

## CHAPTER 7

### THE CHURCH AND SCHOOL CORPORATION'S CONTROL AND MANAGEMENT OF THE ORPHAN SCHOOLS

In 1825 the Orphan Schools came under the control of the Clergy and School Lands Corporation by reason of the nature of the Charter of Incorporation. In this chapter we shall examine the operation of both Schools in this period, and the attempts by the Corporation to implement the recommendation of Commissioner Bigge to establish an agricultural school to train some of the youth in methods of farming and pastoral pursuits.

The problems encountered in the Schools and in the Corporation had an impact on the lives of the children. An examination of these problems will contribute to an understanding of why the Orphan Schools experienced periods of regression and progression throughout their existence rather than a steady maintenance or improvement in their functioning.

Thomas Hobbes Scott had accompanied Commissioner Bigge to the colony in 1819, as his secretary. Upon his return to England in 1821, Scott was offered a parish by his brother-in-law William Ord. Scott's friend Canon Beadon and his brothers whose uncle was a Bishop, raised the matter of ordination with him (the Bishop) and Scott was: 'ordained deacon at Wells on 9th December 1821, and priest at Gloucester on 23rd December 1821, fourteen days later. On 22nd February 1822 he was inducted rector of St John's Church in the parish of Whitfield, Northumberland'.<sup>1</sup>

At Earl Bathurst's request, Scott prepared a plan for a school system in New South Wales, which he forwarded to Bathurst on 30 March 1824.<sup>2</sup> He outlined how religion and education could be united in New South Wales. Scott's ideas reveal some advanced thinking for the development of education. Provision was to be made

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<sup>1</sup> Kelvin Grose, 'Thomas Hobbes Scott's Background 1783-1823', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 68, Pt. 1, 1982, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Governors' Despatches, Vol. 5, 1823-24, pp. 709-760. Mitchell Library A1194.

to secure apprenticeships for some of the students, and Scott considered that these provisions could be 'equally applied to Females'.<sup>3</sup>

Scott thought that public funds based on income and capital from land, should be used to support the 'National System' of education in the colony. From his perspective there was a ready supply of land which could be used as a negotiable asset. He thought that a centralised form of administration through a Board of Trustees would be an efficient way of providing finances and staff. The educational system was to be united with Church of England administration.<sup>4</sup> It was the last proposal which gave preferential treatment to the Anglican Church. This would invariably provoke opposition from those representatives of branches of the Christian faith who were not placed in so favourable a position.

T. H. Scott was appointed to the position of Archdeacon of New South Wales in October 1824, at a salary of £2,000 per annum.<sup>5</sup> Ransome Wyatt considers that:

the appointment of Scott as Archdeacon was a very natural proceeding. He was a man of considerable ability, of good standing, in priest's orders, with influential friends and the one and only clergyman in England with an interest and first hand knowledge of the colony and its needs.<sup>6</sup>

On 1 January 1825 Earl Bathurst sent a draft charter of incorporation for the management of Church and School Estates to Governor Brisbane:

And it is our will and we do further declare that all and every the lands and tenements within our said colony heretofore appointed and set apart by the former governors of our said colony or any of them, for the maintenance and education of Male and Female Orphans, and all such parts of our Revenues arising within the said colony, as hath by any such governor been appropriated and set apart for the education of the youth therein, shall be and the same are vested in and

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<sup>3</sup>     ibid.

<sup>4</sup>     A.G. Austin (ed.), *Select Documents in Australian Education 1788-1900*, Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, Melbourne, 1963, pp. 6-8.

<sup>5</sup>     Alan Barcan, *Two Centuries of Education in New South Wales*, New South Wales University Press, Sydney, 1983, p. 22.

<sup>6</sup>     R.T. Wyatt, 'A Wine Merchant in Gaiters, Thomas Hobbes Scott, Archdeacon of New South Wales, 1824-1828', *JRAHS*, Vol. 35, Pt. 3, 1949, p. 154.

placed under the Management, care and superintendence of the said Corporation.<sup>7</sup>

From this it is clear that the control of the Orphan Schools devolved on the new Corporation. This body was empowered to acquire and hold lands 'comprising one seventh part in extent and value of all the lands in each and every County to be thenceforth called and known by the name of the Clergy and School Estate for each County'.<sup>8</sup> Although Scott had based his plan on one tenth of the land being made available for the Corporation, the instructions of 1825 to Governor Darling had increased this amount to one seventh. Furthermore, the instructions provided that 'such Clergy and School Estate shall as nearly as may be lie in one continuous and unbroken tract'.<sup>9</sup>

The Charter set out in great detail instructions about the qualifications of those to be appointed as Trustees. Procedures were established for meetings, committees, quorums and voting. The manner in which the financial records and the official books were to be kept was prescribed. The management and use of lands including cultivation, lease and mortgage, finance and debts was outlined. The way in which the accounts and use of funds were kept received attention and detailed how payments, auditing, improvement, and building accounts were to be recorded. The Clergy and School Account detailed the proportion to be set aside for the payment of clerical stipends, and the support of schools and schoolmasters. Any surplus funds were to be distributed in a particular way. Schools were to be placed under the direction of parish clergy, and the process of appointing teachers was prescribed. Details about land holdings were outlined for the Trustees.<sup>10</sup>

Archdeacon Scott returned to New South Wales on board the convict transport *Hercules*, arriving in Port Jackson on 7 May 1825. His appointment to the position of Archdeacon was reported in the *Sydney Gazette*:

<sup>7</sup> Bathurst to Brisbane, 1 January 1825, in *Historical Records of Australia*, Vol. XI, p. 452.

<sup>8</sup> Instructions to Governor Darling, 17 July 1825, in *HRA*, Vol. XII, p. 117.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> W. W. Burton, *The State of Religion and Education in New South Wales*, Cross, Simpkin and Martin, London, 1840, Appendix 1, pp. 1-38.

His Majesty, having been graciously pleased to erect an Archdeaconry in the Colony of New South Wales by Letters Patent and having nominated the Rev. Thomas Hobbes Scott, to be the First Archdeacon, notice is hereby given that the Patent of his appointment will be read at Government House Sydney on Tuesday next the Seventeenth Instant at 2 o'clock.<sup>11</sup>

Scott's appointment raised the status of the Church of England in the colony to that of an archdeaconry.

Prior to the Archdeacon's arrival the Grand Jury had presented a report to the Quarter Sessions at Parramatta following its visit to the Female Orphan School. The report indicated that the front of the building had developed a perpendicular fracture, which extended to the base of the buildings. The quality of the water was bad, the children's health appeared to have improved, but the children were deemed to be 'all badly clad', and it was proposed that clothing in sufficient quantities 'should be deposited with the Master' for the children's benefit.

When the Jurors discovered that there were more than three children in some of the beds, a proposal was made that a further supply of iron bedsteads be provided for the institution. A further cause for concern was the apparent lack of moral instruction being provided in the School. It was claimed that some of the girls were not able to recognise the letters of the alphabet. It was thought that this negligence had been 'manifest for a length of period', and had been evident before the present Master had taken up his position.<sup>12</sup> The Rev. William Walker (see illustration on following page), had been Master of the institution for a period of approximately two months when the Grand Jurors paid their visit.

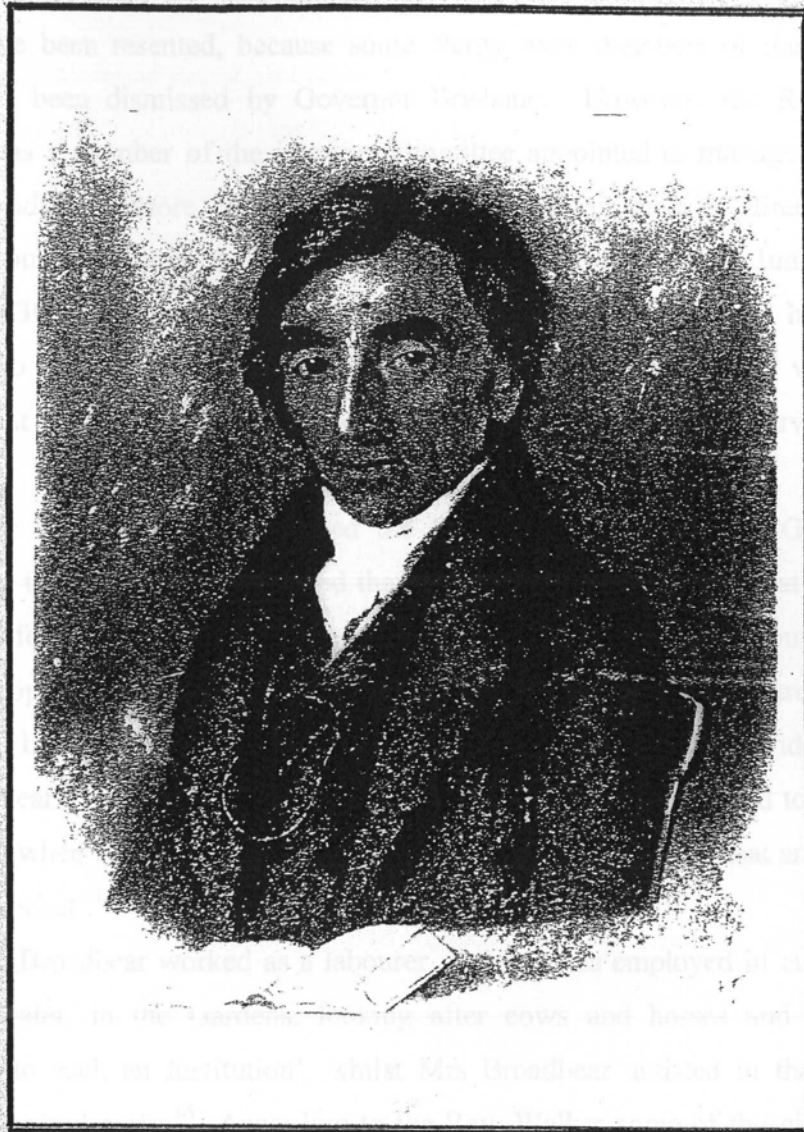
In February 1825, Walker in correspondence to the Rev. Richard Watson, who was the London Secretary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, wrote:

the children were wearing clothes that had not been washed for three weeks or a month before; and these were so ragged as to make them no less indelicate than our wild aborigines. Numbers of the children had never been to church for months!!! And none of the Clergy

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<sup>11</sup> *Sydney Gazette*, May 12, 1825, p. 1.

<sup>12</sup> *SG*, March 3, 1825, p. 3.



The Rev. William Walker  
(from the copy in the Mitchell Library)

who reside near the place, had taken the least interest or concern for the welfare of so many precious souls.<sup>13</sup>

Physical and educational neglect and lack of care was evident, and this has to be attributed to the inadequacy of the supervision by Mr and Mrs Sweetman. The apparent indifference of the local clergy is cause for concern from a pastoral perspective, although they may have considered that their presence at the School would have been resented, because some clergy were members of the Committee which had been dismissed by Governor Brisbane. However, the Rev. Thomas Reddall was a member of the interim Committee appointed to manage the Orphan Schools, and furthermore, Reddall had received an appointment as Director General of all the public schools in the colony under government control in June 1825, at a salary of £300 per year.<sup>14</sup> In both of these capacities Reddall would have had the authority to examine the children in the Female Orphan School, and we can only surmise that the Rev. Reddall failed to exercise his authority in the supervision of this School.

The Rev. Walker approached the Colonial Secretary Major Goulburn for permission to hire staff. He claimed that there was no domestic staff at the School, and his wife was unable to provide care for over 100 children without assistance. Walker proposed that a married couple of ex-convicts named Richard and Mary Broadbear, be appointed to the School. Goulburn was agreeable to provide rations for the Broadbears, but no order was made for wages. The couple agreed to accept £25 per annum when Walker explained that he could only afford to pay that amount out of his 'own pocket'.<sup>15</sup>

Mr Broadbear worked as a labourer, and 'he was employed in cutting wood, drawing water, in the Gardens, looking after cows and horses and other work necessary to such an Institution', whilst Mrs Broadbear assisted in the School as housekeeper and nurse.<sup>16</sup> According to the Rev. Walker some of the girls who had suffered with 'sore heads' had been cured. Mrs Broadbear had made clothes for the children, and these improvements had been noted by Goulburn and Reddall. As a result of this visit it was decided that Walker should not have to pay the Broadbears'

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<sup>13</sup> Rev. Walker to Rev. R. Watson, 7 February 1825, in Bonwick Transcripts, Box 53, pp. 1470-1471. (ML)

<sup>14</sup> *SG*, August 19, 1824, p. 1.

<sup>15</sup> Report of proceedings Broadbears v James McCarthur and others, in *HRA*, Vol. XIII, p. 330.

<sup>16</sup> Keane's evidence about Broadbears' employment, in *HRA*, Vol. XIII, p. 323.

wages out of his own pocket. The government initially paid the first quarter of the agreed salary of £25 per annum, and the couple were to receive later payments at the rate of £30 per annum.<sup>17</sup>

When Archdeacon Scott visited the Female Orphan School on 13 June he was appalled at the deplorable conditions which he found. Scott then formulated General Rules for the management of the Female Orphan School, in an attempt to improve the unsatisfactory conditions which had an adverse affect on the children, and to set guidelines for the management of the School.<sup>18</sup>

These Rules differed in some respects from those formulated by Lachlan Macquarie in 1818. The ages for the admission of girls were extended, in that girls less than five years old and up to the age of twelve years could be admitted. An important inclusion was the necessity for a medical examination by the Assistant Surgeon prior to the girls' admissions.

A General Monitor was to be appointed 'to supervise the duties of the Children', and we are provided with a glimpse of the daily routine at the Female Orphan Institution. In the summer the girls were to be woken at 5.30, and an hour later in winter. By 7.30 the children and their rooms had to be clean, and then the girls assembled for morning prayer. By 9 o'clock the children were ready for lessons, and at 2 o'clock in the afternoon training in sewing etc. took place. A Register had to be kept detailing the nature of the lessons provided, plus the work which each of the girls 'performed in the House'. Reading and writing lessons were to be given under the supervision of the Master each morning. In the afternoons the girls were to occupy themselves with 'sewing etc., under the Management of the Mistress'.

The Rules also laid down the duties which the teachers were to perform outside the classroom activities. These included inspecting the cleanliness not only of the children in their respective classes, but also their beds and sleeping rooms; staying with their classes at mealtimes to supervise the children's behaviour, and 'to preserve the utmost decency, and propriety'.

Provision was made for the remuneration of children for the work they performed out of school hours. To ensure that the girls were thoroughly prepared for service it was provided that the girls, according to their abilities, 'shall take their regular time in all the duties of the House'.

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<sup>17</sup> Walker's evidence, in *HRA*, Vol. XIII, p. 327.

<sup>18</sup> General Rules for the Female Orphan House, June 1825, in *HRA*, Vol. XII, pp. 281-282.

Basic education and training standards were set, and these were expected to be attained before a girl was permitted to leave the institution. These requirements consisted of the ability to 'read the Bible, write tolerably well and correctly, and work the Simple rule in Arithmetic'. Furthermore the girls had to display competency in making 'Gowns, Shirts etc., and perform other domestic duties'. An enlightened addition to the Rules was the provision of a library. The senior classes were to have the use of this facility, which contained 'such Books as the King's Visitor may approve'.

When a girl left the institution for service, she was to be given a set of books. In Macquarie's Rules the girls were to be provided with a Bible and a Prayer Book, but the Archdeacon extended the range of printed material. In addition to those two items, a 'dictionary, Grammar and Arithmetic' books were to be provided. A proviso also made it possible for a 'particularly deserving' girl to receive 'such other Books as the King's Visitor may approve'.

Masters and Mistresses of future apprentices were required 'to treat the children with kindness', and were forbidden to require the children to perform work which was 'not purely domestic'.

An additional Rule pertained to corporal punishment, and it was stressed that this 'be very rarely resorted to'. Details about the 'crime' and the type of punishment given had to be fully documented in the Register kept by the General Monitor. The Master was the only person given the authority to administer corporal punishment, and it was to be used presumably as the last resort. A specific rule forbade the withholding of food as a means of punishment, and the general form of punishment to be used was to be in the nature of tasks performed outside school hours.<sup>19</sup> Archdeacon Scott had a more lenient approach to the question of punishment and was in favour of corporal punishment only as a 'last' resort. His attitude is in contrast to the situation, which existed at the Female Orphan School in Macquarie's time, and at both Schools in the post-Macquarie period.

