CHAPTER I

THE FORCES OF THE STATE

A number of separate groups were involved in the establishment of Industrial Schools in New South Wales. In the twenty years before the first Industrial School was opened the need for some kind of juvenile institution was canvassed by different people, but disagreement as to the nature of the institution desired and the methods of management delayed the setting up of any institution.¹ Political action by several people for the establishment of Industrial Schools and Reformatories, the beginning of the Asylum for Destitute Children and the campaign for a Nautical Training School all played a part.

The Asylum for Destitute Children was opened in June 1852, less than four weeks before James Martin presented his first Act for the Relief of Destitute Children and the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency to the Legislative Council.² The connection between these two events is obvious. Both were moves by different conservative groups to obtain a greater measure of control over the children of the poorest section in the community and both were precursors to the establishment of Industrial Schools. A number of other interested people advocated the establishment of Reformatory or Industrial Schools. While the proposal for a Nautical Training School originally had no real connection with their establishment, the suggestion that a ship might be used eventually became an integral part of the plans for an Industrial School.

A number of scholars have examined aspects of the Asylum and of the establishment of Industrial Schools. When

¹ The Bench of Magistrates, a group who organised the establishment of the Randwick Asylum, Archbishop Polding who presumably had a supporting group, and, later, a group centred on the Benevolent Asylum are the only discernible groups. The presentation of four separate Bills suggests individual rather than collective interest.
² Sydney Morning Herald. 30/6/52
the Asylum for Destitute Children was closed in 1916 and its buildings and grounds taken over for a military hospital, a history of the Asylum was written by its Master, John Coulter. More recently articles on the Asylum have been written by Michael Horsburgh and John Ramsland. Horsburgh's main interest is in the management and organisational problems which caused friction between the Asylum and the Government. Ramsland shows the depersonalisation of the huge institution and the reasons why Government support was withdrawn in the 1880s in favour of a boarding-out system.

There have been three accounts published concerning the establishment of Industrial Schools. Dickey's account stresses mostly the work of Charles Cowper and others who were seeking to establish juvenile gaols, Reformatories or Industrial Schools. Ramsland gives more attention to the part played by Parkes and Martin. McDonald is interested in the establishment of the Nautical School rather than in the development of Industrial Schools or Reformatories. All three are extremely useful guides to the separate aspects involved, but none is comprehensive. The purpose of this chapter is to unravel the varying strands of thought regarding the need for child care and the way which they coalesced in the Industrial Schools Act. Of particular concern is the perceived inability of the Asylum for Destitute Children to meet the requirements of those who were seeking the establishment of Industrial Schools.

The movement within Parliament for the establishment of Industrial Schools in New South Wales began with James Martin's proposals for an Act for the Relief of Destitute

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6 Dickey, op. cit. [Industrial Schools]
7 Ramsland, op. cit. [Children] pp.112-115.
Children in 1852.\(^9\) An Industrial School in both Britain and Australia was, by definition in the Acts by which they were established, a school for destitute or vagrant children who were committed to the school by a Magistrate's Court.\(^10\) In an era when the word destitute meant not only 'lacking the means of subsistence' but also 'abandoned or deserted',\(^11\) it is clear that the destitution referred to was reckoned in terms of the unworthiness of the parents. Their poverty was the most obvious evidence of their unworthiness.

Both the original Bill (1852) and the later attempt in 1866 by which James Martin hoped to establish Industrial Schools were entitled 'An Act for the Relief of Destitute Children'.\(^12\) Similarly the Society which was set up at the same time as Martin's first Bill was introduced was called 'The Society for the Relief of Destitute Children'. The Rules of the Society and the wording of the Acts make it clear that the aim was to rescue the children of thieves, prostitutes and vagrants, or children who were themselves vagrants, and reclaim them as useful members of society.\(^13\)

The apparent impetus for the formation of the Society and for the introduction of the proposed Act in 1852 was a noticeable increase in both poverty and vagrancy. This poverty can be measured partly by additional demands made on the Benevolent Asylum which administered the Colony's charitable relief. In 1850 there were 189 families representing 1134 individuals receiving outdoor relief from the Benevolent Asylum and there were often as many as 500

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\(^9\) Although the Asylum for Destitute Children had been in existence for nearly four weeks when Martin's Bill was presented, it is clear that his proposals had preceded the setting up of that institution. [Sydney Morning Herald, 30/6/52 and 28/7/52]

\(^10\) The name, Industrial Schools Act was the official short name for 'An Act for the Relief of Destitute Children' [30 Vic. No.2].

\(^11\) The Macquarie Dictionary gives the second version of 'destitute' as being obsolete. The word was replaced in the 1905 Act by 'neglected'.

\(^12\) SMH 30/6/52 and 30 Vic. No.2

\(^13\) Society for the Relief of Destitute Children, First Annual Report, June 1853. [SRDC]
inmates in their building in Pitt Street.\textsuperscript{14} There were 260 families with an estimated 1560 persons on the outdoor relief books in 1851.\textsuperscript{15} The increase in numbers requiring admission to the Benevolent Asylum was so great that it was met by granting the Society the use of the recently vacated Convict Barracks at Liverpool to house its aged and infirm men, leaving the Pitt Street building to house destitute women and children, lying-in women and newly admitted aged and infirm men.\textsuperscript{16}

This would suggest a reserve of intractable poverty, a situation made considerably worse by the gold rushes.\textsuperscript{17} The wages of those men who stayed in Sydney were temporarily increased, but for the families of those men who went to the goldfields the results were frequently disastrous.\textsuperscript{18} Desertions, intended and unintended, followed. Few of the poorer classes who went to the New South Wales goldfields made fortunes. Some barely eeked out a living for themselves, let alone sufficient to send money back to wives and children. Poor families, who had no reserves to meet such a crisis were soon in difficulties.\textsuperscript{19}

The other major cause for concern was the greater number of apparently vagrant children in the streets. The conditions which an 1852 Inquiry revealed make this clear.\textsuperscript{20} Police Superintendent McLerie gave evidence that there were about three hundred children under twelve who were destitute and neglected and that there were about one hundred girls between fourteen and sixteen living with thieves and

\textsuperscript{15} ibid
\textsuperscript{16} ibid Care for the elderly was taken over by the Colony about ten years later.
\textsuperscript{17} Evidence in the admission registers of both Industrial Schools suggests that the earlier Californian gold rushes had led to some desertions.
\textsuperscript{18} Report of the Select Inquiry into the Conditions of the Working classes of the Metropolis. in VPLA 1859-60, Vol.4.
\textsuperscript{20} Select Inquiry into the Destitute Children's Act in JLC 1854 Vol.2. p.175 ff. [Destitute Children Inquiry]
prostitutes. He also told of two cases, one of a child a few weeks old and the other a few months old who had been found abandoned. He stated that the inmates of the Benevolent Asylum got a trifling allowance of tea and sugar for caring for these children.  

There were about twenty-five children arrested each quarter for sleeping out in the Domain, the market sheds and on the wharves. These were stated to be the children of parents who habitually neglected them. Under questioning, McLerie stated the problems faced by police when trying to deal with juveniles: A child with a father could not be sent to the Orphanages; The Destitute Asylum would not take a child if he was tainted by crime; Admission to either Orphanages or Destitute Asylum ceased when a child was nine; Magistrates frequently dismissed charges against children rather than send them to gaol. Asked to suggest ways of dealing with children, the superintendent suggested that girls who had been residing with prostitutes might be sent to the Sydney Female Refuge or the Home of the Good Shepherd, and the boys might be put on a ship on the harbour or possibly sent to Berrima gaol. In his later evidence the superintendent stated that two or three children were abandoned each week in Sydney. He also wanted a Reformatory for Girls to be placed near Sydney because 'there would be better means of employing them in needlework and other pursuits for females."

The superintendent, like many people who were not personally impoverished by the crisis, saw the solution in the further breaking up of the poorer families and the incarceration of the children in order that they might be trained to become part of the workforce, albeit in its lowest and poorest paid categories. From the early years of the nineteenth century, this had been the practice.  

Until the 1850s children's charity was disbursed by three organisations. Since its establishment by a group of active evangelical Christians in 1818 the Benevolent Society

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21 ibid Evidence McLerie, Questions 4, 10, 13 15.
22 ibid Questions pp 53 and 62
23 Bridges, op.cit. passim
had provided such charities as were available to the general public: care for the aged and infirm, for maternity cases and for abandoned women and children as well as some outdoor relief. It was a private charity, managed by a committee elected by subscribers, but receiving almost all of its finance from the government. Children admitted to the Benevolent Asylum were either abandoned children brought in by the police, or committed by the courts, or children accompanying their destitute mothers who had sought refuge in the Asylum, which had few provisions for the care of these children. Eligible children could be transferred to the Orphanages, and others were cared for by the female residents who were frequently aged and infirm.

The two Orphan Schools, both at Parramatta, catered for a large group of destitute children. The Protestant Orphan School usually had an enrolment of about 250 children aged between three and twelve, and the Roman Catholic Orphanage usually housed about 350 children of about the same ages. Admissions to both ceased after a child was nine years old. The criteria for admission and the processes of admission and discharge differed slightly in these two institutions. An orphan was defined as a child who had lost both parents or whose father was dead or whose whereabouts was unknown. While this definition allowed the admission of illegitimate children, it did not make any provision for the children of widowers.

Admission to the Protestant Orphan School was determined by the Colonial Secretary after consultation with the superintendent to ensure vacancy in the particular age group. Most recommendations seem to have come from Protestant clergymen. As a general rule not all of the

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24 Dickey, op. cit. [No Charity] pp.20-26
25 Benevolent Society, Minutes of the House Committee. 1854-55 passim.
26 The Catholic Orphanage moved to Parramatta in 1844 and the two Protestant Orphanages combined at Parramatta in 1849.
children of a family were admitted as 'it [was] not usual to relieve a mother of all her responsibilities'.

Admission to the Roman Catholic Orphanage was mediated by a committee headed by the Vicar General. All applications were forwarded to the Colonial Secretary, who invariably consented to them. While the committee appears to have applied the same criteria as the Protestant Orphanage, the admission of three children whose father was gaol for murdering their mother would also suggest that the definition of 'orphan' was more humanely interpreted.

Both Orphanages apprenticed their children at twelve. Each institution had a Board of Trustees which recommended proposed apprenticeships subject to the approval of the Colonial Secretary. Similarly discharges were arranged through the Colonial Secretary, usually acting on the advice of the superintendent. It does not appear clear whether there was any supervision of apprentices after they left either Orphanage.

Life in both of these institutions was along similar lines. Most of the domestic work was performed by the older girls before school, and outdoor work in the farm and garden was done by the boys. Food was plain but met the requirements of the standard institutional fare of the day. The girls spent their afternoons sewing for the inmates and the boys produced much of the vegetables and milk supplied by the institutions. Sleeping accommodation was cramped, often two to a bed. Weekly visiting was permitted to
family. The total expense of both institutions was met by the Colony.\textsuperscript{34}

Even without the dislocation that was caused by gold discoveries it is certain that some modifications to this situation would have been needed to meet the fact that the Colony faced the prospect of the withdrawal of funds for these charities as the British military presence ceased.\textsuperscript{35} In the minds of the ruling elite the alternatives would seem to have been some form of Poor Law following the English tradition, or for the Colony to devise some methods of its own to meet the 'problems' with which the English Poor Laws dealt. That some such ideas as these were harboured by a number of public figures is certain,\textsuperscript{36} but the rush to the goldfields of many breadwinners and the consequent destitution of many families ensured that some of these problems had to be dealt with sooner than they might otherwise have been. While there seems to have been general agreement on the existence of child delinquency and vagrancy there seems to have been no general agreement about the possible solution.

The sequence of events which led to the founding of the Asylum for Destitute Children reveals the divisions within the more powerful sections of the community as to the best means of controlling any organisation which might be set up. James Martin wanted a committee of management to be nominated by the Government. His opponents wanted a committee elected by subscribers. A second concern was the legality of compulsion if the institution was managed by a private body.\textsuperscript{37}

The first public step towards the establishment of an Asylum for Destitute Children was taken by Dr Henry Grattan Douglass who called a meeting of prominent citizens and high-ranking clergymen at his home in Woollahra on 23rd February, 1852. The committee formed at this meeting sought subscribers and life members for a proposed institution,

\textsuperscript{34} Reports of Inspectors of Public Charities after 1870 imply that routines were well established.
\textsuperscript{35} British support for the Asylum ceased in 1853.
\textsuperscript{36} Benevolent Society, \textit{Annual Reports}, 1853 and 1854.
\textsuperscript{37} SMH 30/6/52
thus seeking to continue the tradition for charities in the Colony of having admissions scrutinised by subscribers in order to avoid imposition, in the same way as both the Benevolent Asylum and the Infirmary did. The 'liberal response' to this appeal plus a Government grant of 500 pounds to furnish the premises enabled the Society to open its doors on 4th June, 1852. The building chosen for this was Juniper Hall, which the Society renamed Ormond House.  

About four weeks after the Asylum was opened there were moves in Parliament seeking to establish a differently controlled organisation. On 29th June, 1852, James Martin presented his Bill, An Act for the Relief of Destitute Children and for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency. Martin proposed that a Board be set up to manage the institution. Admission would be by arrest and trial before a Justice. The grounds for arrest were specifically stated: lodging, living, residing or wandering with thieves, vagrants or prostitutes, being unemployed or without means of support or begging or wandering. The Board would be given extensive powers to act in loco parentis and coercive powers if a child absconded.

When Deas Thompson spoke to the first reading, it is quite clear that he and the other members of Parliament who were on the Board of the Asylum had known about the proposed Bill and had acted to forestall it. At the second reading on 27th July, 1852, James Martin pointed out that while no such legislation existed in England, every variety of juvenile protection society existed. These had failed 'at home' because they could not provide an adequate remedy for the social evil. He believed that the provision for destitute children should be a matter of public consideration. He wanted a Board appointed by the Government. He did not want a Board elected by subscribers because

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38 ibid.
39 SMH, 30/6/52.
40 ibid.
41 Deas Thompson, Dr Douglass and George Allen
if the Institution was important enough to demand large assistance from public funds it ought also to be important enough to be subjected to the control of a Board appointed by the Government. The committee of such an Institution should not be self-elected but the Government should have power to appoint and remove it.\textsuperscript{42}

He also pointed out that all that the present Committee of the new Asylum could do was to take control of destitute children with the consent of their parents.\textsuperscript{43}

The motion to refer the Bill to a Select Committee was moved by Hon. George Allen, who had chaired the February meeting of the Society for the Reiver or Destitute Children and was seconded by Dr Douglass, at whose name that first meeting had been held. The Parliamentary Committee met in 1852, in 1853 and again in 1854. The one-page Report simply acknowledged the existence of the Society and this was the grounds on which the Bill was withdrawn.\textsuperscript{44} By this time the Asylum was successfully established.

The setting-up of the Select Committee, its extension for two further years and its somewhat inconclusive and very short Report gave those who favoured the Asylum for Destitute Children sufficient time to consolidate their position. The result was a typical nineteenth century charity. By the time the Report was presented to Parliament the Society's position was well entrenched. It had vice-regal patronage and the approval of the affluent members of the community.\textsuperscript{45} It was managed by a Board who were elected by members who paid for that privilege. Its subscribers were permitted to obtain apprentices from the institution.\textsuperscript{46} For many years it remained the most prestigious charity in the Colony.

After its opening in June, 1852, the number of children admitted to the Asylum increased rapidly and it quickly became apparent that Ormond House would not be large enough to cater for all of the applicants. Seventy-one children,

\textsuperscript{42} SMH, 28th July, 1852.
\textsuperscript{43} ibid. It appears to be generally assumed that the Act of Incorporation gave the Asylum's Committee guardianship. Actual practice would indicate that Martin was correct.
\textsuperscript{44} Destitute Children's Inquiry, Report.
\textsuperscript{45} SRDC, Annual Report, 1853, p.35.
\textsuperscript{46} By-laws printed in ibid
including a group from the Benevolent Society, for which the
Government undertook financial responsibility, were admitted
during 1852. A further 160 were admitted during the next
five years, only seven of them during 1857. This was
because the institution was full and they were awaiting its
transfer to Randwick, which took place in 1858.

A 'windfall' bequest of eleven thousand pounds from the
estate of its first medical officer, Dr Cuthill, who was
murdered by the husband of a patient who died, enabled the
Society to build the first part of the building at Randwick.
When it was opened in 1858 it was capable of accommodating
400 children. In 1861 a further wing was added using
Government funds, and the institution would then hold 800
children.

The Asylum found itself in a convenient position
financially. In receipt of an annual two pounds for one
pound subsidy for the income they were able to garner
themselves (with a maximum of four thousand pounds) they
also received 'the average cost of each child for the time
being' for those children admitted from the Benevolent
Society's Asylum. This fact did not over-ride the remaining
clauses in the by-laws: The House Committee retained the
right to admit or discharge, the rule for age of admission
was strictly enforced, and no infected, sickly or disabled
child was admitted.

The rules made provision for a child to be discharged
at any time, but before this was done the parent could be
required to pay all or part of the cost of the child's
upkeep. This provision would have made an application for
release extremely difficult, but about half of the children
admitted to the Asylum for Destitute Children's were
discharged to parents without being apprenticed. The

\[47\] Randwick Asylum for Destitute Children, Admissions and
\[48\] Coulter, op. cit, p.9.
\[49\] Benevolent Society, Minutes of the House Committee 1854-
55 passim.
\[50\] SRDC Regulation 11. Act of Incorporation. published with
pattern is consistent throughout the life of the institution.\textsuperscript{51}

When a child reached thirteen an apprenticeship was arranged.\textsuperscript{52} A child could be indentured to a subscriber anywhere in the Colony, except in the city of Sydney. Two criteria seemed to apply: The employer had to be a subscriber and had to belong to the same religious denomination as the apprentice. Evidence given at the Charities Commission in 1872-3 suggests that apprentices from the Asylum were very much in demand. One of the main complaints made by the supporters of the Benevolent Asylum was the preferential treatment that the subscribers to the Randwick Asylum received in the matter of apprentices.\textsuperscript{53} A child was apprenticed for six years and was paid from sixpence per week for the first year to four and sixpence for the sixth year. A third of this money was to be paid to the child each month and two-thirds was to be banked quarterly. Most were apprenticed outside the city and thus usually separated from their families.

Within this framework of rules, children admitted to the Asylum for Destitute Children lived out their days. That life did not vary materially over the years. On admission the children were bathed, had their hair cut very short and were dressed in the standard school uniform.\textsuperscript{54} Regulations required that three meals a day be provided, that school education be 'supplemented by such industrial training as the Board may from time to time direct',\textsuperscript{55} that

\textsuperscript{51} Horsburgh, \textit{op cit} [Apprenticing] p.36. Horsburgh's examination of the discharges from 1850 to 1885 state that over the total period when the Asylum was subsidised by the Government, 49\% were returned to their parents while 45\% were apprenticed and 6\% died.

\textsuperscript{52} The Act of Incorporation permitted apprenticeship when not less than twelve and the bye-law said before fourteen. SRDC Annual Report 1853, pp.22 and 30.

\textsuperscript{53} It was the practice at the Benevolent Asylum to find situations for a destitute woman with a young child. [Benevolent Asylum, \textit{Minutes of the House Committee}, 1854-55.] An apprentice was apparently considered more desirable than a woman with an 'encumbrance'.

\textsuperscript{54} SRDC Bye-law X11 41 1-3 in \textit{Annual Report} 1853 p.34.

\textsuperscript{55} SRDC Bye-law X 39and X11. 41 (2) in \textit{Annual Report} 1853, p.34.
morning and evening prayers be read separately, that Grace be said before and after meals, that provision be made for Divine Service on Sundays and for Religious Instructions on Fridays.\textsuperscript{56} Parents and relatives had to make application to the superintendent for permission to visit the child. They were allowed to see the children only in the presence of an officer of the institution. Visiting was not permitted on Sunday.\textsuperscript{57}

While there were several experiments in a variety of industrial training, such as straw plaiting, cotton growing and silkworm raising, the major thrust was for conventional training of girls for needlework and housework, and boys mostly for farm work. Apart from the girls' needlework, this training could only involve a fraction of the children at any one time. In 1871, for example, when enrolment was close to its peak,\textsuperscript{58} twenty of the boys worked on the farm and twelve in the garden, thirteen boys were working with the tailor or the shoemaker to determine their suitability for the trade, two boys worked with the engineer and twenty-five girls were engaged in household duties in the early part of the day before proceeding to school. Working with a team of ex-inmates who were apprenticed to the Asylum, the children performed all of the housework and produced all of the institution's clothing as well as its vegetables, fruit and milk. Some produce was also sold.\textsuperscript{59}

The number of adult staff was kept to a minimum\textsuperscript{60} by the use of about forty apprentices. Eleven boys were apprenticed to the shoemaker, three to the tailor, four to the baker, two to the carpenter, one to the engineer, four to garden and farm work and two to the cook. Eleven girls were apprenticed as domestic servants in the Asylum and in the recently opened Helen Hayes Hospital and three worked as

\textsuperscript{56} Bye-law X1. 40 (1-5) in ibid.
\textsuperscript{57} Bye-law X111. 42 (1-4) in ibid.
\textsuperscript{58} Figures for 1860s are not available, but could be expected to be similar to 1870.
\textsuperscript{59} SRDC Annual Report 1872.
\textsuperscript{60} In the 1870s there were usually about 35 on the staff, apart from apprentices, for about 800 children. SRDC Annual Reports.
seamstresses. As the cook was a male it was not deemed proper to apprentice girls to him.\textsuperscript{61}

The introduction of steam machinery in the kitchens in 1870 and the use of much labour-saving machinery allowed the institution to be run cheaply, but this was opposed by people who believed that an Industrial School should be training girls in ordinary household routine.\textsuperscript{62} Such complaints were ignored however as economies of scale and the good mechanical running of the institution were considered more important than training.\textsuperscript{63}

The first move to establish an Industrial School had thus been met by the setting-up of an establishment that did not really meet the requirements which the movers of the Bill had contemplated. At its inception the Asylum for Destitute Children took over the role of the major charity in the Colony and retained that role for years. It was the largest educational institution in the Colony, with the support of the Governor and of the gentry. It also had extremely favourable publicity from both press and pulpit, but from the beginning there was an undercurrent of criticism. This came from Martin's original supporters and from a middle-class evangelical Protestant group which was growing more powerful.\textsuperscript{64} Both groups were impelled by a continuing belief that many children of the poorer classes should be forcibly removed from their parents in order that they could be turned into useful members of society.\textsuperscript{65}

For people who wished to rescue poorer children, the Destitute Asylum had a number of flaws as a child-care institution. The major one was that the committee could

\textsuperscript{61} SRDC Annual Report, 1871.
\textsuperscript{62} This was the gist of evidence of several witnesses to the Charities' Commission.
\textsuperscript{63} This is the general argument of the 1872 Annual Report of the SRDC.
\textsuperscript{64} This group was largely centred on the Benevolent Asylum whose original founders were Congregationalist missionaries. [Dickey No Charity There p.20] The group's beginning is not clearly defined but from the late 60s its leader was Dr Renwick. Charities Commission passim.
\textsuperscript{65} Ultimately the second group were the main supporters of boarding-out. Their evidence in the Charities Commission was strongly against the Asylum for Destitute Children.
care for a child only with the consent of the parent.\textsuperscript{66} Most of the admissions and discharges were voluntary. The only compulsory admissions were from a court and these represented children whose parent(s) had been sent to gaol.\textsuperscript{67} When the parent was released from gaol the Committee had no legal right to retain the child if the parent paid the money which had been expended for the child's support.\textsuperscript{68}

Other aspects of the Asylum for Destitute Children were of major concern to the child savers. Admission to both the Orphanages and the Destitute Asylum ceased when a child was nine years old. Those older children who had no interest in regular work, or were unable to get it, were free to wander the streets. The sight of children playing about the streets was offensive to those who felt they should be gainfully employed.\textsuperscript{69}

The problem of the alleged increase in prostitution had not been solved by the setting up of the Asylum, although it is clear that some young children of prostitutes were being committed to the Asylum when their mothers were imprisoned. The uncertainty about the fate of the child after the mother was released tended to make the commitment of the children of prostitutes an equivocal one. Police clearly wanted more power in this matter.\textsuperscript{70}

Nor would those who looked to the Industrial Schools or work-schools in England as a guide have been impressed by the amount of time spent on schooling. For, although a modern commentator might reasonably deplore the half-day spent in schooling as inadequate, this was far in excess of that offered in England where the reading lesson which the

\textsuperscript{66} James Martin stressed this. \textit{SMH} 9th August, 1866.

\textsuperscript{67} Even in these cases the child was kept in the Benevolent Asylum while the House Committee deliberated its acceptability. Benevolent Asylum, \textit{Minutes of House Committee}, 1854-5.

\textsuperscript{68} This is inferred from the general practice of making the payment of fees the only criterion for discharge, and from Martin's statement to Parliament. \textit{The Empire}, 9th August, 1886.

\textsuperscript{69} Evidence in \textit{Select Inquiry into a Nautical Training Ship}, JLC 1854, Vol.2. makes this clear.

\textsuperscript{70} SRDC Admissions and Departures. passim.
chaplain gave between the two Sunday church services was regarded as a generous allocation of time.\textsuperscript{71}

The amount of training for an after-school occupation was also a cause for concern. The endless plain sewing required for girls in all three institutions was little preparation for any but the simplest sewing. The washing of these same garments did not really prepare for the more difficult laundry required in a reasonably comfortable home. Even the cooking of the greasy stews (by whatever name they were called) would hardly meet the needs of any but the poorest homes. In the Asylum for Destitute Children even this training was denied by the use of machinery. Some useful experience was gained by the boys in farm and garden work, but the amount of work available was far exceeded by the number of boys who were able to do the work.

There was also considerable friction between the Benevolent Asylum and the Asylum for Destitute Children about the standards required by the Asylum for Destitute Children for the admission of children.\textsuperscript{72} While there was probably a good deal of injured pride and loss of status involved, the problem underlined many real difficulties. The Benevolent Asylum, which was the institution of last resort, found itself with many children whom the Asylum for Destitute Children refused to admit. Even during the Destitute Asylum's first year, two children were returned to the Benevolent Asylum as being 'in a bad state of health and otherwise unsuited to the Asylum for Destitute Children.'\textsuperscript{73} One was readmitted later that year but the other remained in the Benevolent Asylum. The residue of defective children who remained in the Benevolent Asylum was a cause for much anxiety. No staff was employed to care for these children so they had to depend on women inmates. As most of these were labelled as dissolute, fear was felt for the moral training of the children. The death rate among these


\textsuperscript{72} This friction is obvious in the Charities Commission Evidence.

\textsuperscript{73} SRDC Admissions and Departures Numbers 47 and 48
children was appallingly high. With so many unresolved difficulties it was inevitable that there would be further moves to solve a perceived problem.

There were several ways in which the people who wished for the establishment of an Industrial School worked towards that end. The continuation of the Select Committee into the Destitute Children's Bill for more than two years after the Asylum for Destitute Children had been established allowed the Society for the Relief of Destitute Children to ensure that its institution was firmly established before Martin's Committee reported to Parliament. The Committee's updating of information and its discussion of suitable places for Industrial Schools would suggest that while the proponents of the Act had accepted the Asylum as a fait accompli, the question of the establishment of institutions which would provide a greater degree of compulsion was by no means abandoned. Before this Report was released, two other Committees inquiring into subjects relevant to the issue had been set up.

Cowper's Inquiry into the Increase of Intemperance, 1854-55, had allowed those who believed that strong drink was the cause of most poverty to pay some attention to the plight of the drunkards' children, but its value at the time was that it provided more ammunition for the denigration of working-class parents. The evidence from this Committee was later to be included in the 1859-1860 Inquiry into the Condition of the Working Class of the Metropolis and, in 1866 provided the basis for An Act for the more effectual Punishment of Drunkards.

A separate but related movement was begun in July, 1854, when Henry Parkes sought an inquiry into the establishment of a Nautical Training School. His speech would suggest that he was much more interested in the provision of nautical training than in the reformatory

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74 In 1870, 31 children died. Statistical Register of New South Wales, 1870
75 Destitute Children Enquiry, pp.175ff.
76 'Select Inquiry into the Increase of Intemperance.' in Journal of the Legislative Council, 1855 Vol.2.
77 30 Vic. No.5.
aspects of an Industrial School. He sought the purchase of a hulk where ordinary school subjects would be taught part-time as well as elementary navigation. The discussion in the Council did not indicate that any great enthusiasm existed among its members either for the training of seamen or for proposals for an institution which would deal with the same sort of children as those in the Orphan Schools and the Asylum for Destitute Children. There appeared to be more interest in the question of the apprenticeship of children from these institutions and on this basis the motion was referred to a Select Committee.78

The idea of a local Nautical Training School was not new. One of the witnesses at the Inquiry, William Cape, had suggested such an institution as far back as 1825 and again in 1844. Another witness, Lieut. Richard Sadleir RN, had recommended a similar course in 1852. Other carefully chosen witnesses, such as Captain John Ross of the Hashemy and Captain Fitzgerald of HMS Calliope and Captain William Ward, who all had some knowledge of English Nautical Training Ships, were agreed on the need for a training ship but differed somewhat in their ideas for the location of the ship and for recruitment of pupils.79

The Committee's recommendations were for a hulk, to be moored in Port Jackson, purchased and fitted out by the Government but maintained partly by Government support and partly by public subscriptions (pound for pound). The Report did not specify how the compulsory students would be obtained, but it did provide for the admission of fee-paying boys into the upper class of the school. The lower class was to be occupied partly at school work, partly at training for seamanship while the upper class would be taught commercial education, nautical astronomy and mathematics.80

The Committee's Report was presented to the Legislative Council on 24th November, 1854 and in August, 1855 Parkes asked the Colonial Secretary what action had been taken to

78 SMH 13/7/54. Mc Donald op.cit. passim
79 'Select Committee on the Proposed Nautical School' in JLC 1854 Vol.2
80 ibid Report
implement the Committee's recommendations. Deas Thomson replied that the proposals had not met with the approval of the Executive and that the Clergy, who were asked about the likelihood of obtaining paying students, thought that parental support would be unlikely. He also stated that the Government proposed to establish classes in some nautical skills in the Orphan Schools. He thought it possible that if children were so taught some orphan children might be apprenticed to ships' masters.\(^1\)

In the Council debate in October Parkes, by suggesting that the Colonial Secretary and the Treasurer were insulting both the Select Committee and the Council itself by preferring outside information, succeeded in getting the Council's approval and having 2000 pounds placed on the 1856 Estimates for the purchase of a hulk and 1000 pounds for current expenditure, subject to the usual charitable pound for pound contribution.\(^2\)

With the assistance of the Sydney Chamber of Commerce, the Empire and several prominent citizens such as Admiral King, Captain Towns, Lieut. Sadleir and T.S.Mort, a committee was established to raise this money.\(^3\) Within a week some 600 pounds had been promised, when interest in the project appears to have faded. It seems probable that many of those involved, including Parkes himself, became diverted by the activities of the coming election for the first Legislative Assembly.\(^4\)

With other issues more pressing, no further steps were taken until 1859 when many of those who had been in favour of the 1856 proposal again supported W.T.Cape in an endeavour to have a nautical training ship and a sailors' home established.\(^5\) Despite considerable enthusiasm, nothing came of this movement. The evidence from the original Inquiry and its Report were included in the Select Inquiry

\(^1\) The Empire 1/9/55 McDonald, op cit. pp.218-225.
\(^2\) The Empire 6/10/55
\(^3\) The Empire 27/2/56 and 28/2/56
\(^4\) The Empire 8/3/56, McDonald, op. cit. p.221
\(^5\) SMH 26/5/59
into the Condition of the Working Classes of the Metropolis.\(^8\)

This Inquiry provided a forum for publicity to convince the general public that certain specific social changes were needed. Officially Parkes was seeking to find out the number of men out of work, the period and causes of same, wages available, household accommodation in its moral and sanitary relations, the number of freehold dwellings and the existence of juvenile vagrancy in the streets as well as the age, sex, parentage, religion and place of birth of children involved.\(^7\)

The number of witnesses called and their occupations would suggest the type of Report that might be expected: eleven city employers, four country employers, six working tradesmen, eight government or quasi-government employees (e.g. Police Inspectors, the Bailiff of the Domain and the Master of the Benevolent Asylum), three medical practitioners, three clergymen, four labour agents and two pawnbrokers.\(^8\) The opinions of unskilled labourers, casual workers, the unemployed or women do not appear to have been regarded as having any relevance. The only say any of these people had was in the census taken by Police on the night of 20th October 1859. This provided evidence as to the number of men who were unemployed and the length of time that they had been out of work. Of the 1039 unemployed on that night, nearly 700 had been out of work for more than a month. Forty per cent of those out of work were labourers and over thirty per cent were in building trades.\(^9\)

The Report acknowledged the fact that frequent absences of men caused by the gold rushes had left many families without means of subsistence. They also acknowledged that many men, able and willing to work, could not obtain employment.\(^9\) However, it still managed to suggest that

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\(^8\) Report from the 'Select Committee on the Condition of the Working Classes of the Metropolis', in VFLA 1859-60, Vol. 4, p. 1263.
\(^7\) ibid Terms of Commission.
\(^8\) ibid passim.
\(^9\) ibid.
intemperance had been a prolific cause of the distress complained of,91 and, in spite of very strong evidence to the contrary, it conveyed the impression that if people were only willing to go to the country, or maybe accept further reductions in wages, the unemployment problem might cease to exist.92 The question of housing, accommodation and sanitation was addressed by more witnesses than any other single aspect. The findings make appalling reading. Witness after witness described narrow lanes of hovels with insufficient living room, confined space outside, low ceilings, leaking roofs, inadequate sanitation and drainage.93

On the question of juvenile vagrancy the Committee was equally sure: It described vagrant children, or children entirely neglected by their parents and noted that the traffic in female prostitution 'had extended its meshes around unhappy children scarcely above the age of infancy.' It also noted an increase in female prostitution which was 'fostered by a system' of wealthy persons who refused to let their houses except for its purposes.94

The Committee's recommendations of ways to solve what they had determined were facts, (that men were unemployed, many because they were drunkards or because they would not go to the country, that prostitution had increased, that housing and sanitation were deplorable), were aimed mainly at children. While a brief mention was made concerning maladministration of public lands and the effect of immigration, specific recommendations were made for the control of poorer children: An Industrial School and a Reformatory should be set up for both girls and boys, the Asylum for Destitute Children should be completed, a Nautical Training Ship should be set up.95 These recommendations must be seen against a background of beliefs in the worthlessness of parents and the possibility of saving the rising generation.

91 ibid.
92 ibid.
93 ibid, p.9.
94 ibid. p.10.
95 ibid, pp.12-18.
The Inquiry was credited with inspiring the establishment of the Sydney Ragged Schools in 1860, and was to prove a handy peg on which to hang arguments for the establishing of Industrial Schools, both private and public.

The attempts made in Parliament during the early 1860s show the influence of the British philanthropists' struggle during the preceding decades to provide what were perceived as more acceptable forms of 'child care'. In Britain after the opening of Parkhurst Prison (for juveniles) in 1838 until after the passing of the Youthful Offenders' Act (under which Reformatories were established) and the Industrial Schools Act of 1857 (which provided preventive training for vagrants) there were continuous campaigns by those who sought the establishment of Reformatories rather than gaols for child offenders and by those who sought Government assistance in the management of preventive schools such as the Ragged Schools and the Industrial Schools. Similar arguments were used in both countries for and against gaols, or a preliminary gaol period before committal to a Reformatory, or even the question of the right to take preventive measures. In Britain Mary Carpenter pointed to the dangers of 'contamination' in ordinary gaols and the demoralisation of children treated as criminals in such places as Parkhurst. She argued against those who wanted a preliminary gaol sentence before a reformatory, and argued for an institution based on religious principles such as those at Mettrai and Rauhe Haus. She also argued for the monetary savings if children could be prevented from becoming criminals by the

96 *SMH.* 29/2/60. Ramsland, op. cit. pp.90-103
97 Dickey, op. cit. [Industrial Schools] p.135. Dickey speaks of 'a precise legislative background in England which clearly provided the stimulus...for the colonial efforts.'
98 The predominance of Unitarians and other Nonconformists (Mary Carpenter, the Hill family, John Pounds, Sheriff Watson) in the establishment of both Ragged Schools and Industrial Schools in Britain suggests that this may have been an effort to break the Anglican monopoly on 'child welfare'.
100 Mary Carpenter, op. cit. passim
101 *ibid*, p.305-310
102 *ibid*, pp. 319-329
introduction of Industrial Schools such as those established by the Philanthropic Society.\textsuperscript{103}

The failure of a number of attempts in the Colonial Parliament to establish Industrial Schools during the early 1860s was due largely to a failure of any particular proposal to appeal to sufficient of the disparate groups who espoused one or other of the beliefs held in England. In 1863 Richard Sadleir sought a Reformatory which would deal with both destitute and delinquent children, but the Bill was not proceeded with.\textsuperscript{104} Its failure would seem to have been because there was consistent opposition to the mingling of destitute and delinquent children. In March, 1865, William Forster presented a Bill which would have provided for separate Reformatories and Industrial Schools, which could be privately run as in England, but he received little support,\textsuperscript{105} apparently because of opposition from the groups which favoured Government control. Other earlier efforts, such as the request for a Reformatory from the Sydney Bench of Magistrates in 1863\textsuperscript{106} and approaches by Archbishop Polding to Cowper in 1861 and to Parkes in 1866 for the establishment of separate denominational Industrial Schools had also failed to produce results.\textsuperscript{107}

About ten weeks before he presented his own Bill for a Reformatory and an Industrial School to Parliament, Charles Cowper called for tenders for a ship of 300 tons burthen. This was to be used as a Reformatory-prison for juveniles who were in gaol. Tenders were opened at the Treasury on 17th August 1865 and after negotiations for the 350 ton vessel Keying fell through, it was eventually decided that the larger Vernon (900 tons) would be more suitable.\textsuperscript{108} At this time it would appear that Cowper's intention was to proceed through the Executive and simply buy a hulk which could be used as a juvenile gaol.\textsuperscript{109} This setting up of a

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{103} ibid, pp.339ff.
\item \textsuperscript{104} SMH 9/1/64.
\item \textsuperscript{105} SMH 24/3/65.
\item \textsuperscript{106} Dickey, op.cit. p.144.
\item \textsuperscript{107} Dickey op. cit. pp.143-45.
\item \textsuperscript{108} CSIL Special Bundle 4/761.2 NSS Vernon 1865-67.
\item \textsuperscript{109} Executive Council Minute 3301 in ibid
\end{itemize}
juvenile gaol would not have required additional legislation so long as the boys were committed for offences in the usual manner and for breach of current laws.\textsuperscript{110}

As the groups, or individuals, who were seeking to establish Industrial Schools or Reformatories used many of the arguments of their English counterparts, it would seem likely that this proposal for what would have amounted to a juvenile gaol would have been strenuously opposed. The main purpose of Mary Carpenter's two books, \textit{Reformatory Schools for the Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes and for Juvenile Offenders},\textsuperscript{111} and \textit{Juvenile Delinquents},\textsuperscript{112} was to attack Parkhurst Gaol which was closed in 1864.\textsuperscript{113}

This fact would not have been lost on the advocates of an Industrial School who sought both the provision of ships or buildings and an alteration to the law so that magistrates could inflict longer sentences on children than they were permitted to impose on adults. The proponents of Industrial Schools were ostensibly seeking reformation of the child rather than deterrence of crime, which was the function of gaols. Longer sentences were needed if a reformatory process was to be undertaken in any institution.\textsuperscript{114}

If the reasons given by spokesmen for various propositions are accepted as genuine, it is possible to see Martin's fear of the contamination of 'better class' children by the 'street children'.\textsuperscript{115} The fear of criminal contamination can be seen in the request of the Magistrates for a reformatory so that they would not have to send boys to gaol.\textsuperscript{116} The desire to rescue the children is apparent in the desire of such people as Richard Sadleir for the establishment of both a reformatory and an industrial

\textsuperscript{110} Implication of the Executive Council Minute.
\textsuperscript{111} Published in 1851 This book was quoted by both Parkes and Windeyer at the \textit{Charities Commission}.
\textsuperscript{112} Published 1853. Pinchbeck and Hewitt consider this account as 'third-hand', 'lurid' and 'highly selective'.
\textsuperscript{113} Pinchbeck and Hewitt \textit{op.cit.} p.476.
\textsuperscript{114} \textit{The Empire}, 9th August,1866 Martin made this point clear in his speech to the Industrial Schools Bill.
\textsuperscript{115} \textit{SMH}, 9th August, 1866
\textsuperscript{116} Dickey, \textit{op.cit [Establishment]} p.144 \textit{SMH}, 24th March, 1865
school,\textsuperscript{117} However, behind the arguments of people like Henry Parkes for Industrial Schools it is easy to detect the desire for cheap conscript workers.\textsuperscript{118} For this purpose an Industrial School designed for children older than the Orphanages admitted had much to recommend it. The training of an older non-delinquent child should have been a quicker process than the training of a younger child in an Orphanage. Training in a Reformatory was presumed to take longer and was not usually followed by apprenticeship. The right of access to apprentices was a valued privilege.\textsuperscript{119} Both Children's Gaols and Reformatories carried punitive suggestions,\textsuperscript{120} but the Industrial Schools were (theoretically) free of them.\textsuperscript{121} This allowed the proponents of Industrial Schools to feel virtuous about 'rescuing' 'innocent' children.\textsuperscript{122} They would not have opposed Cowper's proposals to use a ship, but they would have opposed its use either as Reformatory or Children's Gaol.

No reason is given for Cowper's decision to purchase a larger ship than had been originally intended.\textsuperscript{123} It seems probable that he realised that neither the Parkes nor the Martin faction would be satisfied with his solution and that

\textsuperscript{117} SMH, 9th January, 1864
\textsuperscript{118} Parkes, for example, saw 'the advancement [of] Australian commerce' and wrote of the Colony's need for 'reclaimed' workers. CSIL SB:4/716.2 and CSIL 68/3079
\textsuperscript{119} At the Charities Commission the major complaint of the Benevolent Society's members against the Society for the Relief of Destitute Children was the monopolisation of the 'prime apprentices' by the members of that society.
\textsuperscript{120} A perusal of Mary Carpenter's Reformatory Schools or of Windeyer's Report [Charities Commission] makes this distinction obvious.
\textsuperscript{121} ISG Parramatta, Superintendent's Letter Book [5/3434] pages 112 and 348. The fiction that Industrial Schools were free from criminal or pauper taint was maintained by both the Nautical School Ship and the Industrial School for Girls.
\textsuperscript{122} Kociumbas has demonstrated the prevalence of the ideology of childhood innocence among the middle class. Kociumbas, op. cit. passim
\textsuperscript{123} Although there is no specific evidence, a certain amount of 'lobbying' may be presumed. The Keying which was first choice was still in active use. It was owned by Captain Towns who also owned the Vernon which had been rendered unserviceable and was unsalable except as a hulk. John Cuthbert, who inspected the Vernon, obtained the contract for its repair.
he would still face pressure from both groups, the one for a training period on a ship for both destitute and ‘normal’ children, the other for a more stringent law to control destitute and delinquent children. Either proposal would have required a ship which would house more children than a ship of 350 tons burden could accommodate.

Another feature of the debate was the desire of the Catholic Church to set up its own Industrial Schools for its own destitute children, with financial help from the State. The proposal to set up a public Industrial School met with opposition from Archbishop Polding who wanted separate Industrial Schools for children of different religions. This could have made Cowper decide to have the question debated more fully by the Parliament. By this time most of the factions in the Assembly seemed to be sure that both Reformatories and Industrial Schools were necessary, although not all were agreed on the amount of coercion that could, or should, be used.

Cowper’s Bill of 8th November, 1865 was a compromise which did not go far enough for most groups. He proposed to use the Vernon as a Reformatory for convicted offenders under sixteen and for certain destitute or uncontrollable children. This Bill was discharged on technical grounds, Cowper himself moving for the discharge. The purchase of the Vernon was deferred.

The Industrial Schools Act

When Charles Cowper resigned early in 1866, James Martin became Premier and Henry Parkes became Colonial Secretary. A series of ‘social’ Acts passed during their first term of office had long-lasting effects. Two of them were An Act for the Relief of Destitute Children (The Industrial Schools Act) and An Act to establish Juvenile Reformatories (The Reformatory Schools Act), both presented

124 Cowper’s speech to the Industrial School Bill in The Empire 9/8/66
125 The Martin faction objected that it was not properly presented as a Money Bill, but Cowper himself moved for discharge of the Bill.
126 SMH 9/11/65 and 16/11/65
by James Martin as Attorney General. Both became law on 12th September, 1866.\(^{127}\)

In his speech on the second reading of the Industrial Schools Bill on 8th August 1866, Martin gives a very clear outline of the purposes of both Bills:

The leading principle was this—that it was the duty of the State to take possession of children within certain ages who were living under certain conditions which, in all probability, would make criminals of them, if they were not looked after.\(^{128}\)

After acknowledging the fact that it would be necessary to provide four or five classifications, 'some depending on age, some on intelligence and others on the conditions under which the children might be found', he went on to stress that

a child even when criminal, should be treated as a child, and sent to a Reformatory School and not to prison...[He believed that] when a boy of thirteen is brought before the Magistrate for the third or fourth offence...[it] is a solemn mockery to go through the forms of law in a case like this. The place for that boy is the school, not the prison. If he is committed for a short time it is not sufficient duration to enable him to form new habits. His character, bad before, is rendered still worse by his crime and its punishment. The poor boy is thrown back upon society to beg, cheat, steal or starve.\(^{129}\)

Referring to the 'unpaved streets, the reeking cesspools, the filth and abominations which are allowed to accumulate' in the poorer areas of Sydney, (and about which neither this Act nor any other at the time proposed to do anything), he complained that not only did the affluent have to pay in poor rates and in contributions to charitable institutions for the resultant diseases and poverty but

In a thousand ways the vices of the poorer affect the richer classes. The children of our neglected homes spread the contagion of their vices abroad.\(^{130}\)

\(^{127}\) 30 Vic.2 and 30 Vic.4
\(^{128}\) The Empire, 9th August 1866.
\(^{129}\) ibid.
\(^{130}\) ibid.
While he confused the purposes of the two Acts in his speeches, Martin made the attitude of the proponents of the Act perfectly clear. The aim was to separate the poorer children from their parents because of the fear of both moral and physical contamination. Once separated, the children would be kept away from their parents by being apprenticed away from the city. In the institutions that were to be set up and in the isolation of country jobs, they would forget the mores of their parents and conform to the standards required by their betters and would present no threat to the wealthier members of the community.

The two Acts were designed for children under sixteen. The Industrial Schools Act applied to 'vagrant or destitute children'. The Reformatory Schools Act applied to children who had been convicted of an offence for which the punishment was at least two week's gaol. Children committed to an Industrial School were subject to the control of the superintendent until they were eighteen. Children committed to a Reformatory were confined in that Reformatory for from one to five years, according to sentence. Industrial School children could be apprenticed after twelve months. There was no provision for the apprenticing of children from a Reformatory. Absconders from an Industrial School were to be returned to the institution. Absconders from a Reformatory could be gaol'd. Children from both institutions could be freed with the permission of the Executive Council. Provision was made for the establishment of private Industrial Schools. There was no provision for private Reformatories. Both institutions could compel parents to support children committed to them.

131 Industrial Schools Act, Clause 4.
132 Reformatory Schools Act Clause 4.
133 Industrial Schools Act Clause 7.
136 ibid Clause 9.
137 Reformatory School Act Clause 12.
139 Industrial Schools Act. Clauses 22-30.
A number of factors contributed to the successful passage of Martin's Bills. Careful allowance was made to meet the requirements of the various strands of opinion. It seems possible that the presentation of the two Bills on the same day satisfied some people that the Bills would be applied to genuine delinquents and vagrants in need of rescue. The clause in the Reformatory Schools Act which allowed for a gaol term as well as a Reformatory School sentence satisfied those who believed that every crime should have a punishment before rehabilitation was commenced. The inclusion of provisions for private Industrial Schools may have been sufficient to gain the acceptance of those who favoured the 'charitable committee' style of management. The provision that an Industrial School (but not a Reformatory) could be set up on a ship was an obvious concession to Henry Parkes and his supporters. Probably the greatest attraction to those who looked to the proposed schools as suppliers of cheap conscript labour was the clause which allowed apprenticeships after twelve months for those who were twelve years old or more.

These concessions and the fact that the two Bills were presented as being part of a series for general social reform seem to have ensured that they did not 'evoke any party contest'. From the manner in which he spoke on the two bills and from the general conduct of the debate it seems certain that Martin was sure of this fact before presenting the Industrial Schools Bill. The most coercive childcare legislation which the Colony was to know was passed unanimously.  

From the point of view of the children who came within its ambit the Act had a number of serious weaknesses. The first one was that charging of child 'found in certain circumstances' was permitted, not demanded. This placed the 'construction' of the inmates of the Industrial Schools firmly in the hands of the police and magistrates. The police could choose those among the destitute whom they would arrest and those parents whom they would support if a

141 The Empire, 9th August 1866.
parent ('or any person') wished to charge a child under the Act, because, regardless of who laid the charge, all the routine of a Magistrate's Court was under police direction and magistrate's looked to police to confirm any charge..

The second major weakness was that the Act did not make any provision for liaison between the Court and the School, No information was required to be sent with the warrant, which had to be made out 'in terms of the Act'. The Superintendent had no right to refuse a child who was considered unsuitable for any reason such as age, or disability so long as the warrant was correctly worded. Nor was the Colonial Secretary, who administered the Schools given any information concerning committals.

The third major weakness was that the Act made provision for apprenticeships without making any provision for the supervision of those apprenticeships. As a consequence of these weaknesses, there was a tripartite control of the children. The police controlled the admissions, the Superintendent controlled the schools under the direction of the Colonial Secretary, and the employers, with some initial help from magistrates and ministers, controlled the apprentices. All three aspects were open to abuse when the schools were set up.

Conclusion

While a number of authors provided useful guides to the varying movements which led to the establishment of the Industral Schools, the unravelling and piecing together of these strands into a coherent unit which explains the existence of Industrial Schools has been undertaken in this chapter. The perceived shortcomings of the Orphanages and the Asylum for Destitute Children, the belief in a the need for a variety of childcare institutions in order to rescue children from 'neglectful' parents is stressed. The provisions of both the Industrial Schools Act and the Reformatory Schools Act are defined.

142 Industrial Schools Act, Schedule A
This chapter provides a benchmark against which information in later chapters may be assessed. Because there is little agreement among Historians about the reasons for admission to the Industrial Schools, the nature of the charges that could be laid under the Industrial Schools Act and therefore the kind of committals that might be expected are clearly defined.\textsuperscript{143} It is also established that the Industrial Schools were designed to produce apprentices although provision was made for other types of discharge. This chapter, by making the provisions of the Act clear provides the basic framework on which later chapters are built.

\textsuperscript{143} All admissions to the Vernon were made 'in terms of the Act'. The actual reasons are another matter.
CHAPTER II

PROTECTION OR PUNISHMENT?

The manner of implementation of any Act is as important as the actual wording of the Act. In the months between the passing of the Industrial Schools Act and the opening of the NSS Vernon police had sufficient time to determine policies and methods of enforcement. Magistrates and parents also had time to consider the implications of the Act. The attitudes of city police and magistrates quickly became clear, while those of country police and magistrates and of gaolers and other interested parties took only a little longer to become apparent. These attitudes were to create a contradiction between the stated purpose and the real purpose of the school which was to continue throughout most of its existence.

In attempting to answer the question 'Why were boys committed to the Vernon?' available secondary material is more confusing than helpful. Dickey's four-sentence comment on the Vernon children is derived from information provided by The Empire and a statement by Police Superintendent Fosbery.¹ He labels the children as unwanted, immoral and destitute and implies the responsibility of parents for their children's admission. Van Krieken states that, although intended for poor homeless and vagrant boys and girls, to a large extent the Vernon/Sobraon became 'part of the criminal justice system operating more as reformatories', and that local magistrates often regarded them as places of punishment.² He also notes that 25% of admissions to the Vernon occurred with parental consent.³ Kociumbas suggests that the 1866 Act made 'provision for parents to have children admitted on the grounds that they were uncontrollable or would not live at home'.⁴

¹ Dickey, op. cit. [Establishment]. p.147
² van Krieken, op cit. p.69
³ ibid. p. 70
⁴ Kociumbas, op.cit p.82. While this statement was true of Victoria, it did not apply in N. S. Wales until 1905
Ramsland provides an analysis of the 'Circumstances of the boys placed upon the Vernon between January 1869 and June, 1873'. His figures are an accurate reproduction of those provided in the Annual Returns, which are based on the warrants which were Superintendent Mein's legal authority for retaining the boys in custody. These warrants had to comply with Schedule A of the Act which required that magistrates 'describe the conditions established as nearly as may be in the words of the Act'. They therefore fail to disclose the extensive manipulation of the Act following petty charges. An accurate analysis of inaccurate figures inevitably becomes inaccurate.

Accounts of individual admissions to the Industrial Schools tend more to the exceptional than the ordinary, and most fail to state whether a particular child was retained in the school or not. For this reason O'Brien's accounts of children admitted to the Vernon/Sobraon are of little help in determining the population of the school. In fact they provide more questions than answers. One series of six admissions takes no account of the transfer of young children to the State Children Relief Board after 1881. Two of the ten examples quoted in her chapter, 'Impoverished Childhood' were similarly transferred to the Board. Three other examples raise questions as to the means used to have children who had stolen charged under the Industrial Schools Act. Another raises questions associated with boys admitted for 'living

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5 As shown later in this chapter the circumstances surrounding the arrest were not necessarily the real reason for a boys' committal to the Vernon.
6 30 Vic. No. 2, Clause 7.
7 ibid, Schedule A at end of Act.
8 Ramsland, op cit p.130.
9 The Act did not require that the superintendent be furnished with any information except the Warrant.
10 O'Brien op. cit p.9. The family of six children (four girls and two boys aged between six months and twelve years) is recorded as being admitted to Biloela from Bathurst on 19th July, 1881. Not October. [Register Numbers 506-511] The two eldest girls were retained at Biloela. [Daily Diaries 22/1/86, 20/4/87 and 7/9/89.] The four younger ones were discharged before 1885. Their names are not in the Daily Diaries (begun 1885). All boys at Biloela in 1883-84 were transferred to the SCRB.[SCRB Annual Report 1885]
11 These children were transferred to SCRB
with prostitutes' and for two boys the question of collusion of police or neighbours is obvious. For all cases quoted the question of their frequency of occurrence is important to an analysis of admissions.\textsuperscript{12}

On the premise that any discussion should be backed by empiric data, a careful analysis of admissions to the ships was made to determine the reasons for children's admission, the techniques whereby those committals were secured and the way in which those reasons changed over the years. Without recourse to the Entrance Books, often in conjunction with the daily press and information in applications for discharge, it is not possible to get a clear picture of just why the children were admitted, nor to explain the part played by police, parents and others in the arrests. For this reason, all information available has been collated to try to determine who among the boys were destitute, who neglected, who delinquent, and any other reason for admission.

As a result of this analysis it is contended that from the earliest years a large proportion of the boys admitted to the Vernon were minor delinquents, that in the city the genuinely destitute were arrested only if their situation became public and that the part played by parents in the committal of the boys has been totally misunderstood. Country admissions comprised a greater proportion of destitute children, although cases of manipulation of charges did occur. In this chapter an account is given of the setting up of the Vernon and an attempt has been made to look behind the official propaganda and the repetition of it by Historians to determine the actual reasons for admission and the effect that this had on the composition of the school.

The preparation of the Vernon to receive its boys was as thorough as Henry Parkes and an equally enthusiastic new superintendent could make it. As soon as the Industrial Schools Act became law, Parkes, as Colonial Secretary, took steps to complete the purchase of the Vernon and to arrange for its refitting. In his Minute Paper for the Executive Council Parkes went as close as he could to claiming that the

\textsuperscript{12} O'Brien \textit{op.cit} pp. 139-144
ship owed its existence to the two Select Committees which he had chaired and stated his belief in the purpose of the ship:

The Select Committee of 1854 were of the opinion that a Marine School of this character would in its operation be productive of great benefits to the community in converting what is now felt to be an element of disorder and social danger into one of strength and utility for the advancement of Australian commerce. This view of the subject has received additional force during the period that has since elapsed from the progress of this colony and unfortunately from the increase of destitute children in our cities and towns.13

The purchase of the Vernon from Robert Towns, a Sydney ship owner, was completed early in 1867, the final price being 2,800 pounds. It was an island trader, twenty-five years old which had been dismasted twice, the second dismasting causing so much damage to the framework that it had to be brought to Sydney under jury rig. A wood frame, carvel-built ship with three masts, two decks and quarter galleries, it was 150.8 feet long, 36 feet wide, 21.9 feet deep14 and of 891.13 tonnage. John Cuthbert, Sydney ship-builder who examined the ship prior to purchase, considered that the total cost of the ship after repairs and refitting should be about 5,000 pounds. He estimated that the ship was suitable for 100 boys but James Mein, the newly appointed superintendent, considered it would hold 300.15

Captain James Seton Veitch Mein, a merchant seaman, had been recommended to Parkes in 1866 for the position of pilot by James Brunker MP.16 He was appointed to the ship on 13th February, 1867 for the purpose of supervising the repair and refitting of the ship and to make the necessary arrangements for the reception of the boys.17 His enthusiasm combined with the paternal interest which Parkes was now bringing to the project, ensured a thorough preparation. So much so that by July the Under Secretary for Finance and Trade was suggesting

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13 CSIL Special Bundle 476.2 NSS Vernon 1865-67.
14 44.5 metres, 10.5 metres and 6.4 metres.
15 67/734 in *ibid*.
16 CSIL 66/1118 While no other details about Mein could be found, his knowledge of people in the ports along the coast, as revealed in his comments on apprenticeships applications, suggests that he was Captain of a coastal trader.
17 There is no record of Mein applying for this position.
that the authority of the Executive Council be obtained for additional expenditure incurred on the Vernon.\textsuperscript{18}

Not that Mein's ideas were really extravagant by modern standards, but the repairs and refitting cost four times as much as the Parliament had allowed for. He ordered two new cooking stoves, produced plans and specifications for five boats, requisitioned a set of sails, and a pinnace to his own specifications. He also had the topgallant and forecastle decks doubled to match the main lower deck, asked that the Colonial Architect be instructed to furnish the stern cabins, requisitioned certain articles not on the contract list to the value of about seven hundred pounds as well as a considerable number of minor items that were on the list, and employed twenty labourers for three days to clean up the ship. Finally he sought a brass gun and ammunition for same,\textsuperscript{19} and, to the horror of the British Naval establishment on Garden Island, gained permission, from Parkes, to fly the Blue Ensign at the peak and the Union Jack without border at the bowsprit.\textsuperscript{20}

Papers tabled in Parliament gave the cost of the refitting and repairing of the vessel as nearly 8,561 pounds\textsuperscript{21} but by the time it was ready for occupation nearly 11,402 pounds had actually been spent.\textsuperscript{22} While there were questions asked in Parliament and 'Cuthbert's Vernon Account' gives details down to the cost of screws,\textsuperscript{23} the fact that Cowper had negotiated the purchase left the onus on the Parliamentary

\textsuperscript{18} CSIL 67/4668.
\textsuperscript{19} CSIL Register for 1867: 948, 1232, 1309, 1430, 1528, 1617, 1618, 3127, 3561.
\textsuperscript{20} CSIL 67/3560 and 67/4927. In giving this permission Parkes exceeded his authority. The right to fly the (British) Blue Ensign is granted by Act of Parliament to ships in the Royal Navy Reserve only when they have been commissioned and manned by the Navy. When the Commandant on Garden Island pointed this out, Mein preempted an order to cease flying the Ensign by defacing it with the words 'New South Wales'.
\textsuperscript{21} CSIL Special Bundle 4/761.2. 'NSS Vernon 1865-67.' This figure was the one presented to Parliament as being the amount paid to John Cuthbert. There were, of course, other expenses incurred in the purchase of items not supplied by the boatbuilder.
\textsuperscript{22} CSIL 69/1344 This is the 'final price', supplied at John Robertson's request, in 1869.
\textsuperscript{23} CSIL Special Bundle 4/761.2 'NSS Vernon 1865-67'.
Opposition to prove overspending on refurbishing, so criticism was not great.

Mein also assisted with the selection of staff. His request for a commencing staff of seventeen seems to have been the standard staffing arrangement for many years, 24 although the occupations of some of the staff were altered to suit the needs of the curriculum. The Estimates for the second half of 1867 and for 1868 show: superintendent, chief officer, 2nd officer, purser, schoolmaster, boatswain, master-at-arms, carpenter, boatswain's mate, two ship's corporals, a steward, three quartermasters, a musician-barber and a cook. 25 Applications for these positions were called in March, giving ample time for the full complement of staff to be in position when the boys started to come on board at the end of May.

While Mein assisted with the selection of staff for the ship, the task of choosing the schoolmaster was left to William Wilkins, Schools' Commissioner. 26 He had two candidates to choose from, but the particularly poor results achieved by both in Grammar, Arithmetic and Geography raises the question of standards. 27 More interesting is the special test which Wilkins prepared, to determine their suitability for the ship:

1/ What do you understand to be the objects of a Reform School?

2/ State the classes from which the children requiring the intervention of Reform Schools are drawn.

3/ What vices are peculiar to, or most common among the humbler classes of society?

4/ What vices might be expected to be rife among children brought within the scope of Reformatory action?

5/ What fruits may the following evils in children be expected to produce: Hunger, Cold, Parental cruelty, Homelessness, Idleness, Deceit, Pilfering, Slang and Profanity?

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24 CSIL 68/4198. Estimates for 1869 provided for a staff of seventeen.
25 CSIL 67/1858.
26 Although chosen by Wilkins, the first schoolmaster was not a National schoolmaster. CSIL 67/3056. After the transfer of the Vernon to the oversight of the Department of Public Instruction in 1880 the schoolmaster's position appears to have become a 'promotions position' in that Department.
27 Work presented would be regarded as mediocre if done by a Year Five Primary School child. [personal estimate]
6/ Distinguish between vice and crime.
7/ At what stage or under what conditions may vice be restrained and possible crime averted?
8/ How may the temperament, temper and general disposition of boys be ascertained?
9/ What uses can be made of knowledge so obtained?
10/ How should children of dirty habits be dealt with? 28

As the two candidates had not had experience in Reform Schools Wilkins did not administer the questionnaire, 29 but it is useful in providing the clearest indication of the attitude towards 'the humbler classes' which existed among the educators of the time. It also tallies with the Industrial Schools Act's definition of vagrant or destitute children, which was all-embracing:

Every child whose age...shall not exceed sixteen years who shall be found lodging living residing or wandering about in company with reputed thieves or with persons who have no visible lawful means of support or with common prostitutes whether such reputed thieves persons or prostitutes be the parents or guardians of such child or not or who shall have no visible lawful means of support or who shall have no fixed place of abode or who shall be found begging about any street highway court passage or other public place or who shall be found habitually wandering or loitering about the streets highways or public places in no ostensible lawful occupation or who shall be found sleeping in the open air... 30

In the establishment of the Vernon both Martin and Parkes had achieved their aims. Martin saw the ship as the first step in the establishment of a series of Industrial Schools and Reformatories to which he hoped to see some four or five thousand destitute children committed, thereby removing a danger to the wealthier section of the community. 31 Parkes saw it as providing 'an element of strength and utility for the advancement of Australian commerce'. 32

While neither man attempted to hide the advantages to the more affluent in the community, the Act was also presented as benefiting the children whom it sought to encompass. The

28 CSIL 67/3056.
29 Report with CSIL 67/3056.
30 30 Vic. No. 2 Clause 4.
31 The Empire, 9th August, 1866.
32 Minute for Executive Council dated 31/12/1866 in Special Bundle, Nautical Ship Vernon. 4/761.2.
stress in all the propaganda had been on the unworthiness of the parents. The Industrial Schools were presented as being for the purpose of rescuing the children from unworthy parents in the same way as the Orphanages and the Destitute Asylum had been. The major difference was that admission to Industrial Schools was by magistrates' sentence and that discharge was legally controlled.

By the middle of May, 1867 Superintendent Mein had the Vernon ready to receive the boys. The ship had been overhauled and refurbished, equipment and clothing had been obtained, a full staff had been employed, Mein had devised a set of Rules which he considered suitable for the ship and had worked out a basic curriculum.\textsuperscript{33} The Vernon was gazetted as an Industrial School on 14th May 1867, and the first committals were made a week later.

In the eight months between the passing of the Act and that gazetted the police had had enough time to study the Act and determine how it could be best applied. In the first eight days after the school was opened twenty-four children were arrested by city police. The charges made were spread over the range of the possible ones which could be made under the new law. Every arrest would have signalled to the poorer element in the community just what the new ground rules were.

The first use of the Act by police was to break up juvenile gangs by arresting those members who were young enough to be covered by the Act. During the first week three members of a gang which police wished to break up were charged. Each was aged fifteen, one was arrested in the street, one on his discharge from gaol, and one at his home. The evidence makes it clear that it was their membership of the gang which was the reason for the charges.\textsuperscript{34} This ability to charge juveniles with having 'no ostensible legal occupation' made the task of breaking up gangs much simpler.

Clearing the streets and parks of the signs of obvious poverty, such as children and families sleeping out, was also made easier under the Act. In the first week five boys were

\textsuperscript{33} Both of these are discussed in the next chapter.
\textsuperscript{34} VEB 6 (p. 11) SMH 21/5/67. VEB 18 (p. 35) and VEB 17 p. 33 and CSIL 68/6820.
charged with 'sleeping in the open air'. Three were members of a derelict family who had set up a makeshift shelter in a Redfern street and the other two were habitual thieves and beggars.\textsuperscript{35} All five were legitimate arrests under the Act as were the arrests of the three members of the gang. Keeping the streets tidy and free from obvious evidence of poverty was an important part of police responsibility.

Control of the prostitute population was also another aim of police. Even during this first week it seems apparent that a charge of 'living with prostitutes', which had been represented as a means of protecting young girls from their prostitute mothers,\textsuperscript{36} was being interpreted by police in a way which would give them control over the manner in which some brothels were run. Five boys were arrested for living with prostitutes. Three brothers were living in a brothel which their father had managed for at least two years. Father apparently acted as 'tout'.\textsuperscript{37} Two older, orphan, boys were apparently also acting as touts for prostitutes.\textsuperscript{38} While such an occupation was not then illegal, it made police control of prostitutes more difficult.

The police also appear to have set out to clear the streets of the vagrants who used the streets as playgrounds, particularly if they combined their wandering with minor offences. Several of the boys who were arrested in the first week were simply boys who were known to the police as being frequently about the streets and indulging in petty pilfering.\textsuperscript{39} In five cases it is clear that the parents were dead or missing and the children had already had experience of other charitable institutions and that they were in the habit

\textsuperscript{35} VEB 7, 8, 9 (pp.13, 15, 17) SMH 23/5/67 and VEB 1 and 2 (pp.1 and 3) SMH 21/5/67.
\textsuperscript{37} VEB 11, 12, 13. (pp. 21, 23, and 25) SMH 22/5/67.
\textsuperscript{38} VEB 16 and 23 (pp. 31 and 45).
\textsuperscript{39} VEB 13 14 (pp. 25 and 27) SMH 23/5/67 NSS Vernon Annual Report, 1874, VEB 3 (P.5) SMH 21/5/67.
of wandering the streets, sleeping in buses and either stealing or begging in the markets or wharves for a living.\textsuperscript{40}

While the lower rate of arrests during the following months would suggest that the police had had some success in convincing both parents and boys that they intended to use the Act for their own purposes, it would also appear that parents quickly saw possible uses of the Act for their own advantage. Even in the first week there was one case where a child was committed to the ship on the evidence of his mother who was clearly unable to provide for him. The charge was 'sleeping in the open air'.\textsuperscript{41} Police supported the charge.

Apart from this case, the charges in the first week were all made by the police. These first arrests under the Industrial Schools Act were carefully chosen. Clearly the police saw in the Act valuable means of asserting their authority over the street urchins of Sydney. It would give them power to control the members of juvenile gangs, without having to prove any offence. It would also provide a greater semblance of a law-abiding city if the vagrant children who had a habit of sleeping in the Domain, the wharves, the brickpits or the markets were deterred from these practices. The children of thieves or prostitutes who were arrested could now be permanently removed from their custody instead of the temporary arrangements which could be made with either the Benevolent Asylum or the Asylum for Destitute Children before the Industrial Schools Act was passed. The Act also proved useful for solving the problem of the destitute child over the age of nine brought to police notice by the charitable organisations and for whom previous laws did not provide.

In the years that followed, this policy was maintained by city police, but a number of parents found that they, too, could make use of the Act. A steady flow of admissions came to the ship each month. Police continued to make arrests but many city boys were admitted on the evidence of their parents or, occasionally, of some other person.

\textsuperscript{40} \textit{VEB} 5, 10, 19, 21, 22 (pp. 9, 19, 37, 41 and 43), \textit{SMH} 21/5/67.

\textsuperscript{41} She was able to retrieve the child when her financial situation improved. \textit{VEB} 24, (p.47), CSIL 67/6476 and 70/1725.
An analysis of admissions up to December, 1870 shows charges made under the Industrial School Act and ages of city boys and helps to make reasons for admission clearer.

TABLE 2.1

NSS VERNON CITY BOYS - AGES AND CHARGES 1867 - 70

Notes
LWP = Living with Prostitutes
L/WWT = Living or Wandering with Thieves
NMS = No means of support
NOLA = No ostensible legal occupation
SOA = Sleeping in the Open Air

Sources: Vernon Entrance Books. Sydney Morning Herald, Court Reports for relevant dates,. C.S.I.L. Applications for discharges

All boys who were committed to the Vernon were convicted on a precise charge under the Industrial Schools Act.⁴² This hides the fact that in many cases boys had originally had entirely different charges laid against them.⁴³ In most years more than a quarter of the charges laid against the boys had the apparent cooperation or consent of parents.⁴⁴ If the

⁴² If the warrant was not exact Mein had it altered. Some of these alterations are discussed later in this chapter.
⁴³ Specific examples are discussed later in this chapter.
⁴⁴ Van Krieken, op. cit. p.70. Using the Vernon Entrance Books Van Krieken gives a figure of 25%. If newspaper and other
reasons for this consent are sought, an entirely different picture of the causes for admission to the Vernon emerges.

Some charges which the police found useful in their task of keeping the streets clear continued to be made by police without reference to parents. All of the charges of 'living with a prostitute' and most of the 'sleeping in the open air' were made by police. Before the passing of the Act magistrates had often failed to send women with children to gaol because many took their children with them. The presence of children in gaol with their mothers had been proving difficult for the gaols. In April, 1868 the Inspector of Prisons wrote to the Colonial Secretary seeking the transfer of two children from Darlinghurst Gaol to the Roman Catholic Orphanage stating:

"It is very desirable that these children should be taken from their vagrant parents and associates and their removal would be convenient to the prison as there are 21 children with the female prisoners."

It was now possible to send the child of a thief or prostitute or other offender to the Vernon, thus removing the burden of prisoners' children from the gaols, the Orphanages or asylums.

From the police viewpoint the less flexible discharge rules of the Industrial Schools, as compared with those of the Benevolent Asylum or the Asylum for Destitute Children, could prove a greater deterrent to adult female vagrancy, which at the time usually meant prostitution. Only five city boys were charged with 'living with a prostitute' in the four-years period, (after the first week), but whether that indicates that the mothers of young boys gave up the 'trade' or that they came to suitable arrangements with the police can only be a matter of speculation.

The charge of 'sleeping in the open air' was obviously designed to clear the city of those who had no home or those

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sources are checked a figure of about 40% (sometimes considerably more) is obtained in some years.

45 CSIL 68/1774.

46 They could also have made the price of exemption from arrest more profitable for the police, who could now make a charge against a child on their own initiative instead of depending on an application to the Colonial Secretary.
who preferred the Domain, the parks, the brick pits or even
shop, school and church doorways to their crowded and
insanitary homes. The sight of such obvious signs of poverty
and 'neglect' was offensive to those who seem to have believed
that a generation of vagrants was being reared and that it was
the task of police to remove them from view and set them on
the path to reformation. 47

Occasionally the police used a 'sleeping in the open air'
charge to cover a charge that might have been difficult to
prove satisfactorily: An apprentice who had absconded, 48 or
an unemployed fifteen year old who had jumped ship 49 probably
offered problems of definition, but generally those charged
with 'sleeping in the open air' were the inveterate peripateticians who preferred the Domain or the wharves, or those
like the twelve year old who 'left home to go to the
diggings'. 50 In only one case did a mother lay a charge of
'sleeping in the open air', but as the police had already
returned her eight years old boy to his home twice after he
had run away, she probably had little option. 51 In one case it
would appear that a guardian deliberately organised the arrest
of a boy on a 'sleeping in the open air' charge when she was
seriously ill, by sending him into the street to sleep. 52

The charges of having 'no means of support' or of having
'no ostensible legal occupation' appear to have offered the
greatest opportunities for manipulation to both police and
parents. While there were some genuine charges, a greater
number were charges substituted by either police or parents.
This substitution of charges must be seen in the context of
the times.

Children could be, and were, sent to gaol for minor
offences, or could be fined an amount which their parents
could not afford and had to go to gaol when the parents could

47 This view of developing vagrancy was expressed by the
School Commissioners in 1856. 'Final Report on the State of
Education throughout the Colony.' VPLA 1856-7 Vol. 2 p.30.
48 VEB 158, VEB 204 with SMH 15/12/69.
49 VEB 214. SMH 5/3/70.
50 VEB 216, SMH 7/3/70.
51 VEB 251 SMH 18/11/70.
52 VEB 70. SMH 11/2/68 and CSIL 70/5157.
not pay the fine. The fear that such children would be inducted into crime by the older inhabitants of the gaols deterred many magistrates from convicting them. This failure to convict had in turn deterred police from preferring charges against children. The existence of the Industrial Schools Act altered the situation appreciably. If a minor charge was preferred against a child, two courses were open to magistrates. They could proceed with the original charge or else prevail upon police or parents to alter the charge. Both police and parents, each for their own reasons, usually consented to these alterations.

At first the police used a charge of 'no means of support' when a boy had been charged with an offence which might be difficult to prove or for which the magistrates might be loath to send a boy to goal. Later they began to prefer the charge of having 'no ostensible legal occupation'. The choice between the two charges could have depended on whether there was any possibility of extracting maintenance from the parents. If support was forthcoming a charge of 'no means of support' would have been incongruous.

More often the police chose a charge of having 'no ostensible legal occupation' either instead of a stealing charge or after a conviction for a stealing or other charge: William C, aged fourteen, stole two pairs of trousers and a vest which he pawned. Robert V., aged twelve, stole a toy top. Jeremiah C., aged twelve, was found committing a robbery in Wynyard Square. Patrick C., aged fourteen, stole a horse which he found wandering in the Domain and sold it. Francis M., aged eleven, stole a number of cakes from a shop. Thomas B., aged eleven, stole goods worth ten shillings. George M., aged fourteen, stole a pair of boots. John C., aged

53 There were 130 boys in gaol in the colony in 1859 mostly for stealing. Select Committee on the Condition of the Working Classes. pp.85-86.
54 ibid. Evidence, p.6.
55 VEB 126 and CSIL 69/8751.
56 VEB 209 and SMH 6/2/70.
57 VEB 28 and SMH 11/6/67.
58 VEB 229 and CSIL 70/2215.
59 VEB 226 and SMH 8/5/70.
60 VEB 212 and SMH 24/2/70.
61 VEB 211 and SMH 10/2/70.
ten, stole a wheelbarrow. George B, aged ten, was charged with cruelty to a horse. Charles H, aged nine, was charged with assaulting another boy. (He threw stones at him). Alfred W, aged ten, stole a coat worth six shillings. Robert R, aged eleven, stole eleven pence from the church poor box. In each case the original charge was either discharged, or the boy was given 'the rising of the court', or a small fine was imposed before the charge was made under the Industrial Schools Act.

The evidence makes it clear that most parents agreed to these charges and in some cases had asked the magistrates or police to alter the charges. To say that a parent, who chose an Industrial School Act charge in preference to a charge which would have involved a gaol sentence, had given consent to admissions to the Vernon is distorting the meaning of the word 'consent'. If these cases of a parent choosing the lesser of two evils are disregarded, the number of cases where a parent 'consented' to the admission of a boy to the Vernon was very small.

Some parents, for a variety of motives, charged their sons with having 'no ostensible legal occupation': The father of Alphonse P. probably welcomed the police interest in his son's street behaviour and agreed to lay a charge of having 'no ostensible legal occupation.' The boy was an epileptic and his condition was becoming worse. The sailor father of Albert P., aged eight, was obviously seeking a home for the child after his mother died. The father of Reuben B, aged fourteen, admitted that he had wanted the boy sent on board for correction. The wording of some warrants in charges made by a father leave the feeling that the fathers believed that the ship might be able to compel the boys to work after they had been unable to do so. They could, of course, have known

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62 VEB 191 and SMH 21/9/69.
63 VEB 245 and SMH 26/10/70.
64 VEB 133 and SMH 6/12/68.
65 VEB 229 and SMH 8/6/70.
66 VEB 110 and SMH 8/7/68.
67 VEB 29 (p.57) and SMH 12/6/67.
68 VEB 176.
69 VEB 61 and CSIL 69/5824.
70 VEB 79, 80 and 97.
what was wanted to convince a magistrate and have sworn out warrants accordingly.

Mothers also laid charges of having 'no ostensible legal occupation', often at the direction of the magistrate, as in the case of Thomas F, aged twelve, who had stolen lead,71 and William C, aged eleven, who had stolen copper.72 Sometimes there were stepfather problems, made worse by the fact that the Law did not compel a stepfather to support his wife's children,73 but the impression in many of these cases is of mothers trying to protect a child from gaol or to provide shelter and food when her situation became desperate.74 Some could also have been shelving their responsibilities on to the ship, but there is little evidence for this.75

There were many genuine charges of both 'no means of support' and 'no ostensible legal occupation'. Some of the charges of having 'no means of support' initiated by the police would suggest cases of utter destitution; a child aged six attempting to eke out a living collecting bottles and bones,76 an orphan aged nine found sleeping in a bus,77 a boy aged eight who was a member of a (blended) family of twenty-one children and who stole two loaves of bread,78 a motherless child whose father was dying in the Infirmary,79 and another whose father was in the Lunatic Asylum.80 For these children committal to the ship must be regarded as a kindness.

An obvious feature of most of the charges of 'no means of support' which were laid by city police is the fact that some other person, or institution, had drawn the attention of the

71 VEB 241 and SMH 25/9/70.
72 VEB 252 and SMH 27/11/70.
73 VEB 193 and 222 Stepmother problems are also in evidence, but they did not usually cause the manipulation of charges that had already been made.
74 VEB 178 and 199.
75 VEB 28 and SMH 12/6/67. Such cases as the father of an epileptic boy who had his son admitted to the ship might be regarded as 'shelving responsibilities'. Compassionate understanding of the problems which these children caused in poorer families might not agree.
76 VEB 52.
77 VEB 177 and SMH 19/6/69.
78 VEB 240 and SMH 15/9/70.
79 VEB 111 and SMH 21/7/68.
80 VEB 230 and SMH 15/5/70.
police to the child's situation. The Infirmary, the Lunatic Asylum or the Benevolent Asylum needed to act before a boy's destitution became of any interest to the police. Their purpose was to keep the streets clear of obvious poverty, not to seek hidden cases of children who had 'no means of support'.

If the boy was older, the preferred charge was having 'no ostensible legal occupation'. The major intent was to get boys of possible working age off the streets and into work. There were many charges levelled by the police against boys who were apparently committing no crime except being in the streets and not in employment. Sixteen of these boys were aged fourteen or fifteen and some had already had a job, but were unemployed when arrested. For others the charge may have been substituted for one more difficult to prove, and having 'no ostensible legal occupation' seems to have been the charge which required least proof.

A charge of 'wandering with thieves' often needed little proof and was used by both police and parents if a child was believed to be keeping bad company. One father charged his son with 'wandering with thieves' apparently as a punishment for misbehaviour. In five cases mothers laid this charge, to protect the child from a charge which could have resulted in him being gaol: a boy who was found drunk in Dixon Street, and four others who had been guilty of stealing.

It is thus clear that many of the charges made against the boys by the police were genuine, but a good many made by police or parents were substitutes for some minor offence which would, before the Act was passed, have been ignored or received a small fine, or at most a short gaol sentence. It was this threat of a gaol sentence which made the parents easy targets for coercion. Most charges made by parents under the Industrial School Act were made under police direction, but a few parents did use the Act to provide a home for their child

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81 VEB 82 and SMH 11/3/68.
82 VEB 140 and SMH 20/12/68.
83 VEB 219 and SMH 8/4/70.
84 VEB 236 and CSIL 70/9198.
85 VEB 237 and SMH 22/7/70.
86 VEB 154 and SMH 29/1/69 VEB 109 and 235.
or because they wanted him to be taught to work or because they were genuinely unable to provide for the child.\textsuperscript{87}

Behind all the charges there was a great degree of poverty. Of the 137 city boys whose parentage is stated in the Entrance Book, fifty-four had both parents alive. (In thirteen cases Police classified one or both parents as drunkards.) twelve had one step-parent, thirty-nine had one parent alive and thirty-two had no parents.\textsuperscript{88} These figures of themselves would suggest a fair degree of poverty but they hide the fact that most of the two-parent (sober) households were also very poor.

This poverty is best shown by the attempts to make parents support children on the ship. Police were instructed to investigate every family in order to ascertain the amount a parent could pay towards the boys' support. Of the first forty boys admitted, only two parents were considered by police to be in a position to pay anything. They were a labourer with a wife and three other children who earned two pounds a week and a drayman with a wife and six other children whose family income was two pounds six shillings per week. Each father was required to pay five shillings per week towards his son's keep.\textsuperscript{89} The few who were compelled to pay support and the paltry amount (less than 200 pounds) which was collected each year are sure indicators of this poverty.

The boys who were admitted from the country were even poorer than those from the city. An analysis of country admissions shows this:

\textsuperscript{87} For obvious reasons, there is no evidence to support such a supposition, although the possibility must be admitted.
\textsuperscript{88} In the context of the intensive search for parental maintenance, absence of parental details could well indicate absence of parents in the other seventeen cases.
\textsuperscript{89} CSIL 67/4661.
TABLE 2.2

NSS VERNON COUNTRY BOYS AGES AND CHARGES 1867-70

![Bar Chart]

Notes
LWP = Living with Prostitutes
L/WWT = Living or wandering with Prostitutes
NMS = No means of support
NOLO = No ostensible legal occupation

Sources: Vernon Entrance Book, CSIL Applications for Discharge, local newspapers.

Poverty in the country seems to have been more acute, or more visible, than in the city. Of eighty-four boys admitted from country courts for whom parental details are available, forty-four had both parents either dead or deserted, twenty-three had one parent present, seventeen had both parents present. For many of these boys the school was probably the means of preventing their starvation.

Sixty-one of the ninety-eight boys admitted to the Vernon from country courts in this period were under twelve years of age, forty of them being under nine. All of these children were destitute, many of them double orphans. All of those under nine should have been eligible for admission to the Orphanages. Committal to the Industrial School would have been a much easier matter for the magistrates and police, so a large proportion of the younger boys came from country areas.
until after the 1905 Act was passed. To a certain extent the Vernon became a simple answer to the problem of what to do with destitute children in country areas.

Apart from cases of destitution, country police also manipulated charges to bring delinquents under the Industrial Schools Act. For example two boys who had absconded from their apprenticeship from the Protestant Orphan School were charged with having 'no means of support'. Country courts also substituted charges of having 'no means of support' for a stealing charge, sometimes after a gaol sentence had already been imposed. One boy served five months of a fifteen months sentence for stealing a horse and another served three months of a six months sentence before their charges were altered to 'no means of support'. A third was discharged from custody after having been found guilty of having stolen thirty head of cattle and a horse, before being charged under the Industrial Schools Act. Other charges are obviously substitutes for charges for which there was insufficient proof or for which a magistrate was unwilling to send a boy to gaol. One boy had stolen the cover to a spring cart. Another was known to police as a thief. Another was discharged for lack of evidence on a stealing charge and then sent on the Vernon for 'wandering with thieves'.

Country police and parents both manipulated the charge of 'no ostensible legal occupation'. This charge was substituted for one of 'illegally using a horse' by Mudgee Court, and a charge made at that court of stealing three tins of fish was replaced by a charge of 'no ostensible legal occupation' by the Water Police Court. A similar charge was made at the Water Police Court when the Asylum for Destitute Children

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90 VEB 158 VEB 218.
91 VEB 43 and CSIL 67/3917, VEB 118 and CSIL 68/4804 (with 68/4972).
92 VEB 208.
93 VEB 69.
94 VEB 184.
95 VEB 72 and CSIL 69/1081.
96 VEB 37 and CSIL 67/3917.
97 VEB 244.
refused to take back an absconding apprentice, sent there by Bathurst Court.\textsuperscript{98}

The most obvious parental manipulation was done at Newcastle where six out of seven charges of 'no ostensible legal occupation' seem to have been sought by parents for their own ends. Evidence in these six committals from Newcastle for having 'no ostensible legal occupation' would suggest that the Act was being used by desperately poor parents. The wife of a sailor who earned four pounds a month had her two sons committed because she 'could not keep [them]'.\textsuperscript{99} Another mother had tuberculosis,\textsuperscript{100} Another boy was a member of a large family and his father thought the boy would learn his trade of shoemaker better on the ship than at his bench\textsuperscript{101} and two boys had step-parent problems.\textsuperscript{102}

Police and parental use of 'other' charges under the Act provide a good summary of country use. Police laid a 'sleeping in the open air' charge against two boys. One was involved in cattle stealing and the other was 'on the track'.\textsuperscript{103} Two boys were taken from Aboriginal camps where they had been living after they had been forsaken by their parents.\textsuperscript{104} Police appear to have cooperated with a destitute unmarried mother who was frankly seeking a home for her children, by charging them with begging.\textsuperscript{105} Country boys who were sent to the Vernon for living with thieves or prostitutes were charged when their mother was committed to gaol.

It would seem clear that country police and country parents manipulated the Industrial Schools Act to suit their own purposes, but possibly to a lesser degree than city parents. At the same time it would appear that the Act was used against fewer delinquents and against more destitute boys in the country. As there were few occupations that could be

\textsuperscript{98} VEB 106 and CSIL 69/8400.
\textsuperscript{99} VEB 136.
\textsuperscript{100} VEB 105 and CSIL 70/16.
\textsuperscript{101} VEB 149 and CSIL 70/53 The boy was later apprenticed to his own father.
\textsuperscript{102} VEB 152 and 196.
\textsuperscript{103} VEB 148 and VEB 151.
\textsuperscript{104} VEB 176 and 182.
\textsuperscript{105} VEB 112 CSIL 68/5236 and Goulburn Herald 20/7/68. The children had been refused admission to the Asylum for Destitute children because they were illegitimate.
filled by very young boys, country employers, who were usually also the magistrates, regarded both women and children as 'encumbrances'. The death of a father removed any reason for unemployable children to be in the country. Therefore, a major use of the Act in country courts was to solve problems caused by the death of one or both parents.

This fact becomes clearer if figures from the Admission Register of the Industrial School for Girls are added to those in the Vernon Entrance Book. Of the thirty-three families (two or more children from the one household, regardless of sex) admitted from the country during this four-year period, twenty-one families, involving sixty-three children, were admitted because they had no means of support, brought about by the death of one or both parents. The remaining twelve families, involving twenty-eight children from the country, were admitted to one of the schools after the gaoling of one or both parents. By comparison, children from ten families involving twenty-five children were admitted from the city. In no case was this because of the death of parents.

Conclusion

Although there is considerable evidence for much poverty, neglect cannot be seen as the overwhelming cause of admissions to the Vernon. The above analysis shows that manipulation of the charges laid often disguised the real reason for a boy's admission. City emphasis was on keeping boys off the streets and in an ostensible legal occupation. Country emphasis was to ensure that they had legal means of support, preferably that they had a male 'breadwinner'. Police in both country and city were prepared to manipulate the Act by altering charges and then using the original charge as evidence in the charge under the Industrial Schools Act. More city parents

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17 Boys under twelve could not be expected to do the 'rough bush work' which was required.
107 'Condition of the Working Class' Evidence, p.110. People with children were not wanted in the country because they were 'expensive and useless'.
108 VEB 179, 180 and 181 demonstrate this fact clearly.
109 VEB, May 1867 to December 1870 passim and ISG Parramatta, Register of Warrants Received 30th August 1867 to May 1871 passim.
actually took out warrants but for most of them it was a means of protecting the child from gaol or providing a refuge for him. The statement of a boy when enrolled on the Vernon, 'I was sent here because I was poor' was actually only half true. It was the public display of the results of that poverty which more often resulted in a boy being sent on board.

