotch times. "John loves Jill" is a scribble which appears in the mid-primary years S.3/4. [Obscene scribbling where, it appears in the lavatories, appears to be the work of children of the upper primary school, secondary school and late adolescence. One informant reported that on one occasion their S.5 class was sent into the playground with instructions to write a poem. Later when all returned and the girls had read theirs, about the flowers, the wind etc., one group of boys could show nothing at all. Apparently they had written nothing and were punished because of it. In actual fact they had been occupied all the time on the composition of what they felt was a truly magnificent poem which one boy had started thus: "I've got a dog called Jock, And he's got a cast-ironed cock." After the punishment they still felt their poem merited some form of public recognition. But who could they show it to? Who? It was generally agreed that it would be hard to find any magazine that would print it. Finally, failing any alternative, it was decided to record the "beauty" for all time on the school latrine wall. And that was duly done. (1900).

Some primary children of a S.5 class reported scribbling "cocks" on each others' books and also drawings of girls which suggested they were about to have babies. Children of a S.6 class mentioned that one of their number had scribbled on a board at woodwork "Shit a brick, fart a crowbar, piss a tin of tacks." Most of the lavatory drawings I have seen figure parts of a womans body, a man's phallus, and often the male organ piercing a symbolization of the female organ. Occasionally there is the cryptic "Jerk off here!" The largest number of street scribbles, however, states simply that such and such a person is mad or that somebody loves somebody else. The initialling of desks seems to occur more at the pocket-knife age. That is, in the middle and later primary years although it also carries over into High School. "And what inward joy it gave to carve your initials on your own desk and smear the freshly made cuts with ink before the teacher could spot you." ¹ |

Nicknaming gives the nicknamer more intimate contact with the person so named. It gives the child a form of control over that persons character. Teachers can be reduced, in fancy, to a status that is appropriate to the child's wishful thoughts about them. A nickname puts a personal mark on the teacher every time it is re iterated. It registers ~~for~~ a personal sneer and provides for ever afterwards a respite for the nicknamer even when he is sorely oppressed by the object of his nickname. In addition nicknames are like stereotypes, and clinches. They are signposts for group solidarity. They

1. Blenheim S.J.M.

confirm a class or a portion of a class in its own group identity. The nickname is something they share. The terrifying thing about these nicknames, however, is that sometimes they follow quite irrelevant lines and brand a person for life. For example, it is reported that a boy who was an excellent rider in the jumping game of Monkey on the Bridge in which some boys mount the bent backs of other boys, is still known in his district as "Razor Arse" (and that thirty years after his school days). Teacher's nicknames generally derive from some aspect of their physique or nature. At one school the teachers are nicknamed as follows: Ole Ma Kirk (Kirkpatrick), Pansy face Beck (McBeth), Ole Ma Crowbar (Miss McCrone), Bruisy Bryant (Bryant), Munchy Maslem (Maslem -- this man has false teeth). The nicknaming of adults rightly comes under the heading of protest against adults. It is included here, however, because the greater part of children's nicknaming applies to other children.

When nicknaming centres on other children it takes a freer reign. Often nicknames are used in games, such as ball tag (Hokitika) to taunt the He. It is claimed that boys manifest aggressiveness through nicknames more than girls do. Girls are said to more often base their nicknames on affectionate characteristics.¹ The way in which a boy's name may change was indicated by the children at Hokitika. A boy Peter Nelson had been known for some time as Horatio. It was then discovered that his mother worked in a laundry, after which

1. Terman L.M., Psychological Sex Differences, ⁱⁿ Carmichael, Manual of Child Psych., p.971.

he became known as Nappy (or Napkins). The laundry burnt down. He was then known as Burnt Nappies. An informant writes of nicknames in his day, Petone 1903/14 as follows:

"Nicknames were of various derivations. Some were inherited such as "Honk or Onk Devine". The whole family of boys were known by this name as was the father. None of them knew the derivation but it was well before cars. Mr. Devine died when I was a child but his youngster son now in Invercargill is still "Honk". The H is established now but as I remember it originally the name was always Onk. But many then dropped their H's. Inherited names were not uncommon - Wagga Ward - because his father came from Wagga Aust. Then there were numerous names which tack to certain surnames anywhere in the world "Nobby Clark", for instance. The most interesting names were those given for no apparent reason. Jack Folk came to our school and within a few hours was known as Speedy Folk. No one seemed to know who gave it or why. He was not fast in any way and did not himself know how it happened. Others were Dooky Shardlow, Tot Cotton (I think this was just the rhyme Tot-cot). Seldom is a name thought out and given deliberately. When they are they are seldom apt and do not often stick. Feet Price was an exception. I asked him about it years after. One afternoon a group of kids decided to give each other nicknames. Half a dozen were given and forgotten within a week, but Feet remained for over twenty years though his feet were if anything smaller than usual. Harley Daniels was of unusual derivation. In the 3rd standard he wrote an essay which must have been very graphic. It was of an old gentleman

named Mr. Harley who wore a tophat and Daniels was known as Harley thereafter. So much so that though he was a friend of mine I cannot remember his correct name. Some boys seemed to collect nicknames in rotation or together. Redvers Senior for instance was usually called, "Day," I don't know why, neither did he. But also he was called "Hearty Bird," and several other names as equally inapplicable for he was not hearty nor particularly the reverse. There were many names given for opposite reasons - Jumbo Wild - was tiny. Tiny Wright was big. Sometimes this applied to fat and thin but not often. Fatty and Skinny Rider were properly named. I have been struck by the very acute definitions of the degree of fatness or thinness. Perky Allen, Fatty Rider, Puffy MacArthur, Puku Love (A Maori and Puku = Stomach). Then there is Slim Kidd, Skinny Smith, Boner or Cull Price, Bumper Wright. These names justly described the people concerned and could not be interchanged without spoiling. Girls practically never had nicknames but if they did, it was definitely an insult and so intended. Names from physical characteristics such as Limpy Jones, Cockeye Coutts were fairly common but not apparently intended as an insult nor did they appear to be so taken. I have seen Limpy put his name down that way. He just limped; he and we knew it, so what? That was the attitude. Anyone prominent in religion especially the smaller sects of the Salvation Army was known as Holy. The dirtiest girl in the school was known as Soapy Dab - Dab being short for her surname Davenport. The fact that her brother worked at the soap-works also helped but in our inmost hearts we knew it was

so fitting because she was dirty. Then there was Lizzie the blood-sweating Hippo. She really got that in full. This was because she was really Elizabeth and very large at the time that Wirths Circus came round with Lizzie the Blood-sweating hippo greatly advertised. Liz didn't mind till Robbie our teacher once called her that as a joke. It was then no joke.¹

Children may assert themselves by smoking. The sickness which is supposed to follow smoking is an exceptional rather than a normal occurrence. Most anecdotes, probably of a moralistic and cautionary origin, indicate the contrary. Lunn's statement that "in defiance of all tradition they had not been sick,"² describes the more typical state of affairs. Where there is any sickness it often follows from the fact that the children have treated the smoking as an endurance test, a competition between the smokers. It may, however, result from an overdose of cigar or pipe or bad tobacco.³ For example: "We found a pound of bad tobacco and all had some during the lunch hour. We were all sick and the school had to close for the day." (Takaka 1900). In earlier days the older boys at primary school probably attached more importance to this activity than do children today. The activity was severely punished it was, therefore, all the more of a venture. "We used to get tobacco off the Maoris who grew their own. The teacher would give us a hiding when we entered school cause he could smell the tobacco on us. But that didn't matter we

1. See also Waianiwa S.J.M., p.54; Papatawa S.J.M., p.4.

2. Lunn Arnold, The Harrovians, p.15.

3. See also Waianiwa S.J.M., p.126; Invercargill S.J.M., p.72.

smoked it just the same." (Takaka 1900). But then, until the World War, smoking was essentially a man's habit. Not a habit of adults as a whole. "Tobacco chewing, now an almost forgotten thing, was not uncommon among the older men."¹

There are no reports of tobacco chewing being important to N.Z. boys. There are no New Zealand parallels for Studs Lonigan who had the desire to be able to spit tobacco effectively because that represented for him the mark of the Man!² But if tobacco smoking is not such a 'manly' exercise today it is still practised with great frequency by school children. The commonest home-made tobacco mixtures mentioned in all reports is that which is made out of dock leaves. As one old identity reports "It was as good as some of the tobacco today." (Wakefield 75). Practically everything has been tried by children. Some other mixtures mentioned are: Dock stalks (Stoke), Dockseed (Waitara 90), Fur at top of fern tree where ferns come out - two puffs nauseated (Nelson 30), Rag (Palmerston Nth. 30), Clover and Dock leaves (Esk Valley 30), Puschia bark and Manuka bark with a little bit of cinnamon which gave it a nice scent (Nelson 95), Dried fern leaves (Granity 95), Straw (Nelson), Dry Supple-Jack - very hot (Charleston 90), Poplar root was good if dry but too hot (Nelson 1900), Rim of butcher's basket (Charleston 1900). Others are Dock and manuka with a drop of methylated spirits, totara bark, dried tea leaves, bamboo cane, dried pith from Elder trees, dry grass, dried maize leaves, pine needles, dried

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1. McKenzie N.R., op. cit., p.109.
 2. Farrell J.T., Studs Lonigan.

bull rushes, and last but not least "Dried horse dung cut plug" (Forbury). The pipes are of various makes. There are reports of clay pipes, bamboo and acorn pipes, old hard cabbage stems, reeds, empty fern sticks with burnt out corks, the red gum bole and a straw and many others. Wrappers are made from newspaper, the tissue paper from drawing books, toilet paper etc.

Torturing is of two kinds. In one type of torture individuals assert themselves over other children. In the other type the gang uses torture as a means of enforcing gang discipline and expressing gang aggressiveness. Examples of the first type are as follows: "Sticking fingers into a person's stomach, squeezing the muscles of the upper arm, twisting the arm behind the back" (Nelson), "In the arm stretch, two boys take hold of the arms of a third, ^{and} pull in opposite directions" (Kaitaia), "Chinese burns, full nelsons and hamalocks" (Karori), "A knuckle tattoo on the chest, dumping on back" (Collingwood), "Squeezing knuckles, pulling hair, horse bight, stuff their britches with grass, gorse or wet moss; punch in the chocolate which is called the paralysers" (the chocolate is the thigh) (Stockton), "Punch a person in exactly the same place everytime you meet him" (Levin 35). Of all the tortures, the Chinese burn, which consists in twisting the wrist, is the torture mentioned most frequently by Training College students.

Gang-tortures often consist of anti-swearing campaigns. "If anybody swore we would put horse dung in their mouth. If they told their parents we would do the same again, or alternatively roll them up in a rope and spin them down a bank.

The rope would unwind as they rolled" (Waimea 20). "When we ran out of something to do we would often set up taboos such as no swearing till lunch time. Anybody who broke the rule would be hit once by everybody else on the backside with a piece of bamboo. Half the fun consisted in breaking the taboo partly to see how much we could take, but first in order to run away from and be captured by the others". (Wellington 30). "We had turns at hitting each other on the backside to see who could stand it the longest" (Waimate 14), and also Manganskau 38). Gangs also torture prisoners who have been captured.

The most effective way that children have of asserting themselves, however, is by teasing other children. The ways and methods by which they carry out this teasing are endless. Anything which deviates a child¹ from the others may stimulate them to tease that child. Children are ever ready to find an object for their hostility. A teased object binds the group of critics into one, it confirms their individual hostility and gives them a sense of unified activity. The most picked upon child is the fat child. In a culture where many posters advocate the Hollywood type of build, and many women are conscious of their poundage, this is not surprising. Children tend to follow the prejudices of adults in criticizing others -- whether adults (foreigners) or children. Consider for example Billy Bunter who is said to have been the

1. See Isaacs S., Social Development in Young Children, p.277 See also Andrews Isobel, The First Day, Something to Tell, p.32; Douglas N., op. cit., p.149; Lunn Arnold, op. cit., p.10.

most successful character that schoolboy writing has ever had. He was nothing but a butt. "He had few praiseworthy qualities¹ other than the power to invite mirth." At Island Bay school, shortly after it was decided to call the new Wellington Zoo elephant "Maharani", I observed a mass of children gathered in a wide semi-circle round the play-shed crying in noisy unison, "Maharani" "Maharan eeeee" at a tearful fat girl caged in the centre of the shed. Other types of children who are reported frequently as school butts are, children who fly into violent tempers, that is, children who lose control of themselves, mentally deficient children, foreign born children, or children whose parents were foreign born or have a foreign name. For example "Upon finding that certain boys could be provoked to such a stage of temper that they would chase and attempt to belt the daylight out of their antagonists, we consciously began to do this, picking on a boy who couldn't run very fast to be the object of teasing. The game was generally commenced by calling the boy names or passing some verbal or physical insult then running away." (Wellington 25). Children at Collingwood reported picking on each other in turns. Each boy would come in for a drubbing. They would throw his bag up the manhole, put ink on his seat, give him the "stretch"² and generally "give him the works" in other ways.

Teasing takes various forms. It may consist of physical teasing tricks, verbal teasing tricks, teasing

1. A "yarooh!" from Bunter is history. Turner E.S., Boys Will Be Boys, p.203.

expressions and teasing rhymes. There are innumerable examples of each type.

Examples of Teasing tricks from early times are:

Kick Donkey Kick in which a player was blindfolded, led round and allowed to kick other children. Finally he was led up to a door and left there to kick at it until some person came out. (Moeraki 95). Others are, "A pin in the toe of one's kicking boot, a piece of stale meat in a rival's pencil case, rice shot through a pea shooter, a push over a bending back." (Waitara 99) "What's a ship do when it comes into harbour?" "It ties up", and then flip out their tie" (Dunedin 15). "We'd get a boy to play the Golden Rule. We all put our caps down and then had a race around the building. One boy lagged behind and removed all the caps except the cap of the newcomer. He was allowed to win the race. When he arrived at the end he found his cap full of horse shit." (Dunedin 70). "Putting the seed of the oat down a person's neck. We called them animated oats." (Dunedin 75).¹

Common physical tricks today are the following. "Letting down bicycle tyres" (Napier). "Tell a person his button is missing and then when he looks down run your finger up and catch him under the nose." (Denniston), "Point your finger into a person's face and tell them to look round" (Dobsen), "Tie flax across the entrance to bamboo bushes to trip people up" (Nelson). This latter trick is practically universal.

1. Anderson J., Old Christchurch, p.423 has further examples.

"Chasing people with a rubber spider" (Hokitika), "Tell two people about a fish you caught. One day it was this long. The next day it was that long. And on the word that, extend your hands to hit them in the faces." (Hokitika).

There are other teasing tricks which are partly of a physical and partly of a verbal nature. "We would look at a girl's hair for a moment and then say in a shocked voice 'You have things in your head -- they are white and they bite. On her replying. Oh I haven't. We would jeer. Oh haven't you any teeth?' (Palmerston 10), "Take hold of a person's arm and rubbing it say - Skin a rabbit, skin a rabbit chop him off here - and at the word here, deal the person a blow on the inside of the arm opposite the elbow" (Rockville 95, Mangitainoka). "Tap a finger on their head and say head, tap on left eye and say chicken, tap on right eye and say Rooster, pull nose and say Pullit." (Mangitainoka). "Oh look there's a spider on you. That made you look" (St. Clair). "Do you like lollies? Go upstairs and kiss your dollies" (Forbury). "Just saved you. Give them a push and then grab them back" (Karori). "Extend your hand. Say -- Smell the cheese then as they stop to smell, slide your other fist along your hand into their face" (Nelson). "See my finger (hold it up) See my thumb (ibid). Watch my fist (ibid). Here it comes - and punch them" (Stockton). "Do you know the latest out? No. What? Your shirt." (Collingwood).

Teasing expressions include the following examples, "Go and play trains in a wheelbarrow", "Go and tell your mother she wants you" (Kaitaia). In reply to the statement

'Shut-up' say "I wasn't shut up I was bou^hup." (Waikouaiti)
 "If they forget something, say, put your head out and see
 if you're awake" (Forbury). "You can't knock a flea off a
 piece of sticky paper" (Forbury).

Teasing rhymes have been known in all historical periods
 and represent one of the main methods of individual and group
 attack. "The battle cries of children often become formalized
 and they belong to folklore as do songs, games, proverbs and
 riddles."¹ The most universal of all teasing rhymes is

"Giddy giddy gout your shirts hanging out, five miles in and
 five miles out,"² and the most universal response "Sticks and
 stones may break my bones but names will never hurt me." Some
 other examples from early days are "Skin a ma links, and lanky
 legs and big banang feet" (Nelson 75), "Get a bit of pork and
 stick it on a fork and give it to the Jew boy Jew" (Dunedin 75/80),
 "Tell tale tit your tongue shall be split and all the little
 puppy dogs have a little bit" (Palmerston 10).

Most of the teasing rhymes centre round the things
 children dislike, such as staring, copying, lying or around the
 personal characteristics of certain children (such as fatness,
 thinness, hair colour) or around things children regard as
 weaknesses (such as crying and "sissiness"). Examples of dis-
 liked activities are: "Have a good stare. By the way you
 remind me of a bear" (Westport), "Heh you copy cat. You dirty
 rat" (Wellington), "Stare stare like a bear, sitting on a

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1. Stimson A.K., Cries of Derision, *Jnl. of Am. Folklore*,
 April, 1945, Vol. 58, No. 228, p. 124. See also Smith M.W.,
 Cries of Derision - A Cultural Trait, *ibid*, No. 229, p. 255.
 2. See Lee J.A., *op. cit.*, p. 237.

monkey's chair" (Nth. East Valley), "Cry baby cry. Stick your finger in your eye and tell your mother it wasn't I" (Takaka), Personal comments, "Fatty in the teapot, Skinny in the spout, Fatty blew off and blew skinny out." (Kaitaia), "Jenny funny, Jenny fat, hit her in the tummy with a baseball bat" (Papakura), "How long ago did you cut your wig you big fat pig" (Forbury). There are in addition many other rhymes of a provocative nature, intended to provoke anger in other children. "Clear the track for the maniac" (Wellington South), "You big bumble bee, you couldn't catch a flea" (Forbury), "Ole Tommy Conaldson, Is a bit of rusty tin Go stick him in the rubbish tin, and there'll be nothing left of him" (Nelson), "Inky pinky ponky, you're a dirty donkey" (Granity).

There are special times for certain teasing rhymes. For example: April Fool has already been mentioned. "A pinch and a punch for the end of the month" is universal.

Some teasing rhymes play on the boy-girl difference. "Boy boy boy, you big saveloy" (Nth. East Valley). "Young Jean lies over the ocean, young Joan lies over the sea, Young Ann lies just round the corner, Oh what liars these women can be" (Hokitika), "Little boys are made of slugs and snails and puppy dog tails, Little girls are made of sugar and spice and all things nice." (Palmerston 1900).

Occasionally teasing rhymes centre round School House differences. "Green green you're the best ever seen. Red red you don't go to bed, Yellow yellow you dirty fellow, Black and white you dirty skite" (Denniston).

Many rhymes are focussed on the child's parents and

other adults. The majority of these attack the mother which is probably an indication that children feel it is a deeper slight to have their mother insulted than it is to have their father insulted. The rhyme "You're mad you're barmy, your mothers' in the army" is universal/^{as is} "Cowardy cowardy custard, your mothers' made of mustard. To make your mother dance put ants in her pants" (Forbury). Some centre about men. There are the rhymes about Michael Finnigan, Dirty Dan and Baldy's teeth. It is interesting to note that all these men are disreputable old men.

Altogether 55 teasing rhymes were reported. It is noticeable that girls share in the purveying of these teasing rhymes more than they do any of the other Plays of Protest already mentioned.

Plays of Protest which consist in an assertion of the self through the activity of one's gang include: gang fighting initiation, coventry, general activities, forts and secret codes, set activities and secret languages and codes. In Plays of Protest, as in He games, individuals seem better able to reject society if they have the support of their age-mates. In He games the need for the support of others when rejecting the He and asserting the self gave rise to Help-He games. In Plays of Protest the same need for the support of others, in rejecting adult authority, and convention and in asserting the self is manifested in Gangs. Gangs arise out of Packs as naturally as team games arise out of Help-He games. Gangs are much the same as Packs only their organization, like the

organization of teams, is more clearly defined and their purposes are less imaginary and more serious.

In the gang the hostility and the aggression of the individuals, discussed above, is 'writ large'. The Gang fortifies itself by displacing the hostility of the individual members onto objects and groups outside the gang and by permitting new members to enter only after severe¹ initiatory tests which serve as a release for group hostility as much as a test for the initiate. As long as the gang as a whole has a common focus outside the group then the solidarity of the gang is unquestioned. "It is not only in its initiation that group loyalty has to rely upon the mechanism of displacement, but throughout its history."¹ Gangs are not, however, always able to unify the group by turning this aggressive feeling outwards. Often the aggressive play becomes inverted and directed onto the very structure of the group itself. The 'aggressive' power which normally binds the group ceases to bind and begins to destroy.² In the initial stages of such self-destruction (which may never develop past these initial stages) the members of the gang, tease, test and torture each other. They do this to see if the individual members tested can hold fast to the postulated standards of the group even under pressure. Often standards are invented by the group especially for the occasion. The standards are usually suggested by a leader who is capable of enforcing

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1. Isaacs S., op. cit., p.254. Roheim is quoted as holding the view that the out-group onto which the gang projects its hostility, is always a replica of the father figure, and the group conflict a repetition of the oedipus theme. Symonds P.A., op. cit., p.97.
 2. Our Street, Chap.8, Four is Company, Sutton-Smith B.

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 them and are sometimes a violent and temporary incorporation into the gang of their interpretation of the standards of adult society. Consider the example given below of 'no swearing till lunch time'. All the members of the gang attempt to flout the rules without being caught at the same time as they punish severely ~~any~~ many of their members they can catch breaking the rules. Anna Freud claims that this is "a kind of preliminary phase of morality .. the internalized criticism is not as yet immediately transformed into self-criticism."² The rules are used for the criticism of others rather than for the evaluation of themselves, and they are acted upon as the child fears a powerful and vengeful adult might act upon them. The harshness with which the gang members exercise their standards upon each other is an index of the extent to which they fear a similar harshness may be imposed upon themselves by adult society. It is also an indication of the 'weakness' of their real link with the other members of the group. That groups can at times become parasitic on themselves is an indication that the restrictions imposed by the group bond are not as yet suffered easily by the individual members.

These tests of group steadfastness are to be found cropping up incidentally in other group play. In the widespread rhyme "Silence in the court, the monkey wants to talk, the first

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1. For the characteristics of leaders see Hurlock E.B., The Exptl. Investigation of Children Play, op. cit., p.56.
 2. Freud A., The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defence, p.128.

one to talk, is the monkey", a group tests out, among other things, its own ability to act together as a group. Some Parlour games also involve this motive.

But Gangs are unified not only by the diverse applications of hostility. They are unified also by common pursuits of a non-aggressive nature such as are outlined in the chapters which follow this one. "Each exists for the sake of a definite set of activities," says Puffer, "to play games, to seek adventure, to go swimming, beating and playing Indians in the woods, to make mischief, to steal, to fight other gangs."¹ Gangs are unified by these activities just as they are predisposed towards them by the 'Pack' psychology of boyhood.

The Gang is unified also by the possession of a Fort. This is a new venue where all the consolations and virtues of the old abode can be carried forward into the new life. In addition by having a fort, a Gang can carry out and devise its plans for Plays of Protest in secrecy. Secrecy is a key note in Protest activities. The Protest against adults must be carried on without their cognizance even if the adults ultimately feel the effects. Girls' sets or 'cliques' indulge in secrecy more than boys. Their rebellion against the home does not reveal itself as a frontal attack upon the externals of authoritative society. It is rather a matter of secret whispering, secret codes and passing of notes. Out of school hours girls have far less opportunity and inclination than boys to roam long distances and gain unity by common endeavour against

1. Puffer J.A., The Boy and His Gang, p.24; See also Furfey P.H., The Gang Age, p.131.

natural obstacles. They have therefore fewer opportunities to express their Protest out loud. A boy builds his castle away from home. A girl must build hers within it. No wonder therefore that in set play, secrecy is the girls' emphasis, for, in experience, independence must be established by the girls virtually right under their mothers' noses, and yet without their cognisance.

But in the love for secret languages both boys and girls share the love of all children (and of all mankind)¹ for word magic. Through the secret language the initiated can wield magic power over the uninitiated. The knowledge of the right word gives the initiated power, just as the knowledge of the right name gives Queenie power (Chapter 18), just as the right number gives mysterious power to the He picked by a counting-out rhyme. In word magic the imagination is dominant. The question of wording is, however, discussed more fully in the next chapter in connection with the guessing games of chance.

Illustrative Material page 696 to page 703.

Much of the gang fighting within schools is only a more aggressive form of the Pack game dramatic conflict of the last chapter. In addition, however, because Gangs tend to be of a more stable nature than the Packs, often their conflicts take on the nature of realistic feuds, rather than sporadic dramatic play. The organized sports and decapitation of recent years have, of course, tended to redirect group energies and break up the stable group formations which are the basis of this type of

1. See Ogden C.K. and Richards I.A., The Power of Words, in The Meaning of Meaning, Chap. 2.

play. Many examples of Gang conflict have been given already in Chapter 5. Other examples are, "Different gangs took different sides in the paper chase." (Riwaka 00), "Each gang had a corner of the playground. Captured prisoners were held by force and by force alone. There were torn shirts and fingers bent back. When enough prisoners were caught they would break out by force" (Forbury 15), "When there was a gang quarrel we lined up in two lines in the gravel pit for an all in fight" (Nelson 00). Differences of school, religion and locality are the most frequent bases of gang rivalry. As has been mentioned in the conclusion to Section 1 there is less of this rivalry play today. Instead often little is to be found but the attenuated rivalry that is contained in such teasing rhymes as "Karori^{Main} has got no brain" to which the children of Karori Main reply, with some lethargy, "Karori West as such a pest."

Initiation ceremonies have been mentioned in Chap. 5. A few of more recent brew are, "We would take the boys, and sometimes the girls trousers down and spit on their privates", (Taita 10), "New boys were taken down to the creek by the school and stuffed with wet grass" (Makirikiri 38), "We blackened their faces with burnt cork" (Levin 36). In these cases it is the school which "gangs" up on the newcomer. Private gangs, may use similar methods. Generally speaking, however, there has been a noticeable lack of reports on the initiation techniques of private gangs. This arises probably from the fact that private gangs are most often neighbourhood groups in which the individuals grow up together. There seldom is any need for initiation,

because there seldom is really any new entrants to the group. Of course the group is constantly testing and torturing its own members, by daring and by the methods of torture indicated above, but that is not initiation. Initiation in fact seems to be more characteristic of large groups, schools, boarding school groups, and hostel groups. These are groups which are not firmly welded together. There is a large amount of uncertainty amongst the members about their identification with the group as a group. The aggressiveness of their initiation rites often seems to reflect the eagerness of separate individuals to identify themselves with the group. Hostility to an outsider is a denominator, which they all have in common. A lack of group experience, in and out of school, therefore, may be one of the reasons why the school groups of the earlier days were more hostile to newcomers.

Coventry is a group mechanism which is a little too sophisticated for most children. There is only one report "Sending to Coventry" meant a refusal to speak, play or touch some child for a specified length of time. It was seldom invoked, for though children are cruel, they are not often constructively cruel like this. Also it was too often suggested by teachers, which of course made it null and void. A child might stay away from school and bring down our average attendance - which might eventually count against the school's grading. The teacher would suggest we send the culprit to coventry - and it was never done. Occasionally a gang would send someone to coventry but as that applied only to the gang it was ineffective because a rival gang would then make much of

him." (Petone 03).

Gang activities may include any of the games mentioned in this Section. They include particularly the activities mentioned in the next two chapters. Typical accounts of gang activities are the following, "The boys of the neighbourhood formed a loose gang. Probably because none of us had sisters near our own age, girls did not enter into our games to any extent, although we always took any chances we had of teasing local girls. Apart from the beach nearby (tig and hide and seek) and the streets, our only rural play area was a belt of pine trees (gang fights and tree climbing) among which we built forts with pieces of tin and timber and where we smoked our cigarettes. Bows and arrows were also used in this area but not to the same extent as shanghais" (Musselburgh 38), "Our gang had very few rules. We would collect beer bottles to sell, we collected also ergot and fungi, went bird nesting, built a swimming pool by damming a creek, and built a manuka shed for changing our clothes in. We smoked leaves or matchsticks in cigarette paper." (Nuhaka, Hawkes Bay 40), "Our gang had the parts of old radios in its fort, just to impress anybody we captured with our city wide network, We had a red triangle as our sign. We raided orchards and stole small articles from Woolworths" (Lower Hutt 40), "We met every night down at the swamp. But it didn't last long" (Westport 33), "The Black Hand gang had its secret code. The main aim was to beat other gangs to the best trees in the bush" (Christchurch 32).

An essential part of gang life consists in fort or hut

building. This aspect of boys' group life has already been considered in the previous chapter. Every gang naturally desires to build a fort as invincible as that of Martin Track of the "Dreadnought"¹. As Kipling says, "In summer all right minded boys built huts in the furze hill behind the college -- little lairs whittled out of the heart of prickly bushes, full of stumps odd root ends and spikes, but since they were strictly forbidden, palaces of delight."² And at Wellington College in the eighties the boys were as "right-minded" as Kipling would have^{had} them be. "At the back of the College was the same dense scrub growing on the high ground, with little pinus insignis dotted here and there. It was amongst this scrub, and sometimes in the gorse, that we constructed manuka houses or whares, into which we used to retreat and hatch mischief. Some of these "houses" were elaborate affairs, having a roof and walls of interwoven manuka. The floor was usually levelled and made comfortable with bundles of scrub. The charm of these retreats lay in their privacy"³. Other examples are, "We built forts at about 11 years, with elaborate underground fortifications. We had vigorous clod fights with well baked clay and had also occasional frontal attacks when long lianas of rambling roses were employed as whips. At 12 we built a scrub hut, and used it for a smoking hide-out. Later we converted a disused fowl-house and slept in it (one night)" (Portobello 55), "Huts of pine needles" (Karori), "Huts in Bamboo" (Mt. Eden).

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1. For details see Turner E.S., op. cit., p.163.
 2. Kipling Rudyard, Stalky & Co., p.1.
 3. Leckie F.M., Early History of Wellington College, p.134.

Quite a number have reported secret languages with their gang play. For example, "Our particular form was to take the first syllable only of a word or if a long word perhaps take two syllables and add Ara. Thus to take a sample: 'Are you going to the pictures tonight' became 'Ara yara gara tara the Para tara t' nara.'. In my mother's day they used the form 'irigo' in place of ara. The same sentence was rendered: 'Arigo yurigo girigo tirigo thirigo pirigo tirigo nirigo." (Petone 3) "The first and last syllables were distorted. Thus time became "Tut-i-mum". (Collingwood 95). "I remember many such languages. One gang would attack another for daring to speak its language" (Christchurch 05). "Some of the children of our school used to talk gibberish. It consisted of removing the first letter from each word and tacking it on to the end. Thus boot became ootbay, and, lend me your pencil became: endlay, eemay, oaryay, encilpay" (Waitara 95) "Every gang had its secrete language. No self respecting gang could speak without ury at the end of a word. "Wiry, williry goiry homiry." Ordinary members would have this -iry language, but the leaders would also have a letter language. For you, they would say Y-pip. O-pip, U-pip." (Dunedin 75). "We removed the first consonant, added it to the end of the word and added -way. Boot became Ootbway. These languages were considered worthwhile but they took too much trouble for us to take them too seriously." (Gisborne 85).