Later in the year a panel of the Grand Jurors met at the Female Orphan School to inspect it and was able to report that there was 'manifest improvement of Children both in health and education'.<sup>20</sup> However, the supply of water was considered to be insufficient for the demands of the House, and moreover the drainage was inadequate

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<sup>19</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Report of Grand Jurors, 28 September 1825, in *HRA*, Vol. XI, p. 861.

to cope with 'effluvia' from the different sources of the House such as the kitchen and washhouse, and in fact the drainage system was considered to be 'a perfect nuisance to the Establishment'. Brickwork over some of the windows in the main building was considered to be dangerous, and it was feared that some of it could fall, and the children exposed to danger.<sup>21</sup> An advertisement was placed in the *Sydney Gazette* in September 1825 calling for tenders from people who wished to contract 'for the Alterations and Repairs to be done to the Female Orphan School at Parramatta'.<sup>22</sup>

It would appear that gradual improvements were made in the Female Orphan School under the Rev. Walker's supervision. On 4 November 1825 Archdeacon Scott visited the Female Orphan School in the afternoon, and to his consternation he discovered that Walker, his wife and the school teacher were not on the premises. Scott wrote to the Governor Sir Thomas Brisbane expressing his concerns at what he perceived as a negligence of duties at the School by the Master, but the Governor did not reply to this letter.<sup>23</sup> Scott also wrote to the Rev. Walker expressing his dissatisfaction that the 'Children were left without any other control or supervision than that of a 'menial servant' and of course exposed to dangers etc'.<sup>24</sup>

The Rev. Walker took exception to the Archdeacon's censure of his absence from the School, as well as Scott's use of the term which he applied to Mrs Broadbear namely 'menial servant'. Mr Walker accused the Archdeacon of using words which were not only 'unjustifiable', but also 'uncharitable', and he commented that they were terms which 'a Clergyman ought to avoid'. The Rev. Walker also expressed his confidence in Mrs Broadbear whom he considered quite capable of supervising the girls in his absence.<sup>25</sup>

In a later letter to Governor Brisbane the Archdeacon complained about the state of the Female Orphan School. These concerns covered such matters as the medical situation, the cleanliness of the premises, accommodation and the use of buildings. Of particular concern to the Archdeacon was the 'exposure of the children to all the workmen employed at or near the Institution'. Scott expressed his opinion 'that a Clergyman of the Church of England should be placed at the head of it' (the

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<sup>21</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> *SG*, September 29, 1825, p. 1.

<sup>23</sup> Scott to the Bishop of London, 9 January 1826, in BT, Box 53, p. 1574.

<sup>24</sup> Letters to Brisbane, and Walker, 5 November 1825, in Scott, Archdeacon Thomas Hobbes, Letter Book 1, pp. 117-118. (ML) A/850.

<sup>25</sup> Walker to Scott, 5 November 1825, in *HRA*, Vol. XII, p. 274.

Female Orphan School).<sup>26</sup> This would appear to be the first written indication of Scott's desire to have the institution under the supervision of a Church of England clergyman. The Governor did not respond to this suggestion.

A further dissatisfaction which Scott expressed about the Rev. Walker was his recording of the School's accounts. The Archdeacon suggested that a person should be appointed 'to audit the accounts of the Male and Female Orphan Schools until His Majesty's Charter of Incorporation arrives'. The Archdeacon proposed that a Mr Lithgow, who was a qualified accountant, be appointed to the position, and Mr Lithgow was 'acquainted with Government expenditure'.<sup>27</sup> The Governor was in favour of Scott's suggestion and the nomination of Mr William Lithgow as auditor. His duties as auditor of the Male and Female Orphan Schools were also extended to 'other School Accounts, as well as those for the several Churches'.<sup>28</sup>

The Archdeacon, on the advice of the Attorney-General Saxe Bannister, summoned Walker to appear at the Attorney-General's office on 30 November in order to explain to Archdeacon Scott why he was absent from the School, and why proper supervision was not provided for the girls.<sup>29</sup> The Rev. Walker did not attend this meeting.

Walker instituted proceedings against Archdeacon Scott's position as King's Visitor in the Supreme Civil Court on 30 November 1825, and he was represented by William Charles Wentworth. The Court reached the decision that whilst the intention of His Majesty's Government may have been 'to place all the schools and religious foundations in the Colony under the visitation of the Archdeacon', the actual office had not been properly established. It was decided that a prohibition had to be placed on the Archdeacon's activities as King's Visitor.<sup>30</sup>

We have noted in chapter 5 that the relations between the Governor and the Colonial Secretary were strained and this situation had arisen from problems with communication. The relationship between the Governor and the Colonial Secretary continued to deteriorate to a serious position. In December 1824 Earl Bathurst advised Sir Thomas Brisbane that 'His Majesty is pleased to relieve you from the exercise of the Government of New South Wales'. In a further despatch Earl Bathurst

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<sup>26</sup> Scott to Brisbane, 8 November 1825, in Scott, Letter Book 1, p. 132.

<sup>27</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 121-122.

<sup>28</sup> *SG*, November 24, 1825, p. 1.

<sup>29</sup> Bannister to Scott, 13 November 1825, in *HRA*, Vol. XII, p. 279.

<sup>30</sup> Bannister to Darling, 14 April 1826, in *HRA*, Vol. XII, p. 275.

advised the Governor that Major Goulburn was to be relieved from his duties as Colonial Secretary.<sup>31</sup> Brisbane, in his reply to Bathurst, appeared to express relief that no blame had been apportioned to himself or to Major Goulburn, over what he termed 'the misunderstanding between' them. Sir Thomas Brisbane concluded his despatch in these words: 'I cordially submit to your Lordship's decision, having much at heart the interests of the Colony'.<sup>32</sup>

The *Sydney Gazette*'s editorial of December 1, 1825, reported that Sir Thomas and Lady Brisbane and family, were leaving the colony that day, and it referred to the number of 'memorials and petitions which flocked to the public office'; and the astonishment of the applicants at the delay in receiving answers. The statement continued in this vein:

A Committee was employed on Friday and Saturday last in examining the various memorials and selecting from amongst the pile those which were thought worthy of such indulgence. The Committee was composed of Major Goulburn the Colonial Secretary and six other public figures.<sup>33</sup>

These comments reflect some of the general inadequacies of the Brisbane administration as far as communication was concerned. There were many letters and memorials which had not received attention.

The Governor appointed to succeed Sir Thomas Brisbane was also a military man namely Lieutenant-General Ralph Darling. He had served in the West Indies, Spain, on Home detachments and on Mauritius. His appointment had been made in 1824, but he did not arrive in the colony until December 1825. Darling left England on 29 July 1825 on the *Catherine Stewart Forbes* and disembarked first at Hobart Town, because it was part of his commission to proclaim a separate government for Van Dieman's Land. Sixteen days after Sir Thomas Brisbane's departure, Darling reached Sydney on 17 December. The Governor was accompanied by his wife Eliza and children, as well as his brothers-in-law Edward and William Dumaresq. Henry Dumaresq who had arrived in the colony earlier, served the Governor as his private

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<sup>31</sup> Bathurst to Brisbane, 28 December 1824, in *HRA*, Vol. XI, p. 429.

<sup>32</sup> Brisbane to Bathurst, 15 May 1825, in *HRA*, Vol. XI, p. 589.

<sup>33</sup> *SG*, December 1, 1825, p. 2.

secretary, and his brother William was a civil engineer. The position of Colonial Secretary was occupied by Alexander Macleay, and it is evident from this that Governor Darling had a family member and a trusted friend in positions close to him.<sup>34</sup>

Within a fortnight of assuming office, Governor Darling received a letter from Archdeacon Scott, advising him that he (Scott) considered that the Rev. Walker had neglected his duties, and Scott expressed his concerns about the progress of the girls which had not reached his expectations. Scott added that 'Mr Walker thought proper to move the Supreme Court against my proceeding as King's Visitor'. The Archdeacon expressed the opinion that after the case had been heard by the Supreme Court, 'he [Walker] is immediately removed together with his wife from the School'. The Archdeacon made his feelings about a member of an independent sect being in charge of the Orphan School known, and Scott iterated the comments he had made to former Governor Brisbane, about the desirability of a Church of England clergyman and his wife being in charge of the institution 'with a Matron under them'.<sup>35</sup>

It was not only the Rev. Walker's denominational affiliation which possibly irked the Archdeacon, but also the fact that Walker was in difficulties with his own Church authorities. When Walker gave up his position at the Native Institution and accepted the position at the Orphan School, it was considered that he made this move without consulting the Missionary Society, or obtaining leave to change his place of employment. The Wesleyan District Meeting attempted to keep Walker within the Wesleyan ministry by presenting two resolutions to him. Apparently these resolutions were not acceptable to the Rev. Walker, and his situation was referred to the London Committee. Archdeacon Scott was advised by Mr R. Mansfield of the Wesleyan District Meeting that Walker's suspension had 'been confirmed at home' (London) and his 'separation from Wesleyan Ministry will be officially confirmed'.<sup>36</sup>

The Archdeacon prepared a memorandum which he sent to Governor Darling in January, in which he reported that a large number of girls at the School were 'afflicted with inflamed eyes'. Scott requested the Governor to take steps to 'inquire into the disease to prevent it spreading, [also] the conduct of the Master and Matron',

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<sup>34</sup> Brian H. Fletcher, *Ralph Darling A Governor Maligned*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1984, pp. 77-79.

<sup>35</sup> Scott to Darling, 26 December 1825, in *HRA*, Vol. XII, pp. 146-149.

<sup>36</sup> R. Mansfield to Scott, 10 January 1826, in *BT*, Box 53, pp. 1581-1583.

because his authority to act as King's Visitor had been suspended by the Court.<sup>37</sup> The Archdeacon also suggested that the Rev. Richard Hill, who ministered in Sydney, could perform the duties of Master 'in the event of any change of Mastership' taking place.<sup>38</sup> We see the persistence of the Archdeacon at work in this memorandum. Scott's concerns were not confined to the girls' eye conditions, but also with the replacement of the Master.

The Governor appointed a Board of Enquiry to examine the situation at the School. It consisted of the Lieutenant-Governor William Stewart, James Bowman the Principal Surgeon and the Rev. William Cowper the Garrison Chaplain. The members of the Board appear to have been thorough in their examination of the children and the School, and a full report was prepared following the visit.

The Board members inspected the actual building and its grounds, the sleeping arrangements, the drainage system, as well as the children in terms of their health, clothing, food, morals and education, and duly reported their findings. The eye inflammation had originally been caused by hot weather, but it was thought that poor hygienic conditions such as the children 'washing their hands and faces in the same water', and using the same towel to wipe their faces had aggravated the medical condition. The members recommended that more 'pewter basins be provided so that each child may have clean water, and be allowed a separate towel'.<sup>39</sup>

The members made the following recommendations about the sleeping rooms namely, that there should be more ventilation in the bedrooms, and the bedding should be 'regularly aired', and the iron bedsteads should be increased in length by the placement of 'longer boards',<sup>40</sup> because many of the beds were considered to be too short.

The children's breakfast and supper consisted of bread and tea. The Board recommended that a 'pottage prepared from Indian corn or wheaten meal with half a pint of good milk for each child would contribute more to their health and comfort'.<sup>41</sup> The inspection of the garden, which covered an area of about six acres was positive, and the garden was found to be well stocked with vegetables. It was suggested that if the garden was 'properly managed it will produce a sufficient supply for the

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<sup>37</sup> Scott to Darling, 11 January 1826, in Scott, Letter Book 1, pp. 157-158.

<sup>38</sup> *ibid.*, p. 158.

<sup>39</sup> Darling to Bathurst, 5 February 1826, in *HRA*, Vol. XII, pp. 162-163.

<sup>40</sup> *ibid.*, p. 163.

<sup>41</sup> *ibid.*

Institution'.<sup>42</sup> The Board members did not refer to the children's diet for dinner, and from their comments about vegetables from the garden we may assume that meat and vegetables were served at that meal. The comments about the children's diet for breakfast and supper, lead us to presume that the Rules and Regulations about diet which Lachlan Macquarie formulated, were not being followed at this stage in the School's administration.

The school children were divided into four classes at the time of this inspection. The comments were not unfavourable on the progress being made in the first and second classes, but the children in the other classes were considered to be too young to have made the improvements which were evident in classes one and two.

The report about the buildings was positive. However the poor drainage, which had been condemned by the Jurors' inspection of the School in March 1825, still remained a problem. The members described 'the nauseous and unwholesome state of the privies', and considered they were in need of 'immediate attention'. Also the cellars were 'dirty and full of water from want of proper drains', and it was suggested that the Civil Engineer's attention should be drawn to the problem, so that 'the remedy of this nuisance' could be provided.<sup>43</sup> It would appear that repairs to the Female Orphan School, for which tenders had been called from the Engineers Office in September 1825, had not taken place.<sup>44</sup>

In its summing up, the Board members suggested that some officers should be appointed as a committee with the view of providing assistance to the Archdeacon. It was envisaged that this Committee be composed of 'the Colonial Secretary, the Police Magistrate at Parramatta and two other gentlemen as His Excellency may think fit to appoint for the general and effectual control of this Institution', which they deemed was an 'important establishment'.<sup>45</sup>

As an outcome of this inspection a draft of additional instructions was prepared by Scott for the Master of the Female Orphan School in January 1826, subject to the Governor's approval. There is an undated notation in the margin of this document over the initials R. D., which reads: 'I have not acted on this as the School

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<sup>42</sup> *ibid.*, p. 164.

<sup>43</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> *SG*, September 29, 1825, p. 1.

<sup>45</sup> Darling to Bathurst, 5 February 1826, in *HRA*, Vol. XII, p. 164.

is now under the Archdeacon'.<sup>46</sup> It would seem that the Governor deferred action on the draft instructions until March 1826, by which time Archdeacon Scott had obtained the legal authority to act as King's Visitor. This authority was ensured 'By Letters Patent, dated 9th of March 1826, His Majesty created a Corporation by the Name of the Trustees of Clergy and School Lands, in the colony of New South Wales'.<sup>47</sup>

The Rev. Walker resigned from his position as Master on 30 March 1826, and cited 'the general ungentlemanly and uncharitable conduct of the Archdeacon' as the contributory causes for his resignation.<sup>48</sup> However, not only did Walker and his wife leave the School, but the servants Richard and Mary Broadbear left at the same time, and only one domestic servant remained at the School, a Mrs Johnston.<sup>49</sup> The Rev. Walker had tendered his resignation in writing to Colonel Dumaresq, the Governor's private secretary. Walker however did not state in writing that Mr and Mrs Broadbear would also be leaving the institution. This information was apparently conveyed verbally to the government, and it was iterated that the 'Broadbears would not serve the Government or any person except the Deponent [Walker] for £25'.<sup>50</sup>

An article in the *Sydney Gazette* of April 5, 1826 paid tribute to the Rev. William Walker and Mrs Walker when they resigned from the Female Orphan School. It was stated that 'vast improvements had been effected in the morals and condition of the children since Mr and Mrs Walker were introduced to the Institution by the late Governor'.<sup>51</sup> Whilst some improvements had certainly taken place at the School whilst the Walker's were in charge, this unqualified praise would not have been shared by the Archdeacon, James Macarthur, Dr Bowman<sup>52</sup> or the Rev. Keane, who were aware of the pitiful state of the children when the Rev. Walker, his wife and the Broadbears left the institution on 30 March, 1826.

The Full Bench of the Magistrates at Parramatta heard the case against the Richard and Mary Broadbear for leaving their place of employment without authority, on 6 April 1826, and Dr Harris stated that this case was initiated 'upon the complaint

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<sup>46</sup> Draft of Additional Instructions, January 1826, Colonial Secretary In Letters, Bundle 28. State Records New South Wales 4/1790.

<sup>47</sup> Despatches from Governors, New South Wales Enclosures 1827-29, p. 502. (ML) A1267-11.

<sup>48</sup> Walker's Evidence, 6 April 1826, in *HRA*, Vol. XIII, p. 331.

<sup>49</sup> *ibid.*, p. 235.

<sup>50</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 327, 331.

<sup>51</sup> *SG*, April 5, 1826, p. 2.

<sup>52</sup> Letter from John Macarthur, Senior, 16 May 1827, in Macarthur Papers, Vol. 3, p.158a ff. (ML) A2899.

of the Venerable the Archdeacon'.<sup>53</sup> The magistrates found the Broadbears guilty and sentenced them to three months' imprisonment.

The Broadbears decided to take action against some of the magistrates, namely James Macarthur, Lachlan Macallister and Dr James Bowman, for what they alleged was false imprisonment. The Rev. Walker advised the couple and supported them in their claim for compensation, which he hoped could be settled out of court. When an offer of £10 was made by way of compensation, this was considered to be inadequate by the Broadbears and possibly by their supporters.<sup>54</sup> However, Archdeacon Scott and E. J. Keith a barrister who had prosecuted the couple, considered £10 was adequate because the couple were ex-convicts and were 'menial servants'.<sup>55</sup>

Mrs Mary Broadbear's case for £300 compensation, against three of the magistrates who had voted for the maximum penalty of three months' imprisonment, proceeded. In his summing up Judge Stephen quashed the conviction of the plaintiffs Richard and Mary Broadbear. Assessors agreed that Mary should receive damages to the value of £ stg. 210, and Richard was found to be entitled to £ stg. 80.<sup>56</sup>

The two court cases provide us with an insight into some of the colonial factions of the time. The stance taken by both members of the clergy, Archdeacon Scott and the Rev. Walker is to be regretted from an ecclesiastical point of view. Walker, in signing the Rules for the Female Orphan School in 1825, had acknowledged the authority of the Archdeacon to act as King's Visitor. Later, he challenged Scott's authority through the court system, and the Court upheld Walker's case and prohibited Scott from carrying out some of his duties. When Walker left the Female Orphan School at short notice, he appears to have acted in an impetuous way, and the fact that he would not submit to the authority of his own denomination may be indicative of his inexperience, and a general problem in yielding to authority.