Evidence provided in this chapter would indicate that Historians who accept the wording of the warrants (or the the description of the boys' circumstances) as the real reason for admissions to the Vernon are just as mistaken as those who believe that the boys were 'unwanted, immoral and destitute' because of their parents' neglect. While van Krieken is technically correct in recognising the amount of 'co-operation' provided by parents, he does not allow for the coercion under which many parents gave 'consent'. The evidence would also indicate that while the Industrial Schools Act, by insisting on 'correctly worded' warrants, maintained the fiction that the Vernon's function was to care for neglected children, the ship housed very few boys who fitted that description. The function it served was partly as provider of charitable relief for the indigent and a reformatory for the delinquent.

The evidence in this thesis shows that manipulation of charges by police, magistrates and parents ensured that the Vernon contained an element of Reformatory as well as of Industrial School boys from its inception. Roughly one half of the boys who were admitted to the Vernon in the first four years were committed as a result of police efforts to tidy up the streets. While the legal terminology of the Act was maintained, the actual reasons for committal to the Vernon differed substantially from that terminology, and from the stated aims of those who had sought the establishment of Industrial Schools.

110 Ramsland, op. cit pp.130 ff. Dickey, op. cit [Establishment] p.130
111 van Krieken, op. cit. p.69
CHAPTER III
CREATING A CURRICULUM

The philosophy which determined the management of the Vernon and the organisation of its daily routine are indicators of the role and function which were envisaged for the school by the superintendent and the Colonial Secretary. The reclamation or control of 'neglected' or delinquent children required a different philosophy, organisation and curriculum from that which was required for the merely destitute children of the Orphanages. An analysis of the formation of this philosophy and of the curriculum derived from it are, therefore, necessary if the declared purpose of remaking the children of paupers into hardworking citizens is to be assessed.

Up to the present time a comprehensive study of the Nautical School Ships Vernon/Sobraon has not been undertaken, although some attention has been paid to the Vernon in works covering a wider field, such as Dickey's thesis on Charity in New South Wales¹ and Ramsland's account of Destitute and Neglected Children in Colonial New South Wales,² which provides the most comprehensive account of any part of the school's history. Ramsland gives a thorough account of life on board the Vernon during Mein's superintendency (1867-1878), but denies that there was any appreciable difference between Mein's programme and the curriculum introduced by his successor,³ although he does acknowledge Neitenstein's imaginative leadership and energetically competent management.⁴ O'Brien supplies a description of Neitenstein's grade/mark system and of life on the ship and discusses its apprenticeship within the context of the apprenticing of State children.⁵ Garton sees Neitenstein's use of the 'class

¹ Dickey, op.cit. [Development].
² Ramsland op. cit. pp 116-18 and 206-208.
³ ibid p. 207-8
⁴ ibid p.209
⁵ O'Brien, op.cit. pp.145-162
system' as the means by which Neitenstein 'implemented and refined the essential principles of juvenile reform which had guided reformers since the 1840s', and sees the institutional environment which Neitenstein favoured as being marginalised from the mainstream of welfare ideas and practices. Garton's comment refers to both prisons and reformatories, but does not provide details. As the Sobraon continued for sixteen years after Neitenstein's superintendency, the regime of his successor is important to any estimate of 'marginalisation' as it applied to the ships.

While both O'Brien's and Garton's accounts are accurate and complement each other in some ways, neither provides an understanding of the 'essential principles of juvenile reform' nor sufficient details to show how these principles were worked out in Neitenstein's curriculum. They differ in their assessment of the results of the training in that Garton accepts Neitenstein's claim of developing self-reliance while O'Brien points out that most of the boys had already demonstrated a high degree of self-reliance by surviving.

Few people have heard of the third superintendent, William Mason, who was overshadowed to a certain extent by the very public profile of his predecessor. Although his philosophy was almost identical with Neitenstein's, the problems which Mason faced were different and the solutions which he offered for them were his own. As the period of his superintendency was crucial in the development of other 'childcare' institutions, and demonstrates clearly the connection between available work and methods of child care, it is well worth including in a study of the ships.

While Ramsland, Garton and O'Brien have provided accurate accounts of defined periods in the life of the Nautical School Ships, the specific nature of their accounts tends to present a picture of a static institution. This is far from true. Their work needs to be placed in a broader context in order to

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7 ibid p.54
8 An account of life on the Sobraon under Superintendent Mason is included in Scrivener, op cit. pp.36-60
analyse the larger questions of philosophy and organisation during the lifetime of the School.

This thesis aims to provide a thorough examination of life in the Industrial Schools and their interaction with other 'welfare' institutions. In order to establish the connection between the School Ships and the 'essential principles of juvenile reform', an account is given of life on the Vernon during Superintendent Mein's regime, comparing and contrasting it with the philosophy and programme at the French Agricultural Colony at Mettraie, which was the model for most English Reformatories at that time. The radical change of programme instituted by Superintendent Neitenstein is analysed from both a philosophical and practical point of view. Particular stress is made on the interlocking of theory and practice which was a prominent feature of Neitenstein's regime. In analysing the superintendency of William Mason, changes in the political, social and economic conditions are of considerable importance. These are reflected in the number and nature of admissions, discharges and apprenticeships as well as in the curriculum offered on board. Changes in the organisation of the daily routine, in attitudes to parents' applications for discharges and the system of apprenticeships are important indicators of the function the school was serving in the community.

Changes during the regime of each superintendent and the methods with which each superintendent attempted to overcome problems caused by altered circumstances are worthy of separate attention and are analysed in this and following chapters.

The Industrial Schools Act was part of a series of social reform Acts passed in the years 1866-67 which were designed to eliminate social disorder and to regulate and train a competent workforce for the expanding economy. As three of these Acts were aimed at children, it would seem that the belief that hope lay in the rising generation was a major

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9 Parkes makes this clear in his memo to the Executive on the purchase of the Vernon. CSIL Special Bundle, Nautical School Ship Vernon, 1865-67, 4/161.2 AONSW
component of the proposed reforms. Central to these was the reform of the schools.

The three-tiered system of Education was already in place. Children of the wealthy either went to England or attended one of the exclusive Colonial Private Schools where they learned their place as 'leaders of the nation'. Children of the middle class attended the less expensive Private Schools where their parents hoped they would learn sufficient to obtain the better jobs in industry or commerce. Children of the bulk of the population attended, (or stayed away from), the National and Government-assisted Denominational Schools, where it was hoped that they would acquire a rudimentary education as well as habits of cleanliness, order, respect for constituted authority and a strong work ethic.10

In the face of a 'skew generation', the 'baby boomers' of the goldrush period, the Public Instruction Act of 1866 set out to establish the dominance of the National Schools.11 Restrictions on the right to establish new Denominational Schools and on the enrolment numbers necessary for aid, and more favourable financial help for the establishment of National Schools, ensured that the National Schools would increase.12 The Council of Education replaced the National and Denominational Boards, retaining the apparatus of the National Board and taking over the inspection of all schools which received State aid. It thus sought to determine what was to be taught in the curriculum in all aided schools. Enrolment or attendance at school was not compulsory.13 Children of any age could be, and frequently were, employed, but if a child wandered the street in 'no ostensible legal occupation' s/he could be arrested and placed in an Industrial

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10 A. Barcan, A History of Australian Education. OUP. Melbourne, 1980, p.83
11 In 1861 38.7% of NSW population was under 15. In 1871 this had risen to 41.79% [Summary Table NO.18 NSW Census for 1871 (Australian Bureau of Statistics)].
12 Barcan, op. cit. p.112.
13 Even after the 1880 Act attendance was compulsory only for students in proclaimed districts and then only for seventy days each half year. An exemption could be obtained before fourteen if a child had reached the required standard. [Public Instruction Act, 1880].
School. Absence of occupation was deplored rather than absence of schooling.\(^4\)

The objects which Reformatory Schools or Industrial Schools were expected to achieve were precisely the same as those which the National Schools were designed to accomplish. In the process of imparting a rudimentary education they were to train children to be respectful, law-abiding citizens with habits suitable for the workplace. The major difference between the National Schools and the Reformatory or Industrial Schools would appear to be that more stringent methods were deemed to be necessary for Reformatory and Industrial Schools.\(^5\) William Wilkins, Secretary to the Council of Education was explicit on the role of the National Schools:

> Of greater importance...is the moral training of the youth of the Colony. The formation of habits of regularity, cleanliness and orderly behaviour, the inculcation of regard for the rights of property, public and private, the growth of a spirit of obedience to the law, and respect for duly constituted authority, the correct practical appreciation of the value of time as an element of worldly success, the implanting of a love for patient and sustained exertion in some industrial activity, and the development of character for energy and self-release, are all points of the highest value both to the individual children and the community at large. Honesty, truthfulness, temperance and other virtues may be cultivated by school discipline.\(^6\)

The principles on which Wilkins and his contemporaries based their theories of child development were those

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\(^4\) Children were apprenticed from the Industrial Schools at twelve years old. \([Industrial\;Schools\;Act\;Clause\;11]\) It was not until 1916 that the State Children Relief Board stopped apprenticing children at twelve. The Board practically forced mothers receiving allowances after 1896 to take their children from school at twelve.

\(^5\) The National Schools did also provide the incentive of ability to obtain a better job to its more industrious pupils, but this was secondary to the need for good order.

\(^6\) W. Wilkins, 'Address to Probationary Teachers' in \(VPLA\ 1867-68\ vol 4\ p 225\ [p 37 of article].\ It is instructive to compare this article with comments made by Wilkins eleven years earlier where the principal rationale for the establishment of schools is ensuring social order. \(\text{'Final Report of the Education Commissioners on the State of Education Throughout the colony .' in VPLA 1856-7, Vol.2, p.6.}\)
formulated by seventeenth century philosopher, John Locke, who insisted that each child started life as a 'tabula rasa' which was filled in by experience.\textsuperscript{17} The Associationist psychology of Hartley, Hume and James Mill also provided an important foundation for environmentalism.\textsuperscript{18} These theories had been given a scientific boost with the publication in 1859 of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* in which Darwin suggested that the growing child tries to adapt to constant variations in the environment. This belief that personality was the result of conditioning and training, a matter of administering appropriate rewards and punishments, provided the basis for much child training, including that of Reformatory Schools.\textsuperscript{19}

There had been no real agreement in Parliamentary circles about the form that the training on the Vernon would take. James Martin had wanted an Industrial School because he felt it would gather in the greatest number of 'neglected' children and so 'protect' the rest of the community. Henry Parkes wanted a Nautical Training Ship for 'the benefit of commerce'.\textsuperscript{20} Both of these schools would have required a somewhat different approach. Therefore, the philosophy and curriculum of the Vernon were not determined until the ship was being set up. Because an Industrial School was designed to rescue neglected children, the school was treated as a 'Charity'\textsuperscript{21} and placed under the control of the Colonial Secretary rather than the Council of Education. Thus the task of supervising the establishment of the school fell to Henry Parkes.

Parkes chose a man whom he believed to be a competent seaman and handed to him the task of supervising the repair

\textsuperscript{17} Locke J., *Some Thoughts on Education*, London, 1892.
\textsuperscript{19} S Garton, *Medicine and Madness*, UNSWP 1988, page 13
\textsuperscript{20} Kociumbas translates this into the ideology of childhood innocence, which she sees as the basis for the 'rescue' of poorer children in the 1870s and 1880s
\textsuperscript{21} These aspects are discussed in previous chapter.
\textsuperscript{21} The ship was inspected by the Inspector of Public Charities for about twenty years. The school on the ship was inspected by Council of Education Inspectors.
and outfitting of the Vernon as well as the formulation of the philosophy on which the school was to be based, and the development of a set of Regulations which would determine the curriculum. This programme of reform was very much the work of Superintendent Mein. While it is likely that Mein acquired a knowledge of Reformatories and Naval Training Schools in England and Europe from literature provided by Parkes, the set of Rules and the first Regulations were produced by Mein and endorsed by Parkes.

The first exposition of the way in which the Vernon expected to achieve its aims was made by Superintendent Mein in the set of Rules which he submitted to Parkes on 7th May 1867, a fortnight before the boys started to come on board. While these Rules are couched in Naval terms their general tenor would suggest that Mein was familiar with the policy of the then highly esteemed Agricultural Colony at Mettraí, which was the model for most of the English Industrial Schools and Reformatories established after 1854. In place of the religious emphasis of Mettraí and the English schools, Mein substituted the ship's hierarchy of command, requiring model behaviour from the officers to one another and to the boys.

Although the Regulations were not gazetted until 1869, their first formulation was submitted to Parkes in December, 1867. The final Regulations were submitted in November, 1868 and were gazetted on 14th January, 1869. Like the Rules, they are an adaptation of the principles of Mettraí to the conditions on a Training Ship.

According to Mary Carpenter, Mettraí had a 'high religious aim' seeking to 'awaken pure desires' and 'to give

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22 Parkes provided the material on Mettraí and Rauhe Haus to the Charities Commission in 1873. Some of the material had been translated by his daughter.
23 CSIL 67/3153.
24 CSIL 67/6837.
25 In 1869 Mein recommended the system in use at Mettraí or Redhill for the establishment of a Reformatory. CSIL 69/3359.
26 Ramsland, op. cit. p.118.
27 CSIL 67/3153.
28 One of the leaders in the English movement to prevent children from being sent to gaol. A summary of an account of Mettraí given by Mary Carpenter, Reformatory Schools for the Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes and for Juvenile Offenders. London, C.Gilpin, 1851 p 326
the boys habits of life as will be likely to be permanent'. The school was divided into 'families' of about forty boys, residing in a distinct house each having its own master and two assistants, although they combined with other 'families' for work, recreation and divine service. The boys themselves were involved in the maintenance of discipline, selecting their own leaders and awarding rewards or punishments. 'The least fault [was] punished', punishments involving standing apart, privation of meals or recreation, admonition by the director, light or dark cells, with or without bread and water diet, or return to the prison. Corporal punishment was forbidden. In school instruction the boy [was] taught 'only as much as the average of agricultural and other labourers acquire viz., to read, to write and to cypher'. The rest of the day, with the exception of one hour devoted to instruction in the school (and about four hours devoted to meals, recreation, morning and evening prayer, dressing etc.) [was] devoted to labour. 'It [was] a principle that the boys shall be continually occupied and thoroughly fatigued.' Accommodation, dress, and food of officers and boys were of the plainest description. A principle of self-denial and usefulness to others was required of officers and boys. 'With all these regulations there is the cultivation of religious principles among them.'

At the time the Vernon was set up, Mettraï had been the model for European and English Reformatories for nearly thirty years and was still held in high esteem. Within a few years the French system of Agricultural Colleges began to be discredited because of 'poor security, mismanagement, high recidivism and homosexual activity amongst inmates'. Despite this fact their organisational methods and sometimes their philosophy continued to influence Australian childcare institutions for many years. The way in which the Vernon

29 op. cit.
31 Their use was advocated by the Charities Commission in 1873. They were the models for the cottage homes set up by Renwick at Mittagong in the 1880s and 1890s and of the SCRB Mittagong Farm Homes in 1906. Peter Board asked for a series
attempted the task of reformation of its pupils was an adaptation of the system used at Mettraig combined with naval instructions as given to British naval trainees. It is best seen by looking at practices in vogue during the first years and by an analysis of admission processes and daily routine.

About the time the first boys came on board, the Vernon was moved from Johnston's Bay, where it had been outfitted to its first 'permanent' mooring between Garden Island and the Domain, where it remained for more than three years. Both Mein and Parkes were happy with this choice of site. The ship was in view of the main shipping lanes in the harbour, giving the boys an incentive to put their best effort into displaying their work and, later, being a gentle reminder to ships' captains that the boys were available for employment.

When the first boys were admitted a staff of seventeen men had already been employed and, with the exception of the schoolmaster, all had followed some sea-going trade. None of them had had any experience of either teaching or reformatory work. At this time the Government intended that at least two other institutions, covering farming and trades would be set up and the Vernon would be reserved as a Nautical of 'cottage homes' for the Industrial School for Girls when its replacement was proposed. A number of denominational orphanages, notably Burnside Homes, followed the same form of organisation.

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32 CSIL 69/3359.
33 Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on the Training Ship NSS Vernon. in VPLA 1868-69 Vol.3 [Vernon Enquiry]. Evidence of James Gorman.
34 After it had undergone repairs in Fitzroy Dock
34 CSIL 67/3496 and 68/2112 The ship occupied two different positions about 100 yards apart in Farm Cove until January, 1871. Ramsland's assumption that the ship was permanently moored off Cockatoo Island causes two other errors of fact: the number of abscondings and the beginning of Church attendances at Balmain. Ramsland op.cit p.119 and p.137
35 The Charities Commission recommended the return of the ship to Farm cove for these reasons.
37 There is no evidence to suggest that the first teacher had any teaching experience. He and another applicant were interviewed by William Wilkins and given tests in Grammar, Arithmetic and Geography. This would surely indicate that they had not previously been in the Council of Education's employ. Later teachers were recruited from the National Schools. Education Dept. Teachers' Rolls passim.
School Ship. Enrolments were much slower than expected and by the end of 1867, when 65 boys had been admitted, it was determined to employ a tailor and a shoemaker to teach land trades to some of the boys on the ship.

The employment of these men was to cause the first of a number of changes in the way in which the curriculum was adjusted during the life of the ship. In the first months the boys' day was divided between school, drills and naval training. The exact proportion of the day that was allotted to each aspect is not clear, but, as the Inspector of Public Charities pointed out, there were insufficient bigger boys to carry out the duties of the ship, so that a good deal of the older boys' time was spent on ship duties aimed at keeping the ship in order. By May, 1868 the daily timetable required the addition of a 'land' trade for a large proportion of the boys. As Superintendent Mein was determined to keep the naval training element in the course, this meant that only a quarter of the 'school' day was allotted to formal schooling and a varying proportion to drills, naval training and trade training. The form which the training was to take for the next ten years was fixed by 1868.

A boy committed by the courts to the Vernon was taken aboard by the police and given into the custody of the superintendent, who became his legal guardian until he was eighteen. A bath, a radical haircut and a complete change of clothing preceded a medical examination and an interview by one of the ship's officers, usually the purser. This officer obtained as much relevant information as he could about the circumstances surrounding the arrest, the boy's

39 Vernon Enquiry, Evidence, Q.1473.
40 Vernon Entrance Book. [One had been discharged].
41 CSIL 67/6889 As with other tradesmen, these men had no teaching or reformatory experience.
45 Ramsland, op.cit. p.120 and p.123
46 30 Vic.2, Clause 7.
47 Regulations 23 and 37. Select Committee Q.1033.
family, his religion, the school he had attended and whether he knew any boys on board.\textsuperscript{48} A regulation issue of clothing and accessories was made by the boatswain and the boy was allotted to a 'watch'. This division into watches has some similarities with the 'family' system at Mettraí and served some of the same purposes.\textsuperscript{49}

The admission procedure was an important step in initiating the boy into the new world of the ship. The destruction of his own clothes,\textsuperscript{50} the bath, administered or supervised by a crewman, the close cropping of his hair and the examination for all the signs of 'filth'- head lice, body lice, scabies, impetigo and ringworm, and the drastic treatment of these,\textsuperscript{51} must have conveyed a crushing psychological message of deemed inferiority to the new boy.

Each step in the proposed acquiring of habits of cleanliness, order and obedience and respect for authority was carefully planned, beginning with the issue of clothes and equipment. Regulations determined the exact amount of equipment to be issued to each boy. He was to be given a hammock, bag, clewes and lashing, a blanket and bedcover as well as a defined supply of clothing and toilet gear. All of these items were to be legibly marked before being issued. The boy was instructed in the manner of placing clothing in a bag and was told that only the commanding officer could give permission for any replacements. Regular 'kit parades' were held to ensure that each boy had all of the required items stored properly in his bag.\textsuperscript{52}

As the boy was admitted individually, so these first lessons in cleanliness and order were given individually. The maintenance of kit in the correct manner was a first lesson in obedience and neatness. At this session either the purser or the schoolmaster gave instructions as to the manner of address

\textsuperscript{48} Vernon Entrance Book, passim. Vernon Enquiry, Evidence of James Gorman. Boys were separated from their former friends.
\textsuperscript{49} Mary Carpenter, op. cit. p.326.
\textsuperscript{50} One interviewer made it a habit of throwing the clothes overboard. Vernon Enquiry, Q.1033.
\textsuperscript{51} Treatment of all four involved the use of kerosene. The boys' bodies were cleansed in the same way as furniture was cleansed of bugs and other vermin.
\textsuperscript{52} Regulation 39.
required for the various members on board. The chain of command was established, and in that hierarchy the newcomer was the least member. Of further assistance in this regard was the period of quarantine which preceded the actual joining of the group or watch if the boy had to be treated for vermin or a contagious disease. The confined nature of the ship made a general isolation against infectious diseases, particularly those which had a long incubation time, impracticable, but many boys spent some days in isolation before they became a part of the crew aboard.

The new uniform, entirely different from the clothing to which the boy was used and indicating the place of the new boy in the ranks, served many purposes. Each boy received the same amount of clothing and the care of these uniforms was part of an attempt to produce a person whose life was prescribed in every detail. Summer and winter uniforms, work and good clothes, the needle and thread to repair these clothes, two combs (one a fine-toothed comb to combat lice), and brushes to keep clothes and boots neat were all part of the training in cleanliness, neatness and order which was part of the ship's purpose. According to the standards of the times the clothes supplied must be regarded as adequate. The absence of sheets, pillows or pillowslips, underwear (except for the flannel shirts which they wore in both summer and winter), or of any night attire would not have been thought unusual by the boys. The addition of a cabbage tree hat was made at the suggestion of G. Thornton MP who had been so horrified by the sunburnt faces of the boys on a fishing excursion that he offered to pay for a supply of hats himself. They were worn only on occasions when there would

53 Vernon Enquiry, Evidence McSkimming.
54 Ramsland, op. cit. p. 118.
55 Vernon Enquiry, Evidence Dr Alleyne.
56 Six suits (two work outfits, two summer and two winter uniforms) was far in excess of the clothing which most of the boys would have owned.
57 Vernon Enquiry, Q. 1384.
58 The boys slept in their canvas work gear. Naval trainees on HMAS Tingira [ex Sobraon] slept in flannels.
59 CSIL 68/6994.
have been long exposure to the sun. Otherwise the usual sailors' caps were used.

The material used for work uniforms was of very poor quality\(^\text{60}\) and early in 1868 Mein found it necessary to convert the canvas intended for sails to clothing 'as contract clothes last but a short time'.\(^\text{61}\) A few weeks later eight bolts of canvas had been converted into clothes.\(^\text{62}\) When the ship employed its own tailors, the making of these canvas clothes became accepted practice. As the boys referred to these work clothes as 'dowlas' it is reasonable to assume that the material was somewhat coarse.\(^\text{63}\) The boys changed into their canvas suits after the 4.00 pm assembly, to perform their afternoon work and, apparently slept in them 'already [sic] for the next day'.\(^\text{64}\)

The wearing of a uniform is usually designed to destroy individuality. The provision of summer and winter uniforms can be used to teach suitability and smartness and to separate the boy from his previous associations. They were worn only during the 'school day'. At other times they wore the heavy work uniforms which proclaimed their wearers as inferiors.\(^\text{65}\) The uniforms could also have been used to foster a group spirit, but it seems that Mein tried to foster loyalty to the 'watch' rather than to the ship as a unit. Every effort was made to keep boys apart if they had known one another before they came on board. The belief that a boy's former companions would be a contaminating influence was very strongly held, even when the lad was still on the ship.\(^\text{66}\) The separation into watches, necessary for the organisation of duties, was an attempt to force a boy to make new associates and break older ties, just as Mettraí set out to 'silently thwart and destroy' 'the esprit du corps, usually so strong in schools'.\(^\text{67}\)

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\(^{60}\) Charities Commission, Evidence, Q.2312.
\(^{61}\) CSIL 68/2741.
\(^{62}\) CSIL 68/1009.
\(^{63}\) Charities Commission, Evidence Q 2312-2340.
\(^{64}\) NSS Vernon Annual Report, 1884, p.20.
\(^{65}\) The brown 'dowlas' uniforms resembled convict clothing, (lacking only the broad arrow).
\(^{66}\) CSIL 69/2351.
\(^{67}\) Mary Carpenter, op. cit. p.326.
While the 'watch' to which the boy was sent was usually determined with the intention of separating a new arrival from any boy that he knew on board, there were other factors such as the sharing out of the smaller boys so that each group had enough larger boys to do the work required of it.\textsuperscript{68} There were four watches, first and second starboard watch and first and second port watch.\textsuperscript{69} Membership of a watch determined the activities a boy undertook at any given time, so that each task was carried out in an orderly fashion throughout the whole day. The schedule of activities set up in 1868 remained practically the same until 1878,\textsuperscript{70} and early morning activities did not alter significantly during the life of the ship.\textsuperscript{71}

Summer routine began at 4.30 am when every boy was expected to rise, lash hammocks, and have bedding folded and ready for inspection by 4.45 am prior to stowing them. These preliminary activities had the purpose of training in orderly behaviour and neatness as well as providing an essential safety measure. The hammocks doubled as ship's life rafts. Properly lashed, with exactly seven turns, they could be expected to stay afloat for up to forty-eight hours.\textsuperscript{72}

At 5.00 am one watch was sent to wash while the other three watches cleaned the upper decks, lowered the boats, washed them out and cleaned the gear. Each watch 'washed thoroughly' in turn before 7.00 am when all watches went to breakfast.\textsuperscript{73} This consisted of bread and butter, sometimes jam, or of maize meal porridge (hominy) and treacle in winter time, with tea to drink.\textsuperscript{74}

After breakfast one watch was set to clean the mess room, a second to stow away the clothes bags, a third to clean the lower deck (toilets and ablutions), the fourth to overhaul the

\textsuperscript{68} Vernon Entrance Book, Confirmed in Annual Reports.
\textsuperscript{69} IPC Report 1867-68, p 2. Ramsland \textit{op. cit.} p.120
\textsuperscript{70} A comparison of schedule in the Inspector of Public Charity's \textit{Report} for 1867-68 and details in Annual \textit{Reports} to 1878 show this.
\textsuperscript{71} Except for the addition of clothes washing during morning sessions. Appendices to Annual \textit{Reports} after 1878.
\textsuperscript{72} Information supplied by RAN Historical Society.
\textsuperscript{73} \textit{Regulations}, p.4. Vernon Enquiry, Q.575.
\textsuperscript{74} CSIL 68/5775 and Vernon Enquiry, Q.599.
lifts and braces. At 8.00 am one watch was set to ‘cross toppgallant royal yards and to loose sails’, the second to ‘square yards, spread awnings and flemish down ropes’, the third to ‘clean woodwork and sweep the decks’, while the fourth watch was ‘at quarters to clean guns and arms’.

At 8.30 am the lower deck was again cleaned before all decks were inspected at 8.45 am, and boys were mustered for inspection.

By the time the boys were ready to begin the formal part of their education each day they had completed about four hours of intensive training, designed to teach habits of prompt obedience to orders, cleanliness, acceptance of routine and working as a team. All this was carried out in absolute silence, placing the boys in the position of the receivers of orders, with minds only on tasks in hand. As strict silence was required during all activities through the day, the ability to communicate was obviously not considered a desirable attribute.

An assembly and prayers followed at 9.00 am, after which each watch went to its allotted morning task: One watch to school, one to drills, one to seamanship and boats, one to chosen trade. Activities ceased at 11.45 am and boys prepared for lunch at noon. Lunch was a fairly substantial meal of meat and vegetables, with a pudding made of suet, flour and sultanas on Sundays. After lunch most boys were permitted to ‘skylark’ on deck for about half an hour. A boy who was on ‘black list’ was compelled to stand and watch the others at play.

At 1.00 pm boys in each watch went to its respective occupation: school, trades, seamanship or drills until 3.45 pm when watches were mustered. Activities between 4.00 pm and 6.00 pm varied from day to day. On Mondays the visiting clergy came for Religious Instruction for one hour. On other

75 Regulations 48-50.
76 NSS Vernon, Rules, No.4.
77 It could also be seen as an example of the conflict between humane standards and institutional efficiency. E. Goffman 'On the Characteristics of Total Institutions'. E Goffman, Asylums, Penguin, Hammondsorth, 1978 pp.75 ff.
78 IPC, Report 1867-68.
79 CSIL 68/5775
80 Vernon Enquiry, Q.883 Regulations 33-36.
days 'trade' boys were required to spend the time, except the time taken to eat tea, with their trade instructor, while 'sailors' were occupied in hoisting up boats, furling sails, coiling ropes and similar activities before going to tea at 5.00 pm. This consisted of bread and butter or jam.

After tea on Tuesdays and Thursdays clothes were washed. The bigger boys were required to wash their own clothes and to assist any of the smaller boys with theirs. Each boy washed eight items of clothing per week. Hammocks and other large items were washed separately, once a fortnight. Those boys not occupied with washing, were allowed in the recreation room until 8.00 pm. Available recreations were limited. Reading and dominoes appear to have been the only permitted occupations. Cards, dice or gambling of any sort were strictly forbidden by regulation. By 9.00 pm all boys had been mustered and in their hammocks. Winter routine started at 5.00 am or 5.30 am and finished at 8.00 pm but was substantially the same as summer. Particularly for a newcomer, the sixteen hour day must have been exhausting, as it was intended to be. The principle that 'the boys shall be continually occupied and thoroughly fatigued' was followed here as at Mettrai.

The daily food ration on the Vernon, reasonable by the standards of the day, was determined on the advice of Captain Hixson, the Superintendent of Pilots, Lights and Harbours, who convinced Captain Mein that growing boys needed as much food as men, so that he should apply for adult rations for everyone aboard. This was modified by the Visiting Medical Officer who added milk for delicate boys and prescribed extras if he thought they were needed. Significantly, the same scale and quality of food was ordered for both staff and boys. Each person was allowed daily 12 oz. bread, 2oz. sugar, 1 1/2 oz. jam or butter, 1/2 oz tea, 1/2 oz. salt, 8 oz. maize meal, 12 oz.

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81 Regulation 55 confirmed by Vernon Enquiry Q.561.
82 CSIL 68/5775.
84 Vernon Enquiry, Q.585.
85 Regulations p.6.
86 Regulations pp.4-5.
87 Mary Carpenter, op. cit. p.327.
fresh meat, 16 oz. potatoes, and 4oz. vegetables for soup.\(^8\) To this was added a weekly ration of 8oz. flour, 2 oz. raisins and 1/2 oz. suet.\(^9\) Boys acted as stewards and, to ensure that each boy got a fair share, a boy who thought he had been unfairly treated could demand that the steward of his mess change dinners with him.\(^9\) The scale should have provided a sufficient though monotonous and somewhat stodgy summer diet. The boys' dislike of hominy would have left many with insufficient food during winter.\(^9\) Hominy was replaced in summer months by extra bread and butter.

When the Vernon moved to a position off Cockatoo Island in 1871, three gardens were set up on the island and a further supply of vegetables was added to the ration.\(^\) Although there were several complaints concerning the quality of the meat supplied,\(^3\) it would probably have been a better and more regular diet than most of the boys were used to. It certainly conformed to the Mettrao doctrine that 'accommodation, dress, food, &c. of all the inmates, officers as well as boys, [should be] of the plainest description'.\(^4\) The fact that adults were supplied with the same rations provided some protection as adults were in a better position to complain.

Mein depended on his own system of rewards and punishments to enforce discipline. Details of this system are not clear, but the rewards were apparently based on the British Naval system of granting good conduct stripes and badges for those who deserved them.\(^5\) The Mettrao system called for the involvement of the members of each 'family' who chose the 'elder brothers' but the awards in the Nautical School were made by the officers. According to Master-at-arms, Gorman, the Vernon scheme of rewards was not effective because they did not give any real privileges. The British

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8 CSIL 68/5775.
9 ibid.
90 Regulation No.40.
91 Vernon Enquiry, Q.599.
92 NSS Vernon, Annual Report, 1873. This first move was made on John Robertson's orders. The motive was possibly to keep the ship ready to offer assistance if requested by the Industrial School For Girls.
93 Vernon Enquiry, Q.1057 and Q.1376.
94 Mary Carpenter, op cit .p.327.
95 Vernon Enquiry, Q.883.
system allowed a good conduct boy some shore leave, but, as the Industrial Schools Act did not permit this, the awards were not valued.96

The reward system was backed up by a defined system of punishments. These were similar to the Mettra system with the addition of corporal punishment, which was banned at Mettra.97 As early as June, 1867 two boys were confined during play hours and given a bread and water diet for three days for swearing and ill-treating a much smaller boy.98 All complaints of misbehaviour were made in writing to the superintendent and were dealt with in the presence of the entire ship's company at morning divisions, after prayers. Lesser punishments such as 'black list, masthead, meals by themselves, loss of dinner, cells during play hours and cells with bread and water' were awarded by the superintendent for 'minor' offences.99 There was one cell in the hold of the ship which was little more than a darkened closet and was rat- and vermin-infested.100 Confinement in such a cell must have been a terrifying experience and might be expected to deter most boys from offending again.

For more serious offences two forms of corporal punishment were administered. Six cuts with the cane on the hand were permitted, and for 'stealing, immoral conduct and malversation, the boy [was] to be placed over a gun and punished with a plain leather strap, but no more than twenty stripes [should] be given for any offence.'101

It seems clear that the use of corporal punishment was an addition sanctioned by the Colonial Secretary when Mein found that milder punishments had no effect.102

The punishments were 'awarded' by the superintendent, but were administered by staff in front of the assembled ship. Regulations stated that the person who made the complaint was

96 ibid cf. Ramsland op. cit. p. 127.
97 Mary Carpenter, op. cit. p.327.
98 CSIL 67/4115.
99 Ramsland, op.cit p.122 notes these punishments
100 Vernon Enquiry, Q.906 and Q.1136.
101 Regulations No.33-36.
102 CSIL 67/4593 and 68/1150.
not to administer the punishment.\textsuperscript{103} Although the Regulations were not published until 1869, instructions as to the permissible punishments were forwarded to Superintendent Mein in September 1867.\textsuperscript{104} The extent to which any of these punishments were administered is not known. According to one witness caning was recorded only if six cuts were given, not otherwise.\textsuperscript{105} Parkes's notation to a Report stating that the boys' conduct 'had not been as good of late' makes it clear that he expected strong measures to be used if necessary:

Inform that this conduct reported must be met by strict discipline. It will not do to permit the behaviour of the boys to become in any way lax.\textsuperscript{106}

This view was shared by the Inspector of Public Charities. When a father complained about the treatment of his son, the Inspector reported concerning the 'twelve cuts of taws on the stern' which the boy had received for stealing,

The boy does not appear any the worse for the treatment complained of and it is absolutely necessary that the discipline of the ship should be kept up.\textsuperscript{107}

Mein sought to persuade the boys to behave by his reward system, but any deviation from accepted conduct could be met with a fairly harsh system of punishment. The cramped quarters and strict supervision made it unlikely that any offence would remain unnoticed so that it is quite possible that resort to corporal punishment was as infrequent as Mein claimed in his Reports. Certainly one of the main aims of the ship was to instil a ready obedience to orders and a respect for authority, without the use of force, if possible.\textsuperscript{108}

Regulations set out that the aim of the school was to inculcate habits of 'cleanliness, industry and diligence'.\textsuperscript{109} The training programme to achieve this was a continuous process. The pre-breakfast activities outlined above were mainly designed to get the ship into the desired state as well

\textsuperscript{103} ibid.
\textsuperscript{104} CSIL 69/442.
\textsuperscript{105} Vernon Enquiry, p.141.
\textsuperscript{106} CSIL 67/7443.
\textsuperscript{107} CSIL 69/882.
\textsuperscript{108} Regulation No.3.
\textsuperscript{109} Regulation No.3.
as to teach habits of cleanliness and order. This included the daily washing of the upper decks with salt water and sand using coconut husks.\textsuperscript{110} After many protests about the dampness of the ship, freshwater was substituted and stoves were swung to help dry out the decks, but the practice of daily washing was continued.\textsuperscript{111}

The sessions between nine and four were supposedly designed to give the rudiments of an education, the knowledge of a trade, some skill in seamanship, even for those who did not choose the trade of seaman, and a variety of drills designed to inculcate instant obedience.\textsuperscript{112} The sessions spent in each activity were rotated so that over a period of four weeks each watch attended four morning and five afternoon sessions at school. On Wednesday mornings all watches did general (sail) drill. On Friday afternoon the watch that had attended a given activity on the previous Monday morning attended that activity again.\textsuperscript{113}

Under these arrangements an average of about six hours per week was spent at school.\textsuperscript{114} This was similar to the time allowed at Mettrai, and the principle on which such a short time was allotted to schooling was the same: 'that the boy shall only be taught as much as the average of agricultural and other labourers acquire, viz, to read, to write, and to cypher'.\textsuperscript{115} The senior boys learned reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar and geography. The junior boys learned reading, dictation, mental arithmetic and general knowledge.\textsuperscript{116}

The time spent on schooling would be deplorable for any group of children, even more so for boys whose previous

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{110} Vernon Enquiry, Q.1398.
\item \textsuperscript{111} \textit{ibid.} Q.1399. Ramsland \textit{op.cit.} pp.121-123
\item \textsuperscript{112} Ramsland's belief that this system would give boys a sound background and basic skills in at least two adult occupations seems somewhat over-optimistic. Ramsland \textit{op.cit} p.120
\item \textsuperscript{113} \textit{ibid} Q.44
\item \textsuperscript{114} This is the time stated in \textit{Reports}. It is a generous estimate of time. Allowing for muster and prayer at 9.00, 'going over the masthead' mid-morning and mid-afternoon and that morning session finished at 11.45 and afternoon session at 3.45 a realistic figure would be about five hours.
\item \textsuperscript{115} Mary Carpenter. \textit{op.cit.} p.327.
\item \textsuperscript{116} CSIL 69/7222.
\end{itemize}
attendance at school had been minimal or non-existent. Each year a large number of boys who could not read, write or cipher were admitted. In 1874, for example, fifty per cent of admissions could not read at all, thirty-four per cent could read indifferently and only sixteen per cent could read well. Similar figures are given for both writing and ciphering.\(^{117}\) As in most cases the boys spent only twelve months on board,\(^{118}\) the chances that this quarter-time schooling would remedy the defects were unlikely and, as Superintendent Mein pointed out, schooling ceased when a boy was apprenticed.\(^{119}\) Formal education was clearly not the aim of the ship. Few of the jobs for which the boys were destined required a high degree of literacy or numeracy.

For many of the boys the same amount of time was spent on drills as was spent on school education.\(^{120}\) Master-at-Arms, James Gorman who had spent thirteen years in the British Navy and had trained on HMS Victory and its brig, HMS Rolla, stated that the drills given on the Vernon were comparable to those on a man-of-war and Neitenstein stated later that there was very little difference from the Royal Navy training, that boat drills were the same and that gun exercises had been adapted.\(^{121}\) The desire to inculcate habits of prompt obedience to orders involved in all of these drills and exercises is clear.

All boys spent many hours a week in drills, although it is sometimes difficult to separate drills from naval training. General drills, squad drills, physical drill with arms, gymnastics and dumbbells, gun drills, musketry drill, cutlass drills, light infantry drills, sail drills, manning yards,

\(^{117}\) NSS Vernon Annual Report, 1874 Writing 50%, 37% and 13% Ciphering 50%, 41% and 9%

\(^{118}\) The Colonial Secretary checked regularly to ensure that every boy who had turned twelve was apprenticed at the end of twelve months.

\(^{119}\) CSIL 70/6197.

\(^{120}\) While it is not spelled out in Reports, it would seem likely that those boys who were learning tailoring, did only half the time allotted to drills and/or naval training. This is the only possible way that their time of twenty-one hours per week could have been achieved.

\(^{121}\) Vernon Enquiry, Q.819-822.

\(^{122}\) Sydney Mail, 31 August, 1878 p.4
pulling and sailing boats, all get a mention in the Annual Reports, although Neitenstein stated later that Mein did not follow the system of drills as wholeheartedly and regularly as he did.\textsuperscript{124} As Mein appears to have restricted the hours of drill for some of the boys, this remark is undoubtedly true, but the fact remains that many hours of drills were performed when Mein was superintendent.

Some of these exercises were done on the upper deck of the ship or with the ship's boats, but permission was obtained from the Commandant of the Navy Base on Garden Island to take the boys to Garden Island on Tuesdays and Thursdays between noon and sunset to a 'place designated' for purposes of drill.\textsuperscript{125} Later, when the ship stood off Cockatoo Island, a place for drill and for minor repairs to boats was found on that island.\textsuperscript{126} Swimming lessons were also taught off Garden Island as it was not considered desirable for the boys to use the Corporation Baths.\textsuperscript{127} The long boats were used outside the swimming area as a defence against possible sharks.\textsuperscript{128} By the time John Robertson was in office (in late 1869) swimming lessons had been moved to Pinchgut.\textsuperscript{129} One of Mein's complaints about the move to Cockatoo Island was the absence of a suitable swimming spot, because 'it's all rock oysters and mud and there are no sandy beaches.'\textsuperscript{130}

The boys became expert rowers of the long boats and on one occasion rescued the crew of the overturned galley of HMS Challenger and towed the boat and its crew to Rose Bay.\textsuperscript{131} Rowing was part of the drills which were an integral part of the boys' day. All drills were aimed at inculcating instant obedience to orders. Neitenstein summed up the principle later:

\textsuperscript{123} Regulation 347 and Annual Reports, passim.
\textsuperscript{124} Sydney Mail 31 August 1878 p.4
\textsuperscript{125} CSIL 68/2112 and 68/5795
\textsuperscript{126} NSS Vernon, Annual Report, 1873.
\textsuperscript{127} CSIL 69/3668. Whether the Colonial Secretary thought the boys would contaminate other boys or be contaminated by them is unclear.
\textsuperscript{128} CSIL 69/4266.
\textsuperscript{129} Charities Commission Evidence, Q.6099.
\textsuperscript{130} Charities Commission, Q 2129.
\textsuperscript{131} CSIL 68/6654.
The continued use of drilling throughout the years would suggest that as a means of inculcating obedience to orders, particularly in young people, it has few equals.\textsuperscript{132}

The amount of time a boy spent in trade training varied. Those who were learning shoemaking spent fifteen hours per week with the shoemaker\textsuperscript{133} and those who were learning tailoring spent twenty-one hours with the tailor. The trainee sailors spent from twenty to twenty-two hours per week at their trade.\textsuperscript{134} The time devoted to each trade was determined mainly by three factors: the relative number of bigger and smaller boys on board, the need to have sufficient 'working boys' to perform the heavier tasks associated with the running of the ship and the desire of the ship to be self-sufficient in clothing, footwear and general repairs. While boys were allowed to 'choose' a trade, there was a great amount of 'persuasion' to choose a 'suitable' trade.\textsuperscript{135} Smaller boys were incapable of handling heavy rigging or raising or lowering boats, which was required of sailors. Carpenters and blacksmiths needed a fair amount of strength. Heavier sewing and clamping required in shoemaking called for strong fingers.\textsuperscript{136}

Each of the trades were first allotted six hours per week (averaged over four weeks).\textsuperscript{137} The boys who were doing naval training as a trade did a double session during the 'school day.' Ten hours or more of the naval training each week was carried on outside the 'school day' and involved such things as hoisting sails, lowering boats, coiling ropes and generally setting up the ship in the morning, and the reverse process in the afternoon. In these tasks the sailors were assisted for part of the time by those who were learning shoemaking,

\textsuperscript{132} NSS Vernon. Annual Report.1881.
\textsuperscript{133} All of these times are approximate. They are based on a six-hour school day.
\textsuperscript{134} Vernon Enquiry, pp.3 and 10.
\textsuperscript{135} ibid Q.1301 - Q.1324
\textsuperscript{136} Ramsland sees this 'flexibility' as enhancing a boy's job prospects. Ramsland op.cit p.120
\textsuperscript{137} Averaged over four weeks. Each division in turn 'lost' three hours on Wednesday to sail drill.
carpentry or blacksmithing (depending on requirements). For most of the time the tailors were the smaller boys who were useless at heavy work. They appear to have done only a modified drill/naunal training period to a total of about six hours and to have spent twelve hours per week of the school day as well as the time after school each afternoon sewing. It would seem likely that a boy's choice of trade was subject to the ship's needs at all times and that many boys were 'persuaded' to change from tailoring to seamanship when they were strong enough to do ship-work.

In 1867, twenty-seven boys wanted to be sailors, five carpenters, two blacksmiths, one cook, four tailors and nineteen bootmakers, but by the following year twenty boys were actually doing tailoring. Apart from tailoring and bootmaking, 'land trades' were not chosen by many of the boys, largely because of official discouragement. Mein felt that the boys only 'frittered their time away in idleness as much as they possibly can.'

The two 'land' trades most frequently chosen, tailor or bootmaker, were both inherently difficult to teach to a group. Although the tradesmen worked without a class on Saturday morning, some of the cutting out would have had to be done in classes. The economical use of cloth for garments or of leather for shoe uppers or soles needs constant, individual supervision, particularly in the early stages. Ensuring that the rest of the group did not 'fritter their time away' while cutting or demonstrating was being done would call for qualities not usually required in the best of tradesmen, and

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138 In 1868 there were only fifty boys capable of the heavy seamen's work on the ship, so boys had to be taken from trades for shipwork. Vernon Enquiry, Q.1060.
139 ibid, Q.1355
140 ibid Q.975 and Q.1355 There is a suggestion that many boys preferred tailoring or shoemaking but were persuaded to change to nautical training in the hope of an earlier apprenticeship.
141 CSIL 67/689.
142 Vernon Enquiry, Q.1196.
143 ibid, Evidence Byrne and Pickering.
144 NSS Vernon, Annual Report, 1876.
145 Vernon Enquiry, Q.1295.
146 ibid, Q.1235
as Captain Mein sadly commented in 1876, 'The tradesmen are not paid sufficient to get good ones.'¹⁴⁷

The boys who were learning bootmaking did, however, succeed in keeping the boys on the ship in boots¹⁴⁸ and on a few occasions made boots for the girls in the Industrial School for Girls. The quality of workmanship was, on Mein's admission, somewhat rough. He wrote to the Newcastle superintendent, 'Of course we do not make them very rapidly or neat at present as the boys are just learning. But they are strong and, I think, durable.'¹⁴⁹ The Newcastle superintendent was less complimentary, remarking that [the shoes] 'were of such bad quality that the girls will be barefooted in a few weeks if not days.'¹⁵⁰

A year in which fifteen hours per week were spent making regulation boots, without learning to cut, would hardly fit a lad for the trade of bootmaking although it might have made a reasonable pre-apprenticeship course. The amount of work finished by twenty boys in six months gives some indication of the work performed: 260 pairs of boots, 50 pairs boots repaired, 30 fenders for boats and 144 belts.¹⁵¹ Averaging this out, each boy must have taken twenty hours to make or repair a pair of boots, and ten hours to make a fender or a belt. Mein's charge of frittering away time seems well-founded.

This situation was slightly better with the boys who were learning tailoring. In seven months and nineteen days, thirteen boys and the tailor had made 287 pairs of trousers, 150 flannels, 93 serge shirts, 228 dungaree jumpers and 128 caps.¹⁵² An average of ten hours per hand-sewn garment is a reasonable standard of production for a child, although

¹⁴⁷ NSS Vernon Annual Report, 1876.
¹⁴⁸ This should not have been a difficult task. Photos taken in the 1890s show boys in school and at drill on deck without footwear. This was the practice on British Naval Ships. On HMAS Tingira [ex Sobraon] shoes were worn only when landing for gunnery drill, when going ashore and on Sunday for Divine Service. [Information on Tingira from Naval Historical Society.]
¹⁴⁹ CSIL 68/5390
¹⁵⁰ CSIL 69/6549.
¹⁵¹ Vernon Enquiry, Q.1196.
¹⁵² ibid, Q.1301
without learning to cut out it must be regarded as pre-apprenticeship standard. The aim in teaching both trades seems more related to keeping the ship as self-sufficient as possible and to ensure that boys could mend their own clothes.

The introduction of land trades on the ship was justified by Parkes on the grounds of 'economy'.\textsuperscript{153} It is quite probable that it had been intended to introduce bootmaking and tailoring into one of the other proposed Reformatories. These trades were not part of the original plan for the Vernon and were resented bitterly by Superintendent Mein, although he was later to admit that a smattering of the trades would ensure that a boy was 'always able to keep himself in a state of neatness, and thus to preserve under the most adverse circumstances a decent appearance'.\textsuperscript{154} It is difficult to know what other trade could have been taught in the confined space of the ship.

All boys learnt something of seamanship and for those who chose it as a trade, Mein provided additional classes in advanced navigation as often as five nights a week.\textsuperscript{155} The curriculum for seamanship was fully set out in the Regulations. There were four levels, each one calling for both theory and practice and all geared to the days of sail. They learnt the language of the ship, its decks, masts, yards and equipment, to furl and unfurl sails and to row the longboat. In the second stage they were required to learn all of the knots and bends that might be required on a sailing ship. In the third stage a variety of splices and kindred activities was included and in the fourth, running rigging and blocks, and the use of palm and needle.\textsuperscript{156} All very romantic, but becoming anachronistic as sail had already begun to give way to steam. This belief in the mystique of the sea as a means of training young boys died hard.\textsuperscript{157} As pointed out in

\textsuperscript{153} ibid, Q.1473. While Parkes does not spell out the details, he had been criticised for the amount that was spent on the Vernon. It was easier to justify an amount spent on training than an amount spent on clothing.

\textsuperscript{154} Charities Commission, Evidence, p.89

\textsuperscript{155} NSS Vernon Weekly Report 40. and CSIL 68/1498.

\textsuperscript{156} Regulations 48-52.

\textsuperscript{157} If it ever really died. The Tingira was not paid off until 1927 and as late as 1959 the suggestion was made to the
a previous chapter, the movement towards the establishment of a Nautical Training Ship had really been in existence for forty years before the Vernou was bought. It seems clear that Parkes believed in the reforming qualities of the ship's training rather than the need for seamen.\textsuperscript{158}

Mein’s position was somewhat different. He was a competent seaman who had applied for a position as pilot and was offered the position of superintendent of the ship. He looked on the ship as being a nursery for seamen, and was anxious to provide training for boys whom he believed were neglected.\textsuperscript{159} He believed that the introduction of ‘sedentary’ trades was not in the boys’ interest or in the ship’s because it allowed boys to ‘fritter away their time’. In this he was maintaining the principles of Mettraï, but his protests went unheeded.

Of the after-school activities, only the washing and mending of clothes and the Religious Instruction by visiting clergy differed from the morning activities or the reversing of those activities. The eight items of clothes which were washed are not specified in any of the Reports, although the number is consistent throughout the life of the ship.\textsuperscript{160} A reasonable guess would be one work suit, one day suit, one flannel shirt, one pair of socks, one towel and one handkerchief. The context of the times must be remembered when considering standards of cleanliness.

At four o’clock on Monday afternoon visiting clergy came to give Religious Instructions to the boys. This was a compromise forced by the Anglican ‘Lord Bishop of Sydney’ after Superintendent Mein had tried to insist that the school’s routine should not be disrupted by the clergy through

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{158} CSIL 68/3079.
\textsuperscript{159} The warrant which Mein received gave the official charge under the Industrial School Act, and added such details as family circumstances. In earlier years they did not indicate that there had been a previous charge.
\textsuperscript{160} Vernon Enquiry, p.26 NSS Vernon, Annual Report, 1884. At a later stage they washed three articles three times a week.
\end{flushleft}
the week and their visits should be confined to Sundays.\textsuperscript{161} It remained an after-school activity until after 1878 although for some time the instructors came on different afternoons and those boys not involved on any afternoon were sent to tradesmen to assist generally.

Saturday morning routine consisted of a thorough cleaning of the ship, the boats and, later, of the playing areas. The lower deck was holystoned. The weekly 'full bath' was also taken on Saturday.\textsuperscript{162} There was little provision for outdoor recreation. Mein occasionally took some of the boys to Middle Harbour or Hunter's Beach for seine net fishing.\textsuperscript{163} Apart from the Sunday School picnics which the good conduct boys were permitted to attend,\textsuperscript{164} contact with other boys was avoided.

With the exception of the regular pre-breakfast duties, no work was done on Sunday. For the first eighteen months, Anglican morning services were read on board for Protestant boys and a separate Catholic group met for prayers. All officers and boys were expected to attend one of these services.\textsuperscript{165} The schoolmaster took a Protestant Sunday school during the afternoon and an (honorary) visiting teacher, took a Catholic group.\textsuperscript{166} In October, 1868, the Inspector of Public Charities suggested that boys should be permitted to attend church services on land. Mein agreed, subject to having a 'sufficient number of officers to prevent escapes.'\textsuperscript{167} From November, 1868 three church parties 'attended Divine Worship' on shore, the Anglicans going to St Peter's. Woolloomooloo, the Catholics to St Mary's Cathedral

\textsuperscript{161} CSIL 69/46 and 69/1353. Mein's objection to further encroachment on the school day was not due to any opposition to religious instruction. He believed that the time spent on formal education was already too short.
\textsuperscript{162} Regulations, p.5.
\textsuperscript{163} CSIL 68/2125.
\textsuperscript{164} CSIL 69/1155.
\textsuperscript{165} Regulations 31 and 32. The Schoolmaster was responsible for the Protestant Sunday Service if a clergyman did not attend. He was also responsible for a Sunday afternoon Sunday School. Catholics had to provide their own teachers. Members of Staff did not take Catholic Services. [Charities Commission].
\textsuperscript{166} NSS Vernon Weekly and Annual Reports passim.
\textsuperscript{167} CSIL 68/5806.
and the Presbyterians to St Stephen's.\textsuperscript{168} When the ship was moored off Cockatoo Island the boys started to attend services at Balmain and continued to attend there during the lifetime of the ship.\textsuperscript{169}

The boys' lives throughout each day were thus thoroughly supervised and this supervision extended through the night time. At 8.30 pm hammocks were slung and all boys settled down for the night by 9.00 pm. At first hammocks were slung with a fourteen inch space between them but this was changed to twenty-eight inches, apparently because of homosexual practices.\textsuperscript{170} On the instructions of the Inspector of Public Charities that it was 'absolutely necessary to keep the ship well lighted', six lamps were always burning at night time.\textsuperscript{171} The ship's allowance of thirty-five gallons of kerosene per month for lighting was a particularly generous one.\textsuperscript{172} Supervision at night time was as stringent as in the day time. At least two members of staff and some boys were 'on watch' in four hour shifts, and one member of staff was on duty on the lower deck at all times.\textsuperscript{173} It is quite possible that this surveillance was essential for some of the boys, but it probably explains why many of the younger boys slept in school or at trades.\textsuperscript{174}

This tiredness could also explain a number of accidents that occurred. Usually a well supervised, confined space has few accidents, but the Vernon had a number of quite serious ones, including a fatal one in its first year. Andrew P endeavoured to go down the ladder while it was in an upright position and let go his hold. He fell, striking his head and died two hours afterwards.\textsuperscript{175} Charles L slipped down part of

\textsuperscript{168} CSIL 68/6347.
\textsuperscript{169} NSS Vernon, Annual Reports after 1870.
\textsuperscript{170} Vernon Enquiry, Q.1085 Although the Enquiry was brought on by Mein's punishment of 'filthiness' on the lower deck there had apparently been other reports of homosexual practices.[Q 1019] At 28 inch spacing and with each boy facing in the opposite direction to his neighbour it would have been difficult for boys to make contact without being observed.
\textsuperscript{171} To prevent misbehaviour and possible absconding.
\textsuperscript{172} CSIL 68/5661.
\textsuperscript{173} CSIL 70/8896.
\textsuperscript{174} Vernon Enquiry, Q.1231.
\textsuperscript{175} CSIL 68/1634.
the main hatchway and the Doctor from HMS Challenger dressed the wound.\textsuperscript{176} The Quartermaster and one of the boys dived overboard to rescue David B who struck his head and sank under the bottom of the boat when the boom topping fell as the boys were preparing to run the pinnace. Another boy struck his head on the gunwale in the same accident.\textsuperscript{177} James P fell into the hold putting on the hatch cover.\textsuperscript{178} In one week one boy fell from the forecastle to the main deck and another tumbled overboard.\textsuperscript{179}

These and other accidents are suggestive of tiredness rather than of youthful exuberance, but tiredness did not prevent efforts to escape. During the first years abscondings were more frequent than is usually supposed. A ship anchored in the harbour under constant supervision would not seem to offer many opportunities for escape, but the occasional relaxing of supervision sometimes offered an opportunity which 'smart' boys could take. These abscondings are difficult to pinpoint because Annual Reports admitted to an absconding only if the absconder had not been captured by the time the Report was made.\textsuperscript{180} Arthur A escaped in one of the ship's boats and was recaptured a week later.\textsuperscript{181} Patrick C escaped in November 1867 by swimming ashore and remained free until May 1868.\textsuperscript{182} He escaped again three months later and was not recaptured until December, 1869.\textsuperscript{183} William C and Daniel O'D escaped at night time by swimming to shore. It was William's second escape.\textsuperscript{184} One lad, assisting the carpenter, used a plank to paddle to shore. Another boy 'pushed off' a loaded boat and ran off instead of jumping in. A lad who had been sent on shore to get the letters was returned to the ship from Penrith.\textsuperscript{185} All of these occurred during the first four

\textsuperscript{176} CSIL 67/4725.
\textsuperscript{177} CSIL 67/4763.
\textsuperscript{178} CSIL 67/5080.
\textsuperscript{179} CSIL 67/6476.
\textsuperscript{180} NSS Vernon, Annual Report, 1875. [The numbers given in the Annual Reports were designed to account for total admissions and Discharges.]
\textsuperscript{181} CSIL 67/4775 with 67/4976.
\textsuperscript{182} CSIL 69/2528.
\textsuperscript{183} CSIL 69/9407.
\textsuperscript{184} CSIL 68/5924.
\textsuperscript{185} CSIL 69/6768.
years, but only two were reported in an *Annual Report*. In 1875 when the boys were in camp at Cremorne during an epidemic of scarlet fever/measles/typhoid, seven boys absconded. The letter reporting this does not state whether the boys were patients or carers. In either case, the implications were sufficiently serious to invite a thorough police 'manhunt'. Only one boy was recorded in the *Annual Report* as absconding. His recapture is recorded in the following *Annual Report*. It is not possible to estimate just how many attempts were made. As most mention of these escapes are in *Weekly Reports* it would seem likely that others may have gone unreported if the boy had been brought back before the *Report* was due. It would also appear likely that one of the reasons for the ship's removal to a site off Cockatoo Island was to prevent escapes. If so, it would seem to have been successful.

The use of messengers, which always involved the risk of attempted escape was only one way in which Mein accustomed boys whom he thought he could trust to some freedom ashore. Another was his implementation of the Shoe Black Brigade which operated for some years. Under this scheme a group of supervised boys were permitted to run a shoe-shine stand near the wharves. The pay system was complex but in effect Brigade boys were permitted to keep two-thirds of money earned.

Parents were permitted to visit on one afternoon per month, presumably on a Sunday. The *Regulations* made provision for a separate visitors' book for the boys' relatives. Mein regarded the fact that parents 'had not once visited the boy' as part of his reason for recommending the refusal of an application for discharge but there is no record of how many parents visited during Mein's regime.

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186 CSIL 75/3079 This would suggest that the ship was more secure than land.
187 NSS *Vernon, Annual Reports* 1875 and 1876.
188 The ship could be anchored further off shore. The water off Cockatoo Island is the deepest in Sydney Harbour and had the reputation of being shark-infested.
189 There is no record of when it was abandoned.
190 CSIL 70/2898.
191 CSIL 78/5404 with 78/5405. The girls' visiting day was Sunday.
192 CSIL 70/4001.
Any attempt to give boys even limited freedom was restricted by the wording of the Act. Technically, it was illegal to permit a boy to leave ship for any purpose whatever.\(^{193}\) Mein sent any boys who needed treatment to the Infirmary, regardless.\(^{194}\) When a boy's father was seriously ill in Darlinghurst gaol, Mein allowed a staff member to take the boy to see him.\(^{195}\) and when a Newcastle boy's mother was dying Mein persuaded John Robertson to discharge him through the Executive Council.\(^{196}\) These were humane exceptions to an otherwise rigorous rule.

Conclusion

If the organisation of the school is compared with Goffman's account of 'total institutions', the Vernon can be seen as typical. It was a forcing house for changing persons, working to a single rational plan in a tightly scheduled day. The principal occupation of the staff was surveillance and ordinary incentives to work were not present. The recruit underwent a series of abasements, degradations and humiliations of self, providing a deep initial break with past roles. He was uniformly dressed and discussion of past life was taboo. Admission procedures can be seen as a programme for administrative machinery. There was a loss of individual possessions and standard issue of substitutes. Routine searches penetrated the private reserve and visiting was restricted. Complete regimentation occurred in that minute segments of activity were subject to regulation and there was an obligation to seek permission for most activities. Staying out of trouble required a conscious effort. The privilege system was based on the 'house rules' with clearly defined, though possibly ineffective, rewards. The alternative was severe punishments. The aim was conversion to a new type of conduct. Control was seen as a 'must' and deference was seen as manageability. Like the institution at Mettrrai, the Vernon

\(^{193}\) CSIL 69/1533.  
\(^{194}\) CSIL 68/1765.  
\(^{195}\) CSIL 68/6096.  
\(^{196}\) CSIL 70/14.
followed most of the practices which marked total institutions.\(^{197}\)

A programme derived from British Naval Training Schools with an admixture of the philosophy of Mettraï was in place when boys came on board. Staff supplied was adequate by the standards of the day. The daily routine inculcated habits of obedience, cleanliness and order, but the introduction of sedentary trades tended to defeat the reformatory programme at which Mein aimed. Sedentary occupations were not consistent with the philosophy which Mein tried to establish, although they did help to keep the school self-sufficient.

The routine of school education, nautical training, a land trade and drills was the curriculum imposed by the Colonial Secretary, but did not satisfy either the Department of Public Instruction, the Charities' Department or even the superintendent himself. The quarter-time schooling, to which all three objected, would not have prepared boys for any but unskilled occupations.

By linking the programme which Superintendent Mein introduced on the NSS Vernon with that of the Agricultural Colony at Mettraï, the evidence provided in this chapter indicates that it was Mein, rather than Neitenstein who "implemented and refined the essential principles of juvenile reform that had guided British, American and Australian reformers since the 1840s."\(^{198}\) It is contended in a later chapter that Neitenstein's programme was a substantial break from many of those principles.

It is noteworthy that the programme that was introduced on the Vernon was based on that of a reformatory, to which the major modification was that the ship was allowed corporal punishment. This fact and the nature of the curriculum would indicate that the ship was intended to do the work of a reformatory rather than a protective institution. Although Mein did not succeed in putting his desired programme in place most of the philosophy on which he based his programme remained and was administered in a different way by his successor.

\(^{197}\) E Goffman, op. cit. passim.

\(^{198}\) Garton, op.cit p.53
CHAPTER IV

IN THE WAKE OF THE CONVICTS.

The Industrial School Act provided for two stages in the reclamation of destitute children. The period spent on the ship was intended as a preparatory training for the more important, and usually longer, period spent as an apprentice. The ability of the ship to provide apprentices who had acquired the habits of cleanliness, diligence and obedience was probably the major factor by which its success was judged. An analysis of the discharges and apprenticeships from the school is, therefore, integral to an assessment of the role of the school.

Three partial accounts of discharges and apprenticeships have been written. Horsburgh has made an analysis of discharges and apprenticeships from the Vernon during 1870.¹ In discussing release by Executive authority he notes the greater difficulty in obtaining releases from the Industrial Schools as compared with release from Orphanages. He also concludes that the Executive favoured reports from the Police over those provided by the Superintendent and sees many of the applications for release as indicating that indigent parents made use of the Vernon to obtain substitute care for their children. He points out the problems experienced by all of the institutions in determining the character of applicants for apprenticeship, the lack of supervision, the unreasonable demands of employers, and notes the Charities Commission's criticism that actual maltreatment of apprentices, as compared with their simple exploitation, was not well documented.

Ramsland provides an analysis of the apprenticeships which are reported in the Annual Reports from 1869 to 1873, but makes no mention of the discharges by Executive authority.² He concludes that the occupations to which the boys were sent indicated that there was a stronger case for an

¹ M. Horsburgh, op. cit. (Child Care, 70). p.3-24.
² J. Ramsland, op. cit. pp.133 ff.
Agricultural Industrial School rather than a Nautical School Ship. He notes the exploitation of the boys' labour and that demand for this labour was far greater than the supply. He sees Superintendent Mein as acting as an employment agent, 'largely for the benefit of the Colonial elite'.

O'Brien's account of the apprenticing of State children includes the children from the ship in her discussion. She mentions the possibilities of mistreatment and exploitation and the relative rate of broken apprenticeships in the early 1880s. She also points out that the apprenticing of children frequently deprived their families of much needed support and questions the benefits of apprenticeship to either children or parents.

While each of these accounts provides useful information, each is limited to the specific time to which it refers, without making any allowance for alterations in the changes in number of apprenticeships or their relative 'success' rate over the lifetime of the ships. With the exception of Horsburgh's account of release by Executive authority in 1870, other methods of discharge receive no attention. While discharges and apprenticeships during Mein's superintendency can be determined by reference to Ramsland and Horsburgh, their accounts are not applicable to later regimes.

It is contended in this thesis that the comparative 'success' of the apprenticeship system varied markedly, that applications for release by Executive authority and the relative number granted also varied over the lifetime of the ship and were affected by many factors. It is also contended that the greatest problems which confronted the later Sobraon administration were caused by the lack of demand for apprenticeships and the need to provide alternatives to apprenticeship. An understanding of the alternatives to apprenticeship is integral to any assessment of the role of the Nautical School Ship and requires an examination of administrative changes as well as discharges and

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3 ibid, p.134
4 O'Brien op.cit. pp. 156-162
5 Horsburgh, op.cit. [Care 70] pp.13-15
apprenticeships throughout the lifetime of the ship. For this purpose available secondary material is totally inadequate.

This chapter seeks to analyse the pattern of discharges by Executive authority and apprenticeships during Mein's superintendancy as part of an assessment of the ship's role at that time, and as a benchmark for assessments of later periods. At a later stage an assessment is made of the discharges and apprenticeships during Superintendent Neitenstein's regime. An account is also given of the alterations to the curriculum and the varying methods of 'disposing' of the boys when the apprenticeship system failed during Superintendent Mason's regime.

Although the boys were committed to the ship until they were eighteen, it was not intended that they should stay on board for more than a year, unless they were still under twelve years old. While the Act permitted the apprenticing of boys over twelve, the Colonial Secretary demanded that all boys be apprenticed as soon as they were eligible, unless some very good reason could be advanced. The apprenticeship stage of the ship's training was regarded as an integral part of the programme. Theoretically the boys who had been rescued from their negligent parents or evil surroundings and reclaimed by the ship's discipline, were then to be apprenticed until they were eighteen. Their years of poorly paid, poorly supervised labour were part of this process of rescue. The fact that the failure of the apprenticeship system led to the abandonment of the ship suggests that the need for that cheap labour was one of the main reasons for the 'rescue'. If the primary function of the [institution] was to provide useful but unskilled labour, early release defeated that purpose.

The only boys who were not apprenticed as soon as they were eligible during Mein's regime were those who were discharged by Executive authority. This form of discharge was provided for under Clause 16 of the Act which read:

6 30 Vic. No. 2. Clause 11.
7 The Colonial Secretary regularly obtained lists of those boys who were eligible for apprenticeship. The first request was made a fortnight before the ship had been in commission for twelve months. [CSIL 68/2599 ].
8 Horsdurgh, op cit [Care 1870] p.16.
It shall be lawful for the Governor with the advice of the Executive Council to order any child sent to any Public Industrial School to be discharged therefrom at any time.9

Superintendent Mein was very conscious of the legalities of his position. In cases where a boy was over sixteen on admission Mein made application for his release immediately on the grounds of illegality.10 Four boys over sixteen were discharged within four weeks of conviction in the first four years.11 In only one case is it stated that a baptismal certificate was used as proof of age.12

If Mein considered that the wording of the charge did not come within the Act, a recommendation for a discharge, or for the preferring of a suitable charge, was made. Two boys were discharged in this way.13 A six years old child who was 'hardly sane' was discharged to the Protestant Orphan School.14 In cases where a child under four was committed, an application for the child's admission to the Benevolent Asylum was made.15 An amendment to the Act in 1871 permitted the transfer of boys under seven to the Industrial School for Girls and the return of such boys to the ship when they turned seven.16 All of these discharges and transfers required the consent of the Executive Council.17 The fact that all such applications were granted would indicate that the Colonial Secretary was anxious to ensure that the ship was not burdened by enrolments that would hinder its function of training workers.

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9 30 Vic No. 2. Clause 16.
10 *ibid* Clause 34. The order from the justices was the Superintendent's warrant to detain the child. Mein checked all orders to ensure legality.
11 CSIL 68/6143, 68/6955 and 68/7021.
12 CSIL 68/7021. Birth Certificates were not available for children born before 1856
13 VEB 188 CSIL 69/2998.
14 VEB 232.
15 CSIL 68/2159 and 68/2838.
16 *NSS Vernon*, Annual Reports from 1873 record the transfers of these boys.
17 The Colonial Secretary anticipated the Council's permission when it was discovered that a fourteen year old child who had been sent on board as George G. was actually Mary. [*ISG Parramatta, Register of Warrants Received. No. 428*].
Applications made by the superintendent for discharges which would legalise his position or simplify his administration were relatively easy to obtain. Those made by parents were much more difficult. An application by a parent for a discharge was usually opposed by Superintendent Mein, who regarded the time on the ship as part of the reformation process. Each year after 1868 parents made applications for the return of about thirty per cent of boys who had been admitted during the previous year as well as of some boys under twelve who had been admitted earlier. All applications had to be made to the Colonial Secretary.

For some years after the Act was passed there appears to have been a doubt in the minds of the Executive as to whether the right to hold a child against the will of its parents would withstand a legal challenge. The wish to avoid such a challenge seems to have motivated some recommendations for discharge particularly if the parents had influential friends.

The question of legality was raised in the case of Francis M. who had been arrested when he was found sleeping in a doorway. He had been truanting and was afraid to go home. As his mother was fairly comfortably off, James Oatley MP protested that he should never have been arrested. Francis was discharged. No such plea was entered for the other boy who was arrested in the same doorway on the same night. He was genuinely poor, so the doorway was forbidden to him.

Another case makes the doubts about the validity of the legislation clearer. When a police report on Arthur S. was unfavourable, Parkes decided to refuse his parents' petition for his release, but when the parents threatened to 'take it to another tribunal', Parkes agreed to the release. This and another similar case leave the impression that Parkes feared that it was possible that the legal basis of the retention of children was no more secure than that of the

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16 As an apprentice was seldom discharged by the Executive an application within the first year was needed for older boys.
19 VEB 168 and CSIL 69/3080.
20 VEB 167 The implications of these two cases are important. The offence was supposedly 'sleeping in the open air'. In fact it was 'making a public display of poverty'.
21 CSIL 67/4364. The fear of political repercussions is also apparent. Horsburgh op. cit.[Care 70] p.15
Asylum for Destitute Children. He was clearly anxious that the matter should not be contested.

When a parent made an application for discharge, a report was required from the superintendent and the police. If the Colonial Secretary thought that the boy's discharge was warranted the matter was referred to the Executive Council, which usually accepted his recommendation. In most cases the police simply quoted the circumstances of the case and noted if there was any marked difference in conditions and made a recommendation accordingly. James P and Godfrey H were discharged when their mothers remarried. A sister, a step-sister, a step-uncle and even a 'grandmother' were granted custody. The mother of Frederick G. was allowed to take her son to California.

It did help if a parent knew somebody with influence. James Oatley MP promoted two successful petitions for release, Alfred Stephen another two, the Clerk of Parliament and two MPs each promoted one application. Supporters for petitions were sometimes prestigious and sometimes quite lowly. The return of two Lambton lads was sponsored by mine owner, JA Brown, the Manager of his mine, the local Member of Parliament and a Presbyterian Minister, while the petition for the release of one lad (and his sister) was signed (with many crosses and as many blots) by most of

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22 The legality of the retention in an Industrial School or of the actual right of the superintendent to act in loco parentis was never tested. The Act permitted the police to return an absconder to the school where s/he could be punished by fourteen days' close confinement, but the court could not punish in any way. This may explain why police were anxious to get parental cooperation.

23 Most of the 'child care' legislation, including the Public Instruction Act of 1880 (and the Amendments of 1916) seem to have been on very shaky legal foundations.

24 CSIL 70/1557 and 70/1725.

25 CSIL 70/3422, 70/9198 and 70/5157.

26 CSIL 70/806.

27 CSIL 69/3080 and 69/1672.

28 CSIL 70/4788.

29 CSIL 69/8400.

30 CSIL 70/1985 Surely a formidable and surprising quartet as the mother and father of the boys had been gaol for assaulting a man using a gun and an axe.
the residents on 'Wattle Flat' goldfields. Both applications were successful. The second pair were released on the ground that they had been illegally committed.

More often than not an application for discharge was refused on police evidence or on Captain Mein's. Police evidence usually dealt with home conditions while Mein reported on the boy's behaviour on ship. A house 'destitute of furniture' was one reason given by police for recommending refusal. 'Mother a thief', 'Father eccentric', 'Father drunk when police visited' were among other reasons police gave for refusal. Sometimes they went into greater detail.

[The parents of Alexander M were] addicted to intemperate habits. Father had been out of work for some time and was in arrears with rent. The elder brother [had] absconded from his apprenticeship [and was] still at large.

The superintendent usually gave full details of the boy's behaviour on the ship. His report of the misconduct of Henry T which he thought warranted the refusal of a discharge is enlightening:

1/ He was one of the boys whose conduct has been the subject of an enquiry by a Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly for filthiness
2/ He has been punished several times, once for theft, twice for swearing and persistently using indecent language, the rest minor.

It might be possible to agree that the lad in question might need more 'reformation', except that he was apprenticed within a month of this report. One would think that if a boy

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31 Papers with CSIL 70/7436. In this case the children had been wrongly committed.
32 Horsburgh notes that the Executive attached more importance to Police evidence than to the Superintendent's. Horsburgh, op. cit. p.15
33 CSIL 68/1576.
34 CSIL 68/1156.
35 CSIL 69/10058.
36 CSIL 69/7826. Horsburgh notes that police reports were regarded more favourably by the Executive than those of the Superintendent. Horsburgh, op. cit. p.15
37 Papers with CSIL 69/6845.
38 CSIL 70/3251.
39 CSIL 70/4097.
was still unfit to be returned to his parents, he was surely not ready to be apprenticed to some stranger.

Despite the efforts of the superintendent and the police, about twenty per cent of boys admitted during Mein's superintendency were returned to their parents on Executive authority, thus leaving eighty per cent available for apprenticeship. This would indicate that the ship was relatively more successful in providing apprentices than the Orphanages or the Asylum for Destitute Children were in the same period. In the 1870s the Protestant Orphan School apprenticed forty-two per cent, the Roman Catholic Orphan School thirty-one per cent and the Asylum for Destitute Children fifty-three per cent of their admissions.

For most of the Vernon boys the second stage of their reformation lay in some form of apprenticeship. The Act provided that a boy could be apprenticed after he had been twelve months on the ship, as long as he was then twelve years old, subject to the consent of the Colonial Secretary. Regulations required that a boy be furnished with a Certificate of Service, setting out his name, number, entry and discharge date, his conduct while on ship and the abilities he had acquired in seamanship, gunnery and trade. He was also to be provided with a complete outfit of clothes, with additional items if he was apprenticed to a ship.

In May, 1868, as soon as the first boys had been on the ship for twelve months, Superintendent Mein began to apprentice the boys who were over twelve and had completed their year on board. Within a month two boys had been apprenticed on a barque sailing for San Francisco, one on a barque sailing to Hong Kong and four on ships sailing to Shanghai. One boy had been apprenticed to Henry Halloran.

40 NSS Vernon, Annual Reports 1869 to 1878 passim.
42 30 Vic. No.2, Clause 11.
43 NSS Vernon, Regulations, No.42.
44 The Colonial Secretary required lists of boys who had been on the ship for twelve months to be forwarded to him. CSIL 68/2599.
45 CSIL 68/3400. The information concerning these destinations was given in answer to an official question in Parliament.
the Principal Under Secretary to the Colonial Secretary, as
groom and general servant\(^6\) and another to Superintendent Mein
as cabin boy and servant.\(^7\) When three boys were proposed as
apprentices to Ipswich (Queensland) Parkes annotated the
application:

I do not think that as a matter of policy and
public justice while the colony is paying for the
introduction of population we should sanction the
deporation of these young persons to other colonies
after they have been reclaimed at our cost.

2nd If we did not, as we clearly do, require
all our own population, still I doubt whether the
Government would be justified in apprenticing these
children in situations altogether beyond our
observation and control. I cannot, therefore,
accede to this application. Nor can the boys from
the Vernon be apprenticed on vessels not belonging
to the ports of this colony.\(^8\)

This decision, which was later endorsed by John
Robertson,\(^9\) determined the fate of apprentices from the ship
for most of its existence.\(^50\) The number of shipowners in the
Colony was not great and their ships usually plied between
ports of the Colony or adjacent Colonies. Vacancies for
apprentices on these ships were few.\(^51\) Stopover time in port
was seldom long enough to allow for arrangement of
apprenticeships. Negotiations for a number of apprenticeships
were abandoned when the ships sailed while papers were still
in the Colonial Secretary's office.\(^52\) By 1873 when 233 boys
had been apprenticed only twenty-eight boys had been
apprenticed as mariners.\(^53\) While Parkes's decision in this
matter must be regarded as logical and humane, it is
abundantly clear that he had not really thought through the
implications of establishing a Nautical Training Ship.

\(^6\) CSIL 68/2907.
\(^7\) CSIL 68/2942.
\(^8\) CSIL 68/3079.
\(^9\) Charities Commission, Evidence Q. 6061.
\(^50\) Experiences of the boys who were given Leave of absence to
go on overseas ships in the early 1900s would suggest that in
this matter Parkes was correct.
\(^51\) Ramsland notes the support of Robert Towns, the original
owner of the Vernon in employing apprentices from the ship.
Ramsland, op.cit. p.134
\(^52\) CSIL 70/6197.
\(^53\) NSS Vernon Annual Report, 1873.
The lack of opportunities for apprenticeships for the other trades taught on board was even more obvious. The chances of finding country tailors and bootmakers who were prepared to accept a boarding apprentice were negligible. As it was considered undesirable to apprentice the boys in the city because of the perceived danger of contact with their former acquaintances, few such apprenticeships could be expected.\(^{54}\) To add to this, Mein pointed out that 'tradesmen in Sydney can obtain plenty of boys for their work who lodge with their parents'.\(^{55}\)

Of the boys apprenticed up to 1873 about forty per cent became farm hands, forty per cent became general servants, twelve per cent became sailors, three per cent became shoemakers and the remaining four per cent shared a miscellany of trades.\(^{56}\) If these figures are compared with the number of boys who chose the varying trades when on the ship, the absurdity of the ship's training becomes apparent. In 1870, for example, sixty-five percent chose to be sailors, thirteen percent shoemakers, fourteen percent tailors and eight percent carpenters.\(^{57}\) At least eighty percent, then, were not apprenticed to trades they had chosen.\(^{58}\)

A good many of the first apprentices went to the Clarence River area and this fact was at first welcomed by Superintendent Mein. Most of the farmers there were rated by Mein as well off, and the distance from Sydney precluded much interference from parents.\(^{59}\) In the first six months of 1870, for example, eighteen boys were apprenticed to Clarence River farmers, four to Hunter River farmers and one to the

\(^{54}\) After 1873 the practice of apprenticing boys in Sydney stopped completely. CSIL 78/3268.

\(^{55}\) NSS Vernon, Annual Report 1876.

\(^{56}\) ibid Ramsland provides a similar analysis for a slightly different period. Ramsland op. cit, p.133.

\(^{57}\) NSS Vernon, Annual Report, 1870.

\(^{58}\) Ramsland, op. cit p.133, points out the similarity between these apprenticeships and the earlier assignment of convicts.

\(^{59}\) This is the implication of CSIL 70/6195, Mein's comments on an application for an apprentice.
Lachlan. Mein was later to deplore the tendency of apprentices to abscond from the Clarence region, in groups. Mein tried to ensure that the boys went to respectable employers by requiring applicants for apprentices to provide a reference from a magistrate and a minister of religion, as was done by the Orphan Schools. If an application came without references, either the local police or a magistrate was asked for advice. The Colonial Secretary's office did not see the need of this care, as the superintendent did. A series of memos, enclosed with an application for a general servant that did not include a reference, show these attitudes. The Colonial Secretary noted:

In these cases it is submitted that the applicants should support their applications by certificates as to respectability &c. from clergymen, magistrates or other influential gentlemen known to the Government. This is required in the case of persons obtaining apprentices from the Protestant Orphan School.

To this Henry Halloran, Principal Under-Secretary, retorted:

These are children of a somewhat different class— the uncared for drabs of the streets whom the government after training them for twelve months is willing to apprentice under certain conditions that may be enforced by law, to persons willing to engage them. Of course they should not be entrusted to persons of disreputable or scandalous lives, and to this end the Superintendent should exercise his best vigilance but to require the public to furnish such certificates would be exceeding, it appears, the care that is indispensable and perhaps deter suitable employers from applying for such apprentices.

To which the Colonial Secretary replied, "The present system is rather loose, but I have no wish to subject applicants to needless delay..."

It then became possible to obtain an apprentice without formal recommendations, but in spite of the Colonial Secretary, Mein did try to ensure that the persons to whom he

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60 CSIL Letters relating to NSS Vernon from January to June 1870.
61 CSIL 70/8125 and 70/6097.
62 See Under Secretary's memo below.
63 CSIL 70/3185 and 70/3599.
64 CSIL 70/805.
65 CSIL 70/2122 and 70/2146.
apprenticed the boys were suitable. He asked the Magistrates' Bench at Grafton for a report on an applicant from Woodford Island who was 'quite unknown' to him.\textsuperscript{66} He also obtained a police report on another applicant from Lawrence.\textsuperscript{67}

While the system of recommendations would have prevented some abuses, it was by no means proof against abuse. That Mein had good grounds for his caution was borne out by the experience of the later State Children Relief Board Inspectors who rejected as many as thirty percent of applicants, who had received such recommendations, as being unsuitable.\textsuperscript{68} He was particularly anxious to have boys apprenticed to 'gentlemen of respectable position and means' because many of those apprenticed to people of small means 'retrograde, frequently abscond and turn up again as an expense and burden to the government.'\textsuperscript{69}

In accepting or rejecting applicants for apprentices, Mein appears to have had clearly thought out guidelines. He objected to apprenticing a boy to a hotelkeeper, there being an amount of temptation which would in all probability undo any reformation that may have taken place on the ship.\textsuperscript{70}

Similarly, he would not apprentice a boy in the city:

I could not recommend this boy to be apprenticed to any person in the city as he would fall among his old companions and would be in danger of returning to his former evil practices.\textsuperscript{71}

When a mother objected to the apprenticeships that Mein suggested and offered an alternative, Mein investigated the shop himself and reported the house as a 'miserable tumbledown hovel...a place not fit for a fowlhouse'.\textsuperscript{72}

Supervision after a boy was apprenticed was completely inadequate. The only method of supervision that was available

\textsuperscript{66} CSIL 70/3185.
\textsuperscript{67} CSIL 70/3599.
\textsuperscript{68} In 1898 Renwick deplored 'the little difficulty that undesirable persons appear to experience in securing recommendations from responsible citizens.' SCRB. Annual Report, 1898, p.6.
\textsuperscript{69} CSIL 70/6197.
\textsuperscript{70} CSIL 69/2780.
\textsuperscript{71} CSIL 69/2351.
\textsuperscript{72} CSIL 69/3751.
to the superintendent was the requiring each year of a report from the employer, the apprentice and from the local police, who were requested to report on the amount in the boy's bank book as well as aspects of his care and his behaviour. The bank book was kept in the name of the superintendent and the apprentice. Two-thirds of an apprentice's wages had to be paid into the bank and he was allowed to keep one-third as pocket money. Usual amounts of total pay were sixpence a week for the first year, one shilling for the second year, one shilling and sixpence for the third year, two shillings for the fourth year, two shillings and sixpence for the fifth year, and three shillings per week for the sixth year.\footnote{Special circumstances sometimes called for higher amounts. Mein paid his apprentice twice the going wage. CSIL 68/2942} These amounts varied according to the age at which the boy began his apprenticeship. Boys who started at fifteen were usually paid a total of one shilling, one and six and three shillings per week.\footnote{A labourer's wage was quoted as from seven to nine shillings per day in 1859. Select Committee on the Condition of the Working class of the Metropolis. p.9.} It was, therefore theoretically possible for a boy to receive nine pounds in pocket money and have eighteen pounds in the bank after six years work. A boy who started work at fifteen could hope to receive less than five pounds in pocket money and less than ten pounds banked after three years work.

These wages were appalling even by the standards of the day.\footnote{CSIL 68/3654, NSS Vernon, Annual Reports, passim.} If the meagre pocket money was accompanied by difficult working conditions the temptation to escape must have been great. Abscondings during apprenticeship were frequent. An absconder became a statistic only if he was still missing at Report time and, if he was still at large, was written off when he turned eighteen. If he was caught, an absconder might be returned to his master, or might be taken before the court where his indentures were usually cancelled. He would then be returned to the ship and was required to serve another twelve months on board before he was again offered apprenticeship.\footnote{CSIL 70.5157.}

Mein tried to supervise the apprentices, but the task was an impossible one from the ship. However, he did try to
ensure that both master and apprentice abided by their contract. He took legal action against a Singleton farmer who requested the father of an apprentice who had been gaoled for drunkenness to take the boy home as he didn't want him. Mein did this 'to prevent others who have boys from this Institution following his example'.

His opinion of some of the applicants for apprentices was not high:

Many of the persons who obtained apprentices from the Vernon hoped that they would be able to exact the labour of an adult from a little boy, for whom they had only to pay the wages of one or two shillings a week... and there is a complaint that the lad is not strong enough, and that he is not quite what they wanted.

Table 4.1 provides an indication of the employers' view of the success of the apprentices.

TABLE 4.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NSS Vernon Reports on Apprenticeships 1874-1877</th>
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Source NSS Vernon, Annual Reports 1874-1877

While Police supervision, consisting of one visit in a year, was hardly desirable or sufficient this analysis of

77 CSIL 70/1355 with 70/2430.
78 NSS Vernon, Annual Report, 1870.
apprenticeship reports for the years 1874-77 would suggest that apprenticeships, successful from the point of view of the employer, took place in about seventy percent of cases.\textsuperscript{79} They would also suggest that few unsatisfactory apprentices actually stayed at the job. They either absconded or had their apprenticeships cancelled. This is clear if figures for one year are examined.

The Annual Report of 1874 provides a set of typical figures giving the occupations of apprentices and the reports concerning them. That year six mariners, two printers, one dyer, one tailor, one shoemaker, three grooms, sixteen farmers and twenty-one general servants were apprenticed. By that year a total of 275 boys had been apprenticed. Of these, reports indicated that sixty-seven were very good, twenty-nine were good, ten were fair, six indifferent, three bad, twenty-two had absconded, ninety-two were out of apprenticeship. There were twenty-six for whom no report had been received, two had been killed and seventeen indentures had been cancelled.\textsuperscript{80} This would suggest that of 155 apprentices who were still, or should still have been, under indentures, and for whom reports were available, sixty-nine percent could be regarded as good or very good and thirty-one percent could be regarded as unsatisfactory.\textsuperscript{81}

These figures could indicate a number of different things: that a lot of people were getting some very cheap labour, and that most regarded it as good labour; that there were twenty-two 'missing persons' between the ages of twelve and eighteen for whom the superintendent of the Vernon was officially guardian, in addition to the seventeen whose indentures had been cancelled and who had been returned to the ship; and that only nine boys whose work was classified as bad or indifferent had actually stayed in the job.

Mein did not believe that the fault was entirely the boys'. In his Report for 1873 he pointed out the problems with apprenticeships:

\textsuperscript{79} This would represent about 60% of admissions.
\textsuperscript{80} NSS Vernon, Annual Report, 1874.
\textsuperscript{81} Ramsland provides similar figures for period 1869-1873 Ramsland, op.cit. p.137
It would be better for all those who are apprenticed if it were possible that I could have speech with them and their masters. I think if this could be managed it would prevent many from absconding. I would then be able to ascertain from personal observation if the masters were fit persons to have control of boys, for I am aware by report that some persons have obtained boys through the recommendations of the Magistrates who are quite unfit to have charge of children.\textsuperscript{62}

Mein's comment must stand as a damning criticism of the apprenticeship system, but nothing was ever really done to improve it. The State, having assumed parental responsibility for the boys, made no real effort to ensure that they were properly supervised once they had left the ship. Parents who behaved in the same manner would have been condemned, quite rightly, as neglectful.

