THE SYDNEY ORPHAN SCHOOLS 1800–1830

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A thesis submitted to
The University of Sydney
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the honours degree of
Master of Education

1973
LIFE IN THE SCHOOLS
Chapter 11

ADMISSION

Practice in earliest years

In the earliest years of the Female Orphan School it was the practice for orphan and destitute girls to be sent, usually at the age of five or six, to the committee which, if it judged a child to be qualified for reception, reported the case for the Governor to authorize admission. Governor Bligh invariably assented to recommendations and it seems likely that Governor King also accepted the committee's judgement.

King in planning for the accommodation of three hundred girls alone had hoped that the orphan schools might take in and care for all or nearly all of the children needing protection from the depravity or other failing of inadequate parents. This number went far beyond that of true female orphans.

Quite apart from financial difficulties the Duke of Portland put a dampener on this when, in his first despatch after being notified of the establishment of the school, he ordered that care should be taken to limit

1 Report from the Select Committee on Transportation, House of Commons, 10 July 1812, pp.39-40, Bligh's evidence.

2 Mrs Eliz. Paterson to her uncle 3/10/1800 (ML Ap 36/6).

3 Banks Papers, Brabourne Collection, Vol. 8, Caley 1795-1808 (ML A79-1), p.231, G. Caley, 'State of N.S.W. 1800 to 1803': '...it does not strictly adhere to its title, for children that have got parents are equally admitted too.'
support strictly to 'those children who are left without any other resource' and 'to oblige all those to maintain their own families who have the means of so doing'.

King sent this passage of the despatch on to the committee with the request that it 

examine, how far any of the Children now in the Orphan School do not come within the description pointed out ..., that they may either be removed to their Parents, or an Yearly Sum stipulated for the Payment of the Provisions &c.

The committee met on 23 August 1802 and examined each of the girls and such other persons as were able to give information as to the circumstances of parents or guardians. The parents of the non-orphans in general seemed willing to contribute to the utmost of their ability to the support of their children. The committee concluded that all of the children currently in the institution were proper objects of its care and that consideration of their safety as well as their education dictated that they should remain. The school continued thereafter as it had begun: a general welfare institution for the services of which orphans had first call.


5 HRA, Vol. IV, p.95, Minutes of the committee 10/8/1802.

6 HRA, Vol. IV, p.97, Minutes of the committee 23/8/1802.
Abandonment of plan for general boarding school

Nevertheless the school's enrolment remained generally well below the capacity for the first two decades and this capacity was only one third of what King had intended to provide with the addition of the Parramatta building. Goodin describes his initial estimate of girls needing care as 'far too pessimistic'. This may be so, but it is obvious that the real significance of the low enrolment and the failure to resume the Arthur's Hill project when funds became available lies in the abandonment of the idea of large-scale boarding of the colony's female children and the contraction of the aim to providing a conventional asylum for the really necessitous cases of children destitute of the physical means of support or in imminent physical or moral danger. There is little indication that the colony's depravity declined markedly in the first decade of the century but by 1806 part of the Orphan Fund was diverted to the support of a number of day schools not envisaged at the outset. In this way education was made available to more children than would

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8 Goodin's comment has to be taken in conjunction with Portland's instruction and the tight financial situation in the earliest years.
have been possible if the same sum had been expended on a boarding school.

In January 1811 the committee itself published a resolution

That the admission of children into the Female Orphan School who have parents in this colony, being a deviation from the spirit of the original institution, and the bad example set by those girls when restored to their parents being productive of very serious evils, and destructive to the morals of the other girls, no children but real orphans are in future to be admitted to the benefits of this institution. 9

The following years are a period of an almost total dearth of information but the remembrance that the school was never confined to true orphans seems to indicate that this resolution was stillborn. 10

Macquarie's Regulations

In regulations for the Female Orphan School dated 25 July 1818 and intended for the governance of the newly-opened establishment at Arthur's Hill Governor Macquarie ordered that the committee should consider at its quarterly meetings applications for the admission, up to a total of one hundred, of girls aged five to eight years. It appears that there were no set ages for admission prior to this. 11

Although the institution was denominated an orphan school


10 E.g. SG, 20 July 1811: accounts for June quarter 1811 show that £29.7.6 was received from J. Norman for his child; Report ... on the State of Gaols, p.17, Riley.

11 Report ... on the State of Gaols, p.17.
this was not to be taken literally and children who had a parent or parents incapable of maintaining them were to be eligible for consideration. The person having charge of a destitute or unprotected child and wishing to have her committed to the school made application by petitioning the committee through the secretary, or any other member, stating the child's name, age, names of parents, petitioner's name and residence. The committee would consider the petition and if it was received favourably it would then go to the Governor for confirmation. Applications would be considered otherwise only 'on a very urgent and pressing Occasion'.

The requirement that a petition for admission be presented through a member of the committee meant in effect that the member should investigate the case sufficiently to be able to make a recommendation on it.

When a parent or guardian committed a child to the school she was accepted on the understanding that all control over her was relinquished until she attained the age of eighteen. Where the parent or guardian would be entitled by the laws of England to reclaim the child this person was required, prior to admission to enter into a

12 CSIL, Bundle 12, No. 1 -69, 1818 (NSWA 4/1740), pp.260-1, Regulations FOS.

13 BT Box 8, Bigge Appendix, p.3514, Rev. R. Hill's evidence 22/1/1821.
bond with the committee for the prohibitive sum of £100 not to exercise that right until she turned eighteen or was married with the consent of the committee. 14

When the Male Orphan School was opened six months later these rules were repeated in substance with the exceptions that enrolment was set at 50, the ages for admission were seven to ten years and the committee was to retain control over a male to the age of twenty one. No male could be taken in who had both parents alive or even one if capable of maintaining him unless positive proof was supplied that the child had been abandoned by both parents. 15

Visiting

Although parents had to give up control over their children the cause of many of the youngsters being committed was not related to a want of parental affection. By 1821 the Female Orphan School Committee considered that too frequent visits by relative and friends of the children were having ill effects on the running of the Female Orphan School. It ruled that no visitor was to be admitted without the permission of the chairman of the local committee and then could see the child only in

14 CSIL, Bundle 12, p.260.

15 Rules & Regulations for the Management of the Male Orphan Institution; commencing from its Establishment at Sydney, on the First of January, 1819, Sydney 1819, pp.2-4, 4th, 7th and 8th points.
the presence of the Matron.\textsuperscript{16} This may have been very
desirable from the point of view of running the school
but it served to virtually cut the links of the child
with his kin. The failure to discriminate after admission
between the unfortunate and the unworthy parent or to
provide for some easier form of controlled visiting, as
for example (and unthinkably) on the Sabbath, are aspects
of the schools which seem unnecessarily harsh by modern
standards.