Girls Sets carry out many of the activities of boys' gangs. They do, however, display a far more intensive interest

in secrecy, in secret languages, codes, signs, badges and plans. Much more information of these types was reported by women and girls than by boys and men. For example, "Some of the older ones who knew each other well had a Set at the Preparatory school. I only remember it because we did have a secret language - a very ordinary sort of one, merely reversing the first two letters of each word. It wasn't much of a success because if said quickly it was too puzzling even to the members of the set, but if said slowly it was too easy for outsiders to pick up." (Dunedin 90), "Writing secret notes with a pin or hawthorn prickles on laurel leaves, then stuffing them down ones clothes, the words brown after a time. Also writing in milk, which is held to the fire or candle, till the letters show brown." (Nelson 80). "In our code the vowels are numbered 1 to 5 and the rest of the letters number from 6 onwards beginning with b." (Collingwood). "The letter A equals the letter Z, the letter B equals the letter a, and so on" (Remuera). All the reports of secret codes and languages come from girls in the Upper primary years.

The activities of the Set are sometimes like the activities of the gang and sometimes like the activities of girls' Pack games. For example, "You have two sides with dens. Each side takes prisoners and tortures them till they reveal their code. Each side has treasure hidden with lots of codes in it. Other codes would reveal where the treasure was" (Remuera), "We had a triangular flag which was divided into two. Half was white and half was red. We signalled danger

with this flag. Our main occupation was unlocking doors. Our leader had a bunch of keys, about 20 or 30. We went round trying doors to see what we could unlock. We had spies who wrote notes to the leader. We all had nicknames like Bubbles, Fluff, Ricks and Chips" (Mt. Eden), "The rules of our gang were, betray no secrets, attend all meetings or give a good excuse for not doing so, do not mix with the enemy except when finding out secrets, wear all the robe when attending meetings, be loyal to fellow members, give your enemies no peace." (Mission Bay). "We are the pirate gang. We have a meeting place and a skull and cross bone badge. Our password (this was told to me under oath) is "treasure". We tell the younger ones fibs so that they will mislead the boys who are trying to find out about us. We have a code" (Collingwood).

CHAPTER TWENTYONE

THE COMPETITIVE CLUE

Intellectual Skills.

This chapter, the succeeding chapter and the preceeding chapter, take the discussion of children's games onto a different plane.

The first four chapters were about play which was of a dominantly imaginative nature (Chapters 14 to 17). The intermediary chapters (chapters 18 and 19) were about play which was partly imaginative and partly concerned with the realistic acquisition of skills. These last three chapters (Chapters 20 to 22) pass from, what might be termed, the domination of imagination in play to the domination of realism. It is a transition from the lower to the upper primary school with the turning point occurring at about the ages of 9 to 11 years.

Others have described this age of transition as an age in which the child sees the adult in a new light"in the light of his own dawning understanding of work (he) sees his parents as workers and is drawn close.¹" This new light

1. Bailey C.L., An Analysis of the Ideals of Some N.Z. Primary School Children, M.A. Thesis, V.U.C., 1929, p.45. See also Findlay J.J., The School, London, 1911, p.88.

on adulthood, however, does not come as a sudden change. The new awareness is expressed first tentatively in Leader and Pack games. The realism of the older children's games is based on this experience in Leader and Pack games and also on the children's experience in the intermediate He and imitative games, as well as on their experience in the intermediate games of physical skill which are discussed in the next chapter. In the Upper primary school, as the children begin to understand the adult approach to work so they begin to understand the adult approach to play. The adult approach to play, however, is typically a narrow approach, an approach dominated by sport. Fortunately, for a time, the children's acceptance of the adult's narrow idea of play is mitigated by the fact that the children are not, as yet, fully adults and they have not, in consequence, completely thrown off their natural conception of play as a dominantly imaginative concern. Their new acceptance of the adult world is expressed at first in many activities which have a realistic note about them but are not too restricted by that note, meccano, hornby, fretwork, woodwork, stamp-collecting, hobbies, tramping, hunting, cooking, sewing and knitting. The children's acceptance of adult realism, however, is expressed most characteristically in their acceptance of competition as the fundamental element in play. By the time they have reached the upper primary years children have had sufficient experience to have become aware that competition is perhaps the dominating incentive in Western Culture.¹ "It is apparent that from two

1. Symonds P.M., The Dynamics of Human Adjustment, p.108.

years of age upwards the pattern of our life is drawn largely in terms of an almost unceasing effort to excel..our is.. a society in which the child who can hardly talk has already learned that among the sweetest of life's satisfactions are the satisfactions of individual prestige.¹ The upper primary school children's awareness that competition is so important is expressed in the fact that practically all their games are of a competitive nature. Their games of skill, physical and mental, their games of chance, their parlour games and team games, all have competition as their common denominator. Competition, or contest, between individuals and groups is in fact the essence of the great majority of games in Western culture, although not of all of them.² As far as children are concerned competition enters only incidentally into their imitative games and scarcely at all into some of their formal singing games. Everywhere else, however, it is an important constituent. He, Leader and Pack games are all games of contest. The Plays of Protest are nearly all the result of the aggressive competitive spirit, even if they are not always based on formal competition. But in the earlier chapters, the competitive element has not been stressed because it was felt that other motives were of equivalent if not of greater importance.

In the games of this chapter and the next the competitive motive is considered to be the most important.

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1. Prescott D.A., Emotion and the Educative Process, p.147.
 2. McBride P., The Philosophy of Sport, London, 1932, p.7.

Most of the discussion in these chapters, however, is given to the subsidiary motives which serve to distinguish these competitive games from each other. This chapter deals with intellectual skills and the next chapter deals with physical skills. The development which occurs in these skill games and the sex differences revealed in them are considered at the end of the next chapter. In this chapter games of Intellectual Skill, Games of Chance and Parlour games are described, then explained.

Illustrative Material page 707 to page 722.

The games of intellectual skill which are dealt with here include: children's humour, riddles, smart answers and smart sayings, clever tricks, games of intellectual alertness¹ and superstitions.

Children's intellectual games include games which involve an interest in humour. Parlour games, for example, include a large number of games in which laughter is a constituent of the game. In these games children compete with laughter. Examples of the children's interest in obscene humour have already been given. By and large, however, humour is a quality of games rather than a formal constituent of them; there is fun and laughter in taunting the He or outwitting the Queenie, there is laughter in imitative caricature.

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1. There are, of course, many other intellectual games of which I received no reports. For an account of some of these see, Gullen F.D., Traditional Number Rhymes and Games.

Informally, of course, there is a certain note of game-like competition in the way in which children will compete to see who can tell a new joke or obscene rhyme. An example of this nature was quoted in Chapter 5.

Riddles are a form of intellectual game. Old identities speak of Cole's Funny Picture Book as a source for many of these (Akaroa 00, Dunedin 90). Examples are endless. "One of the popular riddles during the Boer War, was "Why does Kruger wear red, white and blue braces?" Answer, 'To keep his trousers up'. (Waitara). "Why is a girl rolling down a hill like a revolving lighthouse?, Sometimes you see it and sometimes you don't" (Takaka 70). "Spell hungry horse in four letters .. M.T.G.G." (Hamerston 10). "A riddle, a riddle a farmer's riddle, Alive at both ends and dead in the middle ... A man ploughing with a team of horses." "What is it that cannot go up the chimney up nor down the chimney up; but it can go up the chimney down and down the chimney down....An umbrella" "A little lady with a red red head and a white white gown. The longer she stands, the shorter she grows, Come a riddle, come a riddle come all bandy Joes A lighted candle." (Moeraki 00).

More recent examples are, "How many letters in the Alphabet? Twenty-four, because U and I aren't there, or Twenty-five because T is rationed". "How many sides to a circle The inside and the outside." "What is a square ring...A boxing ring". (Karori). "What did one street say to another street....Meet you at the corner". "What cot can't you sleep inApricot" (Christchurch Normal). "When is

a door not a door....When its ajar". "When is a horse not a horse....When its turned into a paddock". (Terrace End 38). "What is the difference between a snake and a flea?.....A flea crawls on someone's else's belly, a snake crawls on its own." (Miramar 38). "Can you catch it? (Cat's shit) Can you dodge it? (Dog's shit)" (Wellington 25).

Children's intellectual interests are expressed also in innumerable smart answers. These constitute a type of intellectual game. Examples, When a child says, "Don't Care" the other child can smartly answer back, "Don't care was made to care, Don't care was hung, Don't care was put in a pot and boiled until he was done." (Palmerston 00). "When two people met a common expression would be 'What Ho! she bumps!' to which the other person would reply, 'When she bumps she bruises'. (Who 'she' was nobody knew, but the ritual was always repeated with due solemnity) (Waita 99). Perhaps the most common of all smart answers is, 'You know what?'¹ What? ('You're a nigger and I'm not') Others frequently mentioned by Training College students were: Heh! (in the next paddock); What? (Before my time); You're mad (I know you are); Heh? (Good for the donkeys); You'll get in trouble Why? (For sitting on a rusty bubble); Joan! Yes. (Joan Brown); Say why. Why? (Because I want you to); How? (Not so bad thanks); Why why why why? (He's on first base); Know what. What? (You're mad and I'm not); Why? (Because Y's a crooked letter and Z's no better.) Examples from schools today are: I'll throw you one (You couldn't throw as far as

1. The smart answers are given in the brackets.

I can spit), (Forbury); Well? (Yes you find water in it), (Hokitika); What's the time? (Half past nine, hang your britches on the line), (Hokitika); In addition at Nelson they add "What's the time, (Ten to ten, time to bring them in again); What's the clock say? (Tick Tock), (Kaitaia); Whats the time? (Daytime), (Kaitaia).

As well as these smart answers there are innumerable smart sayings which may or may not be phrased in the form of a question. Examples: I can pick your face but I can't pick your nose (Denniston), Cross my heart and hope to die (Dobsen), Good story, bad grammar, now then, stop the clamour (Denniston), Your fathers coming out of prison. This is said when a child's toe is poking out of its sock (Redwoodtown 40), Want a lollie? Go upstairs and kiss your dollie; Do you want to come to my party? There'll be apples and jelly and a kick in the belly (Horowhenua 39), Ceylon, Abyssinia Samoa, which means - So long I'll be seeing you some more (Wellington 35), Half a dollar and I'll give you my life story (Wellington 40), 2 Y's U R, 2 Y's U B, I C U R, 2 Y's 4 Me. (Wellington 25), You've got a medal -- when a fly button is showing (Wellington 35).

There are also tricks with words. Forexample The story of the hidden rivers: Ohau - (Oh how can I cross the great river), Waikanae (Why can I not swim to the shore), Otaki (Oh take yee a boat and gently row), Manawatu (In the manner what you did before), Oroua (Oh row away gently, for life in a boat), Horowhenua (is simply a horror when you are afloat), (Wellington 70). Then there is the widespread but

spurious latin sentence which begins "Infirtaris, in mudeelis".

There are other tricks which children play upon each other which also involve an intellectual element. A common one is for a child to say that he has eleven fingers. He counts his fingers up to 10. Then counts backwards, ten, nine, eight, seven, six and five fingers on the otherhand is eleven (Karori, McCandrew). Others are, "I can carry everything round this room" "You can't". Whereupon the boaster writes the contents down on a piece of paper and carries them round the room" (Nth East Valley), Can you jump a matchbox? Yes. The questioner puts the matchbox against the wall. Examples of teasing tricks of the same nature were given in the previous chapter.

Examples of games of intellectual alertness are given in connection with Parlour games.

Children's Supersitions are also a type of intellectual game, an amusement rather than an expression of fear. Their supersitions consist in seeing certain things, saying certain things and doing certain things on the appropriate occasions. Over and over again reports refer to: black cats, crossed fingers, lamposts, whitehorses, four leaf clovers, humber thirteen, the moon, mirrors and horse shoes. These are some of the universals in the content of New Zealand supersitions. There is good reason to believe however, that children do not take these supersitions very seriously. For example, "It doesn't really help. Its only luck that makes you win." (Nelson). "We didn't believe it much. It was just something interesting to do." (Petone 03). "We were not encouraged to put any

faith in either good luck or bad luck charms," (Dunedin 95).

Examples from several schools are as follows. Thirty-five children at Denniston S.4/6 knew the following superstitions. It is bad luck to: spill salt, drop a knife, cross the blades of two knives, have a black cat cross your path, put an umbrella up in the house, put new shoe on the table. It is good luck to put a horse shoe on a door or spit on it and throw it over your shoulder, or to pick up a glove. If an article of clothing is worn inside out, it is good luck to leave it that way and bad luck to change it. When you walk on top of the doors of an Hotel cellar spit on them or else you'll marry a drunkard. Two teaspoons in a cup signify a wedding, two forks crossed predict a row, braces twisted predict a row, a belt twisted indicates a fight. New shoes that squeak aren't paid for. Twenty-five S.5 children at Westport knew the following, Good luck occurs when you find a four leaf clover, find a pin, see a black cat, pick up a dropped knife, take a third light from a match, look at the new moon through a glass. Bad luck occurs if you put up an umbrella in the house, break a mirror, walk under a ladder, spill salt, put shoes on the table. Other examples are; ~~To~~ be said and carried out at examination time "Rusty nail sure to fail, Blade of grass, sure to pass," (Levin 35). "On sight of an ambulance hold the collar until a dog and a bird are seen," (Wellington 40). "The stalk of an apple was turned and the words - letter, parcel, telegram call ---said. When the stalk came out the word said at that moment was a prediction," (Tokomaru Bay 37). Crossing two things seems often to be taken

as a good sign, whether it is crossing fingers, bootlaces, hair ribbons, or toes. Other examples, "My sister tells me that as a small girl at College in 1896 her class would never go to an exam without a bunch of shivery grass for luck. The giant kind was even more potent," (Nelson) "A white horse bought death unless you spat to counteract the evil. Two nuns brought bad luck and were referred to as Oysters. If your friends would say 'Aggi' all your lies were forgiven and you went to heaven someday," (Levin 30).

A belief in Ghosts and Bogeys is perhaps the most realistic of childish superstitions. The reasons for this realism are given in Chapter 17. Examples, "Young children refused to go on ^{the} ~~on~~ side of the street opposite the school as they were afraid of a very old Maori woman. They believed she would put them in a gas oven." ¹ (Levin 40) "We would scare the little children with the assertion that Haley's Comet was coming", (Nelson 85), "Many of the pioneer settlers were full of superstition...With our claims to superior wisdom, we of the younger generation were not always so rational; many a time in the vicinity of Flag Hill where the old school now stands I have heard the warning; "Here come the big fellows". I'm off "And we got a move on", (Waianiwa 70). "Ghosts were real. We were closer to superstitions. Turnips were still hollowed, the blue face carved to outline a face in white. A candle inserted. A turnip head and a sheet. It was not rare but was well known as a scare all", (Dunedin 00).

1. Like the "Witch" in Mother Mother the Pots Boils Over.

Games of Chance include Gambling games, Guessing games and Treasure Games.

Reference has been made to gambling games in the historical section, (Chapter 5). Gambling games are seldom reported as being played by primary school children. Marble Boards and occasional roulette wheels were known in earlier days. There are occasional reports of betting a penny on the results of sports. "We bet a penny on our own Basketball team every Tuesday", (Napier 45). Pitch and Toss, Two-up and Crown and Anchor are reported quite frequently as Post-primary school gambling diversions.

Guessing games are the most important games of chance in childhood. Guessing plays a part in innumerable games. It plays a part in the divinatory skipping and counting-out rhymes, it plays a part in many Leader games, some He games and in a large number of Parlour games. Games which are based more specifically upon this motive are: How many eggs in the Nest, Nivvy Nivvy Nick Nack, Hot Cockles, I spy and Slip the Button which have been mentioned in Chapter 5. Eggs in the Nest is still well known. Others are, Sending a Message: "Any number of players join hands in a ring. One person stands in the centre. The last to join up to form the ring says aloud 'I am sending a message to Bill' Bill maybe anywhere in the circle. The method of sending the message is by squeezing the hand of the next person who squeezes the hand of the next and so on until the person nominated receives the message. The message may go either clockwise or anticlockwise. The person in the centre endeavours to detect the squeezes. If she suspects

anyone she points to that person's hand and says "There it is". If right, that person says "Yes" and replaces the one in the centre. If not, the player says either "I have not received it yet" or "It has gone". When Bill receives the message he says "I have received it" and then proceeds to send a message to someone else," (Mataraua 50), "Outline your fingers on paper, then put your boyfriends names in the drawn fingers. Pull your fingers. Everyone that cracks is a boy friend"; (MacCandrew). "In Shut-eye you have to close your eyes. You are whirled around. You must point with your arms and guess what you are pointing at", (Nth East Valley). There are reports of other guessing games, but like the last game mentioned they are mainly games made up in the one school in which they were found.

Games of Treasure are games of chance in which the players seek to find or preserve in their possession, treasure. Treasure, which in most cases they come upon or find only by chance although sometimes their own skill helps them to find the treasure. The commonest form of treasure game is treasure hunting. All children are a little like the boy who¹ had secret treasure hidden everywhere." If children don't hide their own treasure, they like to find the treasure hidden by others. Variations of treasure hunting games were listed by some children in most schools. There are also many He games which include references to treasure-like articles for which the teams battle. Games of Hide the stone or Hide the ball,

1. Cary J., House of Children, p.61.

for example, are common. Others of a like nature are: Tom Tiddler's Ground, which is a game like ~~Bar~~ the Door. In some versions of this game the children cry "I am walking on Tom Tiddler's ground picking up gold and silver" (Bainham). One of the old favourite treasure games was Smuggling the Gag (Dunedin 75). This was known also as Gag (Waikouaiti 80), Gag or no gag (Mataura 35), Smuggle the Gig (Alexandra 10), and Momley Peg (Wgton. 90). In this Bar the Door type of game, the players of one side smuggled the treasure of Gag, through the ranks of the other side. Another old favourite of a similar type was King Pin (Nelson 95). This game was known also as Steal a Peg (Ashburton 20), Stealing Grass (Rockville 80), King's Peg (Pakawau 49), Kingy (Brightwater 49), Stones (Dunedin 80), Flags down (Woodville 49) Cats and Dogs (Ratapiko 40). This game was a little like Prisoner's Base and in it the players sought to run across and steal treasure of pegs from the otherside.

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Parlour games include many types. There are the dramatic types of parlour games in which the players imitate various activities. Charades is the most universally known of these. Others have been mentioned in Chapter 5. They include Mrs. McKenzie is Dead (Dunedin 90, Taeiri 70), which was known also as Mother Mumby is dead (Amberly 90) and Queen Anne's Dead (Fordell 10), Dumb Crambo (Palmerston Nth 00), My Aunt went to Paris (Auckland 80, Lower Moutere 00), Do as I do

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1. Descriptions of most of these can be found in Bancroft J., Games.

(Wakefield 80), Imitations (Rockville 85).

There are Parlour games which contain He motives.

One of the most widely known of these was Family Coach (Christchurch 04, Dunedin 90). It is known more frequently today as Fruit Salad (Nth. East Valley, Brightwater, Karori) but also as Parts of Cars (Mangatainoka). It has been known as General Post (Wellington 35). Two circle He parlour games were, What Colour's the Sky (Rockville 85) and There was an Old Woman who lived in a Shoe (Wakefield 70). A processional He game was Last Pair Run (Richmond 70), which was known also as Last Couple Out (Pahiatua 00), and Race for a Wife (Westport 95). Indoor Hide and Seek is also a universal. There are in addition many Blindfold He parlour games. Of these Blindman's Buff, is the best known. There are others which include Blindfold guessing. For example, Whose Feet? or Peep behind the Curtain (Takaka), Spoon (Rockville 95), Queen of Sheba (Rockville 85), Hyde Park (Takaka). Other Blindfold games are games of Ghosts and Murderers: "Burglars and Householders" (St. Clair), Murder, Burglars (Waikouaiti), Murder (Auckland).

Other Parlour games contain the Treasure motive. The commonest of these is Treasure Hunts. But Hide the Thimble and Hunt the Slipper are also very well known. Slip the Button (Fordell 10) known also as Whose Got the Button (Amberly 90), and Button (Moutere 00), was well known. Point to the Bell (Brooklyn), and Penny Under the Chair (Collingwood), are games which combine, blindfold, treasure and Leader motives.

Some parlour games derive most of their fun from the

element of distortion they contain. In this respect they share motives with some of the Plays of Protest. A popular game today is Tail on the Donkey or Pig's Tail.. In this game a blindfold player attempts to pin a tail on a Donkey which is pinned on the wall. As a St. Clair girl said "It makes you laugh because of the dreadful funny places where it goes." Heads Bodies and Legs, a drawing game (Fordell 00), Brooklyn, also involves humour and distortion. Different people draw different parts of a body without seeing the part that has been drawn by the preceeding person. The old game of Trimming the Hat (Wakefield 75, Dunedin 80), an activity carried out by the inexperienced boys led to some odd products. In the game of Honeymoons (Hokitika), the players dress and undress with amusing consequences. In Carrying a Message (St. Clair) or Whispering (Denniston, Dunedin 00), the message whispered round the circle gradually becomes transformed. In the widespread game of Consequences, each player adds his or her place to the story of the lovers. Some unusual stories result when all the detached pieces are read as a whole.

The Parlour games of Trick and Surprise have elements of similar to the tricks of Protest Play. There are many games whose amusement depends on an unwitting player being surprised. In some games an unsuspecting player is made to sit in a saucer or bucket of water, Sit in a Saucer, (St. Clair, Brooklyn). In other games the player is made to sit hard on the floor when she is expecting to sit on a seat, The Queen, (St. Clair). Others of a similar nature are Aeroplane Ride (Brooklyn, Mangatainoka), I see a Ghost (Nelson 85), The Flies

(Denniston), Black Magic (St. Clair, Brooklyn).

Some Parlour games are games of Steadfastness. In many of these the players must not laugh. Examples, Billy Johnson's Big Black Pig (Woodville), Stop Laugh (Stoke), and the universal Poor Pussy. In one game the He player tickles the other players palms and says "Can you keep a secret, I don't suppose you can, You mustn't laugh, You mustn't talk, But do the best you can" (Denniston). Others of a like nature are the universal, Botany Bay, Keep a Straight Face (Pongaroa), The Feather Game (Brooklyn), Balloon Tossing (Wanganui). In the last two games the circle of players laughs loudly till the feather or balloon, which has been tossed in the air, touches the ground. When it touches the players must stop laughing immediately. Anyone who fails to do so is out.

Just as gangs impose penalties upon their members (tortures) if they break certain rules, so do certain Parlour games include Penalty elements. It is worth noting here, that the London Street games recorded by Norman Douglas, and the games noted in the County Books of English Folklore show that severe penalty elements were much more common in the games of the nineteenth century, than they are in the games of today. There is only one record of a New Zealand game in which a formal penalty element entered. This was a game of marbles called Dumps and was played at Wakefield in 1875. In this game the loser, in a marble game of Holey, was required to hold his marble partially exposed between the fingers of his closed fist. The other players then took turns to shoot at the marble as hard as possible. Naturally the losing player's hand suffered in

the process. Penalties in Parlour games are naturally much less severe. The most widely known of the Penalty Parlour games was and is Forfeits which has been played in innumerable different ways. Others are Truth and Dare (Forbury), Coffee House (Karori), Flour Cake (Caversham, Brooklyn), Basin and Apples (St. Clair), Wiggle Waggle (Clutha 75), Donkey (Westport 95).

Some Parlour games manifest an erotic interest. The most notable and widespread of these is, Postman's Knock. Others are Free Masons (Nelson 10), Kiss in the Dark (Forbury), Winks (Christchurch 04½, Caversham, Rockville 85, Brightwater).

There are numbers of Parlour games whose main interest lies in the physical skills which they contain. The physical skill may consist in hitting objects, blowing objects, building objects or in speed and alertness. Balloons may be hit into bowls, ping-pong balls blown across tables, castles built out of matchsticks (Build the Foundations - Caversham). Speed may be required to stop the spinning trencher. (Spin the Trencher - Spin the Tin or Spin the Dish, a widely known game). Alertness may be required in Musical Chairs, Musical Noughts and Crosses, Tableaux, The Pumpkin Dance, Musical Bumps and Simon Says.

There are Parlour games also which contain elements of intellectual skill. These are the Parlour games which belong most appropriately to this chapter. These games may contain tests of observation, tests of memory, word-making skills, skill in guessing words from their initial letters, in guessing actions and in guessing words within a time limit. The Word-making

games are the most important subsection of the Intellectual Parlour games. These include: Telegrams (Fordell 10), Topics Clumps and Twentyfive Squares (Karori), Next in importance are the games of alertness. Many of these also include word-making. These include the widely known Buzz, in which the players must say "Buzz" at certain prearranged numbers. The aim of the leader is to confuse the players so that they forget when to say Buzz. Others are: the widely known Priest of the Parish, The Parson's Cat (Levin 30), Geography (Wgton. 20), Rhymes (Fordell 00), Elements (Rakaia 10), Bird and Beast (St. Clair). Slate, Board and Card games which play an important part in the Parlour, are also included under this category. Examples of these have been given in Chapter 5. Guessing games come in this category. Blindfold guessing games have been mentioned above. Others include: Animal Vegetable or Mineral which is universal, Fruits (Moeraki 00), Cum Je Cum (Dunedin 95), My Ship came Loaded (Takaka), I love my love with an A (Dunedin 90), Guessing games (Dunedin 00), Hangmen, which is widespread in schools today. Hot and Cold (Fordell 00/10).

The types of Parlour games recorded by children in some schools today are as follows

Ratapiko: Hide the button, Hide the Thimble, Truth and Dare, Slip the Button, Button Hockey, Table Croquet.

Pongaroa: Addition race, Charades, Taking the Key, Consequences, Apple Bobbing, Potato Race, Treasure Hunt, I Spy, Musical Chairs, Hobble Horse, Postman's Knock, Hangman.

Auckland Diocesan: Blindman's Buff, Hide the Thimble, Musical

Chairs, Simon Says, I Spy, Consequences, Charades, Poor Pussy.

Papakura: Hangman's Knot, Snakes and Ladders, Ludo, Hide the Thimble, Aeroplane Race, Noughts and Crosses, Housee, Match building.

Collingwood: Round the table Ping Pong, Forfeits, Musical Bumps, Lucy Lucy Locket, Spin the Tin, Penny under the Chair, Postman's Knock, Blindman's Buff, Poor Pussy, Hide the Thimble, Tail on Donkey, Dots and Dashes, Noughts and Crosses, Here's a thing a very pretty thing, Charades, Air, land and water, I spy.

These various games - intellectual, chance and parlour will now be explained.

First, with reference to Intellectual skills. In the primary school years children begin to "invent games of experiment with their mental powers", and these games grow in importance with increasing age.¹ The dominant impression that arises from the collected material is that children get an immense amount of satisfaction from intellectual play, when in any way or another, this play involves a distortion of the accepted orders of verbal reality or the triumph of one child over another in competitions of skill. There can be little doubt that intellectual play is among other things a vehicle for the expression of a protest against the orders of adult reality or a

1. Lowenfield, op. cit., p.253. At the age of about 8 years according to Kirkpatrick, quoted Hurlock E.B., The Exptl. Investigation of Childhood Play, op. cit. For a full treatment of the effects of intellectual differences on play see Lehmann and Witty, Psychology of Play Activities, p.213.

means of asserting individual skill. However, although these may be important emphases in intellectual games the fact that children use intellectual outlets for these emphases is evidence as well that the intellectual interest on its own right is also an important source of their play.

Humour in children's play has been ably treated by Lowenfield.¹ The salient characteristic of humour as stressed by the material of this thesis is, again, that it is chiefly based on the motive of Protest. Any protest against adult orders of reality may be an excuse for humour. Anything that distorts, upsets, inverts, insults, caricatures, buffoons and mimics the monstrous world of superior adults can be an occasion for uproarious mirth.² "Every child is constantly aware that it is smaller, weaker, and less wise than the people among whom it lives, and, when it is sure of the possibility of doing so in reasonable safety, it relieves this pressure by creating a real or phantasy situation in which the adult is at the disadvantage and the child triumphs."¹ The first two sections of the Plays of Protest, provide innumerable examples of this tendency. It is equally worthy of note that mirth may be provided for the children by those other than themselves, adults or children, who actually do just what they want to do themselves but are afraid to do. These people depart in various ways from 'normal adult' behaviour, and are attacked by children for so doing. That is,

1. Lowenfield, op. cit., p. 256.

2. See also Watts A.F., The Language and Mental Development of Children, London, 1944, p.222.

children love to attack a typical people for being atypical, just as they love to upend typical people for being typical. The atypical actions approximate to children's fantasies about typical people, but at the same time they represent an 'actualization' of those fantasies -- something in fact which is just as unseemly as being typical. In other words, children's mirth may have a background of rejection or a background of acceptance of cultural norms, (as long as the child triumphs!) Both are equally important phases in growth.

Parlour games provide their spate of humour along the same lines. The absurd mimicry of some of the dramatic parlour games, for example, "Mother McKenzie's Dead tra-la, Mother McKenzie's dead tra- la.....". Parlour games of distortion involve a similar motive, as do parlour trick and surprise games. One of the most interesting variety of parlour games are the games of steadfastness. In these games children are constantly admonished for laughing at or flouting adult order or sobriety, yet that is in fact the very essence of their humour. The Parlour games of steadfastness embody both the children's desire to laugh and the adults injunction that they should not. In these games the children mustn't laugh under any circumstances. If they laugh they're out. In some versions they laugh raucously till a certain point then stop! no more laughter or they're out. It is, as if the children incorporate in their parlour fun something of the cultural super-ego (their conscience about forbidden laughter) in the same way as they incorporate cultural standards in mock

form in some of their gang tests and tortures.

Riddles are secrets. They are a means of holding temporary superiority over all the others who do not know the secret. It is noticeable how children in the early and middle primary years love to be permitted to ask a riddle to the rest of the class. Here is unassailable evidence of their distinction -- they know something that nobody else knows. And if nobody else can guess, then perhaps they will condescend to give the answer. As Gullen says, "Guessing the answer may be well beyond the children, but the definitions give all the pleasure of superior knowledge and mystery."¹ But riddles are also tests of skill in which an occasional quick-witted person may be able to match the questioner. It must be stressed, also that a sheer interest in the intellectual elements and their possible (sometimes impossible) relations is as important a fundament of riddling as any other.

Smart answers, sayings and verbal tricks may be a means of wielding individual power. The smart answers are in the main 'slick' replies to the conventionally irritating questions, the whys, hows, whats, whos, and whens. Perhaps children express in their answers some of the aggressiveness that they once had inflicted upon themselves when they irritated their parents by asking just such questions. At the same time some sayings (and teasing expressions) take on a certain ritual quality. "Eh?" "Eh. What?" "Eh's in the next paddock."

1. Gullen F.D., op. cit., p.4.

There are correct sayings for definite occasions. Along with superstitions, the sayings, and the expressions, may be a means by which children fill up their universe with meaningful symbols. Most of the sayings and superstitions consequently have some relevance to children's interests. They may be about objects which continually cross their world (clovers, lampposts, white horses and black cats) or they may have a certain indecorous note such as "What Ho, she bumps!" I suspect also that beside the natural satisfaction that flows from knowing all the spiritual landmarks of the local territory, the child who has the ever ready and appropriate symbol is superior by that much to the child who hasn't.