\textbf{Conclusion}

Any assessment of the ship's achievements must take into account the purpose for which the school was set up as well as its success or failure in achieving its aims. Mein's understanding of the purpose of the school was clear. He wanted to compel the boys to 'break from their former indolent, dirty, lazy life'\textsuperscript{63} and inculcate in them 'obedience, order and cleanliness' thus presenting a 'respectful and subdued behaviour'.\textsuperscript{64} Such evidence as is available would suggest that this aim was largely achieved on the ship. It seems likely that those who received 'good' or 'very good' reports as apprentices had acquired such habits. There is no evidence to indicate whether they carried these habits into adult life.

The other aims for which the ship was supposed to have been set up were obvious failures. It did not become a 'nursery for sailors', or for tailors, or bootmakers, or any other trade. Nor did it provide most boys with even a minimal elementary education. The trades to which most of them were apprenticed were the rough work of agricultural labourer, general servant, or stock worker, which was largely the work

\textsuperscript{62} NSS Vernon, Annual Report, 1873.
\textsuperscript{63} NSS Vernon, Annual Report 1874.
\textsuperscript{64} NSS Vernon, Annual Report, 1875.
that convicts had been required to perform. Apprenticeship was regarded by many, including the boys themselves, as a form of punishment.

As early as 1869 Mein had suggested the establishment of an Industrial School-Reformatory complex at Middle Harbour because he felt that it would be better if the boys were trained in 'rough outdoor work to which they eventually go to gain a living.' \(^8\)

He was not, therefore, concerned that the boys were destined for rough outdoor work, but simply that the they were not being trained for the work to which they would be sent.

It is difficult to see in the occupations to which the Vernon boys were sent any improvement on the kind of work the boys and their parents could have obtained for them at possibly better rates of pay. \(^6\) The time spent on the Vernon and at apprenticeship was more likely to ensure that the boy stayed in the ranks of the unskilled worker.

That the Vernon provided very necessary shelter and care for many destitute children in the community is clear. While Horsburgh is correct in noting that applications for discharge reveal the use made of the ship by indigent parents, it should be pointed out that the charges on which the children of indigent parents had been committed were usually supported by police evidence. \(^7\) Police maintained the 'construction' of the ship's population by their control of both admissions and discharges.

Criticisms of the apprenticeship system made by Horsburgh and Ramsland concerning the difficulties in ensuring the good character of employers, the unreasonable demands of employers, the exploitation of the boys' labour, the problems involved in ensuring that boys were paid and the general lack of supervision are fully justified in this earlier period of the

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\(^5\) CSIL 69/3359.
\(^6\) As O'Brien points out, country apprenticeships prevented the poorer families from benefiting from their children's work. O'Brien, op.cit pp 156-168
\(^7\) For example G.H. (cited by Horsburgh op. cit p.8). Police supported a charge of 'sleeping in the open air'. They also supported the application for release VEB 24,(p.47) CSIL 67/6475 and CSIL 70/1725
school's existence. It is contended, however, that there was a marked difference in both availability of apprenticeships and of the success at apprenticeship during later periods, which had considerable bearing on the existence of the ship. These are considered in later chapters.

For the children of indigent parents, the vagrant boys and the (mostly) minor delinquents who came aboard, the ship provided strict disciplinary treatment on board and unsupervised working conditions on shore that were scarcely advantageous. To the extent that their labour was conscripted and cheap the ship can be regarded as being 'for the advancement of Australian industry', which was its declared purpose.

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88 Issue is taken with the absence of assessment of apprenticeships during Neitensten's later period and Mason's period and of absence of accounts of other methods of discharge, not with assessments of apprenticeships during Mein's regime.
89 Henry Parkes's Minute to the Executive on purchase of Vernon in CSIL Special Bundle, NSS Vernon 1865-67, 4/761.2
CHAPTER V

A BASIC TRAINING SCHOOL

When Superintendent Mein died in March, 1878 Frederick Neitenstein became superintendent of the Vernon, and continued in that position until he was appointed Comptroller General of Prisons in 1896. During his superintendency the number of boys admitted, their ages and the reasons for their committal changed considerably. Daily life on the ship also changed radically. The purpose of this chapter is to examine those changes and to analyse the extent to which they indicate changes in the role and function of the ship. Many external factors must be taken into account in considering the progress of the school at that time.

While any discussion of the Nautical Training Schools usually acknowledges the success of Neitenstein's regime, historians have made little attempt to analyse the complexities and significance of the new curriculum which Neitenstein introduced nor of the impact of the new State Children Relief Board on the Industrial Schools or of the Industrial Schools on the work of the Board.

Ramsland's account\(^1\) sees Neitenstein's work as a more successful continuation of Mein's work. Garton states that Neitenstein 'implemented and refined the essential principles of juvenile reform that had guided British, American and Australian reformers since the 1840s.'\(^2\) O'Brien gives an account of the marks system and a day on the ship and sees an 'ironic juxtaposition of cultures' in the recreations offered.\(^3\) Dickey provides an account of the establishment of both the State children Relief Board and the Brush Farm Reformatory. He sees the effect of the transfer of Children from the Vernon/Sobraon to the State Children Relief Board but

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1 Ramsland *op. cit.* p.209-220.
3 O'Brien, *op cit* pp. 145-155
does not take account of the reverse process. Each of these authors provide useful insights but none of them provide an adequate analysis of the implications or significance of the changes made during the period.

This chapter seeks to examine the changed attitudes which materially affected the enrolment and hence the function of the school as well as the changes which the workings of the State Children Relief Act, in particular, made necessary for the ship. A close analysis is made of the radical shift in reformatory principles which Neitenstein brought to his task as superintendent, the methods by which he secured his reforms and an assessment of those reforms.

In the 1879-1880 reporting year the number of boys admitted to the Vernon rose from 72 to 103, with the most marked increase in boys under twelve. In succeeding years the admissions over the complete range of ages climbed steadily, with some falling off in 1884, 1885 and between 1889 to 1891, when the admissions began their steady climb again. This rise in admissions accompanied, and is explained by, a number of changes in the beliefs of some prominent people about the best methods of child care, by the overcoming of the hesitation of magistrates to commit more seriously delinquent boys to the same institution as merely destitute ones and by the committal to the ship of failed apprentices from the State Children Relief Board as well as the return of the Vernon's own failed apprentices. Political and Departmental rivalries as well as the efforts of pressure groups were all important in affecting the number and ages of enrolments and hence of the function of the ship and of its daily routine.

Although Neitenstein, who had been 'mate and clerk' since he joined the ship in October, 1873 was the logical choice for the position of superintendent, the readiness with which the Colonial Secretary seems to have consented to his radical

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4 Dickey, op. cit. [Evolution] pp.50-53
5 CSIL 78/2176 and 78/2504/ Not 'clerk' as Garton says. Actually the position he occupied was that of Chief Officer. John Robertson reduced the titles of staff from the more impressive ones which Mein had used.
6 There is no proof of this consent, but it would appear to be a logical assumption.
alteration of the school curriculum was probably due to the political climate which appeared to be posing a threat to the existence of the ship. For the Vernon, as for all of the other children's institutions managed or subsidised by the State, this threat had begun with the Royal Commission into Charities in 1872-73,7 with its advocacy of 'boarding-out'.

The Charities Commission was opposed to the existence of large institutions but it was more specifically opposed to the Orphanages because of their 'sectarian character',8 and would have recommended their amalgamation or closure and transfer of inmates to the Randwick Asylum, but as the Asylum already housed some 800 inmates they felt that the interests of the 600 orphans had to be put before 'the advantage of securing at once and at all hazards the perfect uniformity of an unsectarian system'.9 Apart from its size the Commissioners also had many objections to the Asylum for Destitute Children: its impersonality, its failure to train children for work, its failure to supervise apprentices, but their principal objection was that the Asylum had 'become a place into which parents [could] get their children by simply making out a case for charitable relief'.10 The perceived purpose of a 'charitable' organisation was not to offer 'charitable relief' to destitute parents but to separate the children from their parents so that they would not inherit the taint of pauperism.

The position of the Vernon in the light of the Report of the Royal Commission was an equivocal one. As a means of reclaiming the destitute and neglected children in the community, it conformed in many ways to the ideas and practices in vogue in the Orphanages and the Asylum for Destitute Children. One of the general criticisms made by the Commission had been the overlapping of the kinds of children sent to the various institutions,11 but the main thrust of the Commission's report had been its recommendation of the establishment of a fostering system, referred to as

7 Charities Commission, Report passim.
8 ibid, pp.90 and 94.
9 ibid, p.94.
10 ibid, p.95.
11 ibid, pp.90 ff.
boarding-out',¹² or for 'cottage homes', although they specifically exempted the ship from the restriction of the size of an institution.

The Commissioners had made few criticisms of the Vernon and generally seem to have regarded its management as efficient, although they considered the usefulness of the school from an educational point of view 'extremely low' and they questioned the influence of the shipboard life on the boys.¹³ Their criticism of the two Orphanages and the Asylum for Destitute Children had been stringent: the impersonality brought on by the 'herding together' of great numbers of children, the lack of industrial training and the separation from ordinary family life, all received attention. While this emphasis on the development of family life was the central feature of their recommendations,¹⁴ it is possible that the Commissioners saw the Vernon as a replacement for the Orphanages for older, less tractable boys not suited to boarding-out,¹⁵ and therefore refrained from serious criticism of the Vernon.

In the years immediately following the Commission's hearing the reputation of the Asylum for Destitute Children, the most prestigious charity in the Colony, was badly tarnished by a death in suspicious circumstances,¹⁶ by needless sectarian strife,¹⁷ by well-publicised escapes and punishments thereof,¹⁸ and by continuous bickering about the way the institution was financed.¹⁹ The Industrial School for Girls had acquired a horrendous reputation.²⁰ The Vernon, as the only other State-supported 'barracks', could hardly expect to be free from criticism, although the Commissioners had been

¹² ibid.
¹³ ibid, p.89.
¹⁴ ibid, p.95ff. They were prepared to look on the system of 'watches' as an alternative to their 'cottage home' suggestions. SCRB, Annual Report 1883, p.865.
¹⁵ Although it is not possible to see how the Vernon could foster 'family feeling'.
¹⁷ ibid, p.8.
¹⁹ Horsburgh op. cit. (Randwick) passim.
²⁰ This subject is dealt with from Chapter Seven.
less critical of it than of the other 'barracks'. The 'measles' (typhoid?) which swept through the ship following the admission of 'an unfortunate imbecile from Bathurst' in 1875 demonstrated that the ship was as vulnerable as land institutions to such epidemics and in some ways less capable of dealing with them.\textsuperscript{21} That the \textit{Vernon} was also a target for the people who were advocating the new boarding-out and cottage homes proposals can be inferred from a suggestion in Parliament that the boys should be landed and the ship moved to Newcastle to be used as a hospital.\textsuperscript{22}

The Commission and its \textit{Report} were only the first steps in the development of a 'barracks' legend which was to lead to the establishment of boarding-out as a general principle. In a climate of criticism of the barracks a movement to have a boarding-out system introduced was led by Mary Windeyer, wife of the Royal Commissioner, Mary Garran, wife of the editor of the \textit{Sydney Morning Herald}, and Marian Jefferis, wife of the Minister of the Pitt Street Congregational Church, who arrived in 1877 from Adelaide where she was familiar with the boarding-out scheme as practised in that Colony.\textsuperscript{23} Shortly after Mrs Jefferis arrived the three ladies established a 'Boarding-Out Society' to promote their ideas in public and to lobby the decision-makers as well as provide an administrative mechanism to operate a boarding-out system. William Windeyer and Andrew Garran were both political supporters of Henry Parkes, who had already expressed approval of the boarding-out principle,\textsuperscript{24} so the group looked hopefully to Parkes for assistance in their campaign.

The three ladies had unsuccessfully sought help in 1878 from James Farnell and Michael Fitzpatrick,\textsuperscript{25} but they had the approval of Hugh Robison, Inspector of Public Charities,\textsuperscript{26} and

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{21} \textit{VEB} 470, 25/1/75. Mein suspected smallpox, Later stated to be typhoid and measles CSIL 75/2456.
\item \textsuperscript{22} NSS Vernon, \textit{Annual Report 1877}, p.2.
\item \textsuperscript{23} Inspector of Public Charities, \textit{Reports} for 1879 and 1880. Although Mrs Jefferis took part in the boarding-out movement, she preferred the 'cottage home' approach to child care. [W. Phillips, \textit{James Jefferis, Prophet of Federation}. Australian Scholarly Press, Melbourne, 1993.
\item \textsuperscript{24} Empire 5/3/74, \textit{NSWFD, 1879-80}, Vol.1, pp.254-61.
\item \textsuperscript{25} NSWPD 1880-1881 Vol 4, p.971 ff.
\item \textsuperscript{26} Inspector of Public Charities, \textit{Report 1880}, p.1017.
\end{itemize}
of Dr Arthur Renwick, President of many charitable organisations, including the Benevolent Asylum.\textsuperscript{27} When their newly formed 'Boarding-Out Society' approached Henry Parkes for help, he allowed it a grant of 200 pounds in the 1879 Estimates for its work. With this money and the assistance of the Benevolent Society the committee arranged, illegally, for the boarding-out of a number of children from the Asylum.\textsuperscript{28}

In presenting the State Children Relief Bill to Parliament in 1881,\textsuperscript{29} Parkes declared it to be an auxiliary Bill, designed to regularise practices which were already in existence.\textsuperscript{30} It was not his intention to interfere with the Orphanages or the Asylum for Destitute Children.\textsuperscript{31} The wording of the Act which allowed the 'Boarding-out Officer...to remove any State child from any asylum and to cause him to be boarded out...'\textsuperscript{32} was, ostensibly, to legalise the actions of the Boarding-out Committee.\textsuperscript{33} The reality was that the Act meant exactly what it said, in spite of Parkes's assurances.

Once the Act was law, the State Children Relief Board\textsuperscript{34} began to remove all of the children from both of the Orphanages and those children paid for by the State who were in the Asylum for Destitute Children.\textsuperscript{35} Under the provisions of the Act children under eleven were also removed from

\textsuperscript{27} ibid. The emergence of this group, centred on the Benevolent Society, seems to imply a strong Evangelical (Congregationalist) philanthropic movement at this time. Dr Renwick who 'cooperated' with the group dominated the Sydney 'charity scene' for the next twenty years.

\textsuperscript{28} Inspector of Public Charities Report, 1880.

\textsuperscript{29} 44 Vic. No. 24. An Act to Establish a System of Boarding-out Children. [5th April,1881.]

\textsuperscript{30} NSWPD 1880-81, Vol.4, p.156.

\textsuperscript{31} ibid, p.973.

\textsuperscript{32} 44 Vic..24, Clause 2.

\textsuperscript{33} NSWPD 1880-81, Vol.4, p.156.

\textsuperscript{34} The first Board consisted of Dr Renwick (President), Mrs Garran, Mrs Windeyer, Mrs Jefferis, Lady Allen, Miss Mary Stuart, John R Street, and Sir J Long Innes. 'The main function of the other members of the Board was to serve as a guarantee to the various churches of the State...that each child would be placed in a good home of its own religion.' Select Committee, Inquiry into the Whole Administration of the State Children Relief Act, 1901. Further Progress Report in NSWPP 1917-1918, Vol. 2, p.447.

\textsuperscript{35} SCR, Annual Reports for years 1882 to 1885
Industrial Schools, subject to the approval of the Minister, and boarded-out. This process of 'emptying the barracks' took place over a period of six years. Once the Orphanages had been closed and all State children had been removed from the Asylum for Destitute Children, admission to the care of the State Children Relief Board could only be obtained by admission to the Benevolent Society or to the Industrial Schools.

Children who were removed by the boarding-out officer were placed in 'suitable' foster homes. Here they lived until they were twelve, when they were apprenticed for five years. Supervision of their lives was provided by regular inspection by honorary 'lady visitors' (nominated by their respective Churches) and irregular inspection by paid officers of the Board. Despite the publication of self-laudatory Annual Reports there is no substantial evidence for the overall success or failure of the State Children Relief Board in its early years. Some of its failures do, however, appear in the Vernon and Sobraon Entrance Books and they often make chilling reading. While a far greater number of children came under the control of the Board than were sent to the Industrial Schools, only the effect of the Board's activities on the Industrial Schools are of interest here.

36 It also ensured that there would be no subsidising of private Orphanages and Industrial Schools, because acceptance of state support for a child left that child liable to boarding-out.
37 There was no provision for direct admission to the SCRIB until 1896. A child had first to become a State child by being admitted to the Asylum, (or committed to the Industrial Schools).
38 SCRIB Annual Report 1882. One of the obvious results of boarding-out was the breaking of the Anglican monopoly in the training of destitute Protestant children. In the thirty years up to 1910 a total of 1,316 children of 'other Protestant denominations' were placed with members of their own faith, and 2,835 'Protestants not otherwise defined' were placed with members of Protestant denominations. There were 7,292 Anglicans placed with Anglicans. [SCRIB Annual Report 1910 p.49].
39 For example John P. who was moved from several unsatisfactory homes. [Inclusion with VEB 91/61] and Ernest B. whose story of mistreatment seems verified by removals from homes and abscondings. [VEB 93/4].
The existence of the Board had a dual effect on the the Vernon's enrolment, and hence on the role of the ship. In the first years of its operation the general effect of the Act was to ensure the admission of a larger number of younger boys to the ship. These children were usually boarded-out within a few weeks. Later, as a number of State boys failed to respond to the boarding-out or apprenticeship schemes, the ship received those failures as older 'incorrigibles'. This double effect of the establishment of the Board must be taken into account during most of the period that Neitenstein was superintendent of the Vernon.

The following analysis of the changes in enrolments from the last year of Mein's regime through that of Neitenstein's shows the considerable alteration of numbers and ages during that period.\textsuperscript{41}

\begin{table}
\centering
\caption{NSS Vernon/Sobraon Ages of Admission 1877 - 1896}
\begin{tabular}{c c c c c c c c c c c c c c}
\toprule
Year & 77 & 79 & 81 & 83 & 85 & 87 & 89 & 91 & 93 & 95 \\
\midrule
Under 12 & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & \textsuperscript{<12} \\
12 - 14 & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & \textsuperscript{12 - 14} \\
14 & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & \textsuperscript{>14} \\
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\end{tabular}
\end{table}

Source: NSS Vernon Annual Reports 1878-1892 and NSS Sobraon Annual Reports 1893-1896

\textsuperscript{40} The reasons for this increase are explained below. Table 5.1 would suggest that about 20 to 30 admissions per year were related to the existence of the SCR.

\textsuperscript{41} Each set of figures represents a two-year period.
The increase in enrolments during the period following 1880 are obvious.\textsuperscript{42} The reasons for the increase in the numbers of those boys under twelve are mostly connected with the establishment of the State Children Relief Board. The attitude of both magistrates and parents is relevant here.

Even in the early years of the Vernon, country magistrates had found it simpler to commit destitute boys to the Vernon than to go through the protracted process of committing them to the Benevolent Asylum.\textsuperscript{43} Most of the younger city boys would, in previous years, have been sent to the Benevolent Asylum and would have been transferred from there to the Randwick Asylum for Destitute Children or to the Parramatta Orphanages. Especially when the Orphanages were being emptied, the danger of overcrowding the Benevolent Asylum which had no satisfactory arrangements for the care of extra children, was very real. Sometimes it became preferable to send boys to the Vernon, so the ship continued to receive some young destitute boys pending their boarding-out.

There were, too, a number of possible reasons why a destitute mother might have chosen to lay a charge against a boy under the Industrial Schools Act rather than seek admission for him to the Benevolent Asylum. The need for a recommendation from a subscriber or the fact that they would have to face both the investigation of the House Committee and a further inquisition from the boarding-out officer could all have been deterrents. Although visiting on the Vernon was permitted at only six-monthly intervals\textsuperscript{44} compared with three-monthly intervals if boarded-out, it is likely that a destitute parent might choose the ship rather than the often completely inaccessible country homes to which the Board sent its wards.\textsuperscript{45}

\textsuperscript{42} The drop in figures in the 1891-92 period can probably be explained by the fact that the Vernon was unable to accommodate more older boys pending the purchase of the Sobraon and magistrates were informed accordingly.

\textsuperscript{43} The Benevolent Society, being a private society, could refuse to accept them. The Vernon could not.

\textsuperscript{44} This Regulation was changed in 1878.

\textsuperscript{45} Renwick noted the greater accessibility of institutions and criticised parents who were unwilling to allow their children
After 1886, when the boarding-out officer began to take all boys under eleven, whether destitute or delinquent, from the Vernon, there would have been little to choose between committal to the asylum or the ship, although it is possible that magistrates were more willing to commit young delinquent boys to the Vernon knowing that they would be boarded-out within a few months. Examination of a small sample of admissions in 1886 provides further insights.46

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Charge laid by</th>
<th>Apparent Reason</th>
<th>&lt;11</th>
<th>&gt;11</th>
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<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>Altered larceny charge</td>
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<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vagrant (suspected larceny)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sleeping in open air</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mother in gaol</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Abandoned children</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Absconding apprentice</td>
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<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not clear</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Ran away from home</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Altered larceny charges</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Punishment</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Destitute widow</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Destitute deserted wife</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Epileptic boys</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Boy had left home</td>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>After stealing charge</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boy would not work</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>Boys orphans</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2

Source: Vernon Entrance Book, April to Sept. 1886.

Clearly the Act was still being manipulated by police, magistrates, parents and others. This would have ensured that a fair number of petty pilferers would still be being sent aboard, but there were also a greater number of younger boys being charged by mothers, possibly with the intention of the boys being boarded-out. That admission to the ship was also being sought to get institutional care for defective children is shown in the fact that mothers charged two epileptics while police charged two boys who were obviously imbeciles. These boys were transferred from the ship to appropriate
to go to the less accessible country placings. [SCRB Annual Report 1884, pp.21-22].

46 The period after the Orphanages had been closed.
institutions. Boys under eleven, whether destitute or delinquent were transferred to the boarding-out officer.

While the existence of the Board was thus responsible for some extra admissions, it also acted to reduce the total number on the ship. The transfer of sixteen boys to the Board during the six months period, often after only a few days on the ship, makes the admission figures an unreliable indicator of the number of boys on board who were under twelve.47 At a slightly later stage there is evidence to suggest that Neitenstein sought the discharge of children under eleven who were considered unsuitable for boarding-out, either because of physical disabilities or because of a 'criminal' record.48 According to Neitenstein the only boys aged under eleven on board after 1886 were transients awaiting boarding-out or a few 'incorrigible' State children who had absconded several times from their foster homes.49 At this stage the effect of the existence of the Board was to remove children under eleven from the Vernon.

By 1890 the position had altered and the other effect of the Board on the population of the Vernon is apparent. The admissions in that year can be summarised as follows:

| TABLE 5.3 |
|---|---|
| NSS Vernon Apparent Reasons for Admissions in 1890. | |
| Absconders from State Children Relief Board | 19 |
| Returned Apprentices | 16 |
| Police: Altered larceny charge | 24 |
| Police: No means of support | 10 |
| Police: No legal occupation | 13 |
| Police: Sleeping in open air | 7 |
| Mother: Altered larceny charge | 2 |
| Mother: No means of support | 3 |
| Mother: seeking to make boy conform (?) | 8 |
| Father: seeking to make boy conform (?) | 5 |
| Stepfather: seeking to make boy conform (?) | 2 |
| Uncle: boy had no means support | 4 |
| Guardian: No longer able to support | 2 |
| Returned Randwick Apprentice | 1 |
| Apprentices in transit | 2 |

Source: Vernon Entrance Book for year 1890.

47 ibid SCRB transfers recorded in Entrance Book.
48 Statement in remarks section, VEB 91/86.
These figures suggest that police maintained their use of the Act to assist them in their control of juvenile lawbreakers and to keep obvious signs of poverty from view. As in earlier years, city police were interested to ensure that idle unemployed boys did not wander the streets or sleep out, while country police were anxious to ensure that boys had legal means of support. At the same time it is clear that police were themselves converting larceny charges and not usually depending on parents to do this. The admission of more boys over twelve seems to be related to police substituting a greater number of Industrial School charges for larceny or similar charges for older boys than they had hitherto done. This could indicate that the police were seeking committal to the ship of older boys on whom the magistrates had hesitated to impose a gaol sentence. In this way a number of older boys who had appeared before the court several times on various charges were committed to the ship.50

Of the twenty charges laid by parents, fifteen give the impression that the parents were seeking the help of the court either to make boys go to work, or because they were keeping bad company or to punish them for not conforming.51 It is also possible that in a worsening economic climate, sheer destitution impelled parents to choose the ship instead of semi-starvation for their sons. Cases such as these occurred during the whole time the ship existed, but with a few exceptions the boys charged by parents at this time were in an older age group than previously.52

The number of boys over twelve who were admitted increased even more because of the absconding boys from the State Children Relief Board who were usually of apprenticeship age. These and the Vernon's own returned apprentices tended to give the ship an older, less tractable group in the latter part of Neitenstein's superintendency.

50 Police and magistrates appear to have 'tailored' their attitude to these charges to the number of enrolments that could be accommodated.
51 A degree of caution is necessary in assessing parental motives in these cases. Parents who wanted their children admitted to the ship for whatever reason had to take out a warrant that conformed with the Act.
52 The younger boys could be admitted to the SCRIB.
The presence of these older, more 'criminal' boys is evident in the Annual Reports. After 1891 the Annual Report includes an appendix on 'Antecedents of new Committals', indicating first the boys who had previously been under the care of some other charitable organisation. While the figures do not specify which charitable organisation it refers to, the Entrance Book would suggest that most of these boys were, in fact, State wards.\footnote{In 1891 there were twelve SCR B absconders and five from other charitable organisations. [VEB 1891 passim]} The figures given in the Reports are twenty for 1891, twenty-five for 1892, thirty-one for 1893, thirty-nine for 1894, forty-two for 1895, and twenty-nine for 1896.\footnote{NSS Vernon, Annual Reports 1891-92 and NSS Sobraon, Annual Reports, 1893-96, Appendix B.} To these must be added the Vernon's own returned apprentices. While the Reports do not give exact figures for all years, figures from the Entrance Book suggest that as many as twenty Vernon apprentices were returned each year.

Another factor which was to affect the age and the 'criminality' of the boys admitted to the Vernon was the growing belief in some sections of the community that the functions of Reformatory and Industrial School should be performed by separate institutions. Support for a Reformatory had been greater before 1866 than had been the demands for an Industrial School, but the Martin-Parkes Government made no attempt to implement the Reformatory Schools Act.

Proposals for a Reformatory throughout this period were complicated by the fact that Henry Parkes did not believe that there would be sufficient boys to warrant the establishment of a Reformatory.\footnote{Parkes's belief was probably induced by the smaller number than expected committed to the Vernon. He expressed the belief in Parliament in 1887. [NSWPD Vol.21, pp.3862-5 and 3869-70].} John Robertson's plans for a Reformatory had been sufficiently advanced in 1870 for him to inform Frederick Cane that he would be appointed as superintendent,\footnote{CSIL 70/9879.} but nothing further had been done before the return of the Parkes government in 1872, when the idea was promptly abandoned.

Much of Neitenstein's commentaries about the need for a Reformatory, the value of a ship as a Reformatory as compared...
to a land based institution, the difficulties associated with the teaching of trades, and, later the comparative time spent by the boys on the Vernon and in similar institutions and, therefore, the cost-efficiency of the Vernon, must be read against the background of the pressure for a land-based Reformatory. As a Public Servant Neitenstein was not permitted to respond directly to either criticism or praise, so he used his Annual Reports to justify the existence of the ship and his methods.

Neitenstein himself believed in the necessity for a Reformatory. In his first report he stated that:

[th]e want of a Reformatory has undoubtedly contributed to the non-success as an Industrial School. From a disinclination to mix unfortunates and juvenile criminals we get very few of either class. He was also well aware that if the ship was to continue to exist it must prove its efficiency both in terms of cost and in terms of the number of satisfactory apprenticeships which were entered into.

Both police and magistrates were interested in the establishment of a Reformatory. Before the opening of the Vernon police had found it difficult to get a conviction for a minor offence as the magistrates were reluctant to send a petty offender to gaol. The manipulation of charges against boys who had committed petty crimes so that they were charged under the Industrial Schools Act had meant that a good many of the boys on board during Mein's superintendency had been petty thieves or similar, some of them quite young. This left a magistrate in a dilemma when faced with an older and sometimes more serious offender. The fear of 'contamination' in gaols deterred many magistrates from passing a gaol sentence on a boy whom they thought was reformable. The fear of mixing the delinquent with the destitute similarly deterred them from committing the same boy to the Vernon. For this reason many older boys had been before the court a number of times before

57 These themes recur in the Annual Reports from 1879.
59 The cost-efficiency of the new boarding-out system and its ability to provide apprentices would have been an added spur.
60 Neitenstein makes this point in his 1878 Report
they were actually committed to the Vernon. Many magistrates either fined a boy or discharged him with a warning or simply 'gave him another chance'. In 1892, for example, sixty-five per cent of boys admitted to the Vernon had been 'previously before the Court' before they were eventually committed.\textsuperscript{61}

A number of factors delayed the eventual establishment of a Reformatory. Departmental rivalries, either straight 'empire building' or a belief that there was a need for a Department, or a Board, to have control over a Reformatory or Industrial School in order to manage some particular aspect of its own work better, also had its effect on the Vernon's enrolment. In the 1880s the Department of Justice clearly perceived the establishment of a Reformatory as being in its province.\textsuperscript{62} By 1883 a new and somewhat unexpected advocate for the establishment of a Reformatory was Arthur Renwick, President of the State Children Relief Board. Throughout the Charities Commission and in his first Report as President of the Board, Renwick and his fellow enthusiasts for a boarding-out system had extolled its virtues as a remedy for child destitution. By his second Report he was seeking Reformatories run by the Board where some children might be made 'fit subjects for boarding-out' because 'otherwise it would be wrong to place [them] in decent homes at all.'\textsuperscript{63} The Board was responsible to the Colonial Secretary and had links with the Charities' Department. As the Reformatories were to deal with children, the Board's Chairman felt that Reformatories should be part of its domain.\textsuperscript{64} From 1880 the two Industrial Schools were placed under the control of the Education Department which believed that Reformatories, like other schools, should be under its control. These rivalries delayed the move for a Reformatory and resulted in the sending of older boys to the Industrial School, although it is not possible to measure the effect.

\textsuperscript{61} NSS·Vernon, Annual Report 1892, p.3.
\textsuperscript{62} This is a persistent theme in letters in CSIL Special Bundle Proposed Establishment of Reformatory for Boys at Rookwood 1880-1892. 4/901.1 AONSW
\textsuperscript{63} SCR, Annual Report 1883, p.7.
\textsuperscript{64} The SCR had its own unofficial Reformatories at Mittagong (for girls) and at Eastwood (for boys) G.Scrivener, op. cit. pp.231-257.
The search for a suitable site for a Reformatory during the 1880s involved a series of recommendations and investigations. At one stage it was suggested that the Vernon should be used as a Reformatory and the Wolverine as a Nautical School Ship. At another stage it was suggested that the Vernon might be used for preliminary disciplining before boys who were destined to be farmers were transferred to a farm for further training. When these failed to find favour a search for a land-based Reformatory was instituted by Alexander Stuart, who succeeded Parkes as Premier in 1883. This involved investigation of the Model Farms at Parramatta, the Field of Mars Common and land at Louth Park, Maitland, before a block of Crown land between Rookwood Necropolis and Potts Hill Reservoir was chosen. Here, after the production of two sets of plans, five 'pavilions' and a superintendent's residence were constructed and were ready for occupancy by the end of 1886, but were not proclaimed as a Reformatory.

After the return of the Parkes government in 1887, the Rookwood buildings were deemed completely unsuitable as a Reformatory. The buildings remained empty and in 1891 Dibbs called on the Charities Department for a report as to the requirements for converting the buildings into an acceptable Reformatory. In Maxted's Report a considerable amount of fence building and alteration would have been needed to make them workable. The buildings remained unoccupied and then, towards the end of 1892 an overflow of destitute men from Liverpool and Parramatta Asylums moved into the pavilions and the Rookwood Boys' Reformatory became The Lidcombe State Hospital and Home.

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63 The Wolverine was the British Naval Training Ship which was attached to the Australian Base.
64 CSIL 86/7809 in Special Bundle 4/901.1 AONSW
65 Special Bundle 4/901.1. After Stuart's stroke in 1884 the work was continued by Acting Premier Bede Dalley and later by Premier Dibbs. There were doubts about the suitability of the drainage system and about the use of the land for an orchard.
66 Colonial Secretary's Minutes, Executive meeting, 31/3/87 in CSIL Special Bundle 4/901.1
67 Director of Government Asylums to Colonial Secretary dated 4 December, 1891. Reprinted VPLA 1894 Vol.3, p.245.
68 The initials RBR etched into the glass of some doors are still there to proclaim the origins of the buildings. As unsuitable for the men as they were for the boys, they have
A new search was begun for a site for a Reformatory, this time by Sydney Maxted, now Director of Government Asylums. One of the prime considerations in this search was to provide an officially sanctioned home for some forty-one boys in the Rydalmere Boys' Home. These boys were State wards who had been 'found to be too vicious to be kept in ordinary homes'\textsuperscript{71} Eventually the Carpentarian Reformatory [Brush Farm], about one mile from Eastwood railway station, was rented for 500 pounds a year for ten years.\textsuperscript{72} The first boy was received from Bombala Court in June 1895.\textsuperscript{73}

The opening of Brush Farm does not appear to have affected the numbers admitted to the Sobraon\textsuperscript{74} during the short period it was in existence during Neitenstein's superintendency. Up to that time the absence of a Reformatory had ensured that the Sobraon had received boys guilty of a greater number of offences, although few offences would in themselves have been of great seriousness. While magistrates could hope that there would be a Reformatory very shortly they tended to prefer to send the petty criminal to the Industrial School rather than to gaol. The effect of the actual Reformatory on the Industrial School was, therefore, not felt until the time of Neitenstein's successor.

Another event which affected the kinds of committals to the ship was the passing of the Children's Protection Act in 1892.\textsuperscript{75} Concerned mostly with adoptions, private care of children under three and the registration of lying-in homes, this Act also dealt with physical abuse of children. It also provided that

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\textsuperscript{71} S Maxted, Director of Government Asylums to Principal Under Secretary 21/2/94 in VPLA 1894, Vol.3, p.944
\textsuperscript{72} S.Maxted to Colonial Secretary 28/11/93 in ibid 941-2
\textsuperscript{73} Carpentarian Reformatory, Superintendent's Annual Report 1903, p.1. [There were too many enrolments through the courts in the first year for the State wards to be accommodated. They were transferred to an annexe of Newington (Women's) Asylum but 'for obvious reasons' were placed in other SCR homes. SCR Annual Report 1899, p.5.]
\textsuperscript{74} The Sobraon replaced the Vernon in 1892
\textsuperscript{75} 55 Vic. No.30.
Any Stipendiary Magistrate or Police Magistrate, in lieu of committing to prison any child under the age of fourteen years convicted before him of any offence, may hand over such child to the charge of any Home for destitute and neglected children or Industrial Institution; and the managers of such Home or Institution may permit its adoption by a suitable person, or may apprentice it to any suitable trade, calling or service...\textsuperscript{76}

This removed any pretence about the nature of the Industrial School. Boys guilty of any offence whatever could now be committed to the ship so long as they were under fourteen. There was no longer any need for parental cooperation or consent. The magistrate was free to commit a boy to the ship without altering the charge to bring him under the Industrial Schools Act. If a boy was to be confined, the choice was between the Industrial School and the gaols until Brush Farm provided a third choice.

Figures available from Annual Reports at this time would suggest that magistrates resisted sending boys to the Industrial School for first offences in the same way as they are reported to have resisted sending boys to gaol before the Industrial Schools were available.\textsuperscript{77} The practice of giving boys a warning or 'another chance' persisted. In 1892, a total of 110 boys had been before the court more than once before they were committed to the Vernon\textsuperscript{78} and in 1893, there were 106 boys sent on the Sobraon after at least two appearances before the court.\textsuperscript{79} If the number of 'failures from other Institutions' are taken into account (25 and 31 respectively) and allowances are made for the ships' own returned apprentices, who were also lawbreakers, the number committed to the ship because they were destitute must have been small indeed.

By the time Neitenstein left the ship the kinds of boys admitted had altered considerably. While some boys under eleven were still admitted, their stay was a brief one before they were sent to the State Children Relief Board to be boarded out. Older boys, many of whom had been several times

\textsuperscript{76} \textit{ibid}, Clause 30.
\textsuperscript{77} 'Condition of Working Classes' pp 1263 ff. (p.6).
\textsuperscript{78} NSS Vernon, Annual Report 1892. Appendix B
\textsuperscript{79} NSS Sobraon, Annual Report 1893. Appendix B.
before the court, formed the major part of the admissions. While the individual offences with which they were charged, were, with a few exceptions, fairly trivial, they were persistent offenders and therefore, older. Returned apprentices, either soured by an unsatisfactory job or not willing to work when the compulsion of the ship was removed, were also older. Absconders from the State Children Relief Board made up the balance. For all practical purposes the Industrial School had become a Reformatory, dealing with many boys over the age of sixteen as well as boys between eleven and fifteen.

While the search was being made for a Reformatory the number of boys on board the Vernon was steadily increasing. In April, 1889 there were 229 boys on board despite the fact that a total of 207 boys had left the school during the preceding twelve months. The following April there were 233 boys on the ship. The Vernon, now fifty years old, was deteriorating and was costing a considerable amount to keep afloat. Since 1887 some of the younger boys had slept in the dormitory on Cockatoo Island which was left vacant when the Industrial School for Girls was moved to Parramatta.

In 1890 steps were begun to purchase the Sobraon, a large passenger clipper which had been on the Melbourne to England run. The new ship had been built in 1866 and was the largest composite (iron and wood) sailing ship ever built. Of 3500 tons burthen, it was 317 feet overall length (272 feet between perpendiculars) with a beam of forty feet and a depth of twenty-seven feet. Its beams and frames were of iron and its outer planking of teak, its masts and yards of steel and its rigging of steel wire. It cost 11,500 pounds. Another

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80 NSS Vernon, Annual Report 1889.
81 NSS Vernon, Annual Report 1890.
82 NSS Vernon Annual Report 1890, p.3.
83 Information HMAS Tingira, Naval Historical Society.
84 Measurements as shown in the Sobraon Manifest in Papers Relating to the purchase of NSS Sobraon in VPLA 1891-2, Vol.3, p.817 ff. Despite the favourable reports the Sobraon would appear to have reached the end of its sea-life and was suitable only as a hulk. It had been 'considerably damaged by three days' continuous buffeting by mountainous seas' in 1889. [Naval Historical Society]
31,429 pounds were spent on modifications before the ship was ready for service.\textsuperscript{85}

On 8th November, 1892, the boys from the Vernon were transferred to the Sobraon which was moored in the position which the Vernon had occupied, off the north-east shore of Cockatoo Island, and the new ship continued the work of the old one. The Vernon, despite its leaky, decayed condition, was sold and shortly afterwards was destroyed by fire.\textsuperscript{86}

While the larger vessel would have allowed a slightly less confined living, it did not alter the curriculum of the school or change substantially the lives of the boys. The importance of its advent lay in the fact that it indicated the acceptance by the Government of the day of the success of the institution and its superintendent who had been in charge for the previous fourteen years.\textsuperscript{87} This favourable opinion had been earned by a successful application of a series of reforms which were instituted by the Superintendent and which deserve a close analysis.

Neitenstein's Reforms

When Neitenstein sought the position of superintendent of the Vernon in March 1878 his application for the position was short and precise. After stating that he had been on the ship since October, 1873, he pointed out that 'in consequence of the long illness of the late Captain Mein for the past two years [he] had nearly the sole management of the boys'.\textsuperscript{88} This fact, together with the belief of Michael Fitzpatrick, Colonial Secretary, that the proponents of the new boarding-out system were mistaken,\textsuperscript{89} ensured that Neitenstein would become superintendent despite the fact that he was then only twenty-eight years old. Fitzpatrick's distrust of boarding-out also accounts for the readiness with which he seems to

\textsuperscript{86} NSS Sobraon, Annual Report 1893, p.1.
\textsuperscript{87} The marked drop in admissions in 1891 suggests magisterial cooperation in refraining from committing boys to the ship pending the purchase of the new ship.
\textsuperscript{88} CSIL 78/2601.
\textsuperscript{89} Parliamentary Debates 1880-81 Vol.4, pp.956ff.
have agreed to Neitenstein's proposals for the management of the Vernon. The fact that these proposals would cost less than Mein's system would no doubt have proved another attraction. 90 There is no written evidence to suggest that Neitenstein's proposals for the Vernon had the prior approval of the Colonial Secretary but much to suggest that the statement made in Neitenstein's obituary that he was 'given freedom by the then Colonial Secretary' 91 is correct, although the possibility of verbal consent for any given decision cannot be overlooked. What is clear is that Neitenstein acted quickly and that his new system was securely established before Parkes returned to office in 1879.

Within a few months of Captain Mein's death the new superintendent had set in place a completely new curriculum for the ship. It was a coherent plan in which each of the sectors interlocked and upheld the others. While no part can really be said to be original, the total plan was unique to the school and proved to be even more efficient than Neitenstein himself anticipated. 92

The first essential was to ensure that there was no hope of escape and to separate the boys completely from their parents and former companions. 93 For this he regarded the ship as an ideal milieu:

There is no prison appearance about it but it is a secure place of detention. A sharp street boy naturally finds his loss of liberty and enforced deprivation of the companionship of his boon associates irksome in the extreme. To get away is his all absorbing idea and until this is shown to him to be hopeless, not the slightest advancement to moral reform is made. On shore this safety from escape is not compatible with the absence of locks, bolts and bars. Desertions cause no end of trouble and worry and disturb the minds of all the inmates for long after their comrades have got away. Besides a land establishment, unless surrounded by

90 This was at first achieved by dispensing with the services of the shoemaker and blacksmith and later by increasing the ratio of staff to boys. There was a drop of nearly eight pounds in costs per boy between 1878 and 1889.
91 Daily Telegraph, 25th April, 1921.
92 The change in both principles and practice was much greater than either Ramsland or Garton suggest.
93 The 'watch' system served to separate the boys from anyone they had known on shore.
high prison walls, will always offer opportunities for former "friends" to communicate with the lads. The ship affords complete immunity from these great evils which are rife in land reformatories, and does not present to the mind or sight any of the usual prison belongings.94

While Neitenstein regarded the ship as an ideal place for a Reformatory he felt that it was necessary to separate the boys even more completely from their parents and friends. To achieve this purpose he sought to abolish the monthly visiting which was then permitted. He managed to convince the Colonial Secretary, Michael Fitzpatrick, that restrictions on the access of parents were necessary:

At present for some time after the monthly visiting day my influence with the boys is much lessened as their parents, mostly persons of dissolute drunken habits who have already shown their unfitness to be entrusted with the control of the lads, instil into their minds the belief that they will shortly be discharged and especially warn them against going to Sea, the consequence is that my efforts for the boys' good are to some extent neutralized.

I am therefore of the opinion that it would be advisable to give these persons as few opportunities as possible to exercise their prejudicial influence over these unfortunate children.95

The old Regulations had been rather vague about times of visit, merely requiring that the Visitors' Book be signed.96 In practice, permission had to be obtained from the Colonial Secretary's Office and this was given for one day each month, presumably on a Sunday.97 The new rule was that visits were allowed only twice a year, on the first Thursday in January and July between one and three-thirty. A boy had to be on board for at least two months before any visits were allowed. These provisions were incorporated in the Regulations which were gazetted for the Sobraon in 1894, but were applied to boys on the Vernon from 1878.98

94 NSS Vernon, Annual Report 1885, p.3. Neitenstein found it necessary to combat the lobbying for a land reformatory which would have meant abandoning the ship.
95 CSIL 78/5404 with 78/5405.
96 NSS Vernon, Regulations 1869, Regulations 17-19.
97 Memo enclosed in CSIL 78/5404 with 78/5405. The Girls' School had visits on Sunday and most of the Regulations were similar for both schools.
As a means of promoting compliance from boys who were attached to their families this was a particularly strong weapon. While there is no contemporary evidence as to the way this provision was administered, evidence from the later practice of the Industrial School for Girls would suggest that a list of boys eligible to receive visits would have been sent to the Colonial Secretary's Office. The wording of the Regulation would have allowed the superintendent to withhold names from the list as 'special reasons for rendering such visits undesirable'. Few of the older boys would have seen their parents or relatives more than twice before they were apprenticed and for about a third there was only one opportunity to do so before they left the ship. The fixing of the visiting day on a Thursday could have provided difficulties for working parents, and for country children the separation was probably complete.

Having isolated the boys from their parents and friends, the next step was to subject them to a class and mark system which offered a series of inducements to good behaviour and disincentives to bad. The scheme appears to be based on a system which had been advocated by James Gorman, the Master-at-Arms, which he stated to be used in the Naval Training Schools 'at home'. It also has similarities with the mark system devised by Alexander Maconochie and applied to prisoners on Norfolk Island. Either system would have needed to be adapted to different conditions on the ship. This class-mark system was used not only to maintain discipline but also to create an auxiliary staff which made the work of the official staff much more effective. An examination of the class-mark system reveals this.

The newcomer was always placed in class seven where he received no privileges, was liable to corporal punishment, was not permitted to 'skylark' and was required to do any dirty or

100 NSS Sobroon, Regulations, 1894, Regulation 58.
101 Boys admitted in May, June, November or December could expect one visit only before apprenticing.
102 Vernon Enquiry, Q. 883 ff.
unpleasant work that had to be done.\textsuperscript{104} The segregation of these boys was thorough. They slept in a special part on the deck, ate by themselves, were kept in a separate section of the school and were under constant surveillance.\textsuperscript{105} A boy stayed in this class until he had earned a requisite number of points for good behaviour. These could be obtained in a week if his behaviour was exemplary, but usually took somewhat longer. Each staff member allotted marks which were tallied at the end of the week. The only extant copies of this mark system are included in the teacher's weekly reports. Here seven or eight boys are reported as having done the best work each week.\textsuperscript{106} Similar sets of marks from all members of staff would permit reasonable promotions to those who complied promptly with orders.

Promotion to grade six allowed defined privileges: Here a boy was exempt from cleaning brass work, was allowed to skylark in play hours, could attend church on shore on Sundays, and was allowed puddings on Sundays, Wednesdays, Fridays and holidays. An additional amount of flour, suet and raisins was provided for this purpose in the diet scale.\textsuperscript{107} A further quota of good behaviour points placed the boy in class five, with the majority of the school. In grade five a boy was exempt from corporal punishment, except for gross misconduct, was allowed the use of the library and the recreation room, was allowed to land on the island for playing, could attend regattas, fishing excursions and picnics where practicable, as well as having all the privileges of grade six.

The top four grades rated as officers and were restricted to a total of about thirty boys.\textsuperscript{108} They wore stripes on the sleeve and were allowed special privileges, such as fishing

\textsuperscript{104} NSS Vernon, Annual Report, 1883 p.13 for overall plan. Additions are acknowledged within the plan. \\
\textsuperscript{105} NSS Vernon, Annual Report 1884, p.3. \\
\textsuperscript{106} NSS Vernon, Schoolmaster's Weekly Report attached to Superintendent's Weekly Report CSIL 78/8843. \\
\textsuperscript{107} NSS Sobron, Annual Report 1900, p.9. \\
\textsuperscript{108} In practice they formed an auxiliary staff. Their pay was included under heading of salaries. NSS Vernon Annual Report 1881, p.8.
from the gangway. They received a monthly pay, class four of one shilling, class three of two shillings, class two of three shillings and class one of five shillings. They had command over other boys, were in charge of work parties, kept 'misconducts' up to their work and were responsible for the performance of various duties. For example the boys in the lower division of class four presided over a mess consisting of fourteen boys. They were responsible for the security and cleanliness of all mess utensils and for the good conduct of the boys forming the mess. They had to see that all boys used their knives and forks in a proper manner, and any complaints respecting the food had to be made by them when the meals were being inspected by the lieutenant.

Boys in the other three groups had similar well-defined tasks. By using these boys as an auxiliary staff with supervisory duties, particularly at night time and during the recreation periods, Neitenstein was able to arrange more reasonable working hours for his staff and also to reduce running costs considerably. In 1891 boys in the four top groups were permitted to keep pets on board.

The attraction of this system of rewards and punishments to young boys is obvious. Escape from a ship moored in the deepest water in the harbour by a boy who was constantly under scrutiny was almost impossible. Much greater stress was placed on inducements to good behaviour than on punishments for bad. While the punishment of 'low diet' was no longer in use, the additional puddings, even if they were only 'spotted dog', would have been attractive to an active boy, and the chance of landing, no matter what their attitude to church, and possibly with the chance of escape in mind, would have been desirable. The added privileges of recreation and some respite from the ship's chores might have tipped the balance towards good behaviour for some.

109 NSS Vernon, Annual Report 1891, p.3.
111 NSS Sobraon, Regulations 1894, Reg.72.
112 NSS Vernon, Annual Report 1891, p.3.
113 The ship was then anchored off Cockatoo Island.
114 The use of the boys as 'auxiliary staff' practically trebled the amount of surveillance.
Although the punishments are not stressed, they were still a deterrent to misbehaviour. Neitenstein abolished the use of the tawse and the imposition of low diet, but some of the other punishments of the original Regulations were still possible and the close surveillance made detection almost certain. The rat-infested cell in the hold of the Vernon or in the orlop deck of the Sobraon could have been a terrifying experience as was mast-heading to a newcomer. Groups six and seven were liable to corporal punishment, but there is no evidence as to how much was administered or with what force. The Regulations did not limit the amount of caning, but merely required that when six strokes and upward were inflicted, the offence and the amount of punishment were to be recorded in the punishment book, but the punishment book is not extant.

It is likely that many sharp street boys first simulated reform either to escape punishment or to enjoy the rewards, and soon conformed entirely to orders. A study of a typical year's conduct classifications would suggest this.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 5.4</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NSS Vernon, Conduct Classifications for year 1885.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excellent (boy officers, all paid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indifferent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Source:</strong> NSS Vernon, Annual Report, 1885</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar figures for 1890 would indicate that the average stay in group seven would have been less than a month, with possibly two months in group six.

Within the framework of this isolation of the boys from their old life and the system of rewards and punishments, the ship's curriculum was adjusted to provide a specific programme

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115 NSS Sobraon, Regulations 1894, Reg.77.
116 Vernon Enquiry. Q.906.
117 L.V. Haydon, ' When Straying Boys were Put on the Ship.' in Education, Vol.38 No.5 10 April, 1957
118 NSS Sobraon Regulations 1894, Reg.77.
120 Based on an average monthly admission of ten to fifteen.
to secure reformation. Central to this was the system of drills which was given priority over all other elements. Hitherto the drills performed by the boys had been irregular and spasmodic, largely because of the four-way division of the ship's day. This was now altered. In April, 1878 Neitenstein reported to the Colonial Secretary that 'a regular system of drill and seamanship' had been instituted. For public consumption he went into greater detail in his Annual Report:

A regular system of drilling has been initiated, and has produced good results in the increased smartness and improved bearing of the lads, and should the Government permit them to enter the Navy to serve on the Australian Station, as most of the elder boys wish to do, they would derive the fullest advantage from such preparatory training as would facilitate their speedy promotion in the service. Gun, musketry, cutlass and light infantry drills, reefing, furling and bending sails, manning yards &c. are now regularly taught. Instead of at erratic intervals as was formerly the case and the result is shown in the improved intelligent appearance and healthy physique of the boys.

The following year he reported the success of this drilling 'which has been based as far as practicable on the system obtaining in the training ships of the mother country' and added 'splicing, knotting and all other duties appertaining to the duties of a seaman' to the list of drills taught. These exercises were reported on and praised in most of the Reports throughout Neitenstein's superintendency. In 1890 he was still reporting:

Manual exercise, Battalion drill, cutlass exercise, gun drill, pulling in boats, manning yards, making, reefing and setting sails and various other exercises are systematically taught. They all tend to improve the boys physically and morally, to bring them under control, to teach them to be clean, obedient and respectful and to raise their self-respect.

A staff appropriate to the teaching of the kinds of drill which Neitenstein wanted was employed. James Gorman, master-at-arms, who had served thirteen years in the Navy on the

121 CSIL 78/3748.
training ship *Victory* and its brig *Rolla*, had been a member of the crew for ten years,\(^{125}\) while William Mason, the new ‘mate and clerk’ was a graduate of the training ship *HMS Worcester*.\(^{126}\) In the *Regulations* for the *Sobraon*, two of the boatswains are listed also as drillmasters and the third is listed as gymnastic instructor.\(^{127}\) While Neitenstein does not state the actual time that was occupied with drills, the timetable produced by his successor would suggest the possibility of about two and a half hours per weekday, without allowing for such things as swimming instruction or recreational use of playing fields, gymnasium and swimming baths.\(^{128}\)

Clearly Neitenstein regarded the various drills as the essential feature of his work and, in order to give them the time which he deemed necessary, the daily programme had to be altered completely. Trades, as trades, were abandoned.\(^{129}\) Neitenstein stressed this fact in his reports:

> In this ship no useless pretence is made to teach these youngsters a trade. Years of incarceration would be necessary to do that and the results would be problematical, so far as turning out experienced workmen...For ten years various trades were taught on this vessel with results altogether out of proportion to the time and expenditure incurred. In 1878 trade teaching was abolished and the present system initiated. Certainly the boys are taught to sew patches on, mend their own clothes, and some are handy with carpentering implements but nothing more is attempted in the institution.\(^{130}\)

The actual phasing out of the trades seems to have been slightly more protracted than this statement would suggest. True, the shoemaker was not on the staff in 1879. Neitenstein sought a job for him at Darlinghurst gaol\(^{131}\) and in the following year assisted the blacksmith to obtain similar

\(^{125}\) *Vernon Enquiry*, Q.819 to Q.822.
\(^{126}\) NSS *Sobraon, Annual Report*, 1898, p.4.
\(^{127}\) NSS *Sobraon, Regulations*, 1894 p.7.
\(^{128}\) NSS *Sobraon Annual Report*, 1900, p.10. The time taken out of school education for drill is included.
\(^{129}\) This fact is overlooked by Ramsland who says [the land trades] were to last the life of the Institution' and 'the ultimate intention, never achieved was to make the *Vernon* exclusively a Nautical School' Ramsland, *op cit*, p.127.
\(^{130}\) NSS *Vernon, Annual Report*, 1885, p.3.
\(^{131}\) CSIL 78/8238 with 78/8570
employment, but a number of boys were listed as tailors and carpenters until 1882.132 The carpenter, the tailor and the sailmaker were retained on board because it is handy for the boys to acquire a little rough knowledge of these handicrafts and they are necessary to effect repairs on board.133

By 1886 the tailor's wage is included in the cost of clothing, suggesting that he was on board to supervise the repairing of the clothing and to make some of the clothes himself.134 When the new Regulations were gazetted for the Sobraon a carpenter was the only tradesman provided for.135 The training of boys for trades, as trades, was simply not undertaken after 1878.

Although the teaching of trades was abandoned the boys were still required to do a certain amount of 'shipwork' each day. About one hour of the time allotted for 'drill, work and general routine' was taken up by this work.136 Boys in the punishment classes did considerably more, for they were required to work when the rest were at recreation. Each year a remarkable amount of 'shipwork' is listed as having been done by the boys. In 1895, for example, the boys made 120 hammocks and forty clothes bags. They also repaired hammocks, bags, sails, tents, and hoses. With the carpenter they repaired pumps and boats, caulked decks, glazed windows and repaired sashes. They made and repaired clothes and lanyards and painted the ship, the boats, the masts, yards and booms, as well as the buildings on the island. They assisted the cook in the preparation of meals and were responsible for stewarding. They tarred, scraped and set up rigging, made repairs to boats' gear and did general seamen's work, as well as being responsible for the planting and cutting of grass and for keeping trees and plants in order on the island. Each boy washed his own clothes as well as hammocks and blankets. This task was now done in the early morning session, leaving the

134 NSS Vernon, Annual Report 1886, p.5.
135 NSS Sobraon, Regulations, 1894, No.101.
136 NSS Sobraon, Annual Report 1900. The time-tabling for earlier years is inferred from this.
afternoon free for recreation. Musicians were required to keep their instruments in order. Lamps had to be cleaned and trimmed and the decks washed daily. The ship had to be coaled weekly. Boats, playgrounds, dormitory sheds, swimming baths, ship sides, rifles, swords, aviaries and landing places had to be cleaned and some white-washed. The steam launch had to be kept in order and the ship supplied with fresh water.\textsuperscript{137}

The abolition of the trades, therefore, did not mean that the boys did not continue to do all the work required in the ship, but confining the work to 'ship work' allowed sufficient time for the introduction of half-time schooling.\textsuperscript{138} This would appear to be a considerable advance on the quarter-time schooling in force during Mein's regime, but both the actual increase in time devoted to basic literacy and numeracy and the real benefit to the boys is open to question. For four years after half-time schooling was introduced no extra teacher was employed. This would have made a difficult enough situation in 1878 when the average number on board was 104,\textsuperscript{139} but by 1881 school problems must have been acute. Neitenstein reported:

The school is presided over by a duly certificated teacher, and is arranged upon a plan by which each boy receives three hours schooling daily, one half the inmates attending in the morning and the other in the afternoon. A number of younger and more ignorant, however, attend on both occasions and this brings the average number present at each lesson to about 105. This accomplishes fair work, and is productive of as good results as can be expected, seeing that the majority only stay here twelve months prior to being apprenticed and that they arrive on board for the most part entirely uneducated.\textsuperscript{140}

It would be optimistic to expect good results from any system with so many pupils taught by the one teacher, even with the aid of the monitorial system which the Regulations prescribed. The larger number of boys at school at each session proved to be too many for the main deck saloon which

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{137} NSS Vernon, Annual Report 1895, p.2.
\item \textsuperscript{138} NSS Vernon, Annual Report 1878, p.1.
\item \textsuperscript{139} NSS Vernon, Annual Report 1878, p.7.
\item \textsuperscript{140} NSS Vernon Annual Report, 1881 page 3.
\end{itemize}
had been in use as a classroom, so a new classroom\textsuperscript{141} was constructed in the hold of the Vernon. Light and air were admitted by two hatchways and six large ports cut into the side of the vessel a few feet above the water. It was not until 1883, when the enrolment was 208, that a second teacher was appointed.\textsuperscript{142} Even then, as the 'younger lads and some of the more backward amongst the older ones attend[ed] more frequently',\textsuperscript{143} the job of the teachers would have been no sinecure.

This system of half-time schooling was introduced while the ship was still under the control of the Colonial Secretary's Department and it did not alter when the ship was transferred to the Department of Public Instruction. The time spent on school work was, on the surface, twice that allowed under Captain Mein. In practice it was not quite so generous. Time was allotted to drill each morning. Singing, using tonic sol-fa method, and drawing were added to the school curriculum, and the time for the visiting Religious Instructor now came out of the school time instead of the after-school period as previously. While all are legitimate school subjects, their inclusion detracted from the time needed to teach basic literacy. By attending school for three hours, less deductions for drill and other extras, the boys received considerably less school education than that which was compulsory for the majority of the Colony's children who were required to attend school for seventy days per half year under the new Public Instruction Act.

The fact that the boys on the ship did not have the usual school holidays does not compensate for the amount of time lost.\textsuperscript{144} The Department of Public Instruction itself ignored the law which it was seeking to have imposed on the rest of the community. The provision of extra schooling for the younger boys and some of the more backward among the older

\textsuperscript{141} [40 x 30 x 10 feet]. NSS Vernon, Annual Report, 1882 page 2. Different measurements are given in Annual Report, 1884, page 20 [50 x 32 x 12 feet]
\textsuperscript{142} NSS Vernon, Annual Report, 1883, p 12.
\textsuperscript{143} ibid.
\textsuperscript{144} James Ball, schoolmaster, stated that they did equal the requisite 70 days attendance. NSS Vernon, Annual Report, 1886.
ones would have gone some way towards producing a minimum literacy but little more could have been expected. A third teacher was not appointed until 1895, when the daily average on board was 340.145

Integral to Neitenstein's programme and certainly unique in such institutions at the time was his introduction of 'rational recreation':

A large proportion of the recruits arrive ignorant of rational recreation. It is a difficult task, for some time, to get these to take part in any games or to show interest in what is being done for their amusement. I have observed that an inclination to join the recreation marks, in many cases, the commencement of reformation. Much attention is therefore given to the subject.146

Attempts to divert the culture of the street boy into more acceptable middle-class pursuits was a favourite aim of educators and philanthropists in mid-nineteenth century England, although it had not been remarkably successful.147

Neitenstein set great store by his library which was well stocked with books and periodicals and mentions 'the works of Dickens, Ballantyne, Marryat and other well known authors'.148 He also mentions chess, draughts, solitaire149 and similar games. Other shipboard activities he lists are the brass band and the liedertafel group, and entertainments provided with the 'dissolving view' apparatus. A much-prized recreation, which was reserved for the top conduct groups, was the right to fish from the gangway of the Vernon.150 Frequent excursions were made on Saturdays up Middle Harbour, Lane Cove and various parts of the Harbour. During the summer months fishing, both net and line, proved very popular. Neitenstein instructed a large number in the 'proper mode of net fishing,'

146 NSS Vernon, Annual Report 1891, p.3.
147 G.Best, Mid-Victorian Britain, 1851-1870, Bungay, Fontana, 1971
148 NSS Vernon, Annual Report 1890, p.3. O'Brien sees this as a juxtaposition of cultures.
149 Apparently a game similar to Chinese chequers. Playing cards were forbidden in any part of the ship by Regulation 8 of 1869 Regulations.
and reported that 'many large hauls of fish were made on the various beaches around Balmoral.'\textsuperscript{151}

Early in 1879 permission was granted for the ship to supply the gun and a firing crew of boys to mark the end of the races for the National Regatta.\textsuperscript{152} A similar service was provided for the Double Bay Regatta a few weeks afterwards.\textsuperscript{153} At a later Double Bay Regatta

the boys of the ship with band...attended, the ship's gig competing with the boats from HMS Danae, Alacrity and Renard, and beating them all very easily, winning first prize.\textsuperscript{154}

This is the first mention of the band performing and as they were able to perform it must have been in operation for some time. When its existence was publicly announced\textsuperscript{155} in 1892 it was stated that 'the instruments...were presented by Sydney and suburban residents'. Another, more likely, explanation is that these citizens had been persuaded to advance the money for instruments against the holding of a special regatta in May 1879, at which the band and the ship seem to have taken their place as part of the harbour 'community.' In seeking permission to take part in this regatta, with the ship acting as flagship, Neitenstein stated:

This will tend to elevate the morale of the establishment and promote a good healthy feeling amongst the boys by showing the kindly appreciation of the public and will also afford the lads a most enjoyable day's amusement.\textsuperscript{156}

In his Annual Report that year he states that the Regatta was held 'for the purpose of obtaining funds sufficient to purchase brass instruments to form a band among the boys.'\textsuperscript{157} The Regatta having been duly held, Neitenstein sought

for employment of a bandmaster at a cost not exceeding 72 pound per annum and for authority to retain the boys forming the band until they shall have attained the age of 15.\textsuperscript{158}

\textsuperscript{151} NSS Vernon, Annual Report, 1881, p.2.
\textsuperscript{152} CSIL 79/438
\textsuperscript{153} CSIL 79/1902
\textsuperscript{154} CSIL 79/2914
\textsuperscript{155} In the Annual Report which was published that year.
\textsuperscript{156} CSIL 79/2678
\textsuperscript{157} NSS Vernon, Annual Report 1879, p.7.
\textsuperscript{158} CSIL Register 79/4609
While he does not appear to have gained general permission to retain the boys, some of them were kept longer than usual in order that they might obtain band appointments. The band, the library and many games were after-tea shipboard recreations and the regattas and harbour and other excursions were usually held on Saturday afternoon. Recreations were also provided for the period between school and tea time.

Weekday afternoon recreation as well as many of the drills which were taught involved the use of the 'land establishment' on Cockatoo Island. A small parade ground and two boatsheds were already in existence on the island when Neitenstein took over. Improvements to these do not seem to have occurred until after the girls were removed from the island. From that time the shore establishment seems to have received as much attention as the ship. The approval of the Minister for Public Instruction for a great many alterations was acknowledged in 1891. The boys helped to construct a 'spacious swimming bath with sandy bottom, trapezes and other appliances' in 1890 and extended it in 1892. The construction of a new recreation and drill ground required the transfer by punt of 250 tons of soil to the island as well as levelling and grassing, all done by the boys. The football club, the cricket club and the athletics club made good use of the new recreation ground as others did of the new gymnasium, with its roomy asphalted court, swings, climbing poles, horses, giant strides and parallel bars.

The boys' recreational activities were not confined to their own establishments or even to the Harbour. From 1884 the Reports speak of journeys to the Botanical Gardens, the Museum, the Art Gallery, the Circus, the Zoo and even a trip

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159 The ship passed to the control of the Department of Public Instruction before a final decision was made, so relevant papers are not available.
160 NSS Vernon, Annual Report 1884, p.5.
161 May, 1887.
162 NSS Vernon, Annual Report 1891, p.3.
163 NSS Vernon, Annual Reports, 1890, p.3 and 1892, p.2.
to Weatherboard Falls.\textsuperscript{166} There are also records of their playing cricket against other clubs and their attendance at and taking part in swimming festivals.\textsuperscript{167}

In order to achieve these objects the old Regulation programme had to be scrapped and an entirely new one introduced. Although the new programme was not fully recorded until the publication of the new Regulations for the Sobraon, there are clear statements that it was in use from the beginning of Neitenstein's superintendence. The Regulations spell out the details:

\begin{table}
\centering
\caption{NSS Sobraon Summer Routine}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\hline
\textbf{5.00} & Turn out, lash up hammocks, muster. \\
\textbf{5.20} & Drill. \\
\textbf{5.40} & Wash all decks, one watch to wash. \\
\textbf{7.15} & Breakfast. \\
\textbf{7.40} & One watch to wash. Clean boats, brasswork &c \\
\textbf{8.40} & Inspection 8.45 Second Officer's Inspection. \\
\textbf{9.00} & Divisions, Commander's Inspection. Prayers; One watch to school after general drill; One watch drill, work and general routine. \\
\textbf{11.40} & Dismiss school and drill, prepare for dinner. \\
\textbf{12.00} & Dinner, recreation. \\
\textbf{12.50} & Fall in. Complaints to be inquired into by the Commander. \\
\textbf{1.00} & Divisions and muster; one watch to school one watch drill work and general routine. \\
\textbf{3.50} & Dismiss school and drill. Muster \\
\textbf{4.00} & Shift into working suits, clean up decks, hoist boats; recreation. \\
\textbf{5.00} & tea, recreation. \\
\textbf{5.50} & Fall in, muster. Library and recreation hall open for boys of first five classes; band, singing and other amusements. Punishment classes to work. \\
\textbf{7.30} & Muster, prayers and turn in hammocks. \\
\textbf{8.00} & Last Post; All locks to be examined, and report to be made to Superintendent. \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

Source: NSS Sobraon, Regulations. Charles Potter, Govt. Printer, Sydney, 1894 Page 5

Saturday mornings were spent 'thoroughly cleaning the ship, boats, island grounds &c.' and the afternoon was devoted to recreation. Sunday, before nine and after four was spent

\textsuperscript{166} Wentworth Falls. \\
\textsuperscript{167} NSS Vernon/Sobraon Annual Reports, 1884-1896 passim.
as other days. Church attendance and Sunday school classes occupied the rest of the day.

This programme of work, drills and recreation would have ensured that the boys waking hours were fully occupied. It was carefully designed to effect a profound reformation of the attitudes and work habits of the boys. The programme also treated the apprenticeship stage as an integral part of the reformatory process. This fact as well as Neitenstein's strong belief that more boys should be admitted to the ship coloured his outlook towards parents who sought to have their boys released by Executive authority.

His objections to the return of boys to their parents were usually expressed in terms of his low opinion of the parents and a denial of the prevalence of poverty among the boys, although an analysis of the admissions during the first seven years of Neitenstein's regime would suggest that only thirty-nine percent had both parents alive, so that poverty was still a contributing factor to admissions.

In most years two-parent families provided the applicants for release by Executive authority. The number of these applications in any particular year are a sure indicator of the relative affluence of the poorer section in the community. For example a minor recession in 1878-79 ensured very few applications for Executive release, but in the first half of 1880 thirty-four applications for release were made by parents. The number of boys released by Executive authority rose in 1881 and 1882 and continued at around twenty each year until 1890 when the Depression and the overcrowded state of the Vernon affected the number of both applications and releases.

These discharges by Executive authority combined with discharges to the State Children Relief Board of all boys under eleven meant that in any year, from 1886 on, the ship had a transitory population of about fifty boys per year.

169 NSS Vernon, Annual Reports, 1878-1884 Appendices.
170 CSIL 1880 Vernon letters passim.
171 NSS Vernon Appendices to Annual Reports, 1878-1890.
This affected the number of boys available for apprenticeship and thus the number of apprentices in service at any one time.

**TABLE 5.6**

NSS Vernon/Sobraon Admissions, On Board, Apprentices Between 1879 and 1896

Both the success of Neitenstein's system and the first hints that the success would not continue can be seen in these figures. By 1887 the number of boys at apprenticeship had reached its peak at about 450. While the number of admissions remained fairly stable, the relative number of apprentices started to diminish after 1890. This does not appear to have caused any concern at the time. It was only after Neitenstein left the ship that the trend started to cause problems. Meanwhile his theories about methods of training and time of apprenticeship were readily accepted as being effective by the Government of the day.\(^{172}\)

\(^{172}\) It was because of his 'success' on the Sobraon that he was given the position of Comptroller General of Prisons.
Other indicators of success are in evidence at this time. The cost of running the ship had been reduced to twenty-three pounds per boy in 1889\textsuperscript{173} and the number of apprentices favourably reported on by their employers was regularly ninety-two or ninety-three percent. While these results were achieved after one year of training on board, the ship was regarded as fulfilling a very useful purpose.

Neitenstein’s acceptance of a one-year training period or even of the fact that the ship was destined to train farmers was not an instantaneous belief. Despite his later statements about the suitability of the ship to train farmers, in his first years as superintendent Neitenstein was clearly anxious to resume the practice of apprenticing boys to sea. In 1878 he succeeded in apprenticing four mariners and nineteen the following year, leading him to claim that ‘as a nursery for seamen the ship has practically proved her utility.’ Two years later he succeeded in having twenty of the boys apprenticed as sailors on the Wolverine, a Royal Navy training ship attached to the Sydney Base, and spoke of another ten about to be apprenticed in the same way. Then there is an abrupt silence about the subject of apprenticeships to sea.\textsuperscript{174} The only clue to the reasons for this sudden silence comes in an entry in the ‘Admissions and Discharges’ Appendix for 1883 which says ‘Removed from the “Wolverine” in order to be discharged to relatives.’\textsuperscript{175} This suggests the possibility that the superintendent could not apprentice a boy to the British Navy any more than he could apprentice him to a ship not belonging to the Colony.\textsuperscript{176}

Neitenstein made no further attempts at sea-going apprenticeships. One probable reason for this was that the land appointments were proving successful. An examination of the reports on apprentices for the years 1878 to 1883 inclusive makes it clear that Neitenstein had some grounds for believing that his methods were working.

\textsuperscript{173} NSS Vernon, Annual Report 1889, p.2.
\textsuperscript{174} Ramsland, \textit{op.cit} p.218 sees this programme as being well-maintained.
\textsuperscript{175} NSS Vernon, Annual Report 1883, p.15.
\textsuperscript{176} CSIL 68/3079. It is also possible that the Wolverine found the boys unsatisfactory as apprentices.
TABLE 5.7

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<tr>
<th>NSS Vernon Reports on Apprentices 1878-1883</th>
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<th>80</th>
<th>81</th>
<th>82</th>
<th>83</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indifferent</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absconded</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ind. Cancelled</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Reports</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* included with indifferent

Sources: NSS Vernon Annual Reports, 1878-1883

Omitting the 'no reports', these figures would suggest that the number of good reports had increased from about 69 percent to 91 percent. This was an impressive figure. The number of cancelled indentures had remained steady for the three years and the number of absconders had dropped despite a doubling of the number of apprentices. While Neitenstein gave credit for these results to the system of training, it is just as likely that his methods of selecting employers and his supervision of the apprentices played their part.

While Captain Mein had required a character report for those who sought apprentices, Neitenstein adopted the system in use in the Orphan Schools of demanding two references, from a magistrate and a clergyman. He also asked those who made the recommendation to undertake to keep a friendly eye on the boy's welfare. This would suggest that he tried to match the religion of the apprentice and the master.

He was also aware that failure at apprenticeship could be due to unreasonable masters. In his first Report he pointed out that in many cases of failure the fault lay with the master requiring a boy to do a man's job. He also recognised the difficulties in securing wages and the problems in attempting to supervise from a great distance and

177 From about 1885 this figure was between 92% and 93%
179 This would appear to be the logic of the form he devised for application for apprentices. The clergyman who recommended the applicant also had to undertake to visit the boy at his master's home. Such an undertaking would have been unthinkable if the same religion was not involved. NSS Vernon, Annual Report 1885, p.6.
180 NSS Vernon, Annual Report 1878, p.3.
recommended the appointment of an Inspector of Apprentices. When he did not succeed in this, he took trips into the country to prosecute masters who were not fulfilling their part of the contract.\textsuperscript{181}

The following year (1884) he could state that all employers of boys from the Vernon had to report to him at regular intervals about the conduct of the boy and the amount to the boy's credit in the bank. They were also requested to report on the conduct and treatment of any Vernon boy of their acquaintance. If no reply was received within a reasonable time the police were requested to visit and report, and if necessary to remove the boy if they found he was improperly treated. Each apprentice was also requested to write to the superintendent. He also obtained permission to make quarterly visitations.\textsuperscript{182}

Throughout his superintendency Neitenstein continued this system of supervision, but it is clear that he realised that it was an impossible task. He did not hesitate to prosecute masters who failed to keep their part of the contract. On his first trip to inspect apprentices he obtained arrears of wages for one lad and in another case caused the boy to prosecute his master for assault, while he proceeded against the same master for breach of the articles of apprenticeship.\textsuperscript{183} Some idea of the magnitude of the task can be gained from the fact that he succeeded in visiting only twenty-eight boys that year. He 'strongly direct[ed] attention...to the importance of this question of supervision of children' when they had left 'this [and] kindred establishments'.\textsuperscript{184}

If the task of supervision proved difficult in 1883 it had become impossible by 1896. Of a hundred letters which Neitenstein published from masters in 1896, the addresses given were as far apart as Bathurst, Narrabri, Parkes,

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{181} NSS Vernon, Annual Report 1883, p.11. O'Brien notes the difficulties in the recovery of wages for both Industrial School and SCRAB apprentices. O'Brien, \textit{op.cit} pp.156-162
  \item \textsuperscript{182} NSS Vernon, Annual Report 1884, p.13.
  \item \textsuperscript{183} NSS Vernon, Annual Report 1883, p.11.
  \item \textsuperscript{184} \textit{ibid.}
\end{itemize}
Cootamundra, Yass, Byron Bay, Warren, Walgett, Mudgee, Wagga, Port Macquarie, Cessnock and Culcairn.\(^{185}\)

In spite of the widely scattered locations of his apprentices Neitenstein continued his efforts at supervision. His 1894 Report puts the position quite clearly:

> The 400 apprentices have quite recently all been inspected....During the year I personally visited a number of the apprentices. The Chief Officer...also visited about 70 apprentices, and several gentlemen, on my behalf, have also inspected some of these lads. The country police have, however, performed the greater part of this very necessary duty, in some instances visiting the same lad over and over again during the year.\(^{186}\)

While Neitenstein's insistence on the inspection of the apprentices is laudable, particularly as it was an area in which the Orphanages and the Asylum for Destitute Children had left much to be desired,\(^{187}\) his use of the police to perform the task is questionable. Although the Vernon was originally intended for destitute children, police surveillance of apprentices removed that intention even further from the reality of the situation. Already the jobs to which the boys were sent were those to which the convicts had been assigned. Police supervision would have confirmed the view of the boys as convicts in the minds of both the master and his neighbours and possibly in the mind of the boy himself.

**Conclusion**

During the whole of Neitenstein's superintendency the publicly-stated purpose of the ship had remained the same as it had hitherto been— the conversion of 'neglected' children into docile workers, but there had been obvious changes. After the advent of the State Children Relief Board the boys retained on the ship were older, so that a one-year training course could be the general rule. The increased number of older delinquent boys admitted meant that the school was actually doing the work of a Reformatory rather than an Industrial School. The programme instituted by Neitenstein

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\(^{185}\) NSS Sobraon, Annual Report 1896, pp.4-5.

\(^{186}\) NSS Sobraon, Annual Report 1894, p.2.

\(^{187}\) Charities' Commission, Report.
had proved successful in producing an increased number of successful apprentices. The remarkably expensive purchase and refurbishment of the Sobraon and the promotion of Neitenstein both indicated that the school was seen to be fulfilling the purpose required of it.

While there was some lessening in the number of apprenticeships during the last years of Neitenstein's superintendency, the ship gave every indication that it was meeting one of the requirements of its founders in providing a cheap, disciplined workforce for country areas. The retention rate of apprenticeships was high and the publicity surrounding the Sobraon was most favourable. The use of the ship to give basic training in obedience, cleanliness and good work habits prepared the boys for the unskilled rough bush work which was required of them.

The success of Neitenstein's methods has tended to obscure the marked changes in the population of the School which occurred during his superintendency. These are analysed in this thesis. The elimination of children under eleven, except as transitory 'boarders', the presence of recalcitrant State wards or apprentices, the increasing number of older boys admitted, and the effect of the Children's Protection Act ensured that the Ship was performing the work of a Reformatory rather than an Industrial School. Measured by the number of satisfactorily completed apprenticeships, his methods must be considered as highly successful. Contemporary Politicians as well as later Historians are agreed on the success of his programme.²⁸⁸

Ramsland is correct in stating that Neitenstein's system was 'well thought out and effectively articulated...and attractive to under-privileged boys'.²⁸⁹ Garton is also correct in stating that the system was designed to 'maintain discipline and ensure self-reliance'.²⁹⁰ However, Garton's

²⁸⁸ Although O'Brien denies the value of the 'reformation' to the families of the boys and Garton notes that the institutional environment was 'marginalised from the mainstream'.
²⁸⁹ Ramsland, op.cit. p.207
²⁹⁰ Garton op.cit p.53. The kind of self-reliance to which O'Brien refers differs somewhat from that to which both Neitenstein and Garton refer. O'Brien op. cit p.142
statement that Neitenstein 'implemented and refined the essential principles of juvenile reform that had guided British, American and Australian reformers since the 1840s',\textsuperscript{191} is open to question, as is Ramsland's implication that Neitenstein's regime was simply a more efficient version of Mein's. Overseas Industrial Schools and Reformatories were 'trade training' institutions, as the Vernon was during Mein's superintendency. Neitenstein's programme was 'purely disciplinary'.\textsuperscript{192} Programmes such as that at Mettrai, which was the model for most British Reformatories and Industrial Schools provided punishments but little in the way of rewards.\textsuperscript{193} Neitenstein devised a very efficient programme based largely on rewarding good behaviour.

By analysing the changing nature of the enrolments, this thesis has shown the change in the role and function of the ship. By an analysis of the components of the Ship's curriculum it shows clearly that although the class/mark system was the central feature of the school's management,\textsuperscript{194} that system as only part of an extremely effective programme that was unique to the Nautical School Ship. Neitenstein's curriculum is shown as going well beyond the 'essential principles of reform' which had hitherto guided reformers of juveniles in Australia and overseas.\textsuperscript{195}

In 1896 Neitenstein was appointed to the position of Comptroller General of Prisons and his place as superintendent was taken by William Henry Mason who had been his lieutenant since 1878. Both appointments are a significant endorsement of Government approval of Neitenstein and the work of the ship. Mason's appointment to the role of superintendent would surely indicate that the methods then in vogue on the Sobraon would be continued under the new regime. The ship's course seemed clearly defined when the new superintendent took over.

\textsuperscript{191} Garton \textit{op cit}, p.53.
\textsuperscript{192} NSS \textit{Vernon}, Annual Report 1884 p.23
\textsuperscript{193} \textit{ibid}. Neitenstein's discussion of this question is definite and precise.
\textsuperscript{194} as Garton, Ramsland and O'Brien have done.
\textsuperscript{195} analysed in previous chapter.
CHAPTER VI

A SHIP TO TRAIN FARMERS?

When William Mason took charge of the Sobraon in 1896 it appeared that the ship was set for an indefinite future as the preferred method of converting the older waifs and strays and petty criminals of the Colony into deferential, hardworking, country workers. Within fifteen years the ship was abandoned, with few people prepared to uphold its value as an Industrial School. The apparent change in the perceived success of the Sobraon requires a thorough analysis, as it would seem to imply a rapid change in both the ideology and practice of child care over a short period.

Apart from the chapter on life on board the Sobraon in Children in Care, which has been incorporated in this chapter, there is no available account of either Mason's superintendency or of the reasons for the abandonment of the Sobraon. Without any mention of Mason's superintendency, Dickey notes that the Sobraon was replaced by the school at Mt. Penang, and Garton states that 'the institutionalised system favoured by Neitenstein was marginalised from the mainstream'. To a certain extent the two statements are contradictory and neither statement is completely accurate, but both contain elements of truth.

This chapter seeks to establish the extent to which change occurred in the administration of the Sobraon and in attitudes towards the ship during Mason's superintendecy. By determining the reasons for any changes it seeks to establish the subsequent attitude towards institutionalisation.

It is clear that the circumstances which led to the demise of the ship were not due to any real difference in the philosophy espoused by the new superintendent. A graduate of the British Naval Training College, HMS Worcester, William

1 Scrivener, op.cit. pp.45-61
2 Dickey op cit [Care] p.130
3 Garton op. cit p.54
Henry Mason joined the ship in 1878, replacing Neitenstein as 'mate and clerk', and continuing as his lieutenant for eighteen years, until Neitenstein was promoted to the position of Comptroller General of Prisons. Apart from some cosmetic alterations to the drills, of which Neitenstein expressed his approval, Mason did not attempt to alter the curriculum of the ship.

The same daily routine was followed as the school's programme, the same reward and punishment system was in force and the same recreations were followed. The boys took their part in the regattas on the harbour and visited favourite places on shore. On at least one occasion the football team and the band were taken on a tour of the southern districts of the State. The boys performed their drills for a variety of visitors who wrote superlative comments on the ship, the drills and the sporting facilities. Throughout the Reports of the period there runs a sense of satisfaction at a job well done. At the same time it is clear that Mason presided over the demise of the Sobraon, although this fact is hidden by the facade of a successful school to the very end. A number of factors dating from well before the time when Mason took charge can be seen as contributing to the abandonment of the ship.

Despite all of the rhetoric about rescuing the boys from their parents and peers, one of the basic functions of the ship was to provide 'suitable' cheap labour in country districts. Much of Neitenstein's success can be attributed to the fact that there was a sufficient supply of 'recruits' of an age which would permit their apprenticeship after the minimum reformatory period and enough 'suitable' places to which they could be apprenticed. The loss of both 'suitable' recruits and 'suitable' apprenticeship places is at the heart of the collapse of the Sobraon's system of training. Some of

5 CSIL 78/3559.
7 NSS Sobraon, Annual Report 1900 and 1906.
8 NSS Sobraon, Annual Report 1897, p.2.
9 NSS Sobraon, Annual Report 1900, p.2.
10 NSS Sobraon, Annual Report 1908, p.2.
11 NSS Sobraon, Annual Report 1898, pp.13-14
these losses were incidental to the depressed economy of the nineties and to the drought which raged from 1894 until 1903. Others were caused by economic and social factors and many by the changing nature of the Sobraon's enrolment. The desire of the State Children Relief Board to justify its own methods and to obtain control of all institutions relating to children must also be taken into account. 12

This determination to control the Industrial Schools or Reformatories was in evidence well before Mason became superintendent. The relationship between the Vernon/Sobraon and the Board had always been somewhat strained, partly because they were the obvious representatives of two opposing ideologies and partly because of the Board's need to discipline its non-conformers privately if it did not want its failures publicised by the ship's Reports. It is likely that the reason why the wily Henry Parkes transferred the Industrial Schools to the Education Department in 1880 was that he wished to preserve his beloved Nautical Training Ship and that he realised that it would have stood little chance of survival if it had been under the care of the same Minister as the State Children Relief Board. 13

No mention was made of the need to use the Industrial Schools or a Reformatory in the Act by which the State Children Relief Board had been set up, 14 but as early as Renwick's second Report (in 1883) the need for access to such institutions is stressed. 15 While boys under eleven could be transferred to the Board from the ship (with the consent of the Minister), 16 a boy who was under the control of the Board could be sent to the ship only if he was committed to it by a magistrate. 17 The publishing each year of the number of boys who had been 'previously under State control' or who had been

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13 This transfer has otherwise little logic to justify it and on the surface runs counter to Parkes's continued pride in the ship.
14 44 Vic. No.24. As the Act was presented as an auxiliary measure, such a suggestion would have been an anomaly.
'failures at other institutions'\textsuperscript{18} would, no doubt, have angered Arthur Renwick who was putting intense efforts into the public relations aspect of his position as President of the Board and used his Annual Reports to 'sell' the idea of boarding-out.\textsuperscript{19}

About 1894 the Board sought a discreet method of dealing with the problem of refractory boys by setting up its own unofficial Reformatory at Rydalmere while it was awaiting the establishment of the Brush Farm Reformatory.\textsuperscript{20} In association with men from the Rookwood Asylum, the boys from Rydalmere were employed in preparing Brush Farm, but when that Reformatory was opened in 1895 the pressure of enrolments from the courts made it impossible for the boys from Rydalmere to be included, although the Reformatory was placed under the control of the Charities Department.\textsuperscript{21}

Because of the peculiar relationship between the State Children Relief Board and the Charities Department,\textsuperscript{22} this could have been the equivalent of the Board having its own Reformatory, but the situation did not last long. After fifteen months in the job the new Superintendent of Brush Farm, Captain Murray, tendered his resignation because he feared the possibility of riots which he felt he would have no chance of controlling.\textsuperscript{23} At the request of the Public Service Board, Frederick Neitenstein, now Comptroller General of Prisons, inspected the institution and made a scathing Report. Having admired the view, he stated quite bluntly that 'Not much more [could] be said in its favour,' and went on to criticise the choice of site, the state of the buildings and arrangements for both staffing and teaching. He recommended the immediate discharge of thirty-eight inmates and their recommittal to the Sobraon.\textsuperscript{24} No doubt as a consequence of

\textsuperscript{18} NSS Sobraon, Annual Reports. Appendix B each year.
\textsuperscript{19} The existence of this antagonism is openly stated in NSW Parliamentary Debates, Vol 40, pp.454 ff.
\textsuperscript{20} 'Carpentarian Reformatory, Correspondence, Reports and other papers.' in JLC 1897, pp.323 ff.
\textsuperscript{21} ibid.
\textsuperscript{22} The staff of the State Children Relief Board were members of the Charities Department.
\textsuperscript{23} 'Carpentarian Reformatory Correspondence Reports and other Papers' in JLC 1897, pp.323 ff.
\textsuperscript{24} ibid.
this Report, Brush Farm was transferred to the control of the Department of Education that year.\textsuperscript{25} The State Children Relief Board then devised its own system of dealing with its own problem boys who were either transferred from home to home or placed in one of their unofficial Reformatories which went under the names of Cottage Homes or Probationary Farm Homes.\textsuperscript{26} From the point of view of the Sobraon this meant that an expected thirty to forty admissions per year were no longer available to it.

The opening of Brush Farm also decreased the numbers admitted to the Sobraon, simply because some of the boys who were admitted to Brush Farm after 1895 would, in other years, have been committed to the Sobraon. This is clear from Neitenstein's recommendation for the discharge of excess numbers from Brush Farm and their re-enrolment on the Sobraon.\textsuperscript{27} While his advice concerning the transfer of the boys was not carried out,\textsuperscript{28} it is clear that Neitenstein regarded the boys as suitable material for the Sobraon.\textsuperscript{29} About sixty boys were admitted to Brush Farm each year after 1896. Most of these boys would, in earlier years have been admitted to the Sobraon.\textsuperscript{30}

A further lessening of the numbers committed to the Sobraon was brought about by the passing of the Reformatory and Industrial Schools Act of 1901.\textsuperscript{31} While this was officially a consolidation of the 1866 Acts, in practice it

\textsuperscript{25} SCR, Annual Report, 1889. p.2. Shaftesbury was removed from the Charities Department at the same time.
\textsuperscript{26} SCR Annual Report 1899, p.3-4.
\textsuperscript{27} Carpentarian Reformatory, Correspondence, Reports and Papers in JLC 1897 p.323ff
\textsuperscript{28} \textit{Ibid.} This would have required a new trial for each boy. While the police did arrest boys outside the gaol gates and charge them with having 'no means of support' in 1867, there was no provision in the Reformatory Schools Act for such an action. The boys were simply discharged.
\textsuperscript{29} While most were petty thieves, they could not be charged under the Children's Protection Act as they were over fourteen.
\textsuperscript{30} \textit{Ibid.} Although Brush Farm's Admission Register is not available, the one list of boys that is extant would suggest that the boys' offences did not differ markedly from those of boys previously sent to the Sobraon. As Brush Farm was enclosed by a two-rail fence it was unsuitable for serious offenders.
\textsuperscript{31} Act No.38, 1901.
put further restrictions on the enrolments of the Sobraon by making the legality of committing boys who had been guilty of offences under the Children’s Protection Act questionable. Its provisions also clashed with the Apprenticeship Act.