The rules on visiting were somewhat relaxed in 1825
when visits were permitted on the last Friday in the
month without the written order from the King's Visitor
needed at any other time. The Master or Matron had still
to be present at every interview. The requirement that
children be allowed to visit parents or guardians only
with the written permission of the Visitor indicates that
at least such visits would now be considered. Visiting
ladies and gentlemen, as distinct from parents and
guardians, appear to have had easier entry but were
required to sign a register.\textsuperscript{17}

Babies and infants below the age of admission were
put out to nurse at the expense of the Orphan Fund until

\textsuperscript{16} FOS Minutes (NSWA 4/403), p.77, 17/10/1821.

\textsuperscript{17} HRA, Vol. XII, p.281, General rules for the Female
Orphan House, visitation.
of sufficient age to be taken into the institution itself. From the mid 'twenties ten infant male children were kept in the Female Orphan School for a time until considered old enough to be transferred to the Male Orphan School. In the later 'twenties the setting up of nurseries and the employment of nurses in both of the schools allowed the direct reception of infants without prior boarding-out.

**Difficulty of gaining admission**

The minutes of Macquarie's committees give the firm impression that it was quite difficult to gain admission to the schools. For example, on 1 September 1819 the committee of the Male Orphan School had before it nine applications. It granted one application, refused four, referred three to Rev. William Cowper for investigation and declined to make a recommendation on the remaining

18 SG, Accounts 1811 and 1812: payments for Mary Druce; Rules & Regulations ... Male Orphan Institution, p.4, 8th point; Gov. & Gen'l Orders. From Jan 16th 1819, to (-), No. 3., (ML A339), pp.15, 100; BT Box 8, Bigge, p.3354, Rev. W. Cowper's evidence, 23/1/1821; BT Box 23, Bigge, p.4783, Accounts 1 April to 31 December 1820; MOS Minutes (NSW 4/400), 12/7/1820 and 10/10/1821; MOS Cash Vouchers (NSWA 4/7496), receipts John Williams 5/8/1825, Thomas Shillington 22/11/1825; FOS Cash Vouchers (NSWA 4/7493), Edward Sweetman to Mrs Williams 3/2/1825.

19 FOS Admission Book (NSWA 4/351); Miscellaneous Papers (NSWA 4/7510-3), undated paper headed in pencil 'Female Orphan School', 'A List of Girls admitted into the Female Orphan School, Abstracted from Papers and Memorandums, in the Office' (to September 1830) lists 10 boys admitted between 1/1/1826 and 6/4/1829.
one. This is not typical of the average meeting in the number of cases for decision nor did refusals run at four to one but it is indicative of the care with which applications were judged and of the need for frequent rejections because of the limited accommodation.

Where a family with a number of children got into difficulties because of the death or sickness of the breadwinner or the death of the mother it was usual to relieve the strain on the family resources by taking in the youngest child or, occasionally, younger children. The older children were more self-reliant and able to contribute more to the family welfare; the youngest most dependent on the distressed parent(s).

The difficulty of getting a child into one of the schools was, of course, a consequence of the small number of places available relative to need. In July 1820 Rev. Richard Hill, in petitioning Governor Macquarie for the immediate reception of an orphaned boy and another whose widower father was under sentence for the Coal River, asked

if it is in contemplation to enlarge the number of the original foundation, as there is room in the Building for Eighty Boys: and there are, already three other cases remaining for consideration at

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20 MOS Minutes, 1/9/1819.

the next meeting of the Members. And from the
general ages of the Children now in the School,
there will not be any vacancies, except arising
from casualties, for two or three years. Con­se­quent­ly many deserving cases must be rejected,
unless your Excellency will permit a repetition of
the present application or generally authorise an
enlargement of the Establishment. 22

Macquarie did not increase the establishment but he did
sanction the admission of several children beyond the
limit.

In October 1821 the committee submitted to the
Governor its opinion that the public interest required
expansion of the Male Orphan School. The places available
were very inadequate for the children who 'in conformity
with the objects of the foundation might justly be allowed
to participate in its benefits'. 23

Continued building in the 'twenties raised the
capacity of each school to a maximum estimated by Arch­
deacon Scott at about 170 each by the end of the decade. 24
Considering the evidence of overcrowding to be presented
below and the fact that in October 1829 the Female Orphan
School held only 149 girls and the Male Orphan School 104
boys 25 a proper estimate, even by the more enlightened

22 CSIL, Bundle 14, No. 116 Pt. 2, 1820 (NSWA 4/1747).
23 MOS Minutes, 10/10/1821.
24 HRA, Vol. XV, p.219, Scott, Report on the Church and
School Establishment 1/9/1829.
25 HRA, Vol. XV, p.225, Return of Schools, enclosed in
Darling to Murray 18/10/1829.
of contemporary standards, would seem to require an upper limit something short of even those numbers.

Admission practices 1824–6

In the period when Rev. Thomas Reddall was Director-General of Education letters were sent by the Colonial Secretary to the Masters authorizing the admission of the children named subject to Reddall's approval.26 The fact that at least some of the letters accompanied the children to the appropriate school indicates that the proviso was a courtesy in deference to Reddall's position rather than a condition of practical importance.

The regulations drawn up for the Female Orphan School in mid 1825 provided that children from babies to twelve year olds could be admitted at any time, according to the urgency of the case, provided there was a vacancy and the child was certified by the surgeon as free of infectious disease. Preference was to be given to orphans. The fact that the Master was required to send a weekly return of new admissions to the Governor and to the King's Visitor suggests that, in the absence at that time of a committee, he had the discretionary power to admit. Parents and guardians now made written surrender of the child for as

long as the Governor and King’s Visitor thought fit. 27

Regulations of Church and Schools Corporation

Under the Statutes of the Church and Schools Corporation (1826) requests for admission into either school were to be considered in three classes: 1. children who had lost one or both parents, 2. those living with vicious and immoral parents or guardians, and 3. those whose reception might relieve the distress of a large family. This merely re-stated long-standing practice but a new rigidity was imposed through categorization for an additional phrase, written in after the rest, required that election should take place ‘as vacancies may occur in each Class to the extent of the funds’. 28

Applications were made according to a set formula by filling in the blanks on a printed form obtainable from chaplains. 29 The completed form was supposed to be forwarded to the committee through the Colonial Secretary 30 and the child nominated presented by the parent or guardian


29 Proceedings of General Courts, pp.52-3, Statutes Chapter XI Sec. 4; Proceedings of Committees No. 1, (NSWA 4/292), pp.78-9, 6/9/1826.

for inspection by the committee at its next meeting. Admission was left to the discretion of the committee, the standing body which operated between meetings of the General Court, but it was customary for the accumulated admissions to be placed before the next General Court for routine approval and its resolutions went in turn to the Governor as President of the Corporation. Although Darling in most respects merely endorsed the decisions of the Trustees he was personally active in respect of admissions. Many children were taken in as a result of his express instruction issued when forwarding the application forms to the committee.

