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**Children and Schoolwork in New South Wales,
1860-1920**

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A boy named Bell walked out of school on Monday at 3.30 to escape his Euclid.¹

I was always fond of poetry and I'd always have to stand up and say poetry. I used to be able to learn real quick.²

I suppose it would be reading, writing and arithmetic.³

Teachers are to instil into the minds of their pupils the necessity for habits of orderly and modest behaviour, as well as obedience to teachers, and to the rules of the School. Pupils should also be trained to exhibit respect for the property of others, whether public or private; to regard the feelings of their fellows; to be honest and truthful, diligent under instruction, and conscientious in the discharge of every duty.⁴

Did master Bell ever face his Euclid? Unfortunately the source leaves that question unanswered. In the period under discussion schoolwork increasingly became a more common experience for children such as Bell. Schoolwork contained many things including Euclid, and in another sense, children themselves. The ideal of modern schooling placed children in a classroom, morning and afternoon, five days a week, for most weeks of the year.⁵

Introduction

In the second half of the nineteenth century in New South Wales the introduction and spread of mass schooling added a significant workload to the lives of most children. In effect the schoolroom became a kind of workplace, albeit unpaid. Schoolwork became a given for nearly all children, whatever their household's position in society. Socio-economic status, race and gender affected and mediated a child's experience of schooling, but they did not remove children from the school experience and its workloads.⁶

The question of what children in New South Wales did learn or gain from their schoolwork in the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century is as yet, largely unanswered.⁷ What did going to school and schoolwork actually involve? Despite a substantive historiography concerned with Australian education there is little scholarship that specifically

addresses these questions.⁸

Initially, writings in the history of mass schooling concentrated on the narrative and politics of its introduction.⁹ The term mass schooling refers to education for the bulk of society's children in schools. Prior to the growth of mass schooling, education had been the domain of the wealthier sections of society, while the churches had been the dominant providers of education. In Australian scholarship the struggle between church and state over the right to educate the young has been a major area of attention. Another, subsequent school of thought explored mass schooling from a different perspective. This revisionist view employed a Marxist concept of the state as solely representing the interests of the middle class. Mass elementary schooling was theorised as a means of bourgeois social control and training for working class children who were viewed in the role of the future workers for the industrialist capitalist economic system.¹⁰ More recently, social and feminist history, as well as sociology and demography, have complemented educational history, so that school children, not just bureaucrats, educators and politicians, have become subject to historical enquiry.¹¹ Such blending is exemplified in the work of the educational historians who explored the introduction of mass schooling in South Australia.¹²

The spread of mass schooling

The introduction and spread of mass schooling in New South Wales was a gradual process.¹³ Steps commenced in the 1830s under Governor Richard Bourke, who suggested that a system similar to the Irish National System would be suitable for the colony. Those who were instrumental in the introduction and spread of mass schooling in New South Wales were clear as to its aims. The politician Henry Parkes, who saw himself as the 'acknowledged author of two great measures like the Public Schools Act of 1866 and the Public Instruction Act of 1880' and 'the founder and moulder of the primary school system', stated clearly the reasons for the necessity for mass schooling.¹⁴ Extension of education to the lower classes was a means to prevent or check their tendency to depravity, vice and crime. In 1863 Parkes argued:

How much better to teach the child than to punish the hardened youth; how much cheaper to provide schools than to build gaols; how much more creditable to us as a community to have a long roll of schoolmasters than a longer list of goalers and turnkeys.¹⁵

He echoed these sentiments in 1866 during the second reading of the Public Schools Bill:

With regard to some of the victims of capital punishment within the last few years, it cannot for a moment be doubted by anyone who knows the country that if education had been extended to those unfortunate young men they might have been still alive.¹⁶

This view of education as a preventative measure, was coincident with that of many other colonial politicians. It was also a reiteration of English liberal thought. In the second half of the nineteenth century the extension of the colonial franchise added weight and another reason to the perceived importance of mass education. Those who were to vote must, it was thought, be adequately educated so as to exercise this right judiciously. A third prong of the argument was a growing belief in the connection between the education of the nation's citizens and its prosperity.¹⁷

There were four main thrusts from the state in the mass schooling movement in New South Wales. These occurred in 1848, 1866, 1880 and 1916. In 1848 Governor Fitzroy appointed a Board of National Education and a Denominational School Board. The Denominational Board was to deal with government grants to church schools while the National Board's function was to establish government schools where required, within a system of public education. This was the colonial state's first major assumption of responsibility and control of schools. Previously the state had offered school funding via institutions, both charitable and reform, and the denominational schools. National schools, as the government schools were referred to, were not intended to substitute for denominational schools, rather they were to supplement that system. Under this dual scheme government schools were to be established only where denominational ones were lacking. The growth of this system was slow. Only one school was established in the first year of operation and two hundred and sixty by 1866, the final year of the Board's operation, the bulk of these were in country areas.¹⁸

The 1866 Public Schools Act increased the state's overall control of the school system. Education was placed under the one authority, the Council of Education. The Council assumed the responsibilities of the two previous Boards and exercised increased control over denominational schools. It also worked to allow the provision of more state schools by easing the criteria for their instigation. The exact timing of the Public Schools Act was due to political manoeuvres. However, its measures were required to provide schooling for those who, under the Selection Act, had settled in areas where there was little provision for schooling.

The precise timing of the 1880 Public Instruction Act was similarly influenced by political alliance. Its broader place was within a period of educational reform throughout the Australian colonies, Victoria having been the pace setter with the Education Act of 1872.¹⁹ A most striking and innovative feature of the New South Wales Public Instruction Act was its provision for compulsory primary school education. Children aged between six and fourteen years were to attend school for not less than seventy days in each half year. Parents could be subject to fines if these attendance requirements were not completed. Another weighty feature of the 1880 Act was the withdrawal of state aid to denominational schools. Subsequently the New South Wales elementary school system basically divided into a state run and financed system and a smaller, but substantial, Catholic counterpart.²⁰ A third section of the system was composed of small privately run schools and some larger private denominational schools. A fraction of the colony's children were educated by tutors or governesses in their own homes. Some working class parents played this role when schooling was not an option for their households.