For these reasons the Sobraon’s admissions had not increased in the way that had been anticipated when it was purchased in 1892, but the changes were not on their own sufficient to alter so drastically the number of boys who were actually apprenticed from the ship. A table showing admissions and discharges and number of apprentices under the Superintendent's control makes this clear.

TABLE 6.1

NSS Sobraon, Admissions, Discharges and Apprenticeships 1897-1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Admissions</th>
<th>Discharges</th>
<th>Apprentices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>600</td>
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<td>400</td>
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<td>1902</td>
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<td>600</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>1100</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>1100</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>1300</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>1100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>1400</td>
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<td>1200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>1400</td>
<td>1300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: NSS Sobraon Annual Reports, 1897-1910, Appendices: Admissions and Discharges.

These figures would indicate that apart from the two years of 1900 and 1901, when a recession caused by the drought probably increased enrolments, the general trend in admissions up to 1905 was fairly regular, but not increasing in the way that seemed to be expected when the Sobraon was commissioned.

32 ibid, Clause 13.
33 Act No. 41, 1901.
While the fact that enrolments did not increase as expected because of the enrolments at Brush Farm and the State Children Relief Board's 'cottage homes', the fact that they increased at all was due to the admission of a somewhat different type of enrolment. In his advocacy of the establishment of a Boys' Reformatory, Neitenstein had expressed the opinion that such a step would alter the nature of the offences for which the boys were sent on the Sobraon and would increase the number of 'Industrial School' boys sent to the ship. A study of the admissions in 1898 would suggest that this did, in fact, happen.

**TABLE 6.2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Charges made in 1898</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Police</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No means support</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sleeping in open air</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stealing/larceny</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No occupation/truanting/begging</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wandering with prostitutes/thieves</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault/using horse</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parents</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No occupation/truanting</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stealing</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sleeping in open air</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No means support</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Returns</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absconded Apprentices</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misconduct/Indentures Cancelled</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absconded SCR/B</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Sobraon Entrance Book for 1898 Admission Numbers 98.1 ff.*

In examining these figures an attempt was made to evaluate the 'seriousness' of the offences as compared with admissions of previous years and to note any apparent changes in the kinds of charges made. The charges of stealing made by the police or parents under the Children's Protection Act of 1892 would suggest that there were few offences which were more serious than previous years and that the majority do not suggest any great degree of criminality. One boy stole goods to the value of six pounds, another two boys each stole goods worth two pounds, one stole a watch worth one pound, three

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34 NSS Vernon, Annual Report 1878, p.2.
boys stole harness, two stole lead and four zinc and another stole two pairs of wheels. The remaining items listed were stockings, a loaf of bread, nectarines, an axe and some wood, a necktie, elastic, bags, tenpence worth of food, three cricket balls, a handkerchief with four cakes and a toffee, two dozen bags worth four shillings and sheepskins worth five shillings.  

On the other hand the offence of truanting is mentioned in charges made by both police and parents, although not as a charge in itself. Sometimes it is stated that a boy's father had been prosecuted for not sending the boy to school, in others it is simply stated that the boy would not go to school. This could indicate either that the boy had committed some offence which police could not prove or that police, who did not appreciate the task of enforcing school attendance, were using the strategy of charging the child rather than the father who was legally responsible for the boy's attendance at school.  

In either case it is reasonable to suppose that neither the parents or the boy himself regarded the offence of truanting as a serious one. An attempt to have a truant discharged by Executive authority might reasonably be expected.  

Table 6.1 also makes it obvious that the number of discharges each year are not reflected in the number of apprentices. Clearly boys are being discharged in other ways than apprenticeship. That the superintendent was no longer able to place the usual number of boys in suitable country apprenticeships can be inferred, in spite of statements to the contrary in some Reports. The number of boys under

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35 Sobralon Entrance Book 1898 Adm. Nos. 98.1 ff.
36 R.Hogg And H.Golder, 'Policing Sydney in the late Nineteenth Century.' in M. Finnane (ed) Policing in Australia, Historical Perspectives. pp 63ff 
37 The 1880 Act required a parent to cause a child to attend school. If father pleaded child's refusal to go to school then the child was charged with 'no legal occupation'
38 NSS Sobralon Annual Report 1901. p.3. Mason refers to 'country employment being plentiful ten years ago.' By implication it was not plentiful in the late nineties.
apprenticeship decreased from 402 in 1897 to 100 in 1906.\(^{39}\)

There were several reasons for this.

The Depression of the nineties and the drought from about 1894 to 1903 affected the number of apprenticeships offering. The first response to these difficulties in apprenticing boys was a decision that boys were not to be apprenticed until they were fourteen years old.\(^{40}\) While this ensured more education for the younger boys it meant that boys of eleven had to stay on the ship for up to three years before apprenticeship. The longer period on the ship for these young boys marked the beginning of the breakdown of Neitenstein's programme of one year on the ship and the rest at service.

In order to attract more employers, the conditions of apprenticeship had to be made more attractive to them. Annual Reports after 1898 indicate that apprentices were being outfitted by the ship and not by their employers and fares to their place of employment were paid by the ship.\(^{41}\) Wages paid to apprentices were also reduced.

**TABLE 6.3**

NSS *Sobraon* Wages paid to apprentices after 1898

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Pocket money</th>
<th>Banked</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14 yrs.</td>
<td>2d.</td>
<td>4d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 yrs.</td>
<td>3d.</td>
<td>9d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 yrs.</td>
<td>4d.</td>
<td>1/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 yrs.</td>
<td>6d.</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: 'Correspondence and Documents Relating to Committals to Sobraon.' AONSW 8/1753.2 p.17*

These steps to make apprenticeship more attractive to the employer had very little success. There were several reasons for this. Most of the new farm machinery introduced at this time required at least semi-skilled labour. The continuing change from the practice of shepherding to paddocking of sheep

\(^{39}\) The number of boys actually at apprenticeship also continued to diminish except for 1907 when a hundred boys were given leave of absence to accept placings on overseas vessels. Their inclusion as apprentices skews the figures somewhat.

\(^{40}\) *Correspondence and Documents relating to Committals to Sobraon* (8/1753.2) p.17.

\(^{41}\) NSS *Sobraon*, Annual Reports 1898 and following years. The cost is included in Total Expenditure Appendix.
had reduced the need for unskilled rural labour appreciably. For those farmers who needed boys for 'light' jobs like milking, the State Children Relief Board offered both a cheaper and more socially acceptable boy, for in the public mind the Board dealt with merely destitute children, while all Vernon/Sobraon Reports had stressed the unworthy nature of the homes from which the boys from the ships came.\(^{42}\) As far back as 1884, Arthur Renwick, President of the Board had rejoiced in his ability to place boys as young as eight on dairy farms on the South Coast.\(^{43}\) By 1898 he records 1,045 children boarded-out to farmers, dairymen or orchardists in addition to 554 boys who were apprenticed.\(^{44}\) His report of that year mentions that

> it was however found that the whole of these children could not be apprenticed at 12 years and power had to be obtained to pay maintenance until the age of 14, if situations could not be found for them before they reached that age.\(^{45}\)

Against the competition of boys who could now be paid for until they were fourteen, or who, when apprenticed, would be supervised by 'lady visitors' and distant officials instead of by the local police who inspected the Sobraon boys, apprentices from the Sobraon were not in a favourable position.

While there is no means of measuring the results, it is possible that the amendment to the State Children Relief Act of 1896 also had an effect on the demand for apprentices.\(^{46}\) This Amendment allowed the State Children Relief Board 'to board out to deserving widows and deserted wives their own children.'\(^{47}\) Support for such children ceased when they were twelve and mothers were required to ensure that these children were not allowed to live in idleness at home.'\(^{48}\) Mothers in receipt of allowances would thus be compelled to seek an exemption from school so that their boys could find employment

\(^{42}\) NSS Vernon/Sobraon Annual Reports, Appendices showing 'Particulars of Parentage'.

\(^{43}\) SCRB, Annual Report 1884, p.21.

\(^{44}\) SCRB, Annual Report 1898, pp.4 and 8.

\(^{45}\) ibid, p.8.

\(^{46}\) 60 Vic. No.9.

\(^{47}\) ibid, Clause 10

\(^{48}\) SCRB Annual Report 1899, p.17.
or to ensure that their children found work in occupations where they could go to school. As the latter course was an unlikely one, it is probable that many of the 935 mothers who were in receipt of this allowance in 1899 had children over twelve also in competition for employment with boys from the ship.\textsuperscript{49} Despite Mason's claims as to the demand for apprentices, it would seem certain that he was experiencing difficulty in arranging satisfactory apprenticeships, because of the intense competition for the available jobs.

Further difficulties were created by the introduction of the Apprenticeship Act of 1901.\textsuperscript{50} This Act allowed parents to seek release of boys, who had been apprenticed by an Industrial School superintendent, by making an application to two Justices.\textsuperscript{51} The Act also allowed for a three months' probationary period, after which the boy, his parents, the superintendent or the master could apply to have the agreement terminated.\textsuperscript{52} These restrictions made the boys less attractive propositions as apprentices.

The third factor which affected the working of the ship at this time was the number of boys who were released by Executive authority. In his second Report Mason complained about the number of boys released in this way:

"I think it is but fair to point out what constitute the most serious difficulties which the Institution has to contend against in fulfilling this most important part of its mission. The principal trouble arises from constant interference on the part of relatives...A lad sent here as being quite beyond the control of his parents, remains a few months, is encouraged and tutored in habits of honesty, truthfulness, obedience, cleanliness and industry; which work achieved, he can be provided with a suitable employer for practical instruction in earning a livelihood. Before this is done, however, a petition for the boy's discharge is advanced, in which it is represented that the boy has been sufficiently punished for his misdeeds, and anxious parents crave for his return to their

\textsuperscript{49} ibid, p.30. This number increased substantially during the next few years.
\textsuperscript{50} Act 41, 1901.
\textsuperscript{51} ibid, Clause 7.
\textsuperscript{52} ibid, Clause 13.
watchful control. The mother is generally represented as being prostrated with grief.\textsuperscript{53}

This could have been a genuine complaint at the number of petitions that were being granted, but it could quite easily have been a none-too-subtle indication to parents that such discharges were obtainable. Whatever the intention of Mason's complaints, many more boys were returned to parents in this way than during the earlier years on the ship. In 1900, sixty-four boys were returned to parents, in 1901 ninety-five were returned and in 1902, 'a large proportion' were returned.\textsuperscript{54}

In order to determine possible internal reasons for the ship's failure to apprentice its boys the placement of those boys admitted in 1898 was sought from the Sobraon Entrance Book. The actual fate of half of the boys who were admitted in 1898 is unclear. Eleven are recorded as having been sent to the State Children Relief Board, twenty-two are listed as having been discharged by Executive authority, eight are listed as having been apprenticed, including one to the Premier, George Reid. Twenty-nine petitions are recorded as having been lodged for the return of boys, but the result of the petition is not noted. Four sets of warrants were forwarded to the Under Secretary, without commentary as to results. Five boys are registered as going to sea. The method of discharge of seventy-seven boys is not stated. This could indicate that a new Admission Register\textsuperscript{55} was in use by the time the boys left the ship, suggesting a considerable time between their admission and discharge and that by the time they were ready for apprenticeship the State-wide drought ensured that their services were not required by farmers.

Evidence for attempts to meet the problem of boys for whom apprenticeship was not available can be found. A comparison of the ship's roll, which recorded the average daily number on board during the year, and the school roll

\textsuperscript{53} NSS Sobraon, Annual Report, 1898. p.5.
\textsuperscript{54} NSS Sobraon, Annual Reports, 1900 p.2, 1901 p.1 and 1902, p.2.
\textsuperscript{55} It would not be convenient to maintain more than two Entrance Books. As each boy's particulars occupied two pages a new Entrance Book would be required for each five hundred boys (about every three years).
which noted the enrolment on the last day of the year, as shown in Table 6.4 show great discrepancies, particularly after 1901. These discrepancies can be explained by the exemption of boys from schoolwork to attend the carpentry shop and later to undergo practical sea-training on the Dart.\textsuperscript{56}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Year} & 1897 & 1898 & 1899 & 1900 & 1901 & 1902 & 1903 & 1904 & 1905 & 1906 & 1907 & 1908 & 1909 & 1910 \\
\hline
\textbf{School} & & & & & & & & & & & & & & \\
\textbf{Ship} & & & & & & & & & & & & & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{NSS Sobraon School and Ship Roll 1897 - 1910}
\end{table}

Sources: NSS Sobraon, Annual Reports, 1897-1910, Appendices: Admissions and Discharges, Table of Expenditure, and Schoolmaster's Report.

The number of boys for whom no apprenticeship was available as well as the desire of the Department of Education for cheap furniture for its schools could explain the opening of the furniture workshops on Cockatoo Island.\textsuperscript{57} Here, in 1900 a shed which had been built on the island three years before was fitted up with benches and necessary tools and twelve boys and an instructor were set to manufacture school furniture.\textsuperscript{58} These first boys were full-time workers. The

\textsuperscript{56} Discussed below.

\textsuperscript{57} While the success of Brush Farm in providing furniture and closet pans for schools as well as jam and fruit for most of the Government institutions was an incentive to this venture, evidence would suggest that lack of available apprenticeships was the determining factor.

\textsuperscript{58} NSS Sobraon Annual Report, 1901, p.2.
following year the number of boys working was increased to thirty. Ten boys did half-time schooling and half-time carpentry in alternate weeks with another ten boys. A 'liberal payment' to the credit of these boys was mentioned, but no figure is stated.\textsuperscript{59}

By 1905 'some fifty boys' were accommodated in the enlarged workshops and the boys' wages were noted as 198 pounds 15 shillings.\textsuperscript{60} The furniture workshops were showing a very tidy profit to the Education Department,\textsuperscript{61} but Superintendent Mason noted the 'impossibility of finding employment for our boys at carpentry when they reach the age which puts them beyond departmental control'.\textsuperscript{62}

This complaint was reiterated the following year. by which time sixty boys were employed. These boys were exempted from school and were maintained on the ship until they turned eighteen when an effort to obtain a carpentry job for them was made, usually without success.\textsuperscript{63} The 'prejudice on the part of the trade' to which Mason referred in 1904 apparently continued towards these 'improvers'.\textsuperscript{64} This attempt to solve the problem of lack of apprenticeship opportunities was therefore regarded as only partly successful.\textsuperscript{65}

At about the same time as the carpentry shops were begun, Captain Mason sought for means to recommence the allocating of boys to sea service. In order to do this he had to find a way to circumvent the proviso that boys could be apprenticed only to ships belonging to the residents of the Colony/State.\textsuperscript{66} He was also anxious that boys who were sent on overseas trips had a sufficiently long trip to enable them to get ordinary seamen's discharges when paid off.\textsuperscript{67} During 1901 he was able to place forty-four boys on ships, mostly on vessels leaving

\textsuperscript{59} NSS Sobraon Annual Report, 1902, p.2.
\textsuperscript{60} An average of 1/6 per week.
\textsuperscript{61} NSS Sobraon Annual Report 1906, p.9.
\textsuperscript{62} ibid, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{63} NSS Sobraon, Annual Report, 1906, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{64} NSS Sobraon, Annual Report, 1904, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{65} The failure to obtain jobs in the trade made the exercise of dubious worth. Furniture manufacturers regarded the operation with considerable hostility as being unfair competition.
\textsuperscript{66} CSIL 68/3079.
\textsuperscript{67} NSS Sobraon Annual Report, 1901, p.3.
Newcastle and mostly 'going round voyages to the west coast of South America, and thence to the United Kingdom.' The boys chosen were boys who had been returned from shore service or those who had been committed to the ship when they were nearly sixteen. Instead of being apprenticed they were given 'leave of absence' from the ship.\(^6\)

The ability to give training in practical seamanship was enhanced when the 'Imperial authorities' offered the loan of HMS Dart to be used as a sea-going tender for the Sobraon. Of 300 tons register, 'rigged as a brigantine, with auxiliary steam power and with taut spars and large spread of canvas,' the Dart was welcomed enthusiastically by Superintendent Mason.\(^6\) In 1906 it made trips to Jervis Bay, with fifty boys on board to train as seamen, stokers, cooks and stewards. It also made two further cruises to Jervis Bay, one to Twofold Bay and five to Newcastle as well as several trips to Broken Bay and around the coast generally. About half the time the Dart was under steam and the other half under sail. Forty-four boys were placed in positions after the season's trips.\(^7\) During the following year the Dart's training resulted in the placing of 64 boys on sailing ships and 36 on steamers.\(^7\)

Apart from several cruises along the coast during 1907, the Dart 'was employed on survey work at Clarence River, the boys doing all the boat and flag work' during November and December of that year. In January, 1908 they also took 'coastal current observations' off Crowdy Head and Manning River entrance.\(^7\) The Public Works Department 'provisioned the vessel' during the period.\(^7\)

The fact that the Dart was solving an otherwise insoluble problem becomes clear on an examination of the way in which boys enrolled in the 1902-1903 admission period\(^7\) left the ship:

\(^6\) NSS Sobraon Annual Report, 1901, p.3.
\(^6\) NSS Sobraon Annual Report, 1904, p.2.
\(^7\) NSS Sobraon Annual Report, 1906, p.9.
\(^7\) NSS Sobraon Annual Report, 1907, p.9.
\(^7\) NSS Sobraon Annual Report 1908, p.8.
\(^7\) ibid p.1.
\(^7\) This period was chosen because, under conditions operating during Neitenstein's regime all would have left the ship by the time the 1905 Act applied.
### TABLE 6.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To sea in 1906</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To sea in 1907</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To sea in 1908</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To sea in 1909</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Released by Executive authority</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sent to SCR B</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprenticed</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sent to Brush Farm</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discharged at 18 between 1908 and 1910</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditionally discharged 1908 - 1910</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Sobraon Entrance Book 8/1748  AONSW*

Clearly most of these boys stayed on the ship for between four and six years. Those discharged at eighteen would probably have been working in the carpentry shop as would some whose placement is not stated.

An analysis of admissions during the year ending 30th April 1905 shows the shift in reasons for admission:

### TABLE 6.6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No means of support</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stealing</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Occupation/wandering</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sleeping in Open Air</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living with Prostitutes/thieves</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Begging</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault (illegal warrant)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No occupation/wandering</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No means support</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sleeping in Open Air</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stealing</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Returns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprentices</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ex-SCR B</td>
<td>1*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* This boy had committed an offence while an absconder

Source: *Sobraon Entrance Book 8/1749  AONSW*

The frequency with which the words 'truanting' or 'won't go to school' appear in the charges of 'no occupation'

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75 Theoretically, all of these boys should have been apprenticed under the original Act and should not have been affected by the new Act.
suggests the possibility that more than half of the boys sent on the Sobraon at this time could have been truants, but as with the boys admitted in 1898, their truancy provides evidence for a charge such as 'no occupation'. All but six boys who were charged at parent's request were charged with having no legal occupation, suggesting that it was a charge in which they could have been countering a police charge of 'failing to send [a boy] to school'.

The placement of these boys is of more importance than their offences, for it demonstrates quite clearly that most of the boys who were sent to the ship were staying there for many years. The punishment of poorer boys for truanting had become a prolonged sentence.  

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**TABLE 6.7**

NSS Sobraon Discharges of Boys Admitted between May 1904 and April 1905.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discharge Reason</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To SCRIB</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Died on ship</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petitions for release*</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Released by Executive authority</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprenticed</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To sea</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Submitted for sea **</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discharged at eighteen</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave of Absence +</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Brush Farm</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Result of petition not stated, Presumably resulted in discharge
** Position not clear presumably went to sea.
+ Usually at seventeen

*Source Sobraon Entrance Book 2nd May 1904 to 30 April 1905. (Method of Discharge given in Entrance Book.)*

Of 140 boys admitted during 1904 only twelve were listed as being apprenticed. Even assuming that the remainder whose fate is uncertain were all apprenticed, this would only amount

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76 As the Act required an attendance of seventy days each half year a parent who was prepared to pay the (usually small) fine could protect his child from being sent on the ship. Poorer parents who did not have the amount of the fine had the choice of going to gaol or declaring that they had sent the child to school.
to forty boys apprenticed. A normal expectation twelve years before would have been 110 to 120.\textsuperscript{77}

Further evidence for the breakdown of the apprenticeship system comes from The Sobraon Placement Book. It was commenced in April, 1904 and continued until the ship was abandoned.

**TABLE 6.8**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NSS Sobraon</th>
<th>Number of Apprentices 1904-1910</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Sobraon Placement Book, AONSH*

With only an odd exception, these boys were admitted before 1905. Clearly it would have been necessary for both the carpentry shop and the Dart to contribute towards the occupation and the disposal of the boys who were unable to obtain release by Executive authority. Many boys were confined to the ship for several years, not the twelve-month period which had hitherto been regarded as normal.

For a few years the system of training boys for seetrades on the Dart had provided an outlet for surplus boys. By 1910 two factors had emerged which rendered the Dart somewhat useless. The first was the high cost of running and repairing a vessel which the State did not own.\textsuperscript{78} The other was the instructions from a cautious Education Department that written permission had to be obtained from parents before a boy could be sent on the Dart.\textsuperscript{79} It would seem likely that a serious collision between the British Nautical School Ship, Port Jackson and the German ship Weyroos in the Downs in 1906 had alerted the Department to its legal liabilities.\textsuperscript{80}

Apart from these considerations there is some reason to believe that this wholesale placing of boys in ships was not

\textsuperscript{77} Sobraon Entrance Book, May, 1904 to April, 1905.
\textsuperscript{78} NSS Sobraon, Annual Report, 1909, p.1 and 1910, p.3. [It required a staff of eleven men to supervise fifty boys on the Dart.]
\textsuperscript{79} NSS Sobraon Annual Report, 1910, p.2. The Department also forbade the sending of boys on sailing ships at this time, so the Dart could only be used under steam.
\textsuperscript{80} NSS Sobraon Annual Report, 1908, p.2.
as successful as the Reports claimed. A letter published in Truth claimed that many who made the trip to London were paid off and unable to get ships home.\textsuperscript{81} The mate of the Dart made one rescue trip to London to bring home all the boys from the Sobraon who were stranded there.\textsuperscript{82} Official insistence that boys be not sent on overseas vessels without a guarantee that they be returned to a given port greatly reduced the numbers sent to sea after 1908.\textsuperscript{83}

Against this background of the difficulty in obtaining suitable apprenticeships for boys, the necessarily limited number who could be catered for in the carpentry shop and the problems associated with sending boys to sea, the number of releases by Executive authority makes sense. Clearly more parents were making applications for such release and more petitions were being granted, although most petitions granted would appear to have been after a boy had been on board for about two years, not the few months that was usual for such discharges during previous regimes.\textsuperscript{84} By discharging boys to parents after an extended time on board and without apprenticeship, the Sobraon was conforming more to Reformatory than to Industrial School practice.

Superintendent Mason had devised three methods of countering the lack of apprenticeships and the consequent prolonged stay on the ship but none of his solutions to the Sobraon's problems would have met with the approval of those who had sought to establish Industrial Schools. The return of a great number of boys to their parents did not break the ties with family and companions which had been sought. Nor did the method of discharge by Executive authority maintain the surveillance over the parents that the new system of probation provided.

Mason's use of the carpentry shop would also have roused fairly powerful opposition. Few manufacturers welcome the competition that an institution factory offers. The

\textsuperscript{81} NSS Sobraon Annual Report, 1908, p.5. Original letter not located.
\textsuperscript{82} NSS Sobraon Annual Report 1910, p.8.
\textsuperscript{83} NSS Sobraon Annual Report, 1908, p.7.
\textsuperscript{84} Sobraon Entrance Book Admissions during 1902.
boycotting of the boys from the carpentry shop, while it punished the victims, is an understandable reaction.

Even less commendable was the sending of boys to sea. While the use of the Dart was, at best, foolhardy, the sending of so many adolescent boys 'on leave of absence' on ships to England, knowing that they would be paid off when they arrived there, was little short of criminal negligence. Parkes's caution in refusing to permit boys to be apprenticed 'on vessels not belonging to ports of the Colony' or to 'situations altogether beyond our observation and control' was ignored and a situation which sometimes amounted to transportation in reverse resulted.

The number of boys returned to their parents by Executive authority and problems with placing apprentices or in obtaining employment for boys who had worked in the carpentry shop or difficulties in ensuring the return to the State of boys who had been given leave to accept a sea-going job were obvious brakes on the desired method of managing the ship and would have made the ship an unprofitable institution in a short time. The process was hastened considerably when, in 1905, the Neglected Children and Juvenile Offenders Act became law.85

From the point of view of the Sobraon the principal effect of the Act lay in its provisions for committal through the Children's Courts, the establishment of Mittagong Farm Homes under its auspices, and its provision for conditional discharges and release on probation. The sentence imposed on a child was much more flexible than under previous Acts. When a child was committed to an institution the Minister determined which institution the child was to be sent to, could remove the child from one institution to another or could have the child removed from an institution and placed in an asylum or sent to the State Children Relief Board to be boarded out.86

The first and most obvious effect of the Children's Court was to reduce the number of boys who were committed to the ship. On the surface the types of charges levelled against

85 Act No. 16, 1905.
86 ibid, Clause 35.
the boys who were sent to the Sobraon were similar to those made before 1905, but there were a number of offences which were more serious than those for which the boys had been sent on the ship previously. This fact can be hidden by a charge of being 'uncontrollable' or by 'breach of probation'.

An analysis of the charges made against the boys between November, 1909 and October, 1910 shows the similarities and differences.

**TABLE 6.9**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Charges Made November 1909 to October 1910</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stealing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncontrollable</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breach of Probation</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Break/enter/steal</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malicious damage</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Throwing stones</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playing two-up</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insulting words</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No means support</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riotous behaviour</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neglected</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No occupation</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bestiality</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indecent Assault</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncontrollable</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Returned Apprentices</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Departmental transfers</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Sobraon Entrance Book 1909 to 1910*

As in previous years the offences for which most of the boys were admitted were scarcely indicative of great criminality, although a few must be regarded as more serious than those admitted in previous years. Items stolen were such things as lead, lemonade, golf balls and bags. One boy robbed a gas meter and two were found guilty of 'larceny as a bailee.' (They sold bikes which they had not finished 'paying off'). Many of the 'breaches of probation' and 'uncontrollable' charges laid by the police were connected with truancy as were most of the charges of being 'uncontrollable' laid by parents.

While the charges made in individual years suggest continuity, there are indications that the Sobraon was receiving some more intractable cases, either on the Minister's orders or directly from the Children's Court.
Between 4th October, 1905 and 12th November, 1909 the *Sobraon* received twenty-seven boys who had either absconded from *Brush Farm* or had been arrested for a breach of probation from that institution. It also received back forty-four of its own apprentices who had either absconded or had their indentures cancelled. Sixteen boys were similarly admitted who had been under State Children Relief Board control, mostly as apprentices. Thirty-seven admissions had breached their probation from Mittagong and fourteen similarly from the *Sobraon* itself. Four had absconded from other institutions.\(^7\) Also admitted during the last two years of the ship were at least seven sex offenders, found guilty of rape, attempted rape and indecent assault.\(^8\) There was little likelihood of any of these boys being apprenticed or conditionally discharged. To a certain extent the *Sobraon* was being treated as the 'maximum security' Reformatory for boys.

The placement of the boys admitted between November, 1909 and October, 1910 gives a clear indication of the altered status of the school:

### TABLE 6.10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Placement of Boys admitted Nov 1909-Oct 1910</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conditionally Discharged 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprenticed 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transferred to Brush Farm 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discharged at eighteen 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To SCRIB for Boarding out 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Mittagong Boys' Home 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave of Absence 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Died 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Sobraon Entrance Book, 8/1751 AONSW*

In 1911 it was decided to close the *Sobraon*. In the Parliamentary Debate on 1st June 1911, the reasons given were the expense of running the ship and its unsuitability in training boys for farming work.\(^9\) The argument for expense was now a valid one. During Mein's regime the expenditure per

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\(^7\) *Sobraon Entrance Book 8/1751 Entries before page 1 (end covers of original book).*

\(^8\) *Sobraon Entrance Book 8/1751, pages 93, 125, 156, 165, 170, 171 and 182*

\(^9\) *NSW Parliamentary Debates, Vol 40, p.454 ff.*
the Parliamentary discussion, the Sobraon was closed and its remaining boys sent to either the State Children Relief Board, to Mittagong Farm Home or to Brush Farm.

Thirty-seven boys were sent to the Farm Home at Mittagong. Louis Heydon, who presented the Annual Report for the State Children Relief Board in 1912, says of these boys:

Thirty-seven were sent to the Farm Home and of that number only three (who are learning trades) remain. The others have been satisfactorily placed at service or have been discharged to relatives or friends. Some of these lads had been inmates of the Sobraon for five, seven, and in one case as long as ten years. Upon the admission of the Sobraon boys to the Farm Home a night attendant was appointed to two divisions of the Homes. 93

Many of the boys who were transferred to Brush Farm and, in spite of Heydon's remarks, possibly some of the boys who were sent to Mittagong, made up the working party which was sent to the Gosford Boys' Home at Mount Penang in 1912, preparing the prison for themselves and others before they were released when they had served their time. 94 For many years Gosford continued to receive the older boys committed by the Children's Courts, and Mittagong the younger boys who in previous years would have been sent to the Sobraon.

Conclusion

Technological, economic, social and political changes accompanied the change in ideology leading to the abandonment of the Sobraon. The demise of the Sobraon was, therefore, brought about by changes which were beyond the control of the superintendent. The decrease in enrolments, largely because of the opening of Brush Farm and the SCR's unofficial Homes and, later, the Farm Home at Mittagong, ensured that the ship

This statement appears to contradict the statement made by Louis Heydon, above. The Mittagong Admission Register does not record the mode of discharge for twelve of the boys who were admitted from the Sobraon in 1911. It is, therefore, possible that Heydon's statement is incorrect. As the Mount Penang Admission Register is not available, the point must remain in doubt.
could not be used to its full potential. The raising of apprenticeship age to fourteen meant that at least half the new enrolments had to stay more than one year on the ship, thus making the amount spent on each boy much greater than hitherto. The absence of available apprenticeships made this additional expenditure an extravagance. Efforts to ease this situation such as the granting of discharge by Executive authority, the opening of the carpentry shop and the increase in the number sent to sea created political problems.

For those people who saw the Industrial Schools as a means of training cheap conscript labour the lack of demand for apprentices was of prime importance. The depression, the drought, competition from the SCRB apprentices, the lessening demand for unskilled bushworkers and a greater demand for unskilled juvenile labour in urban factories made the ship's training seem an unnecessary extravagance.95

As Neitenstein believed that a ship provided the ideal environment for reformatory training, Garton is correct in saying that the 'institutional environment favoured by Neitenstein96 was marginalised from the mainstream', but it is necessary to note that reformatory institutions still retained an important place in the system of 'child care'. This aspect is pointed out by Dickey, who sees the institution at Mt Penang as replacing the Sobraon. This, too, is partially

95 The Sobraon was sold to the Commonwealth Government for fifteen thousand pounds and on 25th April, 1912 was commissioned as our first Naval Training Ship, HMAS Tingira. The ship was moved to Rose Bay, and Lyne Park was used as a recreation area. When under Naval control its recruits lived under much the same conditions as the Sobraon boys had, except that there was no formal schooling, they were paid and allowed shore leave. Its usual complement of trainees was between 300 and 350. In the fifteen years that it served the Navy nearly three thousand boys were trained on board. The Tingira remained in service until 1927 when the system of 'boy trainees' was abandoned. The ship was moored in Berry Bay until 1942 when it was 'broken up'.[Information supplied by Naval Historical Society of Australia, Lyneham ACT and 'The Tingira Story' in Navy News, 8 June, 1973.] Superintendent Mason became Shipping Master for Sydney Harbour, a position which he still held ten years afterwards.[Daily Telegraph, 26th April 1921.] Many of the staff were employed on the construction of the new Gosford Boys' Home which was built at Mount Penang in 1912. [Ramsland and Cartan, op.cit.p 1.]

96 my emphasis
correct. While Mt Penang catered for the older boys, many of the younger boys who would previously have been sent to the Sobraon, particularly truants and petty thieves, were sent to Mittagong Farm Homes after the ship was sold.

The closure of the Sobraon did not mark the end of the institutionalisation of destitute or delinquent boys, although it did end the Nautical School Ship's system of reformation. Apart from its cost, the ship was not considered suitable for the long-term incarceration which serious juvenile delinquency was deemed to involve or for the shorter term sentences which were provided for at Mittagong. In both of the new 'gazetted' Institutions (Mittagong and Mount Penang) the emphasis was on farm training. The myth of the virtues of country life had replaced the mystique of the sea as a perceived cure for delinquency and neglect.

Of even more importance was the fact that the demand for juvenile labour was becoming greater in the city than in the country. The ideology of 'rescue' remained but the practice was a pragmatic solution. The system of release on probation, throwing the onus for reform on the mother to carry out the reformation, allowed for considerably more boys to be under surveillance and still be gainfully employed. Farm Homes at Gosford and Mittagong catered for those not suitable for probation, but the ship had outlived its usefulness for civilian training.
CHAPTER VII

REBELLION AT THE BARRACKS

The Industrial School for Girls was established at Newcastle in the same year as the NSS Vernon was set up, but the only real connection between the Industrial School for Girls at its three locations and the Vernon/Sobraon is that the Schools were established under the same Act and were controlled by the same Minister and Government Department. In all other relevant aspects they differed markedly. Official attitudes, measured by the provision of such things as buildings, staff and equipment or by support for administration, differed, as did the reasons for committal to the two schools, although the same legal terminology was used. These differences would indicate that the Schools were intended to fulfil an entirely different role and function.

Historians have tended to see the Industrial School for Girls in terms of the 'population' which it is reputed to have housed after 1905, ignoring the changes which occurred during the lifetime of the School. Published accounts of the School are piecemeal, covering either a particular period or looking at the School from a particular aspect such as Education or Charity. Ramsland describes the School at Newcastle and Biloela as a disaster, but notes the improvement in the later years at Biloela despite the low priority of the School.¹ This low priority is reflected in the fact that Dickey's only reference to the School after 1875 is the part-sentence remark that 'the care...of the girls admitted to the...Girls' Industrial School...remained a controversial administrative problem'.² Williamson views the education provided for the girls throughout the whole period as 'a school life of domestic drudgery,'³ while Willis analyses the period from 1898

¹ Ramsland, op.cit. p.149 and pp. 200-202
² Dickey op.cit. [Evolution] p.49
³ Williamson op.cit. [pt.2] p.323
to 1923 in terms of the administrative problems faced by reformers who sought to counteract the vice which city life seemed to produce.\(^4\) Scrivener covers a similar period, stressing the harshness of the discipline, the treatment of apprentices and the use of the school as a lock hospital.\(^5\)

Throughout these accounts the role and function of the School is assumed to be the reformation of adolescent girls who had been admitted for prostitution-related offences. This thesis contends that the ages and reasons for committals of girls to the Industrial Schools and the curriculum which was administered changed substantially over the period of the School's existence, and that the role and function of the school altered with the changing enrolments. The three locations of the School provide convenient divisions in which that role and function may be studied.

Because of the assumption that the School was intended for the reformation of prostitute girls, historians make little reference to the purpose of the school. Apart from Dickey's comments on 'the carelessness of the magistrates' which would seem to refer to the committal of overage girls, most historians criticise such things as the unsuitable buildings, government parsimony, and the lack of resources or a well-defined curriculum. The Superintendents are condemned as 'disastrous men', as unsuitable role models, or as lacking necessary skills.\(^6\) Others refer to the mistreatment of the girls or to their reported misbehaviour. Van Krieken includes all of the girls' schools as having 'a regime of stone walls, bashings, solitary confinement, bread and water diets, straitjackets and various other forms of ill-treatment'.\(^7\)

Most of these general criticisms are applied to Newcastle, although few facts are provided for the period at Newcastle. While Ramsland sees the appeal to the 'hip pocket nerve' as being evident in the removal of the girls from

\(^4\) Willis *op.cit.* p.178

\(^5\) Scrivener, *op.cit.* pp. 62-141


\(^7\) van Krieken, *op.cit.* p.71
Newcastle, he believes that under Clarke's management the School had exhausted the patience of the local inhabitants.\(^8\) The local papers criticised the administration of both Agnes King and Joseph Clarke, the *Newcastle Pilot* blaming Mrs King for harshness,\(^9\) and the *Newcastle Chronicle* blaming Clarke for 'excessive kindness and indulgence, the high running costs, lack of industrial work and lack of classification.'\(^10\)

Official Enquiries, whose findings do not appear to have been made public, criticised the committal of overage girls, the injudicious language of the Superintendent, the lack of suitable regulations, the inefficiency of the management, and the use of unacceptable punishments.\(^11\) The two politicians who were personally involved with the institution agreed on its failure, if not on the cause of that failure. John Robertson, as might be expected, blamed the mismanagement of the institution on Henry Parkes and on Superintendent Clarke, whom he had just sacked,\(^12\) while Parkes avoided blame by writing later about the necessity of 'fixing upon the right treatment and...finding the right person to carry it out'\(^13\) [if an Industrial School was to succeed].

Apart from newspaper reports, there is little published information as to the events on which these conclusions were reached. For that reason a comprehensive account of the school at Newcastle is necessary if an assessment is to be made of the role and function of the school. In order to accomplish this, an examination is first made of the choice of site and preparation of the school, the appointment of staff and their suitability for their position. This should provide some understanding of the attitude of the Colonial Secretary and the Parliament towards the school and their perception of its role. An analysis of the charges made against the girls in both city and country courts seeks to determine the part played by parents, police and magistrates in the reasons for

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\(^8\) ibid p.143  
\(^9\) *Newcastle Pilot* 10/4/68 editorial  
\(^10\) cited by Ramsland op.cit p.142  
\(^11\) Papers with CSIL 68/3912 and CSIL 68/6491  
\(^12\) *Newcastle Chronicle*, 1/4/71.  
the presence of the girls in the school and the extent to which their views on the School's function differed from those of the Parliament and the Colonial Secretary. An account of the superintendencies of Agnes King and Joseph Clarke provides an opportunity to examine the formulation of a curriculum and the method of its application. Major problems encountered and the methods of dealing with them are discussed and an attempt is made to account for the occurrence of riots at this time and the reasons for the transfer of the school from Newcastle.

The choice of site was by no means a sudden or hasty one. In the evidence of the Select Committee on the Destitute children's Bill, 1852-54, the former army barracks at Newcastle was the preferred site for an Industrial School.\(^\text{14}\) The army barracks, about a kilometre from the Newcastle wharves, were built into 'about the highest piece of ground in the area',\(^\text{15}\) and commanded a magnificent view of the ocean.\(^\text{16}\) Although the recommended site was about five hectares, the part gazetted as an Industrial School was about one hectare. It consisted only of the part that had been the living quarters for the officers and soldiers together with kitchens, stables and other offices.\(^\text{17}\) There were eight large rooms in the men's barracks and eight two-roomed officers' quarters, seven separate kitchens, several store rooms, stables and other buildings.\(^\text{18}\) Failure to occupy the whole available site, by evicting the Police Magistrate, the militia and the police

\(^{14}\) Select Committee on Destitute Children's Bill in \textit{JLC}, 1854 Vol.2, p.175ff. The Newcastle barracks were described by two witnesses to the Committee, J E N Bull, a visiting Magistrate and Thomas Blackett, the Colonial Architect. Three other buildings considered, but not described, were the commissariat at Port Macquarie, Berrima gaol and the military barracks at Parramatta.
\(^{15}\) As the site was gouged out of the side of the hill, the barracks building was about ten metres below the level of Newcomen Street.
\(^{16}\) The buildings were thoroughly protected from the easterly and southerly winds!
\(^{17}\) Papers with CSIL 68/6058 Copy of Colonial Secretary's letter to Dept. of Works.
\(^{18}\) \textit{ibid}. The 'barracks' building forms part of the main building of Hunter Regional Hospital (formerly Watt Street Asylum) and the officers' quarters are incorporated in the 'Prior' building.
horses, which occupied the rest of the site, converted the recommended school site to a gaol, with its one small exercise yard open to public view.

The preparation of the buildings and grounds for the reception of the girls was less than adequate. After deciding that the tenants of the barracks and officers' quarters should vacate the premises, it was suggested that the boundary fence should be made good, the walls should be coloured, a kitchen fitted up, water tanks supplied and defective guttering replaced. Even these minor adjustments were not fully attended to. The fence to Newcomen Street was still in an unsatisfactory state more than a year after the first girls had been admitted.

No arrangements had been made for the supply of food and the kitchen lacked many necessary cooking utensils. No towelling had been supplied and there were no clothes for the girls to wear or materials to make them. The laundry was without soap, soda, clothes baskets, dippers, an ironing stove, flat irons, basins or jugs. There were not sufficient beds for the first month's intake. No straw had been supplied to fill the mattresses. There were only fifty sheets in store to meet the needs of the forty girls who were admitted in the first two months. No equipment had been

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19 The hospital buildings were occupied by Helenus Scott, Police Magistrate, The guard house and parade grounds were in use by volunteer militia and about one hectare was set aside for police horses.
21 Newcastle Chronicle, 1st April 1871. Papers with CSIL 68/6058. The original retaining wall, still in existence, was about two metres lower than present Newcomen Street wall.
22 leaving the police magistrate, the militia and the horses occupying the rest of the site
23 Papers with CSIL 68/6058.
24 CSIL 70/1262. The argument between the Council and the School was complicated by later flood damage.
25 CSIL 67/5556.
26 ibid.
27 CSIL 67/5556.
28 ibid.
29 CSIL 67/6111.
30 CSIL 67/5556.
31 CSIL 67/5434.
supplied for the school or for sewing classes. Basic tools for the cleaning of the building and for minor repairs were not in stock. This lack of adequate provision for food, clothing, bedding or equipment for essential hygiene would suggest both parsimony and neglect of the girls' welfare on the part of the Colonial Secretary and his office.

The contrast between the care taken to outfit the Vernon and the negligence towards outfitting the Girls' School is striking. Superintendent Mein was allowed fourteen weeks to prepare the ship to receive the boys. Girls were sent to the Industrial School at Newcastle before any real preparations were made. Nearly twelve thousand pounds were spent to prepare the Vernon. About three hundred pounds were spent on the Girls' School before the girls were admitted. It is, therefore, clear that Parkes was more interested in the Nautical Training School than in an Industrial School for Girls.

The same lack of planning and consideration is apparent in matters relating to the numbers and choice of staff. The first appointment as Superintendent at 150 pounds a year, was a Naval Captain, G.W. Jackson, who resigned, after a week at the school, before the first girls were enrolled. Agnes King, who arrived at the school four days before Jackson's resignation, was employed as Matron. She had some experience as a nurse in the Nightingale system in England and had 'walked the wards in Westminster Hospital daily for six weeks before leaving London'. She also had some experience in the Asylum for Destitute Children at Randwick where she had been

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32 CSIL 67/6045.
33 CSIL 67/5163.
34 Dickey, op.cit. p.148 speaks of Government parsimony, but this list would suggest gross neglect as well as parsimony.
35 He was appointed on 12th February. The first boys arrived on 21st May.
36 CSIL 69/1344.
37 The installation of a water tank to supplement the wells seems to have been the only expenditure before the girls arrived. [CSIL 67/4305].
38 CSIL 67/5719, 67/5163 with 67/5331. This resignation was apparently forced by the threat of scandal but the details are not clear.
39 CSIL 66/4144 with 66/4174.
in charge of the seven-year-old girls. Neither the first appointee as sub-matron, Mrs Rice, nor Thomas McCormack, the clerk-storekeeper, who was required to undertake supervisory duties, had any experience in children's institutions. They arrived at the school six days after the first girls. Margaret Kelly, the schoolteacher, who was appointed on the recommendation of the Secretary for the Council of Education and had experience in National Schools, arrived at the school five weeks after the first girls. The cook and the laundress, who were required to impart the skills of their trade to the girls, had no teaching experience. They were paid at the lowest rate of pay for Government employees in their trade, and were not appointed to the school until six weeks after the girls arrived. A gatekeeper, employed some months later, brought the staff total to seven.

The decision to employ Mrs King as Matron/Superintendent as it [was] 'not expected that numbers would increase greatly,' placed control of the school in the hands of a woman whose training and experience had not fitted her for that position. Neither the number of staff, their qualifications nor the haphazard way of their appointment boded well for the success of the school.

A comparison of the provisions for staff for the Girls' School with those made for the Vernon reveals the extent of differences in official attitude towards the two schools. The Vernon had a staff of seventeen, all of whom had already been employed when the first boys came on board. The staff of the Girls' School gradually grew to seven (including the gatekeeper) in the first year. In the Estimates for 1868 a

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40 ibid.
41 CSIL 67/5536, papers with CSIL 67/5719.
42 CSIL 67/5556
43 CSIL 67/5903.
44 CSIL 67/5719.
45 Copy of letter, Colonial Secretary to Mrs King with CSIL 67/5719.
46 Although they were probably adequate for the position of matron.
47 Williamson, op cit. p.378 Ramsland op.cit. pp.139-40
48 Vernon Enquiry, p.l.
49 CSIL 67/4629.
50 CSIL 67/5719.
sum of 570 pounds was allowed for salaries for the Industrial School at Newcastle and 1905 pounds for the Vernon.\(^{51}\) Joseph Clarke's complaint to John Robertson that he was expected to manage the Newcastle institution with one half the staff and at one quarter of the cost of the Vernon was an understatement.\(^ {52}\) The Girls' School always had less than half of the staff of the Vernon.\(^ {53}\)

According to the Acts, an Industrial School in both England and Australia was supposed to be a protective and preventive institution, not a punitive one.\(^ {54}\) The general impression gained from the various Commissions and Select Committees in the 1850s and 1860s and from Martin's speech in presenting the Industrial Schools Act to Parliament is that the Act was aimed principally at the abandoned, neglected children of Sydney and that the girls it sought to protect were those mostly between ten and fifteen,\(^ {55}\) who were living or wandering with prostitutes and were, therefore, liable to be prostituted.\(^ {56}\) Public comments such as the remarks of the editor of the Newcastle Chronicle referring to 'the adolescent scum of the Metropolis and its back slums [instead of] the waifs and strays of our streets'\(^ {57}\) have tended to confuse the question as to the kinds of girl sent to the Industrial School for Girls. The majority of the Newcastle girls did not come from the metropolitan area. While the city provided the greater number of girls who were fifteen and over, more younger children were admitted from the country than from the

\(^{51}\) CSIL 67/4629.
\(^{52}\) CSIL 71/1604 The Vernon's other expenses were greater than those of the Girls' School.
\(^{53}\) While Williamson is correct in criticising the numbers on the staff as compared with the Vernon, the Vernon staff were no more qualified to teach than those of the Girls' School. Williamson, op.cit. p.380
\(^{54}\) The English Acts of 1854 and 1858 and the separate New South Wales Acts of 1866 clearly differentiated between Industrial Schools and Reformatories.
\(^{55}\) Children under ten were provided for by the Orphanages and the Asylum for Destitute Children
\(^{56}\) Select Committee on Destitute Children's Bill, p.175 and Martin's speech on the Industrial Schools Bill in The Empire, 9th August, 1866.
\(^{57}\) Newcastle Chronicle (editorial), 15th April, 1871.
city and more country girls were admitted because of genuine poverty than for any other reason.

Of the 187 girls admitted to Newcastle in the [nearly] four years of its existence, 85 girls were committed by city courts and 102 by country courts.\(^5\) An analysis of the charges made against city girls,\(^5\) divided into three major groups makes the mode of application of the Act clearer.

**TABLE 7.1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ages</th>
<th>ISG Newcastle, Ages and Charges City Girls 1867-1871</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>16</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>6</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LWP</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>WWP</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAGRANT</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LWP = Living with Prostitutes
WWP = Wandering (or associating) with Prostitutes
Vagrant = No means, no occupation or sleeping out.

**Sources:** ISG, Register of Warrants Received, CSIL 72/4799
*Sydney Morning Herald*, applications for discharge etc.

Two facts stand out clearly. The first one is that one-fifth of the girls who were admitted to Newcastle from city courts were sixteen years old or more, and were, therefore,

\(^5\) CSIL 72/4799. As Register Of Warrants Received has pages missing, it is necessary to use lists from this document to provide information for admissions after October, 1869.

\(^5\) Two city stowaways committed from Newcastle court are included in city figures.
illegally committed. The second fact is that less than half the warrants were initiated by the police. These included obvious cases of child abuse such as a girl, aged twelve, whose mother had been found guilty of assaulting her, a ten-year-old whose stepmother had turned her out of home, and an extremely dirty vagrant girl aged fourteen. Most of the older girls whose charges were initiated by police were either freelance prostitutes whose soliciting was blatant, or girls who were 'wandering' in groups, or who were in a brothel of which the police disapproved because it was 'low', or was a Chinese brothel. Police did not seem to have any difficulty in obtaining a conviction if they could state that the girls' mother was also a prostitute.

More than half of the summonses were taken out by parents or some other relative. These included two stealing charges which were 'adjusted' in the same way as boys charges were adjusted. Fathers took out warrants against girls who 'absented themselves from home against [their] will'. Mothers took out similar warrants, as did older sisters, and sometimes even the girl herself. At first sight these warrants give the impression of families trying to enforce conventional standards of sexual behaviour, but consideration of processes involved raises the distinct possibility that many relatives were coerced into making these charges in much the same way as the parents of boys were.

Proof of substitution of charges for girls is more difficult to obtain than for boys. Conclusions must be

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60 For justification for ages given see appendix 2
61 SMH, 14/9/69.
62 SMH, 7/2/69.
63 SMH, 17/9/67.
64 SMH, 17/6/70.
65 SMH, 31/8/67 and SMH 9/10/69.
66 CSIL 67/6696, 67/5634 (with 67/6788).
67 ibid.
68 Warrant No.1 SMH 31/8/67
69 SMH 12/2/68 and SMH 5/6/69. These were apparently altered at the request of the girls' fathers to protect them from gaol.
70 SMH 25/9/68, 18/12/69, 20/12/68, 23/9/69, 29/1/70 and CSIL 71/1951.
71 SMH 16/6/68, 9/10/69, 15/6/69, 15/7/70, CSIL 69/5612.
72 SMH 26/9/70 and SMH 17/6/68.
73 SMH 8/2/70 and 29/9/68.
deduced from less tangible evidence, because any such moves were at police level before the girls were taken before the magistrates. Here an understanding of prevailing attitudes and customs and police practices is relevant.

It is clear that police contacted parents after the arrest of girls.\textsuperscript{74} One of the first girls charged 'refused to go home with her father',\textsuperscript{75} and another had obviously been apprehended on board a man-of-war and her mother was brought to the police station.\textsuperscript{76} The use by parents of such phrases as 'from information [he] had received' suggests the use of police jargon.\textsuperscript{77} In many cases a girl had been away from home for a considerable time before a charge was laid against her,\textsuperscript{78} and police verified parents' statements. The obvious question is: As the police had located the girl, why didn't the police themselves take action?

According to police statements, magistrates were unwilling to commit girls to the Industrial School against the wishes of parents, so that parental cooperation was of considerable assistance in securing a conviction.\textsuperscript{79} The fact that this cooperation was extorted is hidden by statements which give the impression that police believed that parents were unloading their responsibilities on the State.\textsuperscript{80} The Inspector General of Police assured Henry Parkes that hitherto 'parents with very few exceptions evinced an anxiety to get their children sent to the school,' but that they were 'now not willing as the school was not effectively controlled.'\textsuperscript{81} The statement calls for qualifying clauses. Clearly not all parents wanted their children sent to Industrial Schools. If that statement is read 'Parents, [whose daughters had been arrested], were anxious to have their daughters sent to an Industrial School [instead of being sent to gaol], then the Inspector General's statement makes sense. It seems likely that doubts about the legality of the Act, already discussed

\textsuperscript{74} As they would have been required to do by Law.
\textsuperscript{75} Warrant No. 3 \textit{SMH} 31/8/67
\textsuperscript{76} Warrant No. 121 \textit{SMH} 8/10/69
\textsuperscript{77} Warrant No. 138, \textit{SMH} 18/12/69
\textsuperscript{78} Warrant No. 105 \textit{SMH} 15/6/69 Warrant No. 170 \textit{SMH} 18/10/70
\textsuperscript{79} McLerie to Robertson CSIL 71/6269 in SB 4/798.3
\textsuperscript{80} \textit{The Empire} 22/8/72 Editorial
\textsuperscript{81} CSIL 72/ 6137
in relation to boys, made police anxious to ensure parental cooperation in the committal of girls.\textsuperscript{82}

Similarly, Police evidence that a girl had been associating with prostitutes for some time before she 'gave herself into custody saying she wanted to go to the Industrial School' suggests the possibility that the police 'persuaded' the girl to take out the warrant or face a charge for which she ran the risk of gaol. In such a case, conviction was assured.\textsuperscript{83}

The girls realised that a gaol sentence was a likely alternative to being sent to Newcastle.\textsuperscript{84} Police support for a petition for release seems to have been more readily available in cases where parents had laid charges. The strong police support for the release of girls whose parents had sworn at the girl's trial that they had no control over them, but had sought their release when family circumstances appeared to require their services, suggests a degree of collusion.\textsuperscript{85} The statement by the Inspector-General of Police that 'parents were no longer willing to have their children sent to the school', and that 'many had been sent to the country to avoid the workings of the Act' would suggest that by 1872 the parents found neither alternative palatable.\textsuperscript{86}

Whether by carelessness or design, magistrates must have cooperated with police in some of the committals of over-age girls who would have been liable to a gaol sentence for some prostitution-related offence. While birth certificates were not available for girls born before 1856, it seems unlikely that a high proportion of these girls looked so much less than their years.\textsuperscript{87} Nor were the over-age girls the reticent type who would not have protested their age if they had considered that course to their advantage.\textsuperscript{88} The distinct impression is

\textsuperscript{82} This is discussed in Chapter 3.
\textsuperscript{83} Warrant No.149 SMH 8/2/70.
\textsuperscript{84} CSIL 68/3912 Evidence of Mrs Kelly.
\textsuperscript{85} Warrant No.82, SMH 25/9/86 and 69/9546.
\textsuperscript{86} CSIL 72/6137.
\textsuperscript{87} 30 Vic. No.2 Clause 4. reads 'whose age in the opinion of the person apprehending or ordering the apprehension...shall not exceed sixteen years.
\textsuperscript{88} The case of Eliza O. would be typical. When admitted she stated her age as seventeen. This was endorsed by Dr Harris. The date of her discharge, less than two years after her
left that in the committal of some of these girls, magistrates and police were more than careless.\textsuperscript{89}

The charging of 39 girls over fifteen with (mainly) prostitution-related offences and the use of the 'gentler' vagrancy charge against thirteen and fourteen year olds whose parents cooperated suggests the possibility that police were using the Act to get younger girls off the streets for longer periods than an adult charge for an offence against good order would. This would tend to support Judith Allen's thesis that younger prostitutes were selectively arrested.\textsuperscript{90}

The use of the school as custodian of subnormal girls is also apparent. One girl was later discharged to a lunatic asylum.\textsuperscript{91} Others were described by Superintendent Clarke as 'of weak intellect',\textsuperscript{92} 'too delicate for service'\textsuperscript{93} or 'not smart enough for service'.\textsuperscript{94} Officials of other institutions also solved their own intractable problems by taking out warrants. The Master of the Benevolent Asylum\textsuperscript{95} and the Matron of the Female Refuge each charged two girls who could not be placed at service.\textsuperscript{96} Five city girls can be regarded as having been abandoned: Three were left with neighbours and not recovered,\textsuperscript{97} and the parents of two stowaways made no attempt to retrieve them.\textsuperscript{98} Because access to the Benevolent Asylum, Randwick Asylum and the two Orphanages were available to both parents and police, only thirteen girls under twelve were sent to Newcastle from city courts. Most of these were committed to the Industrial School when their parent(s) had been committed to gaol.

admission confirms her statement. As she had no family who could incur her fare back to Sydney, it seems likely that she was unable to obtain proof of age. [Adm No.41 \textit{SMH} 26/9/67 CSIL 67/6696, 68/3912, 68/4006, 68/5714, 69/5289 and 69/6559].

\textsuperscript{89} Dickey, \textit{op cit} p.148 refers to carelessness of magistrates.

\textsuperscript{90} J.Allen, \textit{op. cit.} pp. 200 ff.

\textsuperscript{91} CSIL 70/6477.

\textsuperscript{92} CSIL 70/9880.

\textsuperscript{93} CSIL 70/227.

\textsuperscript{94} CSIL 70/183.

\textsuperscript{95} CSIL 69/7389 and \textit{SMH} 8/9/67, and \textit{SMH} 8/9/67.

\textsuperscript{96} \textit{SMH} 7/12/67 and \textit{SMH} 12/9/67. These four girls can be regarded as 'unemployables'.

\textsuperscript{97} CSIL 69/4052 \textit{SMH} 7/4/68.

\textsuperscript{98} CSIL 69/2550 and 71/1966.
The pattern of country admissions is distinctly different from that of the city. Omitting one girl charged with 'wandering with prostitutes', and the two city stowaways who were charged at Newcastle, the remaining ninety-nine can be divided into two groups: Those who were charged with living with prostitutes and/or thieves and those who were charged as vagrants, [usually 'no means of support']. Placed in their age groups we get the following table:

**TABLE 7.2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ISG NEWCASTLE AGES AND CHARGES COUNTRY GIRLS 1867 - 1870</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LW TP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LWT/P = Living with thieves or prostitutes
Vagrant = No means of support or no occupation

Sources: ISG Parramatta Register of Warrants Received, local newspapers, Applications for Discharges.

The most common charge laid against a girl in a country court was that she had 'no means of support'. This could cover cases of destitution, abandonment, children whose

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99 ISG Parramatta Register of Warrants Received Nos.99 and 100. Newcastle Chronicle 18/3/69. Two girls were 'sleeping out' in grandstand of Newcastle racecourse. One was charged with 'wandering with prostitutes.

100 See footnote 59 above.
parents were gaoloed or sometimes when a charge against a parent might be difficult to sustain. The death of one or both parents was the main reason for the admission of girls to Newcastle on a charge of having 'no means of support'.\(^{101}\) Destitute orphans, who in previous years might have found their way to the Orphanages were committed to the Industrial School by magistrates who found the ability to commit to the Industrial School much more convenient.\(^{102}\) A family of five girls was abandoned.\(^{103}\) A number of other girls were charged with having 'no means of support' when their lone parent, either mother or father, was gaoloed, or if both parents were gaoloed.\(^{104}\) Only four of the sixty-eight girls charged with having 'no means of support' or a similar offence are listed as having both parents present.

In a few cases a 'no means of support' charge was used as a means of 'protecting' a girl whose parents were seeking to prostitute her.\(^{105}\) In cases where an older girl was charged with living with a prostitute, the girl was usually herself a prostitute and living with her mother who was also a prostitute. Girls were charged with living with prostitutes in Newcastle,\(^{106}\) Maitland,\(^{107}\) Berrima,\(^{108}\) Goulburn,\(^{109}\) Araluen\(^{110}\) and Cooma.\(^{111}\) In most of these cases there is an accusation, or suspicion, that the mothers were prostituting their daughters.\(^{112}\) As it is likely that prostitute mothers of adolescent daughters were themselves beyond their most lucrative years, the arrests of their daughters may have been part of police practice of isolating and removing both older

\(^{101}\) CSIL 74/6290, 70/9223, VEB p.129.
\(^{102}\) This use of the schools by country magistrates is discussed in relation to the committal of boys. Details of one case with VEB p.171.
\(^{103}\) Newcastle Chronicle 25/8/68.
\(^{104}\) VEB p.79. VEB p.85. Papers with CSIL 70/3378 and CSIL 72/2949.
\(^{105}\) CSIL 71/4399 CSIL 71/9546 and 67/6696. In these cases it was the parent who had 'no means of support'.
\(^{106}\) CSIL 67/6670 with CSIL 68/102 and Newcastle Chronicle 29/2/68.
\(^{107}\) CSIL 70/464.
\(^{108}\) CSIL 69/620.
\(^{109}\) CSIL 72/774.
\(^{110}\) CSIL 70/1788 and CSIL 71/2432.
\(^{111}\) Papers with CSIL 71/45. All were mining towns.
\(^{112}\) This is obvious in gold-mining districts.
and younger women. The arrest of one member of a family in one town and a sister in another town to which the family had moved, would suggest that these arrests were part of a pattern of moving unprofitable prostitutes on. Here again, both older and younger prostitutes seem the target of police attention.

Most of the younger children who were charged with living with thieves and prostitutes were from Newcastle or Maitland and were arrested when their parent(s) were sent to gaol. The thieves and prostitutes were the inmates of the gaol. Hitherto a young child had been gaol ed with its mother and released with her. As it was practically impossible to obtain the release of a child from the Industrial School without the assent of police, the arrest of these children gave the police greater power over mothers who were prostitutes.

A close analysis of the reasons for admission to Newcastle would suggest that even in its earliest stages the function of the Industrial School for Girls was about half a Reformatory and half a welfare institution. Four-fifths of city admissions and one-third of country admissions were for prostitution-related offences, but this figure includes young children whose mothers were prostitutes. That older girls were regarded as criminals who needed Reformatory treatment was expressed by Agnes King, by Henry Parkes, by the Superintendent of Police and later by the Inspector of Public Charities.

Those whose admissions were poverty-related constituted most of the remainder. The death of one or both parents was the commonest cause, the gaoling of both parents or a lone

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113 Police would appear to be trying to eliminate both mother and daughters from the 'trade' ISG, Register of Warrants Received Nos. 88, 134 and 135
114 ISG Parramatta Register of Warrants Received No. 88, 134 and 135 CSIL 69/620 and 72/774
115 This would tend to support Allen's thesis.
116 VEB No. 267 and CSIL 68/3108 and 69/6626. Sometimes the thieves and prostitutes were in the gaol to which mother had been committed for any offence.
117 It might be suggested that a woman with a young child to support may not have been any more lucrative (to police) than older prostitutes were.
118 CSIL 67/5559, CSIL 68/441, CSIL 69/6626.CSIL 83/5680 in CSIL SB 4901.1
parent was next. While two families were 'abandoned',\(^{119}\) there is little evidence to suggest that many other 'neglected' children were admitted.

In all of the committals it is abundantly clear that the structuring of the School population was very much in the hands of the police. While the Act permitted any person to initiate a charge,\(^{120}\) there is no record of any committal without police support. The assent of two Justices of the Peace was also required.\(^{121}\) No matter who laid the charge, magistrates committed girls on police evidence.

Because of the misbehaviour of the older girls, it is all too easy to overlook the 'little' girls whose only crime was their poverty or that their parent(s) had been arrested. Their presence is acknowledged, often only by inference, The majority of admissions to Newcastle were not for 'reasons connected with their morality and sexual behaviour' As van Krieken suggests,\(^{122}\) and while prostitute girls did 'form a large section of the Industrial School', as Williamson states,\(^{123}\) it should be stressed that for most of the time at both Newcastle and Biloela the 'little girls' outnumbered the 'grown girls' group (which contained the 'bad' girls), usually by about two to one.\(^{124}\) Nevertheless it was the older girls who provided Newcastle with its public image. In an account of the superintendency of Agnes King the results of the presence of these older girls is obvious from the first days of the school, even though the care of the 'little girls' was seen by the Charities Department as the prime purpose of the school.\(^{125}\)

\(^{119}\) In one case a blind destitute widower left his three children with a neighbour. In the other a physically abused mother left her children with neighbours and fled the country while her husband was in gaol. Circumstances surrounding these 'abandonments' suggest collusion with neighbours.

\(^{120}\) 30 Vic. No.2 Clause 4

\(^{121}\) ibid

\(^{122}\) van Krieken op. cit.p.71.

\(^{123}\) Williamson , op. cit. [Part 1] p.378

\(^{124}\) Mrs Walker differentiated between 'good, quiet girls' and 'immoral characters' [Letter Book [5/3430] page 533 and Hugh Robison, Inspector of Charities refers to 'inmates drawn from two very different classes' CSIL 83/5680 in Special Bundle 4/901.1

\(^{125}\) CSIL 83/5680 in SB 4/901.1
Agnes King's Administration

Apart from Ramsland's two-page account, based on a report published by the Newcastle Pilot of the riot in July 1868 and two letters published in that paper in the same month, historians have either ignored, or been unaware of, the existence of Agnes King as Matron/Superintendent of the Industrial School at Newcastle. The three sources which Ramsland quotes are at variance with each other and differ from official accounts in important details. No attempt is made to account for the riot which is the basis of the report and both letters.

The publicity which the riots at Newcastle have received, in newspapers accounts or by Historians' references to them without any explanation of their occurrence, calls for a careful analysis of possible causes. This thesis has made use of the considerable amount of information which is available in official documents in order to explain the underlying causes of riots which occurred as well as the circumstances which led to the establishment of the Girls' Reformatory.

Police pressure was brought to bear on the Colonial Secretary to open the unprepared school on 31st August, 1867. As the newly-appointed superintendent had resigned the week before the girls arrived, apparently because of a threatened scandal, Mrs King, the matron, was the only staff member in the institution when the first twelve girls arrived. The sub-matron and the clerk-storekeeper and nine more girls arrived six days later.

Mrs King's account of the arrival of the first girls and other early letters sound the alarm that there was something

126 Ramsland, op.cit pp.140-141
127 Both Dickey and Williamson assume that Clarke was the first superintendent.
128 CSIL 67/5361. inferred by comparing dates of conviction as stated in SMH and date of admission in Register.
129 CSIL 67/5331.
130 Newcastle Chronicle, 15/4/68 (Editorial) stated 'One person- confessedly well adapted to undertake the management of an institution like Newcastle Industrial School- has already had to resign his appointment through the tongue of slander being directed against him by evil-minded persons.'
131 A police constable was left on duty until a gatekeeper was appointed. CSIL 67/6503.
wrong with the system of convicting the girls and state a series of problems which were to continue in different forms for some considerable time. Reporting the escape of two girls, she complained that the girls were over-age and not the kind who should be sent to an Industrial School. She expressed the need to 'classify' the girls and sought advice as to modes of punishment permitted. She also noted the ease with which girls could escape and her use of head shaving for escapees and caning for other offences, and complained of problems caused by the public oversight of the playground.

The three comments on the second report would suggest lack of support from the Colonial Secretary and his officers. Principal Under Secretary, Henry Halloran wrote, 'Is the system of caning desirable? Solitary confinement and low diet would be better perhaps.' and 'A sufficient fence should be immediately put up.' Parkes noted: 'Inform Mrs King that personal chastisement must not be resorted to except in extreme cases' and stressed the need for 'kindness intelligently exercised'. At a later stage he suggested, 'The premises are sufficiently large I think to admit of some classification by which incorrigible girls might be treated separately.' It is also obvious that Henry Parkes did not object in any way to the removal of the girls' hair as punishment, nor the reduction in an already sparse diet, nor solitary confinement. These apparently did not rate as 'personal chastisement'. All three punishments continued for many years. Removal of hair was particularly resented by the older girls.

132 From the wording of the Act she would have expected similar girls to those at the Asylum although probably older.
133 CSIL 67/5556 and 67/5599
134 CSIL 67/5599
135 The first two notes appear to be by Henry Halloran, the third by Parkes.
136 CSIL 67/5599 Notation
137 CSIL 68/441. This suggestion of 'classification' without ensuring sufficient staff to handle the different 'classifications' is absurd.
139 Charities Commission, Evidence of Margaret Kelly and Frederick Cane.
A second escape, by two unnamed girls, reported on 2nd October, revealed the fact that there was no punishment which a magistrate could inflict for escaping. The police had to return the girls to the school,\textsuperscript{140} where the superintendent could punish an absconder who was over ten years old with up to fourteen days close confinement.\textsuperscript{141} For this purpose there was one lockup which had been set up in the grounds.\textsuperscript{142} Apart from these periods of confinement, no other sanctions were legal or met with the approval of the Colonial Secretary's Department. No doubt the knowledge that further punishment was unlikely encouraged many of the girls to try to make their escape.

It was in this atmosphere of escapes and punishments that the first regular programme for the school was devised. The limited staff and facilities within the school ensured that this programme would be equally limited. The summer weekday routine was:

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|l|}
\hline
Time & Activity \tabularnewline \hline
5.30 & Rise and dress \tabularnewline
5.45 & Wash \tabularnewline
7.00 & Breakfast and Muster \tabularnewline
8.30 & Inspection \tabularnewline
8.45 & Prayers \tabularnewline
9.00 & Store \tabularnewline
9.00 & Secular Education \tabularnewline
12.00 & Religious Instruction \tabularnewline
12.30 & Dinner \tabularnewline
1.30 & Wash \tabularnewline
1.45 & Muster and inspection \tabularnewline
2.00 & Sewing \tabularnewline
4.30 & Store \tabularnewline
5.00 & Tea \tabularnewline
6.30 & Muster and prayers. \tabularnewline \hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{ISG Newcastle Time Table 1867}
\end{table}

Source CSIL 67/6364

Periods of recreation, under supervision were permitted after lunch and after tea. Older girls were expected to make beds and scrub floors between wash time and breakfast. Eight

\textsuperscript{140} CSIL 67/5980.
\textsuperscript{141} 30 Vic. No.2 Clauses 8-10.
\textsuperscript{142} CSIL 67/6108. The clerk of works determined that a store-room should be converted in preference to the guard house.
girls were excused from school supposedly on a roster, but in practice for several weeks at a time. These girls worked in the laundry, kitchen and dining room or as general servants to the teacher and the clerk-storekeeper.\(^{143}\)

During sewing time, at which both the teacher and sub-matron assisted, the girls made clothes for themselves and did the necessary household sewing. Mattresses were made, sheets, towels and tea towels were hemmed. Winter and summer frocks, serge, calico and wincey petticoats, forfar\(^{144}\) and crash aprons, and chemises are listed among the sewing. There is no mention of pillows or pillowslips nor is there any record of nightdresses or drawers, or any synonym for these.\(^{145}\) The standard of literacy which the teacher recorded suggests that extra time spent on schoolwork would have been more desirable. Only three of the first sixty girls admitted could be considered literate. Seventeen did not know their alphabet and twenty-three were reading Book One.\(^{146}\)

Although provision was made for daily 'Religious Instruction' there is no indication of how often it was actually given, but it is clear that there were regular visits by both Protestant and Catholic ministers.\(^{147}\) The girls divided into two groups for prayers both morning and evening. After the 6.30 p.m. prayers the girls were confined to the dormitories until the following morning. The cook and the laundress and at a later stage the sub-matron, were required to sleep in the small rooms between the dormitories.\(^{148}\)

On Saturday morning the school period was replaced by general cleaning and the afternoon was taken up with the weekly bath. On Sunday the girls could sleep in till six o'clock and breakfast was half an hour later than on weekdays.\(^{149}\) Two groups of girls went to church services on

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\(^{143}\) CSIL 67/6364 and CSIL 68/3912. (Mrs King)

\(^{144}\) A rather coarse Scottish linen.

\(^{145}\) Weekly Reports. Amount of sewing finished was reported each week, at first by the teacher but later in the Superintendent's Report.

\(^{146}\) Industrial School for Girls, Register of Warrants Received. Details listed against girls' names during first year of admissions.

\(^{147}\) CSIL 68/3108.

\(^{148}\) CSIL 68/3053.

\(^{149}\) CSIL 67/6364.
Sunday, both churches being within easy walking distance of the school. In the afternoon Sunday School was held. Pews in churches were rented, so for some considerable time the Catholic girls were compelled to stand throughout the service in the open section at the back of the church. Later the priest found more suitable accommodation for them.\(^{150}\) There is no record of what happened to the Protestant girls, but it seems likely that their treatment was much the same. A suggestion that the Department pay for pew rental was ignored.\(^{151}\) In September, 1868, Archbishop Polding confirmed twenty-four Catholic girls.\(^{152}\) Bishop Tyrrell confirmed twelve Anglicans the following year.\(^{153}\)

Minor modifications were made to the timetable as the need arose. In winter time the girls rose at six o'clock, but in both summer and winter all girls were sent to their dormitories after muster and prayers at 6.30 pm.\(^{154}\)

The shortcomings of a curriculum within this timetable are obvious, but it is difficult to see how they could have been avoided. A limited staff and the requirement that the girls be taught all household duties determined what could be taught. The ability of either the cook or the laundress to instruct the girls in these arts has, quite rightly, been questioned by Williamson,\(^{155}\) but even a competent teacher would be hard-pressed to impart many skills in cooking or laundry, given the materials they had to work with for either subject. Nor would plain sewing, by hand, be of any great help towards a future occupation when sewing machines were already available. Mrs King obtained a sewing machine\(^{156}\) which was used for a while, but its use was forbidden by John

\(^{150}\) CSIL 70/7304.
\(^{151}\) ibid.
\(^{152}\) 68/5121. The proportion of Catholics to Protestants in the group aged over fourteen was about two to one.\(^{153}\)
\(^{153}\) 69/2794 This would suggest that most of the Protestants were Anglicans. Admission Register lists girls as Protestant or Catholic.
\(^{154}\) CSIL 68/3912 Evidence Mrs King.
\(^{155}\) N. Williamson, op. cit. p.376.
\(^{156}\) CSIL 68/2924.
Robertson who believed that every girl should be able to make her husband's shirts.\textsuperscript{157}

At the end of October, 1867, a ration scale was issued and a contract was entered into with a Maitland merchant for the supply of foodstuffs at an agreed price.\textsuperscript{158} The granting of this contract outside the township was much resented by local shopkeepers.\textsuperscript{159} The daily ration allowed to each child was:

- 12 oz bread
- 12 oz of beef or mutton
- 8 oz potatoes
- 4 oz vegetables
- 1/4 oz salt
- 1/4 oz tea
- 2 oz sugar
- 1/2 oz treacle
- 1/8 oz pepper
- 2 oz rice or 4 oz maize meal

On Sunday 6 oz flour, 1/4 oz suet and 2 oz currants or raisins were allowed for a pudding.\textsuperscript{160} This ration scale, which resembled the Vernon's except that it allowed only half the quantity of potatoes, was altered several times before a satisfactory one was achieved.\textsuperscript{161}

In November 1867, a visiting medical officer, Dr Richard Harris, was appointed. He quickly became a very firm friend and ally of Mrs King. His inspection of the girls provides us with a record of the first forty-two girls admitted. He started a Medical Register and sent a copy of the results of his first examination to the Colonial Secretary. His report is arranged in five columns, headed: "Name, Age, Charge, Health and Signs of Virginity."

According to Dr Harris's Report, sixteen of the forty-two girls he examined were over sixteen years of age. He noted three cases of gonorrhoea, two of syphilis, two of ringworm and one girl whose general health was not good. The remaining thirty-four were stated to be in good health. Seventeen girls were stated to have no signs of virginity. These included a

\textsuperscript{157} The machine was still 'in store' when the school moved to Biloela. CSIL 71/4549.
\textsuperscript{158} CSIL 67/6364.
\textsuperscript{159} Newcastle Chronicle 18/3/71.
\textsuperscript{160} CSIL 67/6364.
\textsuperscript{161} CSIL 68/5775.
girl of ten, a girl of thirteen and one of fifteen. The remainder were sixteen years and over.\textsuperscript{162}

While Mrs King was superintendent, Dr Harris continued to make these examinations of new arrivals, apparently in Mrs King's presence, and to enter his findings in the Medical Register. No attempt seems to have been made to keep its contents private from the staff, the girls, or visitors.\textsuperscript{163}

Dissension within the staff became known within the township early in 1868 following the suspension of the clerk-storekeeper for 'gross misconduct' which apparently consisted of publicly stating his disapproval of the treatment of two returned absconders.\textsuperscript{164} McCormack, who was a local resident did not take his suspension and subsequent dismissal quietly. Letters to the \textit{Newcastle Pilot} which Dr Harris clearly believed were inspired by McCormack, were supported by an editorial attacking the 'harsh treatment' of the girls.\textsuperscript{165} Dr Harris and the \textit{Newcastle Chronicle} came strongly to Mrs King's defence.\textsuperscript{166} The new clerk-storekeeper, Frederick Cane, seems to have gained Mrs King's approval when he first arrived, but their approach to the girls soon differed markedly.\textsuperscript{167} Like his predecessor, Cane considered removal of the girls' hair too harsh a punishment and suggested methods of persuasion.\textsuperscript{168}

By the end of June there had been many other group escapes.\textsuperscript{169} The attempts had much in common. Usually there were two or three girls in the group. The exit was usually through one of the windows, which opened onto the verandah, and down the water pipes. Once in the grounds at the front of the school it was not really difficult to get out, either over the iron gate or by using a few bricks, a stool or a bucket from a well to gain sufficient height to climb the wall

\textsuperscript{162} CSIL 67/6696.
\textsuperscript{163} Papers with 70/6736.
\textsuperscript{164} CSIL 68/146 and 68/310. The punishment was hair-cutting.
\textsuperscript{165} \textit{Newcastle Pilot} 10/4/68.
\textsuperscript{166} \textit{Newcastle Chronicle} 11/4/68.
\textsuperscript{167} CSIL 68/1728, 68/3735 with 68/3765.
\textsuperscript{168} \textit{Charities Commission} Q. 5535 to Q. 5544. This appears to have been the gist of Mrs King's complaint that Cane contrasted his kindness with her severity.
\textsuperscript{169} CSIL 68/34, 68/79, 68/3291. Clarke noted that there were forty-six separate attempts to escape before November 1868.
itself.\textsuperscript{170} Usually also the girls did not get very far. The township of Newcastle was small and the 'miserable'\textsuperscript{171} brown or grey\textsuperscript{172} school dress was easily recognised. The only way a girl could get to Sydney was by steamer and none of them had the ten shillings and sixpence fare. Most were quickly arrested in the township and returned to the school. Two girls got as far as the wharves and were discovered hiding in a tank, apparently waiting for a chance to stow away on the night ship to Sydney.\textsuperscript{173} One girl sprained both knees in an attempt to escape using tied sheets.\textsuperscript{174}

It was not until the end of June, 1868 that one group of three succeeded in reaching Sydney.\textsuperscript{175} It seems clear that the undercurrent of excitement in the older group when it was realised that these three had not been captured during the night of their escape contributed to the chain of events which led to the first riot. Certainly the police return of these girls to the school was the spark to that particular riot.\textsuperscript{176}

Early in February, 1868 Parkes visited the school, arriving unannounced on the early morning ship from Sydney.\textsuperscript{177} While the only record of the visit is Parkes's press handout, proclaiming that all was well with the Industrial School,\textsuperscript{178} it would seem clear that the changes made during the next few months were the result of that visit.

Mrs Rice, the submatron 'resigned' and her place was taken by Miss Ravenhill who had previously been Matron at the Deaf Dumb and Blind Institute.\textsuperscript{179} Mrs King's response to what she appears to have seen as threat to her position\textsuperscript{180} took the

\textsuperscript{170} CSIL 68/5714 The wall was a stepped brick fence from eight to ten feet high.
\textsuperscript{171} Description of uniform by Capt Cross at public meeting 17/3/71 [Newcastle Chronicle 18/3/71, p.2 ].
\textsuperscript{172} From sewing lists it is inferred that summer frocks were grey calico and winter frocks brown derry.
\textsuperscript{173} CSIL 68/79.
\textsuperscript{174} CSIL 68/441 and 68/3291.
\textsuperscript{175} CSIL 68/3618 with 68/4036.
\textsuperscript{176} CSIL 68/3713. Ramsland provides an account of this riot citing the Newcastle Pilot of 10/7/68. Ramsland, op.cit. p.140
\textsuperscript{177} He laid the foundation stone of Waratah school on 9th Feb, 1868. [Newcastle Chronicle 15/2/68].
\textsuperscript{178} SMH 14/2/68.
\textsuperscript{179} CSIL 68/1580 with 68/2475 and CSIL 67/6257 with 68/ 2497
\textsuperscript{180} The girls dated Mrs King's changed attitude to Parkes's visit and Miss Ravenhill's arrival. [CSIL 68/3912] The
form of objectionable verbal abuse of the girls. Such expressions as 'all dead shook after dirty sailors', that 'we would run after a man while we had a leg on us', that they were 'the sweepings of Sydney streets', that they were 'brought up to walk the streets all night and lie in bed all day' occur frequently in the girls' statements as having been used by Mrs King.\textsuperscript{181} This, added to their resentment of Miss Ravenhill's attempts to tighten up discipline, caused an explosive situation.

The first riot on 9th July, 1868, was the culmination of a week of disorderly behaviour, following the apparently successful escape by three girls.\textsuperscript{182} Disorderly conduct, dangerous horseplay with kerosene lamps and straw from mattresses, shouting and screaming, the smashing of windows, and abusive and threatening language towards the matrons resulted in the placing of seven girls in the lockup on 'low diet'. These incidents and the escape and recapture of a further ten girls and the attempted destruction of the lockup walls using the legs of bedsteads, led to the placing of police on guard duty each night.\textsuperscript{183}

After a week of near chaos two policemen arrived by steamer from Sydney bringing back the three girls who had escaped the week before. When the girls who had been in the lockup burst free and were joined by other girls, they attacked the police with stones and brickbats. A few were arrested and placed in one of the wards, where they began to destroy the windows. The matrons barricaded themselves in their quarters until police reinforcements arrived and order was restored. The Sergeant took charge of the school and placed fifteen girls in the lockup but later removed them to the 'old military cells at the guard house.'\textsuperscript{184}

\textsuperscript{181} CSIL 68/3912.
\textsuperscript{182} Mrs King's detailed report of week's happeninings 68/3765 with 68/3912.
\textsuperscript{183} Papers with CSIL 68/3912
\textsuperscript{184} CSIL 68/3713 A paraphrase of Inspector Harrison's report of the incident. Ramsland, \emph{op.cit.}, p.140.
Informed by telegram of the riot, Parkes at first assured Mrs King of the support of the Government in maintaining order and advised 'prompt and vigorous measures to suppress unruly conduct' and asked for a report on the 'alleged causes of this disturbance'. When he realised that Mrs King had handed over control to the police, Parkes reprimanded her for so doing and indicated that he 'much doubts whether [she could] be retained in [her] situation'.

The investigation carried out by the Inspector of Public Charities was a model of thoroughness. His judiciously worded Report ensured that while Mrs King was blamed for saying 'things calculated to arouse rebellion and to promote discord with the class of individuals she is appointed to control,' any action would be confined within the Department. No disciplinary action was taken against Mrs King, nor were any charges laid against any of the girls. The Inspector recommended the discharge of overage girls, the classification of the remaining older girls and 'some kind of punishment...so that the commands of the matron shall at all times be strictly carried out'.

The recommendation to discharge the ten overage girls then in the school was ignored, but no overage girl appears to have been admitted during the remainder of 1868. The charging and gaoling of male accomplices to escapes began at this time, as well as the gaoling of girls, in Maitland gaol, for stealing the clothes in which they escaped.

An attempt at classifying the girls into four dormitories and two lunch groups was undertaken and more girls were allotted to cooking, laundry and housework. The formulation of regulations which were supposed to ensure obedience was

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185 Letters and telegrams with CSIL 68/3688 with 68/3713.
186 The subsequent appointment of the Sadleirs occurred after the resignation of Miss Ravenhill and Mrs Holden.
187 There is no record of their being charged with destroying public property as Ramsland states. Ramsland op.cit. p.140
188 CSIL 68/3912
189 ISG Register of Warrants Received. passim.
190 CSIL 68/6192.
191 CSIL 68/7344, Newcastle Chronicle, 26th January, 1869 and CSIL 69/1762.
also begun at this time. They do not appear to have altered the situation at the school in any way. Nor did their term in the cells make for improved conduct of the girls. Reports of insolence, disobedience and even of deliberate provocation of the staff are recorded in the weeks after the investigation.

Miss Ravenhill and Mrs Holden resigned at the end of August, Miss Ravenhill citing the 'disorderly and disorganised condition of the Institution', and three replacements were employed. Two of them, Richard Sadleir and his wife Bridget, were both appointed as assistant matrons till the end of the year, after which Sadleir was to be made warden at an increased salary. As soon as he arrived at Newcastle he was sworn in as a special constable, thus allowing the police to remove the constable who had been on guard duty since the riot. While the duties of the warden are not spelled out, it is clear that Sadleir believed that he had considerable authority.

It was inevitable that this new threat to Mrs King's position would cause dissension. Sadleir regularly reported to Mrs King the misconduct of the girls or the shortcomings of the rest of the staff. Mrs King agreed with him and did nothing about them. This angered Sadleir into making a formal complaint to the Colonial Secretary. Mrs King suspended the Sadleirs for insubordination. An attempt by the Inspector of Public Charities failed to clear up the situation. He then suspended both Mrs King and the Sadleirs and recommended to the new Colonial Secretary, John Robertson, an entire change in management, some effective mode of

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192 The receipt of six copies of Regulations was acknowledged on 19/8/68 [CSIL 68/4593].
193 The actual time spent in the cells is not recorded, but some had been nine days in the cells when the Inspector of Charities carried out his investigation.
194 CSIL 68/4006, 68/4017.
195 Papers with CSIL 68/6022
196 The name is also given as Sadlier in some letters.
197 The Estimates for the year allowed for only two sub-matrons. [CSIL 67/5719].
198 CSIL 68/4904 with 68/6123 and 68/6400 with 68/6491.
199 CSIL 68/6400 and 68/6401 with 68/6491.
200 CSIL 68/6466 with 68/6491.
punishment, discharge of girls over eighteen and apprenticeships for all girls eligible. He also added a rider, 'I would recommend that for past services [Mrs King] may be provided with some other employment under the government.'

Robertson agreed with the main recommendation but ignored the rider. He appointed a new superintendent, Joseph Hines Clarke, whose wife was given the position of matron. They arrived at Newcastle on 14th November, 1868. A minute to the Executive Council dated 24th November, 1868 determined that Mrs King should be required to show cause why her services should not be dispensed with. This was confirmed on 31st November and approved on 7th December, 1868.

Most people faced with a similar situation resign before a resolution like this gets to the Executive Council, as Mrs King's two successors did. Mrs King simply stayed on at the Newcastle premises, apparently prepared to fight her case. The Inspector of Charities acted quickly. The proposal to set aside part of the buildings at Newcastle as a Reformatory was made and on 2nd December, 1868 (seven weeks before the Reformatory was proclaimed), Mrs King was given the position of matron of the Reformatory at a salary of 120 pounds per year. In this way the Colony gained an expensive encumbrance, the Industrial School was deprived of much-needed space, and Mrs King obtained a position which she was to hold for over twenty years.

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1 CSIL 68/6491 with 68/6665.
2 CSIL 68/6651.
3 Telegrams and papers with CSIL 68/6508.
4 This apparent act of defiance may simply have been because she had no alternative. Her only adult relative in the Colony was her daughter who was dependent on her.
5 The reasons for this prompt action can only be conjectured, but neither the police nor the Charities' Department nor the Colonial Secretary's Office would have welcomed an open inquiry into the running of the school.
6 CSIL 68/6636 and CSIL 68/6972.
7 NSW Government Gazette 22/1/69.
8 CSIL 68/6665. and 68/6508 This was both a reduction in salary and a lowering of status. She was subject to the new Superintendent of the Industrial School.
9 While Dickey and Ramsland mention this institution, O'Brien says that 'a reformatory for girls was established immediately...in a separate building at Biloela', Williamson
While it could not be suggested that Agnes King had exhibited any competence in her management of the School in the fourteen months in which she was superintendent, much of the failure was induced by factors which should be regarded as the responsibility of the Colonial Secretary. The admission of over-age girls had been pointed out from the very beginning but nothing had been done to eliminate the practice. The ages of the girls and the different 'categories' of offences would have required a degree of classification and separation with which neither school buildings nor available staff could cope. With the exception of the schoolteacher, the staff was both untrained and inexperienced in the work required of them. Staff numbers were totally inadequate. The curriculum offered was designed to make the institution self-sufficient rather than to train the girls. The equipment and materials available would not have allowed the introduction of a curriculum that had any relevance to the girls' present interests or future needs.

Deficiencies in the Act and the absence of suitable Regulations also added to the problems. A coercive institution which had no legal sanctions to back up that coercion invited illegal and often brutal remedies. Mrs King's use of haircutting was tacitly approved, although personal chastisement was permitted only in exceptional circumstances. Confinement and 'low diet' were advised. Use of the horrendous guard-house cells, arguably the worst in the colony, was condoned.

