CHAPTER 8

GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF THE ORPHAN SCHOOLS

When the Charter for the Clergy and School Lands Corporation was revoked in 1833, the governance of the Orphan Schools was transferred to the colonial administration, and this control extended over an eighteen year period. In this chapter we shall examine the operation of the Schools to determine if the supervision of them during this period was satisfactory. The life and routine within the Schools will engage our attention.

Governor Richard Bourke was interested in education and in the operation of the Orphan Schools. We shall consider the reforms in education which he attempted to make in the colony, and the reform which he effected in the Orphan Schools.

The changes which occurred in the Male Orphan School in terms of the number of admissions will be considered. Our attention will focus on the factors leading to Governor Fitzroy’s decision to unite the Orphan Schools at Parramatta, which brought to a close the separate establishments of the Female and Male Orphan Schools.

When Major Richard Bourke was appointed to be the Governor of the colony, he was the first Irish born person to occupy that position. He was born in Dublin on 4 May 1777, and was a member of a well-established Anglo-Irish family. His family’s land holdings were located in the counties of Limerick and Tipperary in southern Ireland.1

Richard Bourke was educated in England and attended Westminster School. He was greatly influenced by the English statesman and author Edmund Burke, who was a distant relative, and he attended school with Edmund’s son. Richard Bourke developed strong liberal and humanitarian leanings as he matured. He was sympathetic to Whiggish ideas, and although he was a devout Anglican he was liberal in his attitude to other denominations, particularly Roman Catholics.2

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2 ibid., p. 2.
At the age of sixteen he matriculated and gained entrance initially to Oriel College at Oxford, and later transferred to Exeter College. In February 1798 he graduated with a B.A., and spent a short time reading for the Bar. However he decided on a military career, and saw service in the Netherlands, where he was wounded. He attained the rank of captain, and married Elizabeth Jane Bourke in 1800.³

Bourke was successful in his military studies which he undertook at High Wycombe Military College, having entered that establishment in 1801. After he graduated he received a posting as Superintendent of the Junior Department of the Royal Military College, and was promoted to the rank of Major. His work with the cadets in their various courses of study is thought to have led to an abiding interest in education.⁴

After returning to Limerick in 1815, he became very involved in farming activities on his estate. He saw at first hand the suffering of the Irish poor, and he had empathy for these people. His views on social issues were sincere and may have been responsible for his accepting the appointment as Chairman of the Irish Relief Association. He supported the idea of capital works funded by the state being used to provide employment for the poor. His wife Elizabeth, though subject to bouts of ill health, supported Bourke in his ideas, and was active in schemes to relieve the poverty endured by families in the parish.⁵

In 1825 Richard Bourke was appointed to the position of Acting Governor of the Cape Colony. He arrived there in 1826 in a period when financial problems were being experienced. There were also land problems between Boer farmers and Bantu tribes, which gave rise to fighting. Bourke was able to restore order in the colony despite the short term of his appointment which expired in September 1828.⁶

Returning once again to Ireland in 1829 Bourke became involved in public education. A form of National Education which would be available for the children from poor Catholic and Protestant families was campaigned for by Thomas Spring-Rice. This gentleman was the Member of Parliament for Limerick and a friend of the Bourke family. The proposed educational system would permit these children to be taught in the same schools. The schools were to be built with government subsidies,

⁴ ibid., pp. 14-16.
⁵ Waugh, pp. 13-20.
⁶ ibid., pp. 23-33.
and the high ranking representatives of the Church of England, Catholic and Presbyterian Churches had agreed to become members of the National Board of Education. These representatives agreed to the establishment of these non-denominational schools, provided that separate religious instruction could be given outside of school hours on one day per week.\textsuperscript{7} The legislation for the establishment of the National Schools in Ireland was passed by the Whig government led by Earl Charles Grey in August 1831.

Lord Goderich who was Secretary for the Colonies offered the position of Governor of New South Wales to Richard Bourke, and he succeeded Governor Ralph Darling. The Bourke family consisting of Richard, his wife Elizabeth and children Richard, John who was an invalid, Anne and Frances left Portsmouth on the brig \textit{Margaret} on 1 August 1831. They reached Sydney Heads on 2 December and were ashore the next day. Mrs Bourke was very weak during and after the long voyage, and the Governor decided to make Government House at Parramatta his permanent residence, because it was in a better state of repair than the Sydney residence.

Mrs Bourke’s state of health deteriorated. She had experienced bouts of rheumatic fever over a period of years, and her heart had been weakened. She was buried in St John’s Parramatta in May 1832. The eldest daughter Anne was able to act as ‘First Lady’ for her father, whilst her brother Richard served as his personal secretary.\textsuperscript{8}

From studying his background we can see that Governor Richard Bourke brought to his position an informed and enlightened mind; an empathy for people; a liberal and religious tolerance for members of other denominations; a social conscience; an interest in education and experience as a colonial administrator.

Bourke felt that he could not initiate any action about the Orphan Schools or the estate of the Clergy and School Lands, because by June 1833 he had not received

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\textsuperscript{7} King, p. 229.
\textsuperscript{8} Waugh, pp. 36, 39, 41, 46-48.
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the ‘Order of the King in Council’ which had abolished the Church Corporation. This matter had been outstanding since 1831 when Archdeacon Broughton, who opposed the dissolution of the Clergy School Lands Corporation, had questioned the legality of the way in which the Corporation had been dissolved. The Archdeacon had spoken at an Executive Council meeting about this matter, and the Attorney-General referred the Archdeacon’s question to judges of the Supreme Court. Three judges agreed that the revocation under the Royal Sign Manual, dated 19 June 1830 was illegal, since the Charter of Incorporation required dissolution by an Order in Council. Governor Darling advised Viscount Goderich that he had deferred ‘acting on that part of the Instructions which relates to the dissolution of the Corporation, until His Majesty’s intention on this subject should be better understood’.10

Viscount Goderich acted promptly in this matter after Bourke’s despatch of 29 June 1833, was received. He forwarded to Bourke ‘Information and Guidance, an Order of the King in Council bearing the date 4th ultimo, for dissolving the Church and School Corporation establishments in New South Wales’. Goderich made reference to his ‘despatch of 25th December 1832, No. 148’.11 With documentation of the dissolution of the Corporation in his possession, Governor Bourke provided a brief account of the principal establishments of the Corporation, namely the Male and Female Orphan Schools to the Right Hon. E. G. Stanley. This account indicated that 133 boys were maintained and educated in the Male Orphan School, and that the estimated expense of that establishment in 1834 would be £1300. At the Female Orphan School 174 girls were in residence and the estimated expense would be £1500 in 1834. Bourke paid attention to the conditions of the children in these institutions. He wrote:

The buildings of the Female Orphan School are handsome and commodious. In both of these schools the children are brought up exclusively in the doctrines of the Church of England. As they are received at a very early age, and those that are not orphans in the strict meaning of the term are for the most part deserted or neglected by their parent, it is proper that they should be so brought up.12

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9 Bourke to Under-Secretary Hay, 29 June 1833, in Historical Records of Australia, Vol. XVII, pp. 157-158.
10 Darling to Viscount Goderich, 28 September 1831, in HRA, Vol. XVI, p. 381.
11 Goderich to Bourke, 7 August 1833, in HRA, Vol. XVII, p. 34.
Previously it has been noted that Governor Darling proposed that the Orphan Schools should remain under Archdeacon Broughton’s administration, and Bourke also considered that these Schools should remain under the control of the Church of England. Bourke thought that these Schools should be placed under the control of Committees. He did not however pursue this course of action, but awaited advice from the Home Office. In his despatch to the Right Hon. Stanley, Bourke wrote:

I have not yet named a Committee to superintend the Orphan Schools, being desirous of receiving your commands upon the arrangements I have suggested for the general management of the colonial schools, before I take any steps of importance regarding the Orphan Schools.\(^{13}\)