Superstitions like rhyme serve "to give unconscious anxieties and unexplained situations some meaning."¹ The few superstitions that remain in New Zealand - a country without the traditional places and memories, so necessary for the growth of superstitions, are little but remnants that nobody takes very seriously. As one writer has said, not enough people have died here for us to take our superstitions seriously as yet.² It was likely, however, that many of these superstitions even when they were practised in England in the last few centuries were taken as much in fun as in seriousness. As Uttley says "Some of these good-luck games, in which all the children³ joined, were the simple amusements of country people."

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1. Young Kimball, A Handbook of Social Psychology, p.209.
 2. See Charles Brasch, The Wooden Horse, July, 1950, p.21.
 3. Uttley A., Country Things, p.123.

In the pure intellectual games of skill all and any mental abilities may be called into play. Guessing games play the dominant role. There are also games involving observation, memory, alertness and speed. The largest number of children's intellectual games are word-making games involving the relationships of parts of words and letters in words to the rest of the word. Usually one must guess or make up the rest of a word when only one letter is given. Often there is a time limit. Board, slate and card games in their turn involve a variety of abilities including among other things a sense of spatial relationships. Often chance alone is involved.

The growth in the importance of intellectual games of skill during the primary years is evidence of a maturing capacity for an interest in a variety of intellectual relationships of the type that are expressed in the above games. The factors of intellectual maturation and the competitive motive must be considered as perhaps the most fundamental bases for intellectual games of skill.

The second class of games the Games of Chance, fall into three categories: Gambling games, Guessing games, Treasure games. The viewpoint adopted here is that all these games are exemplifications of the general competitive principle already stated for this section. But in these games the child does not seek to 'prove' 'test' 'exhibit' and 'discover' his powers through a competition which involves purely skill. He seeks rather to win in a competition which involves luck. We have

already noticed that children use rhyme to symbolize some of the uncertainties and unknowns of their world. In that manner they can at least take hold of these unknowns and not just stand defenceless under stimulation. "They can bring¹ some order out of the chaos of the unknown." In competitive games of chance it looks as if children are using the competitive mode to take hold of the factor of chance in their lives; to take hold of it for personal satisfaction and victory. If the child wins in a game of chance then it is just so much better than the child who lost. Thus games of chance are a means of successfully working out one's social relationship to others without at the same time indulging the dangers of an actual test of skill.² There is no reason, after all, why one shouldn't win. To all intents one has been unexpectedly and fortuitously frustrated throughout one's life. Why shouldn't one be just as fortuitously gifted? There are two experiences then which are used in these games. (i) the desire to win in competition and (ii) the desire to win with the aid of all the unknown and not understood influences in life.

There are few reports of gambling amongst primary school children. Pickford outlines the possible motives for gambling as follows: "In the more morbid forms of betting the better seems to be playing with the chances that he will receive a gift from fate which will suddenly compensate him for

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1. Langer S., Philosophy in a New Key, p.237.
 2. Symonds P.A., op. cit., p.446.

frustrations and losses which he feels, rightly or wrongly, that he has sustained at the hands of his family and fellowmen." And again "in its more normal forms betting is simply a way in which people add a little zest to life, with more interest in the emotional thrill than in the fantasied gifts of compensation."¹

Symonds adds that this 'thrill' indicates that individuals can get a pleasure out of their anxiety. "Most games are enjoyed when anxious tension is aroused, especially gambling....

it is common for children to seek and welcome anxiety provoking situations in order to prove that they can be

mastered."² This has already been shown to be the case with

He games. Gambling games might, in a similar manner constitute

a call on the unknown ---- (the unconscious which has been deprived to gift one in the unconscious oedipal battle.)

The thrill of the game could be in part the thrill of that archetypal battle. But it would be easy to oversimplify.

There are more frustrations and 'unknowns' in life than those which emerge from the oedipus situation.) Gambling games, say

Mitchell and Mason are remnants of old practice in omens

superstition and magic.³ Their sources today are probably as devious as those behind the ancient practices.

Guessing games constitute the greatest proportion of childhood games of chance, and guessing is also included in a

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1. Pickford P.W., Aspects of the Psychology of Games and Sport, British Journal of Psychology, April, 1941, Vol.XXXI, Pt. 4, p.289.
 2. Symonds P.A., op. cit., p.140.
 3. Mitchell & Mason, The Theory of Play, p.11.

large number of leader games. The greatest subsection of guessing games are those games in which someone is named (~~as-~~¹~~Rumplestiltskin was named~~) and his identity guessed. In these games children act as if, to possess the name of a person or object, is the same thing as to possess the person² or object for which that name stands. This is an important characteristic in the psychology of games, it appears also in marble games as will be shown in the next chapter. It will, therefore, be dealt with in some detail. Why then do children act 'as if' the symbol and its object are the same in the play situation? The answer appears to lie partly at least in the nature of the development of language symbols in children's growth. These symbols are in the first place the means which enable children to 'take hold' (in meaning) of the objects in their environment. Sapir puts it this way. "Language While it may be looked upon as a symbolic system which reports or refers to otherwise substitutes for direct experience, it does not as a matter of actual behaviour stand apart from or run parallel to direct experience but completely interpenetrates with it. This is indicated by the widespread feeling, particularly among primitive people, of the virtual identity or close correspondence of word and thing which³ lead to the magic of spells." According to Piaget, however, this identification of the name and its object does not occur

1. See Chapter 16.

2. Cassirer E., An Essay on Man, p.132.

3. Sapir E., "Language" in The Encyclopedia of Social Science, Vol. IX p.157.

just because of the interpenetration of these two entities in experience. To his way of thinking, the interpenetration of the symbol and its object leads to a confusion of the two in the children's mind. He claims, in effect that children "confuse the psychical and physical" .. "due simply to the child's inability to conceive the dualism of inner and outer. All thought even false and illusory belongs to the outer world.....Clearly it is a confusion of the symbol and the things they signify....all thought is symbolic and all symbols, to begin with, remain attached to the things they signify".¹ Other psychologists, however contest this view of Piaget.² They present evidence to prove that children do not confuse their phantasy with reality. They claim that children only act as if these two were the same within the play situation. The children are normally able to distinguish the two in real life. Buhler says, the "sham interpretations of the child's make-believe are not false interpretations."³

If then children act as if the symbol and its object were the same only in the play situation, why does this occur? Why do the children continue to act in play as if the possession of the symbol gives the player magical control over its object, when they are able to keep the two apart in real life. To answer these questions it is necessary to make a short

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1. Piaget J., Children's Philosophies, Murchison, Hdbk. of Child Psych., p.579.
 2. See for example: Isaacs Susan, Intellectual Growth in Young Children, p.78; Escalona Sybille, Play and Substitute Satisfaction, in Barker and Kounin, Child Behaviour and Development, p.363.
 3. Buhler K., The Mental Development of Children, p.94.
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excursion into anthropology.

Sir James G. Frazer has said that the "primitives"¹ in their magic make the same confusion between the symbol and its object as children do. He says that the primitives do this, because they act as if the fact that there is an actual association between the two means that there is a casual² association between them. Frazer does not say, however, why the natives should treat the fact of an association between the symbol and its object as though it is a casual association. He seems to make the fact that the two are associated the reason why they are associated casually. This, however, is an inadequate explanation. It fails to explain what motive the primitives had for associating the two entities causally, for the two can not be held to be associated causally without the operation of some conative factor.³ As Malinowski says, "It is not the association of ideas, that like produces like or that contact persists, but the affirmation and enactment of desired ends and results, which forms the psychological basis of magic."⁴ In more recent years the Frankforts have attempted to explain the same phenomena as follows. They say that the 'primitives' treat the laws of association in this ^{causal} casual fashion because they believe that the elements of the universe are dynamically associated. They believe that these elements are dynamically associated because they conceive of all the elements of the

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- 4 1. See reference to the use of the bloc term "primitives" in Chapter 16.
 2. Frazer Sir J.G., Magic, c/o the Principles of Sympathetic, The Golden Bough, p.11.
 3. Flugel J.C., A Hundred Years of Psychology, p.77.
 4. Malinowski B., A Scientific Theory of Culture, Carolina, 1944, p.199.

universe as being manifestations of human or divine purpose. And this follows because the primitive's conception of the universe is 'personal', "He does not expect to find an impersonal law regulating a process. He looks for a purposeful will committing an act."¹ Persons, not laws, give meaning to the sequences of life and nature.

What then does this "Primitive" attitude indicate about children? It could hardly be maintained that children have the same metaphysical outlook as these Primitives of whom the Frankforts² speak. The fact that the symbol and the object are magically associated in the children's play as well as in the Primitive's world suggests, however, that the children's play world is also a personified world. It suggests, further, that although the personifications of the children's world will differ from those of the primitive world both worlds will have in common the fact that their respective personifications are expressions of purpose. That is children will identify symbols and objects in their play world, not because they confuse the two, but because they have some purpose in making this identification. When children insist upon the validity of their personifications, therefore, and even, perhaps, appear to confuse them with the real world (on their fantasy) their insistence³ is an index not of their confusion but of the importance of their purposes to them. (The nature of some of the unconscious

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1. Frankfort Mr. & Mrs. H., Wilson J.A. & Jacobsen T., Before Philosophy, p.24.
 2. There is not space to consider the many differences between the children and the primitives. See further the conclusion to this section.
 3. In the terms used by Ogden & Richards in The Meaning of Meaning, p.14, the children's guessing activity is not an indication of a confusion between the symbol and its referent, it is an indication of the overwhelming importance to the children of the thought or reference which the symbol symbolizes.

purposes which are important to children and which are expressed through guessing games have already been indicated in connection with the guessing games of Queenie in Chapter 18. There unconscious purposes link up with conscious purposes. Besides being an expression of unconscious purpose, the identification of symbol and object, maybe an expression of conscious purpose. A correct guess, for example, enables the player to win in competition. The correct guess, then, proves the player's superiority in relation to two things, in relation to things known, other players, and in relation to things unknown. He guesses, for example, who has the phallic power, the button. He guesses the strength of that power -- the number of eggs in the nest. He, guesses by tripping up the skipping player, the nature of her future; whether she will marry Jack or Bill and whether she will live in a mansion or a pigsty. Truly, as Gomme says, "A person who, by guess discovers a special person out of a number, or the exact number of articles concealed in a hand or under a foot, has something of the supernatural or witch element about him."¹

With reference to the second question that was asked -- namely, why do children make this confusion only in play? Clearly the answer is that it is only through and in their play personifications that children have the freedom to express all their motives, (conscious and unconscious) as they wish.

(With reference to treasure games, a variety of motives appear to be involved. First, to possess treasure is to have phallic power,

1. Gomme, op. cit., V.11, p.512.

to be the winner, as innumerable of Grimm's Fairy Tales readily attest. Many children's games involve play objects which appear to have the same significance as the treasure in treasure hunts. (The Geg, The King Pin, Tom Tiddler's Treasure). Secondly, the interest in treasure may arise out of an unconscious and forgotten interest in the first treasures of childhood. It is noticeable that in certain initiation games boys refer to faeces as though they were treasure-like in nature, for example, in King of the Golden Sword and The Golden Rule. Thirdly, the greater interest which girls have in treasure games ¹ may be due, in part, to their greater proclivity for reading. The pages of children's literature are, after all, heavily soaked with the treasure theme. ² But this interest in its turn may be buoyed along by the fact that girls have yet another basis for their interest. Klein points out that, just as the castration fear is the greatest anxiety in the boy's life (Jack cuts down the giant's phallic beanstalk) so the greatest anxiety in the girl's life is that she will not be able to gain or ³ retained her loved objects. (The golden eggs of the golden hen). In other words, treasure may mean for the girl the unconscious possession of good babies and of phallic power, which is the first explanation we gave above. Finally, all these unconscious meanings will add to and suffuse the conscious meaning of treasure. For in

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1. Girls are also more interested than boys in guessing games. This may be due to their greater interest in words. Boys whose interest is more in things than in words, show a greater interest in the more 'physical' gambling games.
 2. Trease G., Tales Out of School, p.184.
 3. Klein M., The Oedipus Complex in the light of early anxieties, Contributions to Psycho-Analysis, London, 1948, p.384.

In an acquisitive society like ours, in which property of some sort or other is the natural goal of competitive endeavour, treasure has a very important ~~conscious~~ meaning. The discovery of treasure (an Art Union) means the competitor is lifted above the need to struggle any more. Treasure can, therefore, have an important and thrilling significance irrespective of its unconscious components.

Finally, with respect to Parlour Games these were not investigated in any detail. They are often organized by adults, not run spontaneously by the children themselves. Many of them, however, were listed again and again by children and so they must be considered as a legitimate part of the children's spontaneous game repertoire. Parlour games are distinguished from the games mentioned in the other sections, not because they are intrinsically different, but because they are played indoors. In his Prelude Wordsworth describes well the condition of these games,

"Eager and never weary we pursued
Our home-amusement by the warm peat-fire
At evening, when with pencil, and smooth slate
In Square divisions paralleled out and all
With crosses and with cyphers scribbled o'er,
We schemed and puzzled, head opposed to head
In Strife to humble to be named in verse."

Parlour games do not, therefore, constitute a separate type of game. They have been classified above under the headings which are relevant to the other types of games in this section. They

provide further evidence for the theoretical statements made in other chapters. Parlour games include, Dramatic games (imitative); He types (Blindfold, Poison); Leader types (treasure); Protest types (Distortion, Penalty, Steadfastness, Trick, Surprise, Erotic); Physical skills; Intellectual Skills (Attentiveness, Memory, Guessing Observation).

CHAPTER TWENTY TWO

THE COMPETITIVE CLUE

Physical Skills

In this chapter the main types of games of physical skill are described and explained.

Illustrative Material page 738 to page 747.

The description of these games falls into the following categories, Hand games, Foot games, Athletic games, Natural Pursuits and Unorganized Team variants. These games can only¹ be briefly outlined.

Hand games are all those games in which hand and eye co-ordination is the most important skill involved. These games include the manipulation of the hands, throwing, hitting, pitching catching and skills with the hands.

Among the hand games of manipulation which were of greater importance in earlier years there are, Buttons, Knucklebones, Cat's Cradle, Stagknife, Handclapping, Clumps, Stone, Scissors and Paper. Marbles is about the only important game of hand manipulation that is reported frequently in recent years. There are many reports of children from Maori schools playing

1. See details given in Chapter 5.

improvised marbles during the war years. They made their marbles from melted down gramophone records, stones and varying types of bottle and jar tops. There are also occasional records today of children playing Buttons (Onehunga 45), Cat's Cradles (Invercargill 30, Napier 49), Stagknife (Knifestagger - Marlborough 42; Knife face - Sharfion 40), Handclapping games (Karori, Wgton. South), Clumps (Hand upon Hand -Southland 35) Stone scissors paper (Masterton 37), and Knucklebones. (This games is played in many Maori schools. I found it also known by children although not widely played, at Collingwood, Hokitika, and Kaiata. It is reported as having been played in recent years at Palmerston North, Oxford, and Esk Valley).

The throwing hand games are endless. Children will throw any suitable object at any other suitable target. Duck-stones and Tops were the throwing games of greatest historical importance. Others were Pegknife, Ducks and Drakes, Snowballing, stone and ball throwing. Tops have persisted Stone throwing and snow balling although not always encouraged are universal where stones and snow abound. Ball throwing is the only form of throwing which is strenuously encouraged by the organizers of sport, and is, therefore, the only throwing game in which activity has greatly increased. Occasionally other "odd" throwing games make an appearance. For example, in the game of "Penny Bending" (Taihape 40), children take turns at throwing pennies at other pennies. The first player puts his penny down and the second player endeavours to bend the first penny by throwing another penny at it. If he succeeds

in bending the penny he claims it as his own. The player to put his penny down first generally endeavours to throw it into the turf in such a way as to make it stand up edgeways. Other throwing games mentioned today are: Echo which is widely known (Kapuka 29, Paerau 44, Stirling 35, Ngapara 29, Takaka 44, Mangatainoka). In this game there are two teams on opposite sides of a wall or shed. "A ball was thrown by one member of one side over the play shed to the otherside. The one catching it ran round the shed and attempted to hit one member of the otherside before a nearby fence was reached. If anyone was hit, that person went on the otherside. The side that was the largest when the bell rang, won." ¹ Fivestones (Stoke - a remnant of Duckstones), Hayball (Brooklyn), Tree ball (Hampden).

Hitting hand games previously of importance were Conkers, Soldiers, Tip Cat, Staff-fighting, Spang, Weazling, Battledore and Shuttlecock. Of these, Conkers remains in some areas where horse chestnuts are still known (Nelson and Christchurch). Soldiers is the most widely known today. There is one report of Soldiers in which the players were graded according to the numbers of plaitain heads they had hit off. The one with, say, twelve heads to his credit was a Duke, with fifteen heads a King, with twenty a Cardinal etc., (Moutere 30). Tip Cat is occasionally but not often reported in recent years. It is a game like Knucklebones and Cat's Cradle

1. McMillan P.G., What does the Kapuka South School Mean?
M.A. Thesis, O.U., 1929, p.40.

which some children play once or twice at home when they learn it from a parent or grandparents. This game is sometimes known as Pee-Wees. (Invercargill 35, Otaki 49). This title may derive from the Laurel and Hardy film "Babes in Toyland" in which the game of Tip Cat, called Pee-Wees, played a part. Hit the Crawley is still known at Denniston. Towel flicking and pillow fighting are other universal hitting games. Homp is a game reported from Wanganui, in which the children fight each other with stick swords. The aim of the game is to break the other players' swords. The player who can break the most swords is declared the winner.

Pitching games, were Pitch and Toss, Quoits, Nine-pins, Egg Cap and Toodle-em-Buck. In the game of Toodle-em-buck (Richmond 19) a piece of broom a foot in length with a button on top of it stood upright in a circle of about two feet in diameter. Players pitched another piece of broom at this upright stick from a set distance in an endeavour to knock it over and send the button out of the circle. The game was played to the cry of "Roll up, Tumble up, come and play the game of Toodle-em-Buck." There is still occasional mention of Egg Cap (Horoeka, Alexandra). Nine-pin and quoits are often played by children at home. There is one record of a game called Flicks, in which cigarette cards were flicked up to a certain point. The nearest took all. (Eastern Hutt 31).

Ball Catching enters into many present day games of skill: Ball tag, Longball, Queenie, Ball-bouncing, Echo, Donkey, Pig in the Middle, Major Sports and their variations, Pounds, Shillings and Pence is the only old favourite which is still played today.

Ball Bouncing games are known all over the country. More often than not they go under the name of Sevens. A good account of the game as played at Alexandra is given in the ¹ Bulletin of Physical Education.

Foot games include games in which activities of the legs and feet are the most important elements involved. These games include, jumping, hopping and skipping games.

The jumping games of yesterday included, Buck Buck, Monkey on the Bridge, Fly the Garter and Cap-on. None of these is reported today. Leap-Frog which was played in earlier times is, of course, well known but is more often played in drill than played spontaneously. I am of the impression that where played spontaneously it is a game which appeals to secondary school boys rather than to primary school boys. In fact most of the leaping games seem appropriate to secondary school boys, which suggests that they were played by the older boys in yesterday's playground. Hop Step and Jump is another old timer which is seldom played spontaneously today. There are, in fact, no important spontaneous jumping games today which are of a widespread nature. The most important that there is, is rope-jumping which girls are to be seen practising occasionally during their skipping seasons. (Island Bay). Sometimes the rope is whirled round by a player in the centre and sometimes it is held at the two ends. At Faroa it is reported that the children play a game of Wagstick in which one child wags a stick from side to side while another jumps it. The child with

1. N.Z. Bull. of Physical Edn., Vol. 4, No.1, Nov. 1948, p.181.

the stick orders, "slow", "medium", or "fast". When the jumper is hit the two players change places. Children are to be seen playing this game for hours in the shade in the summer time. Although there are no widespread formal games of jumping, ~~however~~, children still carry on jumping activities in a more informal way, jumping streams, "jumping from one soft moss bush to another" (Alexandra 30) etc.

Hopping games that used to be played are Hop-Peg, Hop the Hats, Dunk and Davy, Humpty Dumpty, Hopping-Base, and Bumpers. The two important hopping games that are still played today are Hop-Scotch and Skipping. Both of these games are girl's games. Ball Hop-Scotch and Actrobatic Hop-Scotch (on hands) are two modern developments. Most schools have a repertoire of several hop-scotch games, for example: Ball, Blind, Block (Forbury), Kicking block, Throwing block, Bouncing ball, Kicking ball, in aeroplane and rectangular shapes (St. Clair), Sixies, Eighties, Aeroplanes and Snake (Stockton). There are innumerable types of Skipping. The following names recall a few of the typical activities: Dutch, French, Pepper, High water, Over the Water, Snakes and Ladders, Bluebells, Salt, Crossing the Ladder, Duck Skipping, Low Water, Skipping Exams are one of the most widespread features of childrens' skipping today. These exams were not known in the early days. In these exams the two rope holders secretly decide what skipping activities they will give the other players. It may be, for example, 8 highwaters, 5 bluebells, and 6 peppers. The candidates are then taken by themselves. The chorers count aloud and then suddenly change activities at

predetermined intervals. The skipper must attempt to keep going. The player who gets the furthest wins. Occasionally children invent other hopping games such as the Hopping Race (Onekaka) in which the children have to race holding a ball in between their feet.

The Athletic games include all those games which involve a number of divergent physical abilities, particularly those in which strength and speed are displayed. This section includes also the practice of those individual athletic skills which have been termed ¹stunts, namely acrobatics, balancing, climbing etc.

The athletic games of strength include Bull in the Ring, Buck Jumping, Cock-Fighting, Honey Pots, Heave-Ho, King of the Castle, No Man Standing, Ragging, Sacks on the Mill, Wrestling, Tug O War, and Lazy Stick. Most of these are occasionally found in schools today. Heave-Ho, for example, is played at Forbury. A variant known as Squash was played at Rangiotu in 1925. It is described as follows: "One boy, usually the biggest pushed over another boy and laid on him. Others then piled on top.¹ The lowest victim would attempt to work himself out and get on top."

The athletic games of Speed are more generally known today. These include: Racing, Tracking, Follow the Leader, and Walking. Formal athletic games are also still well known, namely, Swimming, Skating, Tobagganing, Riding, Pole-

1. Hunt S.E. and Cairn E., Games the World Around, New York, 1941, p.30.

Vaulting, however, is no longer heard of among primary school children.

Stunts, which include, Handstanding, Acrobatics, Climbing, Sliding, Balancing, Swinging, See-Sawing, probably have more scope today than they did in earlier days. Unusual variations are reported in some places. For example, a balancing game played at Tauranga in 1937 is reported as follows: "We used to walk on oil drums. We had races, and also fought on them. We walked our drums up to each other with the aim of bumping the other player off."

The Natural Pursuits which include Bird-nesting, Fishing, Eeling, and Cooking out in the open are more often mentioned by rural than by urban children.

The spontaneous variations of the organized sports include, for Rugby, Compo (Nelson), a game in which several players kick in turns at a goal post receiving points for the type of kicks they succeed with. Kicks (Karori), a game in which two teams of players kick into opposite ends of the playground. If the opposing team fails to catch the ball then that team loses a point. In Mark (Rangataua), the player who catches the ball and "Marks" it (in the Rugby sense) has a kick. Otherwise it is a game of rough and tumble. In Scrag (Nth. East Valley) and Kick and Collar (Moutere), everybody goes after the player who has the ball. That player attempts to dispose of it as quickly as possible. Cricket variations are Tippeny Runs, French Cricket, Non Stop

Cricket, Country Cricket, Peg Ball and Hot Rice. All of these aim to speed up the normal game, and in this sense constitute a commentary on the main weakness of cricket from the primary school children's point of view. Tippeny Runs is perhaps the most widespread of these games. Next comes French Cricket. At Waterloo I observed the boys playing a speedy version of French Cricket which allowed them to bat in the normal way, instead of by holding the bat in front of their legs as is the case with French Cricket. In this game the bowler had to bowl through the batsman's legs or within a foot of each side of the batsman to get him out. Otherwise the rules were the same as those of French Cricket. In Hot Rice (Millerton, known as Hit and Out, Stockton) the players aim to hit the player with the bat (cricket or tennis racquet or bat) anywhere on the body. As soon as the batter is hit he must drop the bat and the successful thrower picks it up. As soon as the bat is in the new batsman's hand the ball may be thrown at him. The other games mentioned are adult invented games which have been passed on to the children and are occasionally played by them.

But both Cricket and Rugby are varied by the children in innumerable other ways. Other Sports also have their variants. In Basketball there are the games known as Defence, Sides and Goals. In Hockey there is Shinty, Stick Hockey, Hand Hockey and Handkerchief Hockey. In Rounders there is Danish Rounders, Dutch, Rivelea, Kat and Hand Rounders. In Tennis there is hand tennis. And in Longball there are the variations

1. See description, School Jnl., Pt.1V, May, 1949, Vol.43, No.4.

Shortball and Flyball.

Examples of the types of games of physical skill mentioned in various school lists are as follows:

Macandrew Intermediate: Ring Hockey, Keepy, Kicking football over trees, Carpet Cricket, Country Cricket, French Cricket with thin stick, Hockey with football, Home made Golf, Bike-skidding, Race-tracks, Follow leader on Bike, Water Polo, Hand Soccer, Diving.

Westport: O'leary, Base (Longball), Follow the Leader, Baseball, Rounders, Bounce Ball, Aeroplane Hopscotch, Marbles, Tops.

Ratapiké: Tip Cat, Pegball, Donkey, Longball, Pillow fights, Marbles.

Clifton Terrace: Egg and Spoon race, Jumping a Rope, Dodge-Ball, Goals, Hoop-La, Rolly-Polly, Prisoner's Base, O'Leary, Rounders, Side-Slips, Skittles, Sevens, Caterpillar Walk, Swings, See-sawing, Marbles.

Pongaroa: Tip Cat, Hot Rice, Danish Rounders, Crab Walk, Soldiers, Reece Ball, Bull in the Ring, Knucklebones, Fly, Hunting the Morepork.

Collingwood: Knucklebones, Bull in the Ring, Pillow Fights, Sacks on the Mill, Follow the leader on bikes, Leap Frog, Rivilea Rounders, Peg Ball, French Cricket, Touch Rugby, Hop Scotch.

Papakura: Marbles, French Cricket, Hop Scotch, Sevensy, Stilts, Catching Birds.

Auckland Intermediate: Marbles, Sevensy, Sledging, American Baseball, Touch Rugby, Basket Ball, French Cricket, Hop Scotch Catching Birds.

The explanation of the games of Physical Skill deals firstly, with the motives involved in these games, secondly with the evolution which occurs within the organisation of these games, an evolution from individual skill games to team games, thirdly, with the essential nature of team games, and finally, with the sex differences in the play of all types of skill games.

The nature of some of the motives which appear in these games are as follows, First there is a factor of physical maturation to be considered. Children appear to experience a physical impetus towards growth which has its part to play in the development of these skill games. Presumably, this physical impetus towards growth is just one facet of a general impetus towards all forms of growth; (the children's thrust towards intellectual growth was mentioned in the last chapter and their thrust towards emotional growth has been outlined in the chapters which preceeded the last). The immense range of skills and co-ordinations that are employed by children in their games of physical skill, makes it difficult to avoid the conclusion that these games must be understood, in part, in terms of the maturation of physiological powers. As Mead says, "the child is not only not a *tabula rasa*, but a vigorous, maturing organism with modes of behaviour appropriate to its age and strength."¹ In previous chapters the emotional factors have received the greatest emphasis, although in some cases it has

1. Mead M., Male and Female, pp. 145, 146.

been possible to demonstrate that a predisposing physical factor had a part to play in a particular play activity (namely, in girls' acrobatics and in boys' aggressiveness). Early play-theorists did not underestimate the place of these physiological factors.¹ It is clear that while emotional factors (for example -- the competitive) go a long way towards explaining why children strive for success in terms of physical accomplishments, it is doubtful if those emotional factors account for the full range and intensity of the children's "skill hunger". The requirements of individual independence and competitiveness do not demand the immense variety of activity catalogued in the pages of illustrative material. We are left then with the position that if the culture is permissive, maturing hands, eyes, legs, arms, and feet etc., provide their own impulses to action. It is necessary to move with caution here. It is not being stated that there is some separate impulse behind these organs but rather that it is their inherent nature to be active in accord with their own intrinsic nature as well as in accord with the other characteristics of the human being. It is our shorthand imagery which leads to our deception. We speak merely of a 'hand' when in fact we mean a grappling-clutching-punching-poking-slapping-etc. 'hand'. What we are stating, therefore, is that "organic activity² is a part of the essential nature of organs."

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1. See for example Groos K., The Play of Man
 2. Dewey J., Play in Monroe Paul, Cyclopedia of Education, Vol. 4, p.725.

In the light most of the previous sections need reviewing. For example, who is to say that the most important experience upon which the He games draw is the oedipus experience? A case could be made out, that children's desire to run, to dodge and to jump, activities which are apparent in the most embryonic forms of He games provide the common denominator upon which the games are based. This is the feeling which springs directly to the mind when observing children at playtime. I would say that it is the interpretation which springs most naturally to most adult minds. It seems to have been the interpretation which Schumann made, that is, if my judgment of his "Playing Tag" in "Scenes from Childhood", is correct. The He interpretation does not spring so directly to the mind except when the children's excitement is particularly intense and there are shrieks of delight and fear. The mistake must not be made, however, of thinking that physical qualities are ever separable from the cultural and other motives. "These abstractions are together in the living activity. This impulse to the acquisition of ever greater physical skill seems to be universal, but the form such an impulse takes is suggested by the adults (the child) sees around him, by the stories he reads by the dreams he dreams."¹

The second motive to be considered in children's skill games is the desire for independence. In the later years of the primary school this motive is usually expressed through competition with other players but in the earlier years

1. Lowenfield M., Play in Childhood, p.208.

competition has little organized place in play although it is, of course, continually present in the natural life of the players.¹ It continually threatens to upset the progress of the play activity itself, and hence must have a subordinate role in that play activity. The desire for independence, then is mainly expressed in these years through the individual practice of skills. "Every skill the child acquires helps him to become independent of the person who has previously done those things for him."² At St. Clair, Dunedin, I observed a game which was intermediate between the individual practice of skills and the competitive practice of skills. It was played by P.4 girls. They called their game Jumping over the Stream. Lining up together they ran towards two white tennis court lines and endeavoured to jump over them. "How do you win?" I asked. "You don't win", said one girl looking at me in a puzzled manner. It was an irrelevant question. It needed only the incorporation of the competitive element, the "Ooh, I did it better than you", to turn this group game into a normal competitive group game.