Some of the breakdown in the relationship between Scott and Walker may be attributed to denominational issues. Walker was a member of the Wesleyan ministry, and the Archdeacon thought that a Church of England clergyman should be in charge of the Female Orphan School, where the religious observances were based on the doctrines of the Church of England. The case against the Broadbears was seen in the

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<sup>53</sup> Report of Proceedings in the Case of Broadbear and wife against James Macarthur and Others, 24 May 1827, in *HRA*, Vol. XIII, p. 333.

<sup>54</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 324, 329, 337.

<sup>55</sup> Statement of Archdeacon Scott, 19 March 1827, in *HRA*, Vol. XIII, p. 324.

<sup>56</sup> Report of the Proceeding Broadbear and wife, in *HRA*, Vol. XIII, pp. 324-361.

community as an attack on Walker, and probably further damaged the Archdeacon's standing in the community.

Archdeacon Scott appointed the Rev. John Espy Keane and his wife to serve in a temporary capacity as Master and Matron of the School, whilst awaiting the arrival of the Rev. Charles Wilton and his wife from England.<sup>57</sup> Keane was also to serve as Chaplain for the Field of Mars parish, and he was to receive £250 per annum for this service. Keane took up his position at the School on 30 March 1826.<sup>58</sup>

Despite the fact that verbal information had been given to the government about the Broadbears' intention to leave the institution, no temporary domestic staff had been placed in the School. Only one domestic servant was on duty a Mrs Johnston, and there were 125 girls, whose ages did not exceed twelve years including fifteen infants, present in the School when the Rev. Keane arrived. Archdeacon Scott, in evidence before the Court in the case of Broadbear and wife versus James Macarthur and Others, stated that he had tried to secure the services of someone to take care of the children before the Rev. Walker and the Broadbears left the institution, however Scott claimed that he had been unsuccessful in his efforts.<sup>59</sup> It is hard to imagine that there would not have been some suitable women in the community or in the Female Factory, who could have assisted in this emergency.

The Rev. Keane described the building as being filthy and swarming with bugs. In Keane's words the 'School was in a deplorable state' and this was immediately after the departure of the Walkers. The quitting by Mrs Broadbear, who had been a 'nurse and housekeeper' was a telling factor, and Keane expressed his dismay at her actions and wrote, 'no woman of common feeling would have gone away leaving these helpless children as they did'.<sup>60</sup>

The sole domestic servant was attempting to do the washing, cooking, attending to the girls and other household duties, and Mrs Keane, whose state of health was poor, was unable to ease the situation. The Rev. Keane was therefore faced with an impossible task, and 'he ordered the children to bed at 8 o'clock, and assigned a baby to each of the older girls'. This means of looking after the infants

<sup>57</sup> Bathurst to Darling, 19 October 1826, in *HRA*, Vol. XII, p. 654.

<sup>58</sup> Scott to Darling, 24 April 1826, in Scott, Letter Book 1, pp. 230-231.

<sup>59</sup> Scott's evidence, in *HRA*, Vol. XIII, p. 345.

<sup>60</sup> Keane's evidence, 24 May 1825, in *HRA*, Vol. XIII, p. 347.

was unsatisfactory, because the older girls were unable to provide the necessary level of care. The Rev. Keane stated that ‘he found them during the night rolling about in filth’, and when he had to respond to the infants’ needs, he found this experience much to his disgust.<sup>61</sup>

Soon after Keane’s arrival the Grand Jury made an inspection of the School, and the panel thought that some improvements had occurred. Whilst the Jurors gave credit for the improvement to the ‘reputed diligence of the King’s Visitor’,<sup>62</sup> the credit probably belongs to the Rev. Keane, who implemented his own scheme for the management of the School. Although Keane informed Alexander McLeay that he had drawn up the scheme, he did not provide details of it.<sup>63</sup>

Mrs Keane spent only a short time as Matron and she resigned in June 1826. Her position as Matron was then occupied by Mrs Mary Collicott, a former Matron of the School, who was initially appointed during Lachlan Macquarie’s administration.<sup>64</sup> Gradually conditions at the Female Orphan School improved and these can be attributed to the Rev. Keane’s effort, Mrs Collicott’s helpful assistance, and improved staff levels.

The Rev. Keane’s appointment had been of a temporary nature, and he resigned as Master from the end of March 1827, and Mrs Collicott also resigned at that date.<sup>65</sup> Towards the end of Keane’s Mastership Archdeacon Scott acknowledged Keane’s work and wrote to him in these words:

As you are about to leave the Female Orphan School ...  
I beg to offer you my best thanks for the interest you  
have taken in the welfare of the Children and of the  
Institution during the time you have presided over it.  
As I have constantly watched over the state of the  
children under your care I can truly testify to their  
progress and to the obedience your presence has always  
produced.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Keane’s evidence, 6 April 1826, in *HRA*, Vol. XIII, pp. 354-355.

<sup>62</sup> *SG*, April 12, 1826, p. 3.

<sup>63</sup> Keane to McLeay, 7 April 1826, in *CSIL*, Bundle 29. SRNSW 4/1793.

<sup>64</sup> Collicott to Scott, 2 October 1824, in *Female Orphan School Letter Book 1825-29*. SRNSW 4/326.

<sup>65</sup> Scott to Darling, 23 February 1827, in *Scott, Letter Book 1*, pp. 361-362.

<sup>66</sup> Scott to Keane, 10 March 1827, in *Scott, Letter Book 1*, pp. 377-378.

Another temporary appointment was made after the Rev. Keane's and Mrs Collicott's departure. The Rev. James Norman and his wife, assumed the caretaker positions until the permanent appointees arrived from England.<sup>67</sup>

When the Rev. Charles Playdell Neale Wilton and his wife Elizabeth arrived in April 1827 on board the *Elizabeth*, they were to occupy the positions of Master and Matron of the Female Orphan School. Upon the recommendation of the Archdeacon, the Governor appointed Wilton 'to officiate at the Field of Mars and Castle Hill' parishes.<sup>68</sup> The Rev. Wilton was to receive £150 per annum for his position as Master, and £250 per annum for his services as Chaplain, and his wife Elizabeth was to receive £100 per annum as Matron.<sup>69</sup>

Mrs Wilton did not enjoy good health and later in the year when her health continued to deteriorate, her husband had a separate cottage, a 'garden house' constructed for her some fifty yards from the main building. The Rev. Wilton applied for permission to use glass which was in the storeroom for the windows in the 'garden house', but permission was refused.<sup>70</sup> Later permission was granted to fence an area approximately three-quarters of an acre around the cottage so that a private garden could be established.<sup>71</sup>

In September 1826 Archdeacon Scott submitted to the Governor the names of nineteen ladies whom he considered could form a Ladies Committee for the management of the Female Orphan School. The Ladies were Mesdames Darling, Forbes, Macleay, Marsden, Palmer, George Palmer, H. Macarthur, Hill, Macarthur, Cowper, Cartwright, Blaxland, Bowman, Wilkinson, Keane, Hall, the two Misses Macleay and Miss Marsden.<sup>72</sup> Some of these ladies had been active members of the local committee appointed by Lachlan Macquarie. They had served as committee members until December 1823, and presumably had skills to contribute to the management of the School.

<sup>67</sup> Scott to Darling, 23 February 1827, in Scott, Letter Book 1, pp. 361-362.

<sup>68</sup> SG, April 16, 1827, p. 1.

<sup>69</sup> Herbert Marshall, Wilton, Charles Playdell Neale (1798-1859) *Australian Dictionary of Biography.*, Vol. 2, p. 613.

<sup>70</sup> Scott to Wilton, 17 October 1827, in Scott, Letter Book 1, p. 456.

<sup>71</sup> Scott to Darling, 27 June 1828, in Scott, Archdeacon Thomas Hobbes, Letter Book 2, p. 33. (ML) A/851.

<sup>72</sup> Scott to Darling, 7 September 1826, in Scott, Letter Book 1, p. 314.

Mrs Eliza Darling was an evangelical Anglican who has been described by Brian Fletcher as ‘the greatest Benefactress which the colony had known. She was determined to be more than a figurehead and engaged whole-heartedly in a range of time-consuming pursuits’, which were of a philanthropic nature.<sup>73</sup> Although Mrs Darling took a close interest in the institution like her predecessors Mrs Anna King and Mrs Elizabeth Macquarie, and like them was a frequent visitor to the School,<sup>74</sup> her main philanthropic activity was associated with the Sydney Female School of Industry. This establishment trained young girls for domestic service, and although ‘some attention was paid to elementary instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, history and geography, most emphasis was placed on lessons in scripture and needlework, and on the learning of domestic tasks’.<sup>75</sup>

Mrs Darling was the patroness and a dominant force in this ‘first charity to be founded and managed entirely by women’. It was a charity dependent on the gifts of subscribers, the fees paid by the parents of the pupils and fund-raising activities for its financial support. Eliza Darling:

managed the school with other women from the colony’s social elite, in particular the four Macleay sisters, daughters of the Colonial Secretary, and wives and daughters of well-to-do graziers and merchants, military officers and clergy’.<sup>76</sup>

Mrs Darling also patronized the Benevolent Society and actively supported the Sunday School movement through the supervision of examinations and prize givings. These activities were taken in conjunction with her husband Governor Ralph Darling, who was interested ‘in the plight of the needy’, and they ‘attended the annual sermon for children, parents and teachers at Saint Philip’s Church’.<sup>77</sup>

The Ladies Committee was functioning when the Wiltons took up their positions at the School, and it was apparently able to exert a positive influence on that institution, because Governor Darling informed Viscount Goderich that:

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<sup>73</sup> Brian Fletcher, ‘Elizabeth Darling: Colonial Benefactress and Governor’s Lady’, *JRAHS*, Vol. 67, Pt. 4, March 1982, p. 313.

<sup>74</sup> *SG*, January 6, 1829, p. 2.

<sup>75</sup> Noeline Kyle, *Her Natural Destiny: The Education of Women in New South Wales*, New South Wales University Press, Sydney, 1986, p. 5.

<sup>76</sup> Anita Selzer, *Governors’ Wives in Colonial Australia*, National Library of Australia, Canberra, 2002, p. 89.

<sup>77</sup> Brian H. Fletcher, *Ralph Darling A Governor Maligned*, pp. 201-202.

I have much satisfaction in stating to your Lordship that the Establishment generally is materially improved since the date of my last Report, which is in a great measure to be ascribed to the exertions of a Committee of Ladies who very kindly offered their assistance to the Archdeacon in superintending the conduct of the School.

The Governor also paid tribute to Mrs Ellis, describing her as ‘a very active intelligent person ... who has also contributed to this important object’.<sup>78</sup> Mrs Ellis’ appointment to the School had occurred because of Mrs Wilton’s poor state of health, which prevented her from carrying out her duties as Matron.

Mrs Wilton’s indifferent health was to lead to a conflict between Archdeacon Scott and the Rev. Wilton. When Wilton requested more leave of absence for his wife on the grounds of her continuing ill-health, the Archdeacon reminded him that the services of Mrs Ellis had been sought, and that she had in fact carried out the duties of the Matron. Scott referred to the Rev. Wilton’s remarks that his wife’s ill-health prevented her from undertaking ‘the duties or even reside in the House of the Institution’.<sup>79</sup> Mrs Wilton had been placed in a fairly comfortable position. She did not reside in the House, she had not taken up her duties as Matron through ill-health, and she had been in receipt of a stipend of £100 per annum up to the end of 1827.<sup>80</sup>

The Archdeacon expressed his frustration about Mrs Wilton’s situation to Governor Darling, because Scott had attempted unsuccessfully to obtain information in writing from the Rev. Wilton about his wife’s circumstances.<sup>81</sup> On 20 June the Archdeacon wrote to Wilton advising him that he was still awaiting a reply to an earlier letter about ‘Mrs Wilton’s duties as Matron’.<sup>82</sup> In April Wilton had received a letter from the Clerk of the Corporation Charles Cowper, advising him that Archdeacon Scott had informed the Trustees that Mrs Wilton had resigned as Matron of the Female Orphan School. Wilton was also advised that the Trustees would be withholding payment of Mrs Wilton’s salary which was due on 31 March, pending the return of Archdeacon Scott from Van Dieman’s Land.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Darling to Viscount Goderich, 11 October 1827, in *HRA*, Vol. XIII, p. 549.

<sup>79</sup> Scott to Wilton, 14 November 1827, in Scott, Letter Book 1, p. 464.

<sup>80</sup> Scott to Wilton, 20 November 1827, in Scott, Letter Book 1, p. 467.

<sup>81</sup> Scott to Darling, 27 June 1828, in Scott, Letter Book 2, pp. 30-33.

<sup>82</sup> Scott to Wilton, 20 June 1828, in Scott, Letter Book 2, p. 22.

<sup>83</sup> Governors’ Despatches, Vol. 15, 1830, pp. 868-869. (ML) A1204.

It would appear that although Mrs Wilton held the title of Matron, she certainly did not perform the duties associated with that position. There was also an attempt by the Wiltons through Mr F. J. Unwin a friend and lawyer, to seek continued payment for Mrs Wilton,<sup>84</sup> however, this was a suggestion to which the Archdeacon was not willing to concede. Scott made his position quite clear to Governor Darling later in June, when he wrote that as Mrs Wilton was not performing her duties as Matron of the Female Orphan School 'the Trustees of the Clergy and School Lands Corporation had declined continuing her salary of £100 per annum'.<sup>85</sup>

The relationship between the Archdeacon and the Rev. Wilton deteriorated. Each man levelled criticism about aspects of the behaviour of the other,<sup>86</sup> and by December 1828 Scott advised Governor Darling that the Rev. Wilton intended to resign, and wanted to return to England 'as soon as he can be relieved'.<sup>87</sup> The Rev. Wilton however later decided to withdraw his resignation, which he claimed had been made under duress. The paper war between the two clergymen continued and evidence of the situation was visible in the many sub-enclosures contained in a despatch which the Governor forwarded to the Secretary of State in September 1829.<sup>88</sup>

Life proceeded within the Female Orphan School despite the problems which existed between the Rev. Wilton and Archdeacon Scott. In June 1828 Wilton provided a list of girls most suitable to be indentured to the institution. Out of a list of eighteen girls, six were recommended as teachers (monitors) and their ages ranged from twelve to seventeen years.<sup>89</sup>

The Rules for the Internal Management of the Orphan Schools formulated in 1829 provide us with information about the daily routine in the Schools.<sup>90</sup> This routine did not differ markedly from that prescribed by Archdeacon Scott in 1825. In summer the children's day began at five o'clock. After bathing prayers were read,

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<sup>84</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 873-874.

<sup>85</sup> Scott to Darling, 27 June 1828, in Scott, Letter Book 2, p. 29.

<sup>86</sup> Dan O'Donnell, 'Archdeacon V Chaplain: The Nature of the Friction between Scott and Wilton, 1827-1829', *JRAHS*, Vol. 62, Pt. 3, December 1976, pp. 190-198.

<sup>87</sup> Scott to Darling, 30 December 1828, in *HRA*, Vol. XIV, p. 562.

<sup>88</sup> Darling to George Murray, 7 September 1829, in *HRA*, Vol. XV, pp. 161-174.

<sup>89</sup> FOS Letter Book 1825-1829, 17 June 1828.

<sup>90</sup> Rules for Management, Chapter 5, in Clergy and School Lands Corporation, Minute Book 1829-30, pp. 12-14. SRNSW 7/2704.

and the children remained in the house until breakfast was served. The children could then play till nine o'clock when lessons began, and these continued until one o'clock. After lunch the children could play until two, lessons were then resumed for one hour. From three to six o'clock the older children pursued their domestic duties or trades, and the other children were able to play or work in the garden. Supper was served at six o'clock, prayers were read at seven and the children retired to bed at seven thirty. These children daily spent approximately five hours in formal elementary education of reading, writing and arithmetic, and the older children spent three hours performing manual labour or pursuing their trades. This routine was slightly relaxed in winter when they rose at six o'clock, and retired at six thirty. Saturday was a half holiday.

When Archdeacon Scott formulated Rules for the School in June 1825, during the Rev. Walker's period as Master, he thought that the children should be treated with kindness. The teachers were 'on no account to punish a child any further than being turned down in the class, sat in the middle of it, or reported to the Master'.<sup>91</sup> The Archdeacon felt that corporal punishment should only rarely be used, and his perception of punishment was the engagement of children in various tasks after school hours.<sup>92</sup> In the later period of the Corporation's control of the School a much more punitive approach to the discipline of the girls was adopted.