Although Governor Bourke had not named a Committee for the Orphan Schools, when Archdeacon Broughton was shortly to leave for England, Bourke was able to advise the British Government that ‘every necessary arrangement has however been made for their proper maintenance’. The contracts which had been entered into for the supply of items for the institutions were considered to be very satisfactory. The Governor had recently inspected both establishments, and he was gratified to report that ‘the appearance of both Schools more especially the Female Orphan School much improved’. Bourke readily gave praise to Archdeacon Broughton for the improvement which he (Bourke) had noted, and he considered that the Archdeacon had paid great attention to the Schools.\(^{14}\)

In chapters 6 and 7 reference has been made to the issue of Roman Catholic children being accommodated and educated in the Orphan Schools. It is likely that girls of Roman Catholic parents were admitted to the Female Orphan School from its inception, and in which there was a strong Anglican influence. Parents, relatives or guardians made application to have Catholic children admitted, and according to evidence given to Commissioner Bigge by the Rev. W. Cowper, these adults did not express any problem about placing the children in a Protestant institution.\(^{15}\) However as there was no alternative establishment, if a girl needed to be placed in care, the

\(^{13}\) Bourke to Stanley, 11 March 1834, in Missing Despatches 1833-41, pp. 602-603. Mitchell Library A1267/5.

\(^{14}\) ibid.

\(^{15}\) Cowper’s evidence to Bigge, 23 January 1821, in Bonwick Transcripts, Box 8, pp. 3367-3368. (ML)
adults concerned really had little or no choice in the matter. The first Roman Catholic chaplains arrived in the colony in 1820 and we have noted earlier that Governor Macquarie instructed the Rev. J. J. Therry not to interfere with the religious education of the children in the Orphan Schools.  

The monitorial system devised by the Joseph Lancaster was probably introduced into the Female Orphan School when John Hosking became Master in 1809. He was a graduate of the Borough Road School, which trained teachers in the Lancasterian system. Thomas Bowden introduced the Lancasterian system into the Male Orphan School when he became its founding Master in January 1819. This system included Bible readings as part of scripture lessons in its curriculum, but it was unsectarian in nature.

When the Rev. Thomas Reddall was appointed Chaplain, he had been trained in the Bell National System or the Madras Monitorial System, which had been developed by the Anglican clergyman Dr Andrew Bell. Thomas Reddall introduced the Madras Monitorial System into the Male and Female Orphan Schools. This System was closely aligned with the Church of England, and the children were instructed in the doctrines of that denomination. The Catechism, Book of Common Prayer and the Bible were all used in the religious training of the children.

The Rules and Regulations of the Female Factory at Parramatta were amended by Governor Darling in 1826. Section 43 of the Governor’s Minutes stated that: ‘All Children above Four [in print is the word three] years of age whose mothers are in the Factory are to be removed to the Orphan Schools and remain there until their mothers leave the Establishment’. These young children irrespective of their parents’ religion were placed in the Orphan Schools, and this caused consternation to some of their Catholic mothers as well as to the Rev. J. J. Therry. When the Roman Catholic Chaplain attempted to have religious material written from a Catholic perspective

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16 Macquarie to Connolly and Therry, 14 October 1820, in BT, Box 24, p. 5206.
18 ibid., p. 171.
20 Governor’s Minutes, Minute 130, Regulation 43, 17 August 1826. An alteration had been made to the initial age of four for the removal of children to the Orphan School, and the word three had been hand printed in the Governor’s Minutes. In Rules and Regulations of the Female Factory. State Records New South Wales 4/990.
introduced into the Female Orphan School, Archdeacon Scott would not countenance the introduction of those tracts.\(^{21}\)

This was the situation which greeted Richard Bourke on his appointment as Governor. In 1836 he wrote to Lord Glenelg about the criteria for the admission of children into the Male and Female Orphan Schools, and stated that ‘orphancy is not an indispensable requisite for admission into these Schools. Many children who have one or both Parents living, but unable to provide for them, are received’.\(^{22}\)

When describing the destitute children of Catholic mothers Bourke stated that many were illegitimate and their fathers were unknown; some had been born in the Female Factory at Parramatta; some had mothers who had been sent into service and were therefore unable to provide for them. There were also children of ‘free’ parents who were in necessitous circumstances because of the sickness, death or changed living conditions of their parents, which rendered them unable to make adequate provision for the care and maintenance of the children.

Bourke then used emotive words to describe the placement of some Catholic children:

> These destitute Children whether born in the Factory and baptised by a Romish Priest at the desire of the Mother or bred in the Catholic Faith by their Parents, are placed indiscriminately in the Protestant Orphan Schools, where the doctrines of the Church of England are taught, and its forms observed to the entire exclusion of any other Creed.\(^{23}\)

Apart from Governor Bourke’s attitude to the placement of Catholic children into the Male and Female Orphan Schools, some lay Catholics had petitioned for financial provision to be made for the care of orphan or destitute Catholic children. In 1835 the Legislative Council resolved ‘that a sum not exceeding £600 be appropriated towards the establishment of an Orphan School for destitute Roman Catholic children’\(^{24}\).

Later there was a change in the wording of the appropriation for the support of destitute Roman Catholic children, which included guidelines for the management of a Roman Catholic Institution. The problem of raising children of different religious

\(^{21}\) Scott to Darling, August 1825, in Scott, Archdeacon Thomas Hobbes, Letter Book 1, pp. 78-79. (ML) A/854

\(^{22}\) Bourke to Glenelg, 7 August 1836, in HRA, Vol. XVIII, pp. 464-465.

\(^{23}\) Bourke to Glenelg, 7 August 1836, in Missing Despatches 1833-41, pp. 773-775.

persuasions in one building, and the consequent contentions which may have resulted from that situation were taken into account. It was therefore resolved that:

   It has been thought more advisable to appropriate a sum of money to be expended under proper Control, in relieving the wants of destitute children of their communities, who would otherwise be compelled by necessity to seek asylum in a Protestant Institution.  

In June 1837 ‘orphans’ were admitted to the first Roman Catholic Orphanage in the colony, which was ‘Waverley House’ situated on the corner of Old South Head Road and (now) Victoria Road, Bellevue Hill. The residence was a large two-storeyed building, which had been originally erected on a sixty acre farm for Mr Barnett Levey. Initially twelve or thirteen children were admitted and a Miss Burke was the Matron. Later in 1844 the children who then numbered 113, were transferred to new premises, which were situated near the Female Factory at Parramatta. With the establishment of the Roman Catholic Orphanage, the problems which had been encountered in the Orphan Schools with the teaching of the tenets of the Church of England to Catholic children were overcome.

Governor Bourke’s interest in education extended beyond the Orphan Schools, and he considered ‘that the future well-being of the Colony depended upon the quality of schooling available to all its children’. Bourke thought that the Anglican parochial schools which had been established should remain, but that other schools of a different character should be established. In this way more children would be able to take advantage of educational opportunities. The schools which Bourke envisaged were to be established by the government, and both the schools and teachers would receive funding from colonial revenue. Bourke’s proposal was couched in these terms:

   that schools for the general education of Colonial youth, supported by the Government and regulated after the manner of the Irish Schools, which since the year 1831

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27 King, pp. 228-229.
receive aid from Public Funds, could well be suited to the circumstances of this country.28

In these schools, attempts would be made for children of all faiths to receive a general education. They would be undenominational, but Christian in outlook; a book of Scripture passages would be used, or extracts read to the children instead of the Bible. Facilities would be provided for separate religious instruction to be given by visiting clergy of different denominations on one day in the week. Whilst there was Catholic acceptance of Bourke’s proposal by both clerics and laymen, there was Protestant opposition, this being voiced by Archdeacon (later Bishop) Broughton and the Rev. Dr J. D. Lang the leading Presbyterian.29

In 1834 Archdeacon Broughton returned to England and the Rev. Samuel Marsden was appointed to visit the Orphan Schools and to have general oversight of the Church of England ministration during the Archdeacon’s absence.30 One of the purposes of Broughton’s visit was to raise the issue of Bourke’s proposals for education with the Colonial Office. Broughton expressed his strong opposition to being associated with the system of public education which Governor Bourke had proposed.