Children of women convicts in the Factory

From the early 'twenties the children of prisoners in the Female Factory appear to have been taken in automatically even though under the set age. Prior to that they had

31 Proceedings of General Courts, p.54, Statutes Chapter XI Sec. 8. Where the children had to be taken to the schools by people other than parents the expenses were sometimes paid by the Corporation: e.g. Proceedings of Committees No. 1, p.172, 3/2/1827.

32 Proceedings of General Courts, p.51, Statutes Chapter XI Sec. 2.

33 See Proceedings of General Courts generally.

34 Minute books of the committee of Corporation; Letters from Col. Sec. &c. 1821-8 (NSWA 7/2710) passim.

35 E.G. FOS Minutes, p.60, 21/3/1821 (four year old admitted), p.89, 14/8/1822; Miscellaneous Papers, 'List of Children Received from the Female Factory with out orders from the Corporation', lists, 3/9/1827 to
TO THE TRUSTEES OF THE CLERGY AND SCHOOL LANDS IN THE COLONY OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

The humble Petition of William Simpson

in behalf of John King.

Sheweth that the said John King is the Child of John King and Elizabeth King, as by the annexed Certificates will appear.*

That the said Father was a Soldier in the 46th Regiment, and deserted from his Regiment, and together with several others, carried the Governement Boots "William King" into the Harbor, and has not since been heard of, and the Mother has wholly abandoned them, leaving them destitute.

Your Petitioner therefore humbly prays

that the said John King may be admitted into the Orphan School; and if this Prayer be granted your
Petitioner hereby agrees that the said [illegible] shall remain in the Orphan School so long as the said Trustees shall think fit, and that when of a proper Age shall be disposed of at their discretion as an Apprentice or Servant *

* To be signed by the Parent or Guardian of the Child.

[Signature]

[Signature]
CERTIFICATE AND RECOMMENDATION.

I hereby certify that according to the best of my knowledge and belief the several circumstances contained in this Petition on the preceding Page of this Paper are truly stated; wherefore I recommend [Name] as an object worthy of the benevolent attention of the Trustees of the Clergy and School Lands.

Richard Hill
A. Chpt.

N. B. A Certificate of Birth or Baptism signed by the officiating Minister must be affixed to this in Original.
to win admission in the normal manner\textsuperscript{36} and on one occasion a child was rejected on the ground that the children of convicts in the Factory were outside the scope of the Female Orphan School. \textsuperscript{37}

The 43rd article of the regulations of the Factory passed on 12 April 1826 stated that

\begin{quote}
All Children above three years of age, whose mothers are in the Factory, are to be removed to the Orphan Schools, and remain there, until their mothers leave the Establishment. \textsuperscript{38}
\end{quote}

The committee of the Board of Management of the Female Factory asked, almost two years later, that this regulation should be conveyed to the Corporation with his Excellency's instructions for its implementation. \textsuperscript{39}

In a way this regulation merely codified what had already become fairly regular practice but it involved the taking of a liberty in its disregard of the bye laws of

\begin{quote}
25/1/1829\textsuperscript{(9)} 28 girls aged 2 to 15 and 2 infant boys received into FOS. Sometimes an application was made: e.g. Applications for Admission, 1825–8 (NSWA 4/330), W. Dumaresq to Wilton 22/12/1827. But see FOS Minutes, pp.103–5, 14/5/1823 where an attempt to enrol eight children automatically was rebuffed on the ground that each case was to be judged on its merits.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{36} FOS Minutes, p.19, 30/10/1818.

\textsuperscript{37} FOS Minutes, p.26, 14/1/1819.

\textsuperscript{38} Letters from Col. Sec. &c. 1821–28, No. 156, McLeay to Cowper 18/1/1828.

\textsuperscript{39} Letters from Col. Sec. &c. 1821–28, No. 156.
the Trustees. The committee of the Corporation resolved that the Factory children would be received 'as far as can be done consistently with the regulations'. However children continued to be sent to the orphanages without any reference to the committee until it protested to the Colonial Secretary at the confusion this occasioned and it was ordered that applications for the admission of children from the Factory were to be directed to the Clerk of the Corporation.

Had the Corporation not insisted on its rights the orphan schools could well have been reduced to service institutions for the convict department. Some idea of the possible disruption of the schools can be gained from the incident which was the occasion of the Corporation protest. The female convict transport Competitor arrived towards the end of 1828 bearing nineteen children aged from one to thirteen years who were sent for admission into the

40 Minute Book 1828-29, p.9, 1/2/1828.
41 Minute Book 1828-29, p161, 22/10/1828.
orphan schools.  

Numbers and ages of children admitted

On 7 February 1821 Rev. Richard Hill reported that from 2 August 1801 to that date 217 girls had been admitted to the Female Orphan School. There is no way of breaking down that figure, but for the period from 1814 it is possible to get an idea of the frequency of admission for both schools (Table 1) and the age distribution at the time of admission (Table 2). Because of the faultiness of the records for both schools upon which these figures are based they are to be seen as no more than reasonably close approximations.

The age limits set were not observed, although in

43 Letters from Col. Sec. &c. 1821-28, No. 215, McLeay to Cowper 22/10/1828, No. 217, McLeay to Cowper 27/10/1828, encloses list showing ages to be respectively: 11, 13, 10, 8, 5, 2½, 5, 2, 7, 1, 3½, 2, 5, 8, 6, 4, 2, 1½, 5. The King's Orphan School in Hobart suffered a similar problem. In one afternoon in 1833 it was sent no fewer than forty-one children without prior notice from the Convict authorities: Joan C. Brown, 'Poverty is Not a Crime': The Development of Social Services in Tasmania 1803-1900, Hobart 1972 p.27.

44 BT Box 24, Bigge, p.4913.

45 The list of girls is certainly not complete as I have detected a number of omissions. A Comparison of the MOS Roll Book with the later 'List of 117 Boys Received into the Male Orphan School 1819-24' (NSWA 4/7208) reveals a number of discrepancies, while quite a number of more serious defects in the Roll Book are revealed by the correspondence, apprenticeship indentures etc. Archdeacon Scott gave the number of enrolments May 1825 to 30 June 1829 as 117 boys and 134 girls: HRA, Vol. XV, p.219, Report on the Church and School Establishment, 1/9/1829.
### Table 1

**Admissions to the Sydney Orphan Schools 1814-1829**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>FOS</th>
<th>MOS</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1814</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1815</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1816</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1817</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1818</td>
<td>0(^1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1819</td>
<td>0(^1)</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1821</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1822</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1823</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1824</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1825</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1826</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1827</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1828</td>
<td>55(^1)</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1829</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>40(^3)</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>277(^2)</strong></td>
<td><strong>277(^4)</strong></td>
<td><strong>554</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1830 to Sept</strong></td>
<td><strong>22(^5)</strong></td>
<td><strong>29(^6)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A notation on the source queries whether some of the entries for 1828 do not belong rather to 1818-19.