A Black Book was used to record the names of offenders, who received corporal punishment in front of the other children. If these punishments did not effect the required change in behaviour, a Punishment Class was prescribed with a distinctive uniform.<sup>93</sup> A dress of a different colour and made of inferior material was worn by girls in this class. The nature of their offence was printed on a board, and the board was attached to the child's back. This is evidenced by Mr Wilton's communication with the Committee when he wrote 'I shall be glad to receive as soon as they are painted the punishment boards for the children'.<sup>94</sup> The girls in the Punishment Class stood behind the other children when morning and evening prayers were conducted in the school room. These girls took part in school work, but instead of being allowed to play they were engaged in 'laborious and degrading work according to their ages and strength'.

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<sup>91</sup> Rules for the Female Orphan School, in *HRA*, Vol. XII, p. 282.

<sup>92</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> Form of Black Book, in CSLC, Proceedings of General Courts, April 1826-June 1830, p. 244. SRNSW 4/291.

<sup>94</sup> Wilton to Committee, 7 July 1829, in FOS Letter Book 1825-1829, p. 100.

The July meeting of the Committee resolved that a Mrs Forrester should for the present, commence the Punishment Class at the Female Orphan School.<sup>95</sup> Mrs Forrester was a free woman but she only received £7 per annum for her work, which was the rate paid to a convict. The Rev. Wilton sought an increase in pay for Mrs Forrester and Archdeacon Broughton, considered that ‘a gratuity of £(3 sewn in) at the end of the year if she continues to behave well’ could be made to her.<sup>96</sup>

In July the Ladies Committee recommended that ‘two or three dark cells to be erected near the building of the Probationary Class, for the purpose of confining for punishment the elder Girls in particular’.<sup>97</sup> In order to have these cells prepared for the girls, tenders were called for their construction.<sup>98</sup> The proposal to erect dark cells was apparently considered necessary to separate some of the older girls whose behaviour was found to be unsatisfactory.

In September 1829 the suggestion was made at a Corporation meeting to apprentice some of the older girls who were employed in the institution, in order to make room for younger children to be admitted. The Master, the Rev. Wilton intimated that the girls could not be spared, ‘unless they were replaced by women from the Female Factory’.<sup>99</sup> On further investigation the Committee decided that the number of girls kept in the School as servants should be reduced to fifteen, and twelve of the best girls were to be apprenticed to persons requiring them.<sup>100</sup> Again the Rev. Wilton presented a case for the retention of the girls, stating ‘that the number of Female servants and apprentices to the Institution was insufficient to perform the labour required’. In this matter it is interesting to note that a compromise was reached, and the: ‘committee directed the following arrangement of female servants to be made - one cook, one laundress, one for the Punishment Class, one for the infirmary, and fourteen to be retained as House Apprentices’.<sup>101</sup> From this resolution we are able to obtain details about the domestic situation at the Female Orphan School.

In December the Master made an application for a baker to be appointed to the School. At a committee meeting on 18 December 1829, it was decided not to accede

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<sup>95</sup> CSLC, Minute Book 1829-30, 12 August 1829, p. 83.

<sup>96</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> Wilton to Committee, 7 July 1829, in FOS Letter Book 1825-29.

<sup>98</sup> CSLC, Minute Book 1829-30, 12 August 1829, pp. 113-114.

<sup>99</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 136, 147.

<sup>100</sup> *ibid.*, p. 286.

<sup>101</sup> *ibid.*, p. 287.

to the Rev. Wilton's application, but it was ordered that a woman be sent from the Female Factory for one month, and during that period the girls were to learn how to bake their own bread.<sup>102</sup> This decision apparently worked out successfully, because in February 1830 the Committee reported with satisfaction that 'since the commencement of the present year, children at the Orphan School have made their own bread'.<sup>103</sup> The skills of making bread was thus a further development in the girls' domestic training.

In 1831 the Rev. Wilton resigned as Master of the Female Orphan School. He applied for the chaplaincy at Newcastle and was appointed as the third and last of its chaplains in 1831.<sup>104</sup> Mrs Wilton's delicate state of health and the problems this caused in her position as Matron of the School have been noted. There is no doubt that Elizabeth Wilton was not robust, because she died at Newcastle on 21 December 1836 aged only thirty nine years old.

We shall turn our attention to the Male Orphan School to look at the conditions and life in that School, the changes of staff, the problems encountered, the agricultural training provided and the developments of that institution when it was under the control of the Clergy and School Lands Corporation.

Edward Sweetman and his wife Sarah occupied the positions of storemen/secretary and Matron respectively at the Male Orphan School from early 1825. The Sweetman's ill-health prevented them from carrying out their duties in either establishment, and in March 1825 Edward Sweetman tendered his resignation to the Committee in these words:

During nearly the whole of time Mrs Sweetman and myself were honoured by the British Government, with the charge of the Female Orphan School, our state of health was such as to incapacitate us from the performance of the arduous duties it involved. ... we were removed to the Charge of this Institution, my own health has been so indifferent as to prevent that attention to the Institution, which if neglected any

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<sup>102</sup> *ibid.*, p. 229.

<sup>103</sup> *ibid.*, p. 293.

<sup>104</sup> Herbert Marshall, Wilton, *ADB*, Vol. 2, p. 613.

longer must be attended perhaps with serious consequences.<sup>105</sup>

Sarah Sweetman died from her illness in July 1825 and Edward died the following month leaving their three daughters orphans.<sup>106</sup>

Archdeacon Scott appointed the Rev. Robert Cartwright (see illustration on following page) to be the Master of the Male Orphan School in May 1825. In chapter 6 we noted Cartwright's concerns about the older boys who were apprenticed to the School when he took up his appointment. The Rev. Cartwright had arrived in the colony in February 1810, and was of the evangelical persuasion. He was considered to be a conscientious chaplain, an energetic and popular minister.<sup>107</sup>

It was not only the physical conditions at the Male Orphan School which disturbed Archdeacon Scott, but it was also the behaviour of some of the boys of sixteen and seventeen years of age whom he described as 'vicious and rebellious'.<sup>108</sup> He also used the words 'idle, profligate and immoral in the highest degree' to describe some of the boys.<sup>109</sup> Scott formed the opinion that the removal of these boys would perhaps be the only way of restoring order in the School. He tried to understand how the situation had arisen prior to the Rev. Cartwright's appointment, and this appears to be an enlightened approach. The Archdeacon referred to the punishment which had been inflicted on the boys, and which he thought had tended 'to degrade the Children to the state of a Convicted Felon'. The form of punishment to which the Archdeacon referred, was a log weighing two pounds and a chain four feet long, and this item according to the children was used to punish them.<sup>110</sup> Apparently there were two instruments of punishment because Scott referred to one log and chain being in the Rev. Cartwright's possession, and the other had been given to the Archdeacon by the Rev. Walker.<sup>111</sup> We can only conclude that Mr Sweetman had used these forms of punishment in both Schools.

We know that the boys were punished by Mr Bowden by the deprivation of food. The former committee members were well aware of that form of punishment,

<sup>105</sup> Sweetman to Committee of Orphan Institution, 22 March 1825, in CSIL, Bundle 27, p. 167. SRNSW 4/1785.

<sup>106</sup> NSW Births Deaths and Marriages, V18256517 2B/1825; V18256580 2B/1825.

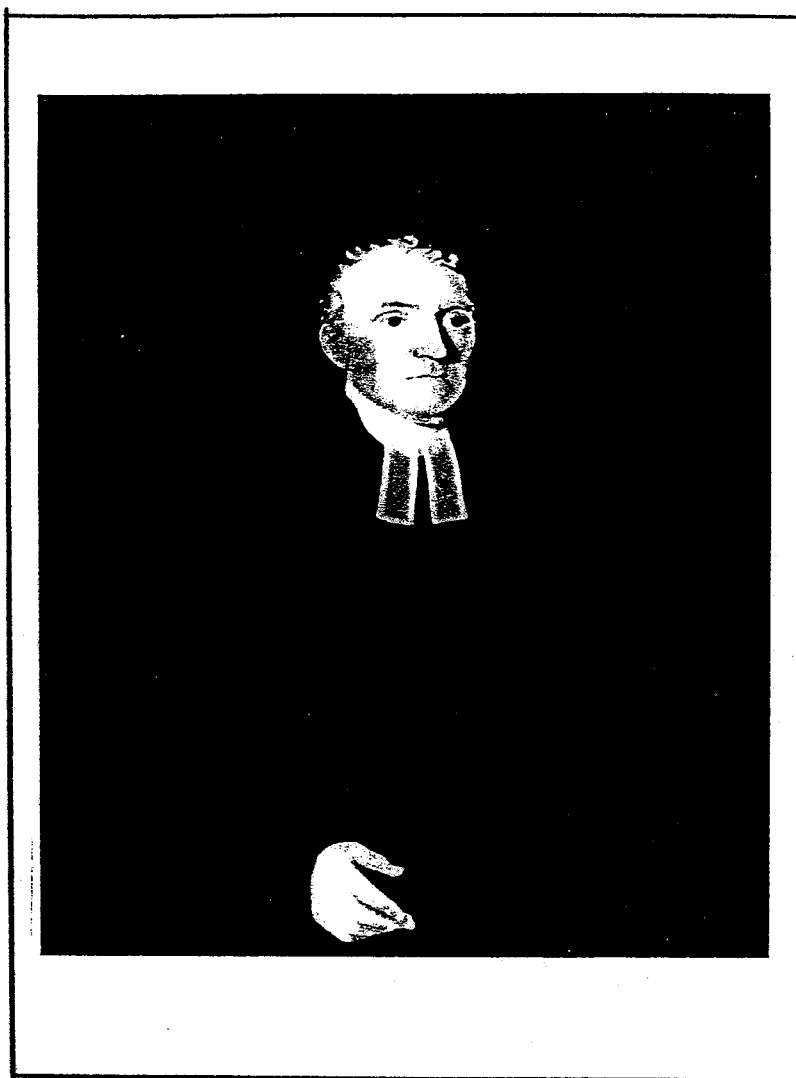
<sup>107</sup> K. J. Cable, Cartwright, Robert (1771-1856), *ADB*, Vol. 1, p. 211.

<sup>108</sup> Scott to Macleay, 23 October 1826, private, in Correspondence of Archdeacon Scott. SRNSW 4/1913.4.

<sup>109</sup> Scott to Darling, 1 May 1826, in *HRA*, Vol. XII, p. 313.

<sup>110</sup> Scott to Darling, 7 November 1828, in Scott, Letter Book 1, p. 129.

<sup>111</sup> *ibid.*



The Rev. Robert Cartwright  
(from the copy in the Mitchell Library)

and we have seen their response to the ‘voices’ of the boys who complained about their treatment. We also know that Mary Ann McGrath had a log attached to her right leg to punish her for climbing a tree. However the use of a chain does not appear to be recorded as a punishment in the minutes, and the committee members denied knowledge of a chain being used to punish the children, when questioned by Archdeacon Scott. Although he was cautious in accepting the ‘statements made by some of the children’, it would appear that the Archdeacon concluded that this form of punishment had been used.<sup>112</sup>

In his report Commissioner Bigge recommended that a farming project be established to train some of the colony’s youth aged from ‘fifteen to twenty years in which they should be taught the cultivation and fencing of land, and more especially the management of sheep and cattle’,<sup>113</sup> and the Corporation intended to implement Bigge’s recommendation at the Male Orphan School.

In 1982 an archaeological investigation of the former Male Orphan School was undertaken, and Wendy Thorp prepared a Cultural Resources Report for the Heritage Council of New South Wales in March of that year. Her report included a plan in which she identified three sites on the Estate. (See copy of plan on following page). Site A was known as Bull’s Hill and included the School, dormitories, out buildings and the Master’s House (later known as Bonnyrigg House), log huts and a school room had been erected this site for the boys’ initial accommodation; Site C was known as the Old Farm which had been used since 1806 and included the overseer’s hut or farm house plus stock; Site B was known as the New Farm and was to be developed as an agricultural establishment.<sup>114</sup>

In February 1824 James Busby arrived in the colony with his parents. His father John was a surveyor and civil engineer, and was responsible for sinking some of the bores which enabled Sydney to be provided with a supply of water.<sup>115</sup> James Busby was a young man who was interested in vine cultivation and wine making, and

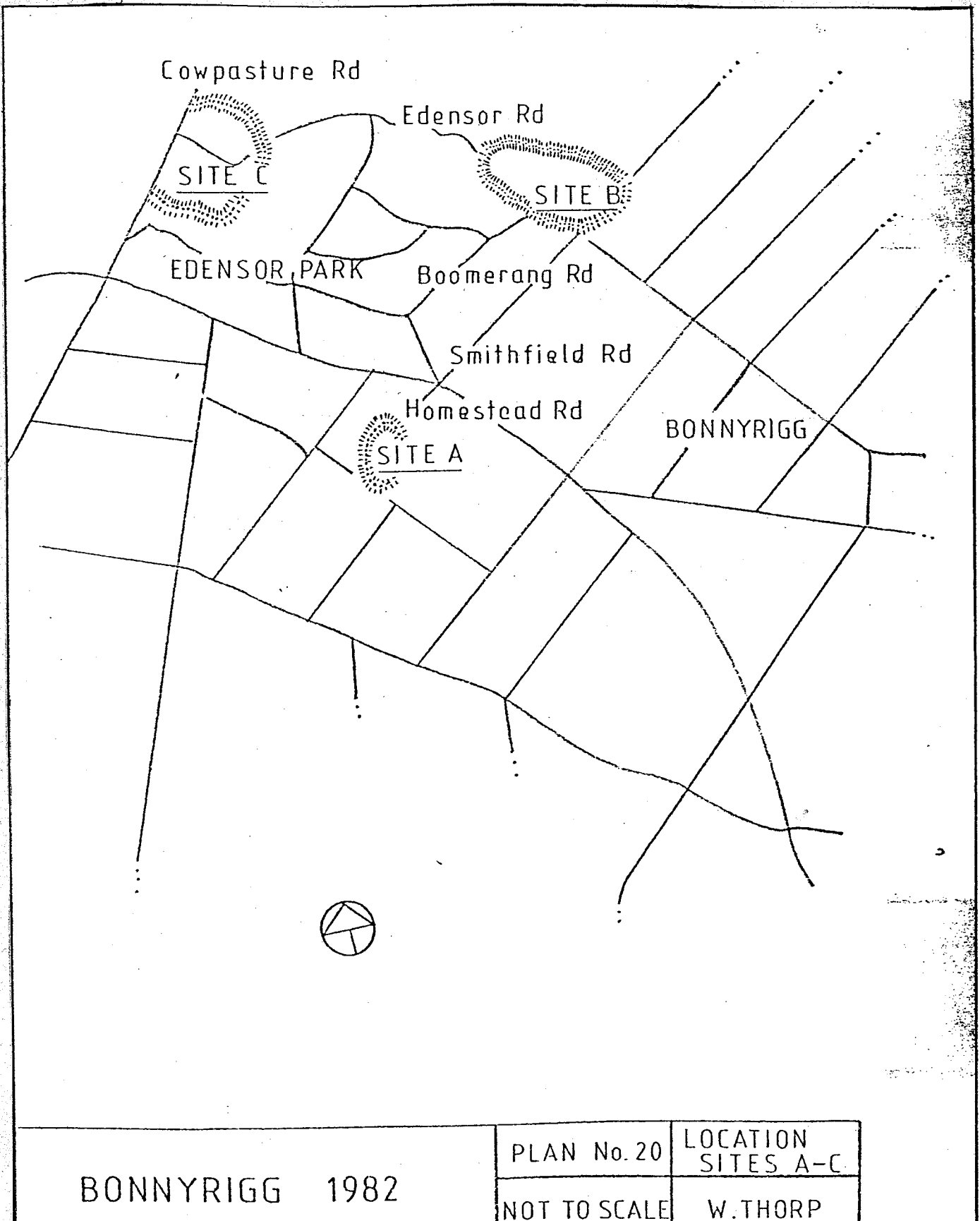
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<sup>112</sup>     ibid., pp. 129-130.

<sup>113</sup>     J. T. Bigge, *Report on the State of the Colony of New South Wales*, Printed 7th July 1823, p. 74.

<sup>114</sup>     Wendy Thorp, *Bonnyrigg House: Cultural Resources Report Comprising Archival and Archaeological Investigations of the Former Male Orphan School*, Liverpool, typescript, Heritage Council of New South Wales, March, 1982, Plan No. 20.

<sup>115</sup>     J. M. Davidson, Busby, James (1801-1871), *ADB*, Vol. 1, p. 186.