Broughton had been offered a Bishopric and hesitated in accepting the proposition, because he was at variance with the proposed school system. Lord Glenelg suggested that if Broughton accepted the position of Bishop he could choose to act as he saw fit as far as the schools in the colony were concerned. It was upon this understanding that Broughton finally accepted the See ‘by which he became Archbishop of Australia’.31 Broughton’s consecration as Bishop of Australia took place in the Chapel at Lambeth Palace on 14 February 1836, and Archbishop Howley of Canterbury presided at the service.32

There was also delay on the part of the Home Office in giving approval to Bourke’s proposal, but the opposition which the Governor encountered made it impossible for him to implement his plan. The system would have required the

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29 Waugh, p. 81.
30 Bourke to Stanley, 11 March 1834, in Missing Despatches 1833-41, pp. 602-603.
31 King, p. 90.
general support from the members of the Legislative Council, together with that of the clergy and the parents of the children.

Richard Bourke was disappointed at his failure to introduce what he believed would have been ‘an adequate and comprehensive system of public education’. Bourke expressed his thoughts to Spring-Rice in April 1836, when he described his reasons for retaining the post of Governor:

I am weary of the incessant labour of this Government and did I not desire to lay the foundation of free Institutions in the Colony and a good system of general education … I would very earnestly ask to be relieved.33

We have examined Governor Bourke’s decisions about the Orphan Schools, and the attitude of the Home Office towards those institutions is seen in the following despatch sent by Lord Glenelg and expressed in these terms:

The Orphan Schools, though the expense of their maintenance is considerable, make provision for a Class of Children, who have no natural protectors, and, although I doubt the expediency of extending them, I think that sufficient grounds exist for their continuance, at least for a time; nor do I see any reason for altering the general system of management, or the plan of education, provided that you are satisfied that no undue Expenditure is sanctioned, and that they are maintained in a state of efficiency. With this view I think it highly expedient that such committees, as are recommended both by yourself, and the Archdeacon should be appointed for the purpose of internal regulations and the superintendence of all matters connected with the conduct and administration of the Schools, the Visitor exercising the ordinary powers attached to that Office.34

This despatch indicates that the Home Office considered that the Orphan Schools provided a necessary refuge for neglected or ‘orphan’ children, and that those establishments should be continued and maintained. The government was already making grants to those Schools, and the first separate provision for the institutions occurred in 1832. In the general estimates for the colony £1,700 was voted for the

33 King, pp. 231-232.
34 Glenelg to Bourke, 30 November 1835, in HRA, Vol. XVIII, p. 205.
Female Orphan School, and £1,300 for the Male Orphan School. These amounts may have given rise to Glenelg’s note of caution about ‘undue expenditure’.

With the Home Office sanction for the continuance of the Orphan Schools one of the first tasks which fell to the colonial administration pertained to the apprenticing of children from those institutions. The dissolution of the Corporation had in effect left the children without the necessary guardians with the legal power to apprentice them. To overcome this problem the Legislative Council passed an Act 5 Will. IV, No. 3 ‘for apprenticing the Children of the Male and Female Orphan Schools, and other poor children in the Colony of New South Wales’. (See copy of apprenticeship form on following page). (Although this apprenticeship agreement was for a later period, the earlier legislation continued and the document is relevant). Governor Bourke advised the Right Hon. J. Spring-Rice about this Act in late 1834.

This apprenticeship form differed in some respects from the indenture used by the Church and School Lands Corporation trustees. Both boys and girls were to remain with their masters or mistresses until they reached the age of twenty one years. The girls could leave at an earlier age if Government permission had been given for them to marry. The yearly sum of £2 for the benefit of the apprentice was to be paid into the Savings Bank by the master for the last three years of the boy’s term. The yearly sum of £1 10s 0d for each girl was likewise to be deposited, for the last three years of the apprenticeship, by the master or mistress.

The apprentices were to attend divine service at least once every Sunday when practicable. The master or mistress was expected to pay particular attention to the morals of the apprentice in his or her care. The severity of punishments for an apprentice’s insubordination or failure to give faithful service was relaxed. The apprentice could be imprisoned for fourteen days, or the apprenticeship could be cancelled. This action would involve the apprentice’s return to the Orphan School.

As regards the obligations of masters or mistresses to their charges, and the behaviour required from apprentices, the terms of the agreement under the Act 5 Will. IV, No. 3, and those which applied under the Corporation, appear to be unchanged.

In addition to the new apprenticeship document, a new form was prepared for a master or mistress to make application for an apprentice. This form required the

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MALE APPRENTICE.

This Affidavit, made on the Twenty-eighth day of October in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and Twenty-Four, and before me, John Clarke, Esquire, Justice of the Peace in and for the County of Northumberland, and for the City and Borough of Newcastle, do depose and say that:

Theapprenpt James Clarke

has been apprenticed to the said

Robert Horrocks

for the term of Six years, to serve in the trade of a

Farm Labourer.

In consideration of the said James Clarke by him, the said Robert Horrocks, having been born, and is now, a minor, and therefore being unable to contract, the said Robert Horrocks, by his attorney, John Clarke, Esquire, has entered into a bond, the condition of which is as follows:

That the said James Clarke, his heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, will, during the term of his apprenticeship, be employed in the said trade of a Farm Labourer, and will observe all the conditions of the indentures hereunto annexed.

In consideration of the said James Clarke, the said Robert Horrocks, by his attorney, John Clarke, Esquire, has entered into a bond, the condition of which is as follows:

That the said Robert Horrocks, his heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, will, during the term of his apprenticeship, be employed in the said trade of a Farm Labourer, and will observe all the conditions of the indentures hereunto annexed.

Signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of:

[Signatures]

[Note]: This is a facsimile of the original document as it appears in the Mitchell Library.
recommendation by two members of the clergy or magistrates. The applications were recorded in the Orphan Schools, and were forwarded to the Colonial Secretary’s Office as a monthly return. Mrs Ebhart, Matron of the Female Orphan School, applied to have Eliza Sweetman apprenticed to her in 1840 and these documents are extant. (See copies on following pages).

Another task which fell to the colonial administration through the Colonial Secretary’s Office, was related to staff at the Orphan Schools particularly the posts of Master or Matron. In the previous chapter the difficulties of securing a replacement for the position of Master of the Female Orphan School were examined, following the resignation of the Rev. Charles N. P. Wilton in 1831. In a despatch to Governor Bourke in 1832 Viscount Goderich suggested that Archdeacon Broughton should make a selection from any colonist ‘whom he may consider best qualified for the situation’, to fill the vacancy at the School.38

We have noted in chapter 7 that the Rev. Henry T. Stiles had been appointed in England to occupy the position as Superintendent of the Female Orphan School. However it would appear that prior to the Rev. Stiles’ arrival in the colony in July 1833 on board the Warrior,39 the position had been filled, and he was appointed to be the chaplain at St Matthew’s Windsor on 2 September.40

A member of the laity had been appointed to fill the position at the Female Orphan School. In 1829 a Lieutenant Alexander Martin of the Royal Navy had arrived in New South Wales, and sought a land grant. Martin was informed of the residential qualifications required before an application could be made for land. He therefore returned to England with the intention of bringing his family to settle in the colony in order to qualify for a grant of land.41

On 2 January 1832 Alexander, his wife Sarah and five children reached Port Jackson via the Caroline.42 It would seem that soon after their arrival the Martins were appointed to the Female Orphan School. As Matron, Mrs Sarah Martin received £130 per annum, and Alexander as Superintendent received £80 per annum.43

42 Colonial Secretary, Unassisted Passengers, 1826-1853, 2 January, 1832. SRNSW
43 Colonial Secretary of New South Wales, Returns of the Colony 1822-1857, 1832, p. 169. SRNSW
APPLICATION FOR AN ORPHAN SCHOOL APPRENTICE.