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10 CSIL 67/5556.
11 CSIL 67/5559.
12 CSIL 68/4593. No Regulations were received by the school until after the first riots.
13 CSIL 67/5599.
14 ibid.
15 CSIL 68/3713. The police made use of these cells 'pending instructions from Sydney.' The institution made use of them for the rest of its stay in Newcastle. Parkes's consent would have had to be obtained for this. John Robertson was also aware of their use for two years before he expressed horror about them. The guard house cells consisted of eight
If Goffman's theory that most happenings in a total institution can be understood in terms of social problems and issues in all total institutions is applied to happenings at the Industrial School at Newcastle some insights can be achieved.\footnote{E.Goffman, "On the Characteristics of Total Institutions." in E Goffman, Asylums, Penguin, Hammondsworth.1978 pp.7-101} The physical barriers to intercourse with the outside world, the breaking of all barriers which divide work sleep and play, and the performance of all activities in a group in the same place and under the same authority qualify the School as a 'total institution'.\footnote{ibid pp.15 and 18} Since escape was easy and the ground was open to public view the barriers were ineffective and constituted a bar to successful management of the School.

The way in which the Act was implemented made accurate classification of the inmates impossible. Some young girls, such as those who were abandoned or whose mothers were gaoled might be classified as 'incapable and harmless' while for some, such as the older vagrant or abused children, the School might be seen as 'seeking to further some worklike task', and, in the context of the times, the girls who were living or wandering with prostitutes might be regarded as 'intentionally dangerous to society'.\footnote{ibid p.16} While the School was supposedly to benefit the first two classes, the presence of these older girls created problems with control and ensured that surveillance became the major function of the staff.\footnote{ibid p.18} This in turn ensured a hostile relationship between the staff and inmates.

Ordinary incentives to work did not apply. There was no pay. The effects of haircutting as a punishment lasted longer and more publicly than most other physical punishments. There is strong evidence of 'looping'(shown resentment of one

triangular cells which formed an octagonal block. Each cell had two sides about 2.1 metres long and one about 1.9 metres. Without windows and with a solid door they were little better than closets with stone floors, a bench along one wall and no other furniture. [ Shown clearly on plan in Hunter Regional Hospital Office ]
punishment inviting further punishment). For senior girls the standard adaptation was the adoption of an intransigent line. The 'messing up' which is regarded as typical institutional behaviour degenerated into serious violence. The nature of the institution determined that the staff version of an ideal inmate was unlikely to be realised.

The manner in which the Act was implemented, the deficiencies brought about by a site which had been made unsuitable for an institution, and an insufficient and inexperienced staff had all contributed to the failure of the School under Agnes King. At the same time it is clear that the 'assistance' she received from the Colonial Secretary did nothing to relieve the problems. It was left to her successor (and a new Colonial Secretary) to make another attempt to make the Industrial School for Girls run smoothly.

Joseph Hines Clarke's Administration

The new superintendent, Captain Joseph Hines Clarke, a veteran of the Maori Wars, was recommended for the position by Dr. Bedford M.P. and W. Joseph Leary M.P. who were political supporters of John Robertson. He has been branded by Dickey as a 'disastrous man', and by Williamson as being of 'poor quality', and as not fulfilling the special need for 'respectable adult models' which Mary Carpenter had recommended in order to 'elicit new improved behaviour from girls'. He was blamed by the Newcastle Chronicle for 'excessive kindness and indulgence, the high running costs, lack of industrial work and lack of classification'. While Ramsland sees the appeal to the 'hip pocket nerve' as being evident in the removal of the girls from Newcastle, he

20 ibid pp.26-41
21 ibid p.70-75
22 ibid pp55-60
23 ibid pp.80-115
25 Dickey, op.cit. p.142
26 Williamson, op.cit. (pt.1) p.378
27 ibid p.382
28 cited by Ramsland, op.cit. p.142
believes that under Clarke's management the School had exhausted the patience of the local inhabitants.\(^2^9\)

While it is not suggested here that Clarke's management of the School was at all successful, it is clear that many other factors contributed to the decision to move the school from Newcastle. An examination of the varying aspects of Clarke's superintendency shows the attitude of the new Colonial Secretary, John Robertson, to the School. Problems associated with apprenticing and other methods of discharge and the development of the curriculum are discussed. Other matters analysed are the part played by conflict within the school, particularly with Dr Harris, conflict outside the school with the local residents, and the need for a suitable location for a lunatic asylum, in the decision to move the school from Newcastle.

Clarke arrived at the School armed with instructions from the Colonial Secretary concerning the discharge of girls who were over eighteen and apprenticing of those older girls who were eligible for it.\(^3^0\) Neither the discharges to employment nor apprenticeships were easy to arrange. The notoriety which the School had achieved did not encourage respectable private individuals to seek the service of the girls. Clarke's handling of the discharges and apprenticeships was his first step towards restoring order. The pattern of discharges from the Industrial School for Girls differed from that of the Vernon, as Table 7.4 shows.

**Table 7.4**

**Discharges from ISG Newcastle.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discharge</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>At eighteen+ (on parents' application)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At eighteen (to service)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At eighteen (not to service)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before eighteen (by Executive authority)</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprenticed</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other ways</td>
<td>3*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transferred to Biloela</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*One died, one to Benevolent Asylum, one Lunatic.*

Source: Colonial Secretary's In-Letters 1867-1871

\(^2^9\) *Ibid, p. 143*

\(^3^0\) CSIL 69/1951.
Six over-age girls had been discharged by Executive authority during Mrs King's superintendency. The rest of the discharges of over-age girls and all of the apprenticeships were arranged by Joseph Clarke in compliance with the Colonial Secretary's orders.\textsuperscript{31} By July, 1869 he had succeeded in discharging all except two of the girls who had been involved in the previous year's riot.\textsuperscript{32} Because he had difficulty in obtaining laundresses, he employed two of the older girls, whose conduct precluded their being apprenticed, as joint laundresses at the rate of fifteen pounds per year each.\textsuperscript{33}

His apprenticing of the girls displays concern for their welfare. Clarke seems to have tried to secure the best wages he could for the girls and to ensure that they were satisfied with the position. He inspected most places of employment and visited the girls after they had been employed. All girls who left the institution were given a reference, some of them being extremely tactful.\textsuperscript{34} Whatever good he could say about a girl, he said it.\textsuperscript{35}

Applications for discharge were handled with a steady eye on the advantages to the institution. If a petition was made for the release of a girl whom the superintendent felt was unfit for service, Clarke recommended her release for that reason. Of one girl he wrote, 'She is too delicate to go to service and her parents are comfortable'.\textsuperscript{36} The release of two other girls whose parents were in comfortable circumstances was recommended. One was 'not smart enough for service'\textsuperscript{37} and the other was 'of weak intellect.'\textsuperscript{38} Clarke's attitude would suggest that he believed that the function of the school was to train girls as servants. If this was not possible then the girl's retention in the school was undesirable.\textsuperscript{39}

\textsuperscript{31} CSIL 68/7097 and 69/1951.
\textsuperscript{32} CSIL 69/1951.
\textsuperscript{33} CSIL 69/2795.
\textsuperscript{34} CSIL 69/1176 CSIL 69/4065. Letter Book [5/3429], p.81.
\textsuperscript{35} ibid, p.48.
\textsuperscript{36} CSIL 70/227.
\textsuperscript{37} CSIL 70/183.
\textsuperscript{38} CSIL 70/9880.
\textsuperscript{39} It is apparent that some girls admitted to Newcastle were below average intelligence.
Three girls were discharged to fathers who had been separated from their families when the girls were admitted to Newcastle.\(^4^0\) One girl was discharged to her sister,\(^4^1\) another to 'respectable friends'.\(^4^2\) One girl was discharged from the institution so that she could marry.\(^4^3\) For three girls an illegality in their committal resulted in their discharge.\(^4^4\) In no case was a girl discharged to a widowed mother, or to an unmarried woman relative. Mothers who remarried were able to apply for the return of their daughters\(^4^5\) as was an aunt,\(^4^6\) a sister and respectable friends,\(^4^7\) but in every case these women were married.

The majority of the employers of the first apprentices seem to have been either public servants, doctors, or ministers of religion. The police magistrates and the clerks of petty sessions at Newcastle and Maitland, post masters and clerks of works, an Anglican Canon and a Methodist Minister all had apprentices from the school. This suggests that there may have been early difficulties in convincing the general public that the girls were not pariahs. It could also reflect Clarke's problems in determining the suitability of the applicants to receive apprentices. The practice which existed in the Orphan Schools and (later) on the Vernon of requiring verification of the good character of the applicants by a magistrate or a clergyman was not enforced for the Industrial School for Girls.\(^4^8\) However, Clarke did try to set a standard of requirements.

A particularly unpleasant incident led to the banning of hotelkeepers as employers of apprentices\(^4^9\) and Clarke regarded the apprenticing of girls to shopkeepers as undesirable.\(^5^0\) Apart from these considerations there was no embargo on where

\(^{4^0}\) CSIL 69/4052. CSIL 70/9651.
\(^{4^1}\) CSIL 69/7389.
\(^{4^2}\) CSIL 70/980.
\(^{4^3}\) CSIL 70/3387.
\(^{4^4}\) Papers with CSIL 70/7436. CSIL 69/3926.
\(^{4^5}\) CSIL 70/604 and CSIL 69/5612.
\(^{4^6}\) CSIL 71/2432.
\(^{4^7}\) CSIL 69/7389 and 70/980.
\(^{4^8}\) This is assumed from the fact that girls were placed with people not of their own religion. [CSIL 69/1951 and 69/4065].
\(^{4^9}\) CSIL 70/1875.
\(^{5^0}\) ISG Superintendent's Letter Book 5/3429, Letter 583.
the girls could be placed. Many were sent to Maitland, Paterson, Muswellbrook and Scone. Most appear to have been town appointments and the rates of pay were set to ensure that a girl got about six shillings when she was seventeen. Starting rates appear to have been two shillings at thirteen, three shillings at fourteen and four shillings at fifteen. As the girls were required to provide their own clothes, the rates must be regarded as extremely low.51

The apprenticeships about which we hear are those which failed in some way. The two first apprenticeships from the institution lasted less than three months before the indentures were cancelled and the girls were returned to the school where they remained until they were discharged.52 Five girls who were apprenticed from Newcastle were returned to Biloela and were again apprenticed or discharged from there, mostly without incident. Two girls returned themselves to the institution, one claiming the work was too hard,53 the other alleging improper conduct on the part of her employer.54 Both had their indentures cancelled and were retained at the school until they were eighteen. Another girl alleged cruelty and asked to be returned to the institution.55 She successfully sued her second employer for assault.56 One girl was returned to the school twice. Her first employer objected to the fact that she was half-Chinese. The second returned her because she had been raped.57 Two girls had their indentures cancelled so that they could marry.58

The appalling wages which the girls received, either as apprentices or on discharge are an index of the poor status of the girls in the community. Like the convict women before them, the girls were not wanted in 'respectable' homes. It is quite clear that Superintendent Clarke had considerable difficulty in placing the girls, and succeeded in obtaining

51 ibid, passim.
52 CSIL 69/2326.
53 CSIL 70/7558 Letter Book, 5/3429, p.451
54 Papers with CSIL 71/4399.
55 CSIL 70/1785.
56 CSIL 71/6185.
57 CSIL 70/8431 with CSIL 72/8958.
58 CSIL 73/724 with 73/7406. CSIL 72/5513.
somewhat reduced rates for those whom he did place.\textsuperscript{59} That some, at least, were badly treated is also clear. Superintendent Clarke tried to prevent this, but his efforts to supervise them after apprenticeship were frowned on by the Colonial Secretary.\textsuperscript{60} However, the removal of the older girls and the obvious chance of apprenticeship seems to have ensured a certain amount of peace and quiet during 1869.

This was also helped by the stricter segregation of the girls into two groups. Girls fourteen years and under were kept in one group, while those over fourteen were segregated into a 'grown girls' group. This division applied to all aspects of the school day. The younger girls attended school from nine o'clock till twelve o'clock and the older group from two o'clock until four o'clock. The older group sewed in the morning and the younger group in the afternoon, an assistant matron being in charge of each sewing group. They were also strictly separated in lunch rooms, dormitories and playground.\textsuperscript{61} This 'classification' of the girls was made possible by the fact that Mrs Clarke was appointed as matron, leaving the two sub-matrons free to take a greater part in the school activities. After Clarke opposed a suggestion by the Inspector of Public Charities that the School take in washing because of a lack of older girls, both juniors and seniors undertook the making of shirts for the Charities Department in 1870.\textsuperscript{62} No other changes in routine seem to have been made.

Despite apparently improved behaviour throughout 1869 the beginnings of what were to become major problems in the following year were becoming apparent. Basic to all was the fact that the school was again becoming 'top heavy' as further admissions of overage girls were made,\textsuperscript{63} as well as of many girls aged fifteen. Girls who had been admitted to the school at thirteen or fourteen were now also in the advanced age group, and Clarke was finding difficulties in-apprenticing all the older girls who were eligible.\textsuperscript{64} Of the girls who were

\textsuperscript{59} Letter Book (5/3430) p.13.
\textsuperscript{60} 69/1176.
\textsuperscript{61} CSIL 69/4750.
\textsuperscript{62} CSIL 69/7229 and 70/2270
\textsuperscript{63} See Appendix 2
\textsuperscript{64} CSIL 69/9667 with 70/3378
moved to Biloela in 1871, thirty-six were eligible for apprenticeship.\textsuperscript{65}

Clarke's reporting of 'the unnatural intimacy springing up between grown girls', would indicate that these girls were causing concern.\textsuperscript{66} The advice of the Colonial Secretary to provide proper night supervision and total isolation of the offending girls completely overlooked the realities of staff numbers and accommodation.

The establishment of the Reformatory had created additional problems. When part of the Industrial School was proclaimed a Reformatory in January, 1869, Captain Clarke became superintendent of both schools and Mrs King became matron of the Reformatory.\textsuperscript{67} A dividing fence was set up and legally they were different schools.\textsuperscript{68} The removal of potential accommodation for thirty-six girls reduced the number of rooms available to the Industrial School.\textsuperscript{69}

The administration of the Reformatory also created tensions. During 1869 only three girls were admitted to the Reformatory. One of these, Maryanne M., aged fourteen, was an accomplished thief and escaper. On one occasion she organised the escape of all three inmates of the Institution,\textsuperscript{70} and she made several other escapes.\textsuperscript{71} The frequent disputes with Mrs King, mostly about this girl, brought angry comments from the Inspector of Public Charities.\textsuperscript{72}

Clarke's quarrel with Dr Harris also added to tensions. The resumption by Dr Harris of his examination of newly-admitted girls for 'signs of virginity',\textsuperscript{73} Clarke's refusal to authorise payments for medicines,\textsuperscript{74} and the contempt shown by Dr Harris for Mrs Clarke's nursing ability,\textsuperscript{75} all contributed.

\textsuperscript{65} CSIL 71/4544
\textsuperscript{66} CSIL 70/6724
\textsuperscript{67} CSIL 69/1499.
\textsuperscript{68} Plan with CSIL 68/7169.
\textsuperscript{69} CSIL 68/7169 CSIL 70/817 CSIL 70/4697
\textsuperscript{70} CSIL 70/6704.
\textsuperscript{71} This girl escaped frequently when there were only three girls in the Reformatory. CSIL 70/1529, 71/1286.
\textsuperscript{72} CSIL 70/3083.
\textsuperscript{73} Papers with CSIL 70/9233
\textsuperscript{74} CSIL 70/4035 and 70/4146 There are at least fourteen entries in CSIL 1870 concerning disputed accounts
\textsuperscript{75} Papers with CSIL 70/4146
The implication in Clarke's evidence at a coronial inquiry that Margaret E's death was caused by Dr Harris's negligence was the catalyst for a savage campaign by Dr Harris to have Clarke removed.\(^76\)

In an almost incoherent letter to the Colonial Secretary, Dr Harris accused Clarke of drunkenness and barbarous conduct towards the girls.\(^78\) An investigation was held and although the Department reprimanded Clarke for his use of the cane, no action was taken.\(^79\) A further, very threatening, letter was written in January.\(^80\) The investigation of these and other charges in February 1871 provided the grounds on which Clarke was dismissed, but it is quite clear that other, external factors also played their part.

Chief of these was the search for a site for a Lunatic Asylum which had been going on for some years. A number of related facts suggest that the decision to move the girls and to convert the buildings into a Lunatic Asylum was made before a delegation seeking the removal of the Girls' School called on John Robertson on 30th March 1871: the rejection by the townspeople of the proposal to convert the Barracks into a Lunatic Asylum in November, 1866;\(^81\) the thorough inspection of the Newcastle school by Frederick Norton Manning in June 1870;\(^82\) the July recommendation by the Inspector of Charities to the Colonial Secretary that the situation in the Lunatic Asylums was so desperate that Victoria Barracks should be taken over as a Destitute Asylum and Liverpool Asylum be converted to a Lunatic Asylum;\(^83\) the inspection by Captain Mein to determine the suitability of the Cockatoo Island buildings for school purposes in February 1871;\(^84\) the examination of the buildings on Cockatoo Island by the Inspector of Charities and the Inspector General of Police on

\(^{76}\) Papers with CSIL 70/9233 CSIL 69/6736 and 70/8921
\(^{77}\) ibid
\(^{78}\) CSIL 70/9223
\(^{79}\) ibid
\(^{80}\) papers with CSIL 71/708
\(^{82}\) CSIL 70/5022 with 70/5236
\(^{83}\) CSIL 70/6159 in Special Bundle 4/810.2.
\(^{84}\) CSIL 71/1256
22 March 1871, noting repairs needed for a school;\textsuperscript{85} the deferring of repairs to the Reformatory in early March, because of its contemplated removal.\textsuperscript{86} All of these, taken together, would indicate that the proposal for a Lunatic Asylum at Newcastle was under discussion, and that Cockatoo Island was being considered for a school. Events at the Industrial School provided the excuse for the move.

At the end of May 1870, an absconding and the first riot of Clarke's time occurred. Like the previous riot it had its beginnings in the resentment of the girls at conditions which they considered unfair. After they had been two days in the cells two absconders were returned to their dormitories. The girls sympathised with the reasons for one of the girls absconding,\textsuperscript{87} and the other girl who 'was not a strong constitutional girl' became ill in the cells and became rebellious.\textsuperscript{88} The noisy, riotous behaviour continued on the following morning. By midday Clarke called in the police to place nine of the girls in the cells. The other girls broke a number of windows in their dormitory in protest. Clarke decided to punish them by not having the windows repaired.\textsuperscript{89} This decision met with the disapproval of the Inspector of Public Charities when he visited the institution early in June. While he did not hold an official inquiry into the incident his Report clearly shows that he was sure that it was likely to be repeated. He asked for a Board of Inquiry to examine the causes of the disturbance and to suggest the best mode of managing the Institution.\textsuperscript{90}

Separate incidents later provided the grounds on which Clarke was dismissed. Four girls who had attempted to escape were given three days solitary confinement on bread and water,

\textsuperscript{85} CSIL/ 71/2125 and 71/2127
\textsuperscript{86} CSIL 71/1545
\textsuperscript{87} She had spent nearly three years in the Institution and an attempted apprenticeship had fallen through.
\textsuperscript{88} CSIL 70/4082 with 70/4446. From John Robertson's comment that incarceration in the guard house cells was 'enough to make a girl mad', it is deduced that a (possibly) claustraphobic girl became hysterical in the cells and that this was obvious to the other girls.
\textsuperscript{89} CSIL 70/4082 with 70/4446.
\textsuperscript{90} CSIL 70/5022 with 70/5236
their hair was cut off and they were caned.91 Two girls had
their hair cut off for indecent language and indecent exposure
in a public place.92 These girls had previously been given
twelve days solitary confinement.93 Clarke had also had the
hair of a girl from the Reformatory cut off after she had
escaped several times, and had caned another girl from the
Reformatory for stealing. All of these punishments were
reported at the time of their occurrence and no comment was
made by the Colonial Secretary until after he began to
investigate Clarke's conduct in 1871.94 When questioned on the
matter, Clarke pointed out that the Law allowed solitary
confinement and that the Colonial Secretary had authorised
personal chastisement in extreme cases.95

While these matters were being investigated another
serious and very public riot, which required police assistance
to quell, occurred. At about seven o'clock at night on 6th
January, 1871 when a group of girls were about to be locked in
their dormitories for the night the Artillery Band,
accompanied by a large crowd of people, played up Newcomen
Street. As they passed the Industrial School the girls waved
to the band.96 Reprimanded by the matron, the girls used some
abusive language. Two girls were placed in the cells. The
rest barricaded themselves in the dormitories, removed the
legs from the iron bedsteads and broke every window and frame
in the south wing. Another nine were confined to the cells.97

Meanwhile the Colonial Secretary and the Inspector of
Public Charities had received Clarke's account of the
punishments meted out to the girls during the latter half of
1870. These punishments, added to the report of the fracas on

91 CSIL 70/5883 with 71/604.
92 CSIL 71/1286 with 71/1604.
93 Papers with CSIL 71/604
94 The statement concerning these events is dated 16th
February 1871.
95 As telegram of 15/2/71 answering questions regarding these
punishments is filed with CSIL 67/5599 it is assumed that this
is the quoted authority.
96 The dormitory windows were about level with the road.
97 CSIL 71/371 In Special Bundle Inspector of Charities
Reports 1871-73. [4/810.2]
6th January, were later given as the reason for Clarke being asked to submit his resignation.\textsuperscript{98}

On 10th March, while Clarke was in Sydney being interviewed by the Colonial Secretary, another general riot occurred which involved the attendance of a large body of police and the assistance of several volunteers to put down. Fifteen girls were placed in the cells and Mrs Clarke requested that some be charged with destroying public property. Seven girls were transferred to the police lockup and were charged and committed to Maitland gaol for one month.\textsuperscript{99} Clarke's resignation was not permitted to run its full course. On Saturday, 20th March the Inspector of Public Charities formally installed George Lucas as superintendent, requiring Clarke to leave the premises immediately.\textsuperscript{100}

Meanwhile pressure for the transfer of the school was building up. While most of the publicity which the school received until 1870 was criticism of the manner in which it was run, the movement to have the school removed from Newcastle was apparent in 1871.\textsuperscript{101} Like the institution, the surrounding houses on Shepherds' Hill occupied valuable sites. The magnificent view of the ocean and hinterland should have made the homes attractive and valuable. The intrusion of the noisy, obscene behaviour of the girls was regarded as a nuisance, made worse by the fact that the hoodlums in the township had little difficulty in communicating with the girls. This had the effect of attracting a very undesirable type to congregate near the Newcomen Street houses.\textsuperscript{102}

A public meeting on 17th March 1871, chaired by the Mayor of Newcastle, passed a resolution and formed a deputation to the Colonial Secretary, seeking the removal of the school from Newcastle because 'the value of property was deteriorating and people would not live in the neighbourhood'.\textsuperscript{103} The deputation, which met Robertson on 30th March, made it clear

\textsuperscript{98} CSIL 71/1839.
\textsuperscript{99} CSIL 71/1851 to 71/1854.
\textsuperscript{100} CSIL 71/2028.
\textsuperscript{101} Ramsland op.cit. pp.142-144
\textsuperscript{102} This fact had been noted by Mrs King in the week after the School opened CSIL 67/5599. cf. Ramsland, op.cit p.140
\textsuperscript{103} Newcastle Chronicle 18th March, 1871.
that they supported Clarke in his efforts to control the girls. It was the presence of the school amongst their homes to which they objected. It is apparent that the deputation feared that the dismissal of Clarke, which had already occurred, would be treated as a solution to their problem and that they might still be left with the school in their area.\textsuperscript{104} While the Colonial Secretary convinced the delegation of the correctness of his action in dismissing Clarke, he also determined, ostensibly after the delegation left, to remove the School from Newcastle. It would seem likely, however, that this decision had already been made.

A more likely explanation is that Robertson, a wily politician, welcomed, if he or his supporters did not foment, the public declaration that the township wished to be rid of the school. Clarke's dismissal, seemingly against the wishes of the delegation, freed Robertson from the risk of an inquiry into his own management of the institution.\textsuperscript{105} Robertson got the credit for meeting the wishes of the community in removing the school from Newcastle and at the same time ensured that the establishment of the Lunatic Asylum on the site would satisfy the requirement of the medical fraternity without meeting with the strong objections that the original proposal for the establishment of a Lunatic Asylum had engendered amongst the general population.\textsuperscript{106} It was a politically shrewd move which gave no consideration to the welfare of the girls.

It would be easy to dismiss Joseph Clarke as a 'disastrous man', as Dickey has done,\textsuperscript{107} but if an attempt is made to analyse the reasons for his failure it would be almost as easy to regard him as a scapegoat. He was an ordinary man who was given an impossible task. The site of the institution which he superintended was even less suitable than it had been in Mrs King's era. The removal of the Reformatory section had taken away necessary accommodation,\textsuperscript{108} so that the Industrial

\textsuperscript{104} Newcastle Chronicle 1/4/71, Ramsland op.cit. pp.145-6
\textsuperscript{105} The Newcastle Chronicle demanded such an inquiry on 14th March, 1871.
\textsuperscript{106} They did protest, but their opinion carried less weight. D I McDonald, op.cit. (Asylum) p.20.
\textsuperscript{107} Dickey, op. cit. (Establishment), p.135.
\textsuperscript{108} CSIL 68/6792. The Industrial School was now confined to the original 'Barracks' plus some offices.
School was overcrowded. Classification beyond two groups was not possible in this restricted space. In spite of the addition of a matron to the staff, staffing arrangements had also deteriorated. For most of 1870 the laundry was performed by two of the inmates who were unsuited to apprenticeship and the necessity of employing women with children created problems with supervision, particularly at night time.

His failure to apprentice the girls in as short a time as possible after committal was due to lack of demand for their services from acceptable and accessible employers. This led to dissatisfaction on the part of the girls who were irked by a continuance of a punishment, which most considered unjust in any case. There were no positive inducements to good behaviour. Discipline was not clearly defined. Personal chastisement was permitted in extreme cases but could not be administered by the superintendent. Solitary confinement was allowed but the use of the only cells available provoked the self-righteous wrath of John Robertson, who had made no attempt to provide 'suitable' ones.

The girls who presented conduct problems were the older group which was made up of freelance prostitutes, girls taken from brothels and girls arrested for 'protection'. Few of these girls could be expected to exhibit much respect for the officers or the monotonous curriculum which they were required to administer. In the circumstances that existed at Newcastle it would have required a person of exceptional personal and organisational ability and considerable help from the Colonial Secretary's office to have kept the school with a semblance of order. Joseph Clarke did not have those exceptional qualities.

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109 CSIL 69/2326.
110 A woman with children could not be accommodated in the room between the dormitories so that all pretence at night-time supervision ceased. The difficulty in getting single women to work in institutions whose inmates had a 'bad name' was pointed out to the 'Select Committee on the Destitute Children's Bill' 1853 Evidence, Q.6.
111 CSIL 70/4446.
112 CSIL 71/1604.
113 CSIL 70/9233.
115 'Suitable solitary confinement' would appear to be a contradiction in terms.
and there was no support from the Colonial Secretary. His resignation served the purposes of the Colonial Secretary who was at least as anxious to avoid an investigation of the management of the Industrial School as he was to solve the problems of the lack of a lunatic asylum.

George Lucas's Administration (at Newcastle)

The choice of George Lucas as the new superintendent of the Industrial School for Girls would suggest that neither John Robertson nor the prominent people who recommended Lucas had any real understanding of the requirements of such a school. George Lucas was a tripe manufacturer who had for some time been the manager of a night refuge. He was also head in Australia of the Sons of Temperance which at the time was the most vocal and publicly active temperance organisation. He appears to have been known to many of the girls, the younger ones regarding him as a figure of fun, while the older ones resented him.

During the two days after his arrival a series of general riots occurred. The first riot on Sunday morning was put down with some difficulty and was followed by another bout of riotous behaviour which continued until nearly ten o'clock at night. Before this riot was finished thirteen girls were in the police lockup, eight in the cells of the guard house and the remainder were threatening to break the offices. Similar disorderly behaviour led to more girls being placed in the cells on the Monday and destruction of beds, bedding and window sashes, and nude dancing in public view that night.

The final weeks at Newcastle were even more chaotic. The girls who were returned from Maitland gaol received a 'perfect

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116 The Inspector of Public Charities had recommended this course on the same day as Dr Manning had submitted his account of the school. [CSIL 70/5022 with 70/5236].
117 CSIL 73/9513 in Special Bundle 4/798.3
118 CSIL 71/9572.
119 73/9513 in Special Bundle 4/798.3
120 Sergeant Lane to Inspector General of Police in *ibid*.
121 CSIL 73/9513 in *ibid* [Evidence Mrs Kelly]
122 CSIL 71/2215 in *ibid*.
123 Sergeant Lane to Inspector General of Police in *ibid*.
ovation' from their schoolmates.\textsuperscript{124} Despite the presence of police and the assistance of the Inspector of Public Charities, the new superintendent was unable to restore order and further riotous behaviour and escapes occurred.\textsuperscript{125} Newspaper accounts of more near-nude dancing by gaslight, of obscene calls to Mr and Mrs Lucas and of girls running naked on the roofs of buildings would suggest that the situation was completely out of control.\textsuperscript{126}

The transfer of the girls from Newcastle to the former gaol on Cockatoo Island, which was renamed Biloela, on 26th and 27th May bordered on farce.\textsuperscript{127} As a typical cost-cutting measure it was decided to bring the girls to Sydney in the \textit{Thetis}, which was about to go into service as the first pilot steamship, but which would not have had sufficient under-cover accommodation for all the girls.\textsuperscript{128} The alacrity with which the Inspector of Public Charities used the non-arrival of the \textit{Thetis} to make 'emergency' arrangements for the transport of the girls resulted in the junior girls sailing on the \textit{Morpeth}, while the elder girls later returned to the partly dismantled buildings and sailed on the \textit{Thetis} to Cockatoo Island the following day.\textsuperscript{129} From the reports of the state of the Institution when the girls left, it might be suggested that the Inspector of Charities and the police escort had been no more successful in controlling the girls than the superintendents had been.\textsuperscript{130} The move to Biloela transferred problems. It did not solve them.

Conclusion

If the Industrial School for Girls, Newcastle is examined from the short-term view of the incidents which occurred during its brief history, any reasonable person must judge it

\textsuperscript{124} \textit{Newcastle Chronicle} 15th April 1871.
\textsuperscript{125} CSIL 71/2761 and 71/2920.
\textsuperscript{126} \textit{Newcastle Chronicle} 15 April, 1871.
\textsuperscript{127} Both Dickie and Ramsland give the date as April 1871. A series of telegrams including CSIL 71/4149 bill for transport on \textit{Morpeth} CSIL 71/6159 in SB 4/810.2 give dates as 26th and 27th May. Dickie \textit{op.cit}.p.148. Ramsland \textit{op.cit} p.148
\textsuperscript{128} Information on \textit{Thetis} supplied by Maritime Services Board.
\textsuperscript{129} CSIL 71/4159 with 71/6519 in Special Bundle 4/810.2
\textsuperscript{130} CSIL 71/3793
as a complete failure. Analysis of the school over a longer term would lead that same reasonable person to believe that as a 'moral weapon', which could be used as a threat against both parents and 'uncontrollable' children, the school succeeded beyond any dreams of its creators.

Much of the blame for the failure of the institution can be attributed to factors outside the school. The committal of over-age girls, Government parsimony and inefficiency are all obvious. A cramped building site, made worse by the establishment of the Reformatory, insufficient staff, lack of a suitable curriculum, and inappropriate equipment for any training programme, also played their part.

The resentment felt by the overage girls at their committals which they knew to be illegal and felt to be unjust was the greatest single factor. The continuing efforts to escape, in spite of the prospect of haircutting when caught, is a sure indicator of disaffection. Neither Agnes King nor Joseph Clarke were ideal persons for the position they occupied but it is doubtful whether any superintendent could have succeeded in the task which they faced. The training of up to 114 girls ranging from four to nineteen years old, given the staff and conditions at the school was an impossible task.

The reputation of the school put a powerful weapon in the hands of the police in the control of prostitutes, particularly those who had young children, but whether this resulted in the abandonment of prostitution by these women or in their coming to mutually satisfactory arrangements with police is not clear. The number of girls charged with 'living with prostitutes' remained remarkably small. 'This class of unfortunate' had practically ceased to exist, at least publicly. From the police point of view the school's failure contained elements of success.

John Robertson's adroit turning of what could have been a political disaster into the semblance of bowing to the wishes of the people depended on the perceived failure of the school. Against the well-publicised background of escapes and riots and other misbehaviour the decision to dismiss Joseph Clarke and to transfer the school from Newcastle becomes understandable. The political advantages of the move are
apparent. The local residents were appeased and effectively silenced. The totally unfavourable reputation that the school received ensured that the general public was prepared to accept the idea that these badly-behaved girls needed to be placed in a situation where they could not disturb the peace of any neighbourhood. It is doubtful whether it would have been politically feasible to have transferred the girls to any established community. The setting up of a Lunatic Asylum in an established community was also likely to cause opposition, but the people of Newcastle were not now in a position to complain.

By analysing data provided in the Register of Warrants Received and other relevant data, this thesis has demonstrated the role of the School at Newcastle as both an asylum for a large number of younger destitute girls and as a gaol for adolescent prostitutes, many of whom were illegally committed and illegally held. It has also demonstrated the role of police, parents and magistrates in the structuring of the School population. Police use of the School as a means of controlling the prostitute population in the city and in mining towns is also indicated.

The lesser importance placed by the Government on the Girls' School as compared with the Vernon is indicated in the failure to utilise fully an otherwise suitable site. The further encroachments on that site to establish an 'irrational' Reformatory, made the officially recommended 'classification' of the heterogeneous population by an insufficient, inexperienced staff impossible. The thesis also shows that there was a degree of manipulation, which is not apparent in newspaper reports, of the publicly expressed desire for the removal of the School. By means of this manipulation John Robertson achieved a number of aims. The administration of the school was never publicly investigated, the Lunatic Asylum was established with a minimum of opposition, and at considerably less expense than the alternative suggestions of the Inspector of Charities. The school took all of its problems to Biloela and away from public gaze.
CHAPTER VIII

CONTINUING CHAOS

Cockatoo Island, situated at the confluence of the Parramatta and Lane Cove Rivers, is the largest island in Sydney Harbour. It is somewhat triangular in shape, with an east-west base and northerly apex, and occupies an area of about fifteen hectares. The gaol on the highest part of the island was built by, and for, the convicts who hewed out the Fitzroy Dock, which was opened in 1857.\(^1\) It became notorious as the gaol to which the worst of felons were sent,\(^2\) and its punishment cells, which were partially underground, were considered by police the worst in the Colony.\(^3\) It was abandoned in the late 1860s.\(^4\)

In 1871 an iron fence, running north-south across the island, separated the gaol and its accompanying buildings from the dock and the buildings connected with its working. On the eastern end of the southern shore the Fitzroy Dock and its workshops continued in active use. There were a number of other buildings on the eastern side of the island.\(^5\)

The gaol with its offices and houses occupied the western side of the island. The main building of the gaol was U-shaped, enclosing the quadrangle on three sides, and containing five dormitories. The two largest dormitories would accommodate thirty-two young children each. Of the three smaller ones, one would sleep sixteen girls and the other two would hold fourteen girls each.\(^6\) The floors were

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\(^1\) Convicts withdrawn from Norfolk Island in 1839 were housed on Cockatoo Island. The Fitzroy Dock was opened in 1857. J.F. Campbell, 'Cockatoo Island, Plans and Historical Notes.' in JRAHS Vol.18, No.6. 1933. pp.338-9
\(^2\) Senior Sergeant Lane to Inspector General of Police CSIL 71/2272 in Special Bundle 4/798.3.
\(^3\) Campbell op.cit. p.343.
\(^4\) The ISG Newcastle received its left-over medicines in December 1869. CSIL 69/9991
\(^5\) Map of Biloela in Special Bundle, Proposed Establishment of Reformatory for Boys at Rookwood. 4/901.1.
\(^6\) CSIL 71/4548.
of stone as were the walls. The fourth side of the quadrangle was almost completely filled by a building which was used as the dining room. A high fence and gate closed off the quadrangle. To the west of these buildings were the rest of the offices (kitchen, laundry etc.) and the old gaol cells. Situated a short distance to the east of the gaol, but within the fence which separated it from the dock, there were a number of houses which had been occupied by the gaol's officers.

The two available secondary accounts of the period 1871–1887 when the Industrial School for Girls occupied the gaol on the island (which was renamed Biloela), rely mainly on the Report of the Charities Commission or the later Reports of the Inspector of Public Charities. To these Ramsland adds information from Rosamund and Florence Hill's book, *What We Saw in Australia* and Williamson adds Council of Education Reports. Ramsland sees Biloela as 'an even greater disaster than the Newcastle school had been', and the girls as being 'alienated from and rejected by the community which incarcerated them', while Williamson notes the lack of systematic instruction and feels that 'the function of the school was less than clear'.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a more detailed account of the Industrial School for Girls than either Ramsland or Williamson were able to offer. Their accounts are somewhat superficial because the main focus for each lay elsewhere. Dependence on the Charities Commission Evidence also tends to provide a static picture of what was a volatile situation. In the account which follows an analysis is provided of the administrative problems which the new site provided, the role of Charles Cowper Junior, the escalation of violence, and events leading to the Charities Commission.

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7 CSIL 71/2490.
9 Plan in Special Bundle 4/910.1.
11 Ramsland, *op. cit.* p. 149.
12 ibid p. 173
13 Williamson *op. cit* p. 385
This will enable a more complete discussion of the way in which the School's move to Biloela was accompanied by changes to the role and function of the School, which in turn will enable further inferences concerning the changing perceptions of politicians, public servants, magistrates and the wider community concerning the purpose of the school and the nature of the children committed to care in them.

Although Biloela can be considered as a continuation of the Newcastle school, this thesis looks at several new aspects which must be considered if the function of the school at this time is to be determined: The preparation of the new school for the reception of the girls, the age-range and experience of those transferred from Newcastle, new admissions during the period, the effects of the site, the curriculum which was administered, problems of the superintendent and staff, the attitude of the Colonial Secretaries, the Royal Commission, and its aftermath.

George Lucas's Administration at Biloela

When it was decided to move the Industrial School to Biloela, the preparations were only minimally better than those for Newcastle. The Inspector of Charities asked for the walls to be lime-washed and some guttering to be repaired and ordered a strip of 'cocoa fibre' matting for the dormitories 'so that the girls need not be compelled to stand on the cold stone floor'.\(^{14}\) The iron fence was extended to cut off the beach on the south side at high tide, making a steep, rugged playground on the southern side of the school building.\(^{15}\) John Robertson stipulated that the gaol cells were not to be used,\(^{16}\) but for the most part the girls occupied the gaol and the staff lived in the officers' quarters which were in a poorer state than the gaol.\(^{17}\) A four-roomed cottage, originally one of the gaol officers' buildings, was set aside

\(^{14}\) CSIL 71/2490.
\(^{15}\) CSIL 71/7439.
\(^{16}\) This is deduced from Mrs Lucas's comments in CSIL 73/9020 in Special Bundle 4/798.3 also Charities Commission Q.6386.
for the use of the Reformatory.\textsuperscript{18} The name of the island was changed to Biloela, in an attempt to obliterate the associations with the name of Cockatoo.\textsuperscript{19}

While there were not as many oversights in preparation as there had been at Newcastle, the domestic arrangements were given little consideration. A month after the girls were transferred to Biloela, the Inspector of Public Charities complained about the girls' lack of clothing and the absence of cleaning gear, crockery or cutlery.\textsuperscript{20} The same allowance for kerosene was made for Biloela as for Newcastle, which had a gas supply. When this parsimony was questioned, it was stated that provision was made for only five lamps for the institution.\textsuperscript{21} The Inspector of Public Charities recommended another three gallons be used for the cleaning of bedsteads, but, apart from an issue of candles for the officers, no further lighting was allowed.\textsuperscript{22}

Because there had been insufficient discharges and apprenticeships during the previous year the school had an excess of older girls. Of the 105 girls transferred from Newcastle to Biloela thirty-six were eligible for apprenticeship, having completed the requisite twelve months in the school.\textsuperscript{23} Five girls who had been apprenticed from Newcastle were later returned to the school when their indentures were cancelled.\textsuperscript{24} Table 8.1 gives ages of girls transferred from Newcastle to Biloela.

\textsuperscript{18} Charities Commission, Evidence Mrs King. There were only three girls in the Reformatory in Mrs King care when it was transferred to Biloela.
\textsuperscript{19} Charities Commission, Q.6015-6018.
\textsuperscript{20} CSIL 71/4531 and 71/5181 in SB 4/801.2
\textsuperscript{21} CSIL 72/5649.
\textsuperscript{22} ibid. (To keep the bugs under control).
\textsuperscript{23} CSIL 71/4544.
\textsuperscript{24} Superintendent's Weekly Reports, passim.
TABLE 8.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ISG Biloela</th>
<th>Girls transferred from Newcastle</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aged seventeen</td>
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<td>Aged sixteen</td>
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<td>Aged six</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aged five</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: CSIL 72/6137

During the period that George Lucas was superintendent a total of seventy girls were admitted to Biloela. Twenty-eight girls were committed from city courts. All except two of the city girls were charged with either wandering or living with prostitutes and were over thirteen. At least three of the charges of living with prostitutes were laid by mothers, three by grandmothers and one by an aunt. In all seven cases it is clear that the girl had been arrested either soliciting or in a brothel and taken home by police. The implication of remarks made by the Inspector General of Police in 1872 and by Acting Superintendent, Police Sergeant Dale, in 1874 is that most of the girls' committals were sought by their relatives, but the likelihood that relatives agreed to lay charges to prevent a gaol sentence seems obvious. This pattern, in evidence at Newcastle, was continued at Biloela.

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25 Because of the absence of pages from the Register of Warrants Received, these figures are a composite of lists occurring in CSIL 72/4799 and CSIL 75/17 (in SB 4/798.2). The nature of charges has been derived from Appendix to Charities' Commission Report, to Sydney Morning Herald and relevant country papers.
26 SMH 21/2/72, 12/9/73 and 17/10/73.
27 SMH 31/3/73, 29/9/73 and 20/11/73.
28 SMH 31/7/73.
29 Or parents brought to police station
30 Papers with CSIL 72/6137.
Of the forty-two girls admitted from the country during 1871-73, thirteen were below ten years of age and the rest were aged between thirteen and fifteen. Fourteen country girls were charged with living with prostitutes, but in at least ten cases this charge simply meant that the girls had been taken to gaol with their mother, regardless of the mother's offence.\textsuperscript{32} In twenty-two other cases the charge was 'no means of support'. This is also a similar pattern of differing country and city admissions, but the proportion of girls who were destitute has become considerably less.

There were, according to George Lucas, a number of girls who were older than their stated ages.\textsuperscript{33} While this appears true,\textsuperscript{34} the records for this stage offer too many obstacles to determining the exact number.\textsuperscript{35} The presence of the younger girls and of a number of young boys\textsuperscript{36} who were admitted to the Girls' School until they were seven, ensured that the asylum role of the school was continued as in the previous period, but the fact that a greater proportion of children under ten were committed because their mothers were prostitutes also tied the function of the school to facilitating police control of prostitution.

With no increase in the number of the staff or in their training, no change in the type of food or material for clothing supplied, and a worsening of the physical surroundings, little change in curriculum or time-table could be expected. The alterations to the daily routine were minor and were brought about by the facts that the officers' dwellings had no laundries and the girls were required to do woollen washing for the boys on the Vernon. About seven of the senior girls went to the laundry for one week in four.

\textsuperscript{32} The 'thieves or prostitutes' with which the child was living were the other gaol inmates.
\textsuperscript{33} Charities Commission, Evidence Q 2551-2572.
\textsuperscript{34} Three of the girls who gave evidence before the Charities Commission gave their ages as a/ nearly nineteen (Q. 8932), b/ nineteen (Q. 9015) and c/ nearly twenty-three (Q. 9176). All were thus illegally committed and illegally detained.
\textsuperscript{35} See note 26 above. Lucas was illiterate and had to depend on his clerk-storekeeper to write letters. He accepted the ages of the girls without question.
\textsuperscript{36} Four boys were admitted in 1873. This was permitted under an Amendment to the Act in 1871.
These girls did not attend school during their week in the laundry. The inclusion of the officers' clothing was seen as making the training offered more relevant to the girls' expected future, as was the washing of the serge uniforms for the boys on the Vernon.\(^{37}\) Although this laundry was an exploitation of the girls' labour, it could be regarded as the first attempt to train the girls to what was seen as a useful occupation. The fact that it was impossible to get competent laundresses at the wages offered\(^{38}\) and that girls spent only a week at a time on the laundry would have made the training ineffective. At a time when the weekly laundry\(^{39}\) for a household was regarded as two full days' work,\(^{40}\) seven girls would have had to work very hard to complete the laundry for about a hundred girls, the washing of woollens for over a hundred boys and the laundry for six officers' households. An acknowledgement of the heaviness of this work was the fact that girls who had been on laundry duty during the week were not required to do house duties on the following Saturday.\(^{41}\)

The 1871 Amendment to the Industrial Schools Act permitted the transfer of boys under seven to the Industrial School for Girls and their return to the Vernon at age seven. In February, 1873 the first boys under seven years of age were admitted on transfer from the Vernon.\(^{42}\) The care of a boy aged eighteen months was relegated to one of the senior girls.\(^{43}\) The remainder of the senior girls were occupied with either house cleaning in the Institution or the officers' quarters, assisting with the preparation of meals or sewing in the

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\(^{37}\) The practice of training girls for an occupation which rated very low wages was already in vogue in other 'charitable' institutions.

\(^{38}\) The smallness of wages offered to laundresses was a constant complaint at Newcastle and Mrs Walker complained of similar difficulties. Letter 534 in Letter Book 5/3430

\(^{39}\) Both washing and ironing

\(^{40}\) H. Wicken, The Australian Home. A Handbook of Domestic Economy. Edwards Dulop and Company, Sydney, 1891. p.91. Mrs Wicken notes that the use of chemicals had reduced the actual 'washing' time of the laundry process to half a day (by 1890). Cited by Williamson, op.cit. (pt.2. p.314

\(^{41}\) Charities Commission, Q.8918 ff.

\(^{42}\) ISG Parramatta, Register of Warrants Received 3/2/73

\(^{43}\) Charities Commission Evidence
morning and with schoolwork in the afternoon from two o'clock until four o'clock.\textsuperscript{44}

After school, games were permitted until tea-time at five o'clock. This was followed by muster and prayers. The girls were locked in their dormitories at six o'clock in winter and at six-thirty in summer.\textsuperscript{45} These dormitories were unlit, a kerosene lamp being left alight in the passage outside the doors until nine o'clock.\textsuperscript{46} Sometimes a girl in the younger group was permitted to have a candle in a dormitory and these also had to be extinguished at nine o'clock.\textsuperscript{47} There was no provision for any occupation or amusement between 'lock-up' and 'lights-out' time. The nearest staff quarters were about twenty-five metres\textsuperscript{48} from the girls' dormitories, so supervision at night would have been difficult, if not impossible.

Reports for the first months at Biloela show an increasing amount of disorder and futile attempts at its control. They also indicate that the Colonial Secretary was well aware of that disorder. George Lucas claimed that he had been told by both Dr Evans, the visiting medical officer, and Charles Cowper junior\textsuperscript{49} to 'forget about the regulations and bring the place into order'.\textsuperscript{50}

The emphasis in official (and unofficial) instructions was on methods of coercion: Regulations now permitted girls involved in riotous behaviour to be given 'solitary'\textsuperscript{51} confinement on bread and water for up to a fortnight;\textsuperscript{52} The matrons, but not the superintendent, were permitted to use a cane.\textsuperscript{53} Scattered evidence given at the Charities Commission

\textsuperscript{44} ibid, Q.2596-2618.
\textsuperscript{45} ibid, Q.2824-2829.
\textsuperscript{46} ibid, Q.2653- 2686.
\textsuperscript{47} ibid, Q.2542.
\textsuperscript{48} Because of the placing of the locked gates, this meant an actual 55 metre] distance to be walked.
\textsuperscript{49} Water Police Magistrate who lived on the island.
\textsuperscript{50} Charities Commission Q.2386.
\textsuperscript{51} As there were no rooms that could be used for this purpose, this regulation was absurd. 'Solitary' confinement meant being locked in a dormitory.
\textsuperscript{52} Charities Commission, Q.2628-Q.2637.
\textsuperscript{53} ibid, Q.2628-Q.2637.
would suggest that they carried their canes continuously and made use of them to make the girls work.\textsuperscript{54}

A close examination of those incidents which were reported during the first year at Biloela reveals a pattern of treatment of the girls, the girls' conduct in response, and the reaction to that response. The girls' conduct can be reduced to episodes of fire-lighting, (mostly in the winter), bathing in the river, (mostly in the summer), communicating with outsiders, and attempting to escape.\textsuperscript{55} Most of the attempts to control this behaviour were followed by episodes of general insubordination. The logic of the girls' actions, from the girls' point of view, is as obvious as the logic of the superintendent's degeneration into completely unacceptable behaviour.\textsuperscript{56} It was a vicious spiral in which both girls and staff suffered.

On 27th June 1871, a month after the transfer to Biloela, twenty-eight girls, including eighteen girls who were eligible for apprenticeship,\textsuperscript{57} were punished for lighting a fire in their dormitory,\textsuperscript{58} by being kept in the dormitories on a bread and water diet for a week and not being allowed out of the quadrangle for a further period of three weeks.\textsuperscript{59} On 10th July, seven of these girls, who were still under punishment, climbed over the fence of the quadrangle and, when confined in their dormitories, became so riotous and insubordinate that they were placed separately in a dormitory on bread and water for fourteen days.\textsuperscript{60} The other girls began to feed the confinees but were not discovered doing so for some time.\textsuperscript{61}

Punishment certainly did not improve the girls' conduct, for two of the same names occur on the Black List on 2nd

\textsuperscript{54} ibid Q.4551 and Q.3656-3665.
\textsuperscript{55} While there is a certain logic in these activities, they can also be seen as a form of 'messing up' and the continuation of an intransigent line by the girls. Goffman, op. cit p.55. and p.62.
\textsuperscript{56} This can be seen as the imperative of retaining control Goffman, op cit p. 82.
\textsuperscript{57} Charities Commission Q. 4551 and Q.3656-3665 compared with Register of Warrants Received.
\textsuperscript{58} In the damp freezing building their statement that they wanted a fire sounds logical.
\textsuperscript{59} CSIL 71/4539 in Special Bundle 4/798.3.
\textsuperscript{60} CSIL 71/5040 in ibid.
\textsuperscript{61} Charities Commission Q.2643.
August and four on the 3rd August. Fire, which, apart from one isolated incident, of which the rest of the girls disapproved, had not been a weapon at Newcastle, became at Biloela the symbol of defiance. On 15th August seven girls set fire to the dry grass at the back of the Reformatory. A report of the same date states that the older girls were very insubordinate and the second group refractory and turbulent.

A week later ten girls including six of the seven who had just completed seven days on bread and water, 'could with difficulty be confined in their dormitory.' When locked up, on being supplied with water in a bucket without any drinking utensils, they threw it at the matrons. Shortly afterwards they lit a fire with their sheets. For this they were confined to their dormitory on bread and water for fourteen days.

When Superintendent Lucas visited these girls in their dormitory three days after the water-throwing incident he found that they were attempting to open the iron door with a sledge hammer and the legs of bedsteads. He also discovered that the girls were being given food by the other girls.

While the girls were still confined in the dormitories a new problem became apparent when, on a Saturday late in August several boats containing chiefly youths were cruising about the island during the afternoon 'causing much annoyance to the Officers and considerable excitement among the girls'. This 'annoyance' was repeated the following weekend and at least

62 CSIL 71/5598.
63 CSIL 71/5757.
64 At Newcastle the only fire which was destructive of property was lit by a newcomer and extinguished by the other girls. (CSIL 69/620). Despite some horseplay with burning straw, the only other fire lit by the girls at Newcastle had been lit in a grate with conventional materials. This was also in July. CSIL 68/3765 with 68/3912.
65 CSIL 71/5934 in Special Bundle 4/798.3.
66 CSIL 71/6030 in ibid.
67 Charities Commission, Report p.75.
68 One pint of water per day was allowed. Charities Commission, Q.8917.
69 CSIL 71/6195 in ibid.
70 CSIL 71/6373 in Special Bundle 4/798.3.
three girls were confined on a bread and water diet for going beyond the enclosure.72

Warmer weather brought with it another cause of insubordination. In September a number of girls began to bathe naked in the river.73 In the following week four girls were punished with fourteen days on bread and water for bathing in the river.74 Eventually this led to violent punishments and counter-violence.75 Many of the warm-weather punishments resulted from the girls' 'going beyond the enclosure' to paddle in the water or (occasionally) to swim. Punishments for these offences led to more violent offences.76

During October two girls were confined to the quadrangle for going beyond the enclosure,77 another spent fourteen days on bread and water for being abusive to the matron78 and another received a similar sentence for going through the fence at low water beyond the enclosure.79 In mid-October eight girls who had broken out of the dormitory and had gone into the Fitzroy Dock were arrested and charged with a number of offences.80

These eight girls were brought before the Water Police Court on a charge of breaking windows [in the school]. They were fined thirty shillings or two months gaol. Two of them were fined an additional three pounds, in default two months gaol, for the destruction of the door of the dormitory and a third girl received a further two months gaol for breaking the windows of the engine room of the Fitzroy Dock. All girls served their sentences at Darlinghurst Gaol and were returned to Biloela.81 This was the culmination of a series of incidents involving the wish to swim in the river.

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72 CSIL 71/7569 in ibid. CSIL 7/7723 and CSIL 71/7939. At low tide it was possible for the girls to get under the iron fence which shut them off from the beach.
73 Letter in Special Bundle 4/798.3 dated 9/9/71.
74 CSIL 71/7151,
75 As Mrs Walker was to demonstrate later, the problem could have been solved in a very simple way.
76 'Looping' here operated in reverse. Goffman op.cit p.41
77 CSIL 71/ 7569 in Special Bundle 4/798.3.
78 CSIL 71/7939.
79 ibid.
80 CSIL 71/6511. CSIL 71/7867 with 71/8041 in SB 4/798.3.
81 CSIL 71/7880 in ibid.
At this time the Premier's son, Charles Cowper junior, was magistrate at the Water Police Court and his residence was on Cockatoo Island. John Robertson, who had been informed of all of the incidents listed, but had done nothing until the girls' trial had made the problem public, asked Magistrate Cowper to assist with the discipline, but it is clear that Cowper's actions angered George Lucas who resented the intrusion on his authority.

Cowper's efforts to improve the situation took several forms. He persuaded Frederick Cane, the clerk-storekeeper and Margaret Kelly, the teacher, to supervise the girls from six o'clock till nine o'clock at night, the elder girls engaging in needlework, crochet, knitting or reading while the younger ones had a variety of games and amusements. Materials for these occupations were provided by Cowper at his own expense. This practice lasted only a short time as Mrs Lucas, who had at first refused to take part in the group, later insisted that the girls do 'practical' sewing and so 'upset the arrangements'.

Cowper also persuaded the Colonial Secretary to sanction an additional allowance of flour, suet, sugar, treacle and raisins for 'indulgences for good conduct'. His main thrust, however, was to organise the apprenticeship of every girl who was eligible for it. He advertised widely in country papers and within a few months had arranged apprenticeships for about forty girls, including some of the most troublesome. Cowper's attitude towards the apprenticing of the girls and to their relatives was in sharp contrast to that of the superintendent. He permitted the relatives of the

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82 Charities Commission, Q.6015.
83 CSIL 71/9390, 71/9491, 71/8496, 72/1330, 72/1888
84 Not 'to increase their basic scholastic skills' as Williamson states. Williamson, op.cit (pt 1) p.382.
85 CSIL 71/8946, 71/9390 and 71/9491.
86 Charities' Commission, Q 6015.
87 CSIL 71/9426.
88 It seems likely that he also did a lot of personal contacting in the Goulburn area where he had served as a magistrate.
89 CSIL Register of Letters between November, 1871 and February, 1872. Of 62 apprenticeships during the three years of Lucas's regime, 40 were arranged by Cowper at this time.
girls who were apprenticed to visit them at his residence before the girls were sent to the country. On one occasion he persuaded Superintendent Mein to allow a boy from the Vernon to spend the afternoon with his sister before she was apprenticed. By thus gaining both the confidence of the girls and the parents' acquiescence in the girls' apprenticeship, he ensured that a greater number stayed at their apprenticeship.

The removal of the girls to gaol as well as Cowper's efforts at apprenticing the girls, and the gaoling of Maryann M. from the Reformatory after she set fire to the dormitory, provided peace for a few months, broken only by the finding of American sailors' caps within the school enclosure. Four girls were punished for this incident and a month later the same four girls were reported for behaving in a 'most riotous and insubordinate manner'.

These girls had been locked in their dormitories because they had 'marched down to the beach singing songs which [Lucas] always look[ed] upon as war songs.' Here they continued troublesome and defiant, so their bedsteads and bedding were removed. While this was being done the four girls 'made use of language of the most vile description and proceeded to tear up their clothing.' Threatened with

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90 Charities Commission Q.6277-6286.
91 ibid.
92 A perusal of the Superintendent's letters for the next two years would suggest that about eighty percent of the apprenticeships organised by Charles Cowper were 'successful'.
93 After the gaoling of this girl the Reformatory seems to have become fairly placid during its stay on the island.
94 CSIL 71/9388 in Special Bundle 4/798.3. (The American ship St Mary's was in Fitzroy Dock).
95 As members of the staff regularly fraternised with the officers from the ships in dock, and as the sailors broke into the school area, punishment for this incident must have caused much resentment.
96 CSIL 72/830 in Special Bundle 4/798.3 As often happened the first punishment inspired sufficient resentment to create a second offence.
97 While there are no precise names given to these songs, it would seem that these were Irish songs to which Lucas objected as 'war songs'. Lucas taunted the girls with being 'Fenians' and they countered by referring to him as an 'Orange Dog'. [Charities Commission, Minutes re Sectarianism in CSIL Special Bundle 4/798.3].
straightjackets, the girls defied Lucas and began to undress. He then put the straightjackets on them and gagged one girl.\textsuperscript{98}

Cowper, who had already complained to John Robertson that Lucas was calling in the police without advice, protested about this use of straightjackets. His protest makes it perfectly clear that John Robertson had consented to the use of straightjackets. Cowper's objection was not to their use but that the girls were nearly naked when the straightjackets were applied. He commented, 'This is hardly the way, I think, the Colonial Secretary intended this mode of punishment to be carried out.'\textsuperscript{99}

In a separate incident Mary C. refused to return to her dormitory when ordered. When Lucas took hold of her, she struck him. She was placed in a straightjacket and carried into the hospital, where she was left. On his return, Lucas found that the girl had got out of the straightjacket and placed herself in a window recess.\textsuperscript{100} Police were called to remove her from the recess. She was again placed in the straightjacket and afterwards locked up.\textsuperscript{101}

These incidents follow much the same pattern as the earlier incidents, with the superintendent desperately seeking methods whereby he could force the girls into submission and the girls equally desperately seeking methods to counter this coercion. The use of bedsteads to break down the doors and of bedding to light fires had determined that these had to be removed from dormitories when girls were imprisoned in them. The girls' removal of clothing when faced with the threat of straightjackets forced the superintendent to resort to the 'indecency' of applying straightjackets to nearly nude females.

Without the cooperation of the sub-matrons, this state of affairs was inevitable. Evidence at the Charities Commission makes it clear that Lucas had antagonised the sub-matrons by 'destroy[ing] all their power to influence the children for

\textsuperscript{98} CSIL 72/2245 in \textit{ibid}.
\textsuperscript{99} Charities Commission, \textit{Orphan School Appendix}, p.49. Cowper did not object to the use of the gag!
\textsuperscript{100} Probably with the assistance of other girls who were in the habit of forming 'stacks' by climbing on one another's backs to reach the 'windows'.
\textsuperscript{101} \textit{ibid}. 
good by personally degrading them in their presence'.

Their complaints of his mimicking their peculiarities, of speaking sneeringly of their former occupations, of openly finding fault with them and of allowing the girls to treat them with disrespect and insults were believed by the Commissioners.

It is clear that all efforts to obtain work from the inmates in the institution, except in the school room, were accompanied by the use of canes, a strap and by ear-boxing.

It is equally clear that the older girls were not prepared to accept the physical abuse which the officers considered necessary. Some girls retaliated with equal violence. In spite of Cowper's efforts a residual of defiance remained and quickly grew.

In April, 1872 Henry Parkes returned to office as Colonial Secretary (and acting Premier). His interest in the school expressed itself in questioning the reason for the small number of girls in the school and not in how the school was being managed. The police response was to suggest that the Act should be amended to allow for more arrests.

Reports of misbehaviour of the girls in the school become fewer during this period, although this is no proof that disturbances did not occur. In August seven girls broke the locks of two dormitories, scaled the fence and entered the dockyard, took a boat belonging to the nightwatchman and rowed to Balmain where they were later arrested. They received fourteen days on bread and water for this offence.

In October another girl was punished for bathing in the river and three girls were placed in straitjackets for an hour. The following morning three other girls were placed

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103 ibid, pp.71-2.
104 Charities Commission, Q 3641-3673.
105 ibid, Q.3710-3719.
106 CSIL 72/3220.
107 ibid.
108 The transfer of Frederick Cane and the withdrawal of Charles Cowper junior left Lucas free to determine what went into Reports.
109 CSIL 72/6222 in Special Bundle 4/798.3.
110 CSIL 72/6670.
111 CSIL 72/7931 in Special Bundle 4/798.3.
in their dormitories for ten days on bread and water. When
two matrons attempted to search one of the girls who had
destroyed the door of the annexe to the dormitory, she
assaulted both of them. She was placed in one of the cells.

When this use of the cells\textsuperscript{112} was questioned,
Superintendent Lucas replied somewhat incoherently:

\begin{quote}
Much good has doubtless been done by relieving
the city and towns of a class of vice calculated
seriously to affect the morals of the rising
generation.
\end{quote}

He went on to state that the buildings made classification
impossible, that some of the inmates belonged to a vicious or
criminal class and he wanted the use of the solitary cells and
to introduce a system of rewards and punishments.\textsuperscript{113}

While there is no record of a refusal,\textsuperscript{114} the cells do
not appear to have been used again, but the use of
straitjackets continued. Five girls were placed in
straitjackets for from one to two hours 'for singing obscene
songs and making use of abusive language to the matrons'.\textsuperscript{115}
The use of straitjackets did not bring any comment from Henry
Parkes.

Early in March, 1873, a month before the 'Commission
appointed to inquire into and report upon the Public Charities
of the Colony' was set up, the Inspector of Public Charities
reported to the Colonial Secretary that Superintendent Lucas
had severely caned a girl about the shoulders,\textsuperscript{116} and at the
end of April seven girls escaped by breaking the door locks,
but were recaptured.\textsuperscript{117} In August three girls were punished
for assaulting the house matron.\textsuperscript{118}

These last two incidents occurred while the Charities
Commission was in session.\textsuperscript{119} The first visit of members of

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{112} These were the original gaol cells. Their use had been
forbidden when the girls moved to Biloela.
\footnote{113} CSIL 72/8161.
\footnote{114} As Robertson had forbidden the use of the cells and had
made much political capital about the use of the gaol cells at
Newcastle, it is likely that Parkes also forbade their use.
\footnote{115} CSIL 72/9357 in Special Bundle 4/798.3.
\footnote{116} CSIL 73/1775 with 73/2298 in \textit{ibid}.
\footnote{117} CSIL 73/3234 with 73/3617 in \textit{ibid}.
\footnote{118} CSIL 73/7436 in \textit{ibid}.
\footnote{119} Ramsland \textit{op cit} pp.172-176
\end{footnotes}
the Commission to the Institution occurred on Saturday, 16th August, 1873, beginning at 7.10 am.\textsuperscript{120} The choice of the day and the time would have shown the management of the institution in its worst light. The active employment of eighty-eight girls of such varying ages in the cleaning operations of the Institution would have required a degree of discipline which neither George Lucas nor his disaffected staff\textsuperscript{121} could command. A number of girls were working, 'one inmate sweeping out each of the dormitories, the beds having been made'. Three girls were idling about the mess-room and two were cleaning out the cowshed, but most were simply wandering about in an untidy state and under no supervision.\textsuperscript{122}

The Commissioners reported a reasonably orderly breakfast, although it was nearly an hour late. During the morning only thirty-five of the girls were performing any kind of domestic duties. More than a quarter of the girls did not attend the mid-day meal, which consisted of meat, potatoes and turnips. Many of the girls took food from the table in their pockets or aprons when they left the table. There were no drinking utensils on the table, and the girls drank from a horse-trough after the meal.\textsuperscript{123}

Three sub-Matrons, one of whom was required to attend to the milking and another to act as cook,\textsuperscript{124} would have had considerable difficulty in supervising all of the girls in the pre-breakfast period. The necessity for the matrons to supervise the Saturday baths would not have helped their supervision of other Saturday activities. The use of a cane by all of the matrons would have ensured that only supervised work was being performed. Under these circumstances thirty-five girls in active work would indicate maximum effort on the part of the matrons.\textsuperscript{125}

\textsuperscript{120} Charities Commission, Special Appendix p.91.
\textsuperscript{121} Much of the time of the Charities Commission was taken up with an examination of this disaffection.
\textsuperscript{122} Charities Commission, Special Appendix p.91
\textsuperscript{123} The account does not specify whether or not a drinking utensil was provided at the horse trough.
\textsuperscript{124} Mrs Dunn acted as cook. Charities Commission Q 2602.
\textsuperscript{125} Ramsland provides an account of this and a subsequent visit of the Commissioners. Ramsland op.cit. pp. 172-173
The visit of the Commissioners seems to have stirred the girls to further insubordination. In four successive weekly Reports, from the end of September, girls are named as having been confined in dormitories on bread and water for throwing stones at the windows of the Reformatory, for getting over the fence into the dock, for breaking the fence and getting into the dock, and for escaping through the entrance gate while it was opened to let out an officer's child.

Events in November led to the second and third visits of Charities Commission and Lucas's resignation. On 4th November ten girls set fire to the straw mattresses and blankets in their dormitory. On 10th November Charles Cowper junior, who was a member of the Charities Commission, was asked to make a report on this incident. His report makes it clear that he considered the girls had not been 'judiciously treated'.

On the way back to the dormitories after Cowper's Inquiry into this incident, nine of the girls smashed about thirty panes of glass and broke about fifty crockery mugs. That afternoon Cowper had to send in seven police to take from them a tomahawk, a marlinespike, a chisel and other articles with which they had cut down the door and were attempting to make their escape. On 21st November six of the girls broke nearly one hundred windows and threw stones at the officers. The Water Police had to be brought in to arrest them. They were confined in a dormitory.

It is not clear when the window apertures of the dormitories had been boarded up, but by the time of the arrival of the Commissioners for a further inspection of the institution, the windows had been boarded over, to prevent other girls from feeding those who were confined.

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126 CSIL 73/7844.
127 CSIL 73/8292.
128 CSIL 73/8432.
129 CSIL 73/8507.
130 CSIL 73/9020 in Special Bundle 4/798.3.
131 The Inquiry was held in the schoolroom. The dining room and other offices were between the schoolroom and the dormitories.
132 CSIL 73/9047 in ibid.
133 CSIL 73/9019 in ibid.
134 CSIL 73/9431 in ibid.
On 25th November, 1873 the members of the Charities Commission made their third visit to Biloela. They had examined the account of the punishments meted out to the girls as they were recorded in the Colonial Secretary's letters and were aware that there were girls confined in the dormitories at Biloela. They were seeking to find out how the girls had been treated and were prepared to listen to them. As they did not bother to seek the opinion of the boys on the Vernon or the children in the Orphanages or the Asylum for Destitute children it might be suggested that the girls had made enough noise to warrant a hearing. It could also be suggested that this particular session of the Charities Commission and its aftermath provided a sufficient 'smokescreen' behind which both Henry Parkes and John Robertson could shelter. By the Commission's stress on the enormity of George Lucas's 'injudicious' cruelty both Colonial Secretaries were able to escape blame for their own acquiescence in it.

The first girl who was questioned complained of ill-treatment by Mr and Mrs Lucas, stating that both these officers had beaten her and had ill-treated the other girls...by knocking them down, striking them with their fists, a cane and a broomstick and by rubbing their heads against a wall on which some caricature of Mr and Mrs Lucas had been drawn. She exhibited the marks of blows recently inflicted in support of her statement.

Similar evidence was given by the other girls and it was stated that 'every one of the girls bore marks of violence'. Part of the Commission's summary includes the girls' complaints that they had been locked up in a damp dormitory, were allowed insufficient food and though they were

135 Charles Cowper's investigation of incidents on 11th November is treated as being on behalf of the Commission.
136 Records examined by the Commission are collected in CSIL Special Bundle 4/798.3.
137 George Lucas had influential friends. He was the Australasian President of the 'Sons of Temperance' and a prominent member of the Loyal Orange Lodge, on whose behalf he ran a night refuge. His brother was MP for Camperdown.
138 CSIL 73/9513 'Minutes of Public Charities Commission' in ibid.
139 ibid.
ill had no attention paid to them; that Mr and Mrs Lucas would not let them alone, scolding them...that he threw a bucket of water under the door of the dormitory in which they were confined...that when they were confined he threw stones at them through the bars; that he beat [five girls'] head against the ground and kneeling on her: that he beat [another girl] with a broom handle and bumped her head against the wall.\textsuperscript{140}

The Commission's 'minutes' concerning the dormitory in which they found eight imprisoned girls are precise:

> On opening the door of this dormitory eight girls from fourteen to seventeen years of age were found, four of them in a half naked condition and all without shoes and stockings. The room had a stone floor, was without a chimney, had every window closely boarded up, was without an article of furniture and had a foul and sickly smell, every call of nature being there answered by its inmates. On the door being closed upon the members of the Commission, it was impossible for them to see each other till accustomed to the darkness.\textsuperscript{141}

As a result of this visit by the Charities Commission, Henry Parkes asked George Lucas to show cause why he should not be dismissed. He resigned.\textsuperscript{142} The Second Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into and report upon the Working and Management of the Public Charities of the Colony was published in the following year.\textsuperscript{143}

The Report of the Charities Commission is regarded by Ramsland as being a watershed in the development of child care in the Colony, marking the first public movement towards the introduction of boarding-out.\textsuperscript{144} The Commission took more evidence concerning the Industrial School for Girls than it did about any other institution. More inspections were made of Biloela. The girls from Biloela were the only inmates of any institution who were questioned by the Commissioners. A much longer report was made about the Girls' School and more recommendations were made for its improvement than for any other institution. Despite all this, the Commission had less effect on the Girls' School than on any other institution.

\textsuperscript{140} Charities Commission, Summary of Evidence, p.142.
\textsuperscript{141} CSIL 73/9153 in Special Bundle 4/798.3.
\textsuperscript{142} Charities Commission, Report p.75.
\textsuperscript{143} ibid
\textsuperscript{144} Ramsland, op.cit. p.234.
The immediate removal of the school from its present site was recommended, the major stipulation being that the new site should be 'near enough to Protestant and Catholic churches to enable the children to attend divine service on Sundays'.\textsuperscript{145} The new institution should allow constant supervision and adopt a 'family type' system.\textsuperscript{146} It should be placed under the control of a matron.\textsuperscript{147} The Commission recommended that only three hours per week should be spent on school instruction and that more time should be given to industrial training.\textsuperscript{148} The Commission also suggested that the girls' labour should be made more remunerative (to the State) by taking in the washing of ships in the port, the boats of the "Vernon" being the means of communication between the shipping and the school.\textsuperscript{149}

The obvious contradiction in these recommendations would suggest that the Commissioners did not really expect the school to be removed from the island. The use of the boats of the Vernon was only feasible if the school remained on the island. It is also clear that the Commissioners were under no illusions as to the purpose of the Industrial Schools Act. Although they acknowledge that 'the object of the legislature was evidently to rescue the children from a life of vagrancy and neglect',\textsuperscript{150} they saw the older girls not as being in need of protection but as the 'culls from our streets'\textsuperscript{151} whom the school was to reform by instilling into them 'a love of work'.\textsuperscript{152}

The other institution on the island received a favourable report. Although the Commissioners disapproved of the fact that the Girls' Reformatory was overcrowded\textsuperscript{153} and that it was

\textsuperscript{145} Charities Commission, Report p.69.
\textsuperscript{146} ibid, p.70.
\textsuperscript{147} ibid, p.79.
\textsuperscript{148} ibid, p.76. The 'per week' is inferred. The senior girls were then averaging about eight hours per week at school.
\textsuperscript{149} ibid, p.77.
\textsuperscript{150} ibid, p.80.
\textsuperscript{151} ibid, p.78.
\textsuperscript{152} ibid, p.85.
\textsuperscript{153} As eight girls and Mrs King were housed in a four-roomed cottage and some of the girls slept in the dining room, their criticisms must be regarded as accurate.
too isolated, they considered that Mrs King's management was 'fairly efficient'.\textsuperscript{154} The account which Mrs King gave to the Commissioners appears to be accurate for that time,\textsuperscript{155} but the additional remarks, which Williamson makes, that 'there were no outbreaks or abscondings of any significance from [the Reformatory] throughout the nineteenth century',\textsuperscript{156} are simply not true.\textsuperscript{157}

Like other commentators of the time, the Commissioners laid the blame for the problems of Industrial School girls on the parents.\textsuperscript{158} They wanted parents to be compelled to pay for the support of the girls, deplored the release of children by the Governor in Council,\textsuperscript{81} and sought a greater control of apprenticeships. They also recommended that the management of the Institution should pass to a voluntary committee with a separate Institution for girls over twelve.\textsuperscript{159}

For the Industrial School for Girls the immediate results of the Commission were negligible. After the resignation of George Lucas and the later sacking of the clerk-storekeeper and the laundress, the school continued on the island with a reduced staff.

**Police Sergeant Dale's Interregnum**

Despite the fact that none of the changes recommended by the Commissioners were implemented during his regime, the 'temporary' appointment of Police Sergeant Dale as superintendent\textsuperscript{160} and Mrs Kelly as acting matron in November 1873\textsuperscript{161} to replace Mr and Mrs Lucas began one of the most peaceful periods for the school. Both were well aware of the abuses of the Act which had contributed to the disorganised

\textsuperscript{154} Charities Commission, *Second Report*, pp. 81-86.
\textsuperscript{155} Charities Commission, *Evidence Q3193-Q3232*
\textsuperscript{156} Williamson, op.cit. [Part I] p. 384
\textsuperscript{157} All three of the inmates at Newcastle escaped together in 1870. CSIL 70/6704. One girl escaped at least five times from Newcastle. Both she and the man who 'sheltered' her were gaoled. [Papers with CSIL 71/1604] After setting fire to the dormitory at Biloela this girl was gaoled at Darlinghurst and not returned to the School. CSIL 71/8425 in SB 4/798.3
\textsuperscript{158} ibid, p. 81.
\textsuperscript{159} ibid, pp. 84-86.
\textsuperscript{160} ISG Superintendent's Letter Book 5/3430, no. 7.
\textsuperscript{161} CSIL 74/4981.
state of the school and set about the task of removing them. As temporary superintendent, seconded from the Police Force and paid at ten shillings per day,\textsuperscript{162} Dale did not attempt any new curriculum or any noticeable change in the daily running of the school. He succeeded, however in rectifying a number of anomalies in the enrolment and apprenticing of the girls which made the task of his successor considerably easier.

His first contribution was his rejection of over-age admissions. When two girls whom he suspected to be over sixteen were admitted, he requested birth certificates from the Registrar General's Department, and followed up the matter to the extent of having one of the girls discharged.\textsuperscript{163} He also secured the release of girls whom he believed to be over eighteen.\textsuperscript{164}

While this elimination of a very real source of dissension would have helped the morale of the school, the other new enrolments during 1874 continued the pattern of earlier enrolments. Of twenty-five new enrolments, twelve were over fourteen years of age and ten were under seven years old.\textsuperscript{165} Most of the older group were clearly themselves prostitutes or regular associates of prostitutes as, for example Ann McC who 'for some months used to frequent houses of ill-fame, which the parents knew well'.\textsuperscript{166} The ten younger ones would have required care from the older girls. None of the new enrolments appear to have given any cause for concern.

As one means of pacifying a potentially troublesome group, Dale appears to have paid particular attention to the apprenticing of girls who had been in the institution a considerable time.\textsuperscript{167} Only seven of the girls admitted to Newcastle were still in Biloela at the end of 1875.\textsuperscript{168}

At the same time Dale managed to maintain a more adequate control over apprentices than either of his predecessors.

\textsuperscript{162} ISG \textit{Superintendent's Letter Book} 5/3430, Letters 7-8.
\textsuperscript{163} \textit{Ibid}, Letter 41.
\textsuperscript{164} CSIL 74/4555 and 74/6290. One of these girls claimed to be 23.
\textsuperscript{165} CSIL 75/17 in Special Bundle 4/798.3.
\textsuperscript{166} CSIL 74/6009.
\textsuperscript{167} ISG, \textit{Superintendent's Letter Book}, 5/3430. For example Letters 76, 78, 82, and 85.
\textsuperscript{168} CSIL 75/17 in 4/798.3 and CSIL Jan-March 1875.
When a bench of magistrates cancelled the indentures of Elizabeth E. and discharged her to liberty he protested to the Colonial Secretary. He also protested when another girl was transferred from apprenticeship to her parents without Executive consent. He insisted that the law required that a girl be returned to the institution if her indentures were cancelled. He also tried to ensure that the people to whom the girls were apprenticed were reputable and would treat the girls well. References from clergymen and magistrates were insisted on.

A major problem which caused him considerable concern was the number of people who failed to pay the apprentices. Early in January, 1874 he protested to the Minister of Justice and Public Instruction concerning the non-payment of a girl's wages for over two years. After pointing out that the girl's conduct must have been fair as the employer's mother had made application for the girl's services, he goes on:

Now another point to be considered in this poor girl's case is the smallness of their wages which in that part of the country, servants of this class could not be obtained but at a very high rate.

This was not an isolated case. Rebecca P. had worked for two years and two months and had received no money. Dale asked that the matter of Mary W's wages be placed in the hands of the Crown Solicitor. There were at least seven other cases in that year alone where the superintendent had to seek the help of the relevant Minister or Department in order to secure wages for girls.

Dale also made an effort to improve the diet of the girls by seeking the dietary scale in use in Gladesville

170 CSIL 74/7034.
172 CSIL 74/6394.
173 The Industrial Schools were placed under the control of the Minister for Justic and Public Instruction early in 1874 but were returned to the Colonial Secretary's Department later in the same year.
175 ibid, Letter 48.
176 ibid, Letter 50.
177 ibid, Letters 125, 142, 177, 190, 202, 206 and 231
Hospital. He also protested at the quality of the bread supplied to the school which was 'so stale the children would not eat it'. His efforts were to be carried on, somewhat more successfully, by his successor, but he appears to be the first superintendent who did not accept that what the contractor thought fit to supply was good enough for the Institution.

Conclusion.

Dale's period as Superintendent is in sharp contrast to that of his predecessor. George Lucas's regime had been a total disaster, yet he was permitted to hold his position for nearly three years. Clearly unable to cope at Newcastle, his conduct degenerated into ever worsening sadistic cruelty at Biloela. That both Robertson and Parkes feared to antagonise Lucas's powerful political friends may be assumed. Their failure to act was something more than mere incompetence.

For nearly three years the girls on Biloela were subjected to a regime that offered little in the way of useful training and much that was brutalising. While the Charities Commission deplored the brutality, their own recommendations do not display any great consideration for the girls. Apart from their recommendation that the superintendent should be a woman, based largely on the belief that a woman would be more competent in domestic arts than a male might be, none of their ideas were put into practice at Biloela.

While Sergeant Dale put an end to the admission of over-age girls there was little change in the reasons for admission to the school in the seven years since the establishment of the institution, although the proportion of destitution-related admissions decreased. Young, destitute girls or the young children of prostitutes or thieves still made up the larger, younger group. The older group were a mixture of

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178 ibid, Letter 53.
179 ibid, Letter 59.
180 ibid, Letter 271.
181 See note 146 above.
182 ibid, p.79.
girls who had been soliciting, girls taken from brothels, with a few who could be classified as 'short-witted'.

Most of the long list of recommendations made by the Charities Commission are an indictment of Government neglect: The site was unsuitable, the plan of the buildings was not adaptable to the uses of a school, the grounds were 'neglected and dilapidated', the sanitary arrangements were deplorable, the water supply was sadly lacking and the island was not accessible to desirable amenities.183 Most modern commentators would add that the staff was insufficient and untrained for their job, and that the curriculum offered was inadequate.184 That the school was allowed to stay on the island for another thirteen years in the face of this criticism is probably the best indicator of the relative unimportance of the Girls' School at this stage, in the minds of the colony's decision makers.

While the findings of this chapter agree substantially with the general findings of both Ramsland and Williamson as to the management of the Industrial School for Girls at Biloela, certain insights have been added. The neglect of the Colonial Secretary's office to fulfil the function which the committee of a privately controlled institution would have fulfilled and the pattern of misbehaviour and possible causes have been analysed. The part played by Charles Cowper junior and Police Sergeant Dale, particularly in their successful apprenticing of the girls, which both authors ignore, was important in 'getting the school into order' as well as being an indicator of public belief in the 'domestic training' role of the school. This chapter also demonstrates the shift in the structure of the school population which resulted from the enrolment of a distinctly older and a distinctly younger group of girls as well as the beginning of the temporary admission of boys under seven. While there were still committals that were poverty-related, the function of the school as an adjunct to police control of prostitution is clear in most of the admissions. This factor becomes more pronounced in the regime of the next superintendent, Selina Walker.

183 Charities Commission, Second Report, pp.65-81
184 Williamson op.cit p. 385
CHAPTER IX

PETTICOAT GOVERNMENT

Although her appointment as superintendent of the Industrial School for Girls was a direct outcome of the Charities Commission, Selina Walker did not take up her position until April 1875. The Commission had advised the appointment of a woman superintendent and after the bitter experience of three failed superintendents, Parkes sought to obtain the services of a woman who had already proved her competence in a similar position. His first choice was Rosamund Hill, but that lady declined, presumably because of her commitments in England.

Ramsland provides a brief account of the Industrial School when Selina Walker was superintendent, pointing to the generally favourable reports she received from the Inspector of Public Charities and noting the fact that the Industrial School was "the lowest priority in the child-saving system." Williamson points to the similarity with overseas trends in the appointment of a woman administrator and notes the comments of the Inspector of Public Charities. Both note the improvement of her regime compared with her predecessors but neither of these authors, nor other historians of nineteenth century child welfare institutions have offered an analysis of Selena Walker's administration in terms of what it reveals of the changes in the practices of the Industrial School for Girls and its place in the welfare, education and justice systems, let alone what these changes reveal of the changing philosophies or even the various perceptions of the School's role and function.

1 Charities Commission, Report, p.79.
2 CSIL 75/2651.
3 Charities Commission, Report, p.79.
4 It seems likely that she agreed, verbally, to find a suitable person. Mrs Walker's application was for superintendent of the 'orphanage'.
5 Ramsland op.cit pp.202-203
6 Williamson op.cit.pp.382-3
This thesis seeks to determine the reasons for the success of Selina Walker's early years at Biloela and her later obvious failure at Parramatta. In doing so it analyses the marked changes in enrolment and the adaptation of the School's practices to meet those changes. The effect of changing socio-economic factors as well as the introduction of the State Children Relief Board on the role and function of the Industrial School is assessed.

There is little available evidence about Selina Walker's background or experience.\(^7\) After somewhat lengthy negotiations she took charge of the school on 5th April 1875.\(^8\) She was an English widow, aged forty-one, with two daughters and a son.\(^9\) The two girls lived with her in the Institution. While it is presumed that she would have had some experience in the institutional care of children, the fact that her two daughters were aged ten and four would suggest that her experience may not have been a lengthy one.\(^10\)

Like her predecessors, Selina Walker was constrained by the site of the institution, the number and quality of the staff provided, the food supplied for the diet, the material available for clothes and the general inadequacy of the facilities. At the same time she started with some advantages. First among these was the fact that she became superintendent of the Industrial School only.\(^11\) The

\(^7\) Although it is presumed that the negotiations were begun by Parkes, the appointment was made by John Robertson. Mrs Walker's application was written after she arrived in Australia. CSIL 74/5456 (Register).
\(^8\) CSIL 74/5456 and 75/2005 (Register) The Industrial School was under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education and Justice for about six months in 1874, returning to the Colonial Secretary's Department in August. Details for earlier negotiations are not available.
\(^9\) CSIL 76/943, CSIL 76/988, CSIL 76/2027.
\(^10\) CSIL 76/988 and 76/2027 Superannuation List, Blue Book, 1891. There is, of course, the possibility that she had been part of a husband-and-wife team, but no evidence is available.
\(^11\) The Executive Council Minutes for 25th April, 1875 agreed to her appointment to both positions. P.215, but she did not become superintendent of the Reformatory, which had already passed to the oversight of the Department of Justice. (CSIL 74/5818) In early 1876 Mrs Walker asked the Colonial Secretary to ensure that Mrs King be instructed to communicate with her (Mrs Walker) only through Head Office. (Letter No 398 in
Reformatory was placed under the control of the Department of Justice in October 1874 and ceased to be the responsibility of the superintendent of the Industrial School. Mrs King obtained sole control of the Reformatory while it was at Biloela and after its removal to Shaftesbury in 1880. It did not again have a superintendent, although one was provided for in the Regulations.

Official reports of the school during the first ten years of Mrs Walker's superintendency are consistently high in praise for the work being performed. These are followed by praise tempered by suggestions for methods for training, and finally by a Parliamentary Report that is patronisingly tactful but totally damning. The contrast in these Reports calls for analysis of the regime to determine whether Mrs Walker's philosophy and practice changed over the fifteen years or whether what changed were the official expectations of her administration.

The 1885 Report of the Inspector of Public Charities on the Industrial School for Girls ten years after Selina Walker had become superintendent read:

That an Institution constantly liable to have imported into it disturbing influences has been able to pursue for many years a course so uneventful as is the history of the Industrial School at Biloela shows unmistakably that its management possesses most of the ingredients commanding success.

Reporting to Parliament on the situation of the school, (at Parramatta), in 1890, the Minister for Education stated:

...in regard to the discipline and character of the management in general, the methods employed, although carried out by the existing staff to the best of their ability, were not calculated to effect any permanent good in the conduct or the future life of the inmates. As therefore it was evident that

Letter Book 5/3430) Such a request would be inconceivable if Mrs King was subject to Mrs Walker's superintendency.

12 CSIL 74/5818.

13 John Ramsland assumes the presence of a superintendent for Shaftesbury from the Regulations, but Blue Books for period and Prison Reports deny this. See also Mrs King's evidence to 'Select Committee on Infants' and Children's Protection Bills' in JLC Vol.1, 1891-2, p.1067.

the Institution did not successfully carry out its mission as a Reformatory for young females committed to it, a thorough reorganisation and remodelling were eventually resolved upon.\textsuperscript{15}

These two apparently contradictory statements are both largely true, not because a competent superintendent and staff had become incompetent but because the role and function of the school had changed. This changing role was determined by the changing expectations of the Colonial Administration, which were accentuated when supervision passed entirely to the Department of Public Instruction. Because of these changing expectations, the Industrial School went through two completely different phases during Selina Walker's superintendency, each of which served a different purpose and required different management.

In its early years the School had been both a Reformatory and a welfare institution. Despite the notoriety which the actions of some of the older girls had received during the first years of the School's existence, its primary function was the care of the younger 'neglected' children committed to it.\textsuperscript{16} Care of the adolescent 'immoral' girls was a secondary, although more difficult, task. During the fifteen years of Mrs Walker's superintendency the school enrolment changed from one of predominantly young children to one of mostly older girls. After the move to Parramatta the Industrial School's main function became that of a 'Reformatory for young females', most of whom were regarded as immoral. The change in the school was a change in the nature of its enrolment, not in the qualifications of the staff or its superintendent. A study of the changes in the nature of the enrolment are, therefore, basic to an analysis of Selina Walker's superintendency.