Plan showing the location of Sites A, B, C at the Male Orphan School  
 (prepared by W. Thorp in 'Bonnyrigg House, Cultural Resources Report  
 Comprising Archival and Archaeological Investigations of the Male  
 Orphan School, Liverpool', Typescript, Heritage Council of New South Wales,  
 March 1982)

he had visited wine growing regions in France, as well as visiting vineyards in Capetown on his voyage to New South Wales.<sup>116</sup> As an outcome of his observations he compiled *A Treatise of the Culture of the Vine and the Art of Wine Making*. This work was published in Sydney in 1825, and Busby dedicated the Treatise to Sir Thomas Brisbane.<sup>117</sup>

Knowing that the vines take up to three years before grapes are produced, and good wine producing vines take up to five years before good wines are produced, Busby sought government assistance for his project, because it would be a costly enterprise. Both the Governor and the Colonial Secretary were sympathetic to his proposal, and it was Major Goulburn who arranged for James Busby to interview the Rev. Reddall. Busby was informed by Reddall that he and Major Goulburn were anxious that the boys at the Male Orphan School learn vine cultivation. Busby (see photograph on following page) was able to visit the Cabramatta site and by October 1824 he was appointed 'to give the boys the necessary instructions, and also to superintend the General Farming Establishment of the Institution'.<sup>118</sup> His duties were also to instruct the boys in animal husbandry, however he did not take up his duties until January 1825.

Two members of the interim Committee Major Goulburn and the Rev. Reddall divided the Male Orphan School and the Orphan School Farm establishment on 11 February 1825. Mr Sweetman was responsible for the Male Orphan School at Bull's Hill and was given a gardener, whilst the staff which consisted of the trades teachers - the carpenter, tailors and shoemakers were placed under Busby's control. In addition he was given responsibility for the cart and team, and a staff of nine servants.<sup>119</sup> The brickmakers were transferred to Busby,<sup>120</sup> and he was later given the authority to keep separate accounts for the farm.<sup>121</sup>

During the course of 1825 there was much activity on the farm establishment. Purchases including a cart and farming implements, as well as blacksmith's tools, were made in February<sup>122</sup>, and in that month a potato field was prepared.<sup>123</sup> In April

<sup>116</sup> Eric Ramsden, 'James Busby: The Prophet of Australian Viticulture', *JRAHS*, Vol. 26, Part 5, 1940, p. 369.

<sup>117</sup> James Busby, *A Treatise of the Culture of the Vine and the Art of Wine Making*, Australia, Printed by R. Howe, Government Printer, 1825, Frontispiece.

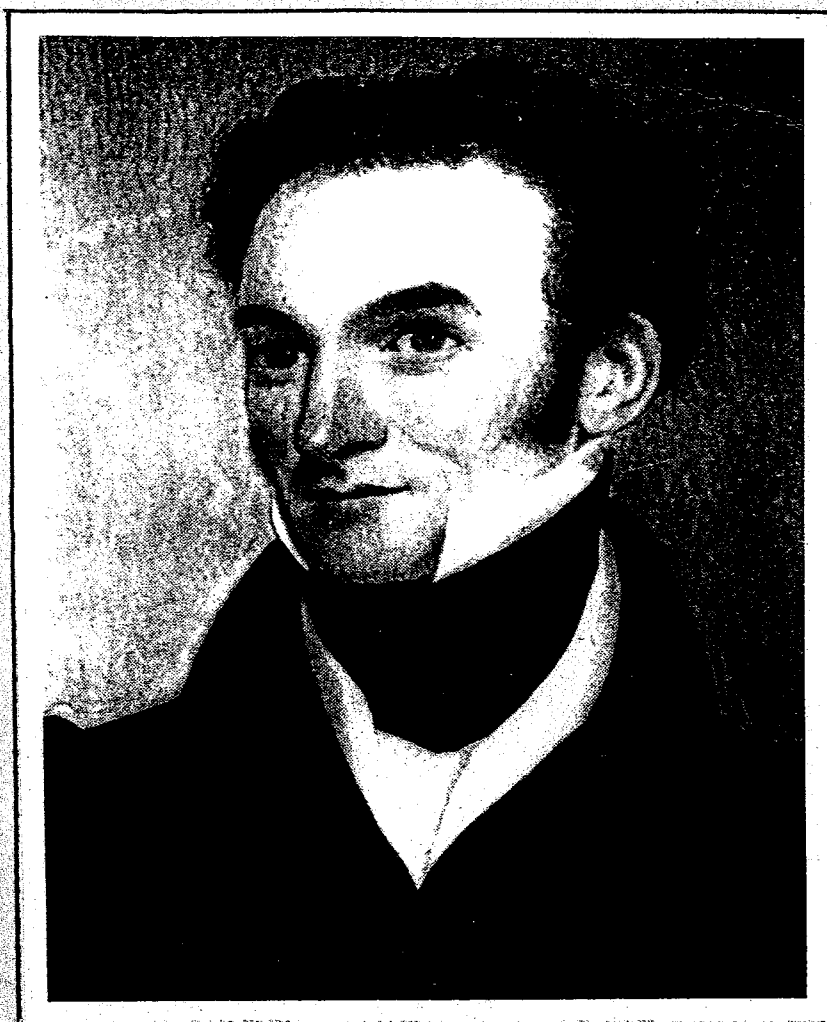
<sup>118</sup> Despatches from Governors, New South Wales Enclosures 1827-29, p. 506.

<sup>119</sup> Farm Journal, No. 1, 14 February 1825, pp. 4-5. SRNSW 4/402.1.

<sup>120</sup> *ibid.*, 17 February 1825, p. 8.

<sup>121</sup> *ibid.*, 29 April 1825, p. 27.

<sup>122</sup> *ibid.*, p. 9.



James Busby

(Source: Eric Ramsden, 'James Busby. The Prophet of Australian Viticulture', *JRAHS*, Vol.26, Pt.5, 1940, p.373)

and June approaches were made to Messrs Blaxland, Macarthur and Harrington for vine cuttings.<sup>124</sup>

It was also decided to train the boys in the management of sheep and cattle. There were 273 breeding ewes and sixteen lambs on the Estate in January,<sup>125</sup> and John Macarthur was to be approached with a view to purchasing some of his best sheep.<sup>126</sup> There were 404 head of cattle on the Estate in January 1825. Some of these cattle and some horses were found to belong to Mr Bowden and Mrs Ward, and arrangements were made for the removal or purchase of this stock.<sup>127</sup> There were also cattle belonging to 'orphans' on the Female Orphan Farm and these numbered fifty in July 1827.<sup>128</sup>

In addition to supervising the Farm, James Busby spent much of his time making a detailed survey of the site, and in preparing a report as requested by Governor Brisbane. He prepared a plan or map of the Orphan Estate and this was submitted with the report. (See map presented in August 1825 on following page). Of the 12,300 acres which formed the Orphan School Estate at Cabramatta Busby assessed the potentials in this way. He decided that about 2,900 acres were suitable for cultivation; the land suitable for sheep and pasture amounted to 3,610 acres; 2,974 acres were considered to be indifferent for pasturage and too wet for sheep; and the remaining 2,816 acres consisted of scrub or bush and were not suitable for agriculture or pasturage. Sixteen hundred acres of the total had been cleared.<sup>129</sup>

Archdeacon Scott was favourably impressed with Busby's report, and with his suggestion that sheep should be purchased 'both for ultimate profit, and instruction of the rearing of them, to the boys now in the school'. To accommodate Mr Busby's suggestion that 'a purchase of 500 ewes be made to form two flocks in addition to the flock already on the Farm', Scott estimated that the cost of purchasing 500 ewes

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<sup>123</sup> *ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>124</sup> *ibid.*, 11 April 1825, p. 24; 29 June 1825, p. 45.

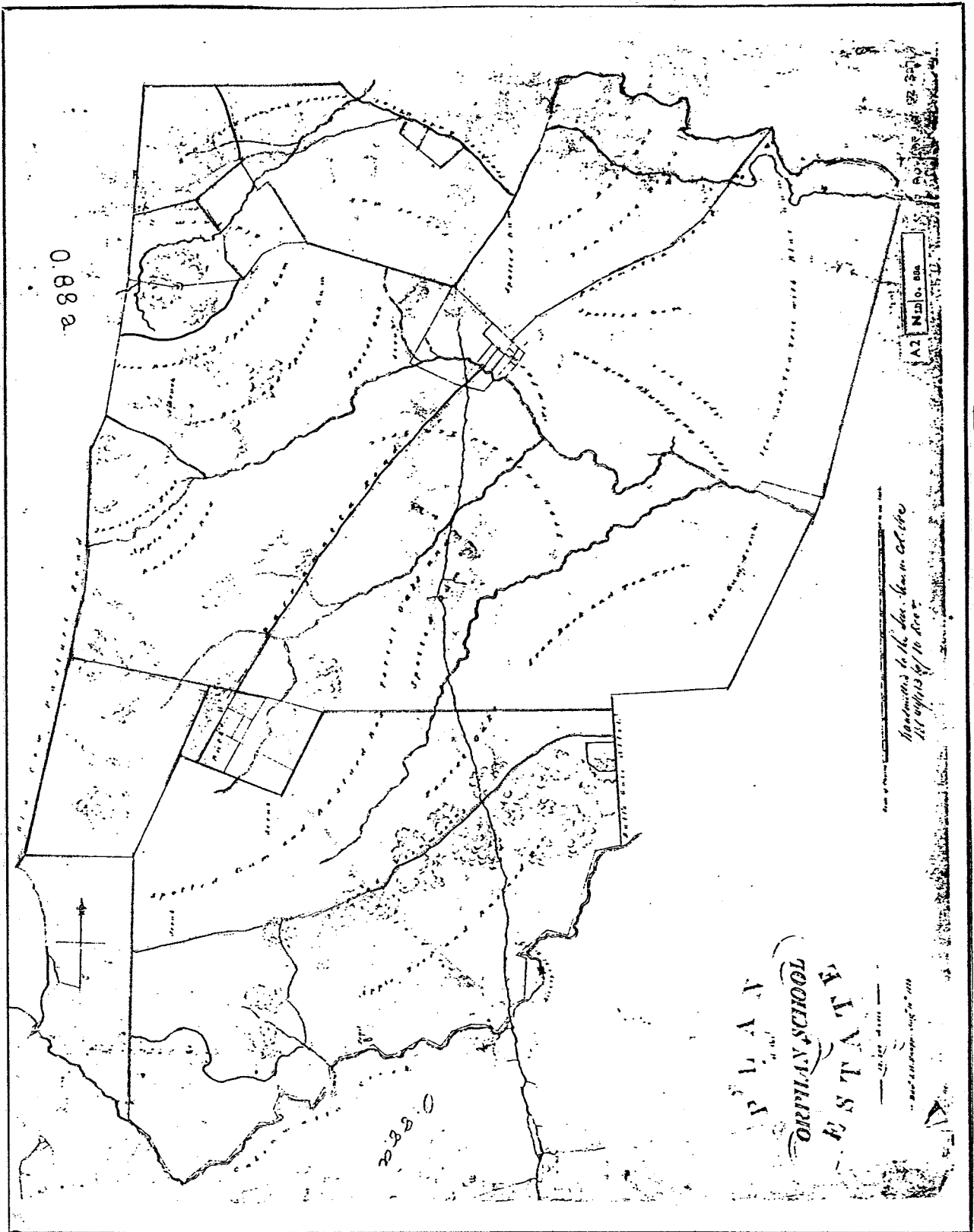
<sup>125</sup> *ibid.*, 10 January 1825, p. 1.

<sup>126</sup> *ibid.*, 13 June 1825, p. 38.

<sup>127</sup> *ibid.*, 14 February 1825, p. 5; 18 February 1825, pp. 8-9; 30 May 1825, p. 35.

<sup>128</sup> Cartwright to Cowper, 11 June 1827, in Male Orphan School Letter Book 1825-29. SRNSW 4/328.

<sup>129</sup> Report of the State and Capabilities of the Orphan School Estate, in Letters and Miscellaneous Papers relating to James Busby and his management of the Male Orphan School Farm, 1825-26, p. 691. SRNSW 4/402.3.



Map prepared by James Busby  
(original in SRNSW 4/402.3)

would require not less than £3000 for the purchase to proceed, 'unless a selection be made from the Government Flocks at Bathurst'.<sup>130</sup>

In June 1825 Busby had commenced to plant the vineyard, which covered an area of two and a quarter acres in 1826, and seven different varieties of vines had been planted. In total there were 3672 plants.<sup>131</sup> Ground had also been prepared and trees had been planted in the orchard in 1826, and a vegetable garden had been established.<sup>132</sup> Convict labour had been used to clear the land and some of these men were used together with other men and boys in harvesting. Corn, barley and wheat had been planted; cabbages and potatoes were grown, and a hop garden had been established by the end of 1825.<sup>133</sup>

Busby thought that an additional twenty assigned men were necessary for the farm and requested this additional labour in February 1826.<sup>134</sup> By March he had received nine additional men.<sup>135</sup> In May the Rev. Cartwright advised Archdeacon Scott that twenty three boys from the Male Orphan School had been placed under Mr Busby's care.<sup>136</sup>

Eighteen months after James Busby commenced work on the Farm Estate, he was able to report on the outcome. The number of sheep had increased; wheat and maize had been harvested; and five and a half tons of potatoes had been grown. The yield from the sheep had been 560 pounds and this had been sold, the price of 1s 4d a pound having been paid for the wool. Land had been cleared and burnt off; huts had been constructed for the men; barns had been built for storage; vines had been planted; the vineyard had been fenced; crops had been cultivated and animal husbandry had been practised. His work received the approbation of Mr W. C. Hely, who held the position of Principal Superintendent of Convicts. Mr Hely wrote in very positive terms to Busby: 'I understand your pastoral, agricultural and viticultural affairs prosper amazingly and am glad of it'.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Scott to Brisbane, 9 September 1825, in Brisbane, Sir Thomas, Letter Book 1, pp. 201-202. (ML) A1559/1.

<sup>131</sup> Busby to Cowper, 24 August 1826, in Papers relating to the Claims of James Busby. SRNSW 4/7502.

<sup>132</sup> Receipt Jas. Poplin, 14 May 1826, Female Orphan School Cash Vouchers. SRNSW 4/7493.

<sup>133</sup> Farm Journal No. 1, pp. 11, 36, 69, 85, 89; Farm Journal No. 2, p. 86.

<sup>134</sup> Farm Journal No. 2, 16 February, 1826, p. 50. SRNSW 4/402.2.

<sup>135</sup> *ibid.*, 20 March 1826, p. 63.

<sup>136</sup> Cartwright to Scott, 15 May 1826, in MOS Letter Book 1825-29.

<sup>137</sup> Hely to Busby, 18 May 1826, in Letters and Miscellaneous Papers, relating to James Busby and his Management of the Male Orphan School Farm 1825-26.

Two members of the interim Committee appointed by Governor Brisbane namely, Major Goulburn and Dr Douglass had relinquished their positions. In November 1825 the Rev. Reddall wrote to the Governor requesting to be relieved from the Committee.<sup>138</sup> Governor Brisbane who had approved of Busby's appointment to the Farm, had been relieved of his duties and this meant that the people responsible for James Busby's appointment to the Orphan School Estate were no longer officially associated with the Orphan Schools.

Despite Mr Hely's comments, the Trustees of the Corporation decided they were not in a financial position to continue the agreement with Mr Busby. They found the 'expenses of the Farming Establishment enormous', and the Trustees were of the opinion that they did not consider themselves authorised to continue with the agreement made with Mr Busby.<sup>139</sup>

In August 1826 committee meetings were held and Mr Busby attended the meeting held on 11 August at which he presented a statement of accounts.<sup>140</sup> Further details were sought by the Committee and he later gave a full statement of his expenses up to the end of June.<sup>141</sup> It would appear that the Committee thought that the agreement with Mr Busby should be re-negotiated because it was considered that the Farm Estate was too expensive in its current position, but he was not in favour of a new agreement.<sup>142</sup> In addition to his salary of £100 per annum, the Brisbane administration had agreed that Busby would receive a percentage of the produce of the Farm. In Busby's case the percentage 'was one third of the gross increase of the Stock, and of Net Profit of the Soil'.<sup>143</sup>

The Corporation had not entered into the agreement with James Busby, and the opinion of the Solicitor-General John Stephen, was that the agreement was 'highly prejudicial to the orphan Institution'. As the former Governor Sir Thomas Brisbane and the Colonial Secretary Major Goulburn had made the agreement, the Solicitor-General concluded that the government had an obligation to pay Mr Busby.<sup>144</sup> It was moved that the Corporation would meet James Busby's claims up to the period ended

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<sup>138</sup> Reddall to Brisbane, 8 November 1825, No. 112, in CSIL, Bundle 27, October-November 1825.

<sup>139</sup> Despatches from Governors New South Wales Enclosures 1827-29, p. 507. (ML) 1267/11.

<sup>140</sup> CSLC, Proceedings of Committees No. 1, 11 August 1826, p. 47. SRNSW 4/292.

<sup>141</sup> Papers Relating to the Claims of James Busby, 14 August 1826.

<sup>142</sup> Proceedings of Committees No. 1, 17 August 1826, pp. 56-57.