Dated

Sir—I request that you will have the goodness to submit to His Excellency the Governor, my Application for an Apprentice from the Institution under your charge. For this purpose, I subjoin the particulars required by the Government Notice of 26th July, 1834, and am willing to enter into the Bond prescribed by the Act of Council 5 William IV., No. 3, whenever called on to do so.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

(Signature)

Applicant's Name

Residence

Occupation

Religion

Whether Married or Single

Trade or Calling in which the Apprentice will be instructed

CERTIFICATE.

WE hereby Certify that we have known the Applicant,

for and believe to be capable of maintaining and instructing an Apprentice; and in point of character and behaviour, a proper person to be allowed to receive one.

We therefore recommend a compliance with this application.

(1st Clergyman or Magistrate.)

(2nd Clergyman or Magistrate.)

To

The Master of the Orphan School at

Application form for an apprentice from the Female Orphan School (original in the Colonial Secretary's papers SRNSW 4/2504.2)
The differential in the salaries received may have prompted Mr Martin to write to the Colonial Secretary in 1836, when he sought an increase in his salary. Mr Martin stated that he had occupied his position for four years, and that he received less money than either the surgeon or the Matron. He likened his salary to that which a junior clerk in an office may expect. Mr Martin wrote that his duties included those which had previously been undertaken by the Master and his storekeeper. These men had received £150 and £80 per annum respectively, and a saving of £150 was therefore being made per year. Martin further stated that his duties had increased including attention to ‘Indentures’ and letter writing.44

The reply which Mr Martin received from assistant Colonial Secretary Harrington, whilst acknowledging Mr Martin’s increased duties, indicated that it was the Matron who was ‘considered the principal person in the Establishment’. The writer indicated that the Governor was unwilling to augment the Superintendent’s salary, and gave as his reason that ‘the administration of the Funds of the Orphan Schools is yet undecided by His Majesty’s Government’. Mr Harrington also assured Mr Martin that the Governor ‘has every reason to be satisfied with the attention paid to the Institution both by yourself and Mrs Martin’.45 The reason given to Mr Martin for not increasing his salary appears to be at variance with the attitude expressed by Lord Glenelg to Governor Bourke in 1835. The continuance of the Orphan Schools was sanctioned as well as funding for them as noted earlier in this chapter.

The Martins retained their positions in the Female Orphan School until the end of 1839, and their involvement covered a period of seven years. Governor Bourke had reported favourably on this institution when after a visit, he was able to comment on the appearance of the Female Orphan School, stating it was ‘much improved’.46 The Rev. Richard Taylor who visited the School in June 1836 wrote ‘I admired the institution and the neatness which everything presented’.47 The Governor had expressed his gratification with the attention which the Martins gave to the School. It would appear that tranquility had been restored to the Female Orphan School after the difficulties which had arisen between the Rev. Charles Wilton and the former Archdeacon Scott, due to Mrs Wilton’s ill-health.

44 Martin to Colonial Secretary, 25 February 1836, in Colonial Secretary Papers, Female Orphan School. SRNSW 4/2328.1
45 Harrington to Martin, 12 March 1836, in ibid.
46 Bourke to Stanley, 11 March 1834, in Missing Despatches 1833-1841, pp. 602-603.
After the departure of the Martins the position of Matron was occupied by Mrs Elizabeth Ebhart in 1840, and as she was a widow, a Joseph Snape was appointed to the position of overseer. Presumably he carried out the clerical duties which Alexander Martin had performed as superintendent, but his salary was set at £60 per annum. This was £20 a year less than Mr Martin had received, however Mrs Ebhart received £130 per annum.\(^{48}\)

In September Mrs Ebhart advised the Colonial Secretary that she intended to resign from the Female Orphan School at the beginning of 1841, and she requested that her intention be made known to the Governor. Mrs Ebhart proffered no reason for her resignation, but as we have sighted her application for Eliza Sweetman to be apprenticed to her as a nurse maid, Mrs Ebhart may have had small children which required her care and attention.\(^{49}\)

During the early part of 1840 Mr Neale McKenny, whose address was given as South Kent Street, wrote to the Colonial Secretary requesting a government position. Mr McKenny stated that he had arrived in the colony in December with his wife and six children. He wrote that he had extensive experience ‘in trade’, and that he had been left a small income from an estate.\(^{50}\)

This couple were considered suitable for employment at the Female Orphan School, and were appointed to that institution as from 1 January 1841. Mrs Harriet McKenny was appointed to be the Matron at £130 per annum, and her husband Neale was appointed to the position of steward at the rate of £70 per annum.\(^{51}\)

In order that there would be a smooth transition in the change of staff Mrs Ebhart was requested to prepare inventories of all items in the institution. She was ‘to give over charge of the Establishment on 1st January next to Mrs McKenny’, and was to obtain from the incoming Matron a signed receipt for the articles listed in the inventories. Mrs Ebhart was further requested to tell two members of staff namely Mr Snape and Mrs Starr, that they would not be kept in their present positions after 1 February 1841.\(^{52}\)

The McKennys duly took up their positions at the Female Orphan School in 1841, and Mrs McKenny remained as Matron until the end of 1850. Mr McKenny

\(^{48}\) CS of NSW, Returns of the Colony 1822-1857, 1840, p. 319.
\(^{49}\) Ebhart to Colonial Secretary, 7 September 1840, in Colonial Secretary Letters Received, Female Orphan School. SRNSW 4/2504.2
\(^{50}\) McKenny to Colonial Secretary, 30 March 1840, in ibid.
\(^{51}\) Colonial Secretary General Order, 16 December 1840, in ibid.
\(^{52}\) ibid.
served as steward for the years 1841 and 1842. An Edward McKenny who may have been a son, occupied the positions of steward and later clerk in the period 1843 to 1845. Edward received £70 per annum for his work and in 1846 Robert McKenny, possibly another son held the position of clerk at the same salary for the period 1846 to 1848.53

In September 1832 Broughton proposed a certain appointment to the Female Orphan School, which may have been the precursor of a later ministry initiative on his part. Broughton approached Governor Bourke about the Rev. Charles Dickenson who was serving at the Field of Mars as chaplain. There was no parsonage available for Mr Dickenson and he had to obtain private accommodation for his family. A house large enough for the purpose was £80 a year to rent, and Archdeacon Scott had attempted to assist the chaplain by paying him £60 a year in lieu of a rectory or parsonage. Broughton proposed that the chaplain take divine services on Sunday afternoon at the Female Orphan School, and that he be allowed £50 a year for this ministry.54

This was an interesting proposal on the part of Archdeacon Broughton. The girls had attended services at St John’s Parramatta for years, and the records give no indication that this practice had ceased. With the departure of the Rev. Wilton as Master and the appointment of Mrs Martin as Matron and her husband as superintendent, the ongoing daily influence of a member of the clergy was not possible. Was the Archdeacon’s proposal bound up with his attitude toward the spiritual guidance of the girls, or was it only to secure an additional stipend for the Rev. Dickenson?

With the departure of the Rev. Robert Cartwright as Master of the Male Orphan School in 1828, and the Rev. Wilton’s resignation from the Female Orphan School in 1831, both institutions were left without the daily presence of a member of the clergy. Although the Master of the Male Orphan School Richard Sadleir had served as a catechist, he was a member of the laity. Mr Alexander Martin, like Richard Sadleir was a former officer of the Royal Navy.

54 Bourke to Goderich, 22 September 1832, in ‘Missing’ NSW Governors’ Despatches 1823-32, No. 2, p. 487. (ML) 1267/4
In June 1836 the Rev. Richard Taylor arrived in the colony, and recorded in his diary for that month that he had visited the Orphan Asylum (Parramatta) in company with the Rev. Marsden. On a later visit to that institution he ‘examined certain girls for confirmation’, and he reported that he ‘was much gratified with the replies they gave to the general questions I put to them’. Some months later he returned to the Female Orphan School and he gave an evening lecture as well as reading the service. In September he preached at an afternoon service at the School. From these diary entries we note that the Rev. Taylor took an active role in the Female Orphan School as far as divine services were concerned.