Includes 10 infant boys.

One without date of admission may be last admission for 1828.

Includes one apprenticed without passing through the school.

Includes one infant boy.

Includes two apprenticed without passing through the school.

Sources: Miscellaneous Papers, 'A List of Girls admitted into the Female Orphan School, Abstracted from Papers and Memorandums, in the Office' (1830); MOS Roll Book (ML C200).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age in Years</th>
<th>FOS</th>
<th>MOS</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>29</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources as for Table 1.
1821 the committee still thought it necessary to present a good reason for an over-age admission. Age at entry clearly declined for boys as the decade 1819-29 progressed but for the girls there was no such tendency.

**Family background of the orphans**

What were the origins of the orphans? The best possible answer to this would require very lengthy and complicated research into the lives of the known parents. Short of this quite a good answer can be extracted from the schools' records.

Rev. William Cowper told Mr. Commissioner Bigge that the Greater Part of (the female orphans) had one Parent living & when it was found that this Parent was either very Profligate or very Poor so as not to afford decent maintenance to the Child, it was admitted to all the benefits of the Institution.

Bigge found similarly that

Very few of the boys who have hitherto been received

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46 FOS Minutes, p.76, 17/10/1821. In May 1826 the MOS contained 1 child under 2 years, 8 under 5 years and 35 under 10 years some of whom were doubtless under 7 : MOS Letters 1825-9, Cartwright to Scott 15/5/1826. It is clear that by this time Macquarie's rule relating to age for admission was no longer being observed and suggests that the 1825 regulations for the FOS which included removal of the lower age limit were paralleled by a similar, lost, set for the MOS.

47 BT Box 8, Bigge, pp.3353-4, Cowper's evidence 23/1/1821. Parental moral unfitness is sometimes stated in the records as the reason for admission. There is nothing unusual about the rarity of literal orphans. Most children in orphanages today have at least one parent and are the victims of homes broken for one reason or another.
into the (Male Orphan) school are orphans, nor do the regulations require that they should be so.48

Of the 276 boys admitted to the Male Orphan School to the end of 1829 249 were definitely not literal orphans. At the beginning boys with both parents living were not admitted but by 1827-9 most new admissions, and over all 81 of the boys listed, still had both parents living when admitted. The fathers of 48, including one step father and three fathers not in the colony, and the mothers of 120 boys were living at the time of admission. True orphans numbered a mere 8 with possibly 2 more about whom the roll book is unclear. The remaining 7 pupils consisted of 6 Aboriginal or half-caste boys, enrolled from 8 May 1825 onwards, and a small Aboriginal girl, enrolled 28 September 1825. Whether these children were orphans or simply unwanted is not indicated.49

The picture is less clear for the Female Orphan School. Bigge reported that in the earlier years the records 'had been very irregularly kept'50 and as late


49 Information abstracted from MOS Roll Book.

50 Report ... Agriculture and Trade, p.72.
as January 1826 Rev. J.E. Keane was attempting, in the absence of a register, to comply with instructions to submit a list of pupils. He sent such a list as he could compile with the explanation:

I have been a great part of the day trying to make out those lists but the children speak so contradictorily & so absurdly & so slowly that I have much difficulty. some will scarce answer at all & I now find a great number of the children dont actually know their proper name.51

An undated paper, headed in pencil 'Female Orphan School', lists 102 girls admitted between 1814 and May 1825 and records what the children said themselves about whether they were orphans or not. From this it appears that only 15 were orphans, 68 had mothers only, 10 fathers only and 7 both parents in the colony, while one had a mother in the colony and a father in England and another had a father in England.52 Another paper listing 'Orphans of both Parents' and 'Orphans of one Parent', minuted as received 26 January with '1826 or 1827' later added in pencil, was probably submitted by Keane in January 1826. It lists 21 girls as orphans and 79 as having one parent.53

51 FOS Letters 1825-9, Keane to Cowper 22/1/1826, quoted from p.s. NB Keane did not become Master until two months later.

52 Miscellaneous Papers.

53 FOS Letters 1825-9. The list is numbered and the numbers run to 24 for orphans (with no numbers 3, 7 or 23) and to 88 for girls with one parent (but no numbers 15 or 51 to 59 inclusive).
In the later years an Admission Book was kept. However it has many blanks, a surprisingly large number in the column for parents' names, and permits only broad generalization. As one would expect the picture which emerges is similar to that for the boys with most having at least one parent and the number with parents increasing towards the end of the 'twenties.\(^{54}\)

The records do not indicate illegitimacy but some inferences may be drawn in relation to the male orphans, with reservations about how far they might be relied upon, and a similar situation postulated for the females. In the Male Orphan School Roll Book the mother's surname is different to that of the child or the child's name different to that of the father named in 38 cases. Some of these may be instances of a step relationship or of guardians being named in the parent column. If women listed as landholders and those stated or reasonably assumed to be widows are excluded there remain 76 cases of mothers with the same surnames as the sons and no father named. These children are possible illegitimates, especially as 'widow' is entered in otherwise similar

\(^{54}\) FOS Admission Book (NSWA 4/351) is marked 'January 1st, 1828'. Neither this record nor another at NSWA 4/350 was made contemporaneously. They cover enrolments from 1 July 1817 but 4/351 (described by the NSWA as List B) could not have been commenced before 1823 and 4/350 (List A) may be based in part on it and if so was probably compiled in 1832. For archivist's comments see Concise Guide to the State Archives of New South Wales, Sydney 1970, p.67.
entries after the names of the mothers whom I have excluded from this count.

This kind of 'evidence' has severe limitations and if anything these figures probably suggest less illegitimacy than was the case. For example, on 28 February 1827 Cartwright was sent an order to receive seven boys. The information in the roll book concerning these children is scant, indicating that they have a parent or parents but not giving names. I have not included them in the cases of possible illegitimacy - yet Charles Cowper states in his note to Cartwright that several of the lads were illegitimate. Other cases of illegitimacy have been discovered where the roll gives no clue and the applications for the return of children of both sexes also suggest a quite high rate of illegitimacy.