<sup>143</sup> Darling to W. Huskisson, 31 March 1828, in *HRA*, Vol. XIV, p. 101.

<sup>144</sup> Proceedings of Committee No. 1, 6 September 1826, p. 77.

31 December 1826. The matter was not resolved in a speedy manner but became a protracted wrangle between James Busby and the Corporation.

In September 1827 the Corporation finally agreed on the sum to be paid to Mr Busby namely £ stg. 1250, which was calculated at £500 per annum, and the period of his employment was taken as from 1 October 1824, until 31 March 1827. This sum was less than Mr Busby's claim, and when allowances were taken into account for sums of money which had been 'paid to him by Warrants from the Government in anticipation of the Produce, awarded that there was on Balance due to him of £ stg. 1033 6s 8d'. This amount was to be paid by the Corporation,<sup>145</sup> however the Governor was informed by Sir George Murray that if the Corporation was unable to pay Mr Busby then he was to be awarded the amount from Government funds, and this amount was to be charged 'against the Clergy and School Lands Funds'.<sup>146</sup>

With the departure of James Busby from the Farm Establishment there was a reduction in activities. It was decided that the establishment should be broken up and some lots either sold or let out, and the Committee was of the opinion that 1280 acres around the site should be retained.<sup>147</sup> It was at this time that the Rev. Cartwright's eldest son Richard assumed responsibility for the farm establishment, which was continued on a much reduced scale.

In May 1826 Cartwright wrote to Archdeacon Scott and placed before him the unsatisfactory nature of the buildings which were at Bull's Hill. The buildings were too small; there was overcrowding; and the distance between the buildings caused problems when it rained and in winter.<sup>148</sup>

The Rev. Cartwright, the Rev. Richard Hill, Charles Throsby who was a Trustee, and Alexander Kinghorne a civil engineer met on the Estate in June 1826, and Kinghorne was requested to draw up a plan for the proposed buildings as well as to prepare specifications, and these buildings were to be erected at Bull's Hill.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> Darling to Huskisson, 31 March 1828, in *HRA*, Vol. XIV, p. 100.

<sup>146</sup> Murray to Darling, 25 May 1829, in *HRA*, Vol. XIV, p. 792.

<sup>147</sup> Proceedings of Committees No. 1, 4 December 1826, pp. 125-126.

<sup>148</sup> Cartwright to Scott, 15 May 1826, in MOS Letter Book 1825-29,.

<sup>149</sup> A. Kinghorne, Journal of Time Devoted to Services of The Corporation of Clergy and School Lands, 23 June 1826. SRNSW 4/341.

Alexander Kinghorne attended promptly to these matters and sent his sketches to the Corporation.<sup>150</sup>

Mr Kinghorne initially sought employment with the Corporation as a full time employee to superintend the development of the site, but the Corporation decided that Kinghorne's demands would be too expensive for it, and therefore reduced his position to that of a half-time employee for a period of one year.<sup>151</sup> A proviso was made that if Mr Kinghorne found that he needed to spend more time on Corporation matters this would be recompensed in addition to his salary of £250 per annum.<sup>152</sup>

Kinghorne was requested to see that work was commenced on the new school house.<sup>153</sup> The following month the Corporation Secretary advised Alexander Kinghorne of the probable cost of the Master's House as well as some dormitories and outhouses, and authorised him to contract for those buildings at the 'rate specified'.<sup>154</sup> Alexander Kinghorne then proceeded to call for tenders for these buildings to be erected.<sup>155</sup>

When the Rev. Cartwright had contacted the Archdeacon about the state of the buildings he also drew Scott's attention to other problems, which were evident at the site, and he expressed the hope that 'nothing more will be done here as I consider the situation improper for an Establishment of this nature'.<sup>156</sup> The problems Cartwright raised were the poor water supply especially in summer; the distance from Liverpool; and the lack of opportunity for the boys to attend church 'on the Sabbath'.

James Busby concurred with Cartwright's thoughts about the need to have a new location for the proposed buildings, and he described an area which appeared to be almost idyllic in these words:

It is on one of a range of hills which here runs in the direction of the Cabramatta Creek, at the distance from half a mile to a mile. And also forms the separation in this quarter, of the rich from the indifferent soil. The range of hills is itself extremely beautiful. The soil on them is of the richest on the estate and they overlook a

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<sup>150</sup> *ibid.*, 26 June 1826.

<sup>151</sup> Kinghorne to Cowper, 28 July 1826, in CSLC, Correspondence received from Architects and Mechanics 1825-28, p. 169. SRNSW 4/346.

<sup>152</sup> Kinghorne's Journal, 6 September 1826, p. 280.

<sup>153</sup> Cowper to Kinghorne, 5 July 1826, in Corporation Letter Book 1826-27, p. 24.

<sup>154</sup> Cowper to Kinghorne, 3 August 1826, in Corporation Letter Book 1826-27, p. 54.

<sup>155</sup> Kinghorne to Cowper, 28 August 1826, in CSLC Correspondence from Architects and Mechanics, p. 182.

<sup>156</sup> Cartwright to Scott, 15 May 1826, in MOS Letter Book 1825-29.

flat which is covered with apple trees and other timber, and which if cleared of all but the former would form a beautiful plain terminated by the mimosas of the creek ... . Beyond the creek is the Clergyman's Glebe and when this is cleared a view of the Town of Liverpool may be opened up which cannot be interrupted by buildings or small settlements. At the bottom of the hill where it is proposed to place the new School is a pool which is at all seasons full of the purest and softest water.<sup>157</sup>

Despite the public speculation expressed in the *Sydney Gazette*<sup>158</sup> and the merits of Cartwright's and Busby's suggestions, it was the Committee's prior decision that the building programme should proceed at Bull's Hill, because it considered that the boys should be properly housed as a priority, and any thoughts of moving to another location on the Estate had to take second place.<sup>159</sup> There were inherent problems at both Sites B and A, because the water supply was not only uncertain but it was brackish. This had been determined by John Busby who had been engaged to sink boreholes on the property in 1825.<sup>160</sup>

On the site at Bull's Hill Alexander Kinghorne who recorded his activities in a Journal, was busy having land cleared, and placing orders for 'stone, lime, bricks and sawn timber'. He engaged workers; prepared specifications for the buildings; and in addition tenders were sought for the erection of the Master's House and six dormitories. He visited the site and 'directed the boys and their overseer in how to proceed with the land clearing'. By the end of July 1826 Kinghorne had sent his estimates for the Master's House and dormitories to the Secretary, as well as 'tenders from sundry persons for creating different parts of the work'.<sup>161</sup>

The boys to whom Alexander Kinghorne made reference, worked under the control of an assigned carpenter named Benjamin Wilson who was their overseer. The Rev. Cartwright apparently considered that there had been some improvement in the boys' behaviour and he made this comment to Archdeacon Scott:

They are now doing as well as boys under such circumstances can be expected to do. I generally send

<sup>157</sup> Report, 24 August 1825, in Papers Relating to the Claims of James Busby, pp. 13-14.

<sup>158</sup> *SG*, July 15, 1826, p. 2.

<sup>159</sup> Scott to Cartwright, 15 June 1825, in Scott, Letter Book 1, p. 34.

<sup>160</sup> John Busby to Brisbane, 25 August 1825, in CSLC Correspondence From Architects and Mechanics, p. 19.

<sup>161</sup> Kinghorne to Cowper, 28 July 1826, in Kinghorne's Journal.

them from here at sunrise after prayers, Breakfast etc. They arrive at their station and commence work at 8 o'clock and often before that time. They have their dinner with them and return again at night in the same good order to their supper and after our Evening Exercises are ended I hear no more of them that night.<sup>162</sup>

In the month of August Kinghorne met with the Committee and received 'instructions to purchase window glass, locks, hinges and the requisite tools', as well as 'a cart and dray'. He received instructions from the Committee to employ labourers at the rate of twenty five shillings per week so that a bridge could be constructed over Cabramatta Creek. He was also to engage sawyers and the Committee was willing to pay them ten shillings per 100 feet. On Monday 21 August the Archdeacon sent Mr Kinghorne a note in which he was requested to change his plan in order to accommodate a 'new garden'. This meant he had to alter the existing plan and calculate the additional costs which would be incurred.<sup>163</sup>

By the second week of September when all the Committee members met at the School. 'Kinghorne was ordered to mark out the foundations of the proposed buildings by fixing stakes along the different levels'. Kinghorne spent the rest of the month in supervising various aspects of the site such as the digging of foundations, burning off vegetation, brickmaking, meeting with a carpenter and other tradesmen, fixing the situation of the bridge to cross the creek, and giving instructions about clearing the land for the new garden.<sup>164</sup>

During October Mr Kinghorne continued with his work. Timber was cut for the bridge; 30,000 bricks were burnt and the garden was established.<sup>165</sup> Journal entries for November are brief and refer to his attendance at the School on 13, 14 and 15 of that month. The brickmakers continued with their work, and timber was still being prepared for the construction of the bridge. Kinghorne records that he had received a letter from the Rev. Cartwright 'requesting that he stop the sale of bricks which had been advertised'<sup>166</sup> because there were liquidity problems. The Sheriff

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<sup>162</sup> Cartwright to Scott, 5 August 1826, in MOS Letter Book 1825-29.

<sup>163</sup> Kinghorne's Journal, 31 August 1826.

<sup>164</sup> *ibid.*, 30 September 1826.

<sup>165</sup> *ibid.*, 31 October 1826.

<sup>166</sup> *ibid.*, 30 November 1826.

from Liverpool had stopped the sale of bricks, however workmen were engaged in constructing the bridge, and carts were being used to carry bricks, lime and sand'.<sup>167</sup>

A decision made in Great Britain was to have repercussions at the Male Orphan School. In December 1826 the Governor was advised by despatch from the Secretary of State that no funding was to be given by the Colonial Government to the Corporation for capital works. The work at the School came to a halt in January 1827 because the Corporation was experiencing financial difficulties.<sup>168</sup>

In January 1827 Alexander Kinghorne ceased keeping his Journal, and he recorded on 1 January that all work at the School had been suspended, and on 16 and 17 his duties at the School ceased,<sup>169</sup> but some activity still occurred on the site. The Trustees arranged to compensate Alexander Kinghorne for his work 'for superintending the digging of the foundation of the Male Orphan School, making contracts and attending the Committee to receive instructions ninety days £351'.<sup>170</sup> It became necessary to liquidate the project and losses were incurred. Compensation was paid for cancelled contracts, and building materials were sold.

From the foregoing we have seen that there was much building activity at Bull's Hill in 1826, and this continued in later years. In describing the developed site it has been written:

The complex eventually included the Master's Residence, dormitories, a dining room, school room, a probationary school, an infant schoolroom and nursery, staff bedrooms and kitchen, watch house, hospital, stable and yard, coach house, offices, tailor's shop, bakehouse, storekeeper's house, clothing store and privies.<sup>171</sup>

The Master's Residence had been commenced in 1826, and was probably completed in December 1827. This residence also known as Bonnyrigg House or the Homestead, is the only surviving building on the site, and it is considered to be the oldest building in the Bonnyrigg area. A pen and ink drawing was made of the Master's Residence by Daphne Kingston in 1988. (See copy on following page).

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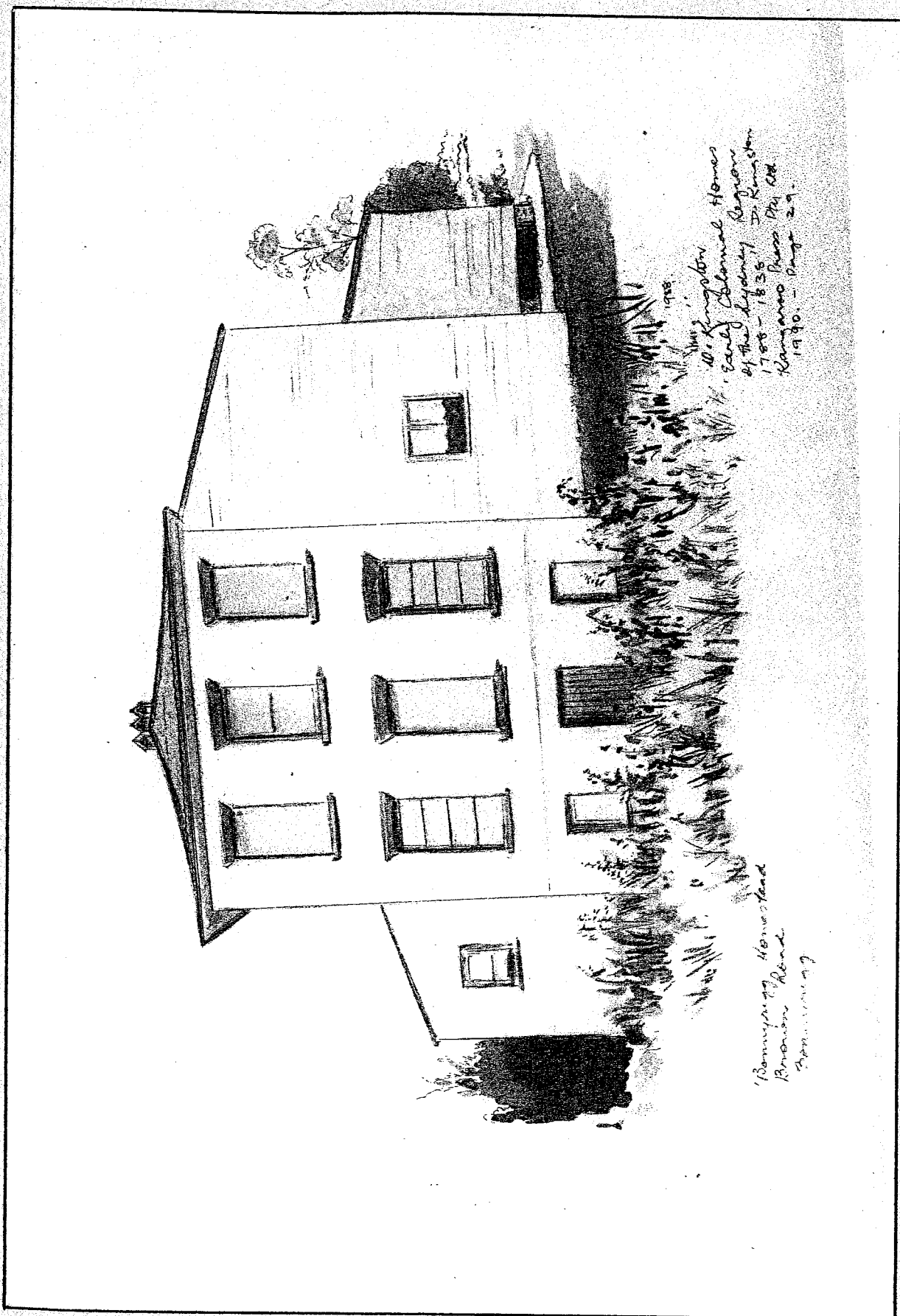
<sup>167</sup>      *ibid.*, 31 December 1826.

<sup>168</sup>      *ibid.*, 1 January 1827.

<sup>169</sup>      *ibid.*, 17 January 1827.

<sup>170</sup>      CSLC, Statement of receipts and disbursements, 1826-31, January 1827. SRNSW 4/388.

<sup>171</sup>      Fiona Starr and Rebecca Wheller, '... "vicious and rebellious"?: *Life in the Male Orphan School, Sydney and Liverpool, 1819-1850*', Fairfield City Museum and Gallery, 2005, p. 8.



Master's Residence Male Orphan School  
(Pen and ink drawing by Daphne Kingston)

The Rev. Cartwright, who was fifty five years old when he accepted the position of Master of the Male Orphan School, suffered a decline in his health. Robert Cartwright had worked hard in his previous parish ministry as well as at the School, and in 1828 he indicated that he intended to resign from 31 December of that year.<sup>172</sup>

In describing the Rev. Cartwright's contribution to the Male Orphan School Archdeacon Scott stated in glowing terms:

Mr Cartwright took charge of the Male Orphan School when it was in the most deplorable state of irregularity, disease and vice, and in four years established a system of unprecedented order and propriety, as well as reducing the expenditure in every department. By the exertions of the Rev. Robert Cartwright, who was placed over the former [Male Orphan School] and suffered the loss of his health, a most beneficial reform soon appeared.<sup>173</sup>

Archdeacon Scott chose Richard Sadleir to succeed the Rev. Cartwright as Master of the Male Orphan School. Sadleir, who was born in Ireland had been a member of the Royal Navy, and was promoted to the rank of lieutenant on 21 May 1819.<sup>174</sup> He had arrived in Sydney in April 1826 on the *Thames*, and was appointed to undertake an inquiry about the conditions under which Aborigines were living, 'and their relations with white settlers'. This appointment had been made on the recommendation of Archdeacon Scott, and Sadleir who 'was an ardent evangelical' had served as a catechist in the region of the Hunter for a period of two years.<sup>175</sup>

Richard Sadleir (see photograph on the following page) was appointed to the position of Master in January 1829. Scott considered that Sadleir was the most appropriate person to occupy that post. He had performed his work in the Hunter River area in an 'exemplary manner', also Sadleir was trustworthy; he was enthusiastic about his work and he possessed educational qualifications as well as

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<sup>172</sup> Scott to Darling, 1 December 1828, in Scott, Letter Book 2, p. 139.