The compulsory provisions of the 1880 Act were, like the Act itself, a compromise. Bridges argues that this section was diluted, so as to be compulsory on the statute books only, rather than in effect. This, he reasons, was offered as a sop to the electorate, particularly, the rural element who relied heavily on their children's labour power.²¹ Certainly practices after the Act came into force demonstrated the weakness of its wording.²² Many households worked around the Act, with

children both evading and avoiding school. Despite this, school attendance figures rose substantially in the years following the passing of the Public Instruction Act. However it was not until the Act was amended in 1916 that primary education in New South Wales was made effectively compulsory on a daily basis. The Public Instruction (Amendment) Act of 1916, commonly known as the Truancy Act, significantly and effectively tightened the provisions of Public Instruction legislation concerning attendance. Sections eight and nine in the second part of the Act carried unprecedented force. These were labelled 'Truants' and placed within the section of the Act dealing with 'Attendance of Children at School'. Children could, on their second offence for non-attendance, be sent to 'an institution selected by the Minister for the detention of truants'.²³ The relevant court could, on behalf of the Minister, order maintenance of up to ten shillings a week from the child's parent while it was held in the prescribed institution. Removal of the child from its household meant that the option of having children in paid employment, or working at home, while paying the fines for their school absences was effectively closed off. Along with this control came much tighter attendance requirements. Students were to attend school on every half day the school was open, that is, morning *and* afternoon, or their carers would be liable to repeated fines. The Act's stipulation respecting half days meant that the practices of arriving to school late, and or, leaving early, (often to go to work) were purposely debarred.

The introduction and spread of mass schooling to New South Wales was based on a philosophy which viewed the practice of schooling as of great import in forming the character of the man, woman, or collective rising generation. In colonial New South Wales the role of the state was more dominant than that of its English counterpart, particularly after the granting of responsible government. The liberalism of the New South Wales colony, colonial liberalism, witnessed, countenanced, and indeed encouraged a significant place for the state in providing infrastructure.²⁴ The strand of liberal thought that underlay the compulsion of schooling, both in New South Wales and other western societies, was a 'positive liberty'. This referred to the necessary interference with

a person's liberty so as to promote it more fully.²⁵ In the short term schooling deprived a person of liberty, but in the long term it offered a fuller liberty through its provision of knowledge. In promoting and propagating mass schooling, which metamorphosed into compulsory schooling, liberals also cited an idea that was theoretically more utilitarian than liberal. This was the argument that schooling was for the good of the society as a whole. It was thus seen as paramount to the rights of the individual child and those of its parents to control its actions.²⁶

School-life and lessons

In *Discipline and Punish* Foucault stresses the connections between the modern penitentiary and the modern school.²⁷ Both institutions were concerned with training and discipline. Penitentiaries aimed to reform, while schools were to train and mould so as to produce certain behaviours and prevent others. The link between the two was the reform school or the reformatory. Rigid timetabling, control of body and mind, and physical punishments were elements of discipline common to both institutions. As Aries has argued, modern schooling differed greatly in form from its medieval counterpart.²⁸ The modern school placed much greater emphasis on the control and discipline of the mind and body. One reason such control was required was because greater numbers of students were involved. Another was the underlying philosophy of mass education. The form of modern schooling developed with mass schooling. The actual content of the school day and curriculum appeared subsidiary to the moulding and training that the discipline of consistent schooling would offer. This training was preparation for life in the workplace under the rhythms and demands of industrial capitalism. Fox's description of the moulding of the industrial workforce also aptly describes the moulding of children by mass schooling:

Clocks, rule books, whistles and hooters imposed a new sense of time on work, shaping and moulding a new workforce...Punctuality was paramount, and obedience, sobriety, respect and hard work were enforced²⁹

The Australian colonies received their mass schooling in modern form.

The perceived importance of education as character training was evident in Marion Weigall's

little treatise on the preparation of boys for school. There is, however, a particular view of education embodied in her work. Education contained lessons for life. Weigall's words are directed at comfortable households, such as those which could consider the employment of governess or tutor. Yet her advice exemplifies the thinking of those who advocated the importance of mass schooling.

Weigall expostulated, referring to the child:

If it is old enough to learn anything at all, it is old enough to be made understand [sic] that the lesson is a duty; that what ought to be done must always come before what is pleasant at the moment to do.³⁰

Children were also to learn to accept authority from their education, Weigall dogmatised:

It must be recognised that during the lesson the teacher is supreme and must be strictly obeyed. Arguments, discussions, and irrelevant conversation must not be allowed.³¹

Many former students have recalled the regime of teacher and school. Some, including the author Mary Gilmore, did not find physical punishment untoward. Gilmore attended, as many children did then, a number of schools changing schools when her household moved, or, when a school ceased to function. Her reminiscence of one teacher and his mode of punishment is kindly in tone:

He was a good kind old man, whose patience was sorely tried by all of us. Now and again he broke out and "strapped". He did not cane. He had a broad stirrup leather. Boys were "hoisted" (need I explain that?) and sometimes the "hoister" got nearly as much of the strap as the hoisted, for the long end of the strap, doubling over the upper boy, "wacked" down on the lower...When a girl had to get the strap she was ordered to lean over the front of the front desk.³²

William Dennison, who was born in 1888 near Dubbo in western New South Wales, has similar recollections of accepted punishment:

School teachers were very cruel in those days and often inflicted severe punishment for the slightest misdemeanours...I used to carry two favourite books under my coat - *The Life of Nelson* and *The Life of Napoleon*. One day I was caught reading under the desk and I was caned for it. The teachers were often brutal, but it was accepted - that was the way it was.³³

Brutality might not be too strong a word to describe some happenings at the Glebe National School.

The following were noted in the school's journal:

Told Miss Russell I could not allow her to box the infant's ears or smack their faces.³⁴

A complaint by Mrs Munro of his [a teacher] having struck her little boy on the head and thereby causing him to be ill for 3 days.³⁵

Mr Palmer after being repeatedly cautioned and reproved respecting striking the pupils has twice struck one of the girls of his class.³⁶

Miss Galbraith gave Cassy Buckland...nine stripes on her hands during the reading lesson yesterday, because she could not spell the difficult words of her lesson, her mamma states, that her hands were much swollen and discoloured, that she could not take her dinner or be pacified, and that she could not send her to school in consequence.³⁷

Elizabeth Smith, a pupil in Miss Galbraith's class having been sent by Miss Galbraith to get the cane that she might cane her for laughing, took her hat and left the school. This is the third instance of the kind within the last few weeks.³⁸

Mr Boulton pulled some hair off a boy's head (Radford); he says it was quite accidental; the act was very injudicious, to say the least of it.³⁹

Most recollections show an acceptance of physical discipline in the classroom. Eva Nowlan attended school early in the twentieth century. She equated her teacher's severity with good teaching:

He was a very nice man. A good, oh, [sic] and very severe. He had a cane and the boys...he'd hit them, give them cuts. And he'd split it on them. Oh yes, he was a very severe man but today, we realise he was a good man. He taught us well...he was a very good teacher.⁴⁰

Physical punishment was not the only displeasure recalled by those who were once students.