Apparently the Rev. Taylor widened his sphere of activity because in September 1836 he visited the Male Orphan School which he described ‘as a large place’, and on that occasion Mr Sadleir was absent from the School. On his next visit he met with the Master in the afternoon, ‘and gave a lecture’. Like the girls the boys were in the habit of attending church services, and they walked to St Luke’s Liverpool. We have read about the Rev. Cartwright’s concerns about the distance which had to be covered from the School at Bull’s Hill to Liverpool. A former Schoolmaster Edward Webster accompanied the boys to the services at St Luke’s, and when he failed in his ‘duty of care’, he was deprived of his position by Richard Sadleir.

In 1837 Taylor was allowed £50 per annum for extra duties. £25 was granted ‘as minister to the Male Orphan School, and £25 as chaplain to the gaol and hospital’. Apparently the Master Richard Sadleir, did not approve of Taylor’s appointment, and in writing about the matter the Rev. Taylor considered that Mr Sadleir regarded the appointment as ‘a reflection upon himself’. The Rev. Taylor’s residence in the colony ceased on 19 February 1839, so this was a short-term appointment.

The Rev. John Duffus was attached to the Male Orphan School in 1838, and occupied the position of chaplain at a salary of £25 per annum for the next five years. In 1840 the Rev. G. E. Turner was appointed to the Female Orphan School and remained there until the end of 1843. He received an annual allowance of £25 for his services.

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56 ibid., pp. 21-23.
57 ibid., p. 68.
Orphan School establishments in the Colonial Secretary’s Returns for New South Wales. The fact that chaplains were attached to both Orphan Schools for a period of time indicates that Broughton may have thought that the spiritual guidance of the girls and boys could best be provided by a clergyman attached to those institutions.

As Governor Richard Bourke with his liberality of thought, his desire to see public education available for all children, and his influence with the Legislative Council to make financial provision for the care of Catholic ‘orphans’, has featured in this chapter, it is appropriate to look at the close of his administration.

Like previous Governors Richard Bourke had his many supporters and opponents. Some of the latter were leading members of the Protestant faiths, pastoralists who opposed his attempts to equalise land distribution, and members of the colonial service such as Alexander Macleay the Colonial Secretary, and C. D. Riddell the Colonial Treasurer. Bourke had differences with both these officers, and took action to remove Campbell Riddell from his position as ‘Executive Councillor for the colony of New South Wales’. The Home Office did not support the action which Governor Bourke had taken. In addition Bourke wanted to have the size of the Legislative Council increased so this it could function as a more representative body, however ‘the Home Office deferred a decision on this matter which distressed the Governor’.  

Richard Bourke decided to submit his resignation to Lord Glenelg, and this was accepted. In 1837 Glenelg was able to recommend ‘the zeal, energy and enlightened views’ which Bourke had displayed during his administration. Bourke left the colony on 5 December 1837 on the barque Samuel Winter, having accepted a military promotion as Colonel of the 64th Regiment.

Bourke’s departure was greeted with a display of emotion and support. The Australian praised the Governor for his liberality and his achievements. A public fund was opened and subscriptions were readily forthcoming to erect a statue to

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59 ibid., 1822-1857.
60 Glenelg to Bourke, 11 August 1836, in HRA, Vol. XVIII, pp. 479-482.
61 Waugh, p. 141.
63 Waugh, pp. 154, 158-160.
Governor Bourke. This bronze statue stands outside the Mitchell Wing of the State Library of New South Wales. Many of his achievements are cited on the monument and part of the inscription reads: ‘He established religious equality on a just and firm basis, and sought to provide for all, without distinction of sect, a sound and adequate system of national education’.

As we turn our attention to the Orphan Schools to discover how they functioned, we find that during this period in their history, the daily life and routine had not departed from the prescription laid down by the Trustees in 1829. In that year Rules and Regulations were formulated which were to operate in the Schools, and which have been described in chapter 7. Judge W. W. Burton has provided us with a vivid description of life within the Schools in his publication of 1840, namely The State of Religion and Education in New South Wales. We shall examine the pattern of daily life within the Female Orphan School in the first instance.

The girls rose at 5 o’clock in summer and an hour later in winter. Time was spent in making beds and cleaning their rooms until it was time to meet for prayers at 7 o’clock. A psalm was read, the morning hymn was sung and Bloomfields Family prayer guide was used. The girls washed, dressed and had breakfast between the hours of 8 and 9 o’clock. A bell was then rung and the girls were inspected before their formal work in the school commenced. This work consisted of receiving instruction in Mrs Trimmer’s Scriptural Catechism, the New Testament was read and the girls repeated sections of the catechism. Time was spent in spelling, writing, repeating their tables and in learning arithmetic. The girls spent three hours in the classroom, and from noon to 1 o’clock the girls were able to exercise.

At 1 o’clock they had their dinner and this break continued for an hour. The next three hours from 2 to 5 o’clock were devoted to their manual training in needlework, where the girls made clothes as well as sheets and bed ticks. The period of manual training had been reduced by one hour from Scott’s regulations of 1825. Supper was served at 6 o’clock and at dusk they assembled again for prayers when a

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64 Sydney Monitor, 4, 8, 11 December 1837.
chapter from the New Testament was read, the evening hymn was sung and prayers were read. After the devotional time the girls retired to bed.65

This description shows us the regimented lives lead by the girls in the Female Orphan School. Approximately one hour daily was devoted to prayers, scripture readings and instruction in the doctrines of the Church of England. Formal school work probably occupied two hours per day and manual training three hours per day (Mondays to Fridays). The break in the middle of the day gave some respite from their learning activities, and they may have had some free time after their meals.

In February 1839 there were 142 girls in the School, whose ages ranged from three to eleven or twelve years. Eighty seven of these girls were in the school, twenty were in the nursery and would therefore would have been aged three or less, and thirty five children were in the infirmary.66 These children had to wear an Infirmary Dress and were under the care of a hospital attendant, who administered medicines prescribed by the visiting surgeon. The percentage of children in the infirmary, about a quarter, seems a high proportion of the total School population. There may have been a presenting medical problem at that time and we have already noted that the children were subject to epidemics from time to time.

The girls attended morning service at St John’s Anglican Church at Parramatta each Sunday weather permitting. On Sunday afternoon the girls had a service in the School and prayers were read either by ‘a Clergyman or the principal of the Establishment’.67 The comment about the clergy involvement in the afternoon service permits us to learn about one of the duties of the Rev. G. E. Turner, who was serving as Chaplain at the School in 1840.

In presenting a brief educational report of the Female Orphan School Burton wrote:

Twenty seven read the New Testament, write well, and knew the first rules of arithmetic; forty seven read the New Testament and wrote indifferently; the remainder of the children in the school are very small and were merely learning the alphabet.68

66 ibid., p. 170.
67 ibid.
68 ibid.
Governor Macquarie had placed emphasis on the need for an adequate diet for the children in both Schools, and Scott’s regulations in 1829 had given responsibility to the visiting surgeon to regulate the children’s diets. The rations which were provided allow us to gain an insight into the girls’ diet.

The diet in the Female Orphan School varied according to the day of the week, or whether a ‘holiday’ was being observed. In the 1840s there were four ‘holidays’ namely New Years Day, Easter Day, Christmas Day and the Queen’s Birthday. On those days the girls were allowed the following rations, ‘16 oz flour, 8 oz meat, ½ oz salt, ¼ oz tea, 1½ oz sugar, 1¼ oz raisins or currants, 1½ oz suet and ¾ oz soap’. The daily rations provided for Mondays to Saturdays were ‘12 oz flour, 4 oz maize meal, 8 oz meat, ½ oz salt, ¼ oz tea, 1 oz sugar, ¾ oz soap’. There was a slight variation in Sunday’s ration when no maize was allowed. Children who were younger than seven years of age were allowed to have the ‘best wheaten bread as a substitute’. The superintendent was charged with the responsibility of making this substitution, and the proportions allowed were ‘8 oz bread for 12 oz flour’.