Even older children continue to express a great deal of their desire for independent skill in solitary terms. Boys and girls are to be seen hitting a ball against a wall with racquet in hand for hours on end. At primary school they

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1. Isaacs S., Social Development in Young Children, p.233.
 2. Buxbaum E., Transference and Group Formation in Children and Adolescents, in The Psycho Analytic Study of the Child, New York, 1945, Vol. 1, p.355.

begin this individual practice about the S.4/5 years and it intensifies in S.6 and post-primary years. In some ways this individual and intensive practice at skills is a new phenomenon in growth. Certainly, younger children devote much time to the practice of skills, but it is generally under the guise of some imaginative play (Imitative games). The reasons for the solo practice are probably numerous. In some cases there is no alternative. Other children, equipment, or space are not available. So the child plays in solitude. This is particularly true of those versions of sport which take place in home corridors and back yards. Some games, (Tennis and Fives) lend themselves to this type of practice. A player can get a better game against the wall than he can against opponents equally as faulty as himself. Again, playing on one's own makes it easier for the child to cross the gap from the age of imagination to the age of reality. In individual practice it is possible for the child to indulge in diverse fantasies and at the same time always win; there is not the danger of a real game of skill but there is the enjoyment of the practice of those skills and the indulgence of the imaginative threads woven round them.¹ Other games provide scope for individuals or groups to measure, in terms of the game, their increasing proficiency at the skills involved in the game. These are cumulative

1. See examples given by Aldrich V.S. A Theory of the Ball Player, Psychological Review, Vol.44.

skill games. They provide "constructive task of ever increasing difficulty."¹ Examples are O'Leary, Sevens, Stag-knife, Knucklebones, Cat's Cradle, Hand Clapping, Hop Scotch.

Thirdly a motive contributing to games of skill which are essentially motor activities is 'a joy in motor activity.'² Balint calls it 'a joy in bodily movement'. A squatting child she says has a joy "in the feeling of his muscles crouched up."³ No doubt there is an inherent satisfaction in the effective manipulation of any bodily arrangement whether it be a 'penny nailer' at marbles or a 'spider-walk' in acrobatics. Jackson and Todd suggest, further, that part of the emotional satisfaction of certain bodily postures may derive from unconscious sources.⁴

Fourthly, as has been mentioned, when in infancy aggression enters into group play, as it often does, it usually disrupts the play. In skill games, on the otherhand, aggression is institutionalised in the game itself, and can be more or less peacefully cathasized as the player pegs a top, smashes a conker, splits a stagknife, knocks a duckstone, scores an eyedrop, tips a cat or spangs a weazle. "Group games .. find outlets for impulses which might endanger the harmony of social groups, and .. allow individuals to express, in a constructive way, impulses which might otherwise be

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1. Groos K., op. cit., p.216.
 2. Woodworth R.S., Psychology, A Study of Mental Life, p.555.
 3. Balint Edna, Play and Imagination, New Era, 1947, Vol.28, p.211.
 4. Jackson L. and Todd K.M., Child Treatment and the Therapy of Play, London, 1946, p.4. See also Lowenfield, op. cit., pp. 67, 74.

socially repressed and prohibited."¹ Aggression finds its most satisfactory outlet it seems when the object the player is smashing belongs to another person. Lowenfield has pointed out that in an experiment she conducted the accuracy of childrens' throwing improved when they were able to personify the object aimed at. Presumably an object that belongs to another person might also be taken to stand for that person (just as the name does in naming games) or for anybody else that the child would like to kick, hit or aggress in some way. There are many parallels for this sort of personification in primitive life.²

In respect now to the evolution which takes place in skill games. In this part, varied aspects of the way in which skill games gradually evolve to team games, the way in which children's spontaneous variations of skill games reflect their psychological needs, and the essential characteristics of team games, are dealt with.

The great majority of skill games recorded above have a formation which is the same as the loose formation in the He, Pack and Leader games. The characteristic arrangement of these games is that of a loosely bound group of players, each member playing for himself against any other member of the group with whom the competition brings him temporarily into conflict. At any given moment there is generally one or two

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1. Pickford P.W., Psychology of the Games & Sport, op. cit., p.289.
 2. Gomme, op. cit., p. 472.

players at the centre of attention with other players converging upon that centre or preparing for such time as it will be their turn to take a part. Williamson describes the situation as follows¹: "The exhortations to pass were ignored, since every man was for himself. If one swift individual dribbled the worn dirty ball, a score pursued him, bumping, charging and shouting." There are two main types of this "one versus the rest" game. The more elementary type (type a) is that in which one player, whose identity is always changing, plays the rest. The other players are united in their opposition to him (Bull in the Ring, Hopping Base, Bumpers, Humpty Dumpty, King of the Castle, Scrag, No Man Standing). These games resemble very closely the characteristic Help-He game. The one individual has many of the characteristics of the He. He is taunted. But he is more than just taunted. He is now actively attacked. Anyone who sets himself up as He, does so at his own peril, and he maintains his position only by superior strength and skill. The game does not demand that every player in the course of the game shall show his hand. Many players can join in without daring to take the leading (or He) position.

In the more advanced type of game (type b), each player must at some stage explicitly show his hand and try to be the winner. Each player is out to win for himself and he does not help the other players. Nor does the game have one dominant player. (A Bull or a King) In these (type b) games

1. Williamson H., Dandelion Pays, Penguin, 1950, p.36.

often there are only two players, one of whom plays against the other. They are essentially tests of skill (Tops, Marbles, Buttons, Hop the Hats), whereas, in the earlier types (type a), large numbers are the rule and the mode is roughness, strength and physical contact. For brevity the first type will be referred to henceforth as type (a) and the second as type (b).

A feature of both types of game is that the players will often combine together to face the rest. "Waxing" is a common term for this arrangement, and when players "wax" they share turns with each other. This is a very well known practice in primary and post-primary schools when informal football kicking and cricket is in progress.

It was possible to arrange the games to suggest the gradual transformation from the He versus the group (to Help He v. the group; to He v. help group; to help He v. help group) to Team games. In skill games the transformation to team games is not so well graduated, particularly as organized games imposed from above have interrupted the spontaneous patterning of these games by the children themselves. Nevertheless the skill games do seem to contain the record of a developmental sequence within their diverse structures. First there is type (a) above, then type (b) and on the whole it seems true to say that type (b) is the type most indulged in where the playing group and the playing locality is of an established nature. There are however always occasional reversions to the more simple pattern of type (a). In both types individuals, by waxing, take the game one stage further

along the road to team games. Further there is record of games which were once played in schools and which contained both individual and team variants. These games were: Buck Buck, King of the Castle, Whip and Peg Top, Duckstones, Bar the Door, Hares and Hounds, Echo, Tip Cat, Cunjo, Hoops, and Hop-Scotch. Presumably in the days when these games were played, it would have been possible to observe a gradual transition from the individual to the team forms. Children probably combined together for mutual assistance in a variety of unformalized ways. And these forms of co-operation would have been the intermediary forms of the game, which were the basis of later team games.. They would not have been recorded, however, as they would not have given rise to distinctive game forms. Today, the same sort of informal co-operation is to be found in the midst of children's spontaneous variations of the major sports. These variations are practically all in the form of type (a) or type (b) games above or in the form of fluid team games. The rules are relaxed, the game is speeded up, and all participants are more active. (Mark, Kick and Collar, Defence, French Cricket). This reduction of the team organization suggests that, in their spontaneous play, children adapt organized games to suit their own particular psychological needs. It suggests further, that this adaption as well as the culture-value attached to the playing of sports is responsible for the fact that children spend so much of their time happily playing those sports spontaneously. It is important to note that often older players in the post-primary schools are forced to simplify

games in the same manner, but that their simplification is due as much to the limiting conditions under which they must play as it is to any desire for a reduction in the psychological burden of the game. The limiting conditions are: small numbers, too many players, restricted playing space or time.

Where team games exist in spontaneous primary school play they tend to follow the amorphous lines of the early Rugby tradition. Each side is of indeterminate numbers and always changing in strength. New players arrive; old ones leave; some change sides. The most universal of all the sports variations -- soccer tennis ball is of this nature. Occasionally there are not even clearly marked goals; the whole end of a playground is goal enough. The two conflicting hordes interweave and clash both amongst themselves and with other bodies going other places, and doing other things in the same playground. The ball that finds its way clearly through this jungle of intermeshing legs is a remarkable one. The point to note is that when children of the primary school do play team games spontaneously, they most often tend to play team games in which the teams are of a relatively fluid nature. The teams lose and gain players. It was noticed that this was the nature of the earliest Bar the Door forms of team games. It is also the nature of Echo, which is one of the few extant spontaneous team games in schools today. Some of the team games that were played in former days, however, had the static team membership which characterized modern sports. Presumably this static team organization represents a further stage in development and presupposes the existence of an older-age

playing group, such as regularly attended schools in the days prior to the abolition of the Proficiency examination. But it is noticeable that when children of the primary school today (even the upper primary school) do play team games with static team formations, the teams tend to be ^{small}/(four aside football etc.) And this was the case with the spontaneous but static team formations of yesterday which have just been referred to. (including games like Monkey on the Bridge, Duckstones, and the other games mentioned above).

The picture of development in skill games, therefore, parallels that which has been pictured in He games. There are individualistic skill games, the informal Help type of skill games, (of types a and b above), other games in which the children co-operate in a variety of informal ways. Then during the middle and upper primary school years, there is the growth of team games; team games of the fluid type and team games in which the teams are static but small. I very much doubt whether children of twelve and under have the necessary physical and psychological maturity to regularly organize themselves into the major sports' team formations. It is true that these younger children, especially in the upper primary years, occasionally approximate to these formations. (under the influence of coaching by adults). But in these cases they seldom play with properly differentiated team positions and with the whole apparatus of rules which are a characteristic part of these sports. Nevertheless, it is equally true that adults can, and do, organize children into these sports formations right down to the seven year olds. They do not,

however, have much success with children below the ten year old age group. Children left to themselves would hardly approximate to such complex forms of organization before the age of 13 or 14 years.

This picture of the evolution of skill games will now be illustrated with more detailed reference to the nature of the skills and emotions involved in the successive stages of the games. First, with reference to physical skills. Where the skills which are present in some elementary games do not reappear in the same form in later and more advanced games, it is probable that the general co-ordinations effected by the early skill games are utilized in other, non play fields. A culture like ours, with its Gods of Sport, limits the possibilities of further development within play. Certain games are not wanted at a later age level; for example, Marbles. Yet there is no inherent reason why marbles in an advanced and complicated form should not be a highly respectable adult activity. I have heard that Maori men have been seen playing the game in the vicinity of Rotorua and there is record of regular marble playing in the Bay of Islands in the 'seventies with gambling as a side-line.¹ Despite the fate of marbles and other elementary diversions such as stagknife and knucklebones, many of the skills of these elementary skill games are quite clearly taken up into the more complex games of a later age. The chasing and tagging of He games have a part to play, first, in skill games such as Dunk and Davy, Egg Cap and Duckstones, and then later in nearly

1. Harcourt Melville, The Day Before Yesterday, 246.

every sport, but in particular in those sports such as Rugby or Hockey where the possessor of the ball is pursued by fifteen or eleven fiery demons of the opposing team. In these games there, is a complete reversal of the original position where all feared the He. Now, no one fears the He. They are all after him. They tackle him hard. Any individual who takes up that He-like position, although he has the chance of glory, he also takes enormous risks. It is shown above that in the type (a) games the players attack the He according to their individual ability (King of the Castle). In team games all the players must be prepared always to tackle the He-like player. All the team players, have become, by virtue of their individual skills, He-like themselves. They have become independent man-like creatures.

The evolution of other skills can also be traced in the same games. The co-ordination of hand and eye in **Tops, Conkers, Soldiers, Marbles, Tip cat, Hot rice and Rounders** appears again in the hitting of **Hockey Cricket and Baseballs**. The basis for throwing and passing balls of all descriptions is to be found in **Duckstones, Ducksand drakes, E. s. d, Donkey O'leary etc.** Pitch and Toss, Bells, Quoits, Toodle-em-buck and other pitching skills, which it should be added have little place in the minor games of schools today, lay the basis for bowls. Hopping and skipping have an outlet in the sidestepping of **Basketball and Football**. The attempts of Leader players to move without being seen, find outlet in similar movements in **Basketball** in which a player tries to avoid her marker. Jumping and acrobatics find outlet in various athletic

performances. And the heaving, ragging, shoving and pushing of Sacks on the mill, Heave Ho, and Pack play are immortalized in the Rugby Ruck! In the spontaneous variations of organized sports there are many more examples of the way in which various of the skills used in team games are isolated, and employed ^{which are} in games based on these isolated skills alone. One of the reasons ^{why} ~~that~~ a team game appears to satisfy older players is that it involves playing with so many skills at the one time; skills which are manifested separately in the more elementary skill games.

With reference to the evolution of the emotions in these games; it would be wrong to imagine that the gradual development of skills is the only development involved in the transformation from skill to Team games. Psychological transformations are correlated with these. It has been mentioned, for example, that through their achievements in physical skills the players gradually become manly -- they become He-like themselves. Long after the players cease to be awed or frightened by the He, they continue to fear that their own standards of skill will not be maintained. Their fear of the He transfers to their fear that the standards with which they originally faced the He will not continue to safeguard them. It could be said, therefore, that in a sense the original He fear, always remains with the players although it suffers transformations throughout their lives. In its later stages it exists as only one component in that complex impulse which ^{ever} spurs them on to new achievements and urges them not to let their standards drop. In New Zealand, the fear

that Rugby standards will drop is, at times, almost a cultural hysteria, as was shown in Section 1.

It has already been mentioned that the 'packiness' of boys' cowboy games is later expressed in Rugby rucks, and public drinking in "schools".

The evolution of the Leader game psychology is to be seen in the colourful display of girls' basketball teams. Perhaps the clearest adult play-manifestation of the Leader game ~~psychology~~ desire to be out in front, however, is to be found in womens' Marching Teams. These have sprung up all over the country in recent years.¹ They cater chiefly for adolescent girls and are, in effect, team games (there are large-scale competitions) in which the essence of the competition is effective display.

The Play-objects of team games probably continue to carry something of the emotional significance they had in the individual skill games. The football or bricketball may represent the 'treasure' that is sought. They may be personified. They may become a symbol of power as do the victorious '40-er' conker and the pegging top with a niche in it.² A cricket ball, the bowler's power, may skittle the historic symbol of the batsman's integrity, the triadic wickets;³ unless, that is, the batsman for his part can punish the bowler's symbol and race from

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1. Dominion, Oct. 31st, 1949, under heading New Status urged for Marching Girls' Teams, says "New Zealand is the only country in the world where the sport is conducted on an organized and competitive basis".
 2. Gomme, *op. cit.*, V.2, p.471.
 3. Jung C.G., Psychology of the Unconscious, p.125.

home to home, crease to crease, in a victorious exhibition of his power and independence. The Baseball player creeps from base to base, or if he is particularly powerful, skirts the outside line and comes safely back again for a "Homer".

Pickford has suggested that the rugby and soccer balls may be "symbols of potency."¹ The rugby player, he suggests, has a particular liking for the ball. He likes to hug and possess it to the exclusion of the other players. Perhaps it could be said also that the Rugby player lavishes upon his ball the tender feelings which as a boy he was not permitted to lavish on dolls. If this is so then the uppermost symbol of the Rugby player's masculinity is also the centre of his 'sissiest' feelings. I remember myself the joy with which I used to handle a football (and still do) I liked to take it to bed with me, to have it at the foot of my bed while I slept, to play endless games with it on my own.

(The arches formed by goal posts and scrum formations may have something of the significance of the arches in singing games (e.g. Oranges and Lemons). A ball that is shot through the arch brings success. First it is put into the scrum, then it is reborn out the back, then its new independence is tested by the merits of the backs (instead of by the ^{tug-o-war} ~~scrum~~ as in Oranges and Lemons). Alternatively, in Soccer and Hockey the ball is kicked into a net, this may have something of the same unconscious significance as occurs when a stick is poked into a dental cavity and a hand pushed into a burrow.)

1. Pickford R.W., Aspects of the Psychology of Sports and Games, Brit. Jnl. of Psych. April, 1941, p.283.

The point to be stressed is that in team games many experiences expressed singularly in children's games come together into the complex whole of the game. There is in the field of feeling, a continuity and evolution in development the same way as there is in the field of skills. Some investigators note that it is at about puberty that team games begin. There is a loss of interest in predominantly dramatic, individual and manipulative skills. Purfey states that the data "certainly suggests that the sudden loss of interest is due to pubescence."¹ Lehmann and Witty hesitate to count pubescence as the causal factor in the onset of team games. "The fact that the present writers wish to emphasize is that of parallelism between the onset of pubescence and the waning of numerous play interests."² In 1937 Dimock pronounced definitely against the idea of any causal connection between the two phenomena "We cannot over-emphasize the fact that play phenomena having average ages of cessation which are roughly equivalent to pubertal phenomena are not thereby demonstrated to be a result of physiological maturity."³ The evidence of this thesis suggests that there is a gradual evolution of skills feelings and no radical change at any one age.

Having shown that individual games gradually evolve into

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1. Purfey Paul H., Pubescence and Play Behaviour, American Jnl. of Psych., Vol. 41, 1929, p.111.
 2. Lehmann H.C. & Witty P.A., A Study of Play in Relation to Pubescence, The Jnl. of Social Psychology, Vol.1, 1930, p.515.
 3. Quoted by Wayne Dennis, The Adolescent in Carmichael, L. Manual of Child Psych., p.651.

team games it is necessary next to deal with the essential differences between them.

The essential difference between the individual skill player and the team-player is that the latter can more easily accept set rules. How does this come about? It is a commonplace that in the team games both the numbers in the teams and the roles of the players are fixed throughout. In the skill games on the contrary there is a fluidity and changeableness both in the organization of the game and the roles of the individual players "this changeableness has been recognized as a fundamental phenomenon of youth and a part of its characteristic quality."¹ At one time the children want the experience of 'fearing' the He, at another time they want the experience of being the powerful one who chases. The more fluid games of earlier years are presumably expressions of these ambivalent feelings. If the children were always fastened too firmly to one role their natures might rebel. There would be other feelings in themselves for which they would not be able to find a play use. Long experience of this position and that position, of the contrary feelings of fear and attack, of the desirability of assistance and of the enjoyment of defeating 'worthy' opponents, introduces them to a feeling for the structure of the game and an appreciation of its variable roles. For example, as is the case with the boys in H.G. Wells' "Floor Games", dispute gives rise to the decision that one boy shall be in charge of one town and the other boy in charge of a

1. Lowenfield, op. cit., p.240.

second town. In this way they can continue to play together yet each be in charge. Out of their desire to compromise inconsistent wishes, a rule arises. The same occurs in the following case: "We played imitative games till eleven. The only rule was that the child visiting should always be allowed to choose which form the play should take -- more to prevent argument than as a courtesy measure". (Timaru 35). When a group play-act has been repeated several times to the satisfaction of all, feelings (and on the part of the more articulate, verbalized idea) arise in the mind of the players and are held fast by them in order to ensure a satisfying repetition of their group play act. These feelings and ideas may be called rules by the children. But they may not. Piaget notes that children are capable of playing together long before they can agree in abstract about the 'rules' of their game.

And so it goes on. A feeling for rules, and later a verbal consciousness of these rules arises out of long play experience of the mutual patterning of events. (Children may shorten this process by the guidance they receive from older children - but it must, not, of course, be unduly shortened or otherwise the rules will have the savour of injustice, not of experience, for the younger children). There must be long years of preparation with imitative patterns of increasing detail and the simple formula of He, Pack and Leader games, before the few rules of individual skill games are understood. In turn there is much experience of these skill rules before the rigid team patterns become acceptable. The feature of

skill games is that they are a sort of compromise between individual changeableness and rigid rules. Marbles is perhaps the most interesting example of this compromise so it will¹ be dealt with in some detail.

Within the rules marbles contains rules which allow the player to break the rules. These rules are terms, which when said by a player alter the game to his own advantage. They are, perhaps, best called "Action-terms", because they compel action. They exert a control over the course of events, just as the Queenie's use of the appropriate name (the player's name, who has the ball) also exerts a control over the course of events. The action-terms are latent until brought into play by the evocation of one of the players. By pronouncing say 'screws' a player is permitted to screw his marble, that is, take it from ^{one} position to another to obtain a more advantageous position. The mere pronouncement of the words 'screws', temporarily, introduces a new rule into the game. Once the "shot" has been played, the action relapses to the basic rule structure on which the game proceeds, unless of course another player evokes another action-term which will, he hopes, change things to his advantage. These various action-terms which can be used by the players to vary the game in their own ^{apply} favour to the following aspects of the game itself, the method of shooting, moving one's own or another's marble, taking an opponent's marbles.

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1. Examples are given in some detail in order to illustrate the point. It is worth mentioning that if all the details on the play of marbles were recorded it would constitute from 80 to 100 typed pages.

Action terms which refer to the shooting of marbles are: Knuckle down stiff, Knee High, Flunks or Funnicks, Slips, Firsts and Lasts and Forces. To give an example of just one of these. The term "Knuckle down Stiff" (Taranaki 80, Gisborne 85, Waitara 95) is mentioned by Gomme.¹ She says in Knuckle-down the player "must stoop and shoot with the knuckle of the first finger touching the ground at taw." As Taranaki 80 says, "The term was called out in order to prevent too easy a success against a marble near the ring." It was less advantageous to fire with the hand on the ground than with the hand elevated, perhaps at "Knee High". At Palmerston 40 it was the victim's privilege (the player whose marble you were about to fire at) to cry out how many knuckles you must put down, for example, "Knuckledown, three fingers stiff". The action-term is known also more simply as Knuckledown (Rockville 90).

Action terms related to the movements of marbles are, Throughs and No Throughs, Tracks and Clears, Stops and Rolls, Lay-Up, Manyies, Kiss, Ons, Gees, Haystacks, Stays, Spiders Can't Cross a River etc. Action terms related to taking an opponent's marbles are Fires, Double-Hits and Forces.

There are in addition certain Action-terms which can best be termed Universals. For example, any of the above Action-terms may be negated by adding No to the front of them. For example, if a player fears that another player is going to destroy an advantage he has by calling out "Knuckle-Down stiff", he may anticipate the use of that action term by crying out,

1. Gomme Lady A.B., op. cit., Vol. 1, p.113.

"No Knuckle down stiff", and thus retain his advantage. However, even though he has safeguarded himself that way the other player may still handicap him by the use of another negative action term such as No Screws. The easiest way, therefore, for a player to avoid any handicaps which may be imposed upon him by his rival using an action term, is for him to use a universal action term-negative. Thus by crying out Nuts (Caversham, Nth. East Valley), or Vanes (Hampden), or Nothings (Taranaki 90) he can cancel out any action-terms that his opponent is about to use. He may then use any action-term he wishes to employ himself. The universal only lasts for the duration of his ~~next~~ shot.

There is another and very interesting class of action terms. These I have termed borderline action terms. They are terms which are accepted by some players in the school as legitimate action-terms but are regarded by other (generally older) players as unfair, as "cheats". Consider, for example the use of the borderline action terms Sleets (Caversham) and Do's (Nth. East Valley). These are two action terms which are meant to overcome a difficulty which sometimes arises in the marble game of Holey. The first player to reach the hole may discover that although he is now entitled to fire at his opponent, the opponent's marble is too far away for him to hit it. He may then attempt to force the opponent to bring his marble nearer to the hole by the use of the action-term "Sleets". If he says Sleets before the opponent can negate the use of such an action term by crying 'Nuts', then the opponent is forced to bowl his marble in the direction of the hole. The opponent may

evade the intention of the first player by giving his marble just a little dribble towards the hole or throwing it right past the hole. The first player can counter this little dribble by saying 'Sleets Two Times' or 'Sleets Three Times', but that is the limit to the number of times he can make the second player sleet. If, however, the second player goes past the hole, the first player can overcome the difficulty by saying "Sleets to the hole". That is, the other player must sleet up to the hole but not beyond it. At any stage the second player can bar this action-term with 'Nuts'. To use sleets, however, has dangers for the first player, for should the second player sleet right into the hole, then he is entitled to the next shot and can then fire at the first player's marble. That was the usage at Caversham. At Nth. East Valley on the otherside of the town a similar move was in operation, but the action-term was "Dos" rather than sleets. The first player to the hole says "One do", "Three Dos", "No more Dos". "Dos" alone of course can be evaded by the second player making an indiscriminate throw. But the expression "Dos to the hole" cannot be gainsaid. But at Nth. East Valley "Doss" can be countered by the action-term "Knock-out," which entitles the second player to have a shot at the first player's marble in an attempt to knock it out of the hole. He fires this shot from the knee-high position. After three 'Doss' the one in the hole must have a shot at the second player's marble.

In the first example above the rule was regarded as of a borderline character whereas at the second school it was accepted as a legitimate part of the game.. The names of some other

borderline terms are Double Distance (Nth. East Valley), Covers (Hampden), Backs (Wadestown), Slips (Karori), Takes (Nelson).

It is important to distinguish these "Action-Terms" of marbles from the innumerable merely descriptive marble terms which have no effect on the course of action, Terms such as Ringer, In, Smug, Dead Stick, Skun, Skinned, Sported off, Scat, Cannons, Dubs, Kills, Funs, Keeps, Pink. The usage of these action terms in marbles is an important illustration of the interpenetration of language and experience which was spoken of at some length in the previous chapter.

But to resume the main discussion of the distinction between individual and team games. Piaget claims that there are definite and clearly marked stages in the development of games and that these differences are indicated by the attitudes¹ of children towards the rules of their games. Younger children regard the rules as sacred, children in the middle years dispute about them and older children use them wisely. All the evidence that has been presented above, however, indicates that in the practice of games there is a gradual step by step development in the 'practical' understanding of rules. This practical and unverbilized understanding of rules is clearly, therefore, a different thing from the "attitude" to rules which Piaget studies. It seems, ^{that} ~~as~~ when Piaget asks children about their attitude to rules, he learns from ^{them} /only something

1. Piaget J., The Moral Judgement of the Child, London, 1932, p. 37.

about their attitudes to verbalized standards (or abstractions), he does not learn their ability to understand in an implicit and practical way the working rules of the game. It is clear, for example, that a young child may participate in a game of Hide and Seek, hide when others do, seek when others do, without having adequate word symbols to describe his activity. That child's attitude to the correct formulation of that activity by someone else will be different therefore, to its working attitude to the game in play. As Piaget, says himself "It is only when they are at play that these children succeed in understanding each other."¹ Surely then, if this is the case, it is hardly true to say that there are clearly demarcated stages in the development of games. There is rather gradual evolution of game-playing skill. And this development which provides children with a wealth of physical, social and intellectual experience gradually leads towards that stage in their lives when the children are able to reach beyond a pragmatic to an abstract understanding of their games. Children's answers at an early stage represent little but "their ignorance and lack of organized experience,"² little but their attitude to authority and its dictates.

Finally, with reference to the sexual differences in games of physical skill: In schools, children of S.5 and 6 tend to devote themselves almost entirely to competitive games and

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1. Piaget J., The Moral Judgement of the Child, London, 1932, p. 35.
 2. Isaacs S., Intellectual Growth in Young Children, p.78.

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their associate skills. Namely, basketball, football, kicks, goals, sides, soccer tennis ball, hitting tennis balls, throwing cricket balls etc. This is truer of the boys than the girls. Nowhere are girls affected so extensively by major sports as are boys. Whereas most of the older boys will adhere to Football and Cricket religiously through winter and summer respectively, older girls often relieve their attention to sports with seasons of Skipping and Hopscotch. Such subsidiary 'seasons' are of less importance to boys in the upper part of the primary school.

Standard 3/4 constitute an intermediary group, alternating a growing interest in skills and competition with the more imaginative pursuits of Pack and Imitative games. Subsidiary skill games of widespread importance for boys in these years are Marbles and Tops; for girls, Skipping and Hopscotch; for both, Bar the Door and (to an increasing extent) Longball. Chasing and Hide and Seek, persist throughout the primary school years although, again these games star more frequently with the girls who are freer from the dominance of sport than boys are in this respect as well as in others.

Some investigators report that the greatest² variety of all games are played by boys. However, I am of the opinion that, as far as the playground alone is concerned, girls

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1. Supported by Crosswell, quoted Hurlock E.B., The Exptl. Investigation of Play, op. cit. See also Gesell A., The Child from Five to Ten, New York, 1946, Age 9 years.
 2. Lehmann H.C. and Witty P.A., The Psychology of Play Activities, p.106. Other investigators report contrary findings. Hurlock, op. cit., p.57.

exhibit a greater variety in their play. Consider for example all the Leader variants and He variants which are patronized chiefly by the girls and the fact that boys' play is predominated by Sport and Pack games. It is not a question, however, which can be simply decided by counting games -- as some overseas investigators have done. Are all the Pack games to count as one, for example, or does every variant of Cops and Robbers count as a new game? Taking into account all the activities that children play it is true that boys usually record a wider variety. This is due to the greater freedom that boys have outside the school. It is due also to a fact previously emphasized that there is more implicit adult guidance for girls' play than there is for boys. This guidance restricts the ~~avenues for~~^{outlets for} girls' play, particularly round the home and guides^{it} into avenues with a more conventional flavour.¹

Another important difference in the skill preferences of boys and girls is that whereas boys play a greater number of active games including motor activity, muscular dexterity, skill, strength, catching, kicking and throwing, girls on the whole choose less vigorous plays.² Girls show a greater interest in jumping, hopping and skipping games. An interest which it seems is connected with the greater interest of girls in rhythmic games. Girls are the great exponents of skipping

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1. Lehmann and Witty, op. cit., pp. 102, 103.
 2. ibid, p.106. Also Terman Psychological Sex Differences in Carmichael, op. cit., p. 959 and p.523.

ball-bouncing and handclapping games, and their interest in these rhythmic games is quite unparalleled in the play of boys. It is an interest moreover, which is complemented by the girls' interest in the 'verbal' aspects of play. Rhymes of all sorts play a greater part in the play of girls - think for example of one of the greatest of all fields for children's rhyming play today --- skipping! This interest arises in the early primary years and is generally very noticeable in S.2. The verbal factor is evident also in other branches of girls' play, for example, the guessing and naming Leader games. It is an interest which traces no doubt to the innate superiority of girls in verbal matters, also once again to the fact that the girls' role provides greater place for instruction in the use of words.¹ It seems highly probable that there is a connection between the interest of girls in rhythmic games and their superiority at gymnastics. Both are expressions of the superior co-ordination which experienced physical education specialists claim is evident throughout all the physical work of pre-pubertal girls and which is certainly evidenced in their tendency to play games of a rhythmic nature. It is not too great a stretch of the imagination to suppose that girls are encouraged in this co-ordination and rhythm in play by the relatively secure and certain nature of their growing up process. For rhythm at all ages, whether in rocking babies or dancing adults is a manifestation of contented security.² Rhythm in

1. Lehmann and Witty, op. cit., p.94.

2. See Gorer G., Africa Dances, Penguin, 1945, p.191.

the lives of girls may be similar evidence of security and contentment. Boys with no certainty of 'role' - action and little guidance in the language of 'maledom' (except of course swearing and slang, the language of 'tough guys') pursue their inarticulate way as "wild boys" rushing hither and thither, manifesting energy and strength, but devoid of the secure enjoyments of quiet co-ordination and rhythm.

CONCLUSION TO PART II. SECTION II.

The preceeding chapters contain a picture of the developments which occur in the games of primary school children, and make suggestions about the psychological and physical developments which appear to be reflected in those games. It is the task of this conclusion to summarize briefly these suggestions. The picture of psychological and physical development reflected is a picture of individual and group growth centring round the fact of increasing individual and group independence. The stages of this growth, as mirrored in the games, are as follows: In the earliest years -- the infant and early primary years -- children project themselves into parental roles. It is the tendency of the girls to model themselves on a female role which is centred in the home. This role, is a relatively secure role, it has a definite pattern and provides scope for personal leadership and exhibition. It is role in which words and rhythm play an important part. It is the tendency of the boys on the other-hand to project themselves into a male role which is centred beyond the home. This role is a relatively uncertain role and is characterized by action, noise and aggressiveness.