Gilmore remembered a different technique of another teacher:

We dreaded him as we dreaded a boa constrictor. He used to go outside, and coming to a knot-hole in the wall, glue his eye to it and watch us. His eye at that hole, when chancing to look up, we saw it, froze the blood in our veins. His accusing voice, as he entered the door, gave us the lockjaw of terror.⁴¹

This practice accords with the Benthamite idea that a prisoner or student would work more consistently if it believed it could be subject to surveillance at any time. In effect the subject was trained to supervise itself. Foucault has discussed this effect emphasising the dimension of power embedded in it:

The major effect of the Panopticon: to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power. So to arrange things that the surveillance is permanent in its effects, even if it is discontinuous in its action; that the perfection of power should tend to render its actual exercise unnecessary...in short, that the inmates should be caught up in a power situation of which they are themselves the bearers.⁴²

A knot-hole or a *Panopticon* with a series of individual cells was not the only device to work this way. The raised teacher's platform at the front of the classroom could function in a similar way. The combination of very limited, or even no formal teacher training, the wide age range of the students, (particularly in small schools) and varied academic levels of pupils meant that more authoritarian teaching styles were often favoured.⁴³

From 1880 the question of schooling was no longer optional. It is doubtful whether children themselves had ever much choice in this area, pre or post compulsory schooling. However the 1880 Public Instruction Act curtailed families' range of choices for the child. It became increasingly difficult for children not to attend school. It was also increasingly difficult for children to 'escape' their Euclid or whatever else was their lot at school. The curriculum accompanying the 1880 Act illustrated the content prescribed for the first four school classes. This Public Schools curriculum was not placed in the statute book. Rather, it was contained in the *Government Gazette* under the head 'Course of School Instruction'.⁴⁴ This meant that the content of the schoolday could be altered without resort to parliament, unlike the legislatively bound rules for school attendance.

Children in the first class were supposed to be taught reading, writing, arithmetic, object lessons and singing. The arithmetic covered 'notation, to three places of figures' as well as 'Simple Addition, on slates' and 'Mental operations' with 'results not higher than 60'.⁴⁵ The second class was to follow the same subjects, at a more advanced level. The subjects of geography, grammar and drawing were to be introduced in second class. The only new subject for the third class was scripture. Although government schools were not sectarian they did include scripture instruction. This took the form of bible studies. Fourth class gained 'Mechanics' which included the 'Science of Common Things' and Geometry which covered Euclid. The subjects for the fifth class were also

listed, but this class was not usually found in the ordinary public school. Fifth class added extras of Latin and Algebra. It was viewed as a form of post primary education. These classes were attached to the larger Superior Public Schools. The agenda for the New South Wales schools was virtually imported from England and Ireland. Primary school students received an Arnoldian styled education. Educators, educational theory and texts came from England and Ireland.

Teaching methods in teacher training situations and educational publications were heavily influenced by English thought. However, the stipulation of a certain subject and teaching method for a particular class did not necessarily mean that they were employed. Fletcher has clearly explained that:

Even where attention has been directed toward this field, [day-to-day teaching] too often the published syllabus and pronouncements on best methods of teaching have been confused with what actually occurred in the schoolroom - 'ought' and 'taught' were by means necessarily the same.⁴⁶

Fletcher's highlights the case of geography in the National Schools, (that is state schools in the period from 1848 to 1866). He shows convincingly that what was actually taught followed the available texts rather than the suggested course.

One way of accessing the work of the New South Wales public school child is through their exercise books. These were more often used by those in the upper classes, the third and fourth. Usually, younger and less advanced children worked on slates. These books shows a stress on neatness and precision, along with preponderance of arithmetic, including problems, and grammar.⁴⁷ The schoolbook of Ernest Evans offers some indication of the fourth class studies at Paddington Superior Public School in Sydney. The headings in young Evans' exercise book included writing, arithmetic, grammar, mathematics, parsing, geography, spelling, derivation, prefixes, story and a prayer.⁴⁸ Similar content is evident in some sheets of an anonymous school exercise book worked over twenty years later in 1906.⁴⁹ Both books reflect emphasis on method, accuracy, practice and neatness. School children learnt control. Schoolwork is an area recalled by many former students. Jeanette Clear was positive in her recollections of school, especially when she spoke of

poetry:

I was always fond of poetry and I'd always have to stand up and say poetry. I used to be able to learn real quick.⁵⁰

Eleanor Butt remembered being fond of English, geometry less so. She elaborated:

In those days, we had arithmetic. I didn't like geometry very much. I wasn't very proficient in that. We had history, geography and arithmetic. We didn't have much else I don't think.⁵¹

History was Lena Powell's favourite subject. Born in 1901, Lena attended school in Pyrmont in Sydney from the age of five to when she was fourteen. She recollected:

The old history, you know, old English history. The old English kings and queens and so forth.⁵²

At one school eight year old Mary Gilmore, (or Mary Cameron as she was then), learnt Greek.

Mary also helped the other pupils, not then an exceptional practice:

When I was about eight years of age the three elder of us were sent to Mr Pentland's Academy (usually called the Grammar School) at North Wagga Wagga. Mr Pentland at once set me to learning Greek, the only girl he thought worthy of the privilege; and as five minutes did me for my other lessons, I was put to teaching the other junior pupils in between whiles. My mother objected to my doing this, but my father wanted the Greek, so I stayed on.⁵³

Under the large pupil to teacher ratios and the rigidity of the school program some lessons were not suited to every pupil. Bill Dennison remembered the difficulty of his set lessons:

We had to learn the alphabet backwards and forwards, the twenty two rules of syntax, learn screeds of poetry and work out huge sums, sometimes stretching over three slates.⁵⁴

Charles Blythe, who had taught the Australian author Miles Franklin, recognised that the school system did not suit all pupils or aid their post school life. He noted this in a letter to Franklin after she had left his school. Referring to sums that Franklin had conquered, sums similar perhaps to those set for Bill Dennison, Blythe wrote:

For school teachers, especially, such sums are both necessary and extremely convenient, as they serve to keep senior classes employed and sometimes puzzled, while the juniors are being taught, but their utility to the rank and file of the pupils is more dubious.⁵⁵

Blythe was aware of the fleeting nature and futility of school lessons for many students. He cautioned Franklin, were she to teach, to bear in mind that:

On many of your pupils much of your instruction will be thrown away, as what they learn in school will be speedily forgotten when they cease to attend, and consider their education completed.⁵⁶

Mary Gilmore lapped up her schoolwork and was able to use her schooling as a base for her post school life. When aged twelve, after her primary education was deemed sufficient, Gilmore became a pupil teacher and subsequently a teacher. Her recollection suggested that some of her school students were not prime material for the academic side of the schoolroom:

The children certainly gave me no trouble. They were dull and very ignorant; I could not bear them near me; but that was all.⁵⁷

The writer Henry Lawson did not always find his lessons apt. In 'The Old Bark School' he captured the problems of running a school system using texts written for a different country. The primary school system in New South Wales was based on the Irish National system. This scheme was initially deemed appropriate as it was thought it would suit the scattered nature of colonial settlement. It was also believed suitable for a society with several different religious groupings.⁵⁸ In its first decades the primary school system relied on text books written for the Irish system. As Lawson showed, these were not entirely suitable for New South Wales:

Our school books were published for use in the National Schools of Ireland, and the reading books dealt with Athlone and surrounding places, and little pauper boys and the lady at the great house. The geography said, "The inhabitants of New Holland are amongst the lowest and most degraded to be found on the surface of the earth." Also: "When you go out to play at one o'clock the sun will be in the south part of the sky."⁵⁹

Values

The 'inhabitants' referred to in Lawson's schoolboy geography were Aboriginal people. Values were another area taught within the primary schools. Although non-sectarian, schools were still Christian in persuasion. They also preached the importance of queen, (or king), empire, race and respectability, as Firth concisely explains:

The public schools financed under that Act [the 1880 Act] did not pretend to be impartial, except in religious issues, but stood for particular moral and political values which reflected the opinions of the public to which they were ultimately responsible. Since that public was 'respectable', or at least believed children should be 'respectable', the schools too, were models of respectability.⁶⁰

The importance of politeness and honesty was stressed at Eleanor Butt's school. The former Merriwa schoolgirl explained:

You had to be honest and if the teacher thought that you had told lies or anything like that - well, that was one of the worst things you could do. You had to be really honest with everything.⁶¹

Honesty was part of the values agenda prescribed for pupils. The guidelines accompanying the 1880 Act featured a section headed 'School Routine and Discipline'. This instructed that:

Pupils should also be trained to exhibit respect for the property of others, whether public or private; to regard the feelings of their fellows; to be honest and truthful, diligent under instruction, and conscientious in the discharge of every duty.⁶²

The society's desired manners were also taught at school. Eleanor recalled learning polite manners such as ladies first and not sitting down before your elders.

You had to be polite. Girls were always sort of let go first and all that sort of thing and you never sat down when there was [sic] older people about.⁶³

Lawson, who described himself as a model pupil, found expectations at school a burden even though he had 'made rapid progress in "parsing" or analysis'.⁶⁴ The scribe wrote:

I shared the average healthy boy's aversion to school; in fact it developed into a positive dread, and before I left I had almost a horror of going to school. Yet I was a "show scholar" or "model pupil", as the master put it...It seems hard to reconcile the fact that I hated, or rather dreaded school, with the fact that I was a model scholar. Perhaps the last fact accounted for the first. I dreaded school because I was sensitive, conscientious and a model scholar and I had never yet been punished, and it was a strain to keep up the reputation.⁶⁵

Firth argues that despite significant curriculum changes in 1905 values such as white superiority and loyalty to the Empire were consistent throughout the years from 1880 to 1914.⁶⁶ These values are reflected in a 1906 Australian reader.⁶⁷ This reader contained prose and poetry, including 'Hansel and Gretel', 'Robinson Crusoe', 'William Tell' 'The Untidy Boy' and 'A Boy Wanted'. This last mentioned story details how three boys were unbeknowningly tested for a job. The

honest, most hard working, self motivated boy gaining the situation. Lawson remembered reading similar stories in his autobiographical piece "The "Provisional School"", again he emphasised the foreign nature of the texts:

The reading books had moral little stories - with the scenes laid in the vicinity of Athlone - about the small and very ragged children of extremely poor and doggedly honest parents, and ladies at the "great house", and "the squire" who occasionally distributed pennies.⁶⁸

Lawson was also sceptical of the class harmony depicted throughout the tales:

And the moral of most of them was that it is better to be ragged and starved and in danger of being run in for vagrancy than to be rich and discontented. We believed it all then - but we doubt now.⁶⁹

The "*Pleasant Hours*" *Reader* also featured stories with an Australian flavour. Girls and boys could read the story of a loyal Aboriginal (to white settlers) in 'The Faithful Kooragee'. In school fare Aboriginal people were most often characterised in a duality similar to 'damned whores and god's police'; they were either depicted as faithful servants or fierce savages, but never as fully developed individuals. The 'savage' depiction was evident in a story for schoolchildren describing Sturt's exploratory expedition down the Murray river, Sturt's party encountered:

A great crowd of natives, who were singing their war song, and were painted and armed as if for battle. They were a hideous sight. Some had their ribs, arms, and thighs painted white; others were daubed with red and yellow orche, and all were smeared with grease...they brandished their spears, uttered savage yells, and worked themselves into a state of fury.⁷⁰

Aboriginal degradation was also presented in the *Commonwealth Schools Paper*. From 1904 this magazine style publication was issued to children in New South Wales state schools on a monthly basis. It featured stories of worthy children who were invariably rewarded for their virtue while less savoury youngsters soon came to ruin or punishment. The *Paper* also carried poems and prose pieces of a factual, instructive nature. One of these enlightened fourth class readers to the following:

The Maoris are a far finer people than our Black-fellows. They are very clever. Though they were savages, they knew how to build good houses...They are not savages now. They have given up their old way of living.⁷¹

Accompanying white superiority and benevolence were punctuality, cleanliness, behaviour and

appropriate gender roles, all taught through the school system.⁷² By the early twentieth century schoolchildren were reading an Australian story version of the 'Babes in the Wood'. This story told the 'true' tale of three children lost in the bush, highlighting the feminine behaviour of the older girl:

Jane had wrapped her frock round her little brother whenever they lay down to rest, and she and Issac had carried him for miles, so that he had not suffered so much as they had...The story of their suffering and heroism spread far and wide. Jane's motherly attention to her little brother has won for her a place among the world's noble girls.⁷³

Consideration for Aboriginal people was not a constituent of young Jane's heroic behaviour. Despite the part Aboriginal people played in the rescue, a satisfactory antipathy, in authorial tone, was displayed toward them. The young girl was, after being found through an Aboriginal's efforts, carried by one of them. The story included her reaction to this:

Jane was handed up to him. But on the road she became conscious; and, as she showed a strong dislike to her position, Dicky's place had to be taken by a white man.⁷⁴

Cleanliness was another value stressed by the school system. The guidelines accompanying the 1880 Act emphasised its importance:

Habits of personal neatness and cleanliness are to be encouraged among the pupils, not only by precept, but by the personal example of the Teacher; and, if necessary, may be enforced.⁷⁵

Eva Nolan had a teacher who enforced habits of tidiness and neatness, by personal precept and by threat. The former schoolgirl reminisced:

Our teacher was very spick and span and clean and he said, 'Now, I don't want any rubbish or anything thrown around the floor.' He said, 'The first one that throws a bit of paper or drops a bit of paper on the floor and I find out who it is,' he said, 'they'll get the cane.'⁷⁶

At one school Miles Franklin shared an award for 'keeping boots clean for a year'. Her prize was a Charles Dickens novel.⁷⁷

Teachers and bureaucrats consistently stressed the need for their students to be punctual. Lateness for school was a persistent and longstanding concern of educational authorities. Annual Inspectors' Reports consistently noted the problem of poor punctuality, particularly in rural areas.