Even if it were possible to obtain crude figures on illegitimacy understanding of the orphans' backgrounds would not be greatly advanced. One can usually safely assume that institutionalized illegitimate children are the fruit of promiscuity and their number in relation to total enrolments and to children in the general community would serve as a very rough index of the moral state of the community. However the prevalence in New South Wales of constant but unchurched unions makes illegitimacy an

55 MOS Letters 1825-9, Cowper to Cartwright 28/2/1827.
unsound guide to the quality of the parental relationship. Cases are found in which several children were born to a couple before the desertion of one or the other led to the children being placed in the schools or for some other reason the children might be committed without the disintegration of the de facto marriage.56

In preparation for the opening of the Male Orphan School Governor Macquarie in 1818 ordered the various benches of magistrates to report on boys likely to qualify for places in the school. Those whose names were submitted were either orphans or had one parent in a condition of economic distress, except in one case where both parents were living but the father was blind and had seven children, four of them nine or under. Interestingly, the magistrates commended a number of the parents, condemning the character of only one widow. The Windsor bench of five justices, including Revs Robert Cartwright and Henry Fulton was something of an exception for although it praised all nine boys it recommended as fit and healthy it thought that nearly all were 'brought up in profound Ignorance of Moral and Religious Instruction & many of -----

them are with dissolute and bad persons to guide them.  

The applications for admission from 1825 onwards show that the typical situation was that one parent was missing for one of a variety of reasons and the other lacked the means either to support the child, or to care for it while working. Where the parent's problem was of the latter kind he was required to make some weekly financial contribution towards the maintenance of the child, the sums varying widely according to capacity to pay.

The applications indicate that a goodly number of the parents were dissolute or unfaithful. Desertion was common. This problem so concerned Rev. Samuel Marsden by its frequency and social impact that on Broughton's elevation to the episcopacy and seating in the Legislative Council in 1832 he suggested to his superior the policy of an Act to compel men to support their deserted wives.


58 Corporation Letter Book 1826-27 (NSWA 7/2702), p.190, Cowper to Keane 27/12/1826; Proceedings of Committees No. 1, pp.147-8, 27/12/1826, p.316, 12/12/1827; Minute Book 1828-29 (NSWA 7/2703), p.106, 23/7/1828, p.204, 14/1/1829; Minute Book 1829-30 (NSWA 7/2704), p.148, 24/9/1829. In an unusual case of private philanthropy Mary Hadley secured the admittance of two Clark sisters, paid £10 p.a. to the school and gave each of them four head of cattle as an investment for their future: Applications For Children out of the Orphan Schools 1825-9 (NSWA 4/333), petition of Mary Hadley 26/1/1827.
and children and either to marry women pregnant with their children or subsequently to support the children. Ticket-of-leave men would have the option of complying or losing their tickets. 59

In some few instances children were taken in to protect them from their parents. In one case the father had been bound over to keep the peace towards a child he had been in the habit of treating inhumanly and the mother was an abandoned character. In another case Keane petitioned for the admission of two girls under six years of age on the plea that the mother was so abandoned as to initiate her children into the grossest debauchery. 60

These are exceptions. Overt ill-treatment of children by parents was, on the evidence, rare. One may guess that this ties in with the frequency of desertion, for the deserter walks out on his problems instead of working off the resultant tensions in violence towards spouse or child.

A number of the parents were in prison and on occasion children had to be placed in the schools because both parents were in gaol or at a prison settlement at the

59 Marsden Papers (ML C244), pp.176-7, Marsden to Broughton 11/1/1832.

60 FOS Letters 1825-9, Keane to Scott 14/8/1826. See also FOS Minutes, p.76, 17/10/1821.
same time. 61

The orphaned children of soldiers were enrolled but they did not constitute a special class, such as the children of Factory women, as may be inferred from some of the references by earlier writers. The orphaning of a soldier's children was a hazard of colonial garrison life for his regiment was in the colony only for a tour of duty. Consequently a soldier was most unlikely to have relatives handy to help with his children should he or his wife die or to take them if they were orphaned. 63

Moreover throughout the whole of our period the pay of men in the ranks was so low as to make it either difficult or quite impossible for them to support their children. 64

**Unwanted children**

Such institutions as the Sydney orphanages have at all times and places served in part as refuges for unwanted

61 For instances of both parents undergoing punishment see e.g. Letters from Col. Sec. &c. 1821-28, Nos. 98, 119, 129, 170, 225, 233.

62 MOS Minutes, 10/10/1821 (Tollis); FOS Minutes, p.83, 13/2/1822; Applications for Admission 1825-8 Denning; Proceedings of Committees No. 1, p.174, 21/2/1827. (Mackie).

63 Rev. Dr Andrew Bell had adopted his educational system while serving as Superintendent of the Military Male Asylum in Madras—a school for the orphan sons of soldiers.

64 See above p. 22; Minute Book 1828-29, pp.82-3, 17/6/1828: Three Denning children were admitted; the mother being dead and "the Pay of the Father, as a Private soldier being quite inadequate for their support."
children. For some women the orphan school was a place to shed an unwanted child in order to marry or re-marry without encumbrance, although it was probably somewhat more common for stepfathers to try to recover the children on marrying their mothers. Other categories of unwanted children were those with serious physical disabilities and those of non-European parentage.

After their earliest contacts with education in white schools Aborigines in any district gave up to white custody only unwanted children. By the 'twenties those around Sydney would surrender only mixed-bloods or physically imperfect children. Most children born to Aboriginal women after contact was established had white fathers. The fathers rarely owned them as theirs and in many parts of the colony, and possibly in all, the Aborigines practiced infanticide of half-caste children.

65 Miscellaneous Papers, List of girls with remarks, noted on front cover in red 'May 1832' - six girls are listed as having mothers who have remarried.

66 See generally Applications for Children and roll books.

67 FOS Letters 1825-9, 'Orphans of one Parent' Nos. 32 Bridget McNamara (aged 9), 37 Eliza Watt (14) and 38 Mary Ward (16) - all subject to fits. See also below pp.43,69 concerning apprenticing. The two older girls were well beyond the age for apprenticing. MOS Letters 1830-2 (NSWA 4/329), Sadleir to (Cowper) 20/9/1830, complaining of helpless children; MOS Letters 1825-9, Sadleir to (--) 31/8/1829.

until such time as they were forced to accept that the suppression of white blood would involve the self-annihilation of the tribes. For a period, while this realization was being grudgingly accepted, it was somewhat easier to acquire possession of half-caste children. Very young children, whether full-blood or half-caste, were also sometimes surrendered to white care if the mother died, for the child in the bush was almost totally dependent on breast-feeding. When the mother died before the child was weaned it was generally immolated in its mother's grave. 69

The presence of the Aboriginal and half-caste children in the orphan schools was a consequence of the erratic history of the Native Institution after Macquarie's departure. They were needed to allow the testing of the proposition, which many rejected, that Aborigines could be civilized and to that end had been sought rather than merely received. The sixteen year old and both fourteen

69 These comments are based on my study, still for the most part in manuscript, of the various attempts to civilize and Christianize Aborigines in Eastern Australia 1788-1855 and on my MA thesis, 'Aboriginal and White Relations in N.S.W. 1788-1855', University of Sydney, 1966, 3 Vols, especially Vol. 2, pp.763-9. Much nonsense has been written in condemnation of the acquisition of Aboriginal children. Although the saving of orphans from death has been generally acknowledged the widespread evidence of the infanticide and the sale of eight and nine year old girls to serve as concubines has been ignored.
year old boys admitted to the Male Orphan School were Aborigines and this explains why they were taken in and retained instead of being apprenticed out. In September 1826 Francis Cox of Macquarie Place, Sydney, petitioned for the admission to the Female Orphan School of a five year old girl of colour (probably part-Tasmanian), brought by the master of a small sealing vessel from Cape Barren, who had been under Cox's protection for six months. He expressed the prevailing attitude when he said that he believed education was the only thing likely to break the child of 'idle habits natural to persons of that climate'.