The rations for the ‘holidays’ indicate that the girls were allowed more bread on those days. The issue of 1½ oz raisins or currants as well as 1½ oz suet, suggests that they may have had a special treat namely raisin or currant pudding or suet pudding on those days.

The practice of internal apprenticeship was still being implemented at this time of government control. Six of the older girls worked under the supervision of the infirmary nurse, the laundress and the cook as they assisted in the household work of the institution. Another two or three girls were placed as assistants to the teacher, and probably worked as monitors in Dr Bell’s National System.

In 1840 a sketch of the Male Orphan School was made (see copy on following page), and it is intended to study life within that institution. The boys also followed a strict routine. Like the girls the boys rose at 5 o’clock in summer and 6 o’clock in winter. As soon as the boys were washed and dressed prayers were read. At 7 o’clock breakfast was served and the boys were then able to play until 9 o’clock. They then entered the school for formal lessons in reading, writing and arithmetic depending on the class in which they were placed. At 1 o’clock dinner was served.

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69 New South Wales Government Gazette, Vol. 9, 1844, pp. 1061-1062. (ML)
70 ibid., p. 1060.
71 ibid.
72 Burton, p. 171.
and a play time followed until 2 o’clock. Then school work was recommenced for
one hour.

The older boys were occupied with their various ‘trade’ subjects from 3 to 6
o’clock. The younger children could either play or work in the garden. At 6 o’clock
supper was served, prayers were read from seven to seven thirty when the boys retired
to bed. On Saturdays a half holiday was held.73

In March 1839, 153 boys were enrolled in the Male Orphan School. Their
ages ranged from three to thirteen years. The boys were divided into six classes. In
the first class which was presumably the senior group, there were twenty six boys
who were taught different aspects of arithmetic including the ‘Rule of three,
compound rules involving reduction in weights and money; addition and subtraction
of weights and money, long and short division’. Reading ‘the Bible, history, writing,
spelling and geography’ were also part of the curriculum.74

In the second class which contained twenty four boys, lessons were geared to
the four fundamental processes of arithmetic namely ‘division, multiplication,
subtraction and addition’. The New Testament was the prescribed reading for this
class. Some boys had mastered the art of writing on paper, whilst others used slates,
and spelling was also part of their instruction.

In the junior classes (classes three to six) the work was not difficult, and was
obviously graded to the ages and abilities of the boys. In the third class there were
eighteen boys, whose work in arithmetic excluded the process of division. They
learnt to spell and to read, and their writing was confined to slates. In the fourth class,
which contained twenty eight boys only simple addition, reading and spelling were
taught. Twenty nine boys were in the fifth class and their time was spent in learning
to spell and read. The thirty one boys who were members of the sixth class were
occupied in learning the alphabet and how to spell.75

The older boys received instruction in their ‘trades’ subjects usually between
the hours of three to six o’clock. Six of the boys were learning the shoemaking trade,
and a further six received instruction in tailoring. Four boys were learning baking
skills, whilst four others received training to be house servants. Two boys were
learning to be cooks, six were being instructed in gardening, and two boys were

73 ibid., p. 174.
74 ibid.
75 ibid., p. 175.
engaged in farming work. Burton stated ‘all are brought up to habits of industry’, and this phrase is an indication of the prevailing attitude which was held in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, namely that it was important for a person not only to know, but also to accept his or her place in society. The children of the poor were inured to work from an early age, and the Orphan Schools conditioned children to a life as industrious and obedient workers.

This very full description of the educational provisions of the Male Orphan School, stands in contrast to the very limited educational curriculum offered to the girls. The boys were offered a much wider course of subjects, some of which could well have been within the capabilities of the girls. Whilst the boys could receive training across a range of seven ‘trades’, the girls were limited to learning skills of a domestic nature. The contrast in the skills offered in both institutions may well represent society’s attitudes to the work performed by men and women, and this was reflected in the ‘demand’ for different types of labour in the nineteenth century in the colony. The relatively few non-domestic service apprenticeships available for girls has been analysed in chapter 6.

The boys’ diet was very similar to that provided for the girls, and differed in quantity. On ‘holidays’ the boys who were older than six years, were allowed 20 oz flour which would have been processed into bread, and 12 oz meat. On Thursdays the boys were allowed 1½ oz of raisins or currants and 1½ oz suet. Probably puddings were prepared for the boys on that day, but there was no issue of meat for them. On the other days of the week the rations were the same as those provided at the Female Orphan School, but the quantities of flour and meat were 16 oz and 12 oz respectively. The boys were allowed ¼ oz soap daily throughout the year compared with the girls’ allowance of ¾ oz. The nursery children who were less than six years old, had the same foods as the older boys except in smaller quantities. The milk and vegetables which would have been part of their fare, would have been provided from the herds belonging to the Schools, and from the gardens attached to the institutions, in which the children spent part of their time.

During the period in which the Orphan Schools were managed by the government, children were admitted to these institutions when family circumstances

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76 ibid.
78 ibid.
indicated that care had to be provided for them. As in the earlier periods of Orphan School management, parents applied for the return of their children, and in some cases these applications resulted in the reunion of family members. The majority of the boys appear to have left the Male Orphan School as apprentices.

Sir George Gipps, who was selected to replace Governor Richard Bourke, and who was ‘strictly speaking the first civilian governor of the colony’, 79 took an interest in the Orphan Schools. Gipps had arrived in the colony with his wife and son on the ship *Upton Castle* and reached Port Jackson on 24 February 1838. 80

Governor Gipps description of the apprenticeship scheme in the Male and Female Orphan Schools occurs in these words:

> both Boys and Girls from the Orphan Schools in the colony are placed out as apprentices under an act of Council passed in year 1834 (5th Will. IV, No. 3). About thirty boys have been apprenticed in each year since the passing of this Act; and though they are I fear in too many cases allowed to mix with and to be little distinguished from Convict Servants, their general conduct has been satisfactory. The greater part of the boys are apprenticed as Mechanics and tradesmen, and the demand for them is always greater than can be supplied. Girls from the Female Orphan School are apprenticed in the same way, and although the demand for them is not as great as for the Boys, there is no difficulty in disposing of them. 81

This general trend appears to have remained fairly constant. In the last five years of the separate establishments 1845-1849, thirty nine boys were discharged to parents, and sixty three were apprenticed. At the Female Orphan School for the same years, forty girls were discharged to parents, and twenty four were apprenticed. 82

We have noted in chapter 6 that some problems arose as far as the apprenticing of the children were concerned, although the problems appear to have been the exception rather than the rule. During the period under review we shall examine the problems which arose with several apprenticeships. In 1836 Alexander Martin who was the superintendent of the Female Orphan School, contacted the

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80 *ibid.*, p. x.
Colonial Secretary about one of the School’s apprentices named Eliza Maloney, who had been apprenticed to Mr Barnett a cabinet-maker in George Street Sydney.

Mrs Barnett had personally chosen Eliza at the School, and later found that the child was unsatisfactory. Instead of taking her back to Parramatta, Mr Barnett had sent Eliza back to the School with a letter. Mr Barnett could not therefore be interviewed by Mr Martin and the matter of the bond into which Mr Barnett had entered, could not be discussed with him. Mr Martin sought direction from the Colonial Secretary as to the appropriate course of action he should take, if a similar problem arose in the future.

Mr Martin had naturally accepted Eliza back into the School, and he made a sagacious comment about the expectations of some masters or mistresses when he wrote:

> it appears that some people think they are at liberty to take the children on trial and return them to the School should they not exactly answer their expectations, and in fact expect they are entirely to do the work of grown servants, without taking any pains to instruct them.83

A comment was made in chapter 6 concerning the ‘exchange’ of apprentices, to the effect that the current reader may consider that the masters or mistresses involved acted hastily instead of persevering with their apprentices, who were after all only children.84 The same sentiment appears to have been expressed by Mr Alexander Martin.