Children's morning workloads at home were one reason for school lateness. The writer Banjo Patterson captured the frequency of 'ten o'clock scholars' in an autobiographical piece. He wrote of his fellow scholars:

They were a curious lot. Perhaps their most striking characteristic was their absolute want of originality. They had one standard excuse whenever they were late: "Father sent me after 'orses". They didn't garnish it with a "Sir", or anything of the sort, but day after day every boy that was late handed in the same unvarnished statement, and took his caning as a matter of course.⁷⁸

Patterson's teacher may have been following Departmental instruction concerning punctuality:

With a view to the proper training of their pupils, Teachers must conduct the operation of their Schools with punctuality and regularity.⁷⁹

Lack of punctuality was a disturbance to a class's order. It also upset the schoolday's routine. Routine was valued by educational bureaucrats and teachers alike. Routine involves repetition and detail. Both were evident in the following entries from the Journal of the Glebe National School.

Found that Mr. Palmer has not given the lesson of the time-table and programme, but has instead, told the children tales for instance, Sinbad the Sailor. Talked to him seriously; told him that he must give the lessons of the programme and time-table.⁸⁰

Cautioned Mr Palmer for giving an oral lesson at a time when he should have given a silent one.⁸¹

Gave orders for the various motions for passing slates, pencils, etc., in the 2nd class, in presence of Mr Palmer, and informed him again that he must keep up the practice, as it tends to disorder and confusion to adopt any other course, the pupils having been drilled into the practice for the last 15 months.⁸²

Detailed and exact instructions for the daily routine accompanied the 1880 Act. The idealised school day was to commence in the following fashion: 'At 8.45. Pupils to assemble in the Playground. All School materials to be prepared for lessons.' The day was to conclude with similar ritual, 'At 3.25 The Roll to be called and marked. At 3.30 The School to be dismissed.'⁸³ The importance placed upon school routine may be why it was often remembered. Certainly this was the case in Isobel Slockee's remembrance of Fingal School in the years 1912 to 1914:

We had only one teacher and he used to manage quite well and he had a roster, you know, that he followed through every day. We knew what lesson was coming because we'd do the same thing every day of our lives, you know.⁸⁴

The school bell played an important part in Lena Powell's memory of her school day. Lena recalled:

It used to ring at nine o'clock, half past nine of a morning; first thing I went to school, then at half past twelve we'd come out for lunch till half past one and then we'd go back till four o'clock in the afternoon.⁸⁵

Lena explained that exercise was also part of the school's daily ritual:

Physical exercises, we used to have that before we went into school of a morning, every morning we'd have to do our exercises before we went into school. And of an afternoon too.⁸⁶

The regime of exercise, or drill, as the more formal version was known, was particularly strong in New South Wales schools of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Drill was viewed as an important adjunct to school discipline. Children were to line up and march into school three times a day, at other times they simply practised marching. Inspectors' Reports often passed comment on drill, sometimes praising its benefits, at other times criticising its performance. Inspector Kevin's comment was representative of the Department's concern that drill should be performed regularly and properly:

Drill is a subject that I fear does not receive the attention it should...Many teachers fail to see what a powerful aid it is in discipline, and if their pupils can only make a noisy tramping on the school floor while marching in and out they are content...All regularly trained teachers who were found neglecting the subject during the year were duly reported to the Minister.⁸⁷

In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault noted the similarity between military training, prison routine and schooling. All were concerned with training mind and body. Allen Cox's recollection of his time at Enmore school demonstrated this connection:

Yes, we always had to do playground drill, Enmore School was noted for that. One particular class, the class below me, he had them marching about like German soldiers, you know round about the playground, while others were in school.⁸⁸

The link between the classroom and the military took on a more tangible form with the introduction of military training for boys. Defence proved a significant legislative concern of the initial Australian federal governments whatever their political persuasion. A series of federal Defence Acts

passed and amended in the years before World War One instituted and controlled compulsory military training for boys aged between twelve and fourteen.⁸⁹ Some schools had already instigated cadet units. The importance placed on defence training by the federal government was indicated by the strength of legislative penal clauses. The 1904 Act specified that those who assisted males to evade their military obligations could be liable to six months imprisonment, with or without hard labour. Gender was a major determinant of those who were subject to the provisions of the defence legislation. Females were not expected to perform military duty.

Sorting children

Gender also had significant effects in the school system. The classroom was, amongst other things, a place of classification and sorting. Indeed, this was another aspect of the ordering process. Where schools were large enough girls were usually separated from boys. Gender difference was highlighted and reinforced rather than downplayed. School Inspectors were unequivocal on the mixing of the sexes. It was not to be allowed. Hence Inspector Kevin's firm, and representative, remark in an annual report:

In other cases I found the sexes were not strictly confined to their own playgrounds and to their own games. In all such cases I gave the teachers concerned very positive directions in this matter.⁹⁰

This separation was emphasised in Bert Hickey's memory of Forest Lodge School in Sydney. Born in 1905, Hickey remembered 'very, very hard caste divisions' between the sexes.⁹¹ He elaborated:

There was a girls' school adjacent. No girls ever came into the boys' school and no boys ever went into the girls' school. You'd get, oh belted the life out of you if you were found in the girls' school. I don't think you were game.⁹²

Henry Lawson's small bush school also separated the sexes. To sit with the girls was a hurtful castigation for the schoolboy Henry:

One form of alleged punishment in the Old Bark School was to make a bad boy go and sit with the girls. I was sent there once, by mistake. I felt the punishment, or the injustice of it, keenly.⁹³

Even where boys and girls were taught in the same classroom they were subject to somewhat different curricula. Girls were taught needlework, boys were not. The

1880 *Gazette* stipulated that in schools where there was no female teacher the 'teacher's wife' was to take the girls for at least four hours of needlework.⁹⁴

Mary Gilmore noted that girls were taught a different form of handwriting to boys.⁹⁵

Children were not only classified on the basis of their sex. They were also arranged on academic ability. The writer Mary Fullerton retained and detailed the initial primary school grading process. Fullerton observed that the arrangement of children was a judgement of their parents as well, children:

Had to be sorted; in the first place they were drafted according to size...That was tentative, till the next test was applied; information as to our ages was then sought. That sent me to a row higher up. Lastly, places for many of us were changed again, when the educational test was put. Some of the bigger ones came down, and some of the dots were given the importance of a seat at one of the desks. It was really an examination of our parents as well as of us.⁹⁶

This experience was embarrassing for at least one of Fullerton's older and larger classmates. In her evocative prose Fullerton recalled:

I remember seeing, with amazement, Jim Speary...pass from a higher desk to a lower one, amongst lads of seven or eight, to begin his A,B,C. His fluffy whiskers looked strangely out of place amongst the babies around him. His embarrassment would have touched the hearts of anyone but children.⁹⁷