\textsuperscript{15} Report of Minister for Public Instruction. in VPLA 1892-93 Vol.3, pp.69-70 (pp. 67-68 of Minister's Report.)
\textsuperscript{16} This fact is stressed by Hugh Robison, Inspector of Public Charities who pointed out 'the primary purpose of the state in taking upon itself the care and support of [neglected children].' CSIL 83/5680 in Special Bundle 4/901.1. By apprenticing the older girls as soon as possible and by excluding over-age girls, Sergeant Dale had made this a fact (as well as a theory).
Because of Sergeant Dale’s apprenticing of the girls once they were eligible, the enrolment of the school was well below average when Mrs Walker took over,\textsuperscript{17} and the majority were comparatively young.\textsuperscript{18} The change in the nature of the school’s enrolments during Mrs Walker’s regime has two clear elements— the age of admissions and the time spent in the school by each child. A study of the total admissions, ages and charges against girls admitted during the ten years between 1877 and 1886 should reveal some of these changes.\textsuperscript{19}

\textbf{TABLE 9.1}

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<tr>
<th>ISG Biloela</th>
<th>Enrolments 1877-1886</th>
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\textit{Source: ISG, Parramatta, Register of Warrants Received}\n
\textsuperscript{17} There were 60 inmates in the school when Selina Walker took over and other apprenticeships were being arranged. (CSIL 75/2651)

\textsuperscript{18} Of the fifty girls in the institution on 19/7/75, thirty-three were under the age of twelve. CSIL 75/5131

\textsuperscript{19} See also figures 9.1 and 9.2. Because of difficulties with admission ages and charges, 1875 and 1876 are not readily analysable. There were ten city and thirteen country girls and one boy admitted during 1876 but many ages and charges are unclear.
The most obvious change during the period was the gradual gaining of predominance of city over country admissions. At Newcastle and in the earlier years at Biloela there had been a greater number of girls from the country. Generally, country enrolments were younger and more of them were destitute rather than delinquent, while city enrolments had been mostly older and more were classified as delinquent. This pattern continued until the advent of the State Children Relief Board. From 1882 city figures were increased by the inclusion of girls from the newly-opened Redfern, Newtown and Balmain courts.

Table 9.2 demonstrates further changes:

**TABLE 9.2**

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<tr>
<th>ISG Biloela</th>
<th>Ages of Girls Admitted 1877-1886</th>
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![Bar chart showing the ages of girls admitted to ISG Biloela from 1877 to 1886.]

Source: ISG Parramatta, *Register of Warrants Received*

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20 Although some of the 'morals' charges from the country can be regarded as more 'depraved'.

21 Except in 1877, when three older city girls were admitted as having no means of support and another three for wandering with thieves.
After 1883 when the State Children Relief Board began to remove children under eleven who had been admitted to the Industrial School, the proportion of girls admitted from the country also decreased, as some country magistrates made direct committals of destitute children to the Benevolent Asylum, from whence the committal to the State Children Relief Board was made.

The fact that younger admissions spent a much longer time in the school affected the age-structure of the enrolment. In the five years 1877 to 1881 inclusive 103 girls under eleven years old were admitted. These could have expected to remain from two to twelve years in the school. In the same period thirty boys were transferred from the Vernon. These were aged from six months to six years old. They could therefore have expected to stay at Biloela from one year to nearly seven. Most of the seventy-one girls who were admitted when between eleven and fifteen years old could expect to be apprenticed after one year. One report of the Inspector of Public Charities suggests that girls might be given leave before the period of twelve months had elapsed but there is no record of this having happened. However, while girls were promptly apprenticed, the proportion of older girls in the school was small compared with the younger girls and boys.

With the advent of the State Children Relief Board the ages of admission and the composition of the school altered. This alteration in the nature of the School's enrolment did not 'accompany the move to [Parramatta]' as Williamson suggests nor did 'fewer girls remain in the school' either at Biloela or Parramatta. The enrolment of a larger number of older girls replaced the younger girls at both schools.

In the five years 1882 to 1886 inclusive, sixty-three girls aged under eleven were admitted together with fourteen boys from the Vernon. In the same period sixty-five girls under eleven, and all of the boys were transferred to the care

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22 IPC Report, 1877. Ramsland notes this practice. Ramsland op. cit p. 201
23 Williamson, op. cit [Part 2] pp. 312-313
24 ibid
of the State Children Relief Board. There were 137 girls over eleven admitted during the same five years.25

The obvious increase in the enrolment of older girls after 1881 and the fact that from 1883 most girls under eleven and all boys were removed after a short time to the care of the State Children Relief Board meant that the school began to assume the form that it was to have after 1905, one of being a Reformatory for older girls, most of whom were deemed to be immoral.

With the transfer of the younger children to the care of the State Children Relief Board the attitude of police and magistrates as to the kind of older girl who could be sent to the Industrial School for Girls changed considerably. Hitherto, particularly in city courts, there had been a pretence that a girl was admitted for her 'protection', that is, she was associating with thieves or prostitutes or was otherwise exposed to moral danger. The notion that a girl could be admitted to the Industrial School for 'personal misconduct' on her part became apparent. In 1886, for example the basis of two girls' convictions was their use of obscene language,26 of another two that they had cohabited with men,27 of two because of their association with larrikins.28 Three other girls had proved unsatisfactory as apprentices.29 These were in addition to the usual quota of girls charged by their relatives or police as in previous years.

Enrolments from country courts also added to problems. While the overall number of charges from country courts decreased after 1882, the charges against older country girls increased slightly after that year while the number of destitute younger children from the country decreased markedly. Many of these older girls could have been expected to provide disciplinary problems. Of the eleven girls charged with having no means of support, some30 were apprentices from

25 ISG Parramatta, Register of Warrants Received.
26 ISG Parramatta, Register of Warrants Received, Nos.729 and 731.
27 ibid, Nos.725 and 728.
28 ibid, Nos.722 and 730.
29 ibid, Nos.709, 719 and 723.
30 Precise number not known. If a guardian proceeded against a girl the fact that she was a State ward was not stated.
the State Children Relief Department who had absconded. Margaret W. was described as

a State child placed in a good home by her guardians, the State Children Relief Board, from which home she has constantly been absconding and wandering about the highway. ¹¹

Similarly Florence A. was a persistent wanderer from her SCRB guardian, ²² and Georgina I. had recently been released after serving three years in Shaftesbury. ³³

Regardless of the actual charge laid it is clear that many of the older country girls were regarded as being prostitutes. Bridget R. of Nowra was reported as

Not amenable to parental discipline. Reason to believe she is a common prostitute. Has been sleeping in the bush, in a brickyard etc. Is corrupting the lads of the neighbourhood. ³⁴

Others, like Emma H., were reported as 'living in a Chinese camp in company with common prostitutes and reputed thieves' ³⁵ or like Victoria N. as 'companions of prostitutes of the worst type'. ³⁶

Three other kinds of 'problem' child continued to be admitted throughout the life of the institution. The girl who would not work in positions which a parent obtained for her, occurs regularly, particularly from country courts. Mary McC '[would] not stay in respectable places of service, having had six places in the last two months.' ³⁷ The mentally incompetent child who lost her protector through death, desertion or illness was also a frequent admission. The comment on the warrant for Margaret M. who had been abandoned by her parents, stated 'Child is evidently of weak intellect and unable to take care of herself', ³⁸ while that on Mary D., whose father was dead and whose mother had been admitted to hospital, was 'Child is quite idiotic'. ³⁹ There were, also, girls who were

¹¹ Register of Warrants Received No.637 (14/6/84).
²² ibid, Warrant No.709, (27/2/86).
³³ ibid, Warrant No.653, (28/11/84).
³⁴ Warrant No. 698 (20/11/85) in ibid. There is no suggestion that any of the 'lads' were arrested.
³⁵ ibid, Warrant No.700, (7/12/85).
³⁶ ibid, Warrant No.734, (3/11/86).
³⁷ ibid, Warrant No.693, (15/9/85).
³⁸ ibid, Warrant No.607, (11/8/83).
³⁹ ibid, Warrant No.689, (4/9/85).
regarded as in need of 'protection' like Elizabeth E whose stepfather 'absconded while under bail to answer a charge of indecent assault upon her'. Such girls would have provided as many conduct 'problems' as the more numerous admissions from city courts.

For the first seven years of Mrs Walker's superintendency it is reasonable to state that the majority of the girls in the institution at any given time could be regarded as younger, destitute children with a minority of older girls admitted mostly on 'morals' charges. In the latter half of her superintendency the majority of the girls were older girls, either admitted on 'morals' charges or returned to the school after a failed apprenticeship or simply allowed to stay on at the institution until they were eighteen because they were not capable of undertaking employment. The requirements for a successful management of the school would have differed considerably in the two periods.

During the years that the younger girls remained in the school until they were twelve and the boys were retained until they were seven, Selina Walker was able to devise means to maintain order in the institution. She met simple problems with simple commonsense solutions.

In her first months at Biloela, Mrs Walker sought a series of improvements designed to make life more bearable and to eliminate many causes of misbehaviour. Her first reform was to seek, and obtain, a defined 200 feet by 70 feet playground on the south side of the island with a fifty feet by twenty-five feet shed and swings. The playground fence was no longer shared with the Fitzroy Dock, a potent source of misbehaviour. She also obtained

a bathing-house measuring sixty feet by twenty feet, with split fencing under water and close-paled above water, with a platform and shed at one end to form a dressing room.

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41 The transition period (after 1882) was also the period when work on the Sutherland Docks would have made life somewhat difficult.
42 CSIL 75/4725.
43 ibid.
Bathing dresses were made in regular sewing classes.\textsuperscript{44} Bathing in the river was no longer an offence and the bathing-house prevented contact with people in boats. Two major disciplinary problems disappeared.

Selina Walker sought successfully to have the buildings made waterproof by the renewal of shingles, the installing of proper ridge capping and new eaves and guttering with downpipes and the removal and replacement of unsatisfactory guttering.\textsuperscript{45} These much needed repairs would have eliminated some of the extreme dampness and cold of the main buildings. The need for them had been pointed out by the Inspector of Public Charities before the girls were removed to Biloela\textsuperscript{46} and again by Sergeant Dale,\textsuperscript{47} without results.

From the beginning of 1876 the practice of locking girls in their dormitories immediately after tea ceased. Mrs Kelly, assisted by one of the matrons, took charge of the girls for two hours which were spent in various hobbies or amusements. For this their salary was raised by twenty-five pounds per year.\textsuperscript{48}

There is evidence of other small ways in which Mrs Walker tried to humanise life on Biloela. Pillowcases are mentioned in the sewing reports of 1876 in sufficient numbers to warrant the assumption that pillows and pillowslips are now standard equipment. Nightdresses also appear in similar quantities,\textsuperscript{49} no doubt providing some warmth in winter. The repairing of stockings, socks and hoods are also mentioned frequently, suggesting a more regular wearing of standard apparel.\textsuperscript{50}

Much of the routine of the school must be assumed from the Regulations and from the number of staff. Mrs Walker was at first required to take over the work of the clerk-storekeeper in addition to her task as superintendent. This

\textsuperscript{44} CSIL 76/1375. (fourteen were made during week ending 10th Feb, 1876)]
\textsuperscript{45} CSIL 75/4725.
\textsuperscript{46} CSIL 71/2127 in Special Bundle 4/810.1.
\textsuperscript{47} ISG Parramatta, Letter Book 5/3430. Letter No.73.
\textsuperscript{49} Up to this time nightdresses were worn only when a girl was in hospital.
\textsuperscript{50} ISG Biloela, Weekly Reports, 1876, passim.
had been recommended by the Charities Commission. Mrs Rowland continued as house-matron, overseeing the household cleaning and also cutting out the clothes for the girls to sew. Mrs Dunn attended to the cooking of meals and other work in the kitchen as well as supervising the afternoon sewing group. Mrs Brackenrig attended to the milking of the cows and the supervision of the morning sewing group. All three of these women had duties at meal times and in the after-school recreation period. The laundress was fully occupied in the laundry and Mrs Kelly, the teacher, worked after tea as well as during normal school hours.

This raises a pertinent question about the care of the younger children. In the five years between 1877 and 1881 inclusive, there were twenty-five girls and thirty boys under the age of seven years admitted. These included a baby of six months, another of eighteen months and some who were aged two, three and four years. Few, if any, of these children could have been included in either the schoolroom or the sewing room and yet Selina Walker opposed any move to have any baby moved to the Benevolent Asylum. When the Colonial Secretary wanted to send a baby aged eighteen months to the Benevolent Asylum, Mrs Walker pointed out that her elder sister who had been admitted at the same time was 'very devoted to her'. The babe was permitted to stay.

In spite of the official decree that classification was to be strictly enforced, it would seem obvious that the care of these children must have devolved on the older girls. This is admitted about their care at night time. In her report for 1876 Mrs Walker stated:

> There are nine little Vernon boys under the age of seven years. [They] sleep in the room formerly used as a hospital under the charge of a steady girl, sister to two of the little boys, one of whom she reared from infancy, his mother having died at his birth.

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51 Charities Commission, Report, p.79.
52 ISG. Register of Warrants Received passim.
53 ISG Parramatta, Register of Warrants Received. Register Numbers 511 (aged 6 months), 412 (aged 18 months), 379 and 494 (aged 2 ), 426 and 449 (aged 3 ).
55 ibid, Letter No.680.
At a later stage two girls 'selected for good conduct' cared for eighteen boys who were then sleeping in the dormitory that had been vacated by the Reformatory. It would seem likely, that the care of these young children, who would have made up about a quarter of the enrolment in the years up to 1881, would have been regarded as work to be performed by the older girls during the daytime. It is also quite likely that this fact contributed to the good order of the school.

Apart from the care of the younger children there could have been little change in the daily activities of the school. An even smaller staff than that provided at Newcastle, or in the first years of Biloela, would have ensured this. Nor was there any change in the nature of the foodstuff to be cooked or girls' clothing to be made. The provision of clothing for the boys would have added to the amount of sewing to be done. This sewing for the boys and for the increased number of younger girls would have ensured that the older girls were kept fully employed during the earlier years of Selina Walker's regime. This fact was stressed by the Inspector of Public Charities:

[The older girls'] time is very fully occupied in scrubbing, cooking, sewing, washing during the forenoon and in the afternoon they attend school.

In her first years in the Institution it is also clear that Selina Walker arranged apprenticeships as soon as she considered it practicable. She thus succeeded in keeping the number of older girls to a minimum and so managed to avoid the confrontations which earlier superintendents had

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57 A personal observation. Most adolescent girls would prefer the care of young children to housework.
59 All apprenticeships arranged in 1876 appear to have been at twelve months after admission or at age twelve. [CSIL Biloela letters 1876 passim].
encountered. In these efforts she profited greatly by the contacts which Charles Cowper and Sergeant Dale had made.  

Mrs Walker's attitude to the girls who had been apprenticed also contributed to keeping the older girls at their occupation. She was quite adamant that the girls should keep their part of the apprenticeship agreement. Of a girl who had absconded from her employment and returned to the institution she wrote: '[She] will again be discharged to her master if he is willing to take her.' The girl was returned to her master.  

Of another girl who ran away from her employment at Crookwell and returned to the institution, Mrs Walker commented, 'She will be kept [here], until her master's wishes are known.'  

Although Mrs Walker stated that she wrote to most of her apprentices about three times a year, there is no evidence to suggest that she tried in any way to ensure that apprenticed girls were treated fairly. It would be too much to assume that all girls were properly paid and cared for. There were frequent disputes, particularly about wages, during both Sergeant Dale's superintendency and during the regime of Mrs Walker's successor, but there is no record that Mrs Walker was in any way interested in such matters.  

Her principal concern seems to have been to ensure that apprentices did not return to the school. As the Inspector of Public Charities judged the success of the school by the number of apprentices who stayed at their apprenticeship this attitude is understandable, but she could not prevent the cancellation of indentures if steps were taken by the employer. Mrs Walker was also unable to stop determined girls from absconding and being returned to the institution. These tended to raise the average age of girls in the institution

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60 Most of the apprenticeships arranged by Cowper and by Dale were in the Goulburn area where Cowper had been magistrate and was acquainted with the 'right' people.  
62 ibid, Letter No.330.  
64 M 18709 in Special Bundle 4/901.1  
and to provide a potentially refractory group. When the average age of first admission rose, the age of those readmitted was similarly raised.

Another factor which would have affected the age-structure and therefore the role of the school was the change in apprenticing practices: a decrease in the number of positions which were available to apprentices and an increase in the number of girls remaining in the school until they were eighteen. An analysis of admissions and readmissions, discharges at eighteen, apprenticeships and abscondings during the period 1885 to 1889 would suggest that the problems which were to make the Industrial School for Girls at Parramatta notorious were already evident or potential even before the move to Parramatta in 1887.

**TABLE 9.3**

**ISG Biloela 1885-90 apprentices or discharges at 18**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Apprenticed</th>
<th>Returned</th>
<th>Discharged at 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887*</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888**</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889**</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Part Biloela, part Parramatta
** Parramatta

Source: Industrial School for Girls Parramatta, *Daily Diaries, 1885-1890*.

The retention in the institution of returned apprentices and of other girls who were considered unsuitable for apprenticing is reflected in the number of girls discharged at eighteen. The presence of these girls would suggest that there was also a tendency for the institution to be used as a repository for the unwanted 'incompetents' in the community. A Diary entry in 1885 reads, 'A late inmate, Annie K to be allowed to remain in School until Newington is ready when she may be received there.'

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This change in the composition of the inmates which occurred after 1885 had inevitable consequences for the institution. An older, less amenable group quickly built up as a greater number of older girls on 'morals' charges were admitted from city and suburban courts and were retained for a longer average period at the institution, and more returned apprentices and others remained at the school until they were eighteen.

At about the same time as the average age of the girls began to increase, the living conditions on the island deteriorated. In a 'Minute to the Colonial Secretary', dated 2nd July, 1880, the Department of Public Works drew the Secretary's attention to the necessity for making provisions for the removal of the Girls' School because of the proposed building of the Sutherland Dock, remarking

I think the undesirability of having such a school close to blasting and quarry works and in the vicinity of a number of rough navvies, is at once apparent. 67

All recommendations for the removal of the school were ignored and Selina Walker complained nearly three years later that the dining rooms and dormitories were situated dangerously near to the blasting operation, 68 and the Department of Public Works reported

pieces of rock from fifty to seventy pounds in weight and showers of smaller pieces are blown up to great heights in the air and fall upon the roof of the school building and upon a large proportion of the ground used by the children. 69

Despite the danger and the fact that the blasting had made the laundry and the school's office as well as the playground and the bathing house useless, 70 requiring the expenditure of nearly two thousand pounds to refit other buildings, 71 the decision to move the school from Biloela 'to a suitable place' was not made until August 1886 72 and the

67 CSIL Special Bundle 4/901.1, Minute dated 2/7/80.
68 ibid, Papers with CSIL 83/5680
69 ibid, CSIL 83/4766.
70 Inspector of Public Charities, Report, 1882, p.1301 and Map with CSIL 83/5680 in Special Bundle 4.901.1.
72 CSIL 86/7809 in Special Bundle 4/901.1.
actual removal did not take place until the following May. The delay between the decision and the removal was caused by the need to build a high wall around the proposed buildings at Parramatta to 'protect' the girls. This wall cost seven hundred pounds.\(^7\)

Details of the day-to-day living during the last years on Biloela are minimal, despite the existence of the Daily Diaries from 1885. Apart from Selina Walker's account of the physical effect of blasting on the school and the constant recommendations of the Inspector of Public Charities that the school should be moved, there is no record of the disruption of the routine caused by the blasting or of its effect on the general morale of the school.

To a certain extent this lack of information is due to the anomalous situation in which the school was placed after its transfer to the Department of Public Instruction in 1880.\(^4\) The institution and similar institutions continued to be inspected by the Inspector of Public Charities who made his reports to the Minister for Public Instruction. Similarly Selina Walker's reports were sent to the Minister for Public Instruction after 1880.

The Reports on the institution made by the Inspector of Public Charities after 1882 stress much the same facts each year. He approved of the conduct of the girls but felt that there was insufficient training for them. His Report for 1885 is typical:

\[\ldots\text{The school routine and prison-like surroundings of the Institution are inimical to [housewifely] instructions being imparted to them. As an inevitable consequence, on their discharge they are ill-fitted to undertake household duties or to be employed by people of the class best fitted to raise their social status.}\]

\(^5\)

He went on to state a philosophy which would appear to have influenced the planning at Parramatta:

\[\text{In a large measure the State has made itself responsible for the future of these girls and unless}\]

\(^7\) Inspector of Public Charities Report 1886, p.427.
\(^4\) Not in 1887 as Williamson suggests. Williamson, op.cit. [part2] p.313
\(^5\) Inspector of Public Charities, Report, 1885, p.743.
it can show that it has given them a thoroughly good training (both mental and physical) it will have only partially performed its duty in withdrawing them from the corrupting influences in which they were discovered.\textsuperscript{76}

In reporting the decision to remove the school to Parramatta, the Inspector of Public Charities noted that

the average character of the girl...may be said to have...deteriorated, since most of those now in the institution have been committed for personal misconduct. Notwithstanding this fact the senior girls have given comparatively little trouble but they are generally grossly ignorant and are described as undisciplined and untrained.\textsuperscript{77}

The office of Inspector of Public Charities ceased with the closing of the two publicly funded Orphanages and the withdrawal of State support from the Asylum for Destitute Children. The responsibility for actual inspection as well as management of the Industrial School for Girls was taken over by the Public Instruction Department in 1887. That Department was supposed to inspect the school within the institution even while the institution was under the supervision of the Colonial Secretary but there are few reports of visits to the Girls' School\textsuperscript{78} after the Charities Commission met, although the Vernon was inspected regularly.\textsuperscript{79}

Despite the difficulties the institution must have encountered with the changing nature of its enrolment and the chaotic conditions associated with the building of the Sutherland Dock, there is no evidence to suggest that the Industrial School did not run smoothly during the rest of its stay on Biloela. The apparent smoothness of its operation is probably best illustrated by the account of the removal of the school to Parramatta in May 1887 which was organised by the superintendent and carried out by the staff without any outside assistance.\textsuperscript{80} Diary entries are:

\textsuperscript{76} \textit{ibid}.
\textsuperscript{77} Inspector of Public Charities, Report for 1886, p.426.
\textsuperscript{78} There was one School Report in Inspector of Public Charities Report for 1886.
\textsuperscript{79} NSS Vernon, \textit{Annual Reports}, passim.
\textsuperscript{80} The contrast with the move to Biloela sixteen years before is striking.
[9th May] Removal of the School to Parramatta commenced today. Twenty-nine inmates under charge of Superintendent and Mrs Brierly, Assistant Matron. The conduct of the girls very good.
[10th May] Thirty girls taken to Parramatta under charge of Mrs Kelly, teacher and Miss Brackenrig.
[11th May] Third batch under Mrs Brackenrig and Miss Walker.
93 inmates
[13th May] All the girls settling down and working hard at cleaning their new premises.\textsuperscript{81}

In most schools 'good order and discipline' is a prime requisite. In a school which was designed as a 'Reformatory for young females', that good order was seldom the sole criterion on which the school was judged. It was always expected that the school would somehow train the girls as good domestic servants. That the girls would also undertake some form of industrial work in order to pay for the privilege of being 'rescued' was a persistent idea of their rescuers.\textsuperscript{82} It seems likely that in the earlier years of Selina Walker's regime the Inspector of Public Charities realised that the work of caring for the younger children was being performed by the older girls, and there were no recommendations for training. Once the younger children were removed, the subject of training was stressed.

During the early years that Selina Walker was superintendent at Biloela she appears to have maintained at least a semblance of good order. While the curriculum that she offered the girls lacked any real training even for ordinary domestic work, it was probably the best that could be offered given the staff and conditions. Her treatment of the girls while they were in the school appears to have been humane. While the fact that there is no mention of the use of cells or of solitary confinement is not proof that these things were not used, the improvement in morale noted by the Inspectors of Public Charities would suggest that such barbarisms had been abandoned. The number of girls who returned to the school when they became dissatisfied with their apprenticeship would also suggest an expectation of

\textsuperscript{81} Industrial School for Girls, Daily Diaries.
\textsuperscript{82} CSIL 69/7229 Charities Commission, Report, p.77.
reasonable treatment, or that living conditions in the school were pleasanter than in the places to which they had been apprenticed.

At the same time it must be admitted that the usefulness of the school in training girls for domestic service or for any other purpose was practically non-existent. The criterion applied by the Inspector of Public Charities for the utility of the school was success at apprenticeships. An average rate of about forty per cent 'failed' apprentices during the last five years at Biloela must be considered high, but that rate conceals rather than reveals the difficulties which the school was experiencing. This is possibly best shown by analysing actual ages, and the time they had spent in the school and other details for 88 of the 93 girls who were transferred from Biloela to Parramatta.\textsuperscript{83}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ISG Parramatta, Ages of Girls transferred from Biloela</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17 years old</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 years old</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 years old</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 years old</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 years old</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 years old</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: ISG Parramatta, \textit{Daily Diaries} compared with \textit{Register of Warrants Received}.

There were a total of twenty-one returned apprentices in the group. While thirty-one girls had been in the school for less than twelve months and were thus not eligible for apprenticeship, eleven girls had spent over one year in the school, ten girls had spent more than two years in the school and the remaining twenty girls had spent even longer without having been offered apprenticeships. Four girls were later discharged at eighteen without having been offered an apprenticeship.\textsuperscript{84}

\textsuperscript{83} The five whose ages could not be determined had been in the school for a considerable time.
\textsuperscript{84} Figures obtained from \textit{Daily Diaries} 1885-1890 and from \textit{Register of Warrants Received}. 
While all, except a few obvious physical, mental or behavioural incompetents, were given at least one chance at apprenticeship, it would appear that in the latter period at Biloela Mrs Walker kept the less tractable girls for a longer period at the school. As it seems unlikely that she believed the school could reform their attitudes or that she hoped to keep the 'failed apprentices' rate down, it seems highly likely that she was having difficulties in placing some of the girls at apprenticeship.

One possible reason for this fact could have been that there were simply not sufficient available positions for apprentices from among the people who had previously sought apprentices from the School, as was the case for the NSS Sobraon during the same period. This 'territory' seems to have been expropriated by the State Children Relief Board. A comparison of the number of apprentices whom Charles Cowper sent to the Goulburn area with SCRIB boarders and apprentices there makes this clear. By April, 1887 there were 473 girls boarded-out and 156 apprenticed by the Board.85 About a quarter of the SCRIB children, both boarded out and apprenticed were in the Goulburn area.86 While some of those boarded-out were too young to be useful household drudges, those people who were seeking cheap, conscripted, domestic labour would have found girls offered by the Board for a much longer term a more attractive proposition than the short-term employment of older 'immoral' girls. The School did not benefit by the retention of these older girls and the failure rate did not improve.

Administration at Parramatta

The move to Parramatta appears to have been the catalyst in the relationship between the girls and the institution. Although that move was reported to have been carried out in an orderly manner, there are hints which can be gleaned from the records which would suggest that the order being maintained was a surface one which would be unlikely to withstand changes

85 CSIL January to July 1887 passim and SCRIB Annual Report, 1887, p.4.
86 Ibid.
in routine. The most obvious danger to morale would have come from the presence of so many older girls in the school, many of whom were returned apprentices. While some of them may have been incompetents who were unplaceable, the number of 'old hands' had become excessive.

The gaol-like atmosphere at Parramatta probably contributed to attempts to escape. Although the dormitories at Biloela were obviously part of a gaol, the other rooms and the playground were not enclosed. Like the Nautical School Ships the site at Biloela had offered a false sense of freedom. At Parramatta the institution was obviously enclosed in the same way as Newcastle had been. The heightened feeling of being in a gaol at Parramatta could have incited resentment as well as efforts to escape.

The buildings at Parramatta had even less to recommend them than those of the two previous sites for the Industrial School for Girls. Built by convict labour, the Parramatta site had been occupied since 1844 as the Roman Catholic Orphanage. Reports of the buildings and sanitary conditions at the Orphanage had been consistently unfavourable for many years. These reports had been part of the reason given for the disbandment of the orphanages and the substitution of boarding-out.87 When the last of the Catholic orphans were boarded-out the State determined to repossess the grant, which had been made to the Catholic Church to maintain its Orphan School, and to use the buildings for the Industrial School for Girls.88

Of the buildings, Alex Thompson wrote

The oldest portion, a stone structure, forming...the central portion of the administration block appears to have formed at one time a portion of that interesting institution known in the very early days as the Female Factory. To the rear of this a block of brick buildings, containing...our school room, dining rooms, work rooms and officers' quarters, were created at various periods between 1843 and 1860; and about 1863 the two-storey building known as the hospital...To the main stone building, large brick wings were added, one in 1860,

87 Charities Commission, Report, pp.91-92.
the other in 1880. In the latter year the present laundry was also erected. 89

Although the move to Parramatta passed without incident, attempts to escape from the institution began shortly afterwards. During the week after their arrival at Parramatta two girls absconded 'while emptying the w.c. commodes'. 90 Three weeks later another two girls found a ladder that had been used by a carpenter at the hospital and used it as a means to reach the top of the wall. 91 The first two escapees were returned the following day. One of the second pair was free for ten days and the other for a longer period. 92

That these two escapes were not isolated instances of poor morale is suggested by the evidence of the Anglican clergyman, J.H.Done, who stated

When I first visited this Institution I should say it was rather in confusion than otherwise. The girls were wild and careless. 93

Such comments ring true as a fair description of a school that lacked the goodwill of its pupils. Other evidence for the state of the school can be inferred from happenings during the next two years.

In July the Minister for Public Instruction visited the school and in the following February Inspector Charles Hoskins spent two days inspecting the school, 94 returning in April and again in July to inspect the books and premises. 95 The reports from these inspections are not available, but it seems apparent that they were responsible for the new formula for the conduct of the school which came into force in 1890. 96 If he had studied the previous reports made by the Inspector of Public Charities, his recommendation that 'greater facilities...be found for imparting a more thorough education

89 Ibid
90 ISG Parramatta, Daily Diaries, 16th May 1887.
91 Ibid, 7th June, 1887.
92 Ibid, 16th May and 17th June 1887.
93 Enquiry 1898 Transcript of Evidence, p.211.
94 Daily Diaries 9th and 10th February, 1888.
95 Ibid, 6th April and 20th July, 1888.
96 The actual 'setting-up of the school was supervised by Inspector Huffer. Enquiry 1898, p.87.
in domestic routine'\textsuperscript{97} would have been uppermost in the Inspector's mind.

Incidents which occurred after those inspections would have confirmed the Minister in his determination to set the institution on a different course. They also provided a good rationale for that decision. In November another two girls escaped over the fence into the park but were recaptured.\textsuperscript{98} Early in April 1889 two girls obtained the keys to the gate of the institution and made their way to the railway station, but were captured and brought back to the institution.\textsuperscript{99} Up to this time the escapes were largely a matter between the local police and the Institution and attracted little outside attention.\textsuperscript{100}

In May a series of incidents occurred which involved court action and, therefore, considerable publicity. On Friday, 3rd May, 1889 five girls attempted to escape and when intercepted,

locked themselves into the basement rooms and were then bolted in. In the night they wrenched away an iron bar and made their escape over the garden railings. These girls were brought back [on Saturday] evening, but having [sic] no secure place in which to keep them they were handed over to the Police on a charge of destroying Government property.\textsuperscript{101}

All five girls were 'tried before a Bench of Magistrates, pleaded guilty, and were sent to gaol for four months'.\textsuperscript{102}

After they had served their sentences the girls were returned to the school. Three weeks after these five girls were released from gaol,

Alice L., who was lately returned from gaol, became very riotous and insubordinate. She and some girls she incited to it smashed some panes of glass for which she was given in charge to the police last.

\textsuperscript{98} \textit{Daily Diaries} 27th November 1888.
\textsuperscript{99} \textit{ibid}, 6th April, 1889.
\textsuperscript{100} Although it is not clearly stated, it seems possible that this incident was the reason behind the removal of Mrs Brackenrig 'through the Under Secretary's order' in July. \textit{ibid}, 27th July 1889.
\textsuperscript{101} \textit{ibid}, 4th May, 1890.
\textsuperscript{102} \textit{ibid}, 6th May 1890.
night and this morning the magistrate sent her to gaol for six months.\textsuperscript{103}

Seven weeks later, at a time when the superintendent was absent on leave,\textsuperscript{104} six girls refused to obey orders, marched about the institution in a defiant manner and then rushed into a dormitory and broke the windows. [They were] then handed over to the Police with the exception of Annette H who was placed in the cells.\textsuperscript{105}

The following day this girl set fire to her bed and the room being filled with suffocating smoke, the girl was liberated and immediately smashed all the windows in the bathrooms. The Police were then sent for and the girl given in charge.\textsuperscript{106}

Five of these girls were sentenced to seven months imprisonment and one to twenty-four hours in the cells.\textsuperscript{107}

These incidents suggest a pattern of behaviour. The first 'riot' (on May 3rd) began as little more than a foiled attempt to escape. The girls involved were probably as good a cross-section as is available of the inmates at this time. Some explanation of why they may have attempted to escape can be inferred from the Register of Warrants Received and from the Daily Diaries. In naming the five girls Mrs Walker added after one name, 'half caste' and after another 'lately in the Reformatory at Watson's Bay for five years'.\textsuperscript{108} She thus reveals prejudices which the girls had probably sensed.\textsuperscript{109}

A closer look at these girls is revealing. Louisa J. (the 'half caste'), was the twelve-year-old daughter of a free selector and a half-Aborigine. Her mother had died the previous year and the girl had sought the company of other Aborigines and 'half castes'. She was admitted to Parramatta from Narrabri Court for 'Living and wandering with prostitutes.'\textsuperscript{110}

\textsuperscript{103} ibid, 20th September, 1889.
\textsuperscript{104} ibid, 27th November, 1889.
\textsuperscript{105} ibid, 8th November, 1889.
\textsuperscript{106} ibid, 9th November, 1889.
\textsuperscript{107} ibid, 11th November, 1889.
\textsuperscript{108} The enmity between Mrs King and Mrs Walker continued long after the Reformatory was moved to Watson's Bay.
\textsuperscript{109} ibid 4th May, 1889.
\textsuperscript{110} ISG Parramatta, Register of Warrants Received, No.788
Alice L. aged fifteen had recently been discharged from Shaftesbury after five years there. One wonders at the nature of a crime which a child aged ten could commit that would warrant five years in such an institution. The girl had been abandoned when she was less than a month old.111

Annette H, double orphan aged fifteen, had spent some time in the Convent of the Good Shepherd but had left that institution. She had been charged with having no occupation.112 Mary H., aged fourteen, was sent to Parramatta from Tenterfield when her mother was gaol ed for four months for 'sending her children out on the streets and to Chinamen's huts to get money for drink.' That any or all of these girls would have regarded their imprisonment as unjust or would have tried to escape seems a reasonable assumption. The 'destruction of government property' was incidental to escaping.

Two of these girls were involved in the riot on 8th November. Three of the others who joined them were also fair representatives of the inmates at the time. Margaret T. had been arrested at her widowed mother's request and charged with 'wandering with prostitutes'.113 Eliza S. was an SCRB apprentice who had left her employment. She had previously been in the Randwick Asylum.114 Barbara G. was charged with having no occupation at the request of her Police Constable father. She had step-mother problems.115 The girls' histories and the general circumstances surrounding this riot suggest a plan to have themselves arrested and gaol ed.116

These riots and the inspections of the previous year were the defined bases on which the reorganisation of the school in 1890 was determined. It is also possible, though not mentioned, that there was an implicit desire on the part of

111 ibid, No.823.
112 ibid, No.812.
113 ibid, No.746.
114 ibid, No.781.
115 ibid, No.837.
116 The girls appear to have believed that they would not be sent back to Parramatta from the gaol. They appear to have succeeded in this plan. They were not returned to the Institution after gaoling. ISG Parramatta, Superintendent's Letter Book, (5/3432) Letter No.542.
both the Inspector and the Minister to bring the Industrial School within the framework of the general regulations applying to schools and teachers within the Department of Public Instruction. The payment of fixed salaries for a teacher's 'rating' and class of school was an integral part of the 1880 Public Instruction Act. Teachers at the time were required to progress through a number of 'classifications' and schools of varying grades.\textsuperscript{117} Neither Mrs Walker nor Mrs Kelly had the 'paper' qualifications for the positions which they held or the pay which they received.\textsuperscript{118} Had the School been regarded as an outstanding success, the retention of the two women in a school out of the mainstream could have been justified.\textsuperscript{119} With the notoriety achieved by the riots, such a decision would have been unlikely.

The inspections carried out in 1888 were the first ones made by the Department of Public Instruction of the Institution as such. If allowance is made for the time-lag in Departmental decisions it would appear likely that a full reorganisation was recommended following these inspections in the hope that 'greater facilities may be found for imparting a more thorough education in domestic routine',\textsuperscript{120} and to bring its practices (and pay rates) within the general structure of the Department of Public Instruction.

While the account of the decision given by the Minister for Public Instruction relates the events in a different order, his summary of findings appears to be a fair one. The school was not fulfilling its function as a Reformatory for

\textsuperscript{117} There were seven classifications of teachers and ten grades of schools.

\textsuperscript{118} Mrs Walker's salary of 240 pounds was in excess of the salary of a Headmaster Class 4/ 2A classification. Mrs Kelly had had experience in National Schools (CSIL 67/6027) but was not 'classified' under 1880 Regulations. With a headmaster in charge of the whole school, the teacher's position would drop to that of an assistant. Mrs Kelly's salary of 150 pounds was considerably more than that of a comparable assistant.

\textsuperscript{119} The Vernon and Sobron were permitted to stay outside the 'system', presumably because the superintendent needed to have specialist nautical experience, but the schoolmaster was treated as a 'first assistant' within the Department. This is clear in Alex. Thompson's appointment. Dept of Education, Teachers' Rolls, Vol.4 No.87.

\textsuperscript{120} Inspector of Public Charities, Report 1886, p.426.
young females and a 'thorough reorganisation was resolved upon'.

In terms of this 'thorough reorganisation', Selina Walker who was then fifty-six years old went on three months' leave of absence on 1st February 1890 and retired from 1st May the same year, receiving a pension of seventy-four pounds eight shillings per year. Margaret Kelly, the schoolteacher, who had occupied that position since the school began at Newcastle, was given a position as assistant teacher at Summer Hill Infants School, where she remained until a few months before her death in 1895. In May, 1890 an almost completely new staff was employed for the school. The position of superintendent was taken by Charles Hill Spier who had been the Headmaster of Parramatta School.

As part of his re-organisation of the School while Mrs Walker was on leave, the Acting Superintendent, Inspector Huffer, managed to apprentice-out nineteen girls, to discharge ten, and to 'fail to notify' the gaol authorities that the five girls in gaol should be returned to the school.

When the new Superintendent arrived there were thus only sixty-four girls in the School. For the fourth time in its existence, the problems of the Industrial School had been partially solved by getting rid of its 'disturbing elements'.

Conclusion

In the fifteen years during which Selina Walker was Superintendent of the Industrial School for Girls the role of the School changed from a predominantly welfare one, with a subsidiary reformatory function, to an almost completely reformatory one. This change accompanied a complete change in

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121 Daily Diaries 1st February, 1890.
122 Blue Book for 1890.
123 Dept of Education, Teachers' Rolls, 1867 to 1905, Vol.1, No.949. Williamson's account of Mrs Kelly's 'well-earned promotion' is a case of mistaken identity. (Williamson, op. cit. pt.2, p.381.)
124 ISG Parramatta, Daily Diaries 1885-1897
125 ISG Parramatta, Letter Book (3432) p. 504
126 While Ramsland is correct in attributing a general drop in numbers to the efforts of the Boarding-out officer, the sudden drop in numbers between 1889 and 1890 was because of apprenticing. Ramsland op. cit p.203
the population of the school, largely caused by the boarding-out of the younger girls and boys and an increased enrolment of older delinquent girls.

With the removal of the School to Parramatta and the assumption of full responsibility for the School's management by the Department of Public Instruction, changes in its administration were an inevitable part of converting the School into a Reformatory where 'immoral' girls would be trained in household duties.

While Selina Walker's administration of the School when its function was largely a welfare one seems to have resulted in an uneventful existence for the girls, without providing much in the way of training, this situation did not continue at Parramatta. The failure of the School in its first years at Parramatta can be attributed to the lack of sufficient staff, facilities or equipment which the change in the function of the School required. The transition to a new type of administration was already being planned before the abscondings and riotous behaviour provided a suitable rationale for them.

By analysing the changes which occurred during Selina Walker's regime this thesis has demonstrated the transition of the Industrial School for Girls from a welfare institution to a penal reformatory. Although Williamson does indicate that the fact that the presence of so many senior girls would predetermine the nature of the curriculum at Parramatta,\textsuperscript{127} the full implications of those changes have not been discussed by any Historian. An explanation of the change in the population of the School when it was at Biloela and the accompanying change in the perceived role of the school is essential to any understanding of the function which the School served both at Biloela and at Parramatta.

\textsuperscript{127} Williamson, op. cit. [Part 2] p. 313
CHAPTER X

A FACTORY-SCHOOL.

It is indicative of the confusion which existed in the minds of many people in authority concerning the function of the Industrial School for Girls that the first attempt to convert the institution into a school where 'women's industries' were taught was not begun until ten years after the school had been transferred to the oversight of the Department of Public Instruction.\(^1\) The continuing supervision by the Inspector of Public Charities after the institution had been transferred would suggest that the 'welfare' function remained dominant in the minds of the Ministers and Departmental Heads. The reorganisation of the School in 1890 indicates that its new purpose was intended as a reformatory for 'immoral' girls.

Four accounts have been written of the Industrial School for Girls at Parramatta. Williamson's article deals mainly with the educational programmes of the Industrial School and the Shaftesbury Reformatory,\(^2\) while Willis uses the 1898 Public Service Board Enquiry as a 'benchmark' to discuss the training programme after 1905.\(^3\) O'Brien includes facts about the School at Parramatta and its apprenticeship system in a discussion on the apprenticeship of State children.\(^4\) In Scrivener, Children in Care an account is given of life at Parramatta between 1895 and 1925.\(^5\)

Williamson notes that the girls remaining in the School would 'tend to be of a higher average age' and that these girls were classified as 'more ignorant, undisciplined and untrained'.\(^6\) Her emphasis throughout her article is on the curriculum and she concludes that any improvements in the

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1 Williamson places this transfer at 1887. Williamson, op. cit. (Part 2) p.311
3 Willis, op cit p.178.
4 O'Brien op.cit p. 150-152 and p.158
6 Williamson, op.cit. [Part 2] p.313
lives of the girls was hampered by the fact that the laundry was a profitable enterprise. Her assumption of continuity before and after 1906 obscures some very real changes in staffing and in the role of the School.

Willis comments on the 'distressingly similar offences committed by the girls', as recorded in the Register of Committals, which dates from 1906-1918. While she notes the environmental approach to the 'problem' of immorality she states that 'Religion and moral discipline were still regarded as a major way forward for dealing with the peculiar proclivities of such girls.'

While O'Brien gives some details about life at Parramatta in 1898 and the apprenticeship of girls from Parramatta after 1890, she does not provide any evidence for admissions to Parramatta. Her criticisms of the apprenticeship system, low pay, lack of supervision and lack of benefit to the child or its family are generalised and do not take into account the additional problems associated with Industrial School girls.

The most obvious weakness in all accounts of the School at Parramatta is the absence of any real analysis of the changes which were made in 'the thorough reorganisation of the School' which occurred in 1890, or of the changes in admissions, particularly after 1905 from which the changing role of the school might be deduced.

It is contended in this thesis that the thorough reorganisation promised by the Minister in 1890 did, in fact, take place, and that a further thorough reorganisation took place with the introduction of the Neglected Children and Juvenile Offenders Act of 1905. The first reorganisation related to the administration and curriculum of the School while the second related to the population of the School. A thorough analysis of both these reorganisations was undertaken.

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7 Willis, op.cit. p.189
8 ibid p. 189 Footnote
9 ibid p.190
10 O'Brien, op. cit pp.145-162
11 The individual admissions for which she provided details (pp.139-144) were all boys, and of four girls of the family of six children quoted as being admitted to an Industrial School, (p.9) one was readmitted from apprenticeship to Biloela and discharged from Parramatta. Daily Diaries 20/4/87, 7/4/89
in order to demonstrate the changing roles of the School after 1890. The next two chapters will look at the new curriculum formulated by the Department, the changing patterns of enrolment, the administrative changes introduced by Superintendents Spier and Dryhurst and the impact of the Neglected Children and Juvenile Offenders Act on the School under Superintendent Thompson. This will enable us to assess the extent to which these changes illustrate a further shift in community attitudes and expectations concerning the School's purpose.

The reorganisation, carried out in 1890, marks an entirely new phase in the life of the institution. A programme had been formulated by Inspector Huffer\(^{12}\) and was ready for the new Superintendent to implement. The incoming Superintendent was to be permitted to choose an entirely new staff of people whom he considered competent 'to carry out [the School's] mission as a Reformatory for young females.'\(^ {13}\) This and other recommendations had organisational, economic and disciplinary implications.

Three distinct aspects can be seen in this 'transformation'. The School was to be brought within the general school system in relation to staffing and pay. Staff were employed as instructors rather than as servants. For example the laundress was employed to teach the girls laundry, not to do the laundry herself. Additional staff would be needed but the cost of the new method of running the Institution was to be no more than that of the old system.\(^ {14}\) To pay for this new staff 'paying' industries had to be introduced.\(^ {15}\)

It was hoped that the result of the intensive training would be the girls' acceptance of household duties as a method of earning a livelihood. All girls were to be thoroughly

\(^{12}\) Enquiry (1898), p. 92. He probably also acted as Superintendent from February until May, 1890.

\(^{13}\) 'Report of Minister for Public Instruction.' VPLA 1892-93, Vol. 3, pp. 69-70.

\(^{14}\) Spier expressed the attitude: 'Every girl has to work hard for her keep'. ISG Letter Book [5/3432] p. 164.

\(^{15}\) Although Inspector Huffer's recommendations are not extant, it is clear that he believed the reorganisation of the school had been his work. Enquiry p. 87.
trained in domestic duties, but an extra emphasis was to be placed on laundry work. The idea can scarcely be regarded as original. Most of the women's refuges in Australia, as elsewhere, seem to have regarded laundry as a fitting task for 'fallen women'. The fact that the number of conscript, unpaid laundresses depressed the pay of an already abysmally low paid industry does not seem to have been considered.

The next three Superintendents were chosen from the ranks of the Public School Headmasters. The reasons for the choice of the first two men, Charles Hill Spier, and Thomas Dryhurst do not appear obvious from their records of service. After a period as pupil-teachers both men had taught at country schools, working their way through the ranks by examination and inspection. Both had 2A qualifications, although Dryhurst's classification had not been confirmed when he arrived at Parramatta.¹⁶ Spier was Headmaster at Parramatta Public School and Dryhurst at North Granville immediately before appointment to the Industrial School. Both men could, therefore, be regarded as successful, but not outstanding, teachers. Spier's salary of 225 pounds was that of a Headmaster of a fourth class school.¹⁷ Mrs Spier was appointed as matron/clerk-storekeeper at a salary of 135 pounds.¹⁸ Spier was Superintendent from 1890 until his death in 1896, and Dryhurst from 1896 until 1905.

The teaching staff consisted of: two teachers who were required to teach elementary sewing as well as schoolwork, a laundress, a cook-sewing mistress, a sewing mistress, an assistant matron who taught housework in the process of seeing that the institution was kept clean; and a part-time cookery teacher for one day per week. Other staff employed were a gatekeeper who also acted as gardener, and a carter-messenger, whose employment was made necessary by the school's new venture into laundry work.¹⁹ As the number of women who were

¹⁷ Quarters, fuel and light were allowed. Blue Book for 1892, p.162.
¹⁸ ibid.
¹⁹ ibid, p.122.
required to teach the girls was increased to six,\textsuperscript{20} the staff which had teaching functions was effectually doubled.

The task which each person was expected to perform was outlined by the Superintendent in 1892. This gives a clear idea of the amount of work required from the members of staff. The shortest day any of the women worked was eleven hours. Most staff worked a six-day week. The two teachers and the sewing mistress worked ordinary school hours plus two nights out of three supervising the girls after tea until bedtime. They also worked three weekends out of six from six a.m. to eight p.m. each day.\textsuperscript{21}

The hours of work required of the assistant-sewing-mistress/cook and the laundress were by far the longest. These two women worked a very strenuous eleven-hour day from six a.m. until five p.m. They also took charge of a dormitory, sleeping with the girls from eight p.m. until six a.m. the following morning. In effect they were on duty for twenty-one hours a day.\textsuperscript{22} It is not clear how much work they were required to do at the weekend.\textsuperscript{23} The provision for this night-time supervision contrasts starkly with those that existed on the Vernon, where such supervision was regarded as part of rostered work hours.\textsuperscript{24}

The staff selected and the curriculum devised show the determination to stress the importance of training for work. The main changes were that most of the staff had experience in the particular occupation which they were required to teach the girls. None had any training in reformatory work and only the classroom teachers were trained teachers. Staff numbers and duties remained constant during the period under review.

While the Department of Public Instruction was able to alter the organisation and curriculum of the School, the determination of who should be admitted remained in the hands of the Police and the Magistrates. In 1890 there were thirty-two girls admitted, thirteen of whom were under eleven years.

\textsuperscript{20} plus the cookery teacher on one day a week.
\textsuperscript{21} \textit{ibid}, p.549 ff.
\textsuperscript{22} \textit{ibid}, p.549 ff.
\textsuperscript{23} It seems likely that both women had one of the two days off but did night duty on every night.
\textsuperscript{24} See Chapter 3 above
old. All except one of those who were under eleven came from country courts. These children spent only a few weeks at the School before being handed over to the State Children Relief Board for boarding-out. It is clear that country police and magistrates were still making use of the provisions of the Act to simplify the disposal of 'neglected' children. The almost automatic transfer of these girls to the State Children Relief Board makes it equally clear that in the case of children under eleven the original stated primary role of the Industrial School had now been taken over by the Board. 23 With a few exceptions the Industrial School for Girls now retained only girls over eleven. 26

The pattern of admissions of girls altered considerably but consistently between 1891 and 1905.

TABLE 10.1

| ISG Parramatta Charges Made 1891 - 1905 |

Source: ISG Parramatta, Register of Warrants Received

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23 Transfers from any institution to the SCR had to have a clean bill of health. Two girls admitted in 1897 were detained because they had scabies. Enquiry, p.227.

26 These exceptions seem to have been persistent absconders from homes or girls with venereal disease. ISG, Paramatta, Letter Book (5/3433 p.362.
The most obvious trend during these years is the steady diminution of the charges of 'wandering with prostitutes' and 'living with prostitutes' and their replacement by the 'no ostensible legal occupation' and 'no means of support'. This would appear to represent a change in official policy rather than a real change in the reasons for admission.

The diminution of the number of charges of 'living with prostitutes' has two aspects. Although police were still removing girls from brothels, more than half of the girls charged with living with prostitutes in any year were still young children whose mothers had been arrested, usually, but not always, for prostitution. Many of the remainder would appear to have had venereal disease. The charge itself could have been indicating this fact to the magistrates, because in these cases, parental cooperation does not seem to have been sought.

When the charge was 'wandering with prostitutes, a two-way cooperation between police and parents seems apparent at this time. Many parents cooperated with police in these charges in order to avoid a gaol sentence, and in some cases police cooperated with parents in order to provide an asylum for 'less employable' girls who were the ones who might present the police with disorder problems. Available evidence does not permit a precise statement as to who initiated charges, but it must be stressed that the fact that a parent took out a warrant is not proof that charges were initiated by them. An analysis of arrests over a two-year period makes this clear.

Parents of at least seventeen of the older girls who were arrested in 1891 and 1892 either charged the girl or supported the police charge, even if only to state that they could not control the girl.27 Many of these were made after police had already arrested the girl so that the initiation of the charges is open to question. It is possible that the increased vagrancy charges indicated some increase in individual soliciting, although it could be that some were simply girls unemployed in the Depression. The increase in

27 ISG Parramatta, Register of Warrants Received, 1891-92
begging, stealing and sleeping out charges would tend to confirm this.

In two warrants taken out by police in 1891 and four in 1892 the fact that a girl was associating with larrikins is stressed. The fact that a girl associated with Chinamen is stated in four warrants in 1891 and in seven warrants in 1892. Two warrants were taken out by the Inspector for the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children, suggesting that George Ardill and his followers were convinced that the police were not enforcing the law as strictly as they should have been.²⁸

That there were other contributing factors in the causes of arrest at this time becomes apparent if the domestic circumstances of the girls arrested between 1891 and 1895, inclusive, are examined:

**TABLE 10.2**

**ISG Parramatta. Circumstances of Girls Arrested between 1891 and 1895**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Circumstances</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>both parents dead</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father dead*</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father absent**</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother dead (additional)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother absent (additional)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stepfather (additional)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parentage unknown</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>both parents alive</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Included in above figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Additional Details</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*mother also absent</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**mother dead/ absent</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>widows listed as prostitutes.</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deserted wives listed as prostitutes.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fathers listed as drunkards.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother listed as drunkard</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ISG Parramatta, *Register of Warrants Received 1890-1895*.

After 1895 the proportion of girls who were actually charged with offences against morality was reduced still further and the two vagrancy charges were the preferred charges. This was clearly a matter of official policy rather than representing the realities of the situation. Country

²⁸ George Ardill, an active private philanthropist, established 'homes' at Newtown, Liverpool and Camden.
police favoured charges of 'no means of support' against girls whom they considered in need of 'protection', reserving the 'no legal occupation' charge for girls who either would not work or who were presumed to be immoral.

Of the 202 girls who were charged with having 'no ostensible legal occupation' and retained in the Institution, 165 were laid in city and suburban courts. 29 Many of these cases must have involved 'immorality', but admission registers and newspaper reports give few details at this time. The reason for this would appear to be that the School had begun to function as an unofficial lock hospital and the fact was being withheld from public knowledge. In the four years between 1902 and 1905 inclusive, fifty-nine girls were admitted with gonorrhoea, fifteen with vaginitis and three with syphilis. This was fifty-eight percent of enrolment. 30

This increase in cases of venereal disease had begun in the early 1890s. During Spier's regime the practice of sexually examining girls was reintroduced, although these examinations were confined to girls taken from brothels. 31 The numbers of infected girls admitted during the following years tend to suggest that the police were using a selective approach to charges. For many years before the Police Offences Amendment Act and the Prisoners Detention Acts of 1908 gave police de facto control of venereal disease, admission to the Industrial School appears to have been used as a device for the control of disease among girls under sixteen.

The only major structural alteration to the School during these years would tend to confirm this. Towards the end of 1894, Spier complained that the only available place to use as a hospital was 'an ill-lighted, ill-ventilated and damp room, wholly unsuited to the purpose'. 32 In 1899 Dryhurst reported that an 'Isolation block' was nearly completed and requested the provision of suitable screens 'to assist towards decency'. 33

29 ISG Parramatta, Register of Warrants received, 1896-1904
30 ISG Parramatta, Annual Report, 1913, p. 4
32 ibid p.70
Regardless of their charges all girls had to undergo the same reformatory procedures. A new girl on admission was subject to much the same routine as that received by girls at Newcastle and Biloela. A medical inspection was made. If a girl was found to have an infectious or contagious disease she was isolated in the hospital before being transferred to ordinary classes. All other girls were first placed in the schoolroom to determine their standard of education. Girls under twelve remained in the schoolroom during the whole day. Girls over twelve might be retained in the classroom either full-time or half-time, or if an acceptable standard of education had been reached they were exempted totally from schoolwork. It is not clear what standard of education was required, but it would appear to have been quite low.

At the same time the lessening of the numbers in the school detail ensured that the small number of younger, temporary, admissions did not interfere with the other training procedures during their stay in the institution. Having two teachers made the separation of 'innocent' children from the older girls much easier.

Girls who were exempted from school, either full- or half-time were allocated to one of the work groups which could involve cooking, housework, sewing or laundry. All girls attended these groups in turn but particular emphasis was placed on the laundry group. The decision to concentrate on training girls as laundresses was based on the Department's need to provide for the laundry work of the Hurlstone Women Teachers' Training College at Ashfield. This was seen as saving the Department money as well as providing the girls with experience in washing a wider range of garments and household linen.

All girls over twelve were required to spend sufficient time in the laundry to enable them to learn all the various skills required of a laundress: sorting clothes, soaking,

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34 As about half of each day was spent in teaching sewing even those under twelve did not receive a 'normal' education.
35 This 'exemption at twelve' is in line with the practice of the SCRB which apprenticed children at twelve.
washing of white clothes, coloured clothes and woollen
interests, boiling, rinsing, bluing, starching, the correct
method of wringing, line drying, flat drying and indoor
drying, clothes 'pulling', what and how to mangle, damping
down, techniques required in various types of ironing and
pressing.38 Apart from the boilers which provided hot water,
the equipment used was that found in an ordinary home: fuel
coppers, pot-sticks and draining baskets, wash tubs (There
were portable tubs as well as fixtures), washing boards,
smoothing irons heated on wood-burning ironing stoves, hand
wringers and mangles, outdoor and indoor drying lines.
Washing soda, blue, borax, starch and beeswax were regular
items in store. Two gross of clothes pegs were issued each
year as replacements.39

The work was hot and heavy, and the working day extended
from about seven o'clock to five o'clock. Working these
hours, particularly during summer months, in a room containing
several fuel coppers or in a room containing fuel-burning
ironing stoves or in the indoor drying room containing heated
pipes40 would surely be a job to tax the strongest adult. If
a girl was not considered strong enough to work full-time in
the laundry or if she was still required to attend school she
could go to the laundry on a half-time basis41 but this only
extended the time she had to spend in the laundry. The usual
method of teaching was to keep a girl on one task until she
had mastered it.42 This would have tended to make the learning
even more boring than usual and sometimes, as with soaking or
washing white clothes, somewhat savage on the hands.43

The amount of laundry done during Spier's superintendency
was greater than at any other time during the school's
existence. It varied with the number of women students at

38 A similar list of laundry processes is cited in
Williamson, op.cit. p.114.
39 Laundry equipment and routine reconstructed from Store Book
and from Weekly Reports in Letter Book, passim.
41 Weekly Reports passim.
43 Enquiry, P.107.
43 O'Brien notes the heaviness of the task of transferring wet
clothes from coppers. O'Brien op.cit. p.191
Hurlstone. For example, in 1892 there were 52,476 articles received from Hurlstone, 22,871 articles of officers' clothing washed and 99,246 articles washed for the inmates themselves. The estimated saving to the Department in 1892 was 1,170 pounds. This would suggest that each of the thirty girls 'on laundry' did thirty-nine pounds worth of laundry per year. As the cost of maintaining a girl in the institution was around twenty-two pounds a suggestion of exploitation is not unwarranted.

Cookery teaching was also reorganised. Under new dietary arrangements the rations of meat, butter and sugar supplied to the officers was of a superior grade to that supplied to the girls. This would have meant that the officers' food was cooked separately, providing a chance for some variation in cooking methods. Further instruction in cookery was provided by a visiting cookery teacher who visited the school one day per week to teach a selected group of girls. Cooking facilities were, at first, sub-standard. While Spier rejoiced when the Department provided the cookery class with a new colonial oven his successor declared unequivocally:

The culinary appliances of this institution are of the crudest character and it is necessary that a proper cooking range with fitting accessories be supplied and fixed at once.

Apparently in response to a threat of scurvy amongst the girls, Dryhurst took an added interest in the standard of the food supplied. In addition to potatoes and one other vegetable

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44 Hurlstone College reduced its number of women teachers as a Depression measure in 1895.
45 ISG, 'Annual Report for 1892' in Superintendent's Letter Book [5/3432] p.130. It is worth noting that twice as many items (per person) were washed for officers as compared to inmates.
46 Superintendent's Letter Book [5/3432], pp.124-130 Figures given in Annual Reports agree with the figures provided by the Inspector of Public Charities as to the amount of laundry performed but differ as to their value. IPC figures are cited by Williamson, op. cit. p.314.
48 This is assumed during Spier's regime from Letter Book [5/3432] p.73. The practice is confirmed during his successor's time [Enquiry p.247].
per day the girls were supplied with lime juice, and Brush Farm was required to issue fruit to the School in season.\textsuperscript{51} Apart from these additions, the girls ate the same stodgy institutional diet which the girls at Newcastle and Biloela had endured.

The sewing group still made all furnishings and clothing by hand until about 1896 when capable pupils were allowed to use a sewing machine. The sewing room was really a small factory designed to make the school self-sufficient. They made such items as mattresses, sheets, pillowslips mosquito nets and tablecloths.\textsuperscript{52} More than six hundred yards of derry were used each year as well as about three hundred yards of dungaree. This would have provided for winter frocks and skirts. About seven hundred yards of galatea were used each year to make summer frocks and from four hundred to six hundred yards of homespun, for 'work frocks'. Print was also supplied in fairly large, but irregular quantities. Between one hundred and one hundred and fifty yards of flannel and a similar quantity of calico would have been made into chemises each year.\textsuperscript{53} Between five hundred and a thousand yards of wincey were sewn into petticoats. Osnaburg and dowlas are also listed among sewing materials, probably for bed-ticking. In 1895 the first issue of blue 'merino' for frocks was made. The only items of clothing which the girls did not make for themselves were stockings, corsets and shawls. As only three hundred pairs of stockings were issued for the full year, a considerable amount of mending would have been expected.\textsuperscript{54} Dryhurst was particularly interested that girls should learn patching and mending in order to develop habits of carefulness and thrift.\textsuperscript{55}

Apart from the sewing required for the Institution and its inmates the girls were required to sew outfits for the girls who were to be apprenticed. During Spier's regime the Department collected two guineas from each new employer for a

\textsuperscript{51} ibid pp. 410, 429, 430, 440
\textsuperscript{52} Deduced from Store Book entries and from weekly reports of amount of sewing done.
\textsuperscript{53} and other 'underwear' after 1896
\textsuperscript{54} Reconstructed from Store Book and Weekly Reports.
\textsuperscript{55} ISG Parramatta, Annual Report, 1902 p.314
girls' outfit for which the girls who sewed it received no payment.\textsuperscript{56} After 1898 an outfit was supplied by the Department for apprentices and the employer was expected to find the rest of her clothes. If a girl was discharged to her parents, they were required to provide the necessary clothing to take her home.\textsuperscript{57} A girl discharged to service at eighteen was provided with one outfit of clothing from the store.\textsuperscript{58} Sewing was therefore for use in the Institution or for profit.

The teaching of general housework occurred in several ways. Those attached to the kitchen or the laundry were taught the housework involved as well as the cooking or washing. Each morning all girls except the laundry detail were required to do some general housework, and on Saturday mornings a thorough housecleaning was undertaken in which all took part. In addition to this, selected girls were permitted a 'polishing off' time in the officers' quarters, where they were able to practise their skills in conditions which were presumed to be closer to the type of home to which they might be sent.\textsuperscript{59}

In spite of the value of their work, the girls received no remuneration whatever.\textsuperscript{60} This is in sharp contrast with the practice of paying boys who worked in the Sobraon's carpentry shop. The lack of any opportunity to earn any money before discharge was a matter of importance particularly to those who were discharged at eighteen. It is worth noting that the Institution's most notorious alumna was discharged at eighteen by being 'put on a train by the attendant'.\textsuperscript{61} According to instructions she would, at best, have been

\textsuperscript{56} After 1898 the School provided one outfit
\textsuperscript{57} ISG Superintendent's Letter Book [5/3432] p.95.
\textsuperscript{58} Enquiry p.230 The staff usually made up the balance of clothes needed.
\textsuperscript{59} ISG, Weekly Reports. passim. The provision of a free servant had been counted as part of staff pay from the establishment of the school. CSIL 68/5903
\textsuperscript{60} Apart from the 'reward' of up to two shillings per month for a few of the best behaved.
\textsuperscript{61} ISG Parramatta, Register of Warrants Received No.1229 and Discharge Register 10th March 1899.
supplied only with an outfit of clothes and a train ticket.\textsuperscript{62} She had been in the institution for three years, but her work during those years had not earned her even a change of clothing.

Girls who were in the school group and sometimes those who were in the sewing group\textsuperscript{63} were allowed recreation for an hour at lunch time and another after school finished. Girls who were on laundry duty or working in the officers' quarters were not permitted a recreation period. During Spier's regime outdoor recreation was supervised but not organised in any way, but during Dryhurst's regime rigid organisation of games such as rounders, skipping and maypole dancing occurred. These games would appear to be wholly inappropriate for the ages of the girls involved.\textsuperscript{64} All girls were allowed indoor recreation after tea until bedtime at eight o'clock. Crochet, knitting, fancywork, reading and some games were permitted.\textsuperscript{65} Magazines were supplied for the girls by the women trainee teachers at Hurstone College.

On Saturdays girls were allowed some supervised recreation after they had completed their household chores and had had their weekly hot bath. As the hot water which the boiler provided was needed for the laundry work, the girls had cold baths on other days.

On Sundays a group of about thirty girls were allowed to attend the local churches, a group attending Catholic services and Anglican services on alternate weeks.\textsuperscript{66} Services were read by the teacher for those who did not go out to church service. Local clergy attended the school regularly during the week, usually on Friday nights and Catholic nuns visited on Sunday afternoons.\textsuperscript{67}

\textsuperscript{62} As she was 'discharged to friends' the Institution may not have been required to provide even the clothes she wore.
\textsuperscript{63} So long as their quota of work was complete.
\textsuperscript{64} ISG, Parramatta, Annual Report, 1899. p. 483
\textsuperscript{66} There were only thirty hats ( an essential item of clothing for Church) in store during most of the time at Parramatta, so hats must have been shared.
\textsuperscript{67} ISG, Annual Report, 1894.
While it is clear that Superintendent Spier regarded the introduction of work as the main means of obtaining good order and discipline, he took other steps to ensure this. On the positive side he introduced a mark system which involved paying rewards of up to two shillings per month for the best behaved. Spier also had two old dormitories altered into fifteen cubicles which were decorated in a more home-like way. Girls whose conduct was 'beyond reproach' were allowed to occupy these cubicles and to stay up for about half an hour later at night time.

The contrast with these provisions for rewards and those offered on the Vernon are striking. Spier spent about a pound a month with a maximum reward of two shillings to any one girl. The boys received a total of two pounds fourteen shillings per month with a maximum of five shillings per month for the two 'top' boys. Privileges which 'good conduct' boys received such as additional food, taking part in recreational activities or the keeping of pets were not considered for the girls.

Store book entries for materials issued for the special cubicles for 'good conduct' girls show only too clearly how drab the rest of the dormitories must have been. Calico was ordered for window curtains and holland for blinds. In addition to new bedsteads, bedding, bolsters, pillows and white counterpanes, (replacing the old ones which the other girls had), drawers and mirrors, washstands and sets, carpet strips, bedroom chairs and reading tables were supplied. The stock of hairbrushes in the school was more than doubled in order to give each of these girls her own hairbrush.

As the punishment book is not extant and there is no mention of punishments in his reports, evidence for the

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69 This money was taken from the ten pounds 'incidental expenses' which he was allowed each term. Letter Book 5/3432, p.19
71 When Neitenstein's reward system was introduced, the ship's enrolment was about the same as that of the Girls' School in 1890.
72 See Neitenstein's reward system, Chapter 5.
73 There were 15 hairbrushes in stock. An additional 20 were obtained to service the cubicles.
punishment aspects of Spier's regime are mostly indirect, but it seems evident that he made use of hair-cutting, caning, locking-up and standing-out and that these practices were in use by his successor. The extent to which any of these punishment was used is not clear, but for locking-up and standing-out two witnesses told the Public Service Board Enquiry in 1898 that they were used extensively. According to Miss Daly, 'Standing out used to be all day in many cases and for several offences,' and according to Miss Leo, Spier had locked girls up for eight and ten days at a time, and when locked up they were given mats and a blanket. In Spier's report on a teacher on probation, he stated that 'She obtains order without too frequently resorting to the cane', but there is no indication as to what was 'too frequent'. Thomas Dryhurst's statement that hair-cutting for insubordination was 'customary' would imply that it had been in use before he took charge and that he continued its use.

It is also clear that the girls who gave evidence at the Enquiry in 1898 believed that the assistants had authority to cane and otherwise punish. This would suggest that severe punishments had existed in Spier's time. Most of these punishments seem to have been for breaches of new regulations introduced by Spier and continued by his successor. The Superintendents' background as teachers and their understanding of what the Department of Public Instruction's Inspectors would require in the way of discipline would account for most of these regulations.

In schools it was the custom to prohibit talking in the classroom and in any of the school's offices where the children congregated. Translated into requirements for an

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74 Enquiry, p.154.
75 ibid, p.178.
76 ibid, p.179.
77 Letter Book, 5/3432, p.60. That a probationary teacher was permitted to administer summary punishment would suggest that punishments were unregulated.
78 Enquiry, p.276. Hair-cutting had been used from the beginning of the school at Newcastle. [Chapter 7 ].It continued to be used until about 1908 [ Chapter 10].
79 Enquiry, passim.
Industrial School this could be a form of cruelty.\textsuperscript{80} The girls were not permitted to speak to one another in the dormitory in the morning,\textsuperscript{81} in the bathroom,\textsuperscript{82} in the dining room,\textsuperscript{83} at work,\textsuperscript{84} or in the dormitories at night time.\textsuperscript{85} A girl who was on laundry duty and thus excluded from outdoor recreation, could feasibly find no time in the day when she might legally speak to another girl.\textsuperscript{86}

That breaches of these rules were punished severely in Dryhurst's time is clear from the evidence of both girls and staff at the Public Service Board's Enquiry where Dryhurst admitted that if all punishments were recorded, it would need a special clerk.\textsuperscript{87} The attitude of the Department to these punishments is demonstrated by its granting Dryhurst a reduction in the amount deducted for his quarters and board, in lieu of a rise in pay, shortly after the Enquiry.\textsuperscript{88}

Communications with people outside the school were also severely restricted. Visiting regulations were similar to those which applied to the Nautical School Ships. No visitors were permitted during a girl's first three months in the Institution. On the first Thursday in January and July those parents who received a warrant from the Department of Public Instruction were permitted to visit the Institution between ten and twelve and between two and four.\textsuperscript{89} A few weeks before visiting day a list of those girls eligible for visitors was sent to the Principal Under Secretary.\textsuperscript{90} A girl's name might be omitted if her behaviour had been unsatisfactory. Visitors

\textsuperscript{80} An obvious case of the conflict between humane standards and institutional efficiency. Goffman, op.cit p.75 ff
\textsuperscript{81} ibid, p.106.
\textsuperscript{82} ibid, p.254.
\textsuperscript{83} ibid, p.31.
\textsuperscript{84} ibid, p.281.
\textsuperscript{85} ibid, p.48.
\textsuperscript{86} This practice of demanding silence has a long history in institutions although it does not appear to have been enforced at the school before 1890. Evidence given at the Enquiry makes it clear that these rules were in use in Spier's time. Goffman would see it as a conflict between humane standards and institutional efficiency. Goffman op cit p.75
\textsuperscript{87} Enquiry, p. 266
\textsuperscript{88} Letter Book [5/3433], pp.533 and 549
\textsuperscript{90} ibid.
were restricted to the classrooms or the covered way and all members of staff were on duty to supervise these visits.\textsuperscript{91}

While Spier was Superintendent girls were not permitted to write or receive any letters until they had been three months in the Institution, after which one letter per month was allowed.\textsuperscript{92} All letters were read by the Superintendent or the Matron, and Spier withheld letters of an abusive nature,\textsuperscript{93} or of which he disapproved in any way.\textsuperscript{94} Dryhurst reduced the number of letters a girl could write to one every two months so long as her conduct was good.\textsuperscript{95}

As information available for this period is almost entirely from official Reports, it is difficult to judge the reaction of the girls, or of their parents. That there was one riot shortly after Spier arrived is clear from a single reference in one of his later letters\textsuperscript{96} and from a mention in the 1898 Enquiry.\textsuperscript{97} It seems likely that Spier dealt with this riot without seeking the help of police. His reasons for doing so stemmed from the fact that the girls involved in the last riot during Mrs Walker's time had been set free after serving their sentence in gaol without being returned to the institution.\textsuperscript{98} Spier believed that this could be an inducement to girls to riot, serve six months gaol and then be free.\textsuperscript{99} Dryhurst handled the two riots which are reported during his regime without recourse to outside help.\textsuperscript{100}

The only evidence for the attitude of the girls is a bizarre series of events which occurred in 1892. Two girls concocted a story, accusing themselves and another girl, not an inmate, of having been involved in the murder of a baby shortly before they were admitted to the institution.\textsuperscript{101}

\textsuperscript{91} \textit{Weekly Reports}, passim.
\textsuperscript{92} \textit{Letter Book} [5/3432] 15/6/94.
\textsuperscript{93} ibid, 4/2/93.
\textsuperscript{94} ibid, 24/1/94.
\textsuperscript{95} Enquiry p. 296
\textsuperscript{96} ibid, 3/11/92.
\textsuperscript{97} Enquiry, p.255.
\textsuperscript{98} They would have been released from gaol about the time that Charles Spier became superintendent.
\textsuperscript{99} \textit{Letter Book} [5/3432], p.542.
\textsuperscript{100} \textit{Letter Book} [5/3433] p.446
\textsuperscript{101} Both girls were acquaintances of the daughter of John Makin a notorious 'baby-farmer'. \textit{Letters} 5/3432, p.544.
Spier took written statements from them before handing them over to the police, who took a few days to break down the story into an admission that it was an attempt to get a gaol sentence and then freedom.\textsuperscript{102}

Most attempts by parents to have their daughters returned to them during Spier's regime were unsuccessful. As in previous years, there were fewer applications for the release of girls than there were for boys, and fewer of the applications that were made, succeeded. Spier's general habit was to outline the reasons for the girl's admission and then suggest refusal.\textsuperscript{103} In the seven years 1890 to 1896 inclusive there were only thirteen girls discharged by Executive authority.\textsuperscript{104} Spier's reasons for refusing the release of girls varied. Sometimes he suggested that the parent's motive for seeking release was to obtain the benefits of the girl's acquired ability to work.\textsuperscript{105} At other times he refused an application for release, pleading the need to protect the girl.\textsuperscript{106}

This attempt to keep girls from their parents was a deliberate policy, based on the assumption that parents were responsible for the fact that girls had been committed to the Institution. It was continued when the girls were apprenticed. To one employer Spier wrote:

\begin{quote}
Do not allow any communication to pass between mother and daughter. If necessary, refer the mother to me. She knows her daughter is apprenticed to you but she does not know your private address.\textsuperscript{107}
\end{quote}

To a parent he wrote 'Your daughter is apprenticed but it is against the regulations to let you know where she is.'\textsuperscript{108}

Not all girls were given an opportunity to become apprentices. Two factors are in evidence here. One is the lessened demand for apprentices as the Depression became worse and the number of boarded-out children from the SCRB

\textsuperscript{102} ibid, pp. 502, 542 and 544.
\textsuperscript{103} ibid, pp. 29, 56.
\textsuperscript{104} Daily Diaries 1890-1896, passim.
\textsuperscript{105} Letter Book, [5/3432], 27/4/93.
\textsuperscript{106} ibid, 20/7/94. ibid, p.490.
\textsuperscript{107} ibid, p.29.
\textsuperscript{108} ibid, 4/5/93.
increased, the other that it would seem clear that Spier wished to reduce the number of apprentices returned to the school as unsatisfactory or who absconded. Spier gave 'moral' reasons for failure to apprentice a girl. He stated that one girl was 'slovenly and dirty in her habits, obstinate and sulky tempered and withal a little short-witted'.\(^{109}\) He feared another girl would resume her wandering habits.\(^ {110}\) As Spier was required to account to the Department for girls whom he did not apprentice, it would seem that he saw this failure to apprentice as preferable to an apprentice who absconded.\(^ {111}\)

The admissions and discharges during the seven years 1890 to 1896 inclusive shows the varying ways in which the girls were discharged:

**TABLE 10.3**

ISG Parramatta, Discharges from 1890 to 1896

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>'90</th>
<th>'91</th>
<th>'92</th>
<th>'93</th>
<th>'94</th>
<th>'95</th>
<th>'96</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Admitted</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Returned</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discharged</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To SCR B</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G/in/C</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprenticed</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disch. at 18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asylums</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ISG Parramatta Daily Diaries.

Apprenticeship, which had been the favoured method of discharge until 1892, gave way to discharge at eighteen after that year.

There were some alterations to the conditions relating to apprenticeships as the demand for apprentices decreased. The Act still required that a girl spend twelve months in the Institution before apprenticeship. Employers were expected to have references and the application had to be sanctioned by the Minister. After 1892 an employer was required to send two guineas to cover the cost of a girl's clothing and to pay the

\(^ {109}\) ibid, p.104.
\(^ {110}\) ibid, 3/11/94.
\(^ {111}\) ibid, 3/11/94.
girl's fare to the place of employment.\textsuperscript{112} To offset this
requirement the amount paid to the girl was lowered. Rates of
pay for a girl who was apprenticed at thirteen were ninepence
a week for the first year, one shilling and sixpence per week
for two years and two shillings and threepence for two years.
A girl apprenticed at fourteen started at a shilling per week,
and a girl apprenticed at fifteen started at one and sixpence
and a girl of sixteen received two shillings.\textsuperscript{113}

The inadequacy of these wages when, and if, paid, must be
seen against the distance from home that these girls were
sent. As it was the practice to apprentice girls admitted
from metropolitan and suburban courts in the country and girls
from country courts either in the metropolitan area or in a
country area far removed from her home, a girl who wished to
return to her home after completion of her apprenticeship
could find that it cost a large portion of the salary for
which she may have worked two or three years.

Spier justified these low wages in terms which would
suggest that he had less faith in the school's training
program than he claimed in his \textit{Reports}. To a woman who
requested a girl with certain definite and quite unrealistic
qualifications he wrote:

\begin{quote}
It should be borne in mind that the young girls
from this Institution are apprenticed out for the
purpose of learning domestic work and consequently
they receive low wages, the teaching of them by
their mistress being considered part payment.\textsuperscript{114}
\end{quote}

It was permissible, but not obligatory, to pay a girl
over sixteen up to one third of her wages as pocket money.
The rest of an apprentice's wages was supposed to be paid into
a bank account held in the joint names of the Superintendent
and the girl and was held until a girl's apprenticeship was
complete.\textsuperscript{115} Much of the Superintendent's time must have been
taken up in trying to ensure that this money was being paid.
Letters concerning non-payment are frequent.\textsuperscript{116} Spier asked

\begin{footnotes}
\item\textsuperscript{112} ibid. 27/8/92.
\item\textsuperscript{113} ISG Parramatta, Register of Apprentices. passim.
\item\textsuperscript{114} Letter Book 5/3432, p. 44.
\item\textsuperscript{115} ibid, p. 78.
\item\textsuperscript{116} ibid [15/11/92, 1/6/93, 21/6/93, 11/7/93, 18/12/93,
18/3/94].
\end{footnotes}
the Department to take legal action when some wages had been unpaid,\textsuperscript{117} and sought the Department's opinion as to whether a girl was entitled to her wages after she had absconded.\textsuperscript{118}

Apart from his interest in their separation from their parents and that they were paid, there was little that Spier could do about the working conditions that the apprentices faced. He accepted literally the clause requiring the girl to obey all her master's legal commands. He did, however, insist that a girl was apprenticed for domestic service. To a solicitor who wrote complaining that Kate R. was required to do work beyond that of a domestic, Spier wrote, 'If it be true that she is employed shepherding, her master is acting improperly in subjecting her to such work.'\textsuperscript{119}

At other times when he discovered petty mistreatment of a girl he tried to remedy the problem. He objected when a girl claimed that she was given blucher boots\textsuperscript{120} and he reacted very strongly when he discovered the verbal abuse to which a girl had been subjected.\textsuperscript{121}

He wrote at intervals inquiring as to the health and conduct of the apprentices, but, apart from those whose problems were brought to his attention, there was really little that he could do from a distance. Because he was legal guardian of the girls till they were eighteen,\textsuperscript{122} some matters did receive his urgent attention. An apprentice who became pregnant was one such matter. During Spier's superintendency four apprentices from the Industrial School became pregnant. Three of the four putative fathers were relatives of the girls' employers and the fourth a close friend.

Spier's attitude appears to have been that of a concerned 'guardian'. He advised Annie C.'s parents to sue for breach of promise.\textsuperscript{123} He brought Departmental pressure to bear on the father of Lily F.'s child to pay the girl's expenses.\textsuperscript{124}

\textsuperscript{117} ibid, p.252.
\textsuperscript{118} ibid, p.500.
\textsuperscript{119} ibid, p.46.
\textsuperscript{120} ibid, p.274.
\textsuperscript{121} ibid, p.280.
\textsuperscript{122} At least in theory. The reality was more complex.
\textsuperscript{123} ibid, pp.11-14. If Spier was the girl's legal guardian he should have been able to sue on the girl's behalf.
\textsuperscript{124} ibid pp.175 and 187. The father was a schoolteacher.
Believing that Blanche L was genuinely fond of the father of her child, Spier sought at first to persuade the father to marry the girl. Blanche, who had been treated shabbily by the man during her confinement, put a stop to Spier's efforts by stating quite bluntly that after such treatment she would definitely not marry the father. Spier used the services of the local police and parson to ensure that Blanche's expenses were paid.\textsuperscript{125} The fourth girl was unable to establish her case against her employer's son, which is not to say it was not genuine.\textsuperscript{126} Spier returned the girl to the Institution until shortly before her confinement.\textsuperscript{127} Spier's interest in the welfare of the girls and their children suggests a greater sense of responsibility than that shown by Selina Walker or Thomas Dryhurst. In similar cases neither of them bothered to investigate the circumstances involved. The only interest either showed was a determination that the girl 'could not be received in the school in her present state'.\textsuperscript{128}

The alacrity with which the Superintendents were able to disown the results of their failure to guard their charges would suggest that their power as guardians had little legal backing. If he was genuinely legal guardian the Superintendent should have been able to act on behalf of the girl himself. This lack of legal authority is borne out by two marriages of apprentices.

During Spier's regime the employer of one girl sought her release from her apprenticeship so that she might marry. Apart from the fact that it became one of the 'success' stories for the institution, (the groom was later revealed to be a member of the British aristocracy), the case raises speculation as to the legal extent of the Superintendent's guardianship. The Registrar General, as Guardian of Minors, gave consent to the marriage.\textsuperscript{129} The other marriage of an

\textsuperscript{125} ibid, pp.275, 288, 289.
\textsuperscript{126} ibid, p.723 ff.
\textsuperscript{127} Spier died before the girl was confined. Dryhurst regarded the presence of this girl in the hospital 'far advanced in pregnancy' as indicative of laxity on the part of Spier. Enquiry, p.328.
apprentice during Spier's superintendency raises the same question. In this case the apprentice absconded and remained free while her mother organised her wedding. The girl was then returned to the School and the husband successfully sought custody of his wife. 130

Apart from these somewhat exceptional cases, the relative number of returned apprentices was greater in Spier's time than it had hitherto been. Approximately half of those girls who were apprenticed over the seven year period were returned to the school. In addition there were 84 girls discharged at eighteen during the years 1893-96. If the increased number of girls who were discharged at eighteen are taken into account, the percentage of those for whom the school's training may be considered as successful was very small.

Spier's own method of judging success was a very simple one. He recorded what he believed to be the 'record of the apprentices' and an account of those who had been discharged at eighteen in the year preceding that of the Report. For example, in his Report for 1892 he described apprentices as being: 63.3 percent good 16.6 percent fair, 13.3 percent uncertain and 6.6 percent bad. 131 Of those discharged at eighteen in 1891 he reported that 57.1 percent were living respectably, 28.5 percent were living in sin, and he was doubtful about 14.2 percent. 132 The apprentices were, apparently, judged on their work, those who left at eighteen on their 'virtue'.

The pattern of apprenticeship differed slightly during Dryhurst's Superintendency. After 1898 girls were no longer apprenticed until they were at least fourteen and the wages were dropped to between threepence to two shillings and sixpence per week. A third of a girl's wages might be given to her each week and the rest banked. 133 An outfit of clothes was provided and the Department paid fares to place of employment. 134 These added inducements would suggest that difficulties were being experienced in placing apprentices but

130 ibid, pp.301-304.
131 ibid, p.364.
132 ibid, pp.124-13.0
133 ISG Parramatta, Registers of Apprentices. passim
they also illustrate the poor value put on a girl's work. A girl who was apprenticed at fourteen and who was paid pocketmoney during the last two years, could expect, on completion of her apprenticeship to receive less than ten pounds.\footnote{cf. O'Brien op. cit. p.161} As the average apprenticeship was actually considerably short of the full four years, many received much less. Most girls apprenticed after 1898 received a total of less than six pounds.\footnote{ISG, Register of Apprentices, 1895-1906 passim}

While conditions of apprenticeship probably did not alter substantially they are spelled out more clearly by Dryhurst. No limit was placed on hours of work. A mistress could decide whether a girl could receive or send a letter, but the letter had to be censored. To one girl Dryhurst wrote:

\begin{quote}
Do not under any condition send any letters without first obtaining permission and showing them to your employers. You must get the consent of your employers and let them read all your letters.\footnote{ibid p.565}
\end{quote}

This, of course left the girl entirely at the mercy of the whims of her employer. One girl’s indentures were cancelled because she wrote to a fellow ex-inmate without her mistress's permission.\footnote{ISG Register of Apprenticeships (5/4843) No. 44} A girl had to get permission and show the letter to her mistress even if she wished to write to Dryhurst.\footnote{ISG Letter Book [5/3433] p.343}

Despite the fact that fewer than half the girls admitted after 1895 were actually offered apprenticeships, the proportion which were completed continued to become less. An analysis of 215 apprentices recorded in the Registers of Apprentices between 1895 and 1910 makes this clear.\footnote{Thompson's analysis of apprenticeships from 1887 states that 313 were apprenticed from that date. The Register of Apprentices was begun later.}
Table 10.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Completed first apprenticeship satisfactorily</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprenticeships cancelled employer's circumstances</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indentures cancelled at Master's request</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indentures cancelled at girl's request</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absconded but returned to employer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absconded and refused further apprenticeships</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absconded and disappeared completely</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Returned to school, pregnant</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Died</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Returned to school after injuries</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ISG, Registers of Apprenticeship [5/4842 and 5/4843]

Some were allowed a second try at apprenticeship. The 'success' rate was similar to the first effort.

Table 10.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number offered second apprenticeship.</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completed apprenticeship satisfactorily</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absconded and were returned to the Institution</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indentures were cancelled at Master's request</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ISG Registers of Apprenticeships [5/8432 and 5/8433].

Of the girls whose apprenticeships are recorded, less than half were regarded as satisfactory at their first apprenticeship. There were many reasons for the failures of these apprenticeships. There was no real supervision. Strictly enforced, an apprenticeship was little better than imprisonment. A girl who was not allowed out of the house except under supervision, and not permitted to write to her friends or family, or who had her letters censored, was completely isolated. If the mistress did not allow her to write or did not pay her her any wages, a girl would not be able to obtain stationery or stamps. Such girls had no recourse except to abscond if the position became intolerable. For the majority of those girls whose indentures were

\[141\] ISG Parramatta, Register of Apprenticeships passim
\[142\] Letter Book, [5/3434], page 49.
cancelled, the misconduct for which the cancellation was sought was the girl's absconding.\textsuperscript{143}

Either mistress or girl was allowed to seek the cancellation of apprenticeship before a magistrate, although this course was much easier for the mistress. Some of the reasons given by mistresses were: impertinence, disobedience, immorality, freedom with men, stealing, uncontrollable, wouldn't work, abusive and threatening, dirty, unmanageable or unsatisfactory.\textsuperscript{144}

The girls also made their complaints. These were usually of ill-treatment,\textsuperscript{145} poor or unsuitable clothing\textsuperscript{146} or that the work was too hard,\textsuperscript{147} the hours too long\textsuperscript{148} or that no pay had been received.\textsuperscript{149} The latter was by far the commonest complaint. While the number of applications for cancellation of indentures by mistresses was greater than those made by girls, the fact that nineteen girls were able to convince magistrates that they had been mistreated and preferred to face the harsh regime at Parramatta suggests that many employers were no more humane than the institution. It is of some significance that the number of girls who were cheated of their paltry wages was greater than the number who were accused of stealing from their employers.\textsuperscript{150}

In a series of letters which he wrote to girls who were at apprenticeship, Thomas Dryhurst gives the impression that he was altogether on the side of the employers. However, it is clear that he did try to ensure that the girls were properly paid. He instituted a system whereby he received from the 'post office bank' a list of the amounts that had been placed to each girl's account and followed up the question of non-payment well before the girl was due to finish her apprenticeship.\textsuperscript{151} There was thus less chance of the

\textsuperscript{143} \textit{Register of Apprenticeship} 5/4842 and 5/4843. There were 12 abscondings recorded in first 100 places.
\textsuperscript{144} ISG, \textit{Registers of Apprenticeships.} passim
\textsuperscript{145} \textit{ibid.}, pp.66, 67 177.
\textsuperscript{146} Unsuitable footwear was a common complaint.
\textsuperscript{147} ISG, \textit{Register of Apprentices}, [5/4842], pp.19 and 30.
\textsuperscript{148} \textit{ibid.}, p.190
\textsuperscript{149} \textit{ibid.}, pp.14, 27, 69, 135, 188 and others
\textsuperscript{150} ISG, \textit{Letter Book} [5/3433] pages 693, 702, 703 and 726.
girls being unpaid. On the other hand, by insisting that the employer had the right to censor a girl's mail, he cut off any chance of any legal form of redress for ill-treatment.

There were some employers who seemed to be successful with their apprentices. One man, a schoolteacher, had six apprentices who all completed their time. Two country employers each had five girls who completed their apprenticeships. Both of these employers either kept the girls on at reasonable rates or arranged for their employment in the district. Several others had three successful apprentices, but despite this only fourteen girls are recorded as staying on with the employer to whom they had been apprenticed.\textsuperscript{152} This would indicate that although there were a few humane employers the girls were regarded as a source of cheap, exploitable labour by most.