An undated list of eleven of the older girls of the female school in the mid to later 'twenties remarks concerning the first, that 'this Girl has much the new Zealand character of face & is copper coloured' and describes three of the others as 'copper' girls. There were, of course, a few coloured convicts and Pacific Islanders and Maoris coming on ships to Port Jackson who might have

70 MOS Roll Book, Nos 133, 134 and 137.
71 Applications for Admission 1825–8, Francis Cox 1/9/1826.
72 FOS Letters 1825–9: M. Gregory, J. Walker, E. Shangley, A. Randle (otherwise Randal). This list was prepared in 1827. The custom of naming coloured children after whites suggests that J. Walker may have been one of Rev. William Walker's Aboriginal girls.
fathered 'copper' girls.\textsuperscript{73} White women servicing the lusts of such men would hardly be of the type likely to want, or to be able, to keep children. One of the 'copper girls', Ann Randal, loosely classified as Aboriginal, is in one reference more precisely described as 'an African halfcast' and she had a mother in the colony.\textsuperscript{74}

The schools were cleared of their black pupils - three Aboriginal and three half-caste girls (including Randal) and two Aboriginal boys - at the end of 1826 when the Maori Seminary at Parramatta under William Hall moved to Blacktown there to merge into a reopened Native Institution catering for Aborigines and Maoris.\textsuperscript{75}

Schools for the 'lower orders'

The entries in the roll books for the occupations of the parents are very incomplete, especially for the later

\textsuperscript{73} Early Sydney seems to have been racially heterogeneous. There was at least one coloured, non-Aborigine, in the MOS: Applications For Children (NSWA 4/333), petition of F. Rossi 18/10/1828 on behalf of Sophy Bonsergeant, a negress.

\textsuperscript{74} Minute Book 1829-30, p.71, 25/6/1829.

\textsuperscript{75} FOS Letters 1825-9, Keane to Scott 2/10/1826 and Scott's minute; Proceedings of Committees No. 1, p.148, 1 3/12/1826 Corporation Letter Book 1826-27, p.191, Cowper to Cartwright 27/12/1826: mentions the 'other Boys, half castes' who were also to be transferred. They were not sent. I have been unable to identify them. For the background to this move see B.J. Bridges, 'Native Institution', pp.162-3, 'The First "New Zealand" School: The Maori Seminary, Parramatta, 1815-1827', New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies', Vol. 6, No. 2, November 1971, pp.118-19.
years, but it is clear that the great majority were employed in menial labour. The mothers of twenty seven boys are listed as washerwomen, making this easily the most common parental occupation, and six more were sempstresses — although the last child of a sempstress was enrolled as early as August 1821. Many of the boys came from homes in the slum quarter of Sydney's western hill.

The essentially working-class nature of the orphan schools is highlighted by the making of some provision for otherwise educating the children of parents from a higher station who may have fallen on hard times. In 1827 the committee voted £50 per annum for the support and education, outside of the Male Orphan School, of three boys named Cameron. In 1828 it resolved to recommend £60 per annum for 'the education of the Children of persons whose circumstances would not admit of giving them the education their Station might require'.

Be it noted that these developments occurred at the same time

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77 Minute Book 1828-29, pp.129-30, Quarterly Report for Meeting of General Court 2/9/1828. In January 1827 the committee agreed to pay £10 per annum for Rebecca Jane Hooper to attend the School of Industry, stating, without reason, that it was not competent to relieve her situation by admission to the FOS: Proceedings of Committees No. 1, p.152, 4/1/1827.
as Archdeacon Scott's plans for a boarding secondary school at the Male Orphan School were being frustrated by what he saw as social-class prejudices.

In an interesting glimpse at the current social sensitivity in relation to education Mrs Cox unsuccessfully applied for the return of the 'Girl of Colour' on the ground that her admission had been into the orphan school, not the black school.\textsuperscript{78} The orphan schools were only second last on the social scale while ever the Native Institution was operating.

\textsuperscript{78} Proceedings of Committees No. 1, pp.102-3, 19/10/1826.
Chapter 12

HEALTH AND PHYSICAL CARE

By their very nature as institutional homes the orphanages were primarily concerned with meeting the physical needs of their inmates and only secondarily with education. From the outset the health of the children was under the supervision of various of the colonial surgeons and later of private practitioners who served as physicians to the institutions. This chapter traces the succession of appointments as 'surgeon' or 'medical attendant', the increasing regulation of matters pertaining to health, the persistence of health problems and the treatment provided. Overcrowding will be seen to have been a problem in the 'twenties, the effects of which were aggravated by poor hygiene. Both institutions had water-supply difficulties, especially the Male Orphan School where the chronic shortage of water meant that the regulations concerning hygiene had largely to be ignored. The cleanliness of the buildings was provided for by regulations and efforts were made to combat bug infestations but at times the cleanliness of both institutions seems to have fallen to quite unacceptable levels. Unsatisfactory drainage and sanitation continued to be troublesome. The chapter concludes with a survey of the fluctuating standards in the provision of food and clothing.
The 'surgeons'

Detailed information on the provision of medical care is lacking for the period before Macquarie's time but apparently one of the surgeons was, for at least part of the period, told off to attend to the orphans as a regular duty and medical assistance must always have been on call. It is significant that two surgeons, John Harris and William Balmain, were on the original committee and that in August 1802 the Principal Surgeon was named a member *ex-officio* at a time when no other member was explicitly appointed by virtue of his office.¹

Thomas Jamison gave up the position of surgeon to the Female Orphan School following the Rum Rebellion. He was replaced by the recently-arrived William Bohan who was 'the only married man of the profession and, consequently, the most proper person to attend such an Institution'.² Bohan, the incumbent at the time of Macquarie's arrival, was paid £30 per annum for his duties in this office.³

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¹ HRA, Vol. IV, p.95, Minutes of the committee 10/8/1802. See HRNSW, Vol 5, p.42, King to Hobart 14/8/1804 where the chaplains of Sydney and Parramatta and the Commissary are also named *ex-officio* members.

² CSIL, Bundle 4, No. 1-99, 1810, (NSWA 4/1723), p.73, Bohan to J.T. Campbell 10/1/1810, quoted and pp.74-5, Bohan to Campbell 12/1/1810.