Homework was usually part of the school process. As with the schoolday, it touched most children regardless of social or economic status. But again, its imposition was most keenly felt by those whose out of school workload was heavier. By 1890 the Department had announced rules to order the amount and type of homework. These were instituted at the realisation that:

Children of tender years, in addition to spending the day in school, were in many cases weighted with home lessons so numerous and heavy as to be a source of annoyance and concern to parents, and misery to themselves.⁹⁸

Miles Franklin's character Sybylla saw homework as just another layer of her never ending daily workload:

Besides the milking I did, before I went to school every morning, for which I had to prepare myself and the younger children, and to which we had to walk two miles, I had to feed thirty calves and wash the breakfast dishes. On returning from school in the afternoon, often in a state of exhaustion from walking in the blazing sun, I had the same duties over again, and in addition boots to clean and home lessons to prepare

for the morrow.⁹⁹

Even more evocative was Franklin's concluding sentence on the subject, 'Ah, those short, short nights of rest and long, long days of toil'.¹⁰⁰ It is difficult to imagine how some of Mary Gilmore's students could have completed written homework, given the daily routine they followed:

The two boys I have mentioned were the sons of a farmer. They got up at five o'clock every morning, and milked until breakfast. Breakfast over, they started for school. As soon as they got home it was work till dark, then supper, then bed. They learned their lessons walking to and from school.¹⁰¹

Gilmore went on to explain that these twelve and thirteen year old lads had not ever read any books because they had no time.

Conclusion

Schooling imposed a new workload on children, that of schoolwork. Under a definition of labour such as Alfred Marshall's schooling may be seen as a form of work. Marshall defined labour as 'an exertion of mind or body undergone partly or wholly with a view to some other good than the pleasure derived directly from work'.¹⁰² School attendance initiated a transfer of children's labour power from the household and, or labour market to the schoolroom. Schooling meant that both labour market and household demands on children's labour had to be fitted around schoolwork. Schoolwork became the central and paramount labour of the modern child's life and intrinsic to the construction of extended, dependent and protected childhood. In this context the school system may be viewed as an expanding manifestation of the social sector, as well as an arm of the state. The transfer of children's labour to the schoolroom was not effected without co-operation from many families.

The school system compensated for the withdrawal of children from the labour market by preparing them for their eventual place, as adult or juvenile workers in that market. A variety of sources including individual testimony, disclose skills and behaviours that were deemed useful by the state functioning in the capitalist economic system. Schoolchildren were taught discipline, routine, order, cleanliness, honesty and punctuality. They were also taught to work on a daily basis.

Discipline, both physical and mental, showed children the costs of non-conformity. Furthermore, within each school there existed a small-scale working of a reward and punishment mechanism. Co-operative and outstanding scholars, such as Mary Gilmore, were rewarded. They obtained the benefits because of background and, or because of conformity and compliance. Those who resisted or could not meet the expectations of schooling were punished. This micro form of punishment could be administered, it has been shown, by force, indignity or intimidation and sometimes by a combination of all three. Discipline on a larger scale was, of course, present in the compulsory facets of the education Acts.

The school system also worked to reproduce and impart values considered important by the respectable and powerful in New South Wales society. Schooling came to be viewed as a form of positive liberty. It was seen as beneficial to the society as a whole, as well as to the individual. Evidence of the reinforcement and reproduction of hierarchies based on gender, race and academic ability has been advanced. Australian writers such as Lawson and Fullerton, have testified to the classificatory nature of schooling. Pavla Miller's studies have suggested a similar trend concerning the reproduction of class.¹⁰³ Schools also attempted to inculcate moral values such as honesty and patriotism.

For many children schooling was their most closely supervised, most routine and most disciplined form of work. In this it served as a preparation for employment and participation in a society increasingly conforming to the rhythms of industrial capitalism. In the short term, schoolwork increased the workloads of virtually all children, regardless of their socio-economic position. It added particularly to the overall workload of those children who had other work to do. Yet, in the long term the school helped remove children from the more formal employment market. Modern school did not stop children working. It, in itself, continued to work children, but confined the main form of work to school work. The mass schooling program established in New South Wales remains in place today. Consolidated and extended, it nevertheless retains and continues many of the

values and functions noted above, whilst still prescribing experience and containment for children.

¹ *The Journal of Glebe National School 1862-72*, 12 September 1866, cited in D.C. Griffiths, *Documents on the Establishment of Education in New South Wales 1789-1880* Melbourne, 1957, p.108.

² Mrs J Clear, New South Wales Bicentennial Oral History Collection, (hereafter *NSWBOHC*), transcript 27/1, p.19.

³ James Hallinan, *NSWBOHC* transcript 22/2, p.3.

⁴ Regulations for carrying out the provisions of the Public Instruction Act of 1880, *New South Wales Government Gazette*, (Hereafter *NSWGG*), 1880, Vol.2, p.2248.

⁵ For example the 1880 Public Instruction Act allowed a total of five weeks holiday in a year. Four separate one day holidays were also sanctioned. For the changes in vacation periods since 1848 see J. Fletcher and J.Burnswood *Government Schools of New South Wales Since 1848*, NSW Department of Education, 1988, p.213, (no city of publication given).

⁶ The history of Aboriginal people and the formal education system in New South Wales is treated in J. J. Fletcher, *Clean, Clad and Courteous: A History of Aboriginal Education in New South Wales*, Sydney, 1989 and the companion text J.J. Fletcher, *Documents in the History of Aboriginal Education in New South Wales*, Sydney, 1989.

⁷ School systems in Australia were established and regulated along colonial-state lines, thus a state centred analysis is appropriate.

⁸ One exception is Rodney I. Francis, 'Schools from the Pupil's Point of View: New South Wales in the late Colonial Period', *ANZHESJ*, Vol. 8, No. 2, Spring, 1979, pp.22-35. See also, Greg Logan, 'Primary Schools or 'little State Farms'? J.D. Story and the economic role of experimental agriculture in Queensland State Schools, 1900-1920', *History of Education Review*, Vol.26, No.1, 1997, pp.71-86. A useful consideration of schooling in New Zealand in the early twentieth century is Rosemary Goodyear, 'Has the Bell Rung Yet? Children and Schooling in Otago 1900-1920', *History of Education Review*, Vol. 24, No.1, 1995, pp.31-52.

⁹ See for example A.G. Austin, *Australian Education, 1788-1900: Church, State and Public Education in Colonial Australia*, Melbourne, 1961.

¹⁰ B. Bessant and A.D. Spaul, *Politics of Schooling*, Melbourne, 1976 is a more subtle and sophisticated offering utilising Marxist analysis.

¹¹ An excellent summary of the arguments and perspectives of the approaches to the history of mass schooling is contained in Ian Davey, 'Capitalism, patriarchy and the origins of mass schooling', *HER*, Vol. 16, No. 2, 1987, pp.1-12.