In groping towards independence the children of both sexes encounter the fear and anxiety involved in becoming independent. They express a desire to fly from the unknown

and fearful outer world back to the security of babyhood. They must, however, go forward into that outer world. The whole world around them demands it. But their dramatizations of this process make it abundantly clear that they only finally achieve this independence through an immense and almost epic like struggle. The whole of their childhood period, in effect, is devoted to acquiring, through unceasing effort, those skills which will not only equip them for battle in this outer world but will also emancipate them, at last, from all those fears and phantoms which have been ever ready to drag them back. They are aided in their struggle for independence by the presence of other children in a like predicament with whom they can form into age-sex groups. In time their flight from, and later their protest against, the fearful outer world, gives way to security in face of the new emotions that have arisen with independence. Independence at first, insecurely held in secrecy and through treasure, gives way to independence held by the merit of individual and team skills, physical and intellectual.

It is a story of the passage from imagination to realism, from family ties to age group ties. And that is the crux of the whole matter, for it is clear that, whatever else they may do, games lead children from family ties to age group ties. Here in the games they are free to express their common fears and their common desires and by so doing they are free to learn to live together.

CONCLUSION TO SECTION TWO.

Section Two set out to discover the nature of unorganized games in order to assess the significance of the historical changes which had been mapped in Section One. Part One of Section Two suggested that in order to discover the nature of these games, it was necessary to investigate the nature of the group playing those games. Part Two of Section Two outlined a variety of motives in the lives of the players which appeared to be reflected in the developments of the games. It was assumed throughout Part Two that games did reflect these motives. It remains now to consider precisely how it is that games can reflect these motives and what the significance is of the fact that they do. This is, in effect, a study of the nature of play. Without such a study it is impossible to accomplish the aim of this thesis as stated in the first sentence above.

SECTION THREE

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

INTRODUCTION TO SECTION THREE.

This section is divided into three chapters.

Chapter 23 attempts to systematize the motives which have a part to play in games.

Chapter 24 considers the way in which games reflect these motives, and in doing so, chapter 24 outlines a theory of the nature of play.

Chapter 25 considers the significance of children's unorganized games in the light of this theory of play.

CHAPTER TWENTYTHREE

THE ORIGINS OF PLAY

The motives which play a part in children's games can be arranged into two groups. These groups will be termed universal motives and culture-pattern motives; categories which are of a more or less arbitrary nature. They are based on the observation of patterns of behaviour in games, and patterns of behaviour do not characteristically stand in any clear cut, one to one, relationship "with the physical or psychical needs¹ which underly them." This two-group arrangement has been adopted, however, in the hope that it will throw some further light on the nature of games; it has not been adopted because it is thought to represent something fixed about human psychology.

Firstly, with reference to the so-called "universal" motives.

The foregoing chapters describe and refer to an immense variety of games. Many many types of physical, intellectual and emotional activities have been referred to. So varied are the activities which have been described that the conclusion can hardly be avoided that the motivations which underly these

1. Linton R., The Cultural Background of Personality, p.5.

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Activities must also be very diverse. Unfortunately, it has been necessary throughout the preceeding chapters to concentrate only on the motives which the players have had in common in the games which have been discussed. This concentration of attention upon a limited number of motives may have given, quite erroneously, the over-all impression, that only a few motives are involved in any one game. In fact, innumerable motives may be involved in a game. But, to have listed all the possible motives for every game would have been tedious. Strictly speaking, it would have been the correct procedure. If this had been done; if all the diverse motives involved in every game had been listed, the impression created, would have been an impression of immense diversity. A diversity which was modified only by the presence of certain common themes of a more general nature. For example, it would have been observed that games expressed many purposes, that they expressed the desire of children for the experience and advancement of their manifold physical capacities -- their multiple abilities to taste, smell, see, hear, feel and move; for the experience and advancement of their mental capacities, their abilities to perceive symbolic and physical relationships and interrelationships; for the experience and advancement of their emotional capacities, their ability to feel a wide range of emotions and their interrelationships; and for the expression and development of all these abilities both individually and in

1. Although this is, of course, a matter of dispute. See Is the Doctrine of Instincts Dead? A Symposium, British Jnl. of Edn. Psych., Vol.13, 1943, pp.1,15.

relation to other people.

As an example of the multiple motives which may be involved in any one game, consider once more, the game of Tops. In the previous chapters this game has been considered only with the top as a phallic object or as a vent for aggression, and as a competitive game involving a throwing skill. But it could be considered also from many other points of view. It could be considered with reference to the muscular satisfactions derived from the hand co-ordinations involved in winding and throwing the top, the constructive abilities involved in making top, string and whip; the empathic satisfaction in watching the top pirouette in and out of the circle; the sense of spatial relationships when the top is thrown next door to or on top of another top; the visual satisfaction of spinning movement; the auditory satisfaction of the whirring sound; the narcissistic joy of owning a bigger brighter or better top than anyone else; the prestige in having the latest Australian hard wood top from Woolworths or in having a top of Grandpas that has split thirty other tops in its day; the satisfaction in being a member of a group of top players and in feeling emphatically accepted when pegging a top more successfully than is customary amongst the group. Any explanation which stops short of a multiple explanation of this nature is clearly an over-simplification.

The great diversity of motives involved in a game, however, must not be taken to mean that human motives are infinitely diverse, infinitely plastic. On the contrary underlying the variations of time and place there appears to be

certain common and universal motives in human nature.¹ Wayne
 Dennis expresses the fact this way, "personality has a substratum
 that is common to all human beings everywhere. This implies
 common limitations as well as potentialities."² And Mead
 says, "The most useful assumption seems to be that we may
 expect ultimately to identify in human beings an original
 nature which has a very definite form or structure."³

What is the basis for this universal substratum of
 human personality? There are several suggestions. Hunt and
 Cairn focus attention on the physical similarities of all men.
 "It has been pointed out that the similarity in the basic motor
 activities of all mankind is due to similarity in man's
 physical make-up. Physiology knows no racial or national
 boundaries."⁴ The Henrys, on the otherhand, refer to the
 universality of certain psychic processes. "Perhaps the best
 answer, in terms of evidence at present available, is that
 psychoanalysts are right in asserting the universality of
 certain emotional mechanisms of infancy and early childhood.
 Since all human children are born helpless and receive their
 early experience in a family made up of older persons of both
 sexes, it is plausible that there should be general themes that

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1. Beaglehole E., *Interpersonal Theory and Social Psychology*,
 in Mullahy P., A Study of Interpersonal Relations, New York,
 1949.
 2. Dennis Wayne, Does Culture appreciably affect patterns of
 Infant Behaviour, Journal of Social Psychology, Vol.12, 1940,
 p.305.
 3. Mead Margaret, Anthropological Data on the Problem of Instinct,
 in Kluckhohn and Murray, Personality in Nature, Society and
 Culture, p.3.
 4. Hunt S.E. and Cain E., Games the World Around, p.4.

transcend cultures and other effects of membership in a particular group."¹

Is there evidence for the existence of certain universal motives from the comparative study of games? It seems that there is. Culin in his study of the games of the North American Indians demonstrates the similarity between the games of different groups of Indians and also the similarity between these games and the games of other continents. It is only necessary to mention the names of some of these Indian games to indicate their similarity with the games of the European tradition. For example, there are Games of chance (dice and guessing) and games of dexterity. The latter include, Archery, Javelin Throwing, Target shooting, Ball games and Racing. Games of Hoop and Pole, Ring and Pin, Stone-throwing, Shuffle-board, Jackstones, Stilts, Tops, Bull-Roarers, Buzz Pop-guns, Cat's Cradle, Archery, Football, Handball, Ball juggling, Tip cat, Shuttle-cock, Quoits etc.² Miller in his study of Primitive children shows the similarity of children's imitative games in widely dispersed areas.³ Reference to more recent anthropological works demonstrates that there are many similarities between the games of different ethnic groups, including many similarities between the games described in the

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1. Henry Jules and Zunia, Doll Play of Pilaga Indian Children, in Kluckhohn and Murray, Personality in Nature, Society and Culture, p.236.
 2. Culin S., Games of the North American Indians, Bureau of Am. Ethnology, 1907, p.11. See also Culin S., Mancala, The National Game of Africa, Report of the U.S. Museum, 1896; Falkener E., Games Ancient and Oriental and How to Play Them, London, 1892; Roth Walter E., Games Sports and Amusements, Nth. Queensland and Ethnography Bulletin, No.4, Microfilm. Tylor E.B., Primitive Culture.
 3. Miller N., The Child in Primitive Society, London, 1928, p.144.

previous chapters and the games of other peoples. For
 example, there are references to Arch games (Duaua)¹; Round
 games (Melanesia)²; Child Stealing Games, Blindfold and
 Animal games (Muria)³; Chasing games (Pilaga)⁴. Reference
 to historical works shows further that the games of ancient times
 were also, in many cases, similar to the games of today.⁵ It
 is, therefore, possible to conclude with Marshall that "These
 descriptive studies bring out quite definitely the fact that
 the play life of childhood is strikingly independent of
 temporal or racial barriers,"⁶ to conclude also that these
 descriptive studies suggest the existence of certain universal
 motives which underly games wherever they may be found.

However, if these ^{universal} ~~pan-human~~ motives exist, and the
 reasons have been given for the belief that they do, they are
 never expressed except in terms of forms of behaviour congenial to
 the society in which the players live. That is, the universal
 physical intellectual and emotional potentialities find their

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1. Roheim G., Children's Games and Rhymes in Duau, Am. Anthropol., Jan. 43, Vol. 45.
 2. Malinowski B., The Sexual Life of Savages, p.49.
 3. Elwin Verrier, The Muria and Their Ghotul, Chap. 21.
 4. Henry J. and Z., op. cit.
 5. See for example, Oxford Classical Dictionary, Ball Games, p. 131; Ludi p.518; Thompson George, Aeschylus in Athens, London, 1941, p.112; White Gwen, A Book of Toys, London, 1946.
 6. Marshall H. Children's Play Games and Amusements, in Murchison, Handbook of Child Psych., p.516.

outlet only in terms of a particular culture pattern.¹ Further it is clear that this culture-pattern, that is, "the group membership determinants, brings about many variations on the basic themes."²

The classical anthropologists in their attention to the universal motives, and the similarities between different peoples, neglected the importance of these differences in games which are wrought by the divergent culture-patterns of different societies. It is because the culture-pattern ultimately moulds the forms in which game-making is expressed, that most of the emphasis in the preceeding chapters has been on motives which derive from the nature of the culture-pattern and not on motives which derive from the universal bases of all behaviour.

The way in which, what appear to be universal motives, are diversified by different culture patterns, is indicated in the following examples:- Chasing games would appear to be universal. Yet in Chapter 17, it was shown that the forms of New Zealand children's chasing games differ from the chasing games of the Pilaga Indians. Amongst the Pilaga Indians the overt expression of sexual interests is permitted, and sibling rivalry is not discouraged. Consequently, the Pilaga

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1. See Benedict R., Patterns of Culture, London, 1935, for an understanding of this term. Linton R., op. cit., p.21, defines a Culture-Pattern as follows. It is "The configuration of learned behaviour and results of behaviour whose component elements are shared and transmitted by the members of a particular society."
 2. Henry J. and Z., op. cit.

children's chasing games express both their sexual interests and their sibling rivalry. In New Zealand, sibling rivalry is modified by parental interference. Further sexual interests are not permitted overt expression. Father fears, however, are more important to New Zealand children. Their games express these facts. Round games also appear to be universal. But the round games of New Zealand children are concerned largely with Leader or He psychology. Whereas the round games of the Melanesians and Muria are concerned more¹ directly with the expression of sexual interests.

Tagging games appear to be universal. Compare, for example, the New Zealand game of Prisoner's base with the similar Maori game of Wi. In the European game -- which is a typical competitive game -- the players venture out individually beyond the home base and contest their skill against the skill of individuals from another team. They capture as many players of the other team as possible and rescue as many of their own players as possible. On the otherhand, in the early Maori game of Wi, described by Elsdon Best, the position is the reverse. The individual players do not venture out beyond the home base. They try to get back into it. The He player is the base-keeper. "The other children then endeavour to enter the circle of the base without being tagged by the base keeper. If one is so touched before he has crossed the line, then he must assist the base keeper in defending it. Those who enter without being touched are said to have won.

1. See Malinowski B. and Elwin Verrier, op. cit.

An East Coast note mentions a game of Wi in which there are four bases or stations, and each with a base keeper.¹ Now the Beaglehole's have claimed that a very important feature of the Maori character structure is the involvement of the Maori in a "constant unconscious struggle to regain some of the security and friendliness of infancy."² If the Beaglehole's' hypothesis is correct, and this regressive tendency was also a part of the Maori character-structure in the days when the Maoris played Wi,³ then this regressive tendency might explain the home-seeking character of the game Wi, (as contrasted with the home-quitting character of the European game of Prisoner's Base). From these two examples, it would appear as if these tagging games of the two cultures reflect emphases peculiar to the respective culture-patterns. Tagging is universal. The forms it takes depend on the nature of the culture in which it takes place.

What then is the nature of these culture-pattern motives? The material of the preceding chapters suggests that these motives are of two types, conscious and unconscious. It was stressed that the main conscious motive in our culture-pattern, is the competitive motive. Subsidiary motives mentioned were, role forming co-operative motives, that is, motives nominated as Leader and Pack motives; also role for individual motives, the desire to become a male or a female.

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1. Best Elsdon, Games and Pastimes of the Maori, p.92.
 2. Beaglehole E and P., Some Modern Maoris, p.144.
 3. The Beagleholes appear to consider that it was, c/o there references to Maui, p.145.

Mention was also made of unconscious motives which derived from the nature of the culture-pattern. Most important of these were the desire to escape both the "Old Woman" and the "He". It was shown that these two play expressions derived from the children's relationships with their parents and from the problems which naturally arose when they began to grow in independence of their parents.

There is one further point of some importance. It is, that the children's social nature, although in different senses included in both of the above categories has the primary part to play in games. For it is the social or group basis that all games have in common. This is the widest common denominator of all games no matter of what type they are or when or where they are played. This suggests that perhaps the main reason why children play games is that it is these games which allow their groups to go on existing as groups. A fact, which is brought out both vividly and poignantly in the commonly heard cry of children, "I'm not going to play with you", meaning "I'm not going to have any further social intercourse with you". In other words, for children, play and ~~peerhood~~ society are practically synonymous, which means, in effect, that games as group play habits, are the social conventions of childhood. Children seek play because they seek society, and they seek games because they habitually seek society.

In summary, the origin of games is to be found in the social nature of children as expressed through universal and culture-pattern motives. But in the actual entity a game all these motives co-exist and to understand how they co-exist we must

examine more closely the nature of play.

CHAPTER TWENTYFOUR

THE NATURE OF PLAY

It has been stated throughout the chapters of Section Two that games reflect various motives in the player's lives. What, precisely, is meant by the word reflect?

In the history of play-theory there have been two and, to some extent, inconsistent explanations of the relationship which exists between play and the motives which are "reflected" in play. On the ~~other~~^{one} hand it has been said that play is determined by the motives involved in it, that is, that play is to be understood solely in terms of its origins in these motives (universal and culture-pattern). On the otherhand, it has been suggested that play has some independence of the motives it reflects. It has been said, for example, that play is an activity in its own right, that it is a creative activity, that the game is played for the game's sake etc.

The folklorist theories which explained games in terms of their historical origins and which were cited in Chapter 16 are examples of the first type of emphasis. In explaining a game solely in terms of its historical origins, folklorists committed what Langer has called the genetic fallacy. She says: "There is a widespread and familiar fallacy, known as the genetic fallacy, which arises from the historical method

in philosophy and criticism: the error of confusing the origin of a thing with its import, of tracing the things to its most primitive form and then calling it 'merely' this archaic phenomenon.¹

But play psychologists and psycho-analysts were also prone to this fallacy. This was due largely to the fact that the earliest psychological theories of play, like those of the folklorists were derived chiefly from the evolutionary point of view.² They were attempts to explain games almost entirely in terms of their biological origins.³ Later play theories retained the same predominantly genetic/^{emphasis}but they also gave additional attention to play's creative nature, the second emphasis above. Groos came very near to giving a creative interpretation of play and Sully who was somewhat outside the main stream of psychology, most certainly did.⁴ McDougall in 1907 avowed that play was of a creative nature but in actual fact emphasized little but play's conative origins.⁵ And this was true even of his revised approach of 1931.⁶ Nunn inherited McDougall's contradiction and made it more explicit. Over and over again Nunn insisted upon the creative nature of play, but just as often as he wished to explain that

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1. Langer Susan K., Philosophy in a New Key, p.248.
 2. Flugel J.C., A Hundred Years of Psychology, p.135.
 3. Particularly the theories of Hall and Spencer. Spencer H., The Principles of Psychology, London, 1899, Vol.11, pp.693-698; Hall S., Aspects of Child Life & Education, 1909.
 4. Groos K., The Play of Man, 1901, p.378, p.384, pp.387-88; Sully J., Studies of Childhood, 1895, p.29.
 5. McDougall W.D., An Introduction to Social Psychology, pp. 95, 96-7.
 6. McDougall W.D., An Outline of Psychology, p.444.

creative nature, he referred the reader back to play's origins¹ in an instinct of self-assertion. Other writers who were prone to the same genetic emphasis put their emphasis, now on this origin, now on that, according to the particular type of approach² which they favoured. The determining importance of the conative factors in all these genetic theories arose from the amount of attention which was given to the conative factors, rather than from any necessity inherent in the nature of play.

Psycho-analysis was a part of the same tradition of thought and psycho-analysts on the whole sought also to explain play in terms of its genetic origins.³ They regarded play chiefly as a symbolic expression of wishes and ideas⁴ originating in infantile sexuality. Some psycho-analysts⁵ however, attempted to counter this extreme genetic emphasis, and suggested that play had a much broader symbolic function; that its symbols were not merely semiotic, that is, derived from the infantile unconscious, but also "had a meaning for the actual present".⁶

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1. Munn Sir Percy, Education, Its Data and First Principles, Compare for example p.79, p.106, p.92.
 2. White Robert W., Interpretation of Imaginative Productions, in McV.Hunt, Personality And The Behaviour Disorders, p.239; and Robinson E.S., Play, Encyclopedia of Social Science, Vol.12, p.160.
 3. Freud S., Beyond the Pleasure Principle, pp.15-16; Chrichton-Miller H., Psycho-Analysis & its Derivatives, p.123.
 4. Jones Ernest, Papers on Psycho-Analysis, p.129; Lowenfield M., Play in Childhood, p.36; Klein M., The Importance of Symbol Formation in the Development of the Ego, from Contributions to Psycho-Analysis, p.237; Brill A.A., On the Universality of Symbols p.63, The Yearbook of Psycho-Analysis, Vol.1, 1945; Riesman David, The Themes of Work & Play in the Structure of Freud's Thought, Psychiatry, Vol.13, Feb., 1950, No.1.
 5. Jackson L. & Todd K.M., Child Treatment in the Therapy of Play, p.37; Britton Clare, Children Who Cannot Play, New Era, May 1947; Fromm E., The Fear of Freedom, p.247; Horney K., New Ways in Psycho-Analysis; Suttie I.D., The Origins of Love and Hate.
 6. Jung G.J., Analytical Psychology, London, 1916, p.viii.

In summary, folklorists, psychologists, and psychoanalysts all gave some attention to the second type of emphasis, but on the whole, their approach was the genetic approach. Their genetic habit of thought was a habit of thought ushered in by the evolutionary psychology of the nineteenth century. It was a habit of thought which persists in psychological thinking even today.

With respect to the second type of emphasis While most writers debated the nature of the genetic sources of play, some writers (and often the same ones, as in the case of McDougall and Nunn) insisted upon the importance of play's meaning "for the actual present". They said that play was an end in itself. That it was carried out in a spirit of spontaneity and voluntariness, with disinterestedness, with a joy in the freedom, a sense of the fun, with intensity, in a world apart, (of make-believe, pretence, forts and dressing-up) and according to laws of its own (with rules, codes, order, secrecy and initiation) "All are temporary worlds within the ordinary world, dedicated to the performance of an act apart."¹ Generally speaking when genetic minded theorists referred to these qualities of play, however, they did not take them into account when forming their theories of play's nature. In some text books on educational psychology, the description of these qualities of the play spirit was appended to the discussion of the theory of play, (and included in the discussion on the nature of work and play),

1. Huizinga J., Homo Ludens, A Study of the Play Element in Culture, London, 1949, p.10.

as though the qualities of the play spirit were in some way
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 accidental to the real nature of the subject.

What appears to be required is a theory of play which brings together these two different emphases, and explains how games and play both "reflect" their origins yet are in some sense independent of them. I believe that only a thorough going theory of play as a creative activity could accomplish this reconciliation. It would need to show how genetic constituents enter into, and influence play, and yet are transcended by the play activity. But the mere assertion of play's creative nature, is likely to carry little weight unless adequately backed up by a systematic² psychological analysis of the nature of this creativity.

It is one of the paradoxes of the modern play movement that while it has placed a great practical emphasis on the creative values of play it has done little or nothing to provide
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 a generally accepted play theory which explains play's creativity. How then is such a creative theory of play to be formulated? Clearly, this is a matter of such vastness that it cannot be considered adequately in this thesis. Nevertheless, because such

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1. See for example Nunn Sir P., Education: Its Data and First Principles. Compare p.79 and p.86; Ross J.S., Groundwork of Educational Psychology, p.101 and p.111.
 2. As was the case with the McDougall's insistence upon creativity. McDougall was continually attacked for the determinism which was supposed to characterize his views.
 3. A matter which is referred to again later.

a theory does not exist in ready made form, and because it is necessary to effect some reconciliation of the above emphases in order to understand the way in which games "reflect" the many things they have been said to reflect in this thesis, it is necessary to indicate the general lines along which such a theory would proceed.

It has been customary for play theorists to claim that children are driven to action in their play by, an instinct of curiosity, a need to cathartize some impulse, a castration fear, a compulsion to repeat some conflict and other universal and culture-pattern motives. But more recently certain philosophers, I am thinking in particular of Ernst Cassirer and Susan K. Langer, have claimed that these motives are not in themselves, sufficient to explain why children play; that play is more than just a behavioural reflex ~~of~~ these motives. These theorists have claimed that it is impossible to understand the nature of play or, for that matter, of any other distinctly human activity (art, ritual religion) by referring to universal and culture-pattern motives alone. They say these genetic methods of explanation do not explain the way in which the player's various motives are changed into the activities called play and games. They say that it is only possible to understand why games are played if more attention is paid to the nature of the transition from the players' motives to the game forms themselves. Further they claim that this transition is, in effect, a process of transformation. It is an active process. It is a creative process; and that the reason why children play, is to be found as much in the nature of this

creative process as it is in the universal and culture-pattern motives from which games draw their nature. They explain this creative process, the ultimate "why" of play and games, as follows. This creative activity is said to have its origins in the nature of human perception and human imagination.

Evidence is presented by Cassirer and Langer, in particular from Gestalt psychology, to show that even on the lowest levels of human perception, the human being makes patterned, that is, creative responses to his environment. Langer says, "Our merest sense experience is a process of formulation..

a tendency to organize the sensory field into groups and patterns of sense-data, to perceive form rather than the flux of light impressions seems to be inherent in our receptor apparatus".¹

And Cassirer adds "There is an unmistakable difference between organic reactions and human responses.

In the first case a direct and immediate answer is given to an outward stimulus; in the second case the answer is delayed...

Between the receptor system and the effector system, which are to be found in animal species, we find in man a third link which we may describe as the symbolic system." Secondly

this basic perceptual creativity is said to become involved in larger processes of imaginative creativity. Lowenfield, for

example, has observed that "In all forms of human experience there appears to be an impulse to reproduce in some way² experiences which have strongly moved the spirit." And

1. Langer S.K., op. cit., p.89.

2. Lowenfield M., Play in Childhood, p.160. See also Read H., Education Through Art, p.34.

Cassirer, "The fact that the human brain is constantly carrying on a process of symbolic transformation of the experiential data that comes to it causes it to be a veritable fountain of more or less spontaneous ideasit accounts for just those traits in man which he does not hold in common with other animals -- ritual, laughter, art, weeping, speech, superstition and scientific genius Reason is a very inadequate term with which to comprehend these forms of man's cultural life in all their richness and variety. But all these forms are symbolic forms hence instead of defining man as an animal rationale, we should define him as an animal symbolicum."²

In summary, this creative perceptual and imaginative activity of the human mind, its symbolic activity, is considered by Cassirer and Langer to be a primary human function. Langer puts man's "need for symbolization" on a par with his genetic needs.³ Presumably, Cassirer and Langer would argue that an understanding of play is to be found ultimately, in the way in which the children's symbolizing activity, acts upon the universal and culture-pattern bases of all their activity. They would say that the reason why children play, is because they have a need for symbolization, because they must make a creative reaction to the events that influence them.

If play, therefore, is considered as a forms of man's symbolizing activity which is relevant to the life of childhood, then a theory of play as a symbolic activity, would help to

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1. Cassirer, An Essay on Man, p.43.
 2. *ibid*, p.25.
 3. Langer, *op. cit.*, p.40.

reconcile the two emphases in play which were dealt with in some detail above. It is clear that there is nothing in the content of play which does not have its origins in the genetic constituents of play. In that sense play is determined by those genetic constituents. But the source of play is not those motives. It is man's symbolic activity. Consequently, the genetic constituents are only reflected in play in terms of the player's symbols for those genetic constituents. In play the player is removed from the direct pressure of the genetic constituents by virtue of his own symbolic activity. This, of course, gives him the feeling that his play is a "thing in itself", and justifies the view that play is to this extent an independent activity.

What other support is there for this view that play is a symbolic activity, that is, in the broad sense of the term as it is used by Cassirer and Langer, not in the narrow sense of the term is often used in psycho-analysis?¹ Lowenfield hints at the view that children use their play as a symbol-making activity when she says that play is "an antecedent of talking", that it gives children an "opportunity for the communication of ideas", that it serves as a "bridge between the child's conscious and emotional experience", that it represents "an externalized expression of the child's emotional life".² Erikson also approached the same conception of play

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1. See the above references to psycho-analysis. In order to avoid confusion with the psycho-analytic view of symbolism, Langer prefers to use the term "symbolific" activity.
 2. Lowenfield, M., op. cit., p.324.

when he points out that play enables children to make up for
 "a technically and culturally limited use of language."¹

The conclusion to this discussion of the way in which motives are "reflected" in play is then, that motives are reflected in play by being symbolized in play. The motives are taken up into the play by virtue of the creative activity of the player.

Once this decision that play is of a creative nature has been reached it is at last possible to consider the significance of these unorganized games. Clearly their significance is this. If they are of a creative nature then they must contribute to the players' growth. The way in which they contribute to this growth is as follows.

Play, as a creative activity, as an activity through which growth occurs, has two important characteristics. Firstly, it enables the players to transcend the conditions of their real lives, and, as the result of the freedom it thus gives them, it permits them, secondly, to be creative, to grow by formulating and articulating the diverse symbols of their experience.

Firstly, with regard to the transcendent quality of play. It is this quality which gives rise to the feeling that play is an end in itself. This quality of play derives from the fact that play deals only with the symbols of real experience, not with real experience itself. On the basis of what has been said above it can be understood that play transcends the majority

1. Erikson E.H., Clinical Studies in Childhood Play, Genetic Psych. Mono., Vol.22, p.560.

of the motives, universal and culture-pattern, which are symbolized in play. It is not easy to understand, however, how play can transcend the motives which exist in the player's unconscious. These qualities are generally understood as determining human activity, rather than understood as being creatively symbolized in human activity. And yet unless it can be shown that in some sense play does transcend these particular motives it can hardly be maintained that in this respect the players have sufficient freedom in their play to be creative and to grow. This point will, therefore, be dealt with in some detail.

Unconscious motives are said by psycho-analysts to be 'projected' into play. The term 'projection' is sometimes used in a broader sense in non-psycho-analytic literature, but ¹ that is not the sense in which it will be used at present. In psycho-analytic literature, and it should be added in most of the literature on play-therapy which largely derives from psycho-analytic theory, the term projected has a particularly appropriate "ring" about it. This follows because the experiences which derive from the repressed unconscious characteristically have an abnormal quality about them. These experiences seem to be an intrusion into the play scene. They appear as a projection

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1. See Murphy Gardiner, Personality: A Biosocial Approach to Origins and Structure, New York, 1947. See pages 495 and 546 for a comparison of the general and psycho-analytical uses of the term "projection". See also Bell J.E., Projective Techniques, p.1-6; Symonds P.A., The Dynamics of Human Adjustment, p.515; White R.W., The Interpretation of Imaginative Productions, in Mc V Hunt, op. cit., p.239.

from outside, rather than a genuine and proportioned creation of the play activity itself. In the very worst cases, of course, the abnormal child cannot even 'project' his unconscious experiences into play for fear that those experiences will overwhelm not only the play, but also himself.¹ In extreme cases of abnormality the child cannot play at all. His real experiences, fears and anxieties are too intense for him. He cannot free himself from them. In less extreme cases of abnormality the child's inability to play is sporadic rather than continuous. Play exists, but it is continually being interrupted by the arrival of extrinsic motives on the scene. Abnormal play of this nature had been described as inhibited, destructive, immature, regressive, obsessional, scatter-brained and hyper-active.² In all these types of abnormal play it is rightly said by psycho-analysts that the symbols of the play activity have chiefly a semiotic significance. That is, they derive the greater part of their significance and momentum from the player's unconscious and have little significance for the player's present; they are symptoms of that unconscious rather than symbols having "a meaning for the actual present."³ And this is what is meant when it is

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1. Britton Clare, *Children Who Cannot Play*, New Era, May, 1945, p.89.
 2. Jackson L and Todd K.M., Child Treatment and the Therapy of Play, p.41.
 3. Jung G.J., Analytical Psychology, p.viii. Jung contends that symbols are 'symbolistic'; Jones E., in his Papers on Psycho-Analysis, 1920, p.129, that they are 'semiotic'.

said that abnormal play characteristically lacks proportion, does not seem to be self-contained and is not an end in itself.

At the moment, however, it is not abnormal play, that is being dealt with. Rather it is normal play which appears to incorporate into its substance similar 'projections' from the unconscious. How then can normal play of this sort be distinguished from abnormal play of the same 'projective' nature? In the first place it must be made clear that there is no more abrupt distinction between normal and abnormal play, than there is between the normal and the abnormal, considered in relation to any other psychological function. But the normal play, unlike the abnormal, has all the qualities of the play-spirit which have already been mentioned. Normal play is marked by spontaneity, disinterestedness, the spirit of fun etc.; characteristics which are not so markedly in evidence in abnormal play. The play symbols of normal play which are derived from the unconscious, therefore, appear to have a significance which is partly semiotic and partly symbolistic. These symbols derive from the player's unconscious past, but at the same time they appear to have a genuine and intrinsic part in the present activity; the unconscious 'projections' in normal play, unlike those in abnormal play, are only one aspect of the whole play activity, they do not interrupt and exclusively determine the activity in the way that the projections in abnormal play do. In fact the 'projections' which are to be found in normal play are, characteristically, influenced by and play a part in the development of that normal play. As the projections become involved in the

development of normal play, there is reason to believe that their original nature is modified, although it may never entirely lose all of its original qualities. Consider in this connection the development which took place in the Old Woman, He and Leader motives of Chapters 16, 17 and 18 respectively. The very fact that these unconscious motives could figure in this development indicates that the players had obtained, at the very least, a limited play-freedom from these unconscious motives. I would not pretend to know, of course, how the player is able to thus creatively symbolize his unconsciousⁱⁿ play. I can only assume that in the "normal" person, the active being has relatively more access to the experiences of the unconscious than is the case with abnormal ~~person~~ ^{person} beings. The normal ~~being~~ ^{person} can, as it were, reach into his innermost being and by symbolizing the aspects of that being, transcend them in the developing patterns of his play activity.