³ SG, quarterly accounts.
Subsequently the position was held by ex-convict William Redfern. Redfern had been pardoned in 1808 and appointed assistant surgeon following an examination by Thomas Jamison, John Harris and William Bohan. He soon became the most popular doctor in the colony, though hardly because of his bedside manner, and family doctor to both Bligh and Macquarie. 4

When the Female Orphan School moved to Parramatta Major West succeeded Wentworth as its surgeon at £35 per annum. 5 Henry Grattan Douglass served at least from mid 1823 until the end of 1824. 6 Andrew Allen held the office for at least part of 1825 and the first four months of 1826. 7 His successor, Mathew Anderson, 8 retained the position for the rest of our period and beyond.

When the Female Orphan School moved Redfern continued as surgeon to the Male Orphan School on £30 per annum until his resignation as Colonial Assistant Surgeon in October 1819. In the press of business

5 FOS Minutes (NSWA 4/403), p.19, 30/10/1818.
6 SG, 3 October 1825, accounts for year ending December 1824.
8 FOS Letters 1825-9, small note paper showing ophthalmia and head cases attended by Anderson April-July 1826.
Macquarie overlooked sending on to the committee the concurrent resignation of the Orphan School surgery and it was not until April 1820 when the committee requested Redfern to state whether he intended to perform his duties or to resign that the oversight was discovered. \(^9\) Meanwhile unbeknown to the committee Macquarie had, in December 1819, appointed G.A. Stephenson of the 48th Regiment to succeed Redfern. \(^10\) In the interval Bowden had frequently applied to Principal Surgeon James Bowman and medical attention was always provided. \(^11\)

When the Male Orphan School moved to Cabramatta in 1824 Patrick Hill became the surgeon from July at £50 per annum and held the position for the remainder of our period. \(^12\)

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10 BT Box 6, Bigge Appendix, p.2600, evidence of Mr Surgeon Stephenson, 48th Regiment, n.d.

11 BT Box 8, Bigge, p.3339, Thomas Bowden's evidence 22/1/1822 (±1821).

12 Inventory of Documents and Accounts Relative to the Male and Female Orphan Institutions 1800-1825 (NSWA 4/7491.1), letter 436, to Patrick Hill 16/7/1824. Hill had been a Royal Navy surgeon: New South Wales Government Gazette, Vol. 1, 1847, p.34, Registration of Legally qualified Medical Practitioners 4/1/1847.
Attendance

The practice during Redfern's time was to send a sick boy to him at the hospital. Such medicine as was prescribed was delivered to the child at the dispensary and brought back with him to the school. When a boy was too ill to go to the hospital Redfern came to the school or, in slight cases, sent his assistant Henry Cowper, son of Rev. William Cowper, or some other practitioner. Occasionally Redfern looked in without being called. This was a less thorough system than later prevailed but the school was quite close to the hospital and Redfern, in the usual absence of Darcy Wentworth, presided over a staff permeated by habits of larceny.

The schools provided their surgeons with plenty of work. By the mid 'twenties Anderson was calling almost daily at the Female Orphan School. His devotion to the welfare of the girls during the prevalence of ophthalmia in 1826 caused Keane to feel a strong sense of obligation to him. Not a day passed without his personal attendance at this institution and I feel confident that were it not for his skill & great care that many children would have lost

13 BT Box 8, Bigge, pp.3340-2, Thomas Bowden's evidence 22/1/1822 (?1821).
their eyes .... I have seen him in many cases with stubborn girls obliged to hold the patient between his knees & apply his remedies with his own hand by himself. His daily attendance has never been conceived sufficient in any case of alarming nature with regard to the salary which may have been deemed sufficient where a casual attendance only was required. It appears to my judgment ... strange that a man of education shd be entitled to less for a serious responsibility & a laborious duty than a common day laborer... 15

The committee of the Corporation inspected the journals of the medical attendants and took the opinion of Principal Surgeon Bowman. It then resolved that it was

of opinion that a Sum not less than £100.0.0 Sterling per Annum for such medical attendance should be allowed to each, exclusive of Medicine, and that they be required to attend daily if necessary, and always twice in the week, and report the state of the health of the Children on these occasions. 16

A General Court endorsed the recommendation. 17 The surgeons were to attend daily if necessary and at least twice a week as a matter of routine. 18

15 FOS Letters 1825-9, Keane to Scott 3/7/1826.
17 Proceedings of General Courts, p.61, 5/9/1826.
Regulations

By the general rules for 1825 every child had to be certified free of infectious disease before admission and a record had to be kept of the state of the health of the children.\textsuperscript{19} The statute of the Corporation varied this to a report on the general health of each child at the time of admission.\textsuperscript{20}

On at least some occasions children were medically examined and certified fit before sent out of the schools as apprentices.\textsuperscript{21} However a number of children were returned with complaints that they were in such poor health that they were unfit for any labour. As a consequence a clause was added to the relevant chapter of the Corporation statutes in June 1828 to the effect that all apprentices were to be examined prior to leaving the institution and a certificate signed by the Master and the Surgeon was to be issued testifying that the apprentice was in a good state of bodily health and of sound mind.\textsuperscript{22}

In the Rules for Internal Management of 1829 chapter

\textsuperscript{19} HRA, Vol. XII, p.281, General rules for the Female Orphan House, Admission, VI, Visitation, VI.
\textsuperscript{20} Proceedings of General Courts, p.53, 5/9/1826.
\textsuperscript{21} E.g. FOS Letters 1825-9, medical certificate of fitness for Margaret Limbeck 3/7/1827.
\textsuperscript{22} Proceedings of General Courts, p.134, 3/6/1828.
2 for each school dealt with the duties of the surgeon. He was to visit the school three times a week or daily if required and to keep a diary in which he kept a signed record of the name of each child on the sick list, the nature of the disease and the date of reception and discharge. He was to examine the physical and mental health of each child on admission and prior to leaving on apprenticeship. Finally, he was to regulate the scale of diet and to make, and record, such alterations from time to time as might appear expedient. 23

By this time both institutions possessed infirmaries and rules were also laid down for the 'Nurse', in the case of the Female Orphan School, and the 'Hospital Attendant' of the Male Orphan School. Both were under the authority of the Master but were to be 'strictly attentive to the orders of the surgeon', to take charge of the medicines left by him and to administer them according to instructions, and to be responsible for the medicines, utensils etc. in the infirmary. Each patient was to wear an infirmary gown, to remain within the

23 Proceedings of General Courts, pp.233, 254-5. From 1829 the medical attendant was required to enter reports on his work in a book kept for this purpose : Proceedings of General Courts, p.215, 2/6/1829, revised bye-laws Chap. 11s.4.
Figure I
Plan of Hospital with additional Ward
Male Orphan School 1830
Plan of Hospital with additional

West Elevation

Scale for 50 feet
infirmary and to have no access to the healthy children. As far as the respective cases would admit the patients were to be kept 'in proper order and School management' and their habits and morals attended to and reported on at evening prayers. Importantly, the infirmary and its surrounds were to be kept 'particularly clean and well aired'.