¹² See, for example, Ian E. Davey 'On School Attendance' *ANZHESJ* Vol 6 No 1 Autumn 1977 pp.1-11; Pavla Cook, Ian Davey and Malcolm Vick 'Capitalism and Working Class Schooling in Late Nineteenth Century South Australia' *ANZHESJ* Vol 8 No 2 Spring 1979 pp.36-48; Ian Davey 'Transitions: School and Work in the Family Economy' *Australia 1888 Bulletin* No 10 September 1982 pp.50-56; K. Wimshurst 'Formal Schooling and Social Structure in a Working Class

Municipality' *ANZHEJ* Vol 7 No 1 Autumn 1978 pp.1-15; Kerry Wimshurst 'Child Labour and School Attendance in South Australia, 1890-1915' *Historical Studies* 19 No 76 1981 pp.381-411; Pavla Miller 'Schooling and Capitalism: Education and Social Change in South Australia, 1836-1915' PhD University of Adelaide 1980. See also the article by Ann Larson 'Who wants to go to school? The effects of free and compulsory state education in nineteenth-century Victoria' *HER* Vol 15 No 1 1986 pp.1-18.

¹³ Alan Barcan, *Two Centuries of Education in New South Wales*, Kensington, 1988 offers comprehensive detail on the dates and developments in New South Wales education. Ken Cable offers insight into the politics, both sectarian and secular, involved in the introduction and development of significant state elementary education in New South Wales, see Kenneth J. Cable 'John Smith: the Professor and the Schools' in Roy MacLeod (ed) *University and Community in Nineteenth Century Professor John Smith 1821-1885*, Sydney, 1988, pp.1-13.

¹⁴ Henry Parkes to his daughter Annie, 11 April 1880, quoted in M.D. McLaurin, *Sir Henry Whitcombe and Tombs*, 1946 p 79. The dominant role of Parkes is essayed in D. Morris, 'Henry Parkes - Publicist and Legislator' in C. Turney, *Pioneers of Australian Education in New South Wales in the Nineteenth Century*, Sydney, 1969, pp.155-92.

¹⁵ Henry Parkes, *Speeches On Various Occasions Connected With the Public Affairs of New South Wales 1848-1874*, Melbourne, 1876, p.169.

¹⁶ Parkes, *Speeches on Various Occasions*, p.238.

¹⁷ Austin is informative on these arguments, noting their commonality throughout the colonies as well as their English origins. See Austin, *Australian Education*, pp.166-225.

¹⁸ J. Fletcher and J. Burnswood *Government Schools of New South Wales Since 1848*, p.8. This contains great detail on the different numbers and kinds of schools and the developments in state education.

¹⁹ The Australian Acts and their dates were: Victoria, The Education Act, 1872; South Australia, the Education Act, 1875; Queensland, the State Education Act, 1875; New South Wales, the Public Instruction Act, 1880; Tasmania, the Education Act, 1885; Western Australia, the Elementary Education Act 1893 and the Assisted Schools Abolition Act, 1895.

²⁰ See Brother Ronald Fogarty, *Catholic Education in Australia 1806-1950*, 2 Vols Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1956.

²¹ Barry Bridges 'Sir Henry Parkes and the New South Wales Public Instruction Act, 1880' in R.J.W. Selleck (ed), *Melbourne Studies in Education 1972*, Carlton, 1972 pp.177-213. This view is shared by Austin, see Austin, *Australian Education* pp.178-79.

²² See Maree Murray, 'Working Children: A Social History of Children's Work in New South Wales' PhD, Macquarie University 1996, see Chapter Four particularly for extensive detail on efforts to avoid the intentions of the Act concerning school attendance.

²³ Public Instruction (Amendment) Act, No 51 1916.

²⁴ For a more recent discussion of colonial liberalism see Stuart Macintyre, *Winners and Losers: The Pursuit of Social Justice in Australian History*, Sydney, 1985, pp.19-39. Macintyre also provides a treatment of education in Australia in the light of social justice considerations, see pp.97-117.

²⁵ An exposition of this argument is M.J. Charlesworth, 'The Liberal State and the Control of Education' in R.J.W. Selleck, *Melbourne Studies in Education 1968*, Carlton, 1968, pp.1-27.

²⁶ Utilitarian attitudes towards the child are neatly discussed in Brain W. Taylor 'Utilitarianism and the Child: Jeremy Bentham' in Patricia T. Rooke and R.L. Schnell, (eds), *Studies in Childhood History: A Canadian Perspective*, Calgary, 1982, pp.4-27.

²⁷ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Translated from the French by Alan Sheridan, New York 1979, see particularly Part Three 'Discipline'.

²⁸ Philippe Aries, *Centuries of Childhood*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1986; see particularly 'The Roughness of Schoolchildren' and 'School and the Duration of Childhood', pp.303-15 and pp.316-23 respectively.

²⁹ Fox, *Working Australia*, p.57, as Fox notes Australia was not subject to industrialisation on an English scale, rather to a form of proto-industrialisation, nevertheless the habits and practices of industrialisation diffused with the growth and consolidation of the capitalist economic system in Australia.

³⁰ Marion Weigall, *How Shall I Prepare My Little Boy For School?*, Melbourne, 1895, p.6.

³¹ Marion Weigall, *How Shall I Prepare*, p.6.

³² Mary Gilmore, 'The Teacher in the Bush', *New Idea*, 6 March 1906, p.860.

³³ William E. Cooper Dennison 'You Must Make the Best of Today, Because You Don't Know What Tomorrow Will Bring' in Penny Smith, *A Ton of Spirit: Australian Centenarians talk with Penny Smith*, Sydney, 1990, pp.121-23.

³⁴ *Journal of Glebe*, 20 October 1863.

³⁵ *Journal of Glebe*, 9 May 1863.

³⁶ *Journal of Glebe*, 7 September 1864.

³⁷ *Journal of Glebe*, 20 November 1866.

³⁸ *Journal of Glebe*, 22 November 1866.

³⁹ *Journal of Glebe*, 11 March 1867.

⁴⁰ Eva Nowlan, *NSWBOHC*, Transcript 155/1 p.25.

⁴¹ Gilmore, 'The Teacher', p.860.

⁴² *Discipline and Punish* p.201, the full chapter 'Panopticism' offers an expansive discussion around this point, pp 195-228.

⁴³ Thanks to the kind colleague who point this out.

⁴⁴ *NSWGG* 1880 Vol. 2 p.2251.

⁴⁵ *NSWGG* 1880 Vol. 2 p.2251.

⁴⁶ J.J. Fletcher 'The Teaching of Geography in the National Schools of New South Wales, 1848-1866' in S. Murray Smith (ed), *Melbourne Studies in Education 1973*, Carlton, 1973 pp.192-224.

⁴⁷ The Mitchell Library in Sydney holds a small selection of these, see ML MSS 2928, 3312, 3758, 1411, 2543, 1136 and Doc. 2094.

⁴⁸ ML MSS 3758 Ernest Evans School Book 1884.