Secondly, with reference to the second characteristic of play as a creative activity. Given freedom, the player is able to formulate the symbols of his own experience as it suits him best. As Goethe says "As soon as he is free from care and fear, the demigod creative, gropes round him for matter into which yo breathe his spirit."¹ Because the player is freed from subjection to real experience, he can manipulate and formulate the play symbols of real experience in any way he likes; by 'mentalizing', or symbolizing his experiences, in this way, he can locate them in his mind and

1. Quoted by Cassirer, op. cit., p.141.

relate them to the best of his personality; and by relating them to the rest of his personality he can become more knowledgeable in face of the real experiences from which these symbols are drawn. It is this articulation of experience through the manipulation of symbols which leads to learning¹ and to what is generally meant by the term growth.

Examples of the way in which these "articulations" occur are as follows. First, the fact that children do make play-patterns out of their experiences is well known by play-therapists. Therapists often get children to create worlds out of play material. They then use these "microspheres", as they are termed by Erikson, to diagnose the nature of the children's² experience of the real worlds.

Secondly, examples of the way in which children gradually grow beyond a set of real experiences by casting those experiences into play patterns are given in Chapters 16 and 17. It is shown there that the play symbols, the Old Woman and the Old Man, are used by children as a bridge from the primary ties to new group

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1. At this point, however, it should be mentioned that when insisting upon the creative nature of play it is important not to overlook its conservative nature also. The material of the preceeding chapters amply demonstrates that the children repeat play patterns at the same time they create new play patterns. (See particularly Chapter 13). It would seem that having created their symbols the players repeat their formulations many times for satisfactions intrinsic to this repetitive symbolic activity itself.
 2. See Bell, op. cit., The World Test, Chap. 23; Erikson E.H., Clinical Studies in Childhood Play, in Barker, Kounin, Wright, Child Behaviour and Development, New York, 1943, Chap. 24, p.577; Lowenfield M., The World Pictures of Children, Brit. Jnl. of Med. Psych., Vol. 18, p.66; See also Wells H.G., Floor Games, which is illumined by the same idea.

forms of experience.

Thirdly, the imitative patterns of children's Imitative, Pack and Leader games express the children's awareness of those patterns of behaviour in the culture pattern. It is noticeable in these imitative play's however, that the children's imitative patterns are never mere mimicry. They contain as well many other feelings about the real patterns of behaviour being imitated. That is, the children's imitative play-patterns symbolize, but do not merely copy, external reality. As Langer says, "if its purpose were as is commonly supposed, to learn by imitation, an oft repeated enactment should come closer to reality and a familiar act be represented better than a novel one; instead of that we are apt to find no attempt at carrying out the suggested actions of the shared day dreams that constitute young children's play."¹

Fourthly, the play patterns which the children make out of their unconscious experiences (Enclosure and He games) and the patterns they construct out of their experiences of the competitive motive (skill games) resemble, in microcosmic² fashion, the ritual games of the Ancient World. Both the ritual and the play are attempts to make symbolic patterns out of the conscious and unconscious events which influence the players. The play of children, of course, reflects only the

1. Langer, op. cit., p.199.

2. See further Thompson George, Aeschylus in Athens, Harrison Jane, Themis; Huizinga J., op. cit., p.17.

forms of the culture-pattern whereas the ancient ritual reflects as well the relations of the adult players to the larger universe. The same distinction holds between play and art.¹ The artist symbolizes the impact of the whole universe upon men not just the impact of the local culture. In many other respects, however, play and art are akin. They are both symbolic activities. The artist differs from the player, insofar as he is relatively more conscious of his symbolic purposes and has techniques of notation which enable him to record permanently his creations. These sensuous forms introduce an element of stasis, impersonality and indirectness into his symbolic activity. The player on the otherhand is an unconscious artist.² The player symbolizes without being self-conscious of his symbolization, or self-conscious of the methods he is using to express that symbolization. In consequence his symbolism is kinetic, personal and direct.

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1. The relationship between play and art has seldom been properly conceived., This has been due mainly to the fact that those who have compared the two have based their arguments on theories of play which were in fact quite inadequate to account for play's significance. Consider, for example, the distinctions made by Richards in the light of the above play theory. Richards I.A., Principles of Literary Criticism, London, 1924, p.232.
 2. This lack of self-consciousness may be another way of expressing the fact stated by Ogden and Richards that in certain, "possibly more primitive" types of symbolism, there is a direct connection between the symbol and its referent (object) rather than an indirect connection (through a conception) as is normally the case with language symbols. (Ogden and Richards 1923, p.16).

The full significance of the players' ability to grow through their play, their ability to transcend and formulate the conditions of their real existence in their play, cannot be fully realized, however, unless the relationship which play holds to other types of human behaviour is briefly considered.

It has been generally held in the last fifty years that the children's make-believe play world is a world of escape; a world in which the children freely express the conscious and unconscious desires which they are not allowed to express in the real world.¹ In itself this view contains important truths about the nature of play. The view has, however, often been construed to mean as well, that play is an activity of an inferior order; an activity which does not provide any insight into the nature of reality; an activity which provides instead a world of substitute and compensatory behaviour. This view of play is an off shoot of a similar attitude which has been maintained towards other imaginative activities. It is an attitude which has caused imaginative activities like play and art to undergo a certain devaluation in modern thought. It is the reason, probably for, the fact, already referred to, that with so much attention to play in modern thought, there has been no attempt to formulate an adequate ¹ative theory of play.

This devaluation of imaginative activity has occurred because several hundred years of scientific and economic progress, have given immense importance to scientific knowledge and utilitarian adjustments in Modern Civilization. These two

1. See for example, Erikson, op. cit.

spheres of human behaviour have given the concept of the "nature of reality" the connotations with which we are familiar today, with the result that imaginative activities which do not express any insights into "the nature of reality", as defined in terms of scientific and utilitarian adjustments, have become to be regarded as escapist, irrational and of an inferior order.¹

I believe, however, that this derogatory attitude to imaginative activity does not place this activity in its correct perspective. The nature of reality requires re-defining in order to show the way in which imaginative activities can and do express an insight into the nature of reality. To extend the definition of reality in this way it is necessary to maintain that man has an imaginative relationship to his universe which is just as important to him as is his realistic relationship to his universe;² to maintain that his imaginative activities express insights into this imaginative reality just as his realistic activities (of science and work)

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1. Whitehead A.N., Science in the Modern World, Cambridge, 1946, p.242.
 2. This imaginative relationship to the universe would have its psychological basis in the human need for symbolic activity which has already been referred to. The view that man has such an imaginative relationship to the Universe, and can express insights into that reality through his creative activity, is held by: Sullivan J.W.N., Beethoven, (for music); Huizinga J., Homo Ludens, (for play); and Cassirer, op. cit., (for all forms of man's symbolizing activity).

express insights into the nature of physical reality; to maintain further that if man does not get the opportunity for ~~enough~~ imaginative insights of this nature, he will become just as maladjusted as he will if his realistic insights are inadequate or incorrect. The fact that insights of the second type are relatively easier to measure and to produce en masse should not serve to obscure the fact -- as it has -- that insights of the imaginative type are of equal importance to the welfare of the human being. The whole of the creative movement in modern education and psycho-therapy presents evidence for the view that the individual's own unique imaginative insights into reality are of immense importance to him.

The view of imaginative activity presented here, therefore, sees it as complementary to real experience, not as a substitute for it.

Perhaps the most convincing evidence for the view that the two orders of reality are of complementary and of equivalent, if different, importance in human life, is to be found in the fact that both are indulged in with deep seriousness. This equivalent seriousness of the two can be observed at its best in the play life of very young children and in the lives of some primitive peoples. Children pass easily and naturally from their "realistic" adjustments to play, and just as easily and naturally from play to their realistic adjustments. Both are treated with great seriousness and both are regarded as highly important. In primitive life also, ritual and magic, which are psychologically akin to

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 children's play, also stand in a complementary relationship
 to realistic adjustments. In neither case is one mistaken
 for the other, or one treated as inferior to the other.²
 Both are regarded as essential to the whole way of life which
 is the child's or the primitive's. Where the boundaries of
 one form of adjustment conflict with those of the other form
 of adjustment then the seriousness of one gives way to the
 seriousness of the other. What both the child and the
 primitive lack is the feeling that their imaginative activities
 are just a matter of "mere" pretence. They are not self-
 conscious of the pretence involved in their activities even
 though they are pragmatically aware that their imaginative
 activities in contradistinction to their realistic activities
 are a matter of pretending.³ This occurs because they do not
 regard the imaginative activities as inferior. It is only the
 overwhelming influence of scientific thought and utilitarian
 adjustments which leads moderns to think of the two
 activities as non-complementary; of the scientific as rational,
 and of the non-scientific as irrational; of the imaginative
 activities as "mere" pretence. In the world of child and
 primitive, "pretending" is rightly regarded as a dignified,
 not an inferior, activity.

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1. Huizinga J., *op. cit.*, p.17.
 2. Frazer J.G., believed that the primitives did confuse their magic with science. He termed their magic a "false science" Huizinga, *op. cit.*, p.21, and Malinowski B., *A Scientific Theory of Culture*, p.196, contend that this is not the case. Frazer J.G., *The Golden Bough*, p.11.
 3. There is every reason to believe that the primitives were aware of the pretence involved in their magic and ritual. See Huizinga, *op. cit.*, p.22. Frazer himself gives examples of this *op. cit.*, p.45.

Stronger evidence still for the view that the two activities, imaginative and realistic, are complementary, comes from yet another source. Although modern thought, has, in the senses mentioned, devalued spontaneous play and other forms of imaginative activity, it has at the same time given birth to a new form of imaginative activity which it has not devalued. This new form of imaginative activity is organized sport. Organized sport in the modern world is treated with all the seriousness that a child treats his play or a savage his ritual. It, too is regarded as 'make-believe' but never as "mere" pretence. The boundaries between the "sport" and the real world, like the boundaries between the primitive's ritual and the real world or the children's play and the real world are elastic and indistinct. One shades off into the other, even though the one is not normally mistaken for the other. Consider, for example, Modern Sport as a commercial undertaking. Modern Sport provides the "realistic" adjustment for many professional sportsmen, just as primitive ritual provided "realistic" adjustments for members of the priestcraft. Through his sport modern man expresses imaginative insight into the competitive and organized nature of the World in which he lives, but he does not regard this imaginative activity as in any way "inferior" to the activities of his forty hour week. To the contrary he takes them both for granted. They are both important if different expressions of his way of life.

In conclusion, it is clear that there are two important things to be said about play. The first concerns play's relation to the rest of experience, the second, the

activity of playing itself.

Firstly, it is because play is an independent activity that it has a complementary relationship to the rest of growth. In the freedom of play types of growth can occur which cannot occur outside that freedom. The child or adult who is free to play is free to grow. By similar reasoning the children's group which is free to play games is free to go on learning how to grow together. The patterns of development reflected in the unorganized games, therefore, mirror the developments which take place in the lives of the players when they play those games. When games are subject to no control except that which is exercised by the groups' own nature, the pitch and the games seasonableness, then group growth takes place at a pace which is strictly relevant to the needs of the group. Here then is the enduring significance of activities such as simple Chasing, Tagging, Skipping, Hopscotch, Marbles, Houses, and King Caesar. These are not trivial pastimes. They are the mental health of the social group.

But the second and more important significance of play and games, a significance upon which all others ultimately depend, is that it is through play and games that children are able to live together imaginatively. Here they learn group methods of expressing imaginative insights into the nature of their own lives. And so, finally, the most important thing that we can say about free group play is that through that play children learn how to play together.

CHAPTER TWENTYFIVE

THE FUTURE OF SPONTANEOUS GAMES

The main conclusions of this thesis are implicit in the material already presented. They are, firstly, that there is not extensive scope for spontaneous games today, and secondly, that the opportunity for spontaneous group play is of great importance in children's growth.

This final concluding chapter sums up the importance of spontaneous games, in the development of children; deals with the effects of the organization of play on children's play development; and considers the nature of the possible measures which can be adopted to offset the effects of this organization, within the school, in the school playground and out of school.

First, with reference to the importance of the development which takes place through games: It has been observed (in Section I) that, in innumerable ways, children develop through their games. Play therapists emphasize the fact that unless children are left free to pursue their own development in this spontaneous way they may suffer an emotional impoverishment in childhood which is incurable in later life.¹ Lowenfield states the position in the most serious

1. Erikson Erik Homburger, *Studies in the Interpretation of Play*, op. cit.

way possible. She says: "Without adequate opportunity for play, normal satisfactory emotional development is not possible. The person who doesn't get the opportunities for emotional maturing will go on seeking them in adulthood. Ungained outlets mean these impulses seek alternative satisfaction in adulthood. They have missed the period to which they properly belong. The forces of destruction, aggression and hostile emotion which form so powerful an element for good in human character can display themselves fully in the play of childhood and become through this expression integrated into the controlled and conscious personality. These forces unexpressed demand outlet and gain it through industrial competition, anarchy and war. Once childhood is over the man takes his games for reality, his fantastic conceptions of the world for political sanity and his momentary myths for considered thought."¹

If spontaneous play is important in children's growth, however, that does not mean that it is necessary to advocate for children a complete and utter freedom in all the matters of their play. Children's free play when neglected may have many unlovely features, as the material of the Plays of Protest readily evidences. What is needed appears to be some balance between the unregulated freedom of the nineteenth century playground and the characteristic organization of play today.

1. Lowenfield M., op. cit., p.324.

Secondly, what are the effects of the present day play organization? Does it adequately allow for the spontaneous development of which Lowenfield speaks? Many New Zealand writers are of the opinion that it does not. They claim that the present day emphasis on organized major sports (as discussed in Section I) gives only a one-sided bias to children's development.¹ Norman Douglas puts the position both aptly and amusingly when he says "Not that I'm saying anything against CRICKET in particular. You can do many things with a bat. But there are many more things you can't do. And all these other things are bound to be left outside your reach in the long run, if you get taken up by cricket.. Because, you see, you don't take up cricket you think you do, but you don't; you get taken up. You think you are going to do what you please with a bat, but the fact is, that the bat does what it pleases with you; you think its your servant, but in reality its a master who drives you along the way he means to go -- or rather the only way he can go (that is hitting a ball). It's perfectly true you can play well or badly; but, play as you like, you can't help your faculty for inventing something outside bats and balls getting rustier all the time. And it's true that cricket saves you the trouble of inventing those other games; that's just its drawback, I say. No getting out

1. Murdboh J.H. The High Schools of New Zealand, p.186;
 Thompson A.B., Adult Education in New Zealand, Unorganized Sport, N.Z. Listener, April 20, 1951.

of the rut! With the bat in your hand, you can only do what it allows you to do. Which is a good deal; but not half as much as if your hands were empty."¹ Many other writers have held, similarly, that the inculcation of youngsters with adult attitudes to play, lets the youngsters other play-potentialities 'rust'. Indeed evidence has been presented to show that adult influence of this nature may even destroy many of the children's early² and natural interests.

The trouble seems to be that when adults influence children to accept adult 'ideals' of play (which the children in all their young impressionableness are only too prepared to do) the adults also, even if inadvertently, prejudice children against the children's own more spontaneous play delights. The incubus of this overwhelming influence of adult sporting ideals is that it fails to encourage children to learn how to play creatively when left to themselves; and it does this by indirectly treating as 'inferior' all those plays through which children grow accustomed to individual and group creative activity. "We are in danger of introducing children too rapidly into our adult culture. We should have more faith in the simple unsophisticated forms of play life, which keep the child closer to nature." says Gesell.

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1. Douglas N., London Street Games, p.155.
 2. G.M. Gloss, Recreation, in Monroe W.S. Encyclopedia of Edn. Research, p.927.
 3. Gesell A., The Child from Five to Ten, p.363. For statements along similar lines, see Lehmann and Witty, op. cit., p.225; Groos K., op. cit., p.231; Marshall H., op. cit., p.524.

If there is any truth in Thoreau's attitude that "The mass of men lives of quiet desperation. What is called resignation is confirmed desperation....A stereotyped but unconscious despair is concealed even under what are called the games and amusements of mankind,"¹ at least, a part of this desperation, may have its source in the over organization of the children's play interests in the early years of their life. The mass of children are probably prepared to accept this organization of their play and their perhaps lies its greatest danger. There are some children, however, who are not. These children are even more savagely punished by institution of compulsory sport. They feel as did Plomer who has said "Certainly I had already spent a good part of several years of my life in keeping balls out of wickets and propelling them towards those structures, though I never cared twopence for either process."² Surely more respect for play spontaneity must, as James has said "forbid us to be forward in pronouncing on the meaninglessness of forms of existence other than our own; and command us to tolerate, respect and indulge those whom we see harmlessly interested and happy in their own ways, however, unintelligible these may be to us."³

The adult interest in children's sports, however, is only one aspect of that more general adult interest in children's

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1. Thoreau H.D., Walden or Life in the Woods, London, 1948, p.5.
 2. Plomer William, Double Lives, p.109.
 3. James William, Talks to Teachers, London, 1910, p.264.

play, which has characterized the modern world. It must be counted against the adults of the modern generation that they have often had little but a tendentious interest in children's play. Like the adults of all primitive groups they have sort to use children's play for their own narrow purposes; for the future of sport, for moral uplift, civic quietude or commercial returns. "Ever since the psychologists and the schoolmasters discovered some value in play, there has been a tendency to organize play too much", says Delisle Burns.¹ Even well-intentioned and often highly motivated bodies like Scouts and Guides have run dangerously near to over organizing the play they have sought to assist. In addition as has been shown (Section I) modern commercialized and 'passive' entertainment has had its pernicious effects in influencing children, as well as adults against self-activ²ated pursuits. The institution of such bodies as the Department of Physical Welfare is in part a tardy recognition of this state of affairs, although as well, in part, a further tendentious 'use' of play for the purposes of 'National' fitness.

Perhaps the worst feature of the modern environment, however, is not so much the existence of these influences of the adult recreative order, but the fact that there are, day by day, decreasing opportunities for children to escape from the influence of that order. The consequences of the haphazard

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1. Delisle Burns C., Leisure in the Modern World, London, 1932, p.126.
 2. Parry Hon. W.E., The Old and New Order of Things, an address delivered before a joint meeting of the National and Local Executives of the N.Z. Institute, 1939.

metropolitan encroachment upon playing space have been recognized since the initiation of the playground movement at the end of the nineteenth century. But these consequences have seldom been seriously faced. There seems to be a natural and healthy tendency on the part of children to get away on their own and work out their own group destiny in their own terms. As long as there is opportunity for them to do this, the spontaneous exercise involved may be sufficient for them to counter-act the other modern forces which influence them. I remember, for example, my own boyhood days at the age of 11 and 12 years, with a group of four or five others and the elusive happiness of playing with these boys in the bamboo and macrocarpa of a vacant section half a mile from home. Edmund Goss speaks of his "glorious life among the wild boys on the margin of the sea" at the same age. A number of Training College students have also mentioned in their play-reminiscences that these times and types of play were their happiest. The point, however, is that the literature of the subject is full of references to the fact there is decreasing opportunity for this sort of play.¹ At present the position may not be serious in New Zealand, but as the years pass, it must become increasingly so.² It is noticeable that the town planners of the new housing suburbs (for example, Naenae, Lower Hutt) have not always acted wisely in

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1. See for example Ingram W., World of Sport, p.44; Jnl. of Education Presidential Address, April, 1916; Glover Katherine and Dewey Evelyn, Children of the New Day, New York, 1934, p.231; Vanishing Pleasures, Evening Post, 11/11/49.
 2. Butchers A.G., Education in New Zealand, p.501.

this respect. They have apparently preferred to waste acres of grass in long strips alongside the road, rather than elongate the housing sections and in that way be able to provide empty playing sections for each block of houses.¹ In this case and in others the controlling authorities appear to be concerned with beauty only from a scenic point of view. In my own suburb, for example, two natural playgrounds on the waterfront have been recently destroyed by the beautifying activity of the City Council. An area of small bushes (once occupied by diminutive burrowers and fort-builders) and an area of rough turf, (previously the baseball diamond for the youths of the neighbourhood) have now been lain with lawn grass, and rendered useless for play by a series of heavily concrete guttered gravel paths.

Thirdly, if the organized world of adults has done little to allow adequate scope for children's spontaneous play and development, through play what then, can be done?

Firstly, what can be done within the school? The lack of opportunity for spontaneous play in school playgrounds and elsewhere has been offset to some extent by the increasing amount of opportunity for spontaneous activity which is provided

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1. Local Authorities in England have, in some cases, proceeded with similar ignorance. They also have apparently forgotten that a beautiful environment for human beings is not necessarily a neatly planned environment suitable for scenic tours, it is an environment which is such as to permit and encourage active and joyous living. See, White L.E., Planning for Play, Town and Country Planning, March, 1951, Vol. xix, No. 83, p.126.

for children within the school curriculum. In this respect the historical position has been reversed. The over-organized curriculum and unregulated play of the nineteenth century have given way to the more fluid curriculum and over organized play of the twentieth century. The twentieth century attention to play has introduced spontaneous play into the classroom and crowded it out of the playing field. But although 'play-way' methods have been introduced into the school curriculum they are not able to give children the same unfettered freedom for self-development that they could get in their own spontaneous play. Techniques are at present in evolution, however, which may ultimately allow children almost as much scope for adequate personal development within the curriculum, as they used to get outside it. I speak in particular of the recent trends in childrens 'free' artistic expression;¹ experiments in freely improvised dramatic work;² the creative approach to free-expression in writing;³ spontaneous expression in terms of dance,⁴ and music.⁵

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1. Tovey G., Art In Primary Schools, Education, No.1, Vol2, Mar. 49. See also succeeding numbers of same journal; Johnstone William, Child Art to Man Art, London, 1941; Read H., Education Through Art.
 2. Miss M. Walker carried out experimental work in drama for two terms in Wellington Schools, in conjunction with Wgton. Teacher's Training College. I observed her work in different schools throughout this period. She had worked in conjunction with Peter Slade.
 3. Vogt Anton, Aims in Written Expression, Education, Vol.2, No.5, Nov. 49.
 4. Scott K.R., An Arts Approach to Education, Educational Review, Feb., 1949, Vol. 2; Stone A.L., The Story of a School, Min. of Edn. Pamph. No.14.
 5. Lowenfield M., op. cit., p.60.

My observation of Miss Walker's experimental work with children's freely improvised drama, suggests that with children habituated to the techniques she uses, the time may come when it is possible to provide a property box and spare room to which children may resort out of classroom time (as well as in it) to run their own self-directed 'dramas'. One envisages a school of the future with its playground cubby-holes or shelter rooms; one of which contains a large property box and stage; another art materials; a third, room to dance and a radiogram; a fourth, rhythmic and other simply musical instruments; a fifth craft materials; a sixth woodwork materials etc. In a school in which children were trained to the use of this apparatus and free to take to ~~it~~ in the 'seasonableness' of their own group fancies, there should be much opportunity for the spontaneous play development of which Lowenfield speaks above. Such a scheme for a vast extension of "play-way" within the curriculum naturally has its difficulties. None of these, however, can be overcome, or even passed under judgment, without a much greater amount of experimentation than is at present taking place.. At the moment it hardly seems as if the times are propitious in New Zealand for this sort of experimentation.¹

It should be added at this point that the expression of spontaneity within the controlled and creative situation is as much a matter of teacher attitude as it is of teaching

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1. Miss Walker's experiment although showing great promise was terminated at the end of the set period for the experiment (the second term). The methods can hardly be said to have been given a fair trial.

technique. As teachers approximate to the accepting and expansive attitude of play-therapists, so will they be able to encourage a far greater output of creative energy on the part of the children they teach.¹ This "accepting" attitude, involves a greater degree of frankness with children than is at present general in the education system of this country. It is, however, an attitude which would substantially decrease the impetus towards the Plays of Protest which exists when many of children's real needs and interests are both neglected and suppressed.

Secondly, what can be done in the School Playground? What can be done to offset the present domination of the major sports? One hopeful sign today is the fact that sports alternative to rugby and cricket are growing in strength. These alternative activities may ultimately split assunder the existing hegemony of a few major sports. In addition, experiments have been mentioned in minor games (Section I) which may have the effect of giving minor games a more recognized place in school life. But neither of these tendencies, even if fully implemented, would do anything to offset the present exclusive attention to the ball and running skills which contribute to the major games. The great majority of our playgrounds with their barren asphalt surfaces and/or football fields are so contrived as to encourage nothing but these skills. We are at present, as Lee rightly says, "Missile" mad. He is

1. For an outline of this attitude see Axeline V.M., Play Therapy, Boston, 1947, p.155.

speaking of America but his remarks apply equally well to New Zealand. He remarks "There is a need in this country of a Myopia Game Association or Astigmatic's Protective League to preserve the right to play for those whose physical aptitudes is not in the direction of the prevailing craze."¹

Those who plan for our playgrounds of the future need a wider concept, firstly of the nature of physical skills and secondly of the nature of play itself.

In some cases a wider concept of skills is rendered impossible by the existence of Education Board by-laws which prohibit the introduction of play apparatus into school-playgrounds. It is claimed by these Boards (Wellington for example) that the dangers involved do not warrant the introduction of this apparatus. In other Boards a less short sighted policy is pursued and children are free to develop, and do develop, a far wider range of physical skills. For example to mention some of the apparatus available in a few small country schools of ~~Central~~ Otago. Ardgowan, horixontal ladder in shed, two horizontal bars, two climbing ropes, trapeze; Otekaike Special, Footwork apparatus in playground, ladder, horizontal bar, jungle gym, volley board, vaulting buck, swimming pool, jumping pit; Tarras, swimming pool, bars, giant stride, ladder; Wedderburn, Giant Stride from water pipe, horizontal bars.

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1. Lee J., op. cit., p.207. An alternative of course (for adults) would be take up "Gamesmanship". See Potter Stephen, The Theory and Practice of Gamesmanship, or the Art of Winning Games without Actually Cheating, London, 1945.

Several interesting experiments have been carried out which demonstrate the possibilities for children's development when suitable apparatus is introduced into the playground. In Wellington for example, a Cumberland Climbing Frame made of metal pipes, was introduced, for experimental purposes, in to the Marist School Miramar. (It was not permitted in a public school). For the first three weeks the children used it intensively. After six months of completely free play, the Area Physical Organizer returned to the playground, lined up the S.5 and S.6 children, and told every child to try and do something different from the others. Out of some 70 to 80 children, 38 different actrobatic manouvres were competently produced. There was quite definite evidence of marked muscular development in advance of that customary in Public schools for children of the same age. Most of the boys of S.3 for example, were able to do about 10 ft. of arm walking which is very unusual for children of that age. Over the period of two years there were three accidents out of the thousands upon thousand of times pupils had used the frame. There were two broken arms and a broken collar bone, each accident occurring after a shower of rain when the pipes were slippery. With careful warning these accidents could have been avoided.

The Jungle Gyms introduced for the infants at Island Bay are utilized continuously throughout the year. Some of the girls are capable of difficult actrobatic manouvres.

At Utiku in 1943 a series of 4" by 2" six foot lengths of wood were given to the infants to play with. The children

arranged them in railway lines, and became very expert at running along and balancing on them.

In ideal circumstances the best method of encouraging children's development on apparatus of varied types would be to alternate the varied apparatus. Each type should be put out for a period of one to two months. There seems little doubt that there is an essential connection between the spontaneity and fun of games and their arrival in a 'seasonal' fashion. When games drag on over long periods (As did "Chevvy Chase" in F. Anstey's *Vice Versa*) they lose their essential freshness and challenge. There is a wisdom in the fads and fancies described in Chapter 13.¹ Another way to encourage children's activities on various types of apparatus would be to arrange the size and complexity of the apparatus to suit the different age levels. "If children are to lose their timidity in the use of playground apparatus or to be helped not to develop it at all, then apparatus suited to their level of skill must be provided so that the adults supervision need be little more than watching from a respectful distance to see that serious accidents are prevented."²

A wider concept of Play is also needed. The playground must provide opportunities for more than the development of

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1. Consider in this light, the very different attitudes of William Flomer as a boy to his games - his detestation for orthodox games and his delight in the 'seasonal' games of skating and tobogganing, Double Lives, p.95.
 2. Harry N. Rivlin and Friedman B.B., Play, Encyclopedia of Modern Education, p.594.

physical skills alone. Provision for the playground must have a psychological as well as a physical emphasis. In Nursery schools the importance of such a psychological emphasis, in the provision of play materials, has become a commonplace. Sand and water play, loading and wheeling materials and vehicles have long been recognized as just as essential to infant development as climbing, swinging, sliding and riding apparatus. In the New Zealand primary schools, however, there has not been as yet any general realization that for children up to at least the age of 10 (S.4) what is being termed here, psychological values, are as important in play as are the physical values. This generalization holds even under the present conditions of organized sport in schools. The younger children in the schools today are, on the whole, subjected to a playground environment which is only suitable for the older children of S.5 and S.6, and only partly suitable even to them. It has often been stressed that the school children as a whole have been sacrificed to the needs of school representative teams. This sacrifice has been far more extensive than is generally recognized. But Departmental Architects declare that little official thought has ever been given to the question of school grounds. The nature of school grounds has always been dictated by the site available and the nature of the building to be constructed.¹ Little consideration has been given to the nature of the playgrounds, although in the new housing areas it has

1. The position has been the same in England. See for example the Times Educational Supplement Editorial, School Buildings, Nov. 1st, 1947.

always been policy to provide a playing area of some four or five acres with a certain amount of paved area included. Naturally where possible interested Boards, and rugby-minded Board members, (In Hawkes Bay in particular) have made provision for a rugby field. The Physical Education Authorities for their part have exerted pressure in favour of an asphalt area adequate enough for physical drill. (two Basketball courts). But these 'pressure-groups' have had only sports and their associate skills in mind. Not the emotional play values which are being spoken of here.

Not can it be said that the general run of teachers or Headmaster have had any realization of the psychological values that certain playground features may have for children. They have been concerned more to protect property (one of their original motives for supervising children) than to provide for the play needs of the children. I have already spoken of the school, for example, in which balls were forbidden; of those many city schools in which hopscotch is forbidden because of the markings on the playground (and no doubt the scribble it leads to). There are others where children may not play among the school trees, let alone climb them, for fear of the damage that might be caused. "No standing on seats, hand rails, climbing fences or unnecessary walking on gardens" says one school rule (St. Clair) but the same school provides no other scope for children to do any of these things elsewhere. Yet look at the polished nature of any accessible rail or pole that children can climb or swing upon. What does it indicate?