<sup>173</sup> Scott to Darling, 1 September 1829, in *HRA*, Vol. XV, pp. 218-219.

<sup>174</sup> K. J. Cable, Sadleir Richard, (1794-1889), *ADB*, Vol. 2, p. 414.

<sup>175</sup> Cable, *ADB*, Vol. 2; Scott to Darling, 1 December 1825, in Scott, Letter Book 2, pp. 138-139; Beverley Donald, *Richard Sadleir Liverpool Notes*, Publication of Liverpool City Council, Undated, p. 3.



Richard Sadleir  
(from the copy in the Mitchell Library)

religious convictions.<sup>176</sup> Archdeacon Scott appears to have made a judicious decision in appointing Sadleir to the Male Orphan School. In December 1829 Sadleir married Ann Cartwright the nineteen year old daughter of the Rev. Robert Cartwright.

The Rev. Cartwright's concerns about the unsuitability of the buildings at that institution and the overcrowding with resultant hygienic problems, were reported to Archdeacon Scott. An outbreak of ophthalmia in September 1826 at the Male Orphan School was so severe that James Busby's house had to be used as a make-shift hospital. Busby recorded:

my house at Bull's Hill was just about ready for occupation when the ophthalmia broke out among the boys, 80 affected at one time. The partitions were thrown down and my house made a hospital. The ophthalmia was followed by the itch.<sup>177</sup>

Richard Sadleir was concerned about the boys' health and welfare. In 1830 he prepared a plan to alter the hospital so that a separate or isolation ward could be attached, and the more severe or infectious patients could be housed in this ward. (See proposed plan of hospital alterations on following page). Sadleir appears to have had a more enlightened approach to hygiene and medical matters than some of his contemporaries.<sup>178</sup>

During the year 1832, Surgeon Patrick Hill reported to Sadleir that 'many of the boys of the Male Orphan School have been lately affected with fever, the symptoms in most cases have been severe, but have readily yielded to medicine'.<sup>179</sup> During the fever epidemic Hill reported on the great need for good water and complained that, 'during the summer months, the water obtained with so much labour from the neighbouring ponds, is strongly impregnated with Alum and almost unfit for use'.<sup>180</sup>

When Richard Sadleir accepted the position as Master there were 106 boys in the School, and this number increased to 135 by August 1832.<sup>181</sup> This led to

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<sup>176</sup> Scott to Darling, 10 December 1828, in Scott, Letter Book 2, p. 144.

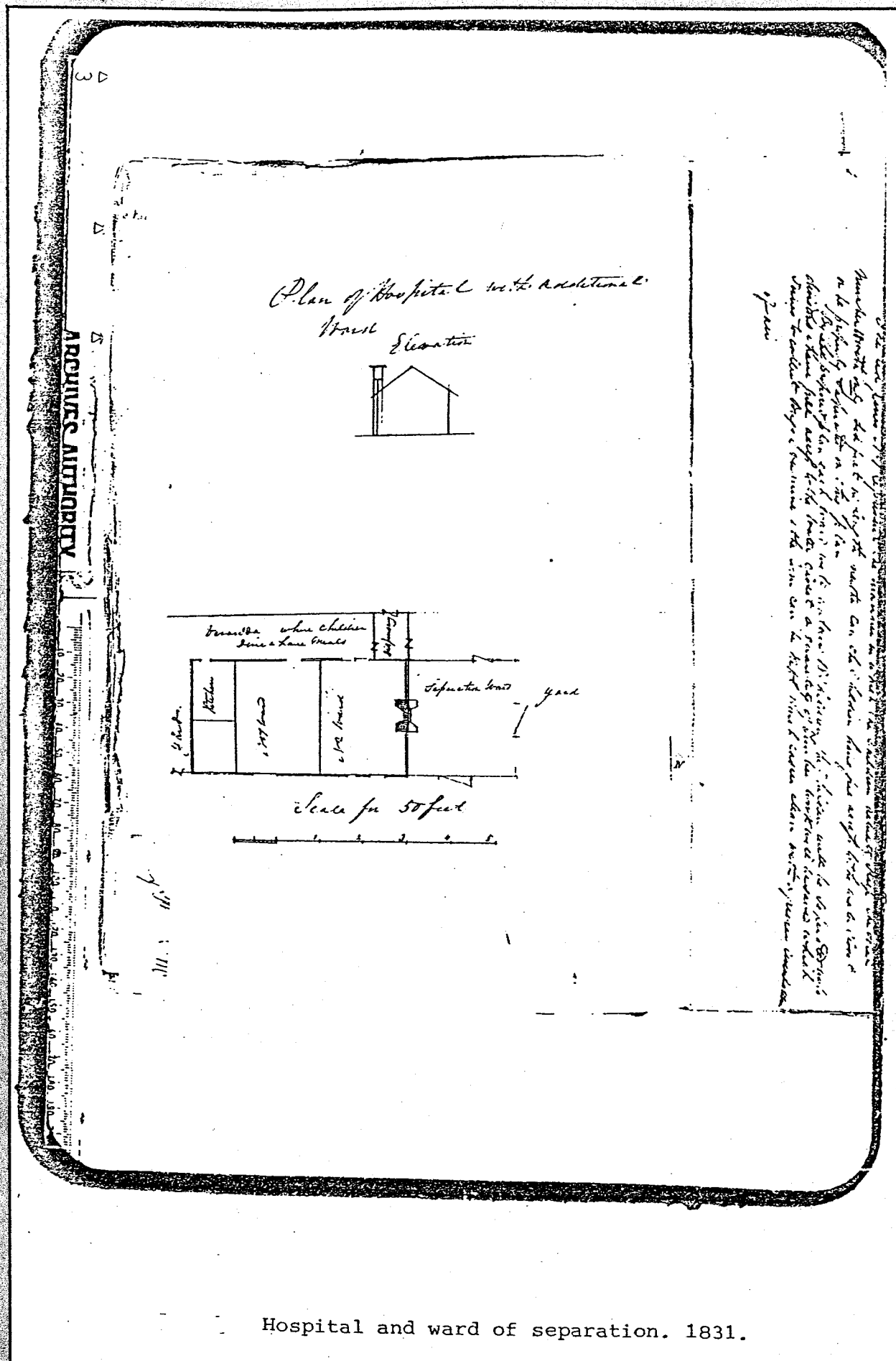
<sup>177</sup> Quoting from James Busby, 1 September 1826, in A.D.M. Busby, *A History of The Busby Family, Vol. 1*, Edgecliff, 1994, p. 109.

<sup>178</sup> Remarks on the health of children by Richard Sadleir, 1 January 1831, in Male Orphan School Letter Book 1830-32. SRNSW 4/329.

<sup>179</sup> Richard Hill to Sadleir, 22 November 1832, in MOS Letter Book 1830-32, pp. 371-372.

<sup>180</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>181</sup> Weekly Returns Male Orphan School, 1828-30. SRNSW 4/339.



overcrowding and conditions deteriorated. Sadleir was appalled at the situation in a dormitory where sixty eight boys were sleeping in hammocks, and no passage ways or gaps were provided between the rows of hammocks. He wrote to the Corporation during 1830 about the difficulties which arose due to the overcrowding.<sup>182</sup> Sadleir prepared a plan showing how alterations to the boys' sleeping area could bring about desirable improvements. (See proposed plan of Boys Sleeping Room on the following page). By re-arranging the dormitory Sadleir showed how improvements could be made in several regards. His plan allowed for 'full access to the water closet'; allowance could be made for the boys to be separated into four divisions. With space between the divisions the room could be 'kept much easier clean with a purer circulation of air'.<sup>183</sup> The boys were locked into the dormitory at night, as were the girls in the Female Orphan School.<sup>184</sup>

An infants' school had been organised in late 1829 or early 1830, and the room which had been appropriated for the nursery was small and insufficiently ventilated, also it was some distance from the main school so this posed problems as far as supervision was concerned. Sadleir sought permission to have alterations made before the heat of summer was experienced, so that the forty two small children who were in that room would not suffer discomfort. When the number of children in this school increased to fifty seven by August, Sadleir described the situation as being intolerable. 'The heat and effluvia arising from so many children last summer were scarce sufferable', were the words Sadleir used to describe the conditions to the Secretary of the Corporation.<sup>185</sup> With customary forethought Richard Sadleir set about preparing a plan to accommodate the nursery children. He envisaged:

a proper and commodious school room connected with the main school and convenient to the nursery with a proper verandah to afford the children shelter from the sun during play hours and a distinct playground attached to it so that the little children may be under the eye of the nurse during play hours and kept separate from the grown boys.<sup>186</sup>

<sup>182</sup> Sadleir to Corporation, in MOS Letter Book 1830-32, pp. 284, 403.

<sup>183</sup> Sadleir to Corporation, January 1830, in MOS Letter Book 1830-32, p. 113.

<sup>184</sup> Rules for the Internal Management of the Male and Female Orphan Schools, Chapter 4, in CSLC Proceedings of General Courts, 27 April 1826-29 June 1830, Vol. 1, p. 236.

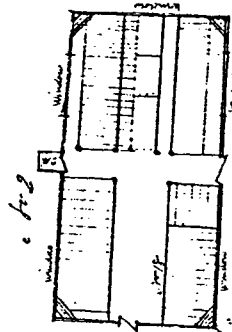
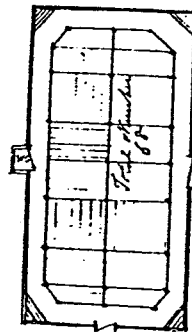
<sup>185</sup> Sadleir to Cowper, 12 August 1830, in MOS Letter Book 1830-32, p. 119.

<sup>186</sup> *ibid.*

APPROXIMATE ARRANGEMENT

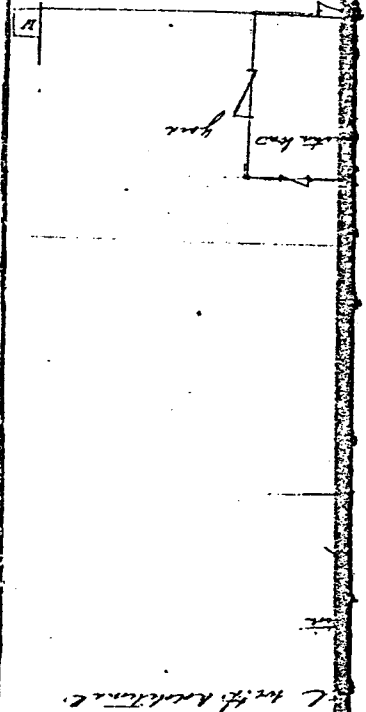
Plan of Boys' Sleeping Rooms

See



Scale 1/4 inch = 1 foot

The two plans represent the maximum in which the children sleeping in the dormitory could be accommodated. The fact is that the number of children sleeping in a room is not limited by the number of beds, but by the number of children who can be accommodated in the room. The number of children who can be accommodated in a room is determined by the number of children who can be accommodated in the room. The number of children who can be accommodated in a room is determined by the number of children who can be accommodated in the room.



(original in SRNSW 3/329)

Sadleir presented his proposed plan of the Infant School and Playground to the Secretary in August 1830. Despite the very practical nature of the proposed infant school and the low costs involved in its construction, Archdeacon Broughton dismissed the request because he considered it was ‘not necessary and not allowed’.<sup>187</sup> (See copy of plan on following page).

It would appear that the most obvious problem at the Male Orphan School was the insufficient water supply, which presented a chronic difficulty because no adequate provision had been made for water to be supplied to the complex. Water for drinking purposes was obtained from a neighbouring property, and water for bathing purposes was not available. Unsuccessful attempts had been made to use an earth dam at the back of the buildings to catch water, whilst the Rev. Cartwright was Master.<sup>188</sup>

The Corporation advertised lots of the Orphan School Estate for sale. A tract of land, 1806 acres in size, on which the Orphan School was dependent for its water supply for drinking purposes,<sup>189</sup> was sold to William Ellis, despite Cartwright’s suggestion that the Corporation retain this lot. It therefore became necessary for the School to rely on Mr Ellis’ goodwill for its drinking water. Richard Sadleir endeavoured to persuade the Corporation to re-purchase this lot, so that the School would have a legal entitlement to the water thereon, but the Corporation was reluctant to accede to his request.<sup>190</sup>

Initially the Master for the Male Orphan School combined the roles of Master and Schoolmaster. Over time the roles were separated and we shall examine the changes which occurred in this respect in the period under review. When Thomas Bowden was appointed as the first Master of the Male Orphan School in 1819, he also served as the Schoolmaster, and his son was his assistant. Richard Cartwright, who was the Rev. Robert Cartwright’s eldest son, assisted in the School as the Assistant Master or Schoolmaster, whilst his father held the position of Master. Richard served in that capacity until March 1827, when he transferred as superintendent of the farming establishment when James Busby left. Richard’s younger brother John then occupied

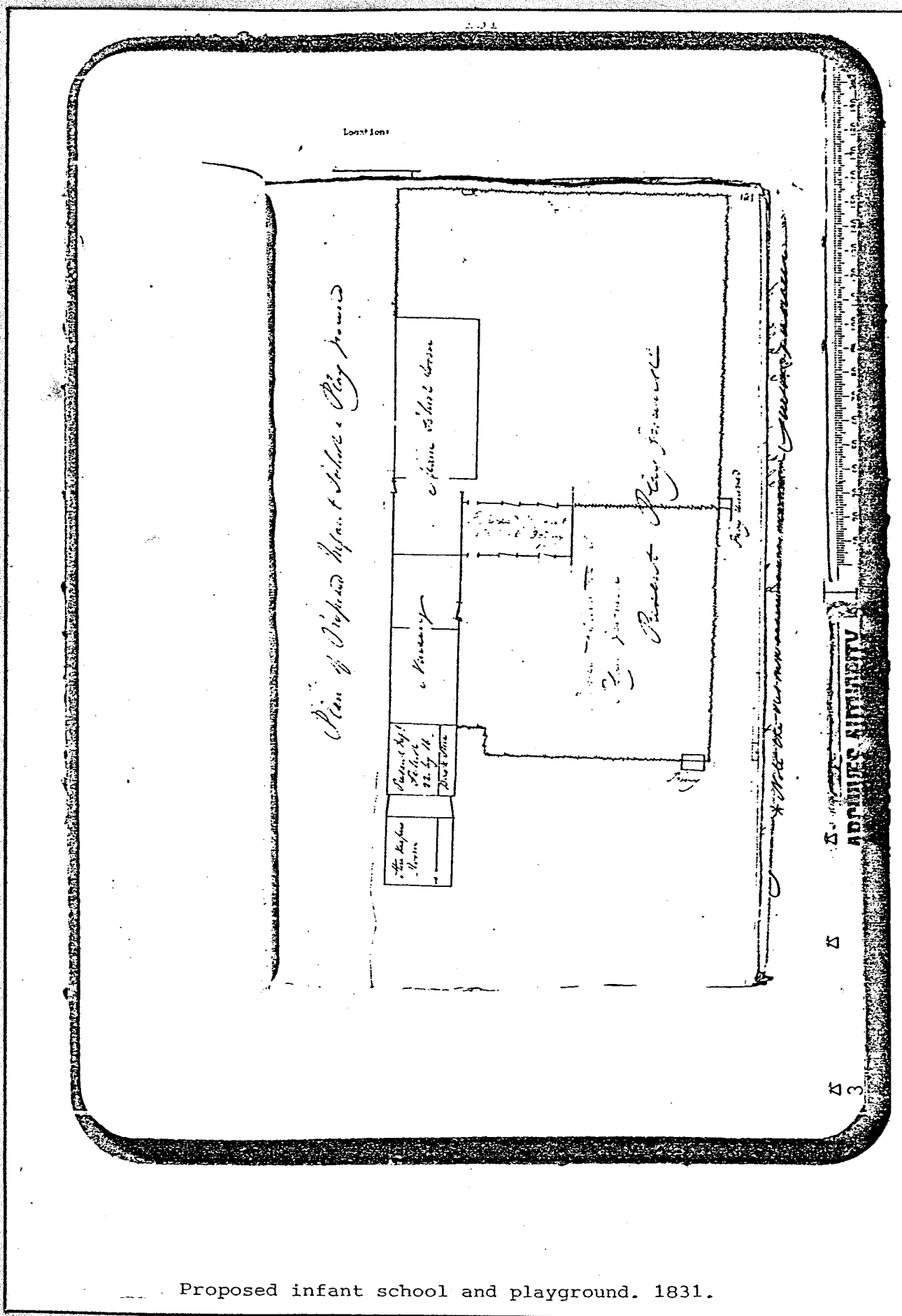
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<sup>187</sup> Sadleir to Broughton, 26 August 1830, in MOS Letter Book 1830-32.