⁴⁹ ML Doc. 2094 Papers extracted from school exercise book October 1906.

⁵⁰ Mrs J Clear, *NSWBOHC* , transcript 27/1 p.19.

⁵¹ Eleanor Butt, *NSWBOHC*, transcript 38/2 p.2.

⁵² Lena Powell, *NSWBOHC*, transcript 91/1 p.30.

⁵³ Mary Gilmore, *Old Days: Old Ways A Book of Recollections*, North Ryde, 1986, p.71.

⁵⁴ Dennison, 'You Must Make the Best' , p.121.

⁵⁵ Charles S Blyth to Miles Franklin, 22 October 1892, Miles Franklin Papers, ML MSS 364/6 p. 41.

⁵⁶ Blyth to Franklin, 22 October 1892, ML MSS 364/6 p.41.

⁵⁷ Mary Gilmore, 'The Teacher' , p.859.

⁵⁸ The introduction of the Irish System was not without contestation and debate, see Barcan, *Two Centuries*, pp.31-32 and p.39.

⁵⁹ Henry Lawson, 'The Old Bark School' in Henry Lawson, *A Camp-Fire Yarn: Complete Works 1885-1900*, compiled and edited by Leonard Cronin, Lansdowne Press, Sydney, 1988, pp.5-11.

⁶⁰ S.G. Firth 'Social Values in the New South Wales Primary School 1880-1914: An Analysis of School Texts' in R.G. Selleck (ed), *Melbourne Studies in Education 1970*, Carlton, 1970, pp.123-59.

⁶¹ Eleanor Butt, *NSWBOHC* ,transcript 38/2 p.6.

⁶² NSWGG 1889 p.2248.

⁶³ Eleanor Butt, *NSWBOHC*, transcript 38/2 p.6.

⁶⁴ Lawson, 'The Old Bark School' p.10.

⁶⁵ Lawson, 'The Old Bark School' p.10.

⁶⁶ On the inherent stability of the curriculum see John Lawry 'Understanding Australian Education 1901 to 1914' pp.1-31 in J. Cleverley and J. Lawry (eds), *Australian Education in the Twentieth Century: Studies in the Development of State Education*, Camberwell, 1972. Goodyear's analysis also notes the importance of patriotism, empire and the primacy of the European in New Zealand school fare, see Goodyear, 'Has the Bell Rung Yet?'. Colin McGeorge notes the teaching of values in lessons about the natural world in Colin McGeorge, 'The Presentation of the Natural World in New Zealand Primary Schools 1880-1914', *History of Education Review*, Vol. 23, No.2, pp.32-45.

⁶⁷ C. A. Wither, *"Pleasant Hours" Reader*, Adelaide, 1906.

⁶⁸ Lawson, 'The "Provisional School"' in Henry Lawson, *A Camp-Fire Yarn*, pp.488-89.

⁶⁹ Lawson, 'The "Provisional School"', pp.488-89.

⁷⁰ *"Pleasant Hours" Reader*, p.138.

⁷¹ The *Commonwealth School Paper For Class IV*, Vol. v No. 8, 1 April 1909, 'Little Folks of New Zealand'. Firth also features the values within the *Commonwealth School Paper* in S. G. Firth 'Social Values'.

⁷² Jan Kociumbas includes school fare in her penetrative analysis of sex roles in Australian nineteenth century children's literature. Jan Kociumbas 'What Alyce learnt at nine: sexuality and sex roles in children's literature to 1914', *History of Education Review*, Vol. 15 No. 2, 1986, pp.18-36. See also Jim Jose, 'Sex Education, the Family and the State in early Twentieth Century South Australia', *History of Education Review*, Vol. 27, No. 1, 1998, pp.33-52.

⁷³ *"Pleasant Hours" Reader*, p.205.

⁷⁴ *"Pleasant Hours" Reader*, p.205.

⁷⁵ NSWGG, 1880, Vol. 2, p.2248.

⁷⁶ Eva Nolan, *NSWBOHC*, transcript 155/1 p.30.

⁷⁷ Charles A Blyth to Miles Franklin, 17 June 1893, ML MS 364/6, p.47.

⁷⁸ A. B. 'Banjo' Paterson, 'My Various Schools' in Paterson *Singer of the Bush* pp.117-20.

⁷⁹ NSWGG, 1880, Vol 2, p.2248.

⁸⁰ *Journal of Glebe*, 26 June 1863.

⁸¹ *Journal of Glebe*, 21 August 1863.

⁸² *Journal of Glebe*, 28 August 1863.

⁸³ *NSWGG*, 1880, Vol. 2, p.2252.

⁸⁴ Isobel Slockee, *NSWBOHC*, transcript 168/1 p.17.

⁸⁵ Lena Powell, *NSWBOHC*, transcript 91/1 p.29.

⁸⁶ Lena Powell, *NSWBOHC*, transcript 91/1 p.30.

⁸⁷ Mr Inspector Kevin's Report for 1883, *NSWLAVP* 1883-84, Vol. 7 p.857.

⁸⁸ A. Cox, *NSWBOHC*, transcript 37/2 p.9.

⁸⁹ Military training for children is one subject well canvassed in Australian historiography. See John Barrett, *Falling In: Australians and 'Boy Conscription' 1911-1915*, Sydney, 1979; for a different perspective see Leslie Jauncey, *The Story of Conscription in Australia*, London, 1935.

⁹⁰ Mr Inspector Kevin's Annual Report for 1883, *NSWLAVP* 1883-84, Vol.7, p.857.

⁹¹ Bert Hickey, *NSWBOHC*, transcript 114/1 p.2.

⁹² Bert Hickey, *NSWBOHC*, transcript 114/1 p.18.

⁹³ Lawson, 'The Old Bark School', p.9.

⁹⁴ *NSWGG* 1880, Vol.2, p.2252.

⁹⁵ Mary Gilmore, *More Recollections*, p.139.

⁹⁶ Mary E. Fullerton, *Bark House Days*, Melbourne, 1921, p.22. Although Fullerton refers to her experiences in 1870s Victoria, the process in New South Wales schools was similar.

⁹⁷ Fullerton, *Bark House Days*, p.22.

⁹⁸ The Chief Inspector's Report for 1890, *NSWLCJ* 1891-92, Vol.49, p.111.

⁹⁹ Miles Franklin, *My Brilliant Career*, (1900), Toronto, 1981, p.16.

¹⁰⁰ Franklin, *My Brilliant Career*, p.16.

¹⁰¹ Gilmore, 'The Teacher' , p.859.

¹⁰² Quoted in Jahoda *Employment*, p.8. For a more extensive discussion on the meanings of work see the Introduction in Murray, 'Working Children'.

¹⁰³ See Miller's 'Schooling and Capitalism' and the book based on this thesis, Pavla Miller *Long Division: State Schooling in South Australian Society*, Adelaide, 1986.

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