I believe that something could be done to give present

playgrounds the "psychological" value of the play material in a good Nursery School. An English Report has some suggestions: "We have not yet realized in this country, as they have in Denmark and elsewhere, what a paradise for children can be made with water, sand, clay and waste materials such as real builder's bricks, pieces of wood, packing cases, tree trunks, large drain pipes, and, particular joy, an ancient motor car, which can be driven a thousand miles in the imagination." In some areas in the United States they appear to have realized the importance of interesting playground equipment. Some of the equipment used by the Play Schools Association of New York is as follows, Playlogs, this is made of oak, twelve feet long and a foot and one half thick and raised one foot from the ground. Dodger, this is an arrangement of low walls made of cinder blocks and stretching to a length of 36 feet. Extending from its backbone, which is 4½ feet high, are wings of different sizes. The What Not, this is a pyramid of steps ending in a wall. It measures about 9 feet by 6 feet and the children play on it as they would on a front stoop. In her pamphlet "When They Play Out of Doors," Clara Lambert also mentions the Trellis, the Skeleton House, the Barrel Tunnel which are permanent fixtures and the Ship's Side, Pick-up-Bench and the Ship's Prow which

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1. Out of School, 2nd Report of C.A.C. for Edn., 1948, p.10; Vestereg Agnete, Junk Playground Cave Dwellers: Success of A Copenhagen Experiment in Newsheet of The International Federation for Housing and Town Planning, May, 1951, No. XX, p. 5; Arioli Richard, Playgrounds, Basle, Sweden in Werk, May 5, 1951.

are moveable.¹ In addition the following are further possibilities: Bulldoze the playground area into small grassy hillocks and undulating surfaces; run some drainpipes into a bank; lay a hedge maze in one corner enclosing boxes and loose boards (the hedge will obscure the mess from that great majority of parents who loath untidiness); put down a sandpit half the size of a tennis court or bigger to allow sufficient scope for the constructive and cock-fighting activities of children up to the age of 8.4; set aside any existing clay bank for tunnelling activity; all asphalt areas to be bordered with grass. Other suggestions could be added. But clearly it is a matter of making the most of the possibilities present^{ed} by the school environment. As an English Report says "It is particularly desirable that any interesting features of the (school) site should be preserved."² Such an approach to the playground has never been tried in New Zealand -- nay never even thought of in most cases. Make it worth five grading marks, as they did the tidy environment in 1916, and there would be an overnight transformation throughout the country.

At this point, however, it is necessary to stress the fact that an excess of the wrong type of apparatus may as well stifle spontaneity, as a deficiency of such apparatus under present

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1. Lambert Clara, When They Play Out of Doors, issued by the Play School Association, Inc., New York. See also Butler George D., Recreation Areas, New York, 1947; Miller Norman R., Playground Equipment, The American City, April, 1951, p.139.
 2. Memorandum on Draft Building Regulations, Min. of Edn., Nov. 3, 1944, p.3.

conditions. There is only one test of valuable playground accessories and that is that they do actually challenge and stimulate creative responses. For this purpose, rough and ready material may be as good as elaborately planned apparatus. The over organization of apparatus could easily have the same¹ consequences as the present over organization of games.

Finally in addition to providing scope for a greater variety of skills and emotional outlets in the playground, something can also be done to assist the spontaneous games which already exist.

It is certain that if, the adult emphasis which is placed on sports in the decapitated schools (S.4 downwards) was decreased, there would be a natural increase and development amongst the children of their own spontaneous games. Some of these developments would come from the children themselves, others would be stimulated by adults. There are, for example, many variants of the games of Section Two which are still played spontaneously by English children, but which are not known by New Zealand children.² Many of these could be introduced profitably to the New Zealand children.

As I envisage it, the "organization" of unorganized games in decapitated schools would proceed as follows. In the first place, inter-school sporting competition would cease as a

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1. See Hurlock E., Child Development, p.284, and also Winnicott D.W., Why Children Play, New Era, Jan, 1942, p.12, for a further discussion of the effect of apparatus on children's play.
 2. I have interviewed several young immigrants from England and Scotland.

regular activity. This inter-school competition gives an undue importance to certain restricted phases of children's play at the expense of all the other types of play which are so important to the children. There would be no organization or coaching of games in the children's free playtime, at the school play-intervals, or after school. Teachers would be enery about joining in the children's playground games, or rather careful about the influence they exert on those games. The presence of teachers complicates the problems of children's growth, although it contributes to the tone of teacher pupil relations.¹ On the whole teachers would be well advised to limit their participation in children's play to the Physical Education periods and to the games afternoon activities. Standard 3/4 girls, however, would be encouraged to supervise and organize the games of infant children for a restricted time on several lunch hours per week. This is what actually occurs at Forbury school, Dunedin, although more by accident than by wise design. The S.3/4 (Leader) girls regularly organize the infants for Singing games.

The teachers would play their part in this new scheme within the boundaries of Physical Education and Games periods. The Physical Education lessons as they exist at present would require a change in emphasis. At present these periods, which are modified forms of 33 syllabus,² over-emphasize the importance of skill games. The present system is based almost

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1. This "tone" was important in the days when it could not be achieved by the existing classroom methods. But it can now be achieved within the classroom.
 2. Syllabus of Physical Training for Schools, 1933.

entirely on the assumption that a child's physical progress can be measured solely in physical terms. This is a dangerous abstraction. Unless the children's psychological development proceeds apace with their physical development the children will never acquire the necessary motive force to develop the physical skills that their stage of physical maturity indicates they should. There is need for a greater number of Imitative, Leader, He, Singing, Dialogue and other "psychological" games (as well as minor skill games) for children up to and including S.4. But this is especially true for the children in S.1 and S.2. At present the Infant syllabus emphasizes this psychological side fairly well. The primary syllabus does not. Physical Education in the early primary years would consist primarily in various types of dramatization which include amongst other things a variety of physical skills.

Games afternoon (s) for S.1/2 would consist in a great variety of minor games and a variety of children's spontaneous games. As far as possible these games would be adapted to the times of the year and to different features of the playground. Games would be played which are suitable for indoors, which are suitable for outdoors, which are appropriate to the school sheds, seats, trees, playground markings, grass and any other characteristics of the school. Even within these games periods the children would be encouraged to run the games for themselves. At all times the aim would be to give the children techniques of spontaneous play through games that they can fully understand and control themselves. At the same time the organization of a

certain number of the games would be pitched at a slightly higher level and require the control of the teacher. Some children can get a security and satisfaction out of games organized by adults that they cannot get out of games of their own organization.

The children of S.3/4 would also play minor games, but in addition, they would have a series of minor sports seasons. In the winter for example, each boy would spend three to four weeks on Rugby, Hockey and Soccer, and each girl, the same period on Basketball and Hockey. In summer both boys and girls would spend short seasons on cricket, baseball and tennis. Any other sports which were of importance in the locality could be subjected to the same experimental "seasons". There is something to be said for adding occasional afternoons of miniature hikes, harriers, bicycling, athletics and swimming events.

In S.5/6 the children would specialize to a greater extent in their games period. They would still, however, be required to play two major sports in each games season. Half their game periods would be given to one sport, half to the other. (In winter, for example, Soccer and Running). There would be after-school clubs for those who wished to specialize further and receive further sports' coaching. But these could not be compulsory either to teachers or to children, and they would only be available if there were sufficient teachers (or other adults) sufficiently interested to organize them. Within the Physical Education periods there would be no coaching in sports. There would be a variety of minor games, and also some Dramatized games of a more sophisticated nature.

The aim of this games programme, in conjunction with the playground apparatus, would be to give all children ample opportunity for experiment both in play and games and to prevent premature specialization. The present tendency of many sporting organizations to recruit children from a very young age is not in the best interests of the children, nor, ultimately, is it in the best interests of those organizations.

It should be mentioned at this point, that perhaps the greatest single game development which could be expected from such programme would occur in the Leader games of girls. These games are a relatively new phenomenon and have arisen to importance in the last twenty years. Their importance has not previously been noted by any other investigator.

Thirdly, Out of school there is less that can be done. Up till 10 years of age, children need places to play that are handy to their homes. "Experience shows that the boy will not commonly travel more than a short distance to his playground, even though he will go miles to a swimming hole....Wise then is the village or city that provides frequent small open spaces for neighbourhood playgrounds."¹ One of the most anomalous of "educational" regulations that exists in New Zealand is the regulations which keep children out of the school grounds after school hours. Often those school grounds (Consider Te Aro School grounds in Wellington) are the only adequate playing site in a thickly housed area. In the consideration for school property, and the accidents which may occur in any unsupervised

1. Puffer J. Adams, The Boy and His Gang, p.128.

area, adults, in effect, force children to play on the streets. Thereby their authorities make the children subject to the far greater dangers that exist in the street environment.⁴

If the school playgrounds were always open on the otherhand they would provide a constant pitch where constant groups could develop their games in a fashion already described .

There is a further point, if adults always organize childrens' play at school and elsewhere, (and fortunately they do not do this - all the time) this adult organization does not guide children in the way to play when they are out of schools beyond the control of adults. An hiatus is created between school play and out of school play. On the otherhand with the use of abundant play-materials within the school grounds, adults indirectly teach children creative and healthy play habits which they may carry on at any time irrespective of the presence of adults.

Away from the school, apart from the provision of additional playgrounds and the protection of those that already exist there is little that can be done. One suggestion that can be put forward, however, is that experiments be tried in countryside camps for children. Camps which are not arranged to fulfill the purposes of this or that organization, but camps arranged and equipped in something of the scientific spirit of the Peckham experiment in London.

~~4. Lehmann and Witty, op. cit., p.~~

FINAL CONCLUSION.

It is not possible to end this thesis on any very decisive note. The subject-matter was introduced in the preface with a series of questions, and on the whole these questions have been answered with adequacy. In answering them, however, many more questions have arisen. It is on an interrogative note, therefore, that this thesis must conclude.

It has been shown that the historical playground with its free play and free games provided, in effect, a therapeutic play clinic for normal children. Here a variety of physical and psychological impulses were so expressed as to contribute diversely to the growth of the players. But it was shown also that, despite the fact that for fifty years psychologists (and play therapists) have said with ever increasing vigour, that children's spontaneous play is of vital importance in their growth, this same playground has provided progressively less scope for free play expression. It has been shown further that modern society has demonstrated an ever increasing tendency to organize and command the free play time of children. Assuming then, that both these tendencies indicate the direction of the developments in the mass society of the future, how then in that society will children achieve the growth which they formerly achieved through their free games? Will other

expressive activities come to fulfill the same needs or will children's lives be so arranged for them that they cease to need outlets of his 'free' nature? For example, will the children of the future be given more substitute satisfactions through films, radio and television, and more organized periods of expression within which they can find emotional release in controlled situations, (Organized games, celebrations, mass rituals, youth activities, cadet activities)? And if this happens will spontaneous play become^a trivial relic for all except the very young, practised only haphazardly, if compulsively, in the interstices of regimented living; and, further, will the same type of individual continue to characterize our society or will the creation of greater responsiveness to organized leadership change the nature of children as we know them?

These questions give rise, in turn, to others. For example, if society takes the directions indicated above, of what historical significance, then, is the present investigation? It has been assumed throughout this thesis that group spontaneity is of some value because it contributes to the development of creative and enterprising individuals. It has been assumed throughout that if the old methods of developing that group spontaneity decay then other must be contrived to take their place. It has been finally assumed that this investigation would throw into clear light the absolute importance of preserving some forms of real group play in the society of the future. But if the society continues to develop and extend

its present approach to children's lives then perhaps the data on spontaneity provided by this thesis will contribute material merely to the organizers, and be itself but a symptom, a last spurt of interest, in a way of life doomed to extinction.

APPENDIX ONE.

In this Appendix details are provided of the methods of collection which have been outlined in the introduction to this thesis.

1. Publicity: was obtained through (a) The Press. Appeals were made in the following papers on the following dates.

'Southern Cross', 18/3/49, 15/6/49; 'Evening Post', 24/3/49, 15/6/49; 'Dominion', 18/3/49, 12/9/50; 'Taranaki Herald' 16/3/49; 'Otago Times', 18/3/49, 19/3/49, 14/4/49; 'Evening Star' Dunedin, 25/3/49; 'Christchurch Press', 18/3/49, 23/6/49, 1/2/50; 'Grey River Argus', 27/6/49, 13/8/49; 'Westport News', 11/8/49; 'Nelson Mail', 30/7/49; 'Bay of Plenty Times', 13/4/49. There were others but the dates are unknown.

(b) Magazines. 'Auckland Weekly' 23/3/49, 15/2/49; 'National Education', March, 49, November, 50; 'N.Z. Physical Education Soc. Bulletin', Dec. 49; 'The N.Z. Listener' included an editorial and interview 22/7/49. (c) The Radio. There was an interview with 4ZB (Mar. 49). A recorded talk was broadcast over 2YA, 2XN, 3YA, 2XA, 2XP, 1YA, 2Yz, between August and October, 1949. A second talk was broadcast from 4YA, 3YE, 2YA and 1YA between May and August 1950. There were other broadcasts but these are unknown.

2. Informants: With a few exceptions the names of informants have not been mentioned in the text. Obviously some of the material cited is of a confidential nature. As I guaranteed to acknowledge in the final work all material that was sent into me I include here the names of those people concerned. I do not include the names of those many more people whom I personally interviewed.

Mrs. M. Cameron, Mrs. S.A. Watkins, Mrs. I. Norwood, Mrs. P.S. Phillips, Mrs. J.R. Allison, Mrs. B. Barcus, Mr. L.R. Palmer, Mrs. G. Bleach, Mrs. E.D. McIntosh, Mr. E.S. Harrison, Mrs. W.D. Dodd, Mrs. J. Fonga, Mr. R. Gray, Mr. J.A. Lee, Mr. W.H. Clark, Mr. G.V. Goddard, Mrs. P. McKenzie, Miss A.M. Anderson, Mrs. M. Tracy, Mr. E. Riach, Mr. M.E. Jaermey, Mrs. H. Shaw, Mrs. C.M. Blackett, Mrs. G.C. Birch, Miss I.K. Wylie, Mr. J. Beever, Miss A. Woodhouse, Mrs. D. Singleton, Mr. J. Hughes, Mr. E. Percy, Mrs. E. Scott, Mrs. F. Owens, Mrs. J.C. Reid, Mr. A.T. Gudopp, Mrs. L.M. Gray, Mrs. N. Roy, Mrs. D.G. Rogers, Mr. N.M. Chappell, Mr. J. Merton, Mrs. H.S. Newbury, Mr. J. Penketh, Mrs. M.G. Henderson, Miss A. Findlay, Mrs. A.M. Isdale, Mr. F.L.M. Baxter, Mr. W.H. Cartwright, Mrs. C. Duthrie, Mrs. S. Rockell, Mrs. W.H. Cormack, Mr. W. Rippingale, Mr. G.V. Gudsell, Mr. R. de B. Adamson, Mrs. Verrier-Jones, Mr. C. Spanahake, Mr. J. Begg, Mrs. C. Gregory, Mr. D.H. Leitch, Mrs. E. Mew, Mrs. E.R. Edwards, Mrs. I. Buttle, Mrs. M. Stronach, Mr. C.W. Ross, Mr. R.H. Colebrook, Mr. D.A. McPherson, Miss M. Miles, Mr. H.K. McKay, Mrs. M. Woodley, Mr. Geo. McDonald, Mrs. C.J. Evans, Mrs. N. Tate, Miss Z. Thomas, Miss M. Paterson, Miss M. Kim, Mr. W. Toomuth, Mrs. H. Chapman, Mr. R. Edwards, Mr. W.G. Johnston, Mr. G. Von Haast, Mr. C.R. Allen, Mrs. E. Vivian, Mrs. P. Wilson, Mrs. A.A. Barton, Mr. W. Grieve,

Mrs. N.H. Godd, Mrs. I. Taylor, Mrs. I. Moore, Mrs. M. Blampied, Mrs. E.M. Laing, Mr. E. McDonald, Mrs. McCatchy, Mr. I. Sparks, Mr. S. Reenie, Mr. R. Haddon.

Assistance was also received from overseas sources:-

Mr. Archer Taylor, California; Miss Eugenia L. Millard, New York; Mr. Harold W. Thompson, New York; Mr. Paul G. Brewster, Illinois; Mr. R.M. Dorson, Michigan; Margot Mayo, New York; Mrs. H.A. Lake-Barnett, London; Mr. Sean O'Sullivan, Dublin; Mr. C.H. Tillhagen, Stockholm; Prof. Erwin Mehl, Austria; Mr. L. Daiken, Israel; Miss J.C. Rodger, Scotland; Mr. Douglas Kennedy, London; Mr. D. Murison, Scotland; Mr. H. Halpert, Kentucky.

I have written to all these people in connection with the study of games. The majority of those mentioned have either written articles on games or are connected with the study of folklore.

3. Reminiscence Sheets: The reminiscence sheet, which was most widely used was based on an early attempt at classification which was later disregarded. It had the defect that too many items were crammed onto the one page. Its advantage was, that, containing as many items as it did, it resulted in an immense amount of material being recapitulated by those who tackled it conscientiously. (There is a copy of this sheet on p898)

4. Teacher's College Interviews: Details of the interviews carried on in the Training Colleges are as follows (a) in March 1949 a lecture appeal was made to Dunedin Students en masse.

This had no observable results (b) Material was received from an interview with Dunedin Training College (12) Third Year Physical Education Students (Mar. 49). These students came from all parts of N.Z. (c) Reminiscence Sheets were distributed to Otago University Education stage 1 students. Twelve of these were returned with additional information. Most of these students came from Primary Schools throughout Otago. (d) In November, 1949 lectures were given and 'Reminiscence Sheets' were distributed to first and second year students at Wellington Teachers' Training College. 186 first year students and 143 second year students returned the sheets with attached accounts of their childhood play and games. (e) In addition, in order to check the sex differences and relative importance of certain games, specific questions were asked of 60 of these students including thirty men and thirty women, in a second year group. Games were listed on the board and the students were asked to copy down the games they had played in their own childhood. These 60 students came from all over New Zealand but particularly from the area from which Wellington Training College draws its students, ~~area~~. They were distributed as follows: Wellington 14, Manawatu 10, Golden Bay 8, Hawkes Bay 10, Otago 6, Canterbury 5, Auckland 4, Wairarapa 3. (f) In 1950 similar lectures were given and specific questions asked of 170 Wellington Training College first year students. These students were divided into three groups and different questions were asked to each group. The majority of the persons included in these groups spent their childhood in the Wellington Training College area. It is clear

that these numbers involved in these samples were too small and unrepresentative for any conclusions drawn from their answers to questions to be of much significance. Nevertheless these blackboard questionnaires were proceeded with as they were desired only as a check for opinions based on other sources of information, not as themselves a primary means of establishing information. In all cases the results obtained supported the opinions already formed. The use of the blackboard for a questionnaire, even a questionnaire as simple as these ones is clearly not the most adequate method of obtaining information. It depends too much on the attitude of the students towards the task at hand and the difficulties involved in copying from the blackboard. Conclusions were drawn, therefore, only from those papers which appeared to have been done conscientiously. It is worth noting that it was the number of men who conscientiously answered the questions that set the number of papers which could be used. There were always more women who answered these questions conscientiously just as there were more women who sent in reports in answer to advertisements. Throughout the investigation women have¹ consistently shown more interest than men. (g) Specific

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1. Men appear to repudiate and forget their childhood in a way that women do not. Childhood memories are less consistent with the male social ideal. See further Schachtel Ernest E., *On Memory and Childhood Amnesia*, in Mullahy P., *A Study of Interpersonal Relations*, New York, 1949, p.45.

questions were asked and lists of games taken from four groups at Ardmore Training College. (107 students, 52 men and 65 women). These students come from all over New Zealand but particularly from northern parts of the North Island including especially Taranaki, Hawkes Bay, East Coast, Bay of Plenty, Auckland and North Auckland. (h) Information was received from a group of Auckland Training College students (8 men and 17 women) who came mainly from the Auckland City and Suburban Area.

5. The names of the schools from which reports of games were received in answer to publicity are as follows: There were 19 schools, and approximately 500 children involved. (The numbers of children are mentioned, because often the papers received were in the nature of essays).

School.	Classes	Number
Ngapara, North Otago	S.5/6	13
Oxford, Canterbury	S.4/5	10
Stoke, Nelson	S.5/6	43
Brightwater, Nelson	S.3/6	28
Bainham, Golden Bay	S.2/6	14
Onekaka, Golden Bay	S.1/6	9
Northland, Wellington	S.4	33
Mt. Cook, Wellington	S.5	50
Clifton Terrace, Wellington	S.4/5	31
Miramar Central, Wellington	S.4	38
Rangataua, Wairarapa	S.3/6	13
Rangapiko, Wairarapa	S.3/6	15

School	Classes	Number
Kohimui, Wairarapa	S.3/6	15
Woodville, Wairarapa	S.5/6	23
Napier Girls' High School	Forms 3, 4, 5, 6.	101
St. Cuthbert's Girls College,	S.5/6	15
Papatoetoe, Auckland	S.5/6	20
Diocesan Girls' High School, Auckland	S.5/6	35

6. Schools Visited:

School	Class from which material was taken		
St. Clair, Dunedin	8	classes	P.1/S.4.
Forbury "	"	"	"
Caversham "	"	"	" & Model P.1/S.4.
Nth. East Valley, Dunedin	10	"	P.1/S.6.
MacAndrew Inter. Dunedin	6	"	Forms 1 and 2
Waikouaiti, North Otago	3	"	P.1/S.6.
Hampden, North Otago	2	"	"
Christchurch Normal School	1	"	S.3.
Nelson Central	1	"	S.4.
Upper Moutere, Nelson	2	"	S.3/6
Takaka, Golden Bay	3	"	S.5/Form 3
Collingwood, Golden Bay	3	"	P.1/Form 3
Granity, West Coast	4	"	S.3/6; Forms 3 and 5.
Stockton, " "	2	"	S.2/6
Seddonville "	1 v	"	S.2/6
Denniston "	3	"	S.3/6; Forms 3 and 5.
Hokitika " "	2	"	S.5/6; Forms 3.

School.	Classes from which material taken.		
Hokitika Convent, West Coast	2	classes	S.2/6
Kaiata, West Coast	1	"	S.1/6
Dobsen, " "	2	"	S.3/6
Karori, Wellington	10	"	P.1/S.6.
Island Bay, Wellington	7	"	P.1/S.4.
Pongaroa, Wairarapa	2	"	S.1/6
Aohunga, "	1	"	P.1/S.6.
Akitio "	1	"	"
Waione "	1	"	"
Ngaturi "	1	"	"
Horoeka "	1	"	"
Makuri "	1	"	"
Manginoka ^{pin} "	1	"	S.3/6
Papakura Normal, Auckland	1	"	S.4.
Intermediate, Normal Sch. Ak.	1	"	Form 1.

Children were interviewed who had attended the following schools. At Collingwood: Bainham, Pakawau, Aorere, Barrytown, Mangankau, Onekaka. At Takaka: Motupipi, Kotinga, Tarakohe, Upper Takaka, Takaka Convent. At Granity: Millerton, Barrytown, Paenga, Lake Rotoma, Hector, Granity Convent, Greymouth Main. At Hokitika: Sheffield, Westport South, Harihari, Kokatahi, Ross, Ruatapu, Kanieri, Lower Koiterangi, Woodstock, Hokitika Convent, Upper Koiterangi, Kaihinu, Greymouth, Kumara, Awatura, Eketahuna.

7. Children's Lists: I have included below examples of the lists that children made for me in the schools. There are

lists from Karori (S.1/8), North East Valley (S.1/8) Island Bay (P.1/S.4). In each case all the items mentioned in each class are listed and after each item is placed the number of children in the class who mentioned that item. The variant influences which may affect these lists will be noted. For example, in the Karori list, "Longball" and "Candesticks" are 'in season' so they score very highly. At North East Valley, tops are "in"; as Island Bay Skipping.

The items in the lists are arranged in the order of the chapters of Section 11, that is, first the imitative games are listed, next the play-objects, singing and dialogue games, He games, Leader games, Pack games, Skill games and Parlour games. The differences from class to class can be observed by comparing the games of the different types listed at each class level.

Karori School, Wellington, July, 1950.

Class S.1.		fretsaw	1
16 Boys		kite	1
traffic cops	1	cat	1
mothers	1	chasing	12
babies	1	hide and seek	5
trucks	2	ball tag	2
shops	1	running	1
doctors	1	hiding	1
buses	1	cowboys and I.	9
trains	2	climbing out	1
horses	2	windows	
boats	4	forts	1
cars	4	football	9
scooters	4	cricket	5
hornby	4	soccer	2
bike (trike)	5	golf-stick	1
trolley	1	swinging hockey	1
meccano	3	tennis	1
colouring	2	swings	1
plastic bricks	1	boxing	1

Karori (Contd.)

852.

football kicks	3
digging	1
reading	1
16 Girls:	
babies	2
shops	2
dressng-up	2
schools	2
horses	1
dolls	8
scooters	4
trolley	1
drawing	2
cut-outs	1
trike	1
ring a rosie	1
chasing	12
hide and seek	6
running around	1
poisonous ball	1
puss in corner	1
wolffy	1
crabby	1
trades	2
skipping	16
basketball	9
tennis	2
hop-scotch	3
swings	1
climbing trees	1
coon-can	1
hangman	1
reading	1

Class: S.2.

29 Boys:	
trains	6
boats	5
schools	3
shops	2
cars	3
police	2
houses	2
buses	4
trams	3
planes	3
plays	1
stamps	6
poems	1
printers	1
meccano	4
clockwork toys	3

darts	2
building blocks	4
hornby	4
cut-outs	1
building sets	1
plastic set	1
leather set	1
kites	1
trolley	1
art	1
bow and arrow	1
boats	1
shanghai	1
piano	1
cap guns	1
tops	2
shooting	2
chasing	11
hide and seek	5
ball tag	3
go home stay	
home	1
ghosts	1
cowboys	15
bandits	4
detectives	2
cops and robbers	1
tarzan	1
scalp hunters	1
bush rangers	1
coach drivers	1
woodcutters	1
kidnappers	1
spying	1
football	20
cricket	18
tennis	7
longball	12
races	1
riding	1
skating	1
soccer	2
hockey	3
skipping	1
boxing	1
hop scotch	1
high jump	1
long jump	1
leap frog	1
follow the	
leader	1
jumping	1
climbing	1
fishing	1

Karori (Contd.)

hopping	1
baseball	1
tennequoits	1
golf	1
hide the	
thimble	3
blind mans buff	2
ludo	5
steeplechase	2
snakes and	
ladders	2
checkers	3
air race	1
drafts	1
monopoly	1
cards	2

Class S.2.

18 Girls:	
schools	8
shops	6
houses	3
dressng-up	7
doll's house	3
concerts	1
buses	1
ladies	1
plays	1
mothers and f.	1
dolls	4
plasticene	2
stamps	3
blocks	1
clay	1
paints	1
flowers	1
wheat bix cards	1
in and out the	
dusty bluebells	
hide & seek	14
chasing	11
candlesticks	2
ghosts	1
tig (tag)	1
stiff candles	1
red lion	2
letters	1
witches and	
wizards	
fairies &	
queens	1
skipping	16

hop scotch	5
basketball	15
goals	1
races	2
longball	2
athletics	1
skating	1
swimming	2
rounders	1
cricket	2
hide the thimble	3
musical bumps	1
cards	4
snakes and ladders	1
dominoes	1
ludo	2
tiddleywinks	1

Class S.3.