These results were achieved in spite of the fact that fewer girls were apprenticed after 1895. The method of discharge during 1896 to 1905 shows a changing pattern:

\textbf{TABLE 10.6}

\begin{tabular}{|l|c|}
\hline
To SCR\textsuperscript{B} & 59 \\
At 18 (without apprenticeship) & 92 \\
By Executive Authority & 104 \\
By Apprenticeship & 155 \\
Total (excluding SCR\textsuperscript{B}) & 351 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Source ISG Parramatta, Report for the year 1907 in VPLA 1908 (Second Session) p. 671

These figures would suggest a number of things: The retention of nearly twenty-five percent of enrolments until they were eighteen would indicate that either jobs were not available, or that some of the girls were considered to be unfit for service, or that the detention of the girls had purposes other than reformation and training for work. To these must be added the thirty percent who were discharged by Executive Authority.

\textsuperscript{152} ISG Registers of Apprenticeship,[5/4842], p.10.
If a comparison is made of the persons to whom girls discharged by Executive Authority were released with those to whom girls discharged at eighteen were released some suggestions may be made as to the reasons behind committals.

**TABLE 10.7**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons to whom girls were discharged 1896-1906</th>
<th>by G/in/C</th>
<th>at 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Discharged to Parents or Father</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discharged to Mother</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discharged to a Relative</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discharged to a friend</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discharged to a situation</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discharged to An Asylum</td>
<td></td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: ISQ Parramatta, Daily Admission and Discharge Register 1890-1908*

Release of girls by Executive Authority had been almost impossible to obtain until after 1895, but in the following decade thirty percent were so discharged. Obviously the policy or the accepted practice had changed. It seems likely that inability to apprentice girls and a desire to keep places in the school available for infected girls played a determining role. In these circumstances girls who had fathers to whom they could be returned received preference. Records do not indicate whether mothers who obtained their daughters' discharge had remarried, but discharge to relatives, friends and a situation would suggest that reasonable proposals for discharge were acceptable. Those who were retained until they were eighteen were either unsuited to apprenticeship or did not have a 'satisfactory' home to which they could be discharged. The need to be sure of a cure of venereal disease may also have been a factor.

In July, 1905 Dryhurst made a statement of inmates to counter a recommendation that the girls be transferred to the State Children Relief Board because that would lower costs.\(^{153}\)

At that time there were in the institution:

\(^{153}\) The recommendation was made by Mr F.F.Hall.
TABLE 10.8

ISG Parramatta, Girls in Institution 1905

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>suitable for boarding out</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aged 9 who had absconded from three convents</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aged eleven suffering from gonorrhea</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aged twelve all of loose morals</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aged thirteen</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aged fourteen</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aged fifteen</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aged sixteen</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aged seventeen</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ISG, Letter Book [5/3434] Pages 300-301

In his defence of the institution he stated that he considered the cost of the institution was small 'comparing the work done and the class of inmates', that the institution was honestly doing the work of a corrective institution, that the inmates included the failures from other homes including State children. He also suggested that some method might be devised so that the school could be more self-supporting.\(^{154}\)

Conclusion

Dryhurst retired at the end of 1905.\(^{155}\) While the stated aim of the school was still to produce domestic servants, it does not seem to have been successful at this. Evidence that the school was retaining a larger proportion of either 'unreformed' or 'unemployable' girls is strong. The use of the school as a lock hospital for cases of venereal disease is apparent, although there is no public mention of this fact until 1917. While Spier implied that the infected girls were taken from brothels,\(^{156}\) the shift from the charge of 'living or wandering with prostitutes' to one of having 'no ostensible legal occupation' suggests an attempt to prevent the public knowledge of infection. That the school was being used to control venereal disease is certain, but whether that was seen as being in the interests of Her Majesty's Navy or just in the interests of the general male population is not clear.

\(^{154}\) Letter Book, 5/3434, p.301.
\(^{155}\) Actual retirement 15/5/07 after long service leave.
A more obvious shift is seen in the management of the school. The change from a charitable institution to a school with the declared purpose of making the girls 'thoroughly conversant with household duties' had been effected by the employment of one male and two female teachers, none of whom had any experience at reformatory work, and four other instructors who had experience in neither teaching nor reformatory work. While the staff actually in contact with the girls doubled, the methods employed and the necessity for making the school remunerative ensured that life in the school would have been unpleasant.

Despite the occurrence of at least one riot in Spier's time and two in Dryhurst's the girls appear to have been orderly for most of the time although that order may have been obtained by somewhat harsh methods. Even harsher than the strict segregation of the girls from their families, the attempts to prevent girls communicating with one another and the punishments used, were the methods of training. They could not have been otherwise. The combination of a laundry 'school' with what amounted to a commercial laundry using only domestic appliances made the laundry work tiring and often painful drudgery. The assumption that because a woman was a competent laundress, seamstress or cook she was automatically a competent teacher of that subject was a persistent myth. The method of teaching laundry by making a girl perform the same task for days on end until she had mastered it would not have been countenanced for any other (school) subject.

Much the same can be said of the sewing groups. Because of the considerable number of girls allocated to laundry work and the number of women employed teaching sewing, the sewing groups would have been smaller but would have been required to produce considerably more work. The tedious handsewing of garments and household linen and of mending and darning without the ability to make or cut patterns ensured that the girls were only competent at the menial, shockingly underpaid and very uninteresting side of dressmaking.

It would be difficult to imagine that such a harsh regime in the school followed by an apprenticeship that was little more than a 'solitary confinement' sentence would 'effect any
permanent good in the future life of the inmates' In the same way, judged by the number of completed apprenticeships or the number of girls who were retained in the Institution until they were eighteen, few of the inmates became 'thoroughly conversant with household duties'.

While many important facts concerning life at Parramatta after 1890 can be obtained from available secondary sources, a number of relevant facts which indicate that the continuing changes in the perceived function of the School have been disregarded. The assumption in all previous accounts of the Parramatta School that it was simply a continuing version of the Schools at Newcastle and Biloela hides the fact of very real changes in the role and function of the School which accompanied the 'thorough reorganisation' in 1890.

This thesis, by providing an analysis of the new staff and their duties demonstrates the fact that, while the school continued to provide apprentices, the production of those apprentices was secondary to other functions of the school. The prime functions of the school were the isolation of adolescent prostitutes and the provision of a lock hospital.

By a close analysis of admissions, discharges and apprenticeships this chapter has demonstrated that despite an increase in training facilities, the number of apprentices decreased. That these training facilities were largely designed as paying industries to finance the other, and more important function of the School as a lock hospital is indicated. Any suggestion of a health function is ignored by other historians. This thesis suggests that by 1905 it had become the most important function of the School.

157 Williamson indicates some changes but the doubling of the staff at this time is ignored. Willis and Scrivener both begin their accounts after the 1890 changes had been made.
CHAPTER XI

THE MORALS CRUSADE

A set of circumstances in the first few years of the twentieth century combined to ensure the continuation of the Industrial School for Girls at the same time as the Sobraon ceased to be a relevant part of the 'child care' system. The same set of circumstances ensured that there would be considerable change in the ages of the girls and the reasons for committals to the School. They did not affect the general attitude towards the girls and they did not alter appreciably the curriculum which the school offered.

The assumption of the Presidency of the State Children Relief Board by Charles Mackellar in 1902, the passing of the Neglected Children and Juvenile Offenders Act under his direction in 1905, the phasing out of Shaftesbury as an institution for girls, the desire of the State Children Relief Board for a suitable institution for its own refractory female apprentices, the search for a suitable means of extending the overcrowded Lunatic Asylums, the transfer of the State Children Relief Board to the oversight of the Minister for Public Instruction in 1905, the appointment of Peter Board as Director of Public Instruction in 1905, the retirement of Thomas Dryhurst from the Industrial School for Girls and his replacement by Alex Thompson as Superintendent in 1906, are all part of an overlapping pattern which determined the fate of the school.

No previous attempt has been made to analyse the reasons for the continuation of the Industrial School for Girls at a time when the Sobraon was abandoned. Three historians¹ make references to the Industrial School for Girls after 1905 but all three treat the period as merely a continuation of the 1890 changes. Although Williamson concludes her account of the Industrial School at 1910, she sees the 'pattern of

¹ Willis, Williamson, Scrivener
domestic, scholastic and industrial work performed by the girls which was established before 1900 [persisting] as the acceptable norm.\textsuperscript{2} Willis believes that while there was considerable improvement in the care of State children after 1905, that 'any claims that attitudes to girls changed radically must be seriously challenged.'\textsuperscript{3} She notes Mackellar's opposition to Parramatta and his belief in the efficacy of religious women in the treatment of wayward girls.\textsuperscript{4}

Two other articles which do not focus specifically on the Industrial School for Girls, namely those by Carol Bacchi\textsuperscript{5} and Stephen Garton\textsuperscript{6} are relevant to the examination of the influence of Charles Mackellar on the enrolments and attitudes towards the girls at Parramatta. Bacchi sees the environmentalist approach as strong until the immediate pre-war years\textsuperscript{7} while Garton sees Mackellar's ideas as representing 'a coherent marriage of diverse views influenced by notions of psycho-pathology.'\textsuperscript{8} Garton also believed that Charles Mackellar was responsible for reducing the numbers of girls in institutional care in the early part of the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{9}

While both Williamson and Willis are correct in seeing the continuation in both the curriculum of the school and in the attitude towards the girls, and Willis is correct in noting a considerable improvement in the living conditions of the girls, both authors fail to note the changed reasons for enrolments which signal some important changes in the role of the school. The reasons for admission after 1905 were much more diverse than Willis's phrase 'distressingly similar' would suggest.\textsuperscript{10} Similarly while Garton is correct in

\textsuperscript{2} Williamson, \textit{op. cit.} [part2] p.322
\textsuperscript{3} Willis \textit{op cit} p.109
\textsuperscript{4} \textit{ibid} p.192
\textsuperscript{5} C.Bacchi, 'The Nature Nurture Debate in Australia, 1900 - 1914.' \textit{Historical Studies} Vol.19, 1980
\textsuperscript{7} Bacchi, \textit{op. cit} p.200
\textsuperscript{8} Garton \textit{op.cit.} p.21
\textsuperscript{9} \textit{ibid} p.33
\textsuperscript{10} Willis \textit{op.cit.} p.189
attributing a wide range of views to Mackellar, his statement that Mackellar was responsible for a decrease in the number of girls who were institutionalised is strongly contested in this thesis. As the list of relevant facts above would indicate, this thesis seeks to analyse the factors which determined the continuation of the school and the changes in the role of the school which those factors brought about.

Charles Mackellar's influence on the school was a complex one. His direct effect on the school by his influence on the character of the enrolment was significant and is discussed later. His indirect effect in making it essential that Peter Board, as Director of Public Instruction, would defend the school if he wished to maintain his own authority, was probably responsible for the very careful selection of the new superintendent. It could also account for Board's encouragement of a loquacious Thompson to produce Annual Reports which were out of proportion with the relative size and importance of the school,¹¹ as a counter to Mackellar's propaganda in the Annual Reports of the State Children Relief Board.¹²

The closing of Shaftesbury Reformatory in 1906¹³ meant that other arrangements would be required for girls who had committed such offences as stealing, and for the State Children Relief Board's own refractory apprentices who had been housed there.¹⁴ The Reformatory for Girls, which was known as Shaftesbury after it moved from Biloela to the new building at South Head in 1880, had always been an expensive encumbrance to the various Departments which had been

¹¹ Thompson's Report for 1910, for example, consisted of fourteen pages plus illustrations. Dryhurst's were usually about two pages.
¹² The quarrel between Board and Mackellar was a multi-faceted one and is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, the fact that they worked together (though rarely amicably)¹⁶ had considerable bearing on some decisions. * John Shields, 'A Dangerous Age' in What Rough Beast Sydney Labour History Group, 1982 p.157
¹³ The Institution was closed as a Welfare Institution in 1906 but the remaining girls in the Reformatory had been removed to Ormond House in 1904
¹⁴ SCRB, Annual Report, 1901, p.10.
Its illegal use as a detention centre for refractory girls from the State Children Relief Board in 1901, and the later transfer of the few remaining Reformatory girls to a section of Ormond House meant that Shaftesbury had ceased to function as a legally proclaimed Reformatory even before the Neglected Children and Juvenile Offenders Act opened the way for the abandonment of the term 'Reformatory'.

There had been moves to dispense with the Girls' Reformatory or to combine it with the Industrial School as far back as 1894, but these were not proceeded with probably for both legal and logistic reasons. Attempts to convert the Shaftesbury buildings into a holding centre for State wards using refractory State girls as household labour, showed the unsuitability of the buildings for either purpose.

At the same time a site was being sought to ease the overcrowding in the State's Lunatic Asylums by opening a hospital for the criminally insane. When it was proposed to use the Industrial School buildings to extend the Lunatic Asylum which adjoined the school, many suggestions were made for an alternative site for the Industrial School: The Shaftesbury buildings were rejected by both Mackellar and Board. Rabbit Island, Milson Island, an abandoned Home for Inebriate Women on the Hawkesbury River were all rejected by

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15 Colonial Secretary, Prisons Department, Charities Department, Public Instruction, State Children Relief Board.
16 SCR, Annual Report, 1901, p.10. There was a further illegal use of Shaftesbury after a 'home' at Mittagong had been destroyed by fire.
17 SCR, Annual Report, 1906, p.15.
18 The Act allowed for the gazetted of Reformatories but the use of the term 'Home' for all such Institutions was preferred. e.g. The Carpentarian Reformatory became Brush Farm Home after 1906.
19 Letter Book 5/3432, Feb, 1894
20 The site at Parramatta was not suitable for division in the same way as Newcastle had been. The incomplete separation made of the Training School and Industrial School in 1912 would not have been legally acceptable under the 1866 Acts.
21 SCR, President's Annual Report, 1902, p.17 and 1906 p.13
22 A collection of memos contained in CSIL Special Bundle, Parramatta Industrial School 1902-1908.
23 Memo in ibid.
24 Memo in ibid.
Peter Board who countered with suggestions for a series of cottage homes to be built either on the farm which belonged to the Industrial School but was 'leased' to the Asylum, or on land at Westmead.

To these tensions must be added the passing of the *Neglected Children and Juvenile Offenders Act* of 1905 and the manner in which it was implemented. Although the Act specifically stated that gazetted institutions should be controlled, administered and maintained by the State, MacKellar's frequently expressed beliefs that immoral girls should be placed in the care of religious women appeared to threaten the very existence of the Industrial School. The subsidising by the State of denominational institutions for this purpose would, in turn, have reflected badly on the secular system of Education of which Peter Board was the Director. In these circumstances the choice of a competent superintendent to replace Thomas Dryhurst was vital to Board's position. He chose well.

In the context of contemporary standards, Alex Thompson's teaching record is impressive. After service at Wallalong, Morpeth and West Maitland he was granted a scholarship to the Teachers' Training College. He was then given temporary appointments (one year in each school) at Fort Street, Balmain, Blackfriars, Woollahra and Darlinghurst, before he

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25 Memo dated 29/6/07, in *ibid*
26 Memos dated 14/6/07 and 26/6/07 in *ibid*. By 1914 the Lunacy Department had obtained new buildings on Rabbit Island, Morisset and Stockton as well as new wards at Gladesville and Callan Park. Inspector General's *Annual Report*, 1914.
27 *Act No.16*, 1905.
28 *ibid*, Section 7.
30 MacKellar acknowledges this fact in *ibid*, p.15.
32 Under normal circumstances he should have expected to do a minimum of three years country service before being appointed.
became chief schoolmaster on the Sobroon, where his 1A rating was confirmed.33 After leaving the Sobroon he had brief service as First Assistant (Deputy Principal) at Stanmore and Fort Street Training School before he became Headmaster at Tumut. He was thirty-four when appointed to the Industrial School for Girls.34 In the absence of anyone specifically trained for reformatory work, Thompson's training and experience would have made him the most suitable person available in the Department of Public Instruction.

Once the school had a competent superintendent, the Neglected Children and Juvenile Offenders Act ensured that Parramatta would continue as an institution although, because of the 'drain' to private institutions, with fewer and possibly somewhat different admissions than might otherwise have been expected. Thompson's competence in his position as superintendent combined with the lack of information on the 'kindred institutions' to which many girls were transferred or committed tends to blur the fact that the passing of the Act marked the beginning of a very repressive regime for girls.

To understand this it is necessary to look at three aspects of the 'care' for adolescent girls at this time: the terms of the Act, Mackellar's use of the Act and the effect of the Act on the Industrial School for Girls. A close scrutiny of the Act and its implementation shows how these factors affected the enrolment of girls both at Parramatta and other 'kindred institutions'.

The Act repealed the Reformatory and Industrial Schools Act of 1901, which had replaced the two Acts of 1866. The new Act dealt with three distinct types of charges: neglected children, uncontrollable children and juvenile offenders. All of the offences which the original Industrial Schools Act covered were included in the new Act under the definition of 'neglected child' which also covered a number of new offences which applied to both boys and girls such as not being...

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33 He had thus obtained, while still in his twenties qualifications which would entitle him to be Principal of a First Class School.
properly provided for, taking part in dangerous public performances, unlicensed street trading, having drunken parents, and being in a place where opium is smoked. Two new definitions of 'neglected child' which affected girls were:

h/ who, being a female, solicits men or otherwise behaves in an indecent manner, or who habitually wanders at night without cause in a public place. and

j/ who is living under such conditions as indicate that the child is lapsing into a career of vice and crime.\(^{35}\)

While the introduction of the definition of uncontrollable was not specifically aimed at females it was used against a greater proportion of girls than boys. In 1910, for example, nineteen percent of boys convicted were 'uncontrollable' as compared with forty percent of girls. The Act defined as 'uncontrollable' 'a child whom his parents cannot control.'\(^{36}\)

It seems likely, though not provable,\(^{37}\) that this clause was added to ensure parental cooperation.\(^{38}\) A girl who was charged with being a neglected child because she was wandering or sleeping out or had no occupation could be discharged to her parent(s) on probation. If she was again arrested the parents were placed in a position where, to protect themselves, they had to support a charge of being uncontrollable. The clause also made it possible for parents themselves to charge an 'uncontrollable' child, although, to be successful the charge usually required the cooperation of the police. The charge was also used against a number of State wards, particularly if they had absconded.\(^{39}\)

The other clause which affected the enrolment at Parramatta read:

The Minister may, at the request of the Board or of the governing body of an asylum take any child from the custody of the Board or of the asylum, and

\(^{35}\) *Act No.16 of 1905.* p.3.
\(^{37}\) Because Children's Court records are not available.
\(^{38}\) This is clear when the original offence was truancy but it is not obvious for other offences.
\(^{39}\) This fact accounts for a statistical discrepancy between Tables 9.1 and 9.3.
place him in any institution other than a reformatory school.\textsuperscript{40}

This confusion of executive and judicial functions can be seen in the control of both boys and girls, but is more clearly in evidence at Parramatta.

All three clauses of the Act were to affect substantially the number of girls committed to Parramatta in the following years, but to understand how they affected girls who were under the control of the State Children Relief Board or who came under the jurisdiction of the Children's Court it is necessary to look at the beliefs and practices of Charles Mackellar, the 'moral' climate of the time and the way in which the Act was implemented.

A spokesman for the 'National efficiency' movement which had spread to Australia from Britain particularly after the Boer War, Mackellar believed women were not having enough children,\textsuperscript{41} and that the death rate particularly of illegitimate children was appallingly high. While the influence of the churches and a lot of legal and moral suasion were brought to bear on married women to bear and rear larger families, Mackellar was an active proponent of considerable legislation aimed at ensuring the survival of children, both legitimate and illegitimate.\textsuperscript{42} He sought legislation that would ensure the 'proper' fulfilment of the maternal role by women and the reformation of neglected or delinquent children, preferably by means of probation, boarding-out or cottage homes. In this climate of opinion the girl who did not adhere to conventional morality or who revolted against housework became a candidate for trial before the Children's Court.

In his article on Mackellar, Garton sees Mackellar's application of his beliefs as lowering the number of girls in

\textsuperscript{40} \textit{Ibid}, clause 36. The restriction on the Minister's authority in this clause explains the disappearance of 'Reformatory' schools. The Carpentarian Reformatory became Brush Farm Home, and later institutions for boys were entitled either Homes or Industrial Schools thereby circumventing the Act. Institutions for girls became either Training Schools, Homes or Industrial Schools.

\textsuperscript{41} This is the overall conclusion of Mackellar's findings as Chairman of the 'Royal Commission into the Decline in the Birthrate' in \textit{NSWPP 1904 2nd Session}.

\textsuperscript{42} Children's Protection Act and Infants' Protection Act.
institutions and believes that 'Mackellar's argument that girls were more amenable to non-institutional care had concrete effects on incarceration practices in the early twentieth century'. In arriving at this conclusion he quotes the figures of children in State Children Relief Board Homes which are provided in the Board's Reports for 1905 and 1915. These figures apply to the Board's Homes at Mittagong and at Pennant Hills Road (Parramatta) only. They do not include the Industrial School for Girls nor the numerous kindred institutions which catered for 'fallen women' to which girls from the Board and the Children's Court were sent. This thesis contends that Mackellar was responsible for a considerable increase in the number of girls in institutional care, not for a reduction in that number.

He did this in two ways. He made use of the provisions of the 1905 Act to solve the problem of rebellious State wards by sending them to the Industrial School or to 'kindred institutions' and by placing many 'immoral' girls committed from the Children's Court in institutions run by religious women. These Church Homes, ostensibly for 'fallen women' also catered for a considerable number of adolescents. It is contended that inmates committed to these institutions by the Courts or transferred from the SCRB, as well as girls at Parramatta should be included in any calculation of the number of girls in institutional care at that time.

While Mackellar did not control the Industrial School at Parramatta, the Act made provision for the transfer of children from the Board to an institution, between institutions, or from institutions to the Board, on the authority of the Minister, who usually acted on the President's advice. Mackellar was also a member of the committee which determined the placing of girls committed 'to an institution' from the Children's court. The manner in which Mackellar used both of these provisions in the first five years of the Act is analysed below.

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43 Garton, op.cit.p.33
44 It could be argued that girls under eighteen who were transferred from Convent Orphanages or taken to these Institutions by parents should also be included, but usable figures are not available.
The first factor which increased the number of girls who were institutionalised was the number of discharges to Institutions from the State Children Relief Board, as shown in the following table:

**TABLE 11.1**

Discharges to Institutions from SCRB from 1906-1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>1906</th>
<th>07</th>
<th>08</th>
<th>09</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ISG P'matta</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tempe Refuge</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Refuge</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newington</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Rescue</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Insts</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: SCRB, Annual Reports 1906 to 1910

All of the girls were transferred from the SCRB to these Institutions on Mackellar's recommendation. While those who were transferred to Newington were over eighteen, the rest appear to have been under eighteen.

Apart from the direct transfers from the Board to the Industrial School, any girl who proved unsatisfactory at one of the kindred institutions could be transferred (without trial) to the Industrial School. The Board could thus solve its own disciplinary problems without itself resorting to 'institutionalisation'.

The number of girls committed from the Children's Court is also relevant to the number of girls who were in 'welfare institutions'. Mackellar was a member of the committee which recommended the institutions to which girls 'committed to an institution' by the Children's Court should be sent. The following table shows the placing of girls over twelve from the Metropolitan Children's Court from 1906 to 1910.

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45 Discrepancy in SCRB transfers and enrolment figures caused by difference in reporting year and this table would include some apprentices who were committed to ISG by Court
TABLE 11.2

Institutions to which girls were committed from Metropolitan Children's Court from 1906 to 1910.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>06</th>
<th>07</th>
<th>08</th>
<th>09</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ISG Parramatta</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Rescue</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tempe Refuge</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person Named*</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kindred Insts.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note 1/ 'Person named' was usually the Matron of a kindred institution.
2/ This table does not include figures from Country Courts, for which accurate figures are not available.

Source SCRIB Annual Reports 1906 to 1910

These figures would indicate that Mackellar's influence increased the number of girls who were incarcerated rather than decreased them as Garton suggests. His use of these institutions was also considerably more than Dickey's phrase 'informally if in no other way', would suggest. When Mackellar took over the presidency of the SCRIB the number of girls in State Institutions was 226, made up of 119 in the ISG at Parramatta and another 107 in the Cottage Homes run by the SCRIB, either because they were debilitated, crippled or feebleminded or were needed to provide unpaid labour for the care of other children who were in those homes. By 1915 there were 146 girls in Parramatta, 96 in SCRIB homes and, by inference, as many as two hundred adolescent 'immoral' girls in the women's Refuges established by religious groups to

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46 Garton Op. cit p.35
47 Dickey, 'Care for Deprived, Neglected and Delinquent Children in New South Wales, 1901-1915', JRAHS Vol 63 Pt 3 December 1977 p.179-180
48 ISG Parramatta, Annual Report 1902 p.1
49 SCRIB Annual Report, 1902 p.14
50 ISG Parramatta Annual Report 1915 p.18
51 SCRIB Annual Report 1915 p.21
52 This figure is based on the assumption that girls committed to these institutions spent an average of three years in the institution.
cater for 'fallen women'. Mackellar did not reduce the institutionalisation of girls. He 'privatised' it. Although he was an ardent advocate of both boarding-out and probation, Mackellar did not object to institutions as such, so long as their environment was suitable. He believed that Reformatories were quite suitable for sexually degenerate boys. He advocated that State wards should spend their years from age twelve to fourteen in a training school for domestic arts or trades. He also sought institutions for refractors and for those who required preliminary reformation prior to boarding-out. He objected to the Parramatta school because he believed that immoral girls could only be reformed by the influence of religious women. His use of the word 'depravity' in connection with sexual 'delinquency', coupled with his belief that 'depraved girls' needed to be placed in the care of religious women, suggests that he used the word in a Calvinist theological sense as denoting 'innate sinfulness'. He thus sought a religious solution to what he saw as a religious problem. He also saw 'a grave risk of moral contamination' at the school and believed that 'only when evidence has disclosed some marked degree of vice or vicious inclination' should girls be committed to the Industrial School at Parramatta. He does not seem to have believed that the older prostitute women at the 'kindred institutions' might have offered the same sort of 'contamination', but as he was on the panel of three which recommended the institution to which a girl was sent, his influence on the numbers admitted was considerable.

53 The Good samaritan Refuge in Buckingham Street was opened in 1904 and the Home of the Good Shepherd at Ashfield was established in 1915 to help meet the increased number of girls being committed to Refuges.
54 Girls did not become the majority in State Institutional care until after most of the 'homes for fallen women' either ceased or reduced their activities.
56 SCRAB Annual Reports, 1906 p.12, 1908 p.13, 1909, p.18
57 SCRAB Annual Report 1906 p.13
58 This was the rationale behind the 1905 Act.
59 ibid p15
Committals to Parramatta were in terms of the 1905 Act. While a Magistrate made the committals, they were in the general terms of 'to an institution'. It was the responsibility of the Minister for Public Instruction to decide to which institution a child was to be sent. The general recommendation made to the Minister by Peter Board and Charles Mackellar concerning girls was that the Industrial School should receive:

... girls of the age of puberty who have given evidence of sexual delinquency, or of such laxity of conduct as to require educative supervision.\textsuperscript{60}

Most of the girls admitted under the new Act were, therefore, in an older age group. In the five years ending December, 1910 there were 23 girls under thirteen and 199 over that age admitted.\textsuperscript{61} The average age of girls in the institution in 1910 was fourteen years and ten months.\textsuperscript{62} Sixty percent of the girls admitted were in employment when arrested or had previously been in employment.\textsuperscript{63} It seems quite possible that many of the remaining forty percent were girls who, because of physical or mental defects or of indolence or because of the poverty of their homes, were unable to obtain, or retain, work. From the beginning, the Industrial School had been the repository for some of these girls.\textsuperscript{64}

An analysis of the admissions to the Industrial School during the years 1906-1910 inclusive, show how the new provisions were applied to that school.\textsuperscript{65}

\textsuperscript{60} \textit{ibid}, p.10.
\textsuperscript{61} ISG Parramatta, \textit{Annual Report} 1910, p.2. Eight country girls aged 8-11 who spent only a few days at the school are not included.
\textsuperscript{62} \textit{ibid}.
\textsuperscript{63} ISG Parramatta, \textit{Annual Report}, 1907, p.3.
\textsuperscript{64} In 1915 Alex Thompson claimed that seventy percent of the girls were 'normal'. ISG Parramatta, \textit{Annual Report} 1915, p.16.
\textsuperscript{65} These figures include admissions from country courts as well as those from the Metropolitan Children's Court cited above.
TABLE 11.3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uncontrollable</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neglected (tending to vice and crime)</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neglected (other forms)</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stealing or related offences</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer from SCRUB (without trial)</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ISG, Register of Warrants Received, Register of Committals, and Admission, Discharge and After Career Register, 1906-1910.

The most frequent charge, obviously regarded as the worst, was that a girl was uncontrollable. Included in the uncontrollable figures are 18 wards of the SCRUB and six from kindred institutions who were charged in the Children's Courts. An additional thirty had breached either conditions or probation. Despite the wording of the Act, this leaves only eighteen girls for whom a parent could have initiated proceedings. Notes beside the warrants of committal leave the definite impression that this particular charge was the one most used by police if parents failed to make a girl keep the terms of her probation.

Living with a woman of immoral character,
stays out late with boys,
left home, living with cousin in tent,
Stays out at night with larrikins,
wanders at night with girls of bad character,
keeps bad hours,
disobedient and untruthful,
Indolent, hit mother on back with brick,
Untruthful, stole watch from mother.\(^{66}\)

While it is quite possible that all of these girls were 'immoral', some of the remarks suggest rather that the main purpose of the charge was the maintenance of parental, or institutional, or employer authority. The implication in many charges of being 'uncontrollable' is that the home is 'respectable' but that the girl has been led astray by bad companions.\(^{67}\) As Thompson explained the situation:

A girl who becomes uncontrollable and given to low associations is inevitably exposed to great danger...It is usually only a question of time when

\(^{66}\) ISG Parramatta, Register of Committals. 1906-1910.
\(^{67}\) ISG Parramatta, Annual Report 1907, p.8.
she acquires immoral habits, and a little more delay and she either becomes the victim of venereal disease, or has motherhood forced upon her at an age when no girl is fit for it.\textsuperscript{68}

Where a 'neglected' charge was laid the probability of 'immorality' was greater, but here the unsatisfactory nature of a girl's living conditions was stressed, so there are such comments as

sister immoral.
Mother dead, father Chinese.
living with man (both parents were dead).
Father drunkard.
family history poor.
living with reputed thieves.
found in Chinese brothel.
found in cave with man on two occasions.
two girls and seven fellows in Wentworth Park, drinking whisky from a bottle.
roams street with larrikins.
youth awaiting trial for carnal knowledge.
Man acquitted of charge of carnal knowledge.
Father charged with criminal offence on two daughters.\textsuperscript{69}

It is difficult to say how many of these charges were intended to protect, or 'rescue', and how many to punish. Many of the thirty-one girls who are listed as having gonorrhoea in the period 1906-1909\textsuperscript{70} were probably in the group labelled as 'neglected'. The 'carnal knowledge' cases mark the beginning of committals to the school of girls against whom a 'neglected' charge was made at the same time as a male (usually a relative) was charged with 'carnal knowledge.' Several such cases are recorded in the three years after 1908\textsuperscript{71} and then appear to cease.\textsuperscript{72} The practice of taking proceedings against the victim no doubt helped to limit the number of such charges which were taken to court.\textsuperscript{73}

Charges of stealing listed at this time do not indicate any great degree of criminality. Amounts of from one shilling to four pounds are mentioned. One girl stole a fowl, one stole clothing, another a brooch, while another stole 40

\textsuperscript{68} ISG Parramatta, Annual Report, 1910. p.3.
\textsuperscript{69} ISG Parramatta, Register of Committals. 1906-1910.
\textsuperscript{70} ISG Parramatta, Annual Report, 1913. p.6.
\textsuperscript{71} Probably because of the workings of the new 'age of consent' law.
\textsuperscript{72} ISG Parramatta, Register of Committals. 1906-1917.
\textsuperscript{73} van Krieken notes the appalling logic of this 'protection.' Van Krieken, op cit p.93
yards of calico. Under the Act of 1866 these girls would have been sent to the Reformatory with a definite sentence. The practice of committing a child to an institution for many years for an offence for which an adult would receive a small fine or a few days in gaol continued to be looked on as 'rescuing' the child.

A high proportion of the charges made against girls, particularly those charged as uncontrollable, were followed by the notation 'Breach of conditions' or 'Breach of probation'. This notation was made against forty percent of 'uncontrollable' girls in 1908. It seems clear that if immorality was not proved the court was trying some form of probation before committing girls to the Industrial School, although only eighty-eight girls are listed from the Metropolitan Court as having been placed on probation between 1906 and 1910.

The transfers by Ministerial authority provide a number of clues as to the real function of the school in these years. Many of the girls admitted had already had some institutional experience (in Church Homes) or had been under the care of the State Children Relief Board. State wards made up an abnormally high proportion of girls committed to Parramatta and to kindred institutions. The iniquitous practice of discharging girls from the State Children Relief Board to Parramatta and to other kindred institutions on the authority of the Minister continued during the lifetime of the Board. Alex Thompson told a Select Committee that between five and ten girls were sent to Parramatta each year at the request of the President of the Board, usually before the Minister's consent was obtained. He described the girls involved:

The girls may be absconders who have been tried in several homes, or they may have been found to have immoral tendencies, or they may be recalcitrant.

74 ISG Parramatta, Register of Committals, 1906-1910.
75 Ibid, 1908.
76 SCR Annual Reports 1906-1910
78 Minutes of Evidence taken before the 'Select Committee on the Removal of the State Children Relief Board'. NSWPP 1915-1916, p.457.
One definite purpose of the Industrial School was therefore to provide a gaol to enforce conformity amongst State wards.

This practice as well as the manner in which the committals from the Children's Court were handled determined that there was a greater degree of uniformity in the age of admissions to the school than there had been in previous years. The justice of transfers on Ministerial authority does not appear to have been questioned, although Commissioner Allard protested about a similar practice of transfers of boys to both Mittagong and Raymond Terrace.\textsuperscript{79} It also makes Mackellar's expressed horror at the committal of girls to Parramatta questionable.

An important factor in determining the way the Act was implemented was the sharp rise in the incidence of gonorrhoea in the early 1900s.\textsuperscript{80} Although this could be regarded as an inevitable aftermath of the Boer War, the girls were regarded as being the ones who spread venereal disease.\textsuperscript{81} The arrest and isolation of sufferers was regarded as important. The treatment of venereal disease became an important function of the institution. There may be some significance in the facts that in 1908, when the American fleet visited Sydney, there were more committals than usual, that the fact that girls were arrested with sailors is noted several times, as are specific mentions of venereal disease.\textsuperscript{82} The health of the visiting fleet could have been as important as the health of the resident fleet, or their custom needed to be diverted into approved channels.

Thompson's account of the characteristics of the girls in 1911 makes it obvious that there was great selectivity of committals and transfers, leaving the Industrial School with those whom other institutions\textsuperscript{83} did not want:

As the average age of admission to this Institution has increased in recent years, the

\textsuperscript{80} See previous chapter.  
\textsuperscript{81} ISG Parramatta, Annual Report, 1914, p.9. This was a frequently expressed belief. Walter Bethel uses the phrase 'spread throughout the State by these girls' in Child Welfare Department Report for Years 1921-25. p.9.  
\textsuperscript{82} This would support Kay Daniels' view  
proportion of girls of normal intellectuality has diminished whilst the proportion of dull, peculiar, morbid and imbecile types has increased.\textsuperscript{84} He also remarked on the lack of proper education and want of proper feeding and noted

the arrested mental development of many girls sent from remote country areas, some of whom [had] been taken out of incredibly immoral surroundings.\textsuperscript{85}

This remark is confirmed by the accounts given of activities of the State Children Relief Board's Officers in some parts of the State.\textsuperscript{86} Of the 613 girls admitted to the School between 1906 and 1917 only 186 came from country areas,\textsuperscript{87} but many of them appear to have been regarded as subnormal. The number of country girls who were retained in the institution until they were eighteen without being allowed a conditional discharge suggests that many of them were considered to be unemployable.\textsuperscript{88}

A close scrutiny of the figures provided by the State Children Relief Board, those provided by the Children's Court and the internal figures provided by the Industrial School for Girls thus gives the distinct impression that the school was being used as a venereal diseases clinic\textsuperscript{89} (largely represented by girls who were charged as neglected or vagrant), as a Reformatory for thieves, for refractories (represented by the the girls transferred from the State Children Relief Board either because they were incompetent at apprenticeship or were insubordinate, and some of the uncontrollables), and as a holding centre for many feeble-minded girls, while the task of rehabilitating more than twice as many as were sent to the Industrial School was being relegated to religious institutions.

Whether the arrest and incarceration of 'immoral' girls resulted in the 'reformation' of those girls or not, the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{84} ISG Parramatta, Annual Report 1911, p.6.
\item \textsuperscript{85} ibid
\item \textsuperscript{86} SCR, President's Annual Report 1907, pp.24 and 48
\item \textsuperscript{87} ISG Parramatta, Annual Report, 1917.
\item \textsuperscript{88} The inability of the institution's staff to provide the necessary supervision could also have affected this.
\item \textsuperscript{89} Between 1906 and 1909 there were 33 cases of gonorrhoea, 53 of vaginitis and one of syphilis. ISG Parramatta, Annual Report, 1913, p.6.
\end{itemize}
effect of their disappearance from the potential prostitution market for several years would have improved the situation of those brothels and prostitutes who were permitted to remain in business. This would have assisted materially in keeping the control of prostitution firmly in the hands of the police and later in the takeover of prostitution by organised crime. The other Acts which ensured this were the Police Offences Amendment Act and the Prisoner's Detention Act which were both passed in 1908. These two Acts gave Police de facto control of both adult prostitution and venereal disease amongst women. Those establishments which could afford to withstand the fines involved for prostitution-related offences, or preferably, come to other arrangements, were able to continue. Elimination of juvenile competition and juvenile disease was a requisite part of obtaining or retaining control.\footnote{This conclusion agrees in substance with Judith Allen's in J. Allen \textit{op. cit} 217-220} It is reasonable to suggest that, in spite of Mackellar's views and the efforts of the religious organisations and the Industrial School which sought to reform the girls, the main beneficiaries of the arrest of these girls were the brothel keepers and those who extracted money from them. The management of the School could have had little or no effect on this result.

Thompson was the first superintendent of the Industrial School for Girls in whose regime no riot is recorded. He seems to have removed a good deal of the brutality of his predecessors but had little or no effect on the monotony and drudgery of the prescribed curriculum. His 'success' lay rather in his ability to get the girls to accept the routine and drudgery of the institution, not in abolishing it.

During his teaching service, particularly in his years on the Sobraon, Thompson had learnt the desirability of gaining willing cooperation from his pupils. In his final Report, as schoolmaster, to the superintendent of the Sobraon he stated:

\begin{quote}
The many inducements held out by the regulations of the ship to encourage good conduct have served to considerably lighten the work in the
\end{quote}
schoolroom, and have materially assisted in obtaining good results.\textsuperscript{91}

Explaining his preference for an institution for training girls over the 'emotional appeal' of homes he wrote:

The beneficial effects of discipline in its inculcation of habits of order and prompt obedience, the organising effect that the routine of an institution has upon the activities of a child and its insistence [sic] that the drudgery of life must be faced, the elevating and educative results of the training imparted, which by raising the industrial efficiency of the child, raises, at the same time her self-respect by giving her a consciousness of greater social usefulness; the association with officers of an educated and cultured class, all tend much more effectually to the permanent improvement of the girl than any emotional appeal.\textsuperscript{92}

This was, of course, propaganda for the system of institutionalisation, and, as might be expected from this philosophy, little change was made in the tasks performed by the inmates. Girls were occupied at sewing, laundry, cooking or house cleaning and some schoolwork. Because the girls were, on average, older than girls in previous years, less time was spent in the school.\textsuperscript{93} The aim of the schoolroom was to accustom girls to discipline and to teach them to read, to write a letter and do basic household arithmetic, but domestic training always took precedence.\textsuperscript{94} In 1911 evening classes were arranged in ordinary schoolwork for those who had been exempted from classwork before reaching the required standard.\textsuperscript{95} It is reasonable to assume that many of the girls over fourteen who had not reached the requisite standard of education were slow learners with mental or emotional disabilities. To expect such girls to profit by evening classes after a day spent, for example, in the laundry was little short of ludicrous. It seems possible that the purpose of the evening classes was as much to maintain strict supervision over the girls as it was to teach them.\textsuperscript{96}

\textsuperscript{91} NSS Sobraon, Superintendent's Report 1900, p.7.
\textsuperscript{92} ISG Parramatta, Annual Report 1910, p.4.
\textsuperscript{93} ISG Parramatta, Annual Report 1907, p.3.
\textsuperscript{94} ibid. p.3.
\textsuperscript{95} ISG Parramatta, Annual Report, 1910, p.9.
\textsuperscript{96} While there are notable exceptions, physically or mentally retarded girls are usually as incompetent at such crafts as crochet or knitting as they are at schoolwork.
Physical drill became a daily feature of the routine for girls in all divisions. This was such a new departure that assistance from Department of Public Instruction's supervisors had to be obtained to train the teachers. The influence of Neitenstein's theories is in evidence here.

The weekly visit of a cookery teacher and work in the inmates' kitchen sufficed for cookery training until 1910 when a full-time cookery teacher was appointed. Girls were then allowed to eat half of what they cooked. Getting into the cookery class became a highly prized privilege.

Apart from this meal on the days when a girl was in cookery classes, the meals available differed only marginally from those of previous years. The laundry for the Hurlstone Agricultural Continuation School and the towels in use by the officers of the Department of Public Instruction provided nearly as much additional laundry after 1905 as the Women Teachers' Training College had done before that time. Laundry from the metropolitan cookery schools was added in 1915. The drudgery of life in the institution was no less than it had ever been. Thompson did not attempt to reduce this monotony. He believed that

We cannot escape the drudgery and routine of life, and a realisation of this fact and the cultivation of a habit of doing what has to be done will in the end add considerably to our happiness. A habit of prompt obedience is something without which society cannot work smoothly.

Central to Thompson's strategy were his efforts to obtain the cooperation of both the girls and their parents. Whereas previous superintendents had deplored the influence of the home and tried to keep the parents and girls apart, Thompson regarded the parents' support as vital. The six-monthly visiting arrangements which had obtained for thirty years were altered to monthly and then fortnightly visits. In addition to these visits Thompson made it a practice to take the mother

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98 ISG Parramatta, Annual Report 1907, p.3.
100 ibid, p. 9. Williamson op cit (pt 2) p.321
102 ISG Parramatta, Annual Report 1907, p.3.
103 ISG Parramatta, Annual Report. 1908 p.5.
of a new girl round the institution on a non-visiting day so that she could see the school in its normal condition.\textsuperscript{104} Letters to parents were not restricted. A useful substitute for overt censorship was devised by having all letters written in the classroom.\textsuperscript{105}

Thompson also had a standard approach to a girl:

To the new girl on arrival it is carefully explained that she must not suppose that she is being punished for what she has done. The State has placed her in my care because it is considered that the life she was leading is not only a dangerous one, but one certain to result in her growing up a bad woman. As this is something no nation desires, it is only natural that she should have been placed with me so that she can be trained aright...The hope is at once held out to her of shortening her period of detention by good conduct; in any case it is impressed on her that any application made for discharge is almost sure to fail if I cannot report well concerning her conduct here.\textsuperscript{106}

While this statement was probably written to impress the Minister and others who read it that Thompson understood the rationale behind the institution, his ability to promise a possible early release was an incentive to good behaviour, although in fact it gave less freedom than the former system of early release.

The class/mark system was also applied as before. The only difference was that any money received could be spent on such things as ribbons and fancywork cottons.\textsuperscript{107} Probably more important than either direct rewards or punishments was the abolition of practices and punishments which Thompson (and, no doubt, the girls) regarded as degrading. The practice of shaving heads for insubordination had been abandoned by about 1908\textsuperscript{108} although hair was still being cut very short on admission until 1912.\textsuperscript{109} The 1910 Report implies that

\begin{itemize}
    \item[\textsuperscript{104}] \textit{ibid}, p.3.
    \item[\textsuperscript{105}] ISG Parramatta, \textit{Annual Report} 1907, p.3.
    \item[\textsuperscript{106}] ISG Parramatta, \textit{Annual Report} 1910, p.7. The idea that she was being 'rescued' was being instilled into the girl.
    \item[\textsuperscript{107}] \textit{ibid}, p.10.
    \item[\textsuperscript{108}] 'Fincham's Report' included in 'Report on the General Organisation, Control and Administration; with Special Reference to State Welfare Institutions.' (Mr JE McCulloch) in \textit{NSWPP}, 1934/5. 5th Session, Vol.1, pp. 135-284 [McCulloch's Report]
    \item[\textsuperscript{109}] ISG Parramatta, \textit{Annual Report} 1913, p.3.
\end{itemize}
locking-up had ceased to be used as a punishment before the disused gaol cells were remodelled to become a second dining room.\textsuperscript{110} However, the inclusion of ten pairs of handcuffs in stock in 1909 suggests that the possibility of stringent methods being required was not overlooked.\textsuperscript{111}

In 1911 Thompson claimed that

many changes have been made in the direction of kinder and more considerate treatment of the girls. The severity of the discipline has been considerably reduced, degrading forms of dress such as white stockings, degrading punishments such as hair cutting were abolished and the atmosphere of the place in every way made to conform more to that of a good class educational establishment.\textsuperscript{112}

While the claim is somewhat exaggerated, the balance of evidence would suggest that conditions in the institution were less brutal. A Departmental Committee which examined the institution thoroughly in 1913 made only recommendations concerning the drabness of the dress, the shortness of hair, the deprivation of privileges in the cases of misbehaviour and the need for the girls to learn gardening.\textsuperscript{113} After a thorough investigation of the 'Administration of the Acts relating to State Children', Commissioner Allard wrote:

So far as the supervision and management of the institutions\textsuperscript{114} are concerned, the arrangements for the girls' educating, training in simple domestic duties, such as cooking, dressmaking &c., and on the lighter side of instruction, in music and singing, everything is well done; and the Department and the girls have the advantage of a highly enthusiastic superintendent in the person of Mr A Thompson, who has undoubtedly made his life's work also his life's study.\textsuperscript{115}

Praise such as this in a report that was highly critical of many of the other institutions\textsuperscript{116} would suggest that Thompson was maintaining a well-run institution.

\textsuperscript{110} ISG Parramatta, Annual Report, 1910, p.6. New 'isolation' cells had been built in 1899.
\textsuperscript{111} ISG Parramatta Stock Book, 1909-1912, p.111.
\textsuperscript{112} ISG Parramatta, Annual Report, 1911, p.1.
\textsuperscript{113} ISG Parramatta, Annual Report 1913, p.3.
\textsuperscript{114} Allard treated the Training School set up in the grounds of the Industrial School as a separate institution.
\textsuperscript{115} Allard's Report, p.467.
\textsuperscript{116} Including the Mittagong Farm Home
To do this the staff had to be efficient enough to carry out the superintendent's ideas. Thompson believed that a staff to handle the daily routine of the school needed 'something more than mere capability to instruct in domestic work', and set out to obtain a specially picked staff.\textsuperscript{117} By 1909 he was suggesting that only people who had a proper preliminary training should be employed at the school.\textsuperscript{118} In the following year, after declaring that he required that any woman employed 'should correspond to the best class of mistresses of households in a good middle-class home', he went on to state that the right type of woman had assisted 'as much as anything else to root out the last vestiges of any riotous tendencies on the part of the inmates'.\textsuperscript{119} This praise of the staff was obviously designed to counter Mackellar's belief in the need for the influence of religious women. The girls were intended to absorb the values of the mistresses of good middle-class homes.

Defending the institution's discipline, Thompson stated, 'All we insist upon is the same prompt and respectful obedience to orders as we expect to see in any well conducted home or school...The so-called rigid routine of institution life is particularly beneficial in the case of young people, as it breaks down that objection to restraint that dislike to [sic] a regular and orderly life so noticeable in youth.\textsuperscript{120} He deplored the absence of healthy interests in the girls and their inability to amuse themselves except at childish games and complained that 'they neither read, sew, knit, crochet or attempt any form of art.'\textsuperscript{121} While 'good outdoor games' were encouraged in daylight hours because of the physical benefit to be derived, he sought to interest the girls in flower garden work and fancywork. Reading, singing, reciting and indoor games were also encouraged.\textsuperscript{122}

\textsuperscript{117} ISG Parramatta, Annual Report, 1907 p.6
\textsuperscript{118} He does not suggest where that training could be obtained.
\textsuperscript{119} ISG Parramatta, Annual Report 1910, p.7.
\textsuperscript{120} \textit{ibid}, p.8.
\textsuperscript{121} \textit{ibid}, p.9. As Thompson had taught at both Fort Street and Blackfriars, his failure to realise that such hobbies were completely irrelevant to most inner city dwellers is puzzling.
\textsuperscript{122} \textit{ibid}, p.9.
The most important change in the life of the institution at this time was in the method of discharges. A few early discharges show that the Minister could effect a transfer from Parramatta if it could be established that the girl could not profit by the regime there.\textsuperscript{123} In 1906 three girls were transferred to the Cottage Homes run by the State Children Relief Board at Mittagong. One of these girls was an imbecile, one was an epileptic and one girl had a wooden leg. Later an epileptic was sent to the Cottage Homes at Pennant Hills Road and a girl with 'feeble health' was sent to Mittagong.\textsuperscript{124} Girls who were sent to Mittagong were employed under supervision, sewing or doing laundry for the other homes. They, and other similarly affected girls often stayed in these homes till they were about thirty when they were transferred to Newington Asylum.\textsuperscript{125}

The promise to recommend an early discharge was carried out whenever it was thought suitable. The system of discharges was altered in 1908 in accordance with the new Act. Before the passing of the Neglected Children and Juvenile Offenders Act a girl could be either apprenticed, discharged by Executive authority or discharged at eighteen. While the new Act did not preclude apprenticeship, it really threw the responsibility for ensuring the satisfactory fulfilment of the indentures by both parties on the superintendent.\textsuperscript{126} Thompson saw clearly that the past history of the apprenticeship system indicated that success in this form of discharge was unlikely.\textsuperscript{127} Conditional discharge was at the recommendation of the superintendent, endorsed by the Minister and approved by the Governor in Council. During 1908-1910 the pattern of discharge was:

\begin{footnotes}
\item[123] These transfers were open to the same abuse as transfers to Parramatta were.
\item[124] ISG Parramatta, Admission, Discharge and After Career Register 1906-1910 passim.
\item[125] In 1917 and 1918, 27 were discharged to the Reception House and in 1918, 27 were 'discharged from records'. SCRBR Annual Reports, 1917 p.14 and 1918 p.9 (following disclosure of the retention of 'children' in PSB Inquiry.)
\item[126] Act No.16, 1905. Clause 39
\item[127] ISG Parramatta, Annual Report 1910, p.10.
\end{footnotes}
### Table 11.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ISG Parramatta Discharges 1908-1910</th>
<th>1908</th>
<th>1909</th>
<th>1910</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boarding Out Officer</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As apprentices</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Governor in Council</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At eighteen</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Under the original Act, release by Executive authority had been unconditional. If a girl again offended she had to be charged before a court. Control over such girls thus ceased at sixteen. After 1906 the method of conditional release and its supervision was worked out so that control over the girls was maintained until they were eighteen. The first releases, in 1907, were made simply by transferring the girls to the State Children Relief Board to be boarded out to their own mothers. They were then supervised by the Board's inspectors. Thompson regarded this method as unsatisfactory because it meant that the school lost direct supervision.\(^{128}\) From 1908 girls who were conditionally discharged to their own parents were visited regularly at their homes by an officer of the institution, who had the power to have them summarily returned to the school. This ensured that control was maintained until a girl was eighteen.\(^{129}\)

The occupations chosen by the girls who were conditionally released to their parents between June, 1908 and December, 1910 make an interesting commentary on the previous practice of sending them all to housework.\(^{130}\)

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\(^{130}\) The numbers are as given by Thompson. They do not add up to 32 as he says.
TABLE 11.5

Parramatta Occupations chosen by girls released to parents between June, 1908 and December 1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Domestic service</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dressmaking</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shops</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>factory work</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>restaurants</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kept at home</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ISG Parramatta Annual Report 1910, p.10

In 1910 Thompson abandoned the old apprenticeship system entirely and began a system whereby girls for whom conditional discharge to their own homes was considered unsuitable, were conditionally discharged to domestic situations under the care of the institution. They were paid as ordinary servants, usually receiving about eight shillings a week, of which they were allowed to keep two shillings as pocket money. From the balance they were expected to clothe themselves, under supervision. One of the officers from the school visited them about twice a month. It was expected that their wages would rise as their service improved. The agreement was subject to a week's notice on either side.131 This system had a number of obvious flaws. For example, a girl who was dismissed or gave notice had to return to the institution unless she could find a situation of which the superintendent approved in that week. In the event of an unsatisfactory position the girl's choice was, therefore, limited. At the same time it offered some considerable improvements over the apprenticeship system.

While the school provided a few girls for domestic service, it continued a trend of keeping girls in custody until they were eighteen. This trend was already in evidence when the school moved to Parramatta. Of 613 girls who were admitted to Parramatta between 1906 and 1917, only 181 girls were discharged before they were eighteen. Of these, 105 completed their conditional discharge, 42 were returned and 34 were still 'on conditional discharge' at the end of 1917.132 For nearly seventy percent of the girls, committal to the

131 ibid, pp.10-11.
school had become a gaol sentence of at least two years and sometimes as much as five. For the unfortunates who lacked relatives to whom they could be discharged, domestic service at pittance rates was still the fate no matter when they were discharged.

Conclusion

With the passing of the Neglected Children and Juvenile Offenders' Act the Industrial School for Girls became one of a number of 'kindred institutions' which undertook the disciplining and management of adolescent girls who were either sexually active or whom police or parents feared might become sexually active. It also housed petty thieves and girls who could not, or would not obtain employment. Its major functions were, however, to provide a lock hospital, to isolate girls suspected of immorality and to control State apprentices who did not carry out the terms of their apprenticeship.

The period in which Alex Thompson was superintendent of the Industrial School for Girls would appear to have been less troubled by acts of insubordination than any previous period. While in institutions like the Industrial School the absence of reports of riots does not necessarily mean that there were none, conditions existing at the time would have made the suppression of such information difficult.133

This absence of riotous behaviour would, no doubt, have made the school less unpleasant. There is little to suggest that it was either particularly pleasant or that the girls profited to any great extent from their sojourn in the institution. Thompson saw the girls under his charge as 'without worthy ambitions and eager to shirk the drudgery and routine of life.'134 Caning, drilling and standing out are still mentioned as punishments, although their incidence appears to have been considerably lessened.135 Thompson

133 The desire of the State Children Relief Board to obtain control of Parramatta and the practice of fortnightly visiting would have meant that the girls were under continual scrutiny.
135 Ibid.
claimed in 1911 that 'low abuse of officers, indecent actions and objectionable language' was by then comparatively rare.\textsuperscript{136} As it appears likely that he had obtained the 'consent' of the girls and their parents to their incarceration, this is probably true. He continued as superintendent until 1923 when he became second secretary in the newly-formed Child Welfare Department.\textsuperscript{137}

Of the superintendents who controlled the Industrial for Girls before the advent of the Child Welfare Department, Alex Thompson was undoubtedly the most 'successful'. Under his supervision the school was not wracked by the insubordination, riots and absconding which had marked the regimes of his predecessors.\textsuperscript{138} It seems a reasonable assumption that part of his 'success' can be attributed to his outstanding ability as a teacher. His record of service would indicate that the Department considered him exceptional. The fact that he was able to keep good order in the school has tended to hide the fact that he administered a system whose role and function were even more repressive than that of the earlier schools.

This repression might possibly be justified if it could be shown to have benefited the girls. This is far from true. Few girls who left the School (or any of its kindred institutions) were really enabled to earn a reasonably paid wage. Experience in laundry work using domestic appliances was of no use for factory employment, and the single-task system used in the school did not prepare them for managing a household laundry. The unpaid labour of so many women and girls in charitable institutions depressed wages in the industry. The somewhat coarse materials sewn would not have prepared them for dressmaking. At best they might have been able to get piecework which was notoriously underpaid. The cooking of the standard institutional fare, apart from the meat cooked for the officers, did not prepare for household

\textsuperscript{136} ibid.
\textsuperscript{137} He later became Director of Child Welfare. Criticism of his administration by Commissioner McCulloch led to his retirement in 1934. McCulloch's Report p.135-284.
\textsuperscript{138} And of most of his successors. P.Quinn, 'We ask for bread and are given stones The Girls Industrial School Parramatta, 1941-1961' JRAHS April 1988 p.158-172
cooking. The housework in both the institution and the officers' quarters would have prepared them for work in lower middle-class homes at best, and those homes were too zealous for their 'respectability' to employ 'immoral' girls. The problems faced by the girls on discharge were usually as great, or greater, than they were on admission.

The continuation of the School in spite of the fact that it was not providing much cheap labour depended on the fact that its existence as a gaol served other powerful interests. It served the interests of the State Children Relief Board by providing a gaol for its recalcitrant apprentices as well as for the absconders and the incorrigibles from the kindred institutions which were favoured by Charles Mackellar.\(^{139}\) It provided a lock hospital which treated the younger 'immoral' girls who would otherwise have made the combined Police Offences Act and Prisoners Detention Act less effective. The setting up of new compulsory Military Training Camps required additional safeguards to protect the 'health' of the cadets.\(^{140}\) The suppression of the visible symptoms of prostitution as well as other 'vices' was an essential feature of Government policy between 1890 and 1910. Continuation of the Industrial School was seen as part of this 'morals' crusade.

Police removal of the younger competitors of the 'better' brothels was seen as rescuing these girls. While it is reasonable to suggest that the police and the 'better' brothels profited more from the School than the girls did, there were sufficient influential groups who favoured the continuation of the Institution to ensure that it did so.

The passing of the Neglected Children and Juvenile Offenders' Act marks the pinnacle of success of the Environmentalist approach to Child Welfare movement. The principal feature of this approach was the opposition to institutionalisation as a means of promoting children's welfare. The fact that the Industrial School for Girls

\(^{139}\) Mackellar's use of the Institution in spite of his public criticism of it would suggest that he regarded it as the last resort

\(^{140}\) That some of the girls arrested were associating with cadets becomes evident after 1908
continued is a sure indication that its function was not a welfare one. Nor was its purpose educational. As Williamson says, the profitability of the laundry ensured its continuation and hindered methods of educational reform, so that its value as an educational institution was low. Its function as a Reformatory for immoral girls remained its publicly stated one, and, as Willis points out, the attitude to girls did not change.

The major contribution of this chapter lies in its explanation of the reasons for the continuation of the Industrial School for Girls at a time when the publicly expressed ideology was opposed to institutionalisation. By demonstrating the role of the Industrial School for Girls as the coercive institution which allowed the nominally voluntary kindred institutions to be compulsory in fact,¹⁴¹ and by providing the lock hospital to which girls under eighteen¹⁴² could be transferred, this thesis shows clearly the role of the school in the control of venereal disease. The role of the Industrial School as a gaol for 'uncontrollable' State wards is also clearly indicated.

Those historians who accept Mackellar's objections to Parramatta as proof of his opposition to institutionalisation, as both Garton and Willis do, fail to see the use which Mackellar made of the Parramatta School as a gaol to ensure the successful working of both his own State Children Relief Board and of the kindred institutions for 'fallen women'. This role as well as its role as a lock hospital ensured the continuation of the Industrial School for Girls.

¹⁴¹ A girl committed to one of these institutions could be transferred to Parramatta without trial. If she absconded she could be arrested and sent to Parramatta. Act No.16, 1905 Cl.35
¹⁴² Although a girl arrested under the 1905 Act had to be under sixteen, Ministerial control over the girl remained until she was eighteen. Ibid Clause 29
CHAPTER XII

THE LINCHPINS

Because of the manner in which the relevant Acts were administered, the Industrial Schools became the central coercive element in many aspects of juvenile welfare, justice, employment, health and education throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century. The declared purpose of the Schools at the time of their inception, like that of the earlier childcare institutions, was the rescuing of 'neglected' children from their parents and training them to be good workers or good wives and mothers. The proponents of the Industrial Schools Act had envisaged thousands of children being affected by it, but many factors intervened between the passing of the Act and its practical application.¹ These factors affected the enrolments to the schools, the curriculum which could be applied and the function which the schools served in the community.

The Act which James Martin believed would be applied to four or five thousand children in its first years enmeshed only a tiny fraction of that number each year and only a small proportion of those were actually the children for whom it was supposedly designed. At the same time the schools can be seen to have fulfilled functions whose importance was much greater than their size would suggest.

Three aspects of the Act itself allowed the outcomes of the administration of the Act to differ from the stated intentions of its proponents. The first of these was that the Act was permissive, not obligatory, in that it provided that any person might charge a child.² This enabled the police to select those whom they wished to arrest and to ensure conviction by forcing the cooperation of parents.

¹ In assessing the place of the Industrial Schools in the Welfare of the nineteenth Century I have drawn on information in my thesis 'Children in Care from 1890 to 1925.'
² 30 Vic. No.2 Clause 4
The second factor was that the Act required that the warrant committing a child to an Industrial School should be 'in the form or to the effect set forth in Schedule A of the Act.' This Clause ensured that regardless of the real reasons for committal, the charge laid was in terms of the Act and that neither the Superintendent nor the Colonial Secretary needed to be informed of the actual reason for the arrest. After 1874 considerably more information was provided with the warrants, on the recommendation of the Charities Commission, but the Superintendent was not permitted to reject a child on the grounds of unsuitability. The transformation of the school from Industrial School to Reformatory, or, in the case of the Girls' School to a Lock Hospital, was thus beyond the control of the Superintendent.

The third major weakness was that although provision was made for a Superintendent to apprentice a child and to proceed against a person who was not performing the conditions of the contract of apprenticeship or was unfit to have further control of the apprentice, no provision was made for any supervision of the apprenticeship. The result of this weakness was that, despite strenuous efforts by some superintendents, the fate of the apprentice really depended on the 'goodwill' of employers. The combined results of these three weaknesses was to separate the control of both of the Schools into three units—admissions, administration and apprenticeships, and to allow different groups to profit by each aspect.

The effect of the Act in the first fifteen years on both Schools is clear. Once the Industrial Schools were established they were used to increase the number of children under control and to enforce retention of children in the other welfare institutions and the fulfilment of their apprenticeships. The Act's provisions became useful to many groups within the community. Police, magistrates, gaolers, destitute parents, parents of petty delinquents or of defective children and country employers all had strong reasons to appreciate the existence of the schools.

3 ibid Clause 6
4 ibid Clauses 11,12 and 13
The Industrial Schools were both a continuation and an expansion of the Orphanages and the Asylum for Destitute Children. The schools allowed for the admission of children up to the age of sixteen as compared with the nine or ten years old admissions to the Orphanages or the Asylum for Destitute Children. Inmates of these institutions who absconded could be committed to the Industrial Schools which thus became legal enforcers of other welfare institutions.

The Industrial Schools were also central to ensuring that children from other institutions, as well as their own apprentices, carried out the terms of their apprenticeship. Most other institutions were unwilling or unable to accept returned, unsatisfactory apprentices. These could now be charged with having no ostensible legal occupation and committed to the Industrial Schools. Girls whom the Female School of Industry, the Church Refuge and the Benevolent Asylum refused readmission, were committed to Newcastle at about the same time as failed apprentices from the Randwick Asylum and the Protestant Orphanage were committed to the Vernon. The Industrial Schools thereby ensured that apprenticeships from other institutions were legally enforced.

The assistance which the Industrial Schools provided to the police in the maintenance of street order and the solution of petty crimes is clear. Members of juvenile gangs, boys who slept out, boys who committed acts of petty larceny, male or female children of petty thieves or prostitutes, and freelance juvenile prostitutes could be dealt with under the Act. The Industrial Schools Act thereby became an essential weapon in the hands of police in their dealings with juveniles.

The Industrial Schools Act sought to ensure that poorer parents who wished to retain their children made strenuous efforts to conceal their poverty and to appear 'respectable'. That legislators and others believed that the schools would diminish the number of the pauper class is apparent. Even while upholding the demand for the transfer of the Girls

5 *Newcastle Chronicle*, 18/3/71.
6 ISG Warrants No. 30, 29 and 141. VEB 204 and 106
7 Chapters 2 and 7
School from Newcastle to Biloela the editor of the *Newcastle Chronicle* could stress that

> [t]he necessity for continuing our efforts to restrain children from increasing the already too large criminal and pauper class still exists...Drunkens and improvident persons there always will be to the end of the world, and it is our duty to see that neither their offspring nor through them— the general public suffer from the vices of the parent.\(^8\)

At the same time James Martin was convinced that by rescuing poorer children from their parents they were also protecting the well-to-do,\(^9\) and Parkes saw the benefit to Australian commerce.\(^10\)

The Industrial Schools also provided a good deal of propaganda for the belief that poverty was the result of drunkenness, improvidence or criminality on the part of parents. The role of the Industrial Schools in maintaining these beliefs should not be underrated. Both the location of the schools and the publicity which they received helped to propagate the belief that the State was acting in the interests of 'neglected' children by removing them from their improvident or criminal parents.

As the means of physically separating the children from their parents the sites of the two Industrial Schools were well chosen. The *Vernon*, attractively 'dressed' and on show in Farm Cove during its first few years, was more completely separated from the relatives and friends of the boys than any land institution would have been, but without the prison appearance which most of those required.\(^11\) The ship was designed to illustrate the generosity of the State in its attempt to nullify the effects of parental neglect.

Even in its first institution the girls were presented as outcasts who were best kept out of sight. When the Girls' School was established at Newcastle, the only convenient

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8 *Newcastle Chronicle* 18/3/71
9 Martin's speech in *The Empire* 9th August, 1866.
10 Parkes's 'Minute Paper for the Executive Council' included in CSIL Special Bundle Nautical Ship Vernon 1865-67. 4/761.2
11 The security of the ship became almost absolute when it was moved to a position off Cockatoo Island in 1875.
access for city parents was the night boat from Sydney. Return fare was a guinea, more than half of the average weekly male wage, and considerably more than most women earned per week. After 1878 visits were allowed only at six-monthly intervals to either institution.

Early modes of publicity for each of the schools give some indication of the impressions that were being conveyed to the public. On the Vernon regular manning of yards and other 'show' drills provided impressive public displays. As the Girls' School was built about ten metres below the level of Newcomen Street, all outdoor activities were visible to onlookers. None of these outdoor activities were organised, therefore the situation was not conducive to 'seemly' behaviour. For the boys the propaganda was positive, often amounting to good showmanship. For the girls a totally negative approach was in keeping with the lack of staff or funds for the project and the relative unimportance of the female worker.

The other major vehicle for publicity was the Annual Report which was submitted by the superintendent to the relevant Minister and, in the case of the School Ships, tabled in Parliament and printed. In his last Report, Superintendent Mein refers to 'the waifs of the street' and the ship's purpose as 'reclaiming destitute children'. He also speaks of 'worthless parents...who pass for respectable

12 Apart from the minority admitted from Newcastle and nearby, the school was inaccessible to most country parents.
13 Newcastle Chronicle 29/2/68, advertisement.
14 Wages quoted in 1860 were: labourers seven to nine shillings per day. Farmers thirty-five shillings per week plus rations.[Select Inquiry into the Condition of the Working Classes of the Metropolis. p.8] The servants at ISG Newcastle received twenty-five pounds per year in 1867. [CSIL 67/5719]
15 NSS Sobroon, Regulations Regulation 58.
16 During Mein's regime yards were manned routinely every Wednesday morning.
17 This situation was discreetly referred to at the Charities Commission as a 'punchbowl'. A more realistic description would be 'bearpit'. Mrs King complained of the unsettling effect on the girls in her second Report. CSIL 67/5599
18 Annual Reports were published for the School Ships from the beginning. Those for the Girls' School were submitted to the relevant Minister but were not published for the first thirty years.
persons and mix with gentlefolk'. 19 Similar accounts as to the unfitness of parents were produced by Neitenstein. After declaring that an idea of the reasons for the boys' admissions [could] be formed from a table relating to the parentage of the boys, he stated 'these are bad home training and parental neglect'. 20 Here again a study of the actual admissions would suggest that this was mostly propaganda. 21

The publicity concerning the Industrial School for Girls was of a different order. No Annual Reports were published for thirty years although these had been supplied. 22 Riots at all three locations were widely reported. Extant newspaper accounts reveal few efforts to show the school in a good light. 23 The general trend seems to have been to accept the view that the girls themselves were 'bad' and that they needed rescuing from their own vice and from their parents' perceived inability to correct that vice or their parents' contribution to that vice.

It was in the interests of many people to maintain the ideology of the need to rescue the children from their parents. This belief allowed a number of people to profit from the existence of the Act. In the first years after the passing of the Act the most obvious beneficiaries were the genuinely destitute children in the community, particularly those who were over nine years old and, therefore, not eligible for admission to either Orphanages or the Asylum for Destitute Children. For the first fifteen years these destitute children constituted the largest group of those who were committed to the Vernon or the Industrial School for Girls. 24 Throughout the life of both schools, children who had two parents 'present' were in a distinct minority. The benefit these destitute children received was a temporary one.

20 NSS Vernon, Annual Report 1886 pp.1 and 3.
21 The fact that the superintendents believed firmly that their school benefited the boys does not alter this.
22 The originals are in the Colonial Secretary's Letters and duplicates are in the Superintendent's Letter Books.
23 Parkes's newspaper handout in SMH of 14/2/68 was an obvious exception.
24 The schools provided food clothes and shelter for genuinely destitute children.
In return for the support which they received in the school, years of poorly supervised, poorly paid, unskilled apprenticeship were exacted. The length of the apprenticeship ensured that most remained in the poorest section of the community.

A group almost as large as those who were genuinely destitute, and often overlapping that group, were those children who had had their charges 'adjusted' either by magistrates, police or parents, (or all three) in order to avoid a gaol sentence. In the context of the times this can be assumed to be intended to protect the child. Again, the benefit must be seen as temporary. While the children escaped the 'contamination' of the gaol, they served a considerably longer 'sentence' than they would have in the gaol.

That some parents also saw in the Industrial Schools a place of asylum for their children is apparent. The major reason for this would appear to have been poverty, although a child's mental or physical defects are sometimes clearly the reason for admission. Apart from the admission of some defective children\textsuperscript{25} there is little to indicate in the earlier years that parents of boys were shelving their responsibilities on to the State. Evidence for the motives of parents and other relatives of girls is not as clear-cut as for the parents of the boys, but many charges appear to have been manipulated in the same way as those of boys were, and with the same motives.\textsuperscript{26}

The police, who would have had a good deal to say in the wording of the Act, were obvious beneficiaries. The task of keeping the streets free of adolescent gangs or soliciting girls, or of 'solving' minor offences became considerably easier when police could substitute a charge under the Industrial Schools Act for a minor offence. Selective use of the Act to remove young children (both boys and girls) from

\textsuperscript{25} A number of chronically ill boys were admitted. The deaths of ten such boys are recorded in the Vernon's Annual Reports up to 1895.

\textsuperscript{26} In an era when 'normal' women found the earning of a sufficient wage difficult, the plight of the 'subnormal' must have presented many problems for their families. It is also likely that police found the activities of these 'subnormal' girls more difficult to control.
their prostitute mothers and an even more selective arrest of older girls would suggest that the Act also placed the control of prostitution more firmly in the hands of the police. The possibility that this control was connected to a system of graft is also clear but has not been proved in this thesis.

While the Act purported to be aimed at preventing mothers from prostituting their daughters, there is very little evidence to suggest that this was the effect of the Act in city courts. The evidence rather suggests that the Act was used to supervise and protect 'approved' brothels,27 and to persuade parents to lay charges against their daughters ostensibly to protect them from gaol, but actually to keep them 'out of circulation' for a longer time than a gaol sentence would. On the other hand there is evidence that many of the older country girls who were sent to Newcastle for living with prostitutes were being prostituted by their mothers.28 Their arrest could indicate an attempt to suppress the activities of both older and younger prostitutes.29

Magistrates also found the Act convenient. Most gaols had a horrendous reputation for corrupting those who were committed to them.30 For this reason few magistrates were willing to commit a young boy to gaol for such offences as petty stealing and most tended to dismiss charges against all but the most persistent offender. Having accepted the propaganda that the Industrial Schools were designed to rescue the children from their vicious parents, those same magistrates were quite happy to alter a petty stealing charge to a charge under the Industrial Schools Act or to connive at its alteration by police and parents, in the belief that they were doing the boy a favour.31 In the same way magistrates may have hesitated to send young girls to prison, but, with their

27 ISG, Parramatta Register of Warrants Received. passim. Also discussion on Newcastle admissions Chapter 7
28 See Chapter 7. The possibility that both mother and daughter were also in competition with 'approved' brothels cannot be overlooked.
29 The probability that the mother of an adolescent prostitute was herself beyond her most lucrative years seems obvious.
30 This was the reason given by police for the presence of young boys in the streets or committing petty offences in the Inquiries of 1852-54 and 1859-60
31 See admission of boys to Vernon Chapter 2.
parents' consent, were prepared to commit them to an Industrial School to be reformed.

The Act suited gaoler in a number of ways. The practice of permitting women prisoners to take their young children to gaol with them ceased. These children could now be charged with 'living with thieves and prostitutes' (within the gaol). Boys who would previously have been committed to gaol, where they reputedly became ready pupils of seasoned offenders, were now committed to the School Ship.

The Industrial School for Girls also served many interests. The bad reputation of the school would have convinced girls and parents that any work was preferable to being sent to such a place. As an 'awful example' the school probably had a great effect. In the earlier years of the Industrial School, city parents who wished to prevent a 'wayward' daughter from being sent to gaol made use of the Act. Others may have sought to unload an unprofitable daughter onto the State. While the general tenor of evidence is that the girl wished to go her own way in sexual matters and an interested relative wanted her controlled, there is also evidence to suppose that police manipulated these charges in the same way as they manipulated charges against the boys. Relatives who feared the effect of gaol on their daughters found the Industrial School useful and probably felt very virtuous about the use they made of it.

The Industrial Schools benefited country employers of labour in two ways. Wives and children of country workers were regarded as 'encumbrances' whom employers often accepted grudgingly in order to retain labour. The death of a male breadwinner removed any reason for women or children to remain in country areas, but admission to Orphanages was a protracted business which mothers frequently resisted. The Industrial Schools Act allowed the arrest of a child if a mother had no visible means of support.

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32 Papers with CSIL 61/3108
33 See Chapter 2.
34 It is quite likely that all of these reasons had a simple economic basis.
Until the establishment of the State Children Relief Board in 1881, a major use of the Industrial Schools was to provide shelter for destitute country children. This fact was ignored by most people at the time.\textsuperscript{35} There is no public mention of the number of young children in the institution at Newcastle. More than one hundred girls under fourteen were admitted to Newcastle, most of them destitute and most of them from country districts. The Vernon received a majority of boys under eleven in its earlier years. The Act provided for the committal of these 'encumbrances' to the Vernon and their later return to the country as conscript labour.\textsuperscript{36}

Country employers obtained the greatest benefit from male apprenticeships in the earlier years. The tendency for apprentices to be sent to country service was in evidence in the Male Orphanage by the late 1840s\textsuperscript{37} and was equally clear in the Asylum for Destitute Children. The Industrial Schools admitted many children over the age of nine who would not have been eligible for other institutions. As boys over eleven needed to spend only one year on the ship before apprenticeship, the Industrial Schools could provide a more rapid flow of apprentices at less expense. Their number was increased by the improved retention rate of apprentices from other institutions which the Industrial Schools ensured. Country employers regarded the possible acquisition of this cheap, conscript labour with considerable favour.\textsuperscript{38}

The fact that so many disparate groups saw advantages in the workings of the Industrial Schools Act in its earliest years ensured the continuation of the schools. The numbers of children affected by the Act in its first years was not great

\textsuperscript{35} George Lucas notes the presence of 'some very good children' CSIL 71/1820 in Special Bundle 4/798.3.

\textsuperscript{36} The difficulties experienced by a destitute country woman can be seen in papers with 68/5236 read with Goulburn Herald 20/7/68. In this case a woman, probably with the connivance of both the Anglican Minister and the police, 'sent her children into the street to beg' when her children had been refused admission to the Destitute Asylum on the grounds that they were illegitimate.

\textsuperscript{37} See Introduction

\textsuperscript{38} In the earlier years Annual Reports reveal a constant demand for apprentices for unskilled country work. There was little demand for seamen and less for skilled trades.
but, as the proportion of children being returned to parents was much lower than the proportion returned from the Orphanages and Asylum for Destitute Children, the rate of apprenticeships was relatively high. Although there were some unsatisfactory apprentices, both schools were fulfilling a demand for unskilled workers in isolated country areas.

During the remainder of the nineteenth century the belief that 'neglected' children were being rescued from their unworthy parents was assiduously fostered, particularly in the Annual Reports of the Nautical School Ships, but the ways in which the Act was implemented changed in many respects after the introduction of the State Children Relief Act in 1881 and again after the Amendment to that Act in 1896 and after the introduction of the Neglected Children And Juvenile Offenders' Act in 1905. After each change the functions of the Industrial Schools changed, largely to ensure that the Schools enabled the smooth working of the other Acts. Most of these alterations signal a change in the elite perception of the ability of the more 'respectable' working-class families to train children in ways of which the elite approved. The punitive role of the Industrial Schools was fundamental to these changes.

The first move towards change came with the Royal Commission into the Charities of the Colony in 1872-3. While the Commissioners did not display any new perception of poorer families, the Commission's novelty lay in the fact that the elite group of reformers who monopolised the hearing were prepared to admit that not all working-class homes were unworthy. The revolutionary idea that these people put forward was that the ordinary working-class home was the 'sweet soil' to which destitute children could be transferred in order that they might be rescued. The other basic idea was the suggestion for 'cottage homes' to replace the barracks

39 The major purpose of the Charities Commission seems to have been to provide the new philanthropic group, forming around Dr Renwick, the Windeyers, the Garrans and Mrs Jefferis, with a vehicle of propaganda.
40 by which they appear to have meant the home of the artisan and the tradesman.
41 Charities Commission p.48 ff.
structures for children for whom boarding-out was not considered suitable. Both forms of 'care' were designed to 'rescue' the poorer children from their parents and place them in more acceptable homes. They were also perceived as providing better training than the large institutions could provide. Evidence that both boarding-out and Reformatory Schools based on the 'cottage home' system were already in existence in England was given much attention by the Commissioners.

The setting up of the State Children Relief Board in 1881 was the major outcome of this Commission. While it maintained a pro-family rhetoric, its system of boarding-out could be remarkably destructive of poorer homes. Boarding-out, particularly of boys, who were mostly sent to the country, separated the children from their parents more effectively than the Orphanages had done. Apart from the cost and difficulties involved in travelling, visiting was permitted once in three months, and then only for an hour. The Regulations were so worded that it was practically impossible to visit children once they were apprenticed. In this way the children were 'rescued' from their parents.

It is also clear that the children were to be apprenticed to the same kinds of unskilled work as the children from the

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42 ibid.
44 After considerable lobbying by Mrs Windeyer, Mrs Garran and Mrs Jefferis.
45 While it is granted that many, probably most, homes were already 'broken up' before a child was committed to the SCRB, the 85% to 88% return from the Orphanages of children who had a parent in the 1880s suggests a strong desire to re-form families if possible [Figures quoted from Horsburgh, op cit (Apprenticing), P.38.
46 This applied particularly to boys, most of whom came from the city and were sent to the country. SCRB Annual Reports make this clear.
47 State Children Relief Act of 1881 (Regulations under) Reg. No.35
48 ibid The visit must not 'interfere with the child's schooling or employment'.
49 Approximately the same number of State wards were returned to their parents as were apprenticed between 1881 and 1890, suggesting that parents of these children made use of the Board's facilities to solve family problems as they had made of the earlier Institutions. Horsburgh, Apprenticing p.36.
Industrial Schools had been. This preparation for unskilled work is best demonstrated by the fact that State wards were apprenticed at twelve until 1916 and that children 'boarded-out' to mothers were not supported after they were twelve. Both the Industrial Schools and boarding-out were designed to produce cheap, unskilled, conscript labour.

The acceptance of this new form of 'childcare' also depended on publicity to convince the public of its superiority. This was provided by the President's *Annual Reports* and by the fact of the children moving into other sections of the community. However, it is doubtful whether this method of separating poorer children from their parents would have been accepted for so long if the system had not benefited a number of different groups.

For the State there was a substantial lowering of costs as the expense of buildings and other 'overhead' costs were eliminated. The power in the hands of the male President of the Board was great, as the Act transferred the real power from the three-woman Boarding-out Committee back to male hands. The status, (but not the power), of the ladies who were either on the Board or appointed as 'lady visitors' was

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51 The average was usually estimated at about fourteen pounds per head. SCRB *Annual Report* 1899, p.15 would be a typical statement of expenditure. This contrasted with a cost of around twenty-six pounds for the *Vernon*. *NSS Vernon, Annual Report* 1886, p.5.
52 Mackellar acknowledged this in 'Select Committee on the Administration of the State children Relief Act, 1901. Minutes Of Evidence' In *NSWPP 1917-1918* Vol.2, p.498. Both Renwick and Mackellar appear to have used their position to enhance the professional status of doctors. Mackellar was also interested in promoting 'national efficiency' by control of the care of infants.
53 Mrs Windeyer, Mrs Garran and Mrs Jefferis were responsible for the 'illegal' stage of boarding-out. Once legalised, the power passed to Dr Renwick.
54 The main function of the members of the State children Relief Board was to 'serve as a guarantee to the various churches of the State...that no proselytising would take place'. [Inquiry into the Whole Administration of the State children Relief Act, 'Further Progress Report.' in *NSWPP 1916* Vol.2, p.447]
enhanced. The amount of free labour that was supplied by children who were boarded-out and the cheap labour supplied by apprentices made the system popular in many areas. The choice of a home for the reception of wards tended to add to the 'respectable' status of that home, while the labour provided by older wards was extremely valuable.

A considerable amount of necessary supervision of families began at this time. Much of this supervision was aimed at determining who among working-class parents were sufficiently 'respectable' to undertake the training of the boarded-out children. After a preliminary investigation by paid officers, in which as many as thirty percent of applicants were rejected, the regular surveillance of selected homes was performed by the lady visitors, with irregular visits from paid staff. In return for the unpaid labour of the children and the allowance for their keep, the foster parents accepted the standards set by the lady visitors.

Although the supervision of homes to which children were boarded-out was essential, it is significant that the supervision of children boarded-out to their own mothers was more regular than that of children boarded-out to foster-parents. Supervision could also degenerate into policing of poorer homes when parents sought the return of their children.

As the guardians of children who were boarded-out were expected to train their wards to work, the system became popular amongst people such as dairyfarmers who were paid to

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55 Both positions were status-oriented. Neither groups of women had much power. The number of 'cases' reviewed monthly would have meant that Board members had to accept the word of the chief boarding-out officer. The visitors could only report any 'impropriety' to the boarding-out officer. SCR Act, 1881. Regulations, Schedule G.
56 For example, SCRBB Annual Report, 1885 p.9, for boys sent to South Coast farms.
57 The homes had to be recommended by a magistrate and a minister of religion and this had to be endorsed by the boarding-out officer and by the lady visitors. Their 'respectability' was thus fully endorsed.
59 While the supervision of homes by the SCRBB was probably never as thorough as it should have been it was an improvement on the supervision supplied by the Industrial Schools.
support the boys who did their milking. 60 While the system of boarding-out was scarcely more successful than the Orphanages or the Asylum for Destitute Children in providing apprentices, 61 it seems likely that much poorer results would have been achieved without the coercive backing of the Industrial Schools which provided the penal sanctions to enforce the decisions of the Board.

A number of the Board's placements of both wards and apprentices were failures. Some children absconded, some would not work, others had habits of which their new guardians or masters did not approve. 62 The Industrial Schools Act was used to enforce compliance with the terms of both boarding-out and apprenticeships entered into by the Board. In the early stages this is more obvious with boys. After 1883 an increasing number of both absconding and refractory State wards and apprentices found their way to the Vernon or Sobraon. 63 While Dr Renwick, as President of the Board, resented the fact that he did not control the Industrial Schools, he was very conscious of their worth as enforcers of the boarding-out system. 64

The Department of Public Instruction also found the Industrial Schools useful. Although the Public Instruction Act of 1880 placed the onus of causing a child to attend school for the required number of days on the parent, the Industrial Schools ultimately became the enforcers of attendance. If prosecution of the father proved unsuccessful, police used the fact that a boy was not attending school to charge him with having 'no ostensible legal occupation'. After 1905 a double-edged attack on truancy became possible: If father did not send a child to school, the child was 'neglected'. If the child did not go to school when sent,

60 Renwick boasted in 1885 about the amount of work performed by boys as young as eight years old.
61 This was the function by which it was judged as successful or otherwise.
62 In 1898 for example sixteen absconders were still on the books and thirteen were 'written off' when they turned eighteen. [SCRB Annual Report, 1898, pp.2 and 19 ].
63 At this stage the Board used its 'cottage homes' at Mittagong to handle most of its own refractory girls.
64 SCRBI Annual Report 1883, p.10.
s/he was 'uncontrollable'. While school education did not become fully compulsory until at least 1916, poorer people found it wise to ensure that their children attended school for fear of their committal to the Industrial Schools.\(^6^5\)

Industrial Schools proved to be of more value to many groups than the Boys' Reformatory did after its establishment in 1895.\(^6^6\) The long pressure for the establishment of a Boys' Reformatory and the short life of the use of the term 'Reformatory' for an institution which was clearly performing that function is instructive.\(^6^7\) The wording of the Reformatory Schools Act did not provide for as complete a separation of boys from their parents as the Industrial Schools did. Nor did a Reformatory allow powerful groups to profit by the 'reformation' of those boys in the way that Industrial Schools did. A Reformatory sentence was for a fixed term, after which a boy was released to his parents. Instead of providing cheap labour as the Industrial Schools did, the 'shops' within the Carpentarian Reformatory produced such goods as school desks, cupboards and tinware in competition with established factories.\(^6^8\)

When the Neglected Children and Juvenile Offenders Act permitted the transfer of children between any institution (except a Reformatory) and the State Children Relief Board or another institution,\(^6^9\) the term 'reformatory' simply disappeared. The Carpentarian Reformatory became Brush Farm Home and together with the other 'farm homes' policed the working of the Act after the demise of the Sobraon. Reformatories did not provide cheap workers nor did they allow the degree of control which Industrial Schools did, so the term Industrial School was preferred.

\(^6^5\) The most common cause for admission to the Mittagong Farm Homes was truancy.
\(^6^6\) The Girls' Reformatory proved both useless and expensive at all sites.
\(^6^7\) The Carpentarian Reformatory was not set up until twenty-nine years after the enabling Act. The term Reformatory was abandoned ten years later.
\(^6^8\) Carpentarian Reformatory, Annual Reports to 1905 and Brush Farm, Annual Reports after 1906.
\(^6^9\) Act No.16, 1905. Clause 36.
The existence of the Industrial Schools Act made it possible for the State to police the 1896 Amendment to the State Children Relief Act, whereby some children were 'boarded-out' to their own mothers. Several factors were involved in the introduction of this Amendment. Admission to the SCRB was not compulsory and many mothers went to great lengths to avoid parting with their children. The number of 'good' homes in which the children could be fostered decreased during the depression. The placing of some 800 children in city homes so that their mothers, who could obtain little work in depression conditions, would have access to them, and the stoic refusal of many mothers to part with their children despite 'great privations', combined to make the usual practice of separating children from their 'respectable' mothers politically impracticable.

The conditions imposed for the receipt of this allowance: accepting inspection, ensuring that children over twelve were in employment, earning part of her children's support by her own efforts, staying 'respectable and hardworking' in return for a pittance from the State, threw the onus for 'rescuing the rising generation' onto the mother. The stringent policing of these homes in return for a miserly allowance would suggest that there was still a strong belief in the unworthiness of poorer parents, but the ideology of the mother as the 'natural' parent was being developed.

By the payment of this allowance, the interests of several groups were served. The State saved a considerable sum by paying these mothers about half the amount they would

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70 Except by the compulsion of starvation.
71 SCRB Annual Report, 1896, p.3. The possibility that there were not enough 'good' country homes to accommodate them in depression years cannot be overlooked.
72 SCRB Annual Report 1897 p.12.
73 The average amount paid to mothers in the first year was seven shillings, deemed to be enough to cover rent. SCRB Annual Report 1897, pp.12-14.
74 It is of some significance that payment was not made under this Amendment if a totally incapacitated father was living at home. A woman had to be actually or technically deserted. Payment was made if father was in hospital, in a lunatic or destitute asylum or in gaol. SCRB Annual Report, 1899 p.30.
have had to pay foster parents. The mothers accepted the harsh conditions involved because they wanted to retain their children and were probably grateful for the 'mercy' thus shown. The employers of outworkers, in particular, found these desperate women useful in keeping rates at bedrock. The enforced quitting of school at twelve by members of these families and the insistence that they had work if a mother was to retain her 'allowance' for younger children provided another reservoir of cheap unskilled labour. Failure to find work left these children open to a 'no means of support' charge and a place in an Industrial School, which thus played a policing role for the working of this Amendment.