<sup>188</sup> CSLC Minute Book 1828-29, 22 October 1828, p. 162. SRNSW 7/2703.

<sup>189</sup> *ibid.*, 11 September 1828, p. 139.

<sup>190</sup> Sadleir to Cowper, 10 August 1830, in MOS Letter Book 1830-32.



Proposed infant school and playground. 1831.

the position of Schoolmaster, and served in that post for nine months until February 1828.<sup>191</sup>

Edward Webster an ex-convict, took over the position from John Cartwright. His yearly salary was £20, and this is an indication of the low status held by schoolmasters in the colony. The Schoolmaster at the Male Orphan School received less than the £40 per annum which the storekeeper received, whilst the shoemaker and the carpenter received £50 and £60 per annum respectively.<sup>192</sup> Webster left the School at the end of 1829 and a former soldier Richard Hill, was appointed to the position.<sup>193</sup> However he did not remain in that position for long and resigned on 17 March 1830. He claimed that the conditions under which he was expected to work were unsatisfactory.<sup>194</sup>

Hill was replaced by Edward Edwards who had been admitted to the School in April 1820 at the age of 7 years. Edwards was Schoolmaster for only a matter of months, because on 18 August 1830 he entered the employment of the schoolmaster Mr Cape.<sup>195</sup> Later in 1830 George Denshire who was a convict, took up the position of Schoolmaster and remained on the staff at a salary of £20 per year until the end of 1835.<sup>196</sup>

We can well imagine that the succession of Schoolmasters at the Male Orphan School in a short period of time could have had an unsettling effect not only on the boys, but also on the educational programme. Continuity of teaching has an impact on the outcomes of education, and the Male Orphan School after Thomas Bowden's departure appears to have suffered in this regard.

Archdeacon Scott's appointment as King's Visitor gave him a position of importance in the colony, and in fact he ranked third after the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor. Yet after only two years in the position of Archdeacon, Scott indicated that he wished to resign. In January 1828 Scott presented his resignation and this was accepted by

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<sup>191</sup> CSLC Statement of Receipts and Disbursements 1826-31, MOS Accounts 1827 and 1829. SRNSW 4/388.

<sup>192</sup> CSLC Statement of Receipts and Disbursements, MOS Accounts 1829.

<sup>193</sup> CSLC Statement of Receipts and Disbursements, MOS Accounts 1829 and 1830.

<sup>194</sup> Hill to Trustees, 29 January 1830, in MOS Letter Book 1830-2.

<sup>195</sup> MOS Admission Book, pp. 5-6.

<sup>196</sup> CSLC Statement of Receipts and Disbursements, MOS Account 1830; Colonial Secretary of New South Wales, Returns of the Colony 1822-1857, 1835, p. 121.

November of that year.<sup>197</sup> What were the factors which may have led to his decision to resign?

When Archdeacon Scott addressed a letter to Colonel George Arthur in Van Dieman's Land in January 1829, he wrote quite openly about his resignation. His comments consisted of the phrases 'no earthly consideration would induce me to stay'; 'friend and foe are equally dissatisfied with me'; 'I prefer a quiet retirement amongst those to whom I may be of service than remaining where I am conscious of being none'. In a very reflective mood Scott concluded 'that I have failed is clear and I have taken it much to heart and feel my spirits and exertion flag daily'.<sup>198</sup>

Archdeacon Scott clashed with two Masters of the Female Orphan School, namely the Rev. William Walker and the Rev. Charles N. P. Wilton, and the Archdeacon initiated legal proceedings against the Broadbears who were Walker's servants at the Female Orphan School, and who left that establishment without approval. The Rev. Walker through the Supreme Court, had challenged Scott's authority to act as King's Visitor. Both Walker's case and the Supreme Court's decision about the Broadbears had not been found in favour of the Archdeacon.

The Press at first seemed favourably impressed with the Archdeacon, in what it perceived was his tolerance for other denominations. Scott gave an address in St James' Church within a short time of his arrival in the colony, and an interpretation of the address appeared in this report:

The ardent spirit of candour and goodwill towards every denomination of the Christian Church breathes through the Archdeacon's primary charge, as a cheering augury of harmonious co-operation, and of a reciprocity of kindly feeling among all the servants of the common Saviour.<sup>199</sup>

However this praise of the Archdeacon did not continue for long with the local press.

Edward Smith Hall the editor and owner of the *Sydney Monitor* clashed with the Archdeacon over seating arrangements in St James' Church. The Archdeacon's

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<sup>197</sup> Barcan, p. 28.

<sup>198</sup> Letters From Archdeacon Scott 1824-1838, Lt. No. 45, January 1829, in Papers of Sir George Arthur, Vol. 13.

<sup>199</sup> Howe's *Weekly Commercial Express*, June 13, 1825, p. 2; SG, June 16, 1825, p. 2 referred to Howe's report.

actions did not endear him to Hall and may have contributed to his problems with an unsympathetic press.<sup>200</sup>

William Charles Wentworth, who had represented the Rev. Walker in his case against Scott, also became involved in the public denunciation of the Archdeacon. Wentworth in 1824 had founded a newspaper called *The Australian*, which was published daily. This publication provided Wentworth with a means of attacking those with whose opinions or actions he disagreed, and this included Archdeacon Scott. Wyatt in discussing Scott's relationship with the Press considered that whilst he (Scott) was not entirely without blame, he was not 'treated fairly by either New South Wales or Van Dieman's Land press'.<sup>201</sup>

Archdeacon Scott insisted that both Orphan Schools should teach the tenets of the Church of England, and this attitude was embodied in the Charter of the Church and School Lands Corporation. The creation of the Corporation provided that 'effectual provision should be made for the establishment and support within our said Territory, of the Protestant reformed Religion'.<sup>202</sup> The Archdeacon would therefore not allow the distribution of Roman Catholic literature in the form of tracts in the Orphan Schools, despite the Catholic Chaplain's request, and conflict arose between John Joseph Therry and the Archdeacon.<sup>203</sup> The Presbyterian cleric Dr John Dunmore Lang also opposed Archdeacon Scott because of the privileged position of the Church of England in the colony.<sup>204</sup> Scott's relations with clergy from other denominations were obviously not harmonious.

Some of Scott's associations and friendships also appear to have led to his unpopularity. Scott had formed a friendship with the Macarthur family and associated with landowners. When the Archdeacon intimated in 1827 that he intended to resign, Governor Darling considered that this was an appropriate decision, and the Governor in a confidential note to Horton made this observation: 'He could never recover his first mistake, Committing himself so intimately with the Macarthurs. He does not possess sufficient character for his place. But there cannot be a more amiable or better disposed man'.<sup>205</sup> Archdeacon Scott remained in the colony until the Rev.

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<sup>200</sup> R. Border, *Church and State in Australia 1788-1872: A Constitutional Study of the Church of England in Australia*; Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, 1962, p. 69.

<sup>201</sup> Wyatt, Pt. 4, p. 249.

<sup>202</sup> Instructions to Darling, 17 July 1825, in *HRA*, Vol. XII, pp. 117-119.

<sup>203</sup> Scott to Darling, August 1825, in Scott, Letter Book 1, pp. 78-79.

<sup>204</sup> Wyatt, p. 272.

<sup>205</sup> Darling to Horton, 26 March 1827, in *HRA*, Vol. XIII, p. 190.

William Grant Broughton the second Archdeacon to be appointed, who was a High Churchman, arrived in Port Jackson on 13 September 1829.<sup>206</sup> On 16 September Scott resigned and returned to his parish in Whitfield where he resumed his duties as parish priest, and appears to have been content with that life.<sup>207</sup>

Unbeknown to Archdeacon Broughton, the Home Office had made a reversal of the ecclesiastical and educational policies upon which the Clergy and School Lands Corporation had been founded. This reversal was made known to Governor Darling in a despatch dated 28 May 1829, a date close to the day that Archdeacon Broughton sailed for Port Jackson. The despatch advised the Governor that the Letters Patent by which the Corporation had been created, were to be revoked, and ‘the Corporation’s indebtedness to colonial revenue was to be written off’.<sup>208</sup>

A letter was written on 3 December 1829 by the Colonial Secretary to the Trustees, at the Governor’s direction which stated:

His Majesty’s intention to revoke the Letters Patent by which the Corporation for the management of the Church and Schools Estate had been erected in this Colony ... . I am commanded by His Excellency to notify the same to you, and to request that you will suspend any further proceedings, except, such as may be necessary to the completion of any measures actually in progress, and which cannot be conveniently delayed.<sup>209</sup>

The Trustees therefore continued to administer the affairs of the Orphan Schools, but they did not enter upon any new work.

One of the problems associated with the funding of the Corporation was that the tracts of land which were to be made available, had yet to be surveyed. The Deputy Surveyor General (Mitchell) pointed out to Governor Darling in great detail the difficulties associated with that task. Not only were the resources of the Surveyor General’s Department limited, but the area to be surveyed was greater in extent than

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<sup>206</sup> F. T. Whittington, *William Grant Broughton, Bishop of Australia*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1936, pp. 26, 31.

<sup>207</sup> Wyatt, Pt. 5, p. 282.

<sup>208</sup> Barcan, p. 28.

<sup>209</sup> CSLC Proceedings of Committees, 30 January 1830, pp. 273-274.

Ireland. Furthermore the land was not cleared and according to Mitchell ‘the Woods render even the practicability of Such Survey doubtful’. Also the requirement that ‘Church and School Estate, to be in one continuous and unbroken Tract’, placed limitations on the survey work because ‘good land is now Selected wherever it can be found, and is so scarce ... that various Selections have already been made beyond the prescribed Limits’.<sup>210</sup>

Even when surveys were made it took time for land sales to be conducted, and for funds to be made available to the Corporation. The Trustees did not receive any land grants until February 1829, although Orphan School Lands had been advertised for sale in the *Sydney Gazette*. It would appear that these sales did not raise sufficient funds, and the land was probably sold at low prices.<sup>211</sup>

A further problem associated with the Corporation was that of cash flows, and the fact that the Corporation was short of money. Earlier in this chapter we have seen that the Corporation did not continue with Mr Busby’s employment. When the colonial government was forbidden to spend revenue on capital works associated with the Male Orphan School we have seen the repercussions this had on the building work at Bull’s Hill, and the loss of Alexander Kinghorne from this project. We have also noted the financial losses incurred by the Corporation as it cancelled contracts and tried to raise funds by selling various building materials.

In August 1833 a notice was published in the *Sydney Gazette* advising that the Corporation had finally been dissolved, and so the care of the Orphan Schools devolved on the Government.<sup>212</sup> Henry Fisher was appointed the Agent, to supervise the sale and lease of land formerly belonging to the Corporation because these lands had reverted to the Crown.<sup>213</sup>

Archdeacon Broughton certainly found himself in a situation which was vastly different to that which he expected. He had anticipated an Archdeaconry which held the reins over education, only to find that the Church and School Corporation was to be dissolved. Despite whatever misgivings Broughton may have experienced, he

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<sup>210</sup> Memorandum From Mitchell enclosed in despatch Darling to Huskisson, 13 May 1828, in *HRA*, Vol. XIV, pp. 178-179.

<sup>211</sup> *SG*, April 9, 1827, p. 1.

<sup>212</sup> *SG*, August 22, 1833, p. 2.

<sup>213</sup> Burton, p. 39.

commenced his pastoral visits to parts of the colony. In October 1829 he stayed at Parramatta and visited the Male and Female Orphan Schools 'to superintend the examination of the boys and girls preparatory to the distribution of rewards and prizes'.<sup>214</sup>

At the end of 1830 the Trustees presented an annual report. They noted that the 'eruptive diseases on the children's heads were on the decline'. This was gratifying because the condition had persisted for some years. The Trustees were also pleased to report that the institutions were satisfactorily managed and the expenses had been considerably diminished.<sup>215</sup> The decreased expenses may well have been a reflection of the efficiency of Broughton's administration of the Orphan Schools. He effected savings 'mainly by providing the food requirements by judicious purchase and care of animal stock instead of by costly private tendering'.<sup>216</sup>

By Letters Patent dated 1 January 1831 a new Committee was formed and these five members were to be responsible for education. The Commissioners were Archdeacon Broughton, Alexander Macleay, Michael Cotton who was the Collector of Customs, William Lithgow who held the position of Auditor-General and Thomas Macquoid who was the Sheriff of the Colony.

When the Rev. Wilton indicated his desire to retire from the Female Orphan School, Archdeacon Broughton suggested that it was not necessary to have a clergyman in charge of that School. One of the arguments used by Broughton for the appointment of a Master for the Female Orphan School was the: 'difficulty of engaging the Services of any gentleman duly qualified to discharge the office of parish Minister and at the same time contentedly to submit to the toil and Confinement of attending the Orphan School'.<sup>217</sup> Broughton was aware of the demanding and time consuming nature of superintending an Orphan School, at which a daily attendance at the institution was a necessity. He displayed a realistic appreciation of the difficulties of the Master's position. The Governor found that Broughton had a sincere interest in the Orphan Schools and gave a valuable oversight

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<sup>214</sup> Whittington, p. 39.

<sup>215</sup> Despatches From Governors of New South Wales Enclosures 1830-31, p. 811.

<sup>216</sup> William Foster, 'Education in New South Wales Under Governor Richard Bourke', *JRAHS*, Vol. 47, Part 5, 1961, p. 257.

<sup>217</sup> Broughton to Darling, 17 February 1831, in *HRA*, Vol. XVI, p. 90.

to the institutions. Governor Darling suggested to the Home Office that these institutions should remain under the Archdeacon's control.<sup>218</sup>

The Rev. Wilton resigned and when a replacement for the position of Master of the Female Orphan School could not be found in England, Viscount Goderich advised Governor Bourke, who had replaced Darling in late 1831, to authorise the Archdeacon to make a selection from any colonist 'whom he may consider best qualified for the situation'.<sup>219</sup> Towards the end of 1832 Governor Richard Bourke was advised by the Secretary of State that the Rev. Henry T. Stiles had been nominated as superintendent of the Female Orphan School. It was thought that he would be 'well fitted for the charge of that Institution', because of 'his experience in the education of youth and his literary acquirements'.<sup>220</sup>

This chapter has enabled us to examine the state of the Orphan Schools during the period 1825-1832 as well as other issues. The Schools experienced a chequered career in their history, and the period immediately prior to the Corporation's control was a time when the genuine philanthropic concerns of the founders were not met. The girls were neglected in terms of their hygiene, clothing and education, and were living in filthy conditions whilst Mr and Mrs Sweetman were at the Female Orphan School. When the ailing Sweetmans were transferred to the Male Orphan School in 1825 conditions worsened there, and the boys were also neglected. Archdeacon Scott formed the perception that a deterioration had occurred in both Schools. He described the state of filth and disease which existed in them, and the children are seen as 'victims' living in appalling conditions.

Gradual improvements took place in the Female Orphan School when the Rev. Walker and his wife were appointed there in January 1825. However when the Walkers resigned fifteen months later, the Rev. Keane found the school in a deplorable condition, and the girls had been left without adequate supervision and basic care. Under his Mastership and with Mrs Collicott's assistance as Matron, improvements occurred and the girls received care and attention. This was a positive

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<sup>218</sup> Darling to Goderich, 27 April 1831, in *HRA*, Vol. XVI, p. 254.

<sup>219</sup> Goderich to Bourke, 6 July 1832, in *HRA*, Vol. XVI, p. 677.

<sup>220</sup> *ibid.*, 11 December 1832, p. 813.

time in the School's history. This was also true when the Rev. Wilton and Mrs Ellis as Matron had oversight of the girls.

Both the Rev. Cartwright and Richard Sadleir showed concern for the boys' welfare and sought to improve the environment of the Male Orphan School. However when the Rev. Cartwright was appointed to the Male Orphan School in May 1825 many of the boys were described as being 'vicious and rebellious', and Archdeacon Scott considered that the punishments they had received were in part responsible for their behaviour.

We have noted Scott's humane attitude to punishment, and we have read in chapter 6 about the circumstances in which many of the children were living prior to their admission to the Orphan Schools. They were children from deprived backgrounds and although some may have displayed anti-social behaviour, these boys and girls were not delinquents.

In the latter part of Scott's administration as King's Visitor, the Masters and committee members or Trustees did not share his views about punishment. The procedures adopted to punish the children indicate that those responsible for the management and oversight of the Orphan Schools considered that a strict approach to the discipline of some of the children was necessary. Special uniforms were worn by those placed in the 'punishment class' and the children were separated from their peers in both Schools.

The construction of 'cells' at the Female Orphan School was permitted in order to separate senior girls who had not responded to other forms of discipline. These measures appear to be at variance with the caring attitude and provision of comfort which the founders had considered was imperative for the well-being of the colony's 'orphan', destitute, abandoned and neglected children. The latter period of the Corporation's control indicates a time in the School's history, when harsher punishments were considered to be appropriate for the girls' discipline.