16 Boys:	
trains	3
trams	1
steam engines	1
sledges	4
meccano	5
darts	2
stamps	7
racing cars	2
bows and arrows	1
guns	3
swords	2
trolley	2
drawing	4
pea-shooter	1
bikes	5
boats	1
scooter	2
clay	1
woodwork	1
puppets	1
kites	1
hide-seek	4
ball tag	7
chasing	6
ghosts	1
sardines	1
hare and dog	1
cat and rabbit	1
rats and rabbits	1
cowboys	8
cops-robbers	5
soldiers	1

Karori (Contd.)

pirates	1	hide-seek	4
dirt fights	1	go home stay home	1
football	10	puss in corner	1
soccer	8	letters	2
longball	12	steps and stairs	2
tennis	6	creepy	1
cricket	8	cowboys	2
baseball	5	basketball	10
table tennis	5	longball	4
hockey	1	skipping	7
dodgeball	1	rounders	2
rounders	1	tennis	5
running	1	hopscotch	2
climbing	1	goals	3
fishing	1	marbles	2
racing	1	cricket	1
riding	1	skating	1
snakes and ladders	3	french cricket	1
cards (strip Jack naked & Patience)	2	climbing	2
dice	1	races	1
puzzles	1	blind man's buff	5
tiddleywinks	1	hide the thimble	1
bagatelle	1	truth or dare	2
dominoes	1	I spy	1
draughts	1	how many eggs	1
noughts and X's	1	making up letters	1
making words	2	cards	2
		snakes and ladders	1
		jig saw	1
		hangman	1
		reading	1
Class S.3.			
16 Girls:			
schools	1		
shops	2	Class S.4.	
dress-up	1	23 Boys:	
steam engines	1	circuses	1
pirates	1	ships	1
stamps	5	trains	1
shells	1	houses	1
money	1	cycling	5
model garden	2	guns (cap)	3
dolls	7	hornby	8
ships	1	meccano	10
building blocks	1	stamps	15
drawing	2	comics	55
sewing	1	leaves	2
knitting	1	cards	1
here come a duke		post cards	1
a riding	1	insects	1
candlesticks	12	shanghais	3
ball tag	7	trolleys	2
giant's treasure	5	bows and arrows	3
chasing	8	fencing	1

Karori (Contd.)

fretwork	2	Relays	2
dinky toys	3	hockey	2
darts	1	water polo	1
carpentry	2	fives	1
billy cart	1	queen of sheba	1
boat race	1	treasure hunt	2
trading	2	hide the thimble	3
sledge	1	hot-cold	1
tops	1	pin the man	1
cotton-reel trucks	2	escape fm. gaol	1
puppet shows	2	housee	1
knives	1	ludo	6
spears	1	snakes and ladders	5
clay	1	monopoly	6
lino cuts	1	cards	2
crystal set	1	draughts	3
skittles	1	crosswords	2
whittling	1	chinese checkers	1
gardening	1	dominoes	1
weeding	1	gobs	1
hares-hounds	10	darts	2
go home stay home	10	steeple-chase	1
barbadoor	10	billiards	1
bar the door	9	race game	1
hide-seek	6		
ball tag	8	22 Girls:	
water tag	3	dressing-up	6
paper chase	1	shops	3
candlesticks	2	hospitals	3
stiff candles	1	presents	1
chasing	13	school	2
british bulldog	2	houses	2
stone tag	1	mothers & fathers	1
cat and mouse	1	clinics	1
giant strides	1	cars	1
letters	1	piano	6
bombing	1	stamps	16
cowboys	1	insects	3
commandoes	1	photos (film)	3
spying	1	dolls	5
longball	19	bicycling	4
football	18	gardening	5
cricket	19	sewing	6
tennis	6	knitting	6
rounders	7	painting	3
soccer	8	reading	4
table tennis	4	doll's clothes	4
wrestling	4	cooking	2
boxing	3	scooters	1
swimming	1	scrapbooks	1
running	1	animals	1
baseball	2	cut-outs	1
french cricket	1	chasing	16

Karori (Contd.)

hide-seek	16	dice	2
ball tag	8	counters	1
puss in corner	1	dominoes	2
sardines	1	postman's knock	2
barbadoor	6	blind man's buff	1
bar the door	3	I spye	1
go home stay home	6	hunt the stick	1
in the pond out of		treasure hunt	1
the pond	1	hide the thimble	1
follow the leader	1	truth and dare	1
stiff candles	1	hot and cold	1
beware the bear	1		
mr. wolf	1		
beetle	1	Glass S. 5.	
dunce dunce dubble		19 Boys:	
dee	1	trains	1
cate and mouse	1	horses	1
release	1	flyers	1
ones and twos	1	aeroplanes	1
poison tag	2	telephones	1
cowboys	2	boats	2
statues	1	magic	1
letters	5	minics	1
may I	3	stamps	14
queenie	3	jig saws	1
goals	9	hornby	2
hop-scotch	7	meccano	6
basketball	11	expts	1
tennis	10	reading	3
rounders	11	building	1
longball	9	painting	1
skipping	14	photography	1
swimming	3	making machines	2
table tennis	3	dinky toys	1
cricket	3	pea-shooters	2
french cricket	5	sledging	3
sevens	2	shanghais	1
horse riding	1	darts	1
handstands	1	fretwork	3
running	1	crystal set	2
races	1	woodwork	3
quoits	1	bows and arrows	1
tenniquoits	1	all blacks	1
skittles	1	hide-seek	6
table croquet	1	release	1
puzzles	5	treasure hunt	1
snakes and ladders	4	barb-a-door	2
ludo	3	ball tag	3
o's and x's	1	poison tag	1
squares	1	kick the bucket	1
donkey	1	bedlam	1
steeplechase	1	chasing	5
fish	1	skating	1
cards	2	fishing	1

Karori (Contd.)

swimming	3	simon says	1
climbing	4	hopscotch	9
tracking	1	handstands	1
running	2	skipping	12
wrestling	3	goals	5
marbles	5	skating	4
tramping	2	jumping	1
fight (mud)	1	longball	6
cricket	7	tennis	10
longball	7	french cricket	1
tennis	7	quoits	1
football	9	table tennis	6
relays	1	relays	1
ping pong	1	cricket	4
rounders	1	basketball	8
hockey	1	hockey	4
air race	1	rounders	4
monopoly	4	baseball	3
checkers	2	football	1
cards	7	volleyball	3
donkey	1	horse riding	3
		I spy	2
19 Girls:		snakes and ladders	7
grown-ups	1	ludo	3
concerts	1	chinese checkers	1
dress-up	1	o's & x's	4
houses	2	consequences	1
dolls	5	monopoly	1
schools	1	dots	1
publishers	1	squares	1
needlework	2	cards	3
knitting	10	lotto	1
cycling	5		
weaving	1		
reading	5	Class S.6.	
sewing	7	17 Boys:	
cooking	3	trains	1
piano	4	gliders	1
painting	1	bows and arrows	1
meccano	1	birds eggs	1
cameras	1	stamps	12
leather craft	1	coins	1
stamps	11	spears	1
shells	1	leaves	1
leaves	1	scrapbooks	1
scrapbooks	2	reading	5
coins	1	music	1
go home stay home	1	writing books	1
bedlam	1	gardening	1
hide and seek	6	fretwork	3
tag you last	1	violin	1
puss in corner	1	carpentry	3
corner spry	1	boot mending	1
chasing	9	trolley	2
cowboys	1	hoopla	1

Karori (Contd.)

woodwork	7	knitting	5
windjammers	1	sewing	5
forts	1	cooking	11
meccano	4	string games	1
photography	4	cut outs	1
model ships	2	bows and arrows	1
wireless	3	arrange flowers	1
music	1	piano	2
chasing	12	paper dolls	3
ball tag	4	scrap book	3
hide-seek	6	stilts	2
film stars	1	photos	1
two gangs	4	morse	1
hiking	1	riding horses	2
tramping	1	actrobats	1
swimming	5	penfriends	1
fishing	2	stamps	13
climbing	6	cig. cards	1
swinging	1	pictures	3
camping	1	pioneers	1
sledging	1	cowboys -I	1
ski-ing	1	hide-seek	12
cycling	9	ball tag	1
tops	3	go home stay home	2
marbles	5	chasing	9
diving	1	candlesticks	2
wrestling	2	skipping	13
boxing	2	goals	11
athletics	1	cycling	5
long jumps	1	marbles	2
shuttlecock	1	kick the bucket	1
hockey	15	tops	1
cricket	10	knucklebones	1
longball	7	hopscotch	8
cap ball	1	athletics	5
basketball	1	leapfrog	1
bike polo	2	hurdling	1
rounders	2	hiking	1
tennis	6	jumping	2
football	8	camping	2
indoor cricket	1	climbing	1
table tennis	2	hockey	1
hunt the thimble	1	swimming	2
o's and x's	1	basketball	18
jig saw	2	longball	12
draughts	2	cricket	3
monopoly	2	table tennis	2
dice	1	football	2
cards	1	rounders	2
		baseball	1
18 Girls:		french cricket	1
dressing-up	3	soccer	1
mothers & fathers	2	reading	10
schools	1	acting	1
hairdo's	1	writing	1

Karori (Contd.)

drawing	1
hide the thimble	1
jig saws	2
puzzles	1
housee	1
snakes and ladders	1
o's and x's	2
draughts	2
ludo	2
cards	3
tiddlewinks	1
dice	1
hangman	3

North East Valley School, Dunedin,
March, 1949.

S. 1	
11 Boys:	
horses	3
camel riders	1
cars	2
planes	1
bikes	1
scooter	2
paints	1
blocks	1
plasticine	2
trolley	3
carts	1
chasing	7
ball tig	4
puss in corner	1
rotten egg	4
cowboys	6
hopscotch	2
cricket	1
tops	2

26 Girls:	
farmers	1
house	3
dolls	3
mothers	2
doctors	1
hospitals	1
schools	1
sail-yachts	1
grand old duke of york	1
ring a ring a roses	1
oranges and lemons	2

I sent my son	5
drop the handker-	
chief	4
round and round the	
mulberry bush	1
hide and seek	8
t.t. touchwood	4
tig	12
statues	16
kiwi	5
steps and strides	2
letters	2
ivory	1
witches	4
cowboys and indians	1
donkey	1
marbles	1
actrobats	5
bouncing ball	1
tennis	1
I spye	1
hide the thimble	1

S.2.	
26 Boys:	
houses	1
farm	1
shops	1
schools	1
kings	1
cars	2
ships	2
trains	1
trucks	1
dogs	1
men	1
trams	1
trolley	2
tyres	1
painting	1
racing cars	1
engines	2
guns	1
bike	1
toys	1
stamps	4
mulberry bush	1
oranges and lemons	1
bar the door	2
ball tig	11
mr. wolf	1
black peter	7
hide and seek	11

Nth. East Valley (Contd.)

tig	10
t.t. touchwood	1
shadow tig	1
rotten eggs	1
poison tig	1
tip tap	1
cowboys & indians	1
pirates	1
robbers	1
bombers	1
shooting	1
cops	1
war	1
bushmen	1
tops	2
ball	9
skipping	2
marbles	3
hop step jump	1
sliding	1
leap frog	1
hopping	1
jumping	1
hop scotch	1
nest climbing	1
swinging	1
climbing	1
swimming	1
boxing	1
fishling	1
stone fights	1
kites	1
rounders	13
cricket	12
football	20
tennis	2
baseball	4
soccer	6
sudo	1
snakes and ladders	1
14 Girls:	
school	6
houses	7
leaves	2
dentist	1
tea rooms	1
hair dressers	1
babies	1
dolls house	1
prams	1
cradles	1
farmer in dell	1
nuts and may	1
big ship sails	1

tig	5
hide-seek	8
i sent my son	5
fox in garden	1
no man standing	2
ball tig	1
ivory	1
t.t. touchwood	1
puss in corner	1
farmer in den	1
cat and mouse	1
witch in stewpot	1
letters	4
steps and strides	2
statues	2
two men walking	1
kiwi	1
witches	1
frogs	1
tit tat	1
skipping	5
ball	5
marbles	1
tops	2
follow leader	1
climbing trees	1
two-lgd-race	1
basketball	1
rounders	3
tennis	1
sports	2
sides	1
drill	1
blind man's buff	1
S.3.	
20 Boys:	
farms	1
shops	1
buses	1
schools	1
cars	1
house	1
meccano	1
balls	2
clay	1
bike	1
stamps	10
wheatbix cards	2
tig	5
chasing	1
ball tig	13
black peter	7
hide-seek	5
t.t. touchwood	2

Nth. East Valley (Contd.)

puss in corner	1
hand tig	1
poison tig	1
kiwi	1
round and round	
the wheel must go	1
soldiers	1
cowboys & indians	10
pirates	1
tops	12
marbles	12
skipping	1
actrobats	1
hop skip jump	1
races	3
climbing	3
birdnesting	1
swimming	3
running	2
boxing	1
wrestling	1
rabbiting	1
fishing	4
rounders	18
football	13
cricket	12
baseball	3
tennis	4
soccer	7
blind man's buff	1
ludo	1
snakes and ladders	1
17 Girls:	
school	7
concerts	1
house	9
mothers	3
trams	1
buses	1
weddings	2
shops	2
hospitals	1
guides	1
dentist	1
plays	1
dressng-up	1
cindrella	2
dutch boys	1
red riding hood	1
sleeping beauty	1
ball	5
dolls	2
prams	1
sand castles	2

bikes	1
stamps	9
leaves	4
pictures	2
folk dances	5
ring a ring a roses	1
nuts and may	1
gd. old Huke of york	1
ghost in the garden	1
oranges and lemons	1
black peter	2
t.t. touchwood	1
tig	9
ball tig	2
poisonous tig	2
hiding go seek	4
ivory	1
stiff candles	1
steps and strides	3
statues	1
letters	1
skipping	8
tip tap	3
hop scotch	1
hurdles	1
tops	1
hopping	1
follow the leader	1
sports	1
races	1
jumping	1
swimming	1
relays	1
horse riding	1
tennis	6
basketball	8
rounders	1
do this do that	1

S.4.

18 Boys:

roads	1
trains	1
dogs	1
hens	1
animals	1
hut building	5
kites	2
trolleys	6
bikes	6
barrows	1
scooter	4
hornby	1
crackers	1

Nth. East Valley (Contd.)

planes	1	cricket	7
piano	1	ping pong	1
bows and arrows	1	hunt the thimble	1
darts	7	badminton	1
pea-blowers	1	jig saws	1
model aeroplane	1	cards	3
boats	2	ludo	1
meccano	3	snakes and ladders	1
toy cars	2		
shanghais	1	26 Girls:	
woodwork	1	babies	3
paints	1	houses	8
stamps	1	queens	1
coins	3	library	1
photos	3	concerts	1
hide seek	7	dolls	2
puss in corner	1	shops	1
black peter	6	mothers	1
poison tig	3	ball	2
tig	9	stamps	18
ball tig	2	wheatbix cards	12
redwood tig	1	royal pictures	3
foxes and rabbits	1	money	4
t.t. touchwood	2	leaves	7
no man standing	1	photos	3
no man sitting	2	drop the handker.	1
mr. wolf	1	old ma witch	6
cowboys and indian	10	ghost in the garden	11
bushrangers	1	oranges and lemons	13
police and robbers	1	nuts and may	11
raiders	1	duke of york	6
warriors	1	farmer in the den	1
pounds s. d.	1	the big ship sails	4
tops	15	ghosts	1
marbles	13	black peter	23
hurdles	1	corners	1
dodge ball	1	puss in corner	7
actrobats	1	hide and seek	21
leap frog	1	cat and mouse	7
fishing	1	tig	19
swimming	3	tip tap	17
races	3	no man standing	12
running	1	fill the gap	13
jumping	1	poison tig	12
climbing	2	t.t. touchwood	8
skipping	1	ivory	15
hopping	1	poisonous touch	1
hunts	1	rotten egg	7
rugby	12	bar the door	2
baseball	13	shadow tig	2
rounders	11	chain tig	3
tennis	4	ball tig	2
french cricket	2	2's and 3's	1
soccer	1	rats and rabbits	2

Nth. East Valley (Contd.)

steps and strides	11	tig	6
letters	16	ball tig	8
statues	15	chain tig	1
creepy crawley	10	rotten egg	1
colours	7	tip tap	2
kiwi	3	this is the way the	
I sent my son	18	world goes round	1
this is the way	4	steps and strides	1
the wheel goes round		cowboys & indians	5
skipping	17	sword fights	1
hop scotch	17	lone avenger	1
tops	7	tops	15
dodge ball	2	marbles	8
rope jumping	1	throwing balls	1
ball	2	hop scotch	1
handstands	5	skittleball	1
leap frog	12	skittles	1
twirlies	1	phys. ex.	1
races	6	gymnastics	1
wheelbarrow rides	1	follow the leader	3
swimming	4	rabbiting	1
basketball	18	farming	1
tennis	11	milkrun	1
baseball	14	calling birds	2
cricket	6	cycle races	1
rounders	7	climbing	1
football	3	cross country race	2
simon says	2	swimming	2
musical chairs	1	fishing	1
hide the thimble	1	races	2
cards	5	skipping	1
snakes and ladders	2	rugby	14
ludo	1	tennis	8
housey	1	rounders	14
chequers	1	soccer	13
		baseball	4
S.5.		cricket	13
20 Boys:		hockey	1
schools	1	softball	1
shanghais	1	french cricket	1
bikes	3	stamps	9
ponies	1	coins	3
paints	1	badminton	1
kites	1	happy family	1
sledging	2	hide the thimble	1
trolleys	2	ludo	3
meccano	2	snakes and ladders	2
handwork	1	draughts	1
woodwork	1	monopoly	1
reading	1	dice	1
building huts	1	cards	12
black jack	1		
hide seek	7		

Nth. East. Valley (Contd.)

S.5.

27 Girls:

school	6
offices	1
missionairies	1
hospital	3
hairdressers	1
concerts	1
house	3
nursing	2
printers	1
shops	3
dentists	1
farms	1
dressing-up	1
girl guides	1
drawing	2
colouring	1
painting	1
stamps	17
old coins	3
books	2
pictures	8
shells	4
farmer in den	3
ghost in garden	1
nuts and may	4
gd. old duke of york	2
drop the handker.	1
little sally waters	1
I wrote a letter	9
hide -seek	14
black peter	12
bar the door	1
brit. bulldog	1
ball tig	2
fill the gap	1
tig	11
tag	4
no man standing	2
walking tig	1
puss wants a corner	20
chain tig	2
cat and mouse	2
t.t. touchwood	3
chasing	1
pebble and stones	4
candlesticks	2
tip tap	10
E.s.d.	3
steps and strides	18
creepy crawley	4
letters	15
creeping up	2
colours	3

statues	5
initials	1
numbers	1
kiwi	2
ivory	7
skipping	7
hopscootch	2
marbles	1
rope jumping	1
skittles	1
leap frog	5
handstands	5
actrobats	3
music	1
racers	5
swimming	3
nesting	1
running	2
gardening	1
somersaults	1
relays	1
swinging	1
ball passing	1
basketball	23
baseball	6
tennis	8
relays	1
rounders	10
softball	4
cricket	3
shoe hockey	1
blind man's buff	4
hide the thimble	1
I spy	1
simon says	1
happy family	4
cards	5
ludo	5
snakes and ladders	1
monopoly	2
housey	6
chequers	2
draughts	2

S. 6.

12 Boys:

model towns	1
hut making	1
cycling	5
motor bikes	1
whittling	1
drawing	5
painting	2
model aeroplane	2

Nth. East Valley (Contd.)

radio	1	pictures	4
meccano	2	blocks	1
trolleys	1	photos	6
paints	1	stamps	14
hornby	1	pictures	12
ball tig	4	I wrote a letter	1
tig	1	oranges and lemons	1
poisonous tig	1	tip tap	9
hide seek	2	no man standing	1
this is the way	1	black peter	7
the wheel goes round		bar the door	2
british bulldog	1	this is the way	3
creepy crawley	1	hide seek	11
kiwi	1	blind man's buff	1
S. S. d.	1	tig	8
pirates	1	puss in corner	4
indians & cowboys	2	shadow tig	1
tops	6	chain tig	4
marbles	4	pebbles and stones	3
athletics	1	t.t. touchwood	2
swimming	1	sardines	1
scouting	1	in the pond out of	
running	1	the pond	2
rabbiting	1	rotten egg	1
boating	1	ball tig	5
shooting	1	letters	6
hiking	1	steps and strides	2
dodge ball	1	I sent my son	1
climbing	1	colours	1
rugby	9	statues	1
cricket	9	kiwi	2
soccer	7	creepy crawley	1
rounders	5	clubs	1
baseball	1	cowboys and indians	1
hockey	1	relay	1
tennis	2	bouncing balls	1
french cricket	1	races	4
indoor cricket	1	tops	1
cards	6	hop scotch	4
draughts	1	actrobats	4
strategy	1	skipping	7
happy family	1	goals	1
snakes and ladders	2	leap frog	4
puzzles	1	sides	1
I spy	2	dodge ball	2
		arrows	1
20 Girls:		tree climbing	1
house	3	basketball	17
school	2	tennis	12
social security	1	softball	12
post offices	1	rounders	7
dentists	1	longball	4
libraries	1	fruit salad	1
kites	1	shut eye	1
stamps	10	postman's knock	2

Nth. East Valley (Contd.)

hide the thimble	1
draughts	2
snakes and ladders	1
chinese chequers	2
middleman	3
happy family	1
ludo	1
ivory castle	1

aircraft carrier	1
plane	1
chasing	2
policeman	1
cowboys and indians	2
jungle jym	2
rund around school	1
ball	1

6 Girls:

chasing	1
jungle jym	6
french knitting	1
fr	

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Primers 1 and 2

16 Boys:

trains	4
horses	3
fire engines	1
motor cars	1
in the sand	1
in the shed	1
hide and seek	2
chasing	3
cowboys and indians	1
swings	1
jungle Jym	3
running	1
fight	1

13 Girls:

mothers and fathers	1
red riding hood	1
goldy locks	1
witches	1
cinderella	1
wolffy	1
ball	2
bike	1
pram	1
ball bouncing	1
ball catching	2
chasing	3
hide and go seek	3
boys catch girls	1
catching the boys	1
skipping	1
climbing	1
in the shed	1
jungle jym	6
run round	1

Primer 3.

11 Boys:

fire engine	1
aeroplane	1

Primer 4

13 Boys:

cars	2
trains	1
horses	1
milk carts	1
chasing	7
hide and seek	3
britches	2
run away carrots	1
chasing the girls	1
kissing girls	1
red indian	1
soldiers	1
hunters	1
boyboys and indians	5
funny soldiers	1
running round the pole	1
football	3

12 Girls:

doll	1
horses	1
mothers and fathers	1
oranges and lemons	1
ball	1
chasing	2
mr. wolf	2
kissing boys	1
run away from boys	2
sit on seat	1
skipping	8
jumping	2
hopping	1

S. 1.

20 Boys:

schools	4
fire engines	3

Island Bay (Contd.)

trucks	1	climbing	1
motor cars	1	baseball	2
motor bikes	1	tennis	3
horses	2	hunt slipper	1
superman	1	hiding things	1
flash gordon	1		
firemen	1	15 Girls:	
cowboys and indians	14	houses	1
horse paddocks	1	mothers and fathers	3
exploring	1	schools	6
circuses	1	babies	3
dresssing up	1	humpty dumpty	1
3 little pigs	2	rabbit and the nest	1
blockhouses	1	bikes	1
bows and arrows	1	trains	1
drawing	1	mushrooms	1
in sand	1	shops	6
kites	1	dresssing up	1
trike	1	acting stores	1
scooter	2	hansel and gretel	1
weeding	1	dolls	4
collecting cones	1	prams	1
forts	1	drawing	1
boats	1	farmer in the dell	2
farmer in dell	1	oranges and lemons	1
ring a ring roses	1	ring a ring a roses	1
follow me to town	1	fairies and witches	2
luby loo	1	chasing	13
ride a cock horse	1	hide and seek	10
chasing	20	poisonous tag	1
hide and seek	10	ball chasing	1
cate and mouse	1	ball tig	1
puss in corner	1	cat and mouse	2
touch your tail	1	tags	1
mr. wolf	1	wolfs	1
blindman's buff	1	witches	1
collaring	2	bull	1
racing	5	collaring	3
jumping	1	chasing boys	1
running	5	steps and strides	1
fighting	3	running	2
swimming	1	races	3
table tennis	1	walks	1
football	11	balls	3
balls	1	tennis	2
cricket	1	rounders	1
jobs	1	skipping	13
walking	1	bounce ball	2
soccer	3	hopscotch	5
basketball	2	basketball	5
softball	1	ball catching	1
rolypoly	1	table tennis	1
marbles	1	football	1
skipping	6	cricket	1
hopping	5	goals	1

Island Bay (Contd.)

rope jumping	1
follow the leader	1
swings	1
cooking	1
snakes and ladders	1
knitting	1
cards	1
steeplechase	1

S.2.

14 Boys.

trains	1
schools	2
cars	1
ships	2
planes	2
rockets	2
baby austins	1
boats	1
meccano	1
chasing	11
tag	3
hide and seek	8
twos and threes	1
follow the leader	1
poisonous tag	3
ball tag	3
puss in corner	3
toes off the border	2
puff tag	1
fill the gap	2
collaring	12
cricket	6
climbing	3
football	9
catches	1
swimming	2
soccer	3
tennis	1
marbles	3
hopscotch	1
riding	2
running	1
ball and bat	1
swinging	1
jumping	1
races	4
skipping	2
ball catches	1
dodgeball	3
leap frog	2
baseball	1
table tennis	1
pass ball	1

find the cotton reel	1
snakes and ladders	2
ludo	2
cards	1
happy family	2
steeplechase	1

22 Girls:

schools	6
shops	2
mothers and fathers	2
dressing up	4
babies	1
ladies	1
clinks	2
grown ups	1
engaged	1
weddings	1
circuses	1
houses	2
paints	1
dolls	6
with dog	1
cut outs	1
bicycles	2
scooters	1
poor sally is a weeping	3
oranges and lemons	2
giant's treasure	1
queenie	4
witches and fairies	3
chasing	16
collaring	11
hide and seek	13
chinese wall	2
2's and 3's	1
ball tag	3
bull	1
sardines	1
poison tag	3
cat and mouse	1
ghosts	3
skipping	21
skating	1
races	3
baseball	1
paper chase	1
sevens	3
ball	3
fishing	2
climbing	1
tennis	6
follow the leader	1
hopscotch	13

Island Bay (Contd.)

basketball	11	leap frog	1
swinging	3	broad jumps	1
cricket	2	climbing	1
running	1	lighting fires	1
hunt the thimble	1	pillow fights	1
blind man's buff	3	baseball	2
simon says	1	hockey	1
tail on the cat	1	ludo	3
how many words		snakes and ladders	3
starting with s.	1	aeroplane race	1
cards	5	happy family	1
happy family	1	cards	1
housie	2		
snakes and ladders	4	20 Girls:	
ludo	5	wizards	1
dominoes	1	schools	7
		mothers and fathers	2
		shops	4
S.3.		clinics	2
11 Boys:		offices	1
ships	1	horses	2
baby austins	1	mad meetings	1
scooters	2	babies	1
guns	1	snow white	1
sledging	2	hospitals	1
farmer in dell	1	boxes	1
chasing	9	model aeroplane	1
ball tag	10	piano	a
hide and seek	9	reading	1
poison tag	2	drawing	3
collaring	3	copying	1
bar the door	1	dolls	1
chasing on lines	1	here we go round the	
pounce on others out		mulberry bush	1
of trees	1	in and out the dusty	
sword fights	1	bluebells	1
bandits	1	ring a ring a roses	1
cops and robbers	7	poor sally is a	
exploring	1	weeping	2
warriors	1	cops and robbers	1
cowboys and indians	3	cowboys and indians	1
camel rides	1	hide and seek	11
pirates	1	rats and rabbits	2
police	1	raspberries	1
robbers	1	chasing	20
football	9	chin tag	1
soccer	10	bobbing down tag	1
cricket	5	toes off	1
races	3	collaring	9
skipping	3	tagged you last	1
relays	2	ball tag	6
hopscotch	2	butterflies and	
fights	1	cabbages	1
punchball	1	bear and honey	1

Island Bay (Contd.)

no man standing	1	chasing	9
donkey	1	ball tag	10
queenie	1	collaring	7
giants	1	hide and seek	3
steps and strides	1	poison tag	1
tip the finger	1	cowboys	1
skipping	19	sword fights	1
hopscotch	7	cricket	10
basketball	15	soccer	9
drill	1	football	10
goals	3	marbles	6
tennis	7	baseball	7
high jumps	1	goals	1
decktennis	1	tennis	4
sevens	1	hopscotch	1
french cricket	1	hockey	1
football	4	golf	1
cricket	3	basketball	5
baseball	1	boxing	1
hockey	1	skipping	1
ball	5	aces	1
goals	2	home cricket	1
catches	2	goals	1
sliding	1	ludo	8
hoopla	1	housey	1
running	1	snakes and ladders	7
soccer	2	table tennis	2
climbing	2	steeplechase	1
aces	1	dominoes	1
big a little a	1	cards	8
o's and x's	2	draughts	1
treasure hunts	1	tiddleywinks	1
simon says	1	chess	1
whispers	1	monopoly	1
crosswords	1	aeroplane ride	1
land sea air	1		
hunt the slipper	1	24 Girls:	
hide the thimble	1	schools	1
jig saw puzzle	2	imagining	1
ludo	8	old woman of botany	
snakes and ladders	7	bay	1
tiddlewinks	1	chasing	18
cards	8	collaring	15
draughts	2	hide and seek	17
chess	1	kick the block	3
hexion	1	poison tag	8
chequers	1	toes off	2
aeroplane race	1	all tag	2
dice games	1	stone tag	1
happy family	1	tag	1
		puss in corner	3
S.4.		out of my property	1
13 Boys:		fox and geese	1
horses	1	bar the door	1
exploring	1	counting out	1
		shadow tag	1

Island Bay (Contd.)

cowboys and indians	1
film stars	3
goals	13
skipping	23
baseball	20
tennis	10
hopscotch	15
table tennis	1
cricket	1
racing	2
quoits	1
handstands	1
baseball	2
sevens	1
indoor basketball	1
a.b.c.	2
puff ball	2
land air sea	1
hunt the thimble	1
I spy	1
aeroplane race	1
cards	11
happy family	1
ludo	11
housee	6
snakes and ladders	14
chess	1
chinese chequers	4
draughts	1

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This bibliography is divided into three parts. The references in each part are arranged alphabetically. The first part includes works on New Zealand history, the general history of sports and recreation and works on the playground movement. The School Jubilee Magazines are listed separately at the end. (The majority of these School Jubilee Magazines are located wither at the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington or in the General Assembly Library, Wellington). The second part includes interpretative works of a psychological anthropological folklorist or philosophical nature. The final part contains references which given examples of game-lore. At the end of this part a number of novels are listed all of which contain childlore relevant to the substance of this thesis. The full references were not always available in the case of these latter works.

There are then three parts: Historical, Interpretative,
1
Lore.

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1. Abbreviations used are as follows: The New Zealand Council of Education Research is referred to as N.Z.C.E.R. The Journal of American Folklore as the J.A.F.

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REMINISCENCE SHEET (EXAMPLE)

New Zealand Children's Play and Games.

This questionnaire is part of an attempt to build a comprehensive record of the play and games of N.Z. children throughout 100 years. Please underline any of the following activities you have played and add the names of any others. On separate paper add details about activities on this list and others of your own, including information about:- the rules or rhymes of the games, their season site and source; the age at which you played them and the effects of school, companions, climate and environment. All material should be sent to B. Sutton-Smith, M.A. Education Dept. Victoria University College, Wellington.

- A. Imitative Play: trains, coaches, schools, houses, shops, dressing-up, horses, dentists, etc.
- B. Individual Conflict: (i) with play object - Tops (whip, humming, peg) knucklebones, conkers, stagknife, tip-cat, skipping (rhymes) marbles (names-games-moves-values), egg-cap, E.s.d., hop-scotch (diagram) cap-on, lazy stick. (ii) without material object: handstands, leap-frog, follow the leader, bull in the ring, fly the garter, king of the castle, scrag, sacks on the mill, bumpers, cock-fighting, tip-tap-toe, cabbages, honey-pots. (iii) Leader Games: Colours, queenie, initials, letters, steps and strides,

creepy, statues, film-stars, giant strides. (iv) He Games; including all forms of tag or tig and sometimes counting-out rhymes (eeny, meeny, miny, mo) also bar the door (king seenie) - red rover, sheep, sheep etc) 2's and 3's, kick the tin, relieve, fill the gap, hide and seek, relieve, puss in the corner, tom tiddler's ground, ivory, trades, moonlight-starling, tip the finger (This is the way the world goes round) french and english.

C. Team Games: (i) Make-believe: Cowboys and indians, witches and fairies, cops and robbers etc.

(ii) Dramatic: nuts and may, oranges and lemons, in and out of windows, ring a ring a roses, botany bay, diggley bones, wash the dishes, punchinello, old mother gray, round and round the village. (Please write out the words you used).

(iii) Formal: Variations on major sports; cunning joe, longball, prisoner's base, goosey, shinty, peg ball, chibby, gag or no gag, punch king, homp, echo, eggs in the nest.

D. General Play with objects: What playthings did you construct or invent and what did you do with them. shooting (shanghais, catapults, water-pistols, pea-shooter, slings; how did you make these) throwing and skipping stones, darts, hoops, kites, sledges, boats, stilts, trolleys, whips, games with paper (bangers, water-bombs) hands (shadows) grass (tinker-tailor) string (cat's cradle) peep-shows, transfers, billycarts; what toys or animals or collections or hobbies did you play with most and what did you do with them.

E. General Play without objects: fighting (was it arranged) initiation (of a new boy) truancy (what did you do) smoking (what) play to and from school, did you belong to a gang or set. What do you remember of its rules, secret language or code, activities;

play with sweets and food (cooking); climbing, balancing, burning (magnifying glass-gorse) burrowing (sand) daring, building huts and forts, nesting, sliding, swinging, scribbling (what, where) stealing (what, where) tracking, taboo play and language; Pranks on adults (which adult in district) on children, in and out of school (knick-knock) skating, swimming, snowballing, gambling, constructive play (roads) Word-play (riddles-your favourites; nicknames; rhymes - bluebells cockleshells (skipping); teasing rhymes - giddy giddy gout; counting out rhymes; obscene rhymes); Superstitions:- (ghosts, crossed-fingers, black-cat, white-horse) Special Occasions (April Fool's day, Guy Fawkes, Inspector's visit, Holidays, Picnics, Parties) Tricks of all kinds.

F. Parlour Games - Which were the favourites of your childhood.

blindman's buff, hide the thimble, postman's knock, consequences, forfeits, mrs. mckenzie's dead, musical chairs, family coach, priest of the parish, simon says, poor pussy, I spy, charades.

G. Old-Timers and Others: Bingo, jolly miller, draw a pail of water, follow me to london, green grass, green gravels, how many miles to babylon, jingo ring, merry ma tansa, jack a lingo, jenny jones, poor sally is a weeping, saucy jack, three dukes, fire on the mountains, mother mother the pot boils over, oak ball, pretty little girl of mine, thread the needle, pitch and toss, paper chase, chivvy chase, hot cockles, this is the way the wheel goes round, space ring, wolf, mingle the bonnets, horney, tug of war, chip chop, ducks and drakes, hares and hounds, hop the hats, hickety bickety, bukk buck, namers and guessers, bedlams, bells.