It seems likely that the success of the provisions for boarding-out of children to their mothers was at least partially responsible for the probation provisions which were incorporated into the Neglected Children and Juvenile Offenders Act of 1905. The Act, in its definition of offences, presents a complete statement of the philosophy of 'rescuing the rising generation'. In its implementation of probation the same Act presents a case for much of that rescuing being done through the mother where possible, rather than by separating the boy from his parents. This was a major factor in the abandonment of the Sobraon, although not of Industrial Schools for Boys. It also ensured the continuation of the Industrial School for Girls.

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75 The average rate was less than three shillings per child, but as other 'charitable relief' also ceased, the additional amount received was negligible.
77 Payment ceased when a child turned twelve. This made it practically obligatory for a widow to seek exemption from school for her child.
78 By 1905 there were 3414 children boarded out to their mothers while 2387 were boarded out to foster parents.
79 Act No.16, 1905 Probation was, in fact, a form of supervised boarding-out to mothers, without payment.
80 Very few girls were released on probation.
81 SCRBS, Annual Report, 1910, p.36.
82 Other factors are discussed in detail in Chapter 6.
83 Mittagong Farm Homes had been gazetted before the Sobraon was abandoned and Gosford Farm Home, which replaced Brush Farm, was begun shortly afterwards.
The Industrial Schools provided the coercive backing for the system of probation introduced in conjunction with the *Neglected Children and Juvenile Offenders Act* of 1905. A significant feature of this Act was that while it temporarily lessened the number of boys in institutions, it increased substantially the number of boys who were under surveillance either by the officers of the ship, or *Brush Farm*, or by the myriad Honorary Probation Officers whom the Churches nominated.\(^4\) This suited a number of interests. The use of Honorary Probation Officers relieved the state of a considerable expense.\(^5\) At a time when the major demand for unskilled juvenile labour was shifting from the country to city,\(^6\) city employers were happy to get cheap labour from boys who had to give satisfaction or find themselves in an institution.\(^7\) Parents appear to have cooperated with the probation officers in order to retain their children.\(^8\) Many Churches welcomed probation as giving them a chance to reach some of the lost sheep of their fold.\(^9\) The ideology of the role of the mother was strengthened.\(^10\) This provided a rationale for leaving boys at home 'on probation'. It provided an equally strong rationale for the policy of institutionalising girls who were not complying with the accepted norms for female behaviour in order to make them 'good wives and mothers'.

The effect of the Act on girls was, therefore, somewhat different. The category of 'neglected child' was extended and parents were themselves permitted, or required, to declare a child ' uncontrollable'.\(^1\) Approximately a third of the girls

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\(^4\) From the Metropolitan Children's Court 280 boys were sent to various institutions while 221 were fined and 431 boys were placed on probation in 1910. *SCRB Annual Report*. 1910, p.60.

\(^5\) There were 326 Honorary Probation Officers in 1910. *ibid.*, p.46.

\(^6\) Except on dairy farms which were well supplied by SCRIB wards and apprentices.

\(^7\) One of the standard conditions of probation was that a boy must get a job and give satisfaction in it.

\(^8\) (Supplement to) *SCRIB Annual Report*, 1912 pasim


\(^10\) (Supplement to ) *SCRIB Annual Report* 1912, p.61.

\(^1\) The word 'neglected' was substituted in the 1905 Act for the word 'destitute' as used in the 1866 Act. The term ' uncontrollable' was added.
who were admitted to Parramatta between 1906 and 1910 were classified as 'uncontrollable'.92 Most of that uncontrollability was centred in some form of sexual misbehaviour or in failure to get and keep 'suitable employment'. By definition, the charge had to be made, or supported, by a parent or guardian. By inference, the fact that a girl was labelled as 'uncontrollable' meant that she had to be separated from her parents who could not control her. She had, therefore, to be rescued and converted into a 'good, useful woman'.93 Those not so converted, could be kept from public view. The Industrial School, like its 'kindred institutions' had an inbuilt element of 'women's refuge'.

A number of facts hide the strength of this movement towards transforming recalcitrant girls into docile housewives. The Children's Court was not open to the public and no reports of its proceedings could be published.94 The absurdity and injustice inherent in many cases, particularly those 'for protection', was hidden from public scrutiny. While the number of boys in institutions decreased during the first years of the operation of the Act, the number of girls in institutions like Parramatta tripled.95 Between two-thirds and three-quarters of the girls committed by the Court or transferred from the State Children Relief Board in these years were sent to Church Homes.96 The proclaimed aims of all these institutions resembled those of Parramatta. They were

92 This estimate is arrived at by adding the number of girls transferred from the SCRB to the girls who were actually charged as 'uncontrollable'.
93 The phrases 'good wives and mothers' or 'good useful women' are repeated regularly in Alex Thompson's Reports.
94 While the Act provided that the court might order that 'Any person not directly interested in the case shall be excluded from the court room,' this did not usually preclude the presence of representatives of religious organisations.
95 In 1908 for example fourteen girls were sent to Parramatta from the Metropolitan Children's Court while fifty-three were sent to 'Kindred Institutions', twenty-four were released on probation, three were released to persons named and eighteen were boarded-out. SCRB Annual Report, 1908 p.51.
96 As it was most likely that adult women in these Church Refuges could be readily described as conforming to the description of women from whom the girls were to be separated [Act No.16,1905 Clause 5 (a,b or c)] the committal to these Refuges appears illogical.
to rescue women and girls and train them into an acceptable mode of living.

The reality at Parramatta and, presumably of the other institutions, was not as straightforward as these aims might suggest. From about the time of the move to Parramatta there appears to have been a continuous shift in emphasis on the actual function served by the Industrial School for Girls. As the proportion of older girls increased, factors which would have affected those older girls became more obvious. The first of these factors was the interest in the control of venereal disease. If police were to control brothels without the introduction of a Contagious Diseases Act,\textsuperscript{97} it was necessary that they were free to remove infected girls from brothels and also eliminate the juvenile freelancers on the pretext that they were the spreaders of the disease.\textsuperscript{98}

Police interest in the maintenance of street order ensured that juvenile soliciting was practically eliminated. Although the relative number of girls 'taken from brothels' decreased, many girls taken from brothels after about 1890 appear to have had venereal disease.\textsuperscript{99} Their removal to Parramatta would have served the interests of both the police and the brothel-keepers, who would have been quite happy to unload an unwanted employee onto the school.\textsuperscript{100}

The school was used as an unofficial lock hospital for the treatment of venereal disease for some time before the passage of the \textit{Neglected Children and Juvenile Offenders Act}.\textsuperscript{101} The introduction of the term 'uncontrollable' in the

\textsuperscript{97} While there is no proof of corruption, it is clear that police determined which brothels were permitted to function as far back as 1852. It is significant that New South Wales was one of the few British countries which did not pass a Contagious Diseases Act in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

\textsuperscript{98} 'The older freelancers seem to have either come to arrangements with the police or were relentlessly prosecuted.' [ Allen J 'The Making of a Prostitute Proletariat.' in K. Daniels (ed) \textit{So Much Hard Work} Fontana Sydney, 1981. page 199-203.

\textsuperscript{99} The regularity with which girls taken from brothels were diseased was noted by Charles Spier as far back as 1893. \textit{Letter Book} (5/3432) 11th Jan 1893.

\textsuperscript{100} The possibility of the informant in these cases being a brothel-keeper seems obvious.

\textsuperscript{101} ISG, Parramatta, \textit{Annual Report}, 1913 p.6.
1905 Act made it easier for parents to approach the court themselves. It seems likely that some parents whose daughters had contracted venereal disease laid charges that the girls were 'uncontrollable' to obtain medical treatment for them.\textsuperscript{102}

This use of Parramatta was to continue well into the twentieth century. A second venereal disease epidemic following the return of troops after World War One resulted in more than fifty per cent of girls admitted being infected.\textsuperscript{103} Bethel House was later constructed in the grounds of the Industrial School for Girls for the treatment of infected girls. Both Walter Bethel and Alex Thompson\textsuperscript{104} expressed the belief that the disease was spread by 'these girls'.\textsuperscript{105}

While the police had such a convenient dumping ground for girls who tried to compete with the 'approved' brothels or for the casualties among those who joined approved or other brothels, they had a strong vested interest in the maintenance of the school. Poorer parents also had another strong interest in the continuance of the school. The existence of so many subnormal and unemployable girls throughout the lifetime of the school suggests that some uneconomic girls were being unloaded onto the State.\textsuperscript{106}

After 1905 the school also served the interests of the State Children Relief Board in providing a gaol for its uncontrollable as well as for its subnormal or 'immoral' girls. The Board was anxious to unload its problems on to the Industrial Schools, particularly after the obvious failure of

\textsuperscript{102} After 1905 the incidence of venereal disease is more obvious in the 'uncontrollable' girls and in those who are noted as 'taken from brothels'.

\textsuperscript{103} Child Welfare Department, Report for the Years 1921-25 p.9. Another concerted attack on freelancers and on unapproved brothels was carried out during World War Two in order to protect the 'health' of the visiting American troops (or to steer their custom into approved channels).

\textsuperscript{104} The first two Directors of the Child Welfare Department.

\textsuperscript{105} ISG, Annual Report, 1914 p.9, and Child Welfare Department, Report for Years 1921-25, p.9. The ease with which it was possible to convince otherwise rational people that it was girls only who were spreading the disease would suggest that such myths are impervious to empirical arguments.

\textsuperscript{106} ISG Parramatta, Annual Report 1911, p.6.
its efforts to deal with its own problem girls at Shaftesbury or at Mittagong. 107

Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century the Industrial Schools provided the legal backing which enabled other welfare institutions and systems to work effectively. It is easy to distinguish groups and individuals who profited by the existence of the schools—police, magistrates, gaolers, other welfare institutions, the President, Board members and lady visitors of the State Children Relief Board, the guardians of State wards and the employers of apprentices from both the Schools and the Board and of those children who were released on probation. This usefulness ensured the continuation of Industrial Schools.

CONCLUSION

Although the Act under which they were established defined the Nautical School Ships and the Industrial Schools for Girls as institutions designed to rescue neglected children from their dissolute parents or surroundings, both schools served a number of different but interrelated functions. They were an important part of the welfare system and also part of the penal system. The Girls' School became an integral part of the health system and for a considerable time both were factories as well as schools. The relative importance of any role played by either school differed from time to time, but at any period each school served more than one role.

The function of each school altered because of the nature of the enrolments and the kinds of work for which the children were destined. The curriculum of each school was adjusted to meet these factors. Different people profited by the changes.

In the first fifteen years the schools were an expansion and continuation of the Orphanages and the Asylum for Destitute children. Police implementation of the Act ensured that the admission of children to either school aided their task of maintaining street order. Hence while many genuinely destitute and neglected boys were sent to the Vernon in its

107 SCRB, Annual Report 1901, p.10
first fifteen years, an increasing proportion of the boys enrolled in the Nautical School Ships were minor delinquents who paid dearly for what often amounted to childish folly. Both parents and magistrates cooperated in this manipulation of the Act in order to protect boys from gaol. Subsequent 'Welfare' Acts of the next fifty years, resulted in greater numbers of delinquent boys being admitted to the ship or, later, of being placed under official surveillance.

Similarly a few obviously neglected girls and many destitute young girls were admitted to Newcastle. So too were the prostitutes and associates of prostitutes for whom the School became notorious. Many of these girls were above the legal age for committal to the School. Parents cooperated with police and magistrates in the committal of many of these girls. The selectivity with which associates of prostitutes were arrested emphasises police interest in the 'health' of the resident Navy and raises the question of possible corruption.

The role and function of both schools altered considerably after the introduction of the State Children Relief Act in 1881. Both Industrial Schools began to provide the coercive factor for wards and apprentices of the State Children Relief Board. For this purpose a change in the age-structure of the Industrial Schools was made. Most of the children under eleven in both schools were transferred to the care of the State Children Relief Board within a few weeks of admission, providing room for many older children, some of whom had absconded from their State Children Relief Board guardians or employers. Others were older minor delinquents whom magistrates began to commit to the ship.

The effect of these changes on the Vernon was to make it a penal institution for boys over eleven, with a good proportion of the enrolment being absconders from, or failures at, apprenticeships either from the ship itself or from the State Children Relief Board. Apart from its role as a 'holding centre' for children under eleven pending their transfer to the State Children Relief Board, the Nautical School Ship lost most of its welfare role and became a reformatory for delinquents.
After 1883, when most girls under eleven and all of the boys under seven on Biloela were transferred to the care of the State Children Relief Board, the function of the Industrial School for Girls altered substantially. Suburban courts provided extra admissions and some State Children Relief Board apprentices who had absconded were also enrolled. There was a marked increase in the number of girls taken from brothels after 1890 and many of these were suffering from venereal disease. It would be difficult to determine whether to classify Parramatta after 1890 as a school, a factory, a workhouse, a gaol or a lock hospital. It had some elements of all five.

Up to the 1890s the change in the function of the two schools had been as a result of changes in the nature of enrolments. After that time changes occurred in the role of the Nautical School Ship because of changes in the demand for the labour which the school was producing. The aftermath of the depression of the nineties and the shift in the requirements for unskilled juvenile male labour from country farms to city factories called for new methods of ensuring the provision of that labour. The shift in power from country gentry to city merchants and manufacturers which accompanied this change in labour demands, was of importance in determining the role and function of the Nautical School Ship. Inability to place apprentices led to the establishment of the carpentry shop and intensive naval training on the Dart, making the ship a factory, a school and a gaol.

The role of the Industrial School For Girls remained tied to the nature of its admissions rather than to the demands for a given type of labour. The control of venereal disease, which gained greater urgency as a result of the Boer War, made the principal functions of the Industrial School for Girls that of unofficial lock hospital when required. The school was to retain this function for the rest of its existence.

Other functions were seen as necessary for the Girls' School after 1905. An institution to house absconding, recalcitrant or 'immoral' State wards and for petty thieves who had previously been held at Shaftesbury was required. The new interest in 'National efficiency' called for greater
stress on female morality and more 'kindred institutions' for reformation of sexually delinquent girls, the Industrial School for Girls providing the coercive element for the other institutions.

The passing of the 'Neglected Children and Juvenile Offenders Act' in 1905 had different effects on the two schools. Fewer boys were placed in Industrial Schools, usually for a shorter period of time, while a considerably greater number were under surveillance by unpaid probation officers until they were eighteen. For the Sobraon the introduction of the system of probation and the opening of the Mittagong Farm Homes meant that the ship had lost its apparent relevance for minor delinquents. Brush Farm, later replaced by Gosford, dealt with older delinquents.

For the girls, the role of the school as a potential lock hospital remained well into the twentieth century. With the declared purpose of training 'good useful women' the Industrial School for Girls as well as a number of 'kindred institutions' continued for many years. It also served as an asylum for some subnormal or incompetent girls, and a gaol for petty thieves and for refractory State wards. Its role as a factory helped to defray expenses.

In spite of the changes in enrolments there was a marked continuity in the programmes offered by each of the schools. Enough money was spent on establishing and maintaining the Nautical School Ships and sufficient staff was supplied to allow for a thorough if somewhat frenetic training of boys sent on board. The programme of school and naval exercises which allowed recreation as a reward for conformity was highly successful in providing apprentice labour. While discipline was strict, punishment appears to have been kept within well-defined legal limits. Apprentices from the ships were eagerly sought until about 1895, when demand decreased markedly. The introduction of the carpentry shop and the intensive naval training on the Dart were attempts to provide alternative employment.

The three unsuitable second-hand buildings which were provided for the Industrial School for Girls were insufficiently staffed and poorly equipped. Riots provoked by
injudicious treatment wracked the school at Newcastle and in the early years at Biloela. Other riots, for which the causes are less clear, occurred during the first ten years at Parramatta. Training offered at each site was restricted to housework, with an emphasis on laundry work after 1890. The number of failed apprentices became proportionately greater after the school was converted to a factory-school in 1890, and the system of apprenticeships was abandoned after 1908. However, the school's value as an enforcer of female morality, an asylum for unemployable girls, a gaol for intractable wards and petty thieves, and, particularly, its role as a lock hospital and its protection of the 'better' brothels ensured its continuation.

Of the functions of the schools established under the Industrial Schools Act, probably the least important was the 'relief' of the neglected children for whom they were designed. In their earlier period both schools provided food clothes and shelter for many genuinely destitute children, but their major functions even at that stage were the maintenance of street order and the provision of conscript labour. Destitute young children paid for this 'relief' in six years of unsupervised apprenticeship to an unskilled job at paltry wages.

After 1882 most of the committals to both schools were penal and usually patently unjust, but the Acts discriminated more severely against girls than boys. The majority of the boys who were admitted to the ship had actually committed an offence which, if committed by an adult, would have involved them in a possible fine or gaol sentence, usually a small one. The discrimination against boys lay in the fact that, under the pretext of protecting them, a sentence that was substantially longer than an adult would have received was imposed, mostly involving years of poorly supervised and grossly underpaid conscript labour.

The discrimination against girls was fourfold: Those who were committed for petty offences suffered the same discrimination as boys. Most 'offences' committed by girls would not have been punishable had they been adult. Their 'immorality' would not have been punishable at any age had
they been male. Many girls were admitted 'for protection' because males had committed sexual offences against them.

In theory both schools were expected to 'reclaim' their pupils to become part of the working population. In practice the apprentices from the ship filled a great demand for unskilled labour in country areas until the late 1890s. The greater importance attached to ensuring that boys acquired good work habits can be seen in the relative amounts spent in the purchase and refurbishment of the respective schools, the number of staff allowed to each school, the amount spent on the management of the schools and the type of programme offered to the inmates.

Even when land trades were taught on the ship the aim of the Vernon/Sobraon was not to teach a trade but to reform the boy's outlook so that he was prepared to accept the discipline of work. As a Nautical School Ship the school served much the same preparatory function for rough bush work as a basic training camp does for the armed services.

The failure to supply an effective supervision of those boys who were apprenticed would indicate clearly that the welfare of the boys was not of importance. The purpose of the school was to provide a usable commodity for the employer, not to guard the interests of that commodity. The Colonial Secretary's insistence that all boys be apprenticed as soon as they were eligible would indicate the importance of the ship as a supplier of cheap labour at that time.

The apprenticing of girls was not as imperative. On several occasions the apprenticing of all eligible girls was carried out in the interest of school morale rather than to provide domestic workers. Demand for girl apprentices was never as great as demand for boys. 'Immoral' girls were not regarded as suitable domestic workers. For those girls who were apprenticed, tight supervision often made apprenticeship as much of a gaol as the school was.

Neither school can be regarded as of much benefit to the children admitted. For the genuinely destitute the benefit received was a temporary phenomenon. The training offered did nothing to raise the earning capacity of the inmates and may have diminished the chances of many. The schools provided a
type of wage labour that was in short supply: the rough bush worker and the 'general' domestic worker. As Industrial School children were not free of the menial apprenticeship to which they were tied until they were eighteen, most were condemned to a life of unskilled work at jobs whose pay became depressed by the presence of other underpaid apprentices. By condemning their inmates to insecure and poorly paid jobs the schools ensured a continuation of the very conditions which had caused most of the admissions in the first place.

The interest of a number of groups in the existence of the schools is clear. The maintenance of street order which the Act assisted was appreciated by the proponents of the Act as well as by the police. Both city and country magistrates were happier to commit a child to an Industrial School in preference to a gaol, and gaolers were relieved of the responsibility of caring for children among criminals. Parents made use of the Industrial Schools to provide an asylum in times of acute poverty, to prevent children from being sent to gaol, to unload a defective or unemployable child on to the State, to discipline uncontrollable children or provide medical treatment for them. Police assistance seems to have been available for these purposes. This would suggest that making such children 'invisible' was of interest to the police.

The accuracy of the police in locating those girls who were suffering from a venereal disease suggests a cooperation between the brothel-keepers and the police. That the major beneficiaries of the arrest of these girls, as well as the young freelance prostitutes or the young children of prostitutes, were the 'better' brothels was an inevitable, result of those arrests.

It is significant that the four major Acts in relation to children in the latter half of the nineteenth century all resulted in increases in the number of children under control. That the programmes of Industrial Schools changed to meet those added numbers is also significant. After 1882 the Boys' School began to deal with a progressively older group as the State Children Relief Board took over the younger children, who were mostly destitute or minor delinquents.
The role played by the Girls' School always differed from that of the Boys' School. Long before the 1905 Act restricted Parramatta admissions to older girls, it is clear that the School was starting to fill the role of a lock hospital. This role would appear to have become important about 1890 and was the predominant one in the twentieth century.

While the Industrial Schools were coercive institutions in their own right they also served as the coercive factor for other institutions or groups. At first they extended and enforced the work done by the Orphanages and the Asylum for Destitute Children. Later they provided the legal sanctions which enabled the State Children Relief Board to work smoothly. The Industrial School for Girls (with its 'kindred institutions') and the NSS Sobraon (and its successors) were the gaols which enforced the decisions of the Children's Court.

Although established as a welfare institution, the ship became a penal institution. The welfare role of the Girls' School was always secondary to its penal role and its role as a lock hospital. Both schools served as integral parts of the developing systems of juvenile justice, welfare and health in the latter half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century.

A comprehensive analysis of these two important institutions has been long overdue. Apart from the fact that there was no complete account of either of the Industrial Schools, secondary material available concerning those Schools also has a number of deficiencies. There has been no agreement on the reasons for admission to either school at any given period and no account of any other method of discharge except apprenticeship. While the administration of both Superintendents Meine and Neitenstein is recorded, no account was taken of Superintendent Mason, nor was there any analysis of the differences in the administrations of the three men. Limitations in the sources used have made the accounts of the administration of the Girls' School at all three sites inadequate and often inaccurate.

A major contribution of this thesis is to redress these deficiencies through a thorough analysis of the reasons for
the committals to both schools and of the circumstances surrounding those committals. This systematic analysis of admissions provides the first basis for determining the function of the Schools and of the role played by police, parents, magistrates and others. An analysis of discharges at eighteen, or earlier by Executive authority, also provides further insights into the role of the Schools.

By examining the administration of all three Superintendents, the changing role of the School Ships can be further determined. The political and socio-economic factors which enabled Neitenstein's successful administration and those which were responsible for the Sobraon's demise are clearly indicated.

Similarly, the closer analysis, which the use of primary material permitted, highlights the changing role of the Girls' School at all three sites. That analysis also demonstrates attitudes of Politicians and Government officials to the girls as well as to the School and its role.

An examination of the relationships that existed between the Industrial Schools and the other childcare institutions which existed, or were set up, establishes the importance of the Industrial Schools. While each School is shown as having its own role and function, both are clearly shown as the linchpins which allowed the development of welfare, juvenile justice, and health systems.
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APPENDIX I

The following Tables give numerical presentations for those Tables presented as Graphs.

TABLE 2.1

NSS Vernon Ages and Charges City Courts 1867 to 1870

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>L.W.P.</th>
<th>L/W.W.T.</th>
<th>N.M.S.</th>
<th>N.O.L.O</th>
<th>S.O.A.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>Total</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>23</td>
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</table>

Notes
L.W.P. = Living with Prostitute
L/W.W.T. = Living or wandering with thieves
N.M.S. = No lawful visible means of support.
N.O.L.O. = No ostensible legal occupation (includes 'vagrancy' or 'wandering' not otherwise defined.)
S.O.A. = Sleeping in the Open Air.
* Charge made against two over-age boys not clear. Re-admissions not included.
Source: Vernon Entrance Books. Sydney Morning Herald, Court Reports for relevant dates, Information gleaned from applications for discharges in C.S.I.L.
TABLE 2.2

NSS Vernon: Country Admissions 21/5/67 to 31/12/70

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<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>LWP</th>
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<th>NOLO</th>
<th>Others</th>
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<td>49</td>
<td>16</td>
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</table>

Notes
LWP= Living with prostitutes.
L/WWT= Living or wandering with thieves.
NMS= No means of support
NOLO= No ostensible lawful occupation. (includes vagrancy)
Others= 1 begging 2 sleeping in the open air 2 wandering with prostitutes and 1 No fixed place of abode
*Charges against four over-age boys not given.

Sources: Vernon Entrance Book, Applications for Discharge, local newspapers.

TABLE 4.1

NSS Vernon Reports on Apprentices, 1874-1877.

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<th>year</th>
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<th>1875</th>
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<td>329</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>430</td>
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<td>v. good</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>106</td>
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<td>29</td>
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<td>fair</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>indifferent</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>bad</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>absconded</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>out of app.</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>249</td>
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<tr>
<td>at sea</td>
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Source: NSS Vernon Annual Reports 1874-1877.
### TABLE 5.1

**NSS Vernon/Sobraon Ages of Admission 1877-1896**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Ages</th>
<th>Returns</th>
<th>total</th>
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<td>&gt;14</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>1878*</td>
<td>33</td>
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<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
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<td>23</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
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<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888**</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>31</td>
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<td>1889</td>
<td>67</td>
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<td>69</td>
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<td>1890</td>
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<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
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<td>1891</td>
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<td>23</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>64</td>
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<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* First year Neitenstein Superintendent
** twelve months period taken from Entrance Book.

Returns: 1st column Apprentices 2nd column ex Biloela

Source: **NSS Vernon Annual Reports 1878-1892 and NSS Sobraon Annual Reports 1893-1896**

### TABLE 5.6

**NSS Vernon/ Sobraon Admissions On Board Apprenticed 1879-1896**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Admissions</th>
<th>On Board</th>
<th>Apprentices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>380</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: **NSS Vernon/Sobraon Annual Reports, 1879, 1883, 1887, 1892, 1896.**
TABLES 6.1 and 6.4
NSS Sobraon, Admissions, Discharges, School Roll, Ship's Roll and Number Apprenticed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>admiss</th>
<th>disch</th>
<th>school</th>
<th>Daily Average</th>
<th>roll</th>
<th>apprent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>402</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>375</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>389</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>301</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>250</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>259</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>253</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>379</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>200</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>402</td>
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<td>120</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>144</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>124</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes
Admis = admissions
disch = Discharges
school = number on school roll
roll = number on ship's roll
apprent = number still apprenticed

* This figure includes 100 boys who were 'sent to sea.'

Sources: NSS Sobraon Annual Reports, 1897-1910.
Appendices: Admissions and Discharges, Table of Expenditure and Schoolmaster's Reports of changes in enrolment.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Living with prostitute</th>
<th>Wandering with prostitute</th>
<th>Vagrant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Over16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Register of Warrants Received, CSIL 72/4799 and information derived from newspapers applications, for discharge etc.
### TABLE 7.2
**ISG Newcastle Ages and Charges against Country Girls.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>L.W.T/P</th>
<th>Vagrant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16+</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>31</strong></td>
<td><strong>68</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LWT/P = Living with thieves and/or prostitutes
Vagrant = No means of support or no occupation

**Sources:** Register of Warrants Received, local newspapers, Applications for Discharges.

### Table 9.1
**ISG Biloela Enrolments 1877-1886**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1877</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>37</td>
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<tr>
<td>1878</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>35</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** ISG, Parramatta, *Register of Warrants Received.*
Table 9.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Under 11</th>
<th>11-13</th>
<th>14-15</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>31</td>
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<td>1884</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ISG Parramatta, Register of Warrants Received.

Table 10.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>L.W.P⁷</th>
<th>W.W.¹</th>
<th>N.O.L.²</th>
<th>N.M.S³</th>
<th>B/S/O⁴</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>1894</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>1895</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
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<td>1896</td>
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<td>27</td>
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</tr>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>1904</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
- a Living With Prostitutes
- b Wandering with Prostitutes
- c No Ostensible Legal Occupation
- d No Means of Support
- e Begging, Stealing or Other charges

Source: ISG Parramatta, Register of Warrants Received.
Table showing girls for whom evidence is clear that they were over sixteen when admitted to Newcastle. All were discharged because they were found to be eighteen.

### Overage Girls Admitted to Newcastle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Admission No.</th>
<th>Date of Admission</th>
<th>Date of Discharge</th>
<th>CSIL Reference</th>
<th>Estimated Age when Admitted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>31/8/67</td>
<td>16/11/67</td>
<td>67/5634</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>31/8/67</td>
<td>22/2/69</td>
<td>69/1762</td>
<td>16+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>31/8/67</td>
<td>25/5/69</td>
<td>69/3396</td>
<td>16+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>5/9/67</td>
<td>26/9/68</td>
<td>68/5385</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>5/9/67</td>
<td>27/1/69</td>
<td>68/7344</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
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<td>5/9/67</td>
<td>20/11/67</td>
<td>67/6819</td>
<td>18+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>10/9/67</td>
<td>11/12/68</td>
<td>68/7097</td>
<td>16+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>10/9/67</td>
<td>20/12/68</td>
<td>68/7344</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>27/9/67</td>
<td>29/10/68</td>
<td>69/19</td>
<td>17+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>8/10/67</td>
<td>30/1/69</td>
<td>69/1176</td>
<td>16+</td>
</tr>
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<td>34</td>
<td>8/10/67</td>
<td>17/9/68</td>
<td>69/5253</td>
<td>17+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2/2/69</td>
<td>69/1176</td>
<td>16+</td>
</tr>
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<td>19/6/69</td>
<td>69/6559</td>
<td>17+</td>
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<td>7/2/70</td>
<td>70/464</td>
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<td>16+</td>
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<td>69/5289</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
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<td>69/1176</td>
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</tr>
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<td>64</td>
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<td>69/2753</td>
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<td>69/5097</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>70/9040</td>
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Source: ISG, Register of Warrants Received and CSIL for years 1867-1871
UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN SYDNEY MACARTHUR

FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

'RESCUING THE RISING GENERATION.' INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS IN NEW SOUTH WALES, 1850-1910.

G. Scrivener
Doctor of Philosophy
1996
I hereby declare that this submission is my own work, and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person nor material which to a substantial extent has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institute of higher learning, except where due acknowledgement is made in the text.

[Signature]

[Name]
ABSTRACT

Although it was represented as rescuing neglected children from their unworthy parents, the Industrial Schools Act introduced State coercion into the 'childcare' of the colony. Throughout their existence the Industrial Schools served the interests of many powerful groups, and became legal enforcers for other welfare institutions.

NSS Vernon, well equipped and adequately staffed, enrolled destitute, neglected and delinquent boys, often on an 'adjusted' charge. After twelve months of school, naval and trade training boys were apprenticed until eighteen, mostly to unskilled bush work, practically unsupervised and at paltry wages.

Neitenstein, the second superintendent of the Vernon, confined the curriculum to school, naval training and drills. These drills combined with an elaborate class/mark system of rewards, providing pay, recreation and food, proved effective as reformatory agents. After 1882 older, mostly delinquent boys were admitted. The boys were moved to NSS Sobraon in 1892 but economic and social factors made 'a ship to train farmers' an anomaly, despite Superintendent Mason's efforts to establish a carpentry shop and augmented training in seamen's work. After 1911 the ship's coercive function was taken over by other reformatory schools and by a system of probation.

The stated aim of the girls' school at all three sites it occupied was to produce 'good useful women'. About one third of girls admitted to ISG Newcastle were older, sexually delinquent girls, many on warrants taken out by parents and many over the legal age for committal. Inappropriate site, inadequate preparation, insufficient and untrained staff, lack of suitable curriculum and denial of support from the Colonial Secretary led to total failure of the school, although its removal from Newcastle, in 1871, was politically determined.

Physical and verbal abuse, already in evidence at Newcastle, increased at Biloela, where hair-cutting,
confinement, bashings, indiscriminate caning, gags, straitjackets, and repeated 'low diets' were imposed. Much of this cruelty disappeared during the earlier years of Selina Walker's regime but resurfaced after the change of enrolments to mostly older girls about the time of the school's transfer to Parramatta (1887).

The establishment of a factory-school with emphasis on laundry work marked a further harsh regime followed by poorly paid, savagely restrictive apprenticeships. After 1905 committals to Parramatta were aimed at maintaining street order and parental authority, to house the 'uncontrollables' and 'incompetents' and to provide a lock hospital for the control of venereal disease. The expressed purpose of the school to provide 'good useful women' dovetailed neatly with the introduction of probation, mostly for boys, which was enforced 'through the mother'.
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ABBREVIATIONS

Charges under Industrial Schools Act

B/S/O  Begging Sleeping Out or other charge
LWP  Living with Prostitute
LWT  Living with Thieves
LWT/P  Living with thieves or prostitutes.
NFPA  No fixed place of abode
NMS  No means of support.
NOLO  No ostensible legal occupation.
SOA  Sleeping in the Open Air
WWP  Wandering with prostitutes
WWT  Wandering with Thieves

General Abbreviations

ANU  Australian National University.
AONSW  Archives Office of New South Wales
IPC  Inspector of Public Charities
ISG  Industrial School for Girls.
JLC  Journal of the Legislative Council.
ML  Mitchell Library
MUP  Melbourne University Press
NSS  Nautical School Ship
NSWPD  New South Wales Parliamentary Debates
NSWPP  New South Wales Parliamentary papers.
NSWUP  University of New South Wales Press
SCRB  State Children Relief Board.
SRDC  Society for the Relief of Destitute Children
SUP  Sydney University Press
VEB  Vernon Entrance Book
VPLA  Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Council
UQP  University of Queensland Press

Children's Names

In accordance with an undertaking made when access to material was permitted, no child's surname is used. However, footnotes given provide sufficient information for a serious scholar to verify statements.
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PREFACE

In the middle of the nineteenth century a new wave of childcare initiatives occurred in both Britain and Australia. While the socio-economic circumstances were different, both movements were based on a fear of the 'perishing and dangerous classes'. In both countries one of the results was the establishment of Industrial Schools which were designed to care for 'neglected' children. The aim of this thesis is to examine the two Industrial Schools, which were set up in New South Wales during that period in order to determine their role and function during the period 1850 - 1910.

Although a number of Historians¹ have examined various aspects or periods of these Industrial Schools there is no comprehensive account of either of them. An attempt to piece together the varying secondary accounts available reveals a number of gaps and some discrepancies and raises a great many questions. For this reason it was determined to attempt a completely new account relying heavily upon available primary material.

An intensive study of two institutions requires that the focus be restricted. In this analysis the main focus is on the children committed to the schools and the lives they lived within the institutions. The second focus is on the superintendents and staff who came in contact with the children. The effect of the penal ideas and philosophies of their times is apparent and the influence of politicians and senior bureaucrats on the role and function of the school may be inferred, but these are treated as incidental. There are many histories about the politicians of the period. The children in the Industrial Schools, whose lives their decisions affected, have been largely ignored, as have been the people immediately responsible for the control of their daily lives. Accordingly the analysis presented in this

¹ The contributions of Dickey, Ramsland, Horsburgh, Garton, O'Brien, van Krieken, Willis, Williamson, Kociumbas and Scrivener are discussed in the text of the thesis.
thesis will examine the role of the school superintendents and their staff and assess their importance in determining the nature of the schools and the lives of the children placed in their care.

A number of other issues are intimately tied up with a study of the schools. The most obvious one is poverty itself. Behind practically every admission to the Industrial Schools is a degree of poverty, and frequent reference is made to its incidence, but the focus is on the effect of that poverty on the child who came within the ambit of the Industrial Schools.

For any institution to which admission is by committal of a court, escape is proscribed and discharge is legally determined it would be absurd not to posit some form of control. A major difficulty here is that any discussion of control is hindered by the assumption that the Industrial Schools were simply 'welfare' institutions. As an understanding of the existence and the extent of a welfare function is vital to the understanding of other functions of the Schools, the welfare function in both Schools is analysed. It is however contended that, except in the very early stages, welfare was not the most important function of either School, and that for most periods the nature of the control imposed was only minimally, and often indirectly, associated with welfare. The control posited by this thesis is seen in relation to the other functions of the Schools - as relating to criminal justice, to the management of 'health' and to the provision of juvenile labour.

In the last thirty years a number of (mostly overseas) writers have portrayed welfare systems and practices as being intended to police working-class families and to impose 'middle-class values, beliefs and patterns of behaviour onto working-class men, women and children.' Most influential of these would be Anthony Platt, who was one of the first to break away from the belief that all welfare was impelled by benevolence or altruism. He believed that the motives behind welfare activities were middle-class fear of the working

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class, the desire of professional workers to enhance their own status and the desire of middle-class women to widen their own sphere of influence. Other sociologists have put forward similar theories with regard to child welfare or the family. Among these are Christopher Lasch's *Haven in a Heartless World* in which control of the family is seen as being taken over by outside agencies, Jacques Donzelot's *The Policing of Families* and Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish*. These expressed similar ideas although at times it does not seem quite clear who does the disciplining or policing.

Opposing this view of welfare as a form of social control in an Australian context, van Krieken sees industrialisation, respectability, domesticity, compromise and concensus on issues like the work ethic as leading to the shift of working-class families 'towards a familial lifestyle similar to that of the middle class well prior to any possible effect of state action.'

This thesis does not dispute van Krieken's claim concerning the effects of welfare on the family. What it cannot reconcile is his analysis of the Industrial Schools as State-run versions of the Orphanages and Destitute Asylum, and therefore part of the welfare system, with his belief that the Industrial Schools were part of the criminal justice system operating more as reformatories. In order to determine whether either or both of the schools functioned as part of the criminal justice system a thorough analysis of reasons for admissions has been undertaken.

Other aspects of the Industrial Schools also suggest the existence of control for other purposes. Any mention of the Industrial School for Girls almost automatically involves the question of prostitution, its extent and its control. Here

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7 van Krieken, op.cit. p.136

8 ibid. p.69.
the work of Kay Daniels and Mary Murnane⁹ and of Judith Allen¹⁰ are relevant. Daniels and Murnane see legislative attempts in other States to control prostitution during the nineteenth century as being designed to safeguard the health of the armed forces.¹¹ Allen maintains that police arrested mainly the older and younger prostitutes, the inference being that the most lucrative years for a prostitute were when she was between fifteen and thirty. Allen also sees the police gaining de facto control of venereal disease with the passing of the Police Offences Amendment Bill and the Prisoners' Detention Bill in 1908.¹²

This raises many questions. If police control of prostitutes is to be asserted, it would be necessary to establish that there was a pattern of selective arrests. If control of venereal disease is asserted, it would be necessary to establish that the number of arrested girls who had venereal disease was greater than might be expected from 'chance' arrests. Questions that needed to be asked covered a wide field. How selective were the arrests of prostitutes or their children in both city and country areas? What age were those charged with living or wandering with prostitutes? Why? How many parents laid charges? Why? How many boys were so charged? Why? What was the ratio of country-city charges of living with prostitutes? Why? When did this situation alter? What evidence is there to suggest police control of prostitution throughout the period? What evidence is there for police control of girls with venereal disease before the passing of the 1908 Acts? Does the evidence support either Daniels and Murnane's or Allen's theories? Or both theories?

Allied with this question of the function of the Industrial School for Girls is the function of 'kindred institutions'¹³ and their relationship with the School. The influence of Charles Mackellar on the number of girls

⁹ K. Daniels and M. Murnane, Uphill all the Way, St Lucia, UQP, 1980 pp. 95-115
¹¹ Daniels and Murnane. op. cit p. 98.
¹³ Church Homes and Refuges for Fallen Women.
institutionalised during the early years of the twentieth century is analysed in some detail in order to show that relationship.

The manner in which children were discharged from the Schools, including apprenticeships and other forms of employment, can be seen as indicators of the purposes which the Schools were intended to fulfil. It is a major contention of this thesis that the welfare function of both Industrial Schools diminished over the years, that both Schools had roles in ensuring the control of prostitution although the Girls' School had a greater role in the 'health' aspects of this control, and that the School Ships played a considerable role as a 'criminal justice' Institution as well as in the provision and control of juvenile labour.

The questions that should be asked about a welfare institution differ from those which might be asked of a justice or a health institution. If a child was genuinely in need of care, as many were in the first third of the Institutions' existence, then the questions that might be asked would be related to the way in which that need was determined, the quality of the care and the justice of the apprenticeship system. If the Schools were associated with criminal justice the questions which should be asked would relate to the equity of the sentence particularly in comparison with the sentencing of adults for similar offences. When the Schools are regarded as contributing to the maintenance of 'health' the questions become slightly more complex. To whose health were the children a threat? Why were very young children arrested? Why were boys arrested for prostitution-related offences? Questions such as the nature of the care, the availability of early discharges and the equity of the apprenticeship system are relevant to all functions of the Schools.

In essaying an account relying heavily on primary material, this thesis seeks first to provide empirical data on which an assessment of the role and function of the schools may be determined. Three aspects of the Industrial Schools have been stressed: 1/ The nature of the admissions, how they altered over time, the actual reasons for committals, the uses
made of the Act by police, relatives, magistrates and gaolers; 2/ provisions for 'reformatory' training showing the differences between the schools and the alterations in each school's programme over time; and 3/ policies for discharges and apprenticeships and for supervision of those apprenticeships.

Primary material necessary for this purpose is available, although sometimes scattered. In order to determine why the boys were admitted, Vernon/Sobraon Entrance Books\(^4\) for the earlier years had to be supplemented by information obtainable in the 'Court Reports' of the Sydney Morning Herald, usually of the following day, or in relevant country newspapers for country admissions. The Charities Commission\(^5\) provided a list of children under eighteen who had been tried at the Central Police Court and the Water Police Court, some indicating that a boy had been tried twice on the one day. Applications for Discharge in the Colonial Secretary's In Letters frequently provided additional facts. All information available for each boy was collated for the first four years' enrolments and for every fifth year thereafter.\(^6\) An additional check was made if Annual Reports indicated a marked change in enrolments. A similar method was undertaken with enrolments for the Industrial School for Girls using the three available Admission Registers,\(^7\) city and country newspapers and applications for discharge in the Colonial Secretary's In Letters and the Superintendent's Letterbooks.\(^8\)

\(^4\) NSS. Vernon, Vernon Entrance Books 8/1740-8/1746 AONSW and NSS Sobraon, Sobraon Entrance Books. 8/1747-8/1751 AONSW The Vernon and the Sobraon were the ships used as Industrial School for Boys between 1867 and 1912.

\(^5\) 'Second Report of the Commission appointed to Inquire into and Report upon the Working and Management of the Public Charities of the Colony.' in VPLA 1873-74, Vol.6, Part 2. [Charities Commission].

\(^6\) Because of missing Entrance Books an analysis for a period in early 1880s was not possible.

\(^7\) ISG Parramatta, Register of Warrants Received (1867-1942), augmented by lists in CSIL 71/3610, 72/4799 and (75/17 in SB 4/798.3) Admission, Discharge and After Career Register, (1897-1928) and Register of Committals (1906 to 1917).

\(^8\) The six volumes of these letters are identified by Archives Office Numbers 5/3429 to 5/3434.
The basic sources for the account of the management of each institution up to 1880 were the Colonial Secretary's *In Letters* and *Special Bundles*. After 1880 other sources had to be used.\(^{19}\) Both schools produced *Annual Reports*. Those for the Vernon/Sobraon were tabled in Parliament and published.\(^{20}\) They provide a wealth of statistical detail and general policy. Being partly 'propaganda to sell the product', they required careful interpretation, but were generally valuable.

Although *Annual Reports* for the Girls' School were sent to the relevant Government Department they were not published for the first thirty years. However, the School's copy of these Reports are available in the Superintendent's *Letter Books*. These books provide much more than official correspondence and cover practically the whole period under review. The *Committee of Enquiry into the NSS Vernon*,\(^{21}\) the Charities Commission *Evidence and Report, Evidence given at a Public Service Enquiry*,\(^{22}\) and successive sets of *Regulations* gazetted for both schools all add insights. Details of apprenticeships are provided in the Colonial Secretary's *In Letters*, in *Vernon Entrance Books, Sobraon Entrance Books* and *Sobraon Placement Books*. The Colonial Secretary's *In Letters* and the Superintendents' *Letter Books* provide similar evidence for the Girls' School. *Apprenticeship Books* are available for the girls after 1890.

Other information is available from a variety of sources. The *Annual Reports* of the State Children Relief Board provided much relevant information. *Stock Books, Store Books, Diet Books, Order Books*, all yielded the occasional fact about the realities of life in the Girls' School. Such incidentals as the sharing of brushes and combs (not to mention handkerchiefs) which these books revealed brought home a strong sense of depersonalisation even more than the rigid

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\(^{19}\) Because of the transfer of the institutions to the Education Department.

\(^{20}\) Usually in the *Journal of the Legislative Council* for relevant session.

\(^{21}\) 'Minutes of Evidence taken before Select committee on the Training Ship NSS Vernon.' in *VPLA 1968-69, Vol.3. [Vernon Enquiry]*

\(^{22}\) Transcript of Evidence of Public Service Board Enquiry into Industrial School for Girls Parramatta, 1898. [PSB Enquiry].
routine which is evident in the official Reports. The 'Scale Plan of the Newcastle Hospital for the Insane (1880)' in which the old gaol cells are shown as being in use for a morgue, provided useful verification of John Robertson's description of those horrendous cells. Similarly, the Maritime Service Board's description of the Thetis made the unwillingness of the Inspector of Public Charities to use the ship to transport the girls to Sydney appear logical.

Details of apprenticeships are provided in the Colonial Secretary's In Letters, in Vernon Entrance Books, Sobraon Entrance Books and Sobraon Placement Books. The colonial Secretary's In Letters and the Superintendents' Letter Books provide similar evidence for the Girls' School. Apprenticeship Books are available for the girls after 1890.

At some points a good deal of detail is included. This was felt to be necessary, particularly if an incorrect or misleading statement had to be refuted. The reasons for committals are examined closely as a prerequisite to the understanding of the function of either school. Changes in routine often indicated changes in the perceived function of the School. Changed demand for apprentices can indicate changing socio-economic conditions. Details of events leading up to riots are important for the insights which they provide of attitudes of politicians, officials, police and the girls themselves. Similarly if the drudgery that was laundry-work is to be explained, some knowledge of the basic processes and the method by which they were taught is needed.

The relative merits of boarding-out versus institutional care or cottage homes have not been examined. The three systems functioned in a symbiotic relationship during much of the period under review. As many people who now canvass the virtues of boarding-out or of cottage homes seem unaware of the part played by the Industrial Schools in the

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23 Hanging on wall of Administrator's Office, Hunter Regional Hospital, Newcomen Street, Newcastle.
24 Newcastle Chronicle, 1st April, 1871.
25 For example to establish such points as the abandonment of trades by Neitenstein (Chap. 5) and the use of 'kindred institutions' by Mackellar (Chap. 11)
26 Institutions, cottage homes and boarding-out.
functioning of boarding-out and cottage homes, this aspect has been pointed out and its effects on the Industrial Schools noted.

The contrast between the nature of the admissions to the two Schools and the contrast in the provisions made for the care of the children is stressed. These are indicative of the different roles which the two Schools filled. Throughout most of their existence the Nautical School Ships were the showpieces of the State while the Industrial School for Girls was its shame, but the ship was abandoned and the Girls' School continued. This thesis seeks to understand this anomaly and in doing so to determine the real function and role of the Industrial Schools.
INTRODUCTION

RESCUING THE RISING GENERATION.

There was a remarkable similarity in the proclaimed beliefs about child care in New South Wales during the whole of the nineteenth century. The Rev. Samuel Marsden, speaking of the first generation of convicts' children, saw 'the future hope of the colony depend[ing] on the rising generation',¹ while Alex Thompson, thinking in terms of adolescent girls in the early twentieth century, felt that 'our youth can be saved from the national refuse heap'.² The ideology of both is identical. The fact that Thompson was quoting from an English publication which was referring to boys³ would suggest that the dependence on English ideas also remained, even when the circumstances were entirely different.⁴ It was within this ideology of 'rescuing the rising generation' that the Industrial Schools developed.

During the Colonial period most Australian customs and beliefs were derived from Britain. For the wealthy British middle classes the growing numbers of city unemployed, which resulted from industrialisation, created fears of the pauper class: both a fear of having to support them and a fear of revolt generated by the example of the French Revolution. The expression 'perishing and dangerous classes' used by Mary Carpenter sums up those fears,⁵ and also indicates the dual nature of the remedy offered. Because they were 'perishing' spiritually and 'dangerous' to the community, the remedies

² ISG Parramatta, Superintendent's Annual Report, 1910, p.11
³ The remarks were made 'in an English weekly' when commenting on the "Borstal System".[ ibid, p.12.]
⁴ The largest welfare organisation in Britain at the present time is the 'Save the Children' Fund.
⁵ M.Carpenter, Reformatory Schools for the Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes. London, Gilpin, 1853
offered had both a religious and secular content.  

There was an 'explosion' of (mostly) women's philanthropic associations between 1790 and 1830 which sought to rescue neglected or delinquent children. This was prompted by the rise of Evangelicalism.  

Charity Schools and Schools of Industry founded by such people as Catherine Cappe, Sarah Trimmer and Hannah More were designed to 'rescue' the children of the very poor from their 'neglectful' parents.  

In the first half of the nineteenth century the poorest element in Australia were ex-convicts or assisted migrants and their children. Judged by the standards of the Colonial elite, the families of many of these Colonists would have been seen as inferior and unworthy parents. The remedy offered was also derived from English practice. The children should be removed from their pernicious environment to an institution where they would be trained to be moral and industrious citizens and then sent to work away from their families. In Australia the three Governors' wives who paid most attention to orphanages and charity schools (Mrs King, Mrs Macquarie and Mrs Darling) were all Evangelicals.  

The belief in the unworthiness of the parents sits well with the requirements that the elite saw as being in the best interests of the community. The perceived need during most of the nineteenth century was for cheap male labourers to undertake rough unskilled bushwork or general servants' work, as the convicts had done. For women the requirement was twofold, they were needed as domestic servants and eventually as wives and mothers to produce the workforce of the future.  

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6 ibid. pp.324 and 329  
8 E. Windschuttle 'Women and the Origins of Colonial Philanthropy.' in ibid p.90  
10 E. Windschuttle, 'Feeding the Poor and Sapping Their Strength 'in E. Windschuttle (ed.) Women, Class and History. Fontana Melbourne, 1980 pp.62-3  
11 Which was usually equated with their own interests.  
Faced with the problem of children without guardians, Governor Phillip had first tried a system of boarding-out whereby approved couples received an extra adult ration to board an 'unwanted' child. This first boarding-out was bitterly opposed by Marsden and his supporters,\textsuperscript{13} who obviously did not think that the new fosterparents were any improvement on the original parents, and the practice was quietly abandoned.

British precedents, to which the Colonial elite paid great attention, would have made the use of either boarding-out or an orphanage acceptable to many at this time. The Reports of 1775 and 1776 on the working of the Poor Law of 1601 tell of infants 'put out to nurse at three shillings a week' until they were four when they were returned to the workhouse where they spent their days picking oakum, teasing horsehair and spinning', and were taught to read. Once they were considered capable of labour worth sixpence a day they were apprenticed.\textsuperscript{14} As the workhouses were the responsibility of the parishes both Johnson and Marsden should have been familiar with them. However, the Evangelical faction within the Church of England, to which both men belonged, had strong objections to the workhouses because they did not take care of the spiritual welfare of their inmates.

Governor King's determination to establish a Female Orphanage on the mainland in 1801 was based on the perceived desirability of separating girls from their 'vicious' parents and bringing them up to be 'faithful industrious wives'.\textsuperscript{15} Arguments of patriotism and defence were put forward, but the essential feature was the protection of the girls and apprenticing them to domestic service in the hope that they would eventually marry and contribute to the social stability of the Colony.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{13} Marsden to Wilberforce, cited by Ramsland, \textit{op. cit.} p.3.
\textsuperscript{15} Cleverley, \textit{op. cit.} pp.90-91. The first Committee consisted of Johnston and Marsden, Mrs King and Mrs Paterson, Dr Balmain and Dr Harris. Johnston returned to England before the Orphanage was set up.
\textsuperscript{16} \textit{ibid.} p.91.
Parental perception of their children was apparently different from that of the advocates of the Orphanage. While Governor King estimated that 398 out of the 958 children of the Colony needed to be rescued from their parents,\(^{17}\) there were comparatively few parents who sought admission for their daughters. Thus there were thirty-one girls enrolled when the first Orphanage was opened in August, 1801, and only 270 had enrolled up to 1821.\(^{18}\) Few of these girls were genuine orphans. Most were girls whose parent(s) could not, or would not, care for them.\(^{19}\)

There could have been many reasons for the small number enrolled. British authorities made it clear that they were prepared to countenance support only for girls who were completely destitute,\(^{20}\) and on pragmatic grounds parents probably found that the cost of supporting a girl could have been more than offset by her value as household help.\(^{21}\)

This pattern of child care was repeated continuously throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth. On the one hand there was a small group of social 'reformers' determined to rescue children of the poorer classes from their 'vicious' parents. On the other hand there was the majority of poorer parents whose bond with their children appears to have been much stronger than most of their 'betters' were prepared to recognise,\(^{22}\) and who appear to have ignored the reformers' efforts unless the 'rescuing' was seen by them as desirable in some way.

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\(^{18}\) Cleaverley, op. cit. p.92.

\(^{19}\) J. Ramsland, Children of the Back Lanes Destitute and Neglected Children in Colonial New South Wales. Kensington UNSP 1986. p.18


\(^{21}\) Alford, op. cit. p.173.

\(^{22}\) The percentage of parents who sought to retrieve their children from the orphanages, the Destitute Asylum and the SCRB would indicate a higher degree of cohesion in families than is generally conceded. Renwick's account of 'mothers who...had endured great privations to retain their children' would appear to be accurate for most of the century. SCRB Annual Report 1897, p.9
The same principle of 'rescuing the rising generation' by separating the children from their parents in order to assure the children's reformation was evident in the commencement of a Boys' Orphanage in 1818. Even before the Girls' Orphanage was opened, stories of male orphans 'living in idleness and vice' were being told. These probably had some basis in truth because there would have been few occupations at which young boys could be profitably employed.

When the Girls' Orphanage was established in George Street, Sydney in 1801, its site was regarded as a temporary one. It had been intended to build a school for the girls at Parramatta and use the original girls' building for an Orphanage for boys. Delays in the construction of the girls' building meant delays in the beginning of the boys' project. Reform of the girls was seen as more urgent than the reform of the boys because Marsden believed that the 'output of moral females must necessarily improve the habits of their consorts'. The perception of women as imparters of morality thus made the need for a female institution greater than for a male institution. This perception ensured the establishment of institutions for females before those for boys.

Macquarie's proposals in 1814 to attempt to civilise the Aborigines by establishing a school for Aboriginal boys and girls who would be completely isolated from their people, with the intention of granting them plots of land and encouraging them to marry and establish a kind of black yeomanry, was based on the same philosophy of separating the child from its parents. The Aborigines proved to be even less willing to cooperate than white parents, and the experiment was abandoned after only a few years.

The establishment of a Boys' Orphanage, first on the site of the Girls' Orphanage, later at Cabramatta, and eventually sharing the same building and management as the girls at

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23 Cleaverley, op. cit. p.93.
24 Competition from boy convicts and the heavy nature of pioneering work would have precluded many boys from employment. Ramsland notes the availability of some skilled work in the 1820s. Ramsland op. cit. p.34.
25 Cleaverley, op.cit. p.91.
Parramatta was based on the aim of rescuing the boys from their parents in the same way as had been done with the girls. In most years there were fewer boys than girls in the Orphanages and this situation continued when the institutions were combined.27 This would suggest that there were more jobs available for boys at this stage than there were for young girls.

Commissioner Bigge saw a need for a more extensive training for boys. He praised the Orphan Schools but recommended that a central school for three hundred boys should be set up for 'the effectual separation of as many children as possible from their parents in the lower classes', and their instruction as future rural labourers and workmen.28

During the first half of the nineteenth century the Orphanages supplied apprentices to semi-skilled trades and domestic service. Approximately two-thirds of those discharged between 1825 and 1830 were apprenticed while about one-sixth were returned to parents.29 By the time the two Protestant Orphanages were combined, in 1849, two things are clear: the number of boys had decreased, and most of those boys who were apprenticed were being sent to country apprenticeships.30 At this time the Orphanages were apparently succeeding in separating some children from their parents and functioning as providers of cheap labour as well as providing asylums for the fatherless and homeless, but the role of asylum remained the most important one.

The same philosophy of 'rescuing the rising generation' was the basis for the establishment of the Female School of Industry in 1826. Its lady founders also agreed with Marsden's proposition that the raising of 'virtuous wives and pious mothers [would] also have the enviable felicity of making good husbands and tender fathers'.31 Other factors are also in evidence. Among these was the poor reputation that

27 Ramsland, op. cit. p. 47.
29 Ramsland, op. cit. p. 45. The others are unclear.
30 Male Orphan Schools, Monthly Returns, 1845-48, CSIL Special Bundle 4/7198.
31 E. Windschuttle, op. cit. [Feeding]. p. 69.
the Girls’ Orphanage had gained, it being regarded by many as being little better than a bawdy house.\textsuperscript{32}

The Female School of Industry resembled the Orphanages in that the founders, who were Evangelical Anglicans, looked to the Schools of Industry which had been set up in England ‘to train up the lower classes to habits of industry and virtue’.\textsuperscript{33} but differed from the Orphanages in that it did not rely to any extent on Government support. The administration of the School of Industry resembled that of the English models in that it was managed by a committee of ladies and financed by them. Its rules separated its pupils from their parents more completely than the Orphanages did.\textsuperscript{34} Archdeacon Scott, a strong admirer of the institution, believed that children needed to be removed completely from the influence of their parents because ‘so inveterate are the vicious habits of the parents and so pernicious are the horrible examples constantly before the eyes of the child.’\textsuperscript{35}

Having separated the girls from their parents, the School of Industry set out specifically to ‘render [the girls] in every way better qualified for their condition in life, not to raise them above it’.\textsuperscript{36} It also provided for its subscribers in that they were allowed to ‘nominate one girl to be received into the Institution in rotation’.\textsuperscript{37} The School thus became an institution where Protestant girls were to be trained as domestic servants for Protestant ladies. While it does not appear to have been very successful in providing those servants, its reformatory purpose continued to attract support until the 1920s.\textsuperscript{38}

The philosophy behind the agitation for, and the setting up of, the Roman Catholic Orphanage, first at Waverley House in 1836 and then at Parramatta in 1844, does not fit the general pattern. While the Catholic Church was also anxious

\textsuperscript{32} Ramsland, op. cit. pp.10-12. 
\textsuperscript{33} Windschuttle, op. cit. [Feeding]p.67. 
\textsuperscript{34} The School of Industry allowed visiting only under exceptional circumstances. 
\textsuperscript{35} Windschuttle, op.cit. [Feeding] p.56. 
\textsuperscript{36} ibid, p.68. 
\textsuperscript{37} Ramsland, op. cit. p.20. 
\textsuperscript{38} Their last Annual Report was issued in 1926.
to 'rescue the rising generation' it saw that rescuing in association with, and not separate from, their parents. The petition to Governor Bourke and the Legislative Council which was presented by the Lay Committee of St Mary's Church on behalf of the Catholics of New South Wales, after objecting to the Protestant monopoly on the religious education at the Orphan House, used precisely the opposite argument to that used by Marsden and Johnson. They claimed that the arrangement, whereby Catholic children whose parents were forced by the fear of 'the starvation of their offspring' to place their children in the Protestant Orphanage, inevitably resulted in the '[alienation and destruction] of the natural affection between parent and child'.\(^3\) Their desire to maintain this natural affection was the stated basis for their request for a separate orphanage.

The Ragged Schools, set up by a group of Evangelical Protestants during the 1860s, were also based on a philosophy that did not involve the separation of children from their parents. They took their examples from similar schools set up in England, notably those of John Pounds and Mary Carpenter.\(^4\) The social workers who assisted Mr and Miss Danne in the running of the Sussex Street Ragged School, for example, sought to obtain the confidence of the parents. They also tried to improve the child's home environment.\(^5\) In many respects these schools appear to have been missions as well as schools.\(^6\) They provided a limited education for those too poor to pay the fees or to meet the standard of dress required in ordinary day schools, but did not attempt to separate the children from their parents.\(^7\)

Both the English Ragged Schools and their Australian counterparts were initiated by evangelicals of different denominations. Members of the English movement included Anglicans, such as William Wilberforce, as well as Unitarians.

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39 Petition cited by Ramsland, op. cit. p.52.
40 Ramsland op. cit. pp.90-103.
41 ibid p.94.
43 At least in their earlier stages these schools give the impression that they were aiming to reach the parents through the children.
such as Mary Carpenter and the Hill family. Similarly the Anglican Bishop and Dean of Sydney attended the inaugural meeting of the Sydney Ragged School, but so did the Rev. John West, editor of the Sydney Morning Herald and the Rev. SC Kent who were both Congregationalists. Other evangelical Protestants were involved in the movement.

With these two exceptions, the child-care institutions established during the first half of the nineteenth century followed both the pattern of formation and the ideology of the early Orphanages. A small group of philanthropists provided the ideology and impetus for the setting-up of each institution, most of the cost of the institution was borne by the Colony and the favoured form of management was by a committee elected by subscribers. A suitable English model was also considered desirable. However it is apparent that the range of initiatives was not sufficient to meet the needs perceived by all of the Colony's elite as there were also a number of attempts to supplement them with Industrial Schools.

The first proposals made in the Legislative Council to establish an Industrial School set in motion events which led to the establishment of the Asylum for Destitute Children in 1852. At issue were the form which the management of a proposed Industrial School would take and the existence of comparable English models. Members of the ruling elite, whose spokesman in Parliament was Deas Thompson, Colonial Secretary, were opposed to a proposal that an Industrial School should be managed by a committee nominated by the Government and hurriedly organised an alternative institution themselves. The management which Thompson favoured was by a committee elected by subscribers, which was the form of management for other charities at that time.

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44 Ramsland, op. cit. p. 93
46 The Ragged Schools did not receive Government subsidy until 1867
47 Although the opening of the Asylum preceded Martin's Bill by a few weeks, it seems clear that the formation of the Society was a means of preempts the acceptance of the Bill.
48 While there was much talk of 'liberty of the subject', opposition to state control is obvious, but not to control by a committee of subscribers. SMH, 30/6/52 and 28/7/52
Deas Thompson's objection to James Martin's proposed Destitute Children's Bill of 1852 was stated to be that he believed there were no comparable English examples of the sort of institution proposed. 49 This was true in some particulars. Under the English Poor Law general charities were managed through the parishes and not by the central Government. Schools of Industry were privately financed. The principal of 'voluntary action' 50 was not established until the Youthful Offenders Act of 1854, 51 but this was the trend towards which English child care workers, such as Matthew Davenport Hill and Mary Carpenter, were moving. 52

The Asylum was opened at Ormond House (formerly Juniper Hall) in June 1852. 53 After enrolments increased it was moved to Randwick in 1858 and by 1861 there was accommodation for 800 children. The ideology which accompanied its establishment was very much that of 'rescuing the rising generation' from their parents who were seen as hopelessly degraded. Some lurid accounts of unworthy parents come from the Annual Reports of the Society:

As far as can be ascertained, the parents of these children from whose demoralising influence they are thus effectually removed, are chiefly drunken dissolute characters, who have left their children in scenes of vice and misery - deprived not infrequently of the necessaries of life. Not a few of these have mother in gaol and father at the diggings, with no intention probably of returning. 54

Although much importance was placed on the fact of its control by interested subscribers, the financial dependence of the Asylum for Destitute Children on subscribers was not great. Government subsidies were heavy for all admissions 55 and the Colony footed the total bill for those children who

49 SMH, 30/6/52
50 The management by private bodies not connected with the parishes.
51 Pinchbeck and Hewitt op. cit. p.477.
52 ibid, pp.475-6
54 SRDC, Annual Report, 1853, p.11.
55 They received a subsidy of two pounds for one pound instead of the usual pound for pound.
were admitted through the Benevolent Asylum. The directors thus secured a maximum of Government assistance for a minimum of Government interference.

The Asylum for Destitute children was, in fact, the Colony's first Industrial School, although it did not ever use the name. It was the last government-supported private institution established before the Industrial Schools were set up. Designed to accommodate 'destitute' (i.e. neglected) children who were not eligible for admission to the orphanages and who were not 'tainted by crime', its stated purpose was to care for these children and prepare them for a life of work in the community. The ideology on which it was based did not differ in any way from that of the original Orphanages.

All of the welfare institutions in New South Wales before the establishment of the Industrial Schools thus had a number of features in common. All owed their existence to a strong religious impulse. The first Orphanages, although established by the State, were modelled on the Evangelical Anglican Schools of Industry as was the Female School of Industry. The Roman Catholic Orphanage provided a break from that Anglican monopoly. The founding committee of the Asylum for Destitute Children contained a majority of Ministers of varying denominations and of laymen with strong religious affiliations. It provided for both Protestant and Catholic services for its inmates. The founders of the Ragged Schools were evangelicals of a number of Protestant denominations.

All of these institutions had acceptable English models, all were managed by committees who, except in the case of the Orphan Schools, were made up of subscribers, and all received some Government assistance, although the Female School of Industry was self-supporting in its management and the Ragged

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57 And a reasonable chance of getting 'prime apprentices'. [This phrase was used frequently in Charities Commission Evidence.]
58 If the strict definition of the kinds of admissions to be made is accepted, a strong case could be made for its being our only Industrial School. Deas Thompson indicated that the new Asylum for Destitute Children catered for the same children as Martin's first Bill did. SMH 30/5/52
Schools did not receive subsidy until 1867. Both Orphanages were totally supported by the State and the Asylum for Destitute Children almost totally supported. All sought to inculcate moral and religious values as well as to inculcate a strong work ethic.

In the social upheaval caused by the goldrushes, these institutions were seen as having a number of weaknesses. The perception of these weaknesses led to the movement towards the establishment of both Reformatory and Industrial Schools. **Secondary Sources**

In most accounts of the welfare institutions of the nineteenth century Historians have tended to treat the Nautical School Ships *Vernon* and *Sobraon* and the Industrial School for Girls at Newcastle, Biloela and Parramatta as essentially a state-run version of the Orphanages and the Randwick Asylum...except that the legislation extended the powers of the police to force the children into institutional care by giving them new categories with which to charge them.\(^5^9\) and to see 'the two major innovations in State child welfare [as] the establishment of boarding-out and the Children's Court and probation',\(^6^0\) thereby robbing the Industrial Schools of any major importance.

It is a contention of this thesis that the part played by the Industrial Schools in the development of juvenile justice, of 'health' management, (as it related to venereal disease), of child welfare, and in the provision of much cheap conscript labour in nineteenth century New South Wales was much greater than is usually realised. The two schools are depicted here as the linchpins of these aspects of 'child care'.

The importance of the Industrial Schools is derived from the function which they served over the period. In order to determine that function it is necessary to ascertain the reasons for admission of children to both schools, to examine the reformatory education carried out and the methods of apprenticeship and its supervision as well as to determine other methods of discharge. An understanding of the socio-economic factors which accompanied their introduction, and

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\(^5^9\) van Krieken, op.cit. p.69  
\(^6^0\) ibid p.136
their relationship with other institutions, particularly those within the welfare and justice system, is also needed. This required the use of both primary and secondary material.

Although secondary materials dealing with the establishment of other welfare institutions during the nineteenth century are not plentiful, those that do exist provide a useful guide to the processes involved. Bridges' account of the Orphanages, (1801 and 1818),61 and Cleverley's account of the first generation, (to about 1825),62 provide information for the early schools. Dickey, Horsburgh and Ramsland examine the establishment and functioning of the Asylum for Destitute Children (1852),63 while Dickey's account of the moves to establish an Industrial School (1852-1866), when complemented by McDonald's account of the Nautical School Ship, (1854-1867),64 and Ramsland's account of the social conditions of the time, explains the establishment of the Industrial Schools,(1867)65

The beginnings of the State Children Relief Board (1881) has had many chroniclers, not least Dr Renwick himself.66 Ramsland and Dickey provide similar accounts of its founding, seeing the boarding-out system as a 'new and successful venture in the care of destitute children',67 while Horsburgh gives much the same outline but finds its actual success harder to assess,68 and van Krieken sees the reintroduction of boarding-out in terms of the 'political strength of both the

66 State Children Relief Board, Annual Report 1882 pp.105 ff
liberal bourgeoisie and the respectable working class and the gradually improved economic position of at least a portion of the working class'.

Dickey, who gives an account of the establishment of the Carpentarian Reformatory for Boys (Brush Farm) (1895) and of the moves towards the passing of the Neglected Children and Juvenile Offenders Act of 1905, sees this Act as reorganising the whole system governing State children and concentrating virtually all powers and activities under the State Children Relief Board. Van Krieken also gives much attention to the formation of the Children's Court (1905) and sees the Court as dealing with children who were previously admonished or given a few hours in the court cells, not as those who were previously dealt with by the Industrial Schools. Apart from Dickey's comments concerning transfer of Industrial School Children to The State Children Relief Department there has been no attempt to address the question of the relationships which were developed over the period between other organisations and the Industrial Schools.

When the subject is the Industrial Schools themselves, secondary material can frequently provide more questions than answers for anyone who is attempting to recreate a total picture. The major reason for this is that the information is derived from accounts which are affected by the overall thesis within which the view of the two Schools is presented. Some accounts cover only part of the period involved, some examine a particular topic which involves reference to the Industrial Schools and some are restricted both in time and topic.

Accounts which cover only part of the period under review include Ramsland's *Children of the Back Lanes*, which is confined to the Colonial period. Willis looks at the

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69 R. van Krieken, *op. cit* p.75.
71 van Krieken, *op. cit*. pp. 91-99
72 Dickey, *op. cit* [Evolution] p.50
73 This aspect is dealt with below under the heading of admissions
74 Ramsland, *op. cit*. pp.116-149, 200-220
conditions in the Girls' School from about 1898 until 1923.\textsuperscript{75} Scrivener examines both Industrial Schools for the same period, looking mainly at living conditions within the Institutions,\textsuperscript{76} while Horsburgh examines the admission, discharge and apprenticeship policies for the major State institutions during 1870.\textsuperscript{77}

Others have a limited focus: Dickey describes the development of charity;\textsuperscript{78} Williamson examines the Girls' School as part of the education system;\textsuperscript{79} O'Brien is interested in the effects poverty;\textsuperscript{80} van Krieken seeks to show that the similarity between middle-class and working-class life styles and patterns was not due to child welfare systems;\textsuperscript{81} Garton examines Neitenstein's reforms of both the Industrial School and the prison system, noting that the institutionalised system which Neitenstein favoured was marginalised from the mainstream. He also examines aspects of Mackellar's role as President of the State Children Relief Board, seeing Mackellar as being responsible for reducing the number of girls who were institutionalised.\textsuperscript{82}

The problems which arise from the differing approaches of each Historian becomes clear if the major aspects of the

\textsuperscript{75} S.Willis, 'Made to be Moral--At Parramatta Girls' School, 1898-1923,' in J.Roe (ed.) Twentieth Century Sydney Hale and Ironmonger, Sydney, 1980 pp.178-192.
\textsuperscript{76} G scrivener, Children in Care from about 1895 to 1925. Unpublished MA thesis UNSW 1986
\textsuperscript{78} Dickey, (1) 'Establishment' (2) 'Evolution' and (3) 'Care'
\textsuperscript{80} N.Williamson, 'Laundry Maids or Ladies? Life in the Industrial and Reformatory School for Girls in New South Wales, Part 11 1887-1910' JRAHS Vol.68 pt.4 312-325 [Part2]
\textsuperscript{82} van Krieken, op. cit.
Industrial Schools are divided into five categories and each aspect is surveyed separately:
1/ the reasons for admissions to each of the schools,
2/ basic features of administration in each school,
3/ the processes and policies for discharge or apprenticeship,
4/ the relationship between other welfare organisations and Industrial Schools,
5/ the circumstances which ensured the demise of the Sobraon and the continuation of the Girls School.

**NSS Vernon, Admissions:**

The first determinant of the role and function of any school is the nature of its population. In the case of the Industrial Schools reasons for committal were legally defined, but conclusions drawn by historians as to the reasons for committal to The Vernon/ Sobraon range over the full spectrum from those who believe that all committals complied with letter and spirit of the Act to those who believe that they did not comply with either.

Ramsland assumes compliance with the Act and gives a thorough analysis of 'the circumstance of the boys placed on the Vernon' between 1869 and 1873,\(^3\) using such categories as 'parents unable to control', 'father dead, mother in various circumstances', 'parents unable to support child', 'both parents dead', 'both parents drunkards'.\(^4\) In spite of the explanations he offers it is difficult, if not impossible, to correlate such 'circumstances' with the charges that could be laid under the Act.\(^5\)

Some authors attribute misuse of the Act to parents. Horsburgh points out that the charges were 'of the vagrancy and consort type' but concludes that the 'procedure was often used by parents to solve other problems not covered by

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\(^3\) Ramsland, *op.cit.* pp.138 ff.

\(^4\) In his final chapter, Ramsland adds another category, 'for delinquent children who had been charged with a criminal offence' but this does not tally with his original analysis. Ramsland *op.cit.* p.230

\(^5\) Although the Victorian Act of 1864 [27 Vict No.216] allowed for the committal of a child whose parents were 'unable to control', no such charge was provided for in the New South Wales Act of 1866. [30 Vic. No.2, C.4]
the legal terminology'. Dickey, at first appears to agree with Horsburgh. Of the early admissions to the Vernon he states that [the boys were] "more than destitute and much in need of reform", and that "parents were unloading their children on to the State". Later he points out that "the care of children committed to the Vernon...remained a controversial administrative problem". Boys were being admitted to the ship as if it were a Reformatory. "Local Benches seemed only willing to regard the Vernon as a place of punishment, as did public opinion." Van Krieken tends to blame the magistrates, stating that, although intended for poor homeless and vagrant boys and girls, to a large extent the Vernon/Sobraon became "part of the criminal justice system operating more as reformatories", and that "local magistrates often regarded them as places for punishment." However, he also notes that 25% of admissions to the Vernon occurred with parental consent. Kociumbas suggests that [the 1866 Act made] "provision for parents themselves to have children admitted on the grounds that they were uncontrollable or would not live at home".

This confusion is not lessened when individual admissions are examined. While the committal of the family of six children, with whose arrest O'Brien begins Poverty's Prison, can readily be fitted into the terminology of the Industrial Schools Act, the reason for the arrest of at least four of the boys mentioned in her chapter on 'Impoverished Childhood' as being admitted to Industrial Schools was stealing. These and other committals mentioned (abandoned, neglected and

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86 M.Horsburgh. op.cit. p.8
87 Dickey, op.cit.[Establishment] p.147
88 Dickey, op.cit.[Evolution] p.49
89 van Krieken, op.cit p.69
90 ibid p.70
91 J.Kociumbas, Childhood and Society in New South Wales and Victoria 1868-1914. Unpublished Ph.D Thesis University of Sydney 1983 p.82 While this statement was true of Victoria, it did not apply in N.S.W. until 1905.
92 O'Brien, op.cit. p.9. Although there are a number of questions about their retention in the school. See further comment on these children below.
93 ibid pp.143-144
runaways) raise questions as to frequency and also to compliance with legal terminology.

While it is possible to deduce from these varying authors that the committal of some boys to the Ship did not comply with the legal terminology, any analysis of the role and function of the School requires an understanding of the reasons for committal and the way those reasons altered over the life-time of the ship. An examination of the methods by which those boys whose offences did not comply with the legal terminology, were committed to the ship throws light on the role of the school as perceived by parents, police and magistrates.

Industrial School for Girls: Admissions

Particularly in the earlier years of the school there is even less information available in secondary sources concerning the reasons for the admission of the girls. Dickey speaks of 'different sorts of girls some of whom had venereal disease' and the others 'perhaps the victims of family poverty or neglect'.\(^94\) For those admitted after 1905 he speaks of 'longer term committals where criminal behaviour was identifiable.'\(^95\) Williamson refers to 'lower class adolescents' and says that 'Prostitute girls formed a large section of the Industrial School,'\(^96\) despite her own analysis of ages which would tend to prove otherwise.\(^97\) She sees the school as a 'female juvenile prison'.\(^98\) Van Krieken states that for girls in the earlier years the charges were of immorality.\(^99\) For the later admissions he quantifies this to 80% of charges against girls being for immorality.\(^100\) Willis points to the 'distressing similarity' of charges against the girls.\(^101\) Ramsland does not attempt to explain why the girls were admitted to Newcastle or Biloela but does quote the

\(^94\) Dickey [Establishment] p.147-8
\(^95\) B. Dickey, op. cit [Care] p. 175
\(^96\) Williamson, op. cit.[Pt.1] p.378.
\(^97\) ibid p.381. She mentions the results at inspection of a group of 29 girls whose average age was nine. These were hardly likely to have been prostitutes
\(^98\) ibid p.380
\(^99\) van Krieken, op.cit. p.69-71
\(^100\) ibid. 92
\(^101\) Willis, op.cit. p.189
Newcastle Chronicle as referring to the girls as "the adolescent scum of the metropolis and its back slums" [instead of] "the waifs and strays of the streets."\textsuperscript{102} On the other hand he quotes George Lucas as saying that "there were some very good children in the Institution,"\textsuperscript{103} and gives other indications that there were many younger girls present and one hint that some of the older girls were believed to be above the legal age for retention.\textsuperscript{104} The picture for the girls is thus even less clear than for the boys. A thorough analysis of admissions is a prime requisite to the understanding of the function of the school at all three locations.

Administration

Available accounts of the administration of the Vernon/Sobraon cover the regimes of both Mein (1867-1878) and Neitenstein (1878-1896). Ramsland describes conditions on the Vernon during Mein's Superintendency thoroughly.\textsuperscript{105} Horsburgh outlines staffing arrangements, trades taught and costs per inmate during the same period.\textsuperscript{106} The administration by Neitenstein has a mechanical perfection that seems to call for analysis. Ramsland, Garton and O'Brien (and others) reproduce his seven-point mark system and much of his daily programme, although none of them explain the distinct changes in administration and curriculum which accompanied the introduction of that programme.\textsuperscript{107} Apart from an account provided by Scrivener,\textsuperscript{108} there is no account of the Superintendency of William Mason, which covered the last third of the school's existence. Some knowledge of Mason's period as Superintendent and the diverse factors behind the decision to abandon the Sobraon is necessary to the understanding of the real purpose of the ship.

\textsuperscript{102} Ramsland, \textit{op. cit} p.147
\textsuperscript{103} \textit{ibid} p.146
\textsuperscript{104} \textit{ibid} pp. 138-144
\textsuperscript{105} \textit{ibid}, pp.116-138
\textsuperscript{106} Horsburgh \textit{op. cit.} [1870] p.6
\textsuperscript{107} Ramsland \textit{op.cit} pp.209-220. Garton, \textit{op. cit.} pp.51-64. O'Brien, \textit{op. cit.} pp.145-150. Ramsland states that the programme which Mein introduced "was to continue ...throughout the life of the ship." pp.237-8.
\textsuperscript{108} G. Scrivener, \textit{op.cit.} pp.36-61
Accounts of the administration of the Girls' School at Newcastle are extremely vague. Neither Dickey nor Williamson mention Mrs King's existence as first Superintendent at Newcastle. Dickey even states that 'the first two superintendents were disastrous men.'109 Similarly Williamson names only 'Lucas and Clarke and untrained personnel' as role models.110 She goes on to praise the activities of Mrs King as Matron of the Reformatory, and welcomes the appointment of Selina Walker to the Industrial School as a distinct advance because she is a woman.111 Her discussion for the curriculum followed depends on the published Regulations concerning the duties of the matron and others, but she makes no suggestions as to how these regulations could be, or were, applied.112 Ramsland depends on the local press for most of his information about Newcastle.113 While the Newcastle Chronicle appears to have been quite well-informed on the subject of the School, the use of such a source inevitably leaves gaps which need filling.

Dickey blames the 'unsuitable buildings, government parsimony, incompetent control and an intriguing, backbiting staff' for problems at both Newcastle and Biloela.114 Ramsland's verdict that Mrs King 'lacked the solid efficient capacities of Captain Mein' but also 'lacked the educational resources of the Vernon' is followed by a paragraph criticising the buildings, the site and the 'industrial resources'.115 Ramsland also endorses the criticism of a correspondent to the Newcastle Chronicle of lack of classification and lack of caring treatment.116 This is matched by Williamson's verdict of 'the poor quality of the appointed staff, the unsuitability of the buildings and the absence in the parliament and the school, of a comprehensive theory of reformatory education.'117 While any or all of these

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109 Dickey, op.cit. [Establishment] p.148
110 Williamson op.cit.[Part 1] p. 382
111 ibid pp.382-3
112 ibid p. 379
113 Ramsland, op.cit. pp. 125=149
114 Dickey, op. cit. [Development] p.148
115 Ramsland op. cit. p.140
116 ibid p.141
117 Williamson, op.cit.[Part 1] p.376
criticisms could be accurate they are not supported by any evidence. Such a miscellany of verdicts calls for further investigation. Many questions suggest themselves. Consider, for example, the criticism of site and the buildings.

The site is a superb piece of real estate. The buildings (with modifications and additions) are still in existence and still in regular use. If they were so undesirable for a school, what made them so desirable for a lunatic asylum? Why would the living quarters for soldiers, who appear to have looked after themselves remarkably well, have been inappropriate for less than half their number of girls? Similar questions need to be asked about the staff appointed and their qualifications, the equipment provided, the support from the Colonial Secretary's office, the attitude of the community, the attitude of the police, provisions for classification, and for school and industrial instruction.

Both Ramsland and Williamson quote the evidence at the Charities Commission concerning happenings at Biloela, and provide further information on Mrs Walker's superintendency. Many questions suggest themselves. What happened in the two years before the members of the Charities Commission made their well-publicised visits? What happened in the eighteen months between the sacking of George Lucas and the appointment of Selina Walker? Life on the island while the Sutherland Docks were being gouged out of the playground deserves some attention. Is there any explanation for the apparent early success and obvious later failure of Selina Walker?

Williamson, Willis and Scrivener deal with aspects of the administration of Parramatta after 1898, but the first ten years at Parramatta have gone almost completely unrecorded. Williamson sees a 'modicum of administrative sensitivity and theory' in the educational programme at Paramatta although she questions the relationship between theory and practice. Willis sees the 'problems' of Parramatta as problems of vice

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119 Williamson, op.cit. [part 2] and Willis, op.cit. passim
120 Williamson, op.cit Part 2 .p319
associated with city living and points to the connection, made by Mackellar, of religion and morality for women. Scrivener analyses the changes made by Superintendents Dryhurst (1896 to 1905) and Thompson (1905-1923). The changes made at Parramatta in 1890 mark a more fundamental change in the life of the Institution than even the 1905 Act did: 1890 marked a major change in administration, 1905 a major change in admissions. Both aspects need attention.

**Discharges**

Because the Industrial Schools were training schools, the ways in which the boys and girls were discharged are fundamental indicators of the functions which the Schools were performing. Most accounts of the Industrial Schools give the impression that committal to an Industrial School automatically involved apprenticeship. No account is taken of discharges by Executive authority or of discharges at eighteen. Although various authors have examined aspects of the apprenticeship system none have used these analyses to examine what can be gleaned about the fundamental purposes of the schools or of what they tell us about differences in policies between the Boys and the Girls Schools.

This thesis analyses the varying ways in which children could leave the Industrial Schools. Examination of the difference between the number of applications for discharge by Executive authority made by parents of boys and girls, of the proportion of those granted and of the way these altered over the lifetime of the Institutions provides many insights into the perceived roles of both Schools. Similar insights are gained by an analysis of the discharges made from both schools at eighteen and the reasons for these.

**Relationship with other Child Welfare Institutions.**

The changing roles of the two Schools as indicated by their relationship with other Child Welfare Institutions have

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121 Willis, op. cit pp.191-2
122 Horsburgh's account of discharges by Executive authority is a notable exception to this. Horsburgh, op.cit pp.13-15
123 Willis and Scrivener discuss conditional discharges after 1908. Willis op.cit p.88. Scrivener op.cit pp.131-135
123 The contribution of Ramsland, Horsburgh, O'Brien and Willis are discussed in the relevant sections of the text.
received little attention. Ramsland provides the only reference to the altered relationship between the two Industrial Schools which was established by the Amendment to the Industrial Schools Act in 1871 and which affected the enrolment of both schools. Such statements as Kociumbas's that 'On the Vernon in 1875 boys aged from three to four up to eighteen, began the day...' take no account of the workings of this Amendment. Access to evidence for discharges or transfers is obviously necessary.

Accounts of the establishment of the State Children Relief Board are plentiful but only Dickey and Ramsland pay attention to the relationship between the Board and the Industrial Schools. Failure to note this relationship can cause accounts of children committed to Industrial Schools to be only partially true, because it is assumed that committal to an Industrial School guaranteed retention in that school. Cases cited by O'Brien offer good examples of committals which could have been temporary: Four of the six children under twelve whom she notes as being committed to Industrial Schools in 1881 were not retained at Biloela. No allowance is made for the effect of the commencement of the SCRB in 1881 on such committals or retentions? Similar remarks must be made concerning the five-year-old boy who was wandering the streets at night. Misapprehensions concerning the actual fate of such children create a false impression of the changing function of the schools. Through failure to examine individual case histories, authors have implied (or even assumed) fates for particular children which may be quite misleading.

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124 Ramsland, op. cit p.203 Admission of boys to Biloela began in February 1873, not 1878 as he states. Industrial School For Girls, Register of Warrants Received 3/2/73 (two entries)
125 Kociumbas op. cit p.83.
127 O'Brien. op.cit p.9. Two girls were retained at Biloela. Daily Diaries 22/1/86, 20/4/87 and 7/9/89 The others, two boys and two girls, whose ages ranged from 6 months to 7 years were not retained. There were no boys under seven on Biloela after 1884 and no girls under eleven. SCRB Annual Reports 1884 and 1885.
128 ibid p.141. Boys under eleven were not retained on the ship. NSS Vernon, Annual Report 1886, p.1
Although Dickey sees the necessity of a two-way relationship between the SCRB and the Industrial Schools he concludes that it was a one-way process in which children under twelve were transferred to the care of the Board.\(^{129}\)

He sees the Board as seeking its own Reformatories rather than using the Courts, and therefore determines that the Board looked after all its own problem children. A major contention of this thesis is that the relationship was a two-way process, both with and without the consent of the SCRB. Discussion of this claim involves a closer analysis of admissions and discharges.

Dickey also gives an account of the establishment of the Boys' Reformatory,\(^{130}\) but its relationship with the Sobraon is not mentioned. What was the effect of the opening of Brush Farm? Did it relieve the pressure of admissions to the Sobraon of 'boys in need of reformation'? Or did it add to that pressure? Why?

Different questions arise in regard to the earlier establishment of the Girls' Reformatory. Its existence is mentioned by Dickey\(^ {131}\), by Ramsland\(^ {132}\) by Williamson\(^ {133}\) and by van Krieken, who notes the existence of this practically unused institution and sees the refusal to establish a similar institution for boys, for which there was much demand, as irrational.\(^ {134}\) He explains why there was no Boys' Reformatory but nobody explains why there was a Girls' Reformatory. An understanding of this well-kept secret puts many of the questions regarding Police and Departmental attitudes in a different perspective. No writer mentions the actual relationship between the Girls' Reformatory and the Industrial School, either at Newcastle or Biloela.

The reasons for the demise of the Sobraon have received little attention. Ramsland and Cartan refer to the cost and the outdatedness of the ship\(^ {135}\) while Garton sees the

\(^{129}\) Dickey, op.cit. [Evolution]. p.50

\(^{130}\) ibid pp.50-53

\(^{131}\) Dickey , op.cit. [Establishment] p.47

\(^{132}\) Ramsland op.cit. p.116

\(^{133}\) Williamson, op. cit. [Part 1], pp.382ff

\(^{134}\) van Krieken, op.cit. p.85

institutional system as being marginalised from the mainstream.\textsuperscript{136} If either explanation is correct, what explanation can be offered for such institutions as the Mittagong Farm Home which competed with the Sobraon for boys from the Children's Court, or for Mt Penang which employed many of the staff from the Sobraon and for many years afterwards continued to use the language and definitions of the ship?\textsuperscript{137} What other explanations can be offered for the demise of the Sobraon? The same institutional system continued at Parramatta well into the twentieth century. Why?

Ancient wisdom advises against the patching of an old garment with new cloth, lest larger holes are created. Because of the extraordinary number of gaps in the information available it was necessary to essay a completely new account of the two Schools, to determine the reasons for admission, the curriculum and administration of the Schools and the processes of discharge and apprenticeships. From the outset it was clear that much primary material would be required. Although due account is taken of the secondary accounts that exist, this thesis is an attempt to create an entirely new account of the two Industrial Schools from the primary material available.

\textsuperscript{136} Garton, op. cit. p.54
\textsuperscript{137} Ship terminology was still in use fifty years after the Sobraon was abandoned.