A problem of a different nature concerning boys who had been apprenticed from the Male Orphan School arose in 1838. Three boys Joseph Baldock, John Gordon and Martin Quinn had been apprenticed to Samuel Onions a blacksmith whose business was in Sydney. Mr Onions had applied for John Gordon and Martin Quinn on 4 December, 1835. (See copy of list of applications on following page). Joseph Baldock had been apprenticed to Mr Onions in May 1835.85 Mr Onions had been found guilty of perjury and was transported to Norfolk Island.86 This chain of events left the boys without a master, an apprenticeship, shelter or food.

83 Martin to Colonial Secretary, 19 February 1836, in CS Papers, FOS.
84 Chapter 6, The Children of the Orphan Schools, p. 218.
85 Male Orphan School Admission Book 1819-1847, p. 31. (ML) C200
86 Colonial Secretary to Crown Solicitor, 27 October 1838, in Colonial Secretary Out Letters. SRNSW 4/3745
<table>
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<th>No.</th>
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<th>Nature of Residence</th>
<th>Name of Parent</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Trade</th>
<th>Religion of Applicant</th>
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<td>Samuel Quinn</td>
<td>Sydney</td>
<td></td>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td>John Gordon</td>
<td>Protestant</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Alexander Martin</td>
<td>Parramatta</td>
<td></td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Farm Servant</td>
<td>Richard Graham</td>
<td>Protestant</td>
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<td>Bathurst</td>
<td></td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Kitchen Boy</td>
<td>John Green</td>
<td>Protestant</td>
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</table>
Two of the boys Joseph Baldock and John Gordon apparently returned to their families. The adults or relatives in these families were not the boys’ legal guardians, and did not return them to the Male Orphan School and this inaction caused further problems. After receiving advice from Richard Sadleir, the Colonial Secretary had two advertisements placed in the Government Gazette.87 Descriptions were given of the boys, and a caution that they should not be harboured or employed. An order was given that the boys should be returned to the Male Orphan School.88

Joseph Baldock and John Quinn were taken into custody by the Chief Constable, and Martin Quinn meanwhile remained at large. A reporter from the Commercial Journal and Advertiser described the boys’ appearance before the bench, and likened their treatment to that of thieves, when they had not committed an offence. The boys were remanded in custody despite the fact that their parents and relatives were present in the court. The decision made by the bench was to keep the boys together, and make them as comfortable as possible. The reporter was critical of this decision and asked: ‘What comfort under any circumstances can there be in a watch-house?’ 89

The Colonial Secretary’s Office sought the advice of the Attorney-General as to the course of action which should be taken because there were unusual aspects in this particular case. The prompt attention of the Judicial Establishment was sought because ‘as regards to them, the boys will remain in charge of the Sydney Police pending your Report’. 90 The tenor of this communication suggests that the officer felt concern about the two boys being confined in custody.

Joseph Baldock and John Gordon were returned to the Male Orphan School on 12 November 1838, and were made temporary wards of the Police Magistrate. They were re-apprenticed in April of the following year to James Bibb.91 Their master certainly gained from the apprenticeships, because he had two three-year trained apprentices and he gained financially. The boys had only a couple of years to

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87 Sadleir to Colonial Secretary, 8 October 1838, in Colonial Secretary Letters Received Male Orphan School. SRNSW 4/2504.1
89 Commercial Journal and Advertiser, 24 October 1838, p. 2.
90 CSOL, Colonial Secretary to Judicial Establishment, Sheriff and Coroner 1837-39, October 1838, p. 387.
91 MOS Admission Book 1819-47.
complete their apprenticeships, and Mr Bibb was therefore not required to pay them wages, because their apprenticeship with him would be for less than seven years.

Martin Quinn who had not appeared before the bench later made contact with the Master of the Male Orphan School. It appears that Martin had found employment as a blacksmith at Nattery Place, Mittagong, but he sought Richard Sadleir’s permission to return to the institution. Sadleir considered that it would be preferable to find a suitable master for Martin. Richard Sadleir approached the Colonial Secretary for advice, and raised questions about the necessity of keeping the boy ‘in the same service or having a power of transference’.92

This incidence concerning two of the apprentices from the Male Orphan School suggests a harshness in their treatment. Whilst it is true that the parents or relatives had surrendered their rights as guardians when the boys were placed in the School, Joseph and John were in the care of their families when taken into custody. The bench one would think, could have acted in a more humane manner and allowed them to remain there whilst the case was stood over, and a decision reached about their future. Joseph Baldock and John Gordon were aged only sixteen and fifteen years respectively, when they were held in the Sydney watch-house.93

As we draw to the close of the period in which the government exercised control over the Orphan Schools, we need to examine the reasons which led to the decision to transfer the boys to the site in Parramatta occupied by the Female Orphan School. The physical conditions at the Male Orphan School had deteriorated and the following statement bears testimony to this:

In the Male Orphan School at Liverpool, conditions were particularly deplorable. Richard Sadleir painted a harrowing picture of young children almost helpless from disease and deformity being admitted, and instructed on open verandahs during the cold months of winter.94

92 Sadleir to Colonial Secretary, 21 January 1839, in Male Orphan School Letter Book 1829-1849, p. 44. (ML) C201
94 Foster, p. 264.
In 1840 Sadleir requested the service of a fencier. He described ‘the fence of the Establishment being in a state of decay and falling down in every direction’. In making this request Richard Sadleir suggested that the fencier be assigned in lieu of James Reily, a government servant who had been returned to the government for misconduct.95

When the Legislative Council in 1841 considered the estimates for the following year, Governor Gipps drew attention to the isolated position of the Male Orphan School. He said ‘the Male Orphan School is positively in the bush, almost out of the haunts of men, and was seldom visited by any person except the visiting surgeon’. The Governor stated that he attempted to visit the School two or three times a year, and he expressed his doubts that members of the Legislative Council ever saw the School. The Governor added that he had been gratified to see some of the boys active in the vegetable garden and that ‘he believed it was desirable to bring them up to agricultural pursuits’. Governor Gipps concluded his remarks by saying ‘he therefore proposed building them a new establishment at Parramatta’.96 This statement appears to be the first indication that the Male Orphan School would be removed from the Cabramatta site.

The running costs of the School were of concern to the Legislative Council. In October 1843 the Colonial Secretary ‘moved that the sum of £2713 6s 0d might be voted to defray the expense of the Male Orphan School in accordance with estimates’. These estimates would have been for the year 1844.97 In 1833 there had been 133 boys enrolled in the School, and the annual expense at that time was £1441 14s 10½d.98 In December 1844 there were 133 boys in attendance and the estimated costs were considerably higher than 1833, namely an increase of £1271 11s 1½d, for the same number of boys. The members of the Legislative Council after discussing the amount proposed by the Colonial Secretary, agreed that Mr Sadleir ‘should be called to give evidence to the bar of the House’.99

Mr Sadleir said that the School did not have the ‘full number of children mentioned in the estimates’. He provided a general description of the educational and ‘trades’ provisions of the School. Reference was made to the weekly visits paid by

95 Sadleir to Colonial Secretary, 5 February 1840, in Colonial Secretary Papers, Male Orphan School. SRNSW 4/2328.2
96 The Australian, September 3, 1840, p. 2.
97 The Sydney Morning Herald, October 12, 1840, p. 2.
98 Burton, p. 35.
99 The Sydney Morning Herald, October 12, 1843, p. 2.
the surgeon, as well as to the Divine Services performed by the chaplain once a
fortnight. When Richard Sadleir was asked if he could place a rental value on the
2000 acres of land adjoining the School and situated between the buildings and
Liverpool, he naturally was not able to express an opinion on this matter. He did
however state that cattle belonging to the institution pastured on the greater proportion
of that land.