State of children's health

Surgeon Stephenson told Mr. Commissioner Bigge that the water at the Male Orphan School in George Street was very bad, the situation suspect and the health of the boys not so good as it should be. In contrast to this Thomas Bowden reported the boys generally healthy and both of Macquarie's committees regularly recorded rather complacent reports on the state of the children's health.

On the evidence a modern would judge the situation

24 Proceedings of General Courts, pp.245-6, 265-6.
25 BT Box 6, Bigge, pp.2600-1, Surgeon Stephenson's evidence, n.d.
26 BT Box 8, Bigge, p.3339, Bowden's evidence 22/1/1822.
27 For the Female Orphan School the committee of ladies inspected the children and reported on their health. See e.g. FOS Minutes, p.54.
anything but satisfactory. Ophthalmia and, at least in the girls' school, scald head were endemic and seemingly were taken pretty much for granted except when they reached epidemic proportions or were unusually virulent. More serious, in terms of the intensity of the disease, were the periodic outbreaks of dysentery which sometimes carried off its victims.28 Most of the thirteen pupils of the Male Orphan School listed as having died in the institution to the end of 1829 succumbed to dysentery.29 Bowden reported in 1824 that boys were frequently stricken when they first arrived or shortly afterwards 'in consequence of a regular diet'.30 The problem of this disease was general rather than peculiar to the schools. According to Sir Edward Ford

Dysentery, which regularly occurred in brisk, summer epidemics, was the commonest and most fatal disease in the colony .... It is probable that typhoid fever also existed and accounted for many of the deaths ascribed to dysentery.31

28 FOS Letters 1825-9, Wm. Ellis to C. Cowper 4/7/1829. British charity schools appear to have suffered similarly. See M.G. Jones, The Charity School Movement : A Study of Eighteenth Century Puritanism in Action, (London) 1964, pp.247-8, especially fn. 1, p.248 for a survey of the Irish schools in the 1780s from which it appears that the same complaints were rife there.

29 MOS Roll Book (ML 200).

30 CSIL, Bundle 24, Apr. - June, 1824 (NSWA 4/1779), No. 157, Bowden to Reddall 19/6/1824.

31 Ford, William Redfern, p.16.
Treatment was little better than witchcraft. It was reported of John Love, a nine-year old orphan who subsequently died that 'a Blister has been applied to the abdomen and a salivation is going on'.

Certain peaks stand out from the high plateau of regular illness.

There was a particularly troublesome outbreak of the scald head at the Female Orphan School in 1815. There is mention of widespread infection with the itch at the school when Walker assumed control and this remained unconquered when he left fifteen months later.

A serious outbreak of ophthalmia occurred at the Male Orphan School in mid 1825 and it was still in full flight when on 26 May 1826 Principal Surgeon Bowman and Archdeacon Scott finally visited the school and commandeered Superintendent James Busby's house as a hospital for the sufferers from this complaint.

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32 CSIL, Bundle 24, Apr. - June, 1824, No. 157, Bowden to Reddall 19/6/1824.


34 SG, 3 March 1825 : Presentment of Parramatta Grand Jury. See also above pp. 182-5.


Ophthalmia attacked the Female Orphan School later in 1825 and remained a serious problem there well into 1826. 37 Whooping cough racked this school in July of 1828 38 and in February 1829 it was again reported to be suffering from the eye complaint 'to a deplorable extent'. 39

Mathew Anderson's weekly returns for 1830 probably give a quite fair picture of the state of affairs in earlier years. The returns give weekly totals in terms of the unit of the patient per day: and Anderson called almost daily throughout the year. The total number of patient-days for the year was 1682 at a weekly range from a low of 18 to a peak of 74 and a weekly average of just over 32. 40 The most common complaints were the skin diseases: scald head, itch and psoriasis, which were more discomforting than dangerous, but during the year two girls died from dysentery and one from fever. 41


38 FOS Letters 1825-9, Wilton to Committee 23/7/1828.

39 SG, 10 February 1829.

40 These figures ignore the few days when Anderson did not call and for which no entry is made in the records. Had he called every day the figures would have been higher for the total and weekly average.

41 Female Orphan School: Medical Reports 1830-1833 (NSWA 4/342), returns for 1830. See also FOS Letters 1825-9, Anderson's return April-July 1826.
Low standard of colonial medical services

Medical knowledge at the time was rudimentary and the colonial health services, as evidenced in the hospitals, censurable even by current standards. Bigge criticized the state of the hospital buildings; the overcrowding, disorder and filthiness of the wards; and the larcenies of the surgeons and their assistants. The Assistant Surgeons were chronically underpaid. Nurses at the 'Rum' Hospital were drunken and dissolute and no attention was provided during the night. Patients were locked in their wards at sunset by the overseer and left to get on as best they could till the next morning. The stench was allegedly so great at times that not even Redfern could bear it. There is little in the way of record of treatment provided although purging, cupping and bleeding were freely used and the institution was popularly known as the 'Sydney slaughter-house' in consequence of the intense dislike of the patients for the bleeding. Parramatta hospital was no better and convicts had at times to be


43 Report from the Select Committee on the State of Gaols, &c., House of Commons, 12 July 1819, p.75 Alexander Riley's evidence.
dragged to it against their will. 44

Treatment of orphans

In May 1803 it was reported that Colonial Assistant Surgeon John Savage was trying the effect of inoculation against smallpox on the orphan children with the permission of Governor King and the committee. By that point in time inoculation was preventive medicine rather than experimentation with underprivileged children. Inoculation prevented 'the accession of the most fatal malady under heaven' and already a reported 60,000 persons had been given the treatment of whom only four had died. 45 A year later a packet of vaccine matter was received from the Royal Jennerian Society and King ordered the Principal Surgeon to make an instant use of it on three of the orphans. 46

Some idea of the small amount of medication and of its quality can be gleaned from one of Stephenson's vouchers for the Male Orphan School, apparently for the eighteen months from 1 January 1822, where the apothecary's bill


45 SG, 15 May 1803.

46 SG, 12 May 1804.
was only £2.11.2, exclusive of eight bottles of castor oil which cost £3.4.0. This picture brightened considerably with the transfer to Cabramatta and the medical care of Patrick Hill. A long list of ointments, acids, plaisters, olive and castor oils and the other varied medicaments of the time was requisitioned from the apothecary John Tawell from July 1824. Expenditure on medicines and medical comforts from Tawell rose to £10.12.4½ for 1824 and to £10.3.11 for the first quarter alone in 1825.  

When serious illness struck the orphans little more could be done than to attempt to make the sick comfortable. For example, during the