To attempt to reduce costs Sadleir suggested that separate tenders should be
sought to provide rations for the Male Orphan School. The present tenders covered
both Schools and Mr Sadleir considered that separate tenders might induce more
competition and therefore more competitive prices would be offered. Sadleir also
made the comment that if the Male Orphan School was placed closer to the Female
Orphan School certain economies might occur, especially if the two schools were
‘placed under the supervision of one person’. Richard Sadleir advised the group that
he had not ‘any official communication as to an intention of transferring the School to
Parramatta, and he should not consider that such a change would be at all
beneficial’. 100 It would appear that whilst Mr Sadleir could see some benefit if the
Orphan Schools were closer together, he did not agree with the transfer of the School
to the Parramatta site occupied by the Female Orphan School.

Mr Sadleir’s suggestion about separate tenders being sought for the supply of
rations for the School was apparently heeded, because an advertisement was placed in
the New South Wales Gazette by the Colonial Secretary’s Office on 17 October 1843,
headed ‘Supplies for the Male Orphan School for the year 1844’. Tenders were
sought for ‘the whole of the Rations and Supplies required for the Institution for the
year 1844, or separate Tenders may be sent in’. The three broad divisions of rations
were for meat, flour and groceries. 101

Towards the end of 1840 Richard Sadleir contacted the Colonial Secretary
about the problems he had experienced in finding suitable people to fill the positions
of storekeeper and schoolmaster at the School, and he further suggested some ways in
which costs could be reduced. We have noted the frequent changes of schoolmasters
at that institution in chapter 7, and the possible effect this would have had on the
boys’ education. Sadleir said that in the course of approximately twelve years there
had been seven schoolmasters and ten storekeepers. He provided a list of the latter

100 ibid.
(see Table of Storekeepers on following page), and the reasons for their departure from the school were provided. Mr Dodd left the position in 1841 when the Master found him to be insolent and insubordinate.

As a solution to the problem Mr Sadleir proposed that the storekeeper’s position be abolished and united with the Master’s position. If an assigned prisoner was appointed to assist in the office and was allowed a gratuity of £10 or £20 per annum for good behaviour, this measure would reduce costs. Also the schoolmaster’s salary could be increased from £50 to £80 per annum ‘so as to make it worth the attention of a qualified person to take the office’. The cost to the institution for the storekeeper was £55 per annum plus £10 per annum for his wife, and a rations allowance of £50, a total of £115 per annum. If the teacher’s salary was increased to £80 and a gratuity of £25 was paid to the convict, that is an additional amount of £55, would lead to a saving of £60 per annum. Apart from the saving Mr Sadleir considered that advantages would occur ‘in both the School and Store departments’.102

It is interesting to note that the Colonial Returns for the Male Orphan School from 1842 do not record a storekeeper’s name or salary of £55 per annum. The schoolmasters’ salaries meanwhile remained at £50 per annum for the years 1842 to 1848.103

### Male Orphan School Returns January 1844 to June 1848

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<td>January</td>
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<td>53</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>December</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>January</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>June</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>62</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>December</td>
<td>120</td>
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<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>January</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>72</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>December</td>
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<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>January</td>
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<td>June</td>
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<td></td>
<td>December</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>January</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>88</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>June</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Colonial Secretary Male Orphan School Monthly Returns. SRNSW 4/7198.

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102 Sadleir to Colonial Secretary, 16 November 1840, CS Papers, MOS.
103 CS, Returns of The Colony 1822-1857, 1842-1848.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Occasion of Leaving</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>John Cavarease (JL)</td>
<td>Discharged for Insolence &amp; Black Beard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Left as Kings Victor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>John Stanger, Vere</td>
<td>Discharged for filthy habits and incapacity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mr. Wilkinson, Vere</td>
<td>Discharged for irregularity in his accounts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mr. Johnstone, Vere</td>
<td>Discharged for drunkenness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mr. Edwards, Vere</td>
<td>Required to resign for constant opposition and insubordination to the master</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Mr. Weston, Vere</td>
<td>Appointed to the Coast Barracks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mr. Cantor, Vere</td>
<td>Required to resign for irregularities in the accounts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mr. Layton, Vere</td>
<td>Required from illness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Mr. Chayre, Vere</td>
<td>Required it being impossible to get him to keep the accounts regularly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Mr. Dodd, Vere</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During three years and a half the above plantations, as Master of the Institution, there were five storekeepers in office. The applicants are in general cases of broken down circumstances who cannot submit to control.

Signature: [illegible]
In addition to the situations already examined, the number of boys seeking admission to the School had declined. Figures from January 1844 to June 1848 reflect this trend and have been illustrated in the previous table. Over a five year period the vacancies had increased by thirty six. The total number of boys who could be accommodated was 190, and only 101 boys or a little over half the possible admissions were actually in residence.

A decision was made by the Governor Sir Charles Fitzroy, who had replaced Governor Gipps in August 1846, to transfer the boys to the Female Orphan School at Parramatta, and renovations took place at that establishment. By March 1850 the alterations were ‘completed and the boys transferred to Parramatta in April’. (See photograph on following page). The School at Cabramatta was closed with Richard Sadleir resigning on 17 April 1850. This move brought to a finale the separate institutions known as the Male and Female Orphan Schools. The boys and girls were accommodated in separate departments of the complex, and the Institution became known as the Protestant Orphan School. In 1850 there was a total enrolment of 159 students in the ‘new’ institution, of whom 77 were boys and 82 were girls. Mrs Harriet McKenny remained as Matron through this important transitional year.

Whilst the colonial administration exercised control over the Orphan Schools, the people in charge of those institutions remained in their positions for lengthy periods, and this provided stability of supervision within the Schools.

Improvements took place in the Female Orphan School and progress was evident. Mrs Sarah Martin and her husband Alexander appear to have been efficient in their tasks as Matron and Superintendent. Governor Bourke reported favourably on the appearance of the Female Orphan School, and expressed his satisfaction ‘with the attention paid to that Institution’ by the couple. The Rev. Richard Taylor also expressed favourable comments about the School’s appearance. He was gratified with the replies which the girls gave when he examined them during a confirmation class, and this reflects well on the instruction which they had received.

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105 Sydney Morning Herald, March 29, 1850, p. 2.
The Protestant Orphan School, Parramatta
(from Locality, Vol.10, No. 2, 1999, p. 20)
Mrs Harriet McKenny held the position of Matron of the Female Orphan School for the period of ten years, and was the longest serving Matron of that institution. It would seem that during this time stability was maintained in the internal management of the School, and it fell to her responsibility to see that two separate departments were established in the School after the amalgamation of the Male and Female Schools in 1850.

Attention was paid to the girls’ diet, health, elementary education and training. We can safely assume that this was a period in which the girls received the level of care and comfort, which Philip Gidley King and Lachlan Macquarie considered was essential for their well-being.

Governor Bourke displayed an enlightened understanding of the Catholic children who were residing in the Orphan Schools. These children received religious instruction according to the tenets of the Church of England. We do not know how the Catholic children reacted to this teaching, but we know the attitude of some Catholic mothers and the Rev. J. J. Therry on this subject. To remedy the problem Governor Bourke presented his case and the Legislative Council voted to provide funds for the provision of a Catholic Orphanage. In this action we observe the Governor displaying sensitivity to the desirability of Catholic children receiving instruction in the faith of their forebears. His reforming action for a separate institution for ‘orphan’ and destitute Catholic children, denotes a liberal and enlightened patriarchal attitude.

The Male Orphan School suffered a decline in terms of its physical environment during this period. However Richard Sadleir remained as Master until 1850, and his concern for the boys’ welfare does not appear to have diminished.

Governor George Gipps had visited the School and was cognizant of its isolation and other problems. With rising costs of administration, the poor physical state of the School and the fall in demand for admissions, a later Governor Sir Charles Fitzroy, decided to close the Male Orphan School. The Protestant Orphan School was established within the former Female Orphan School at Parramatta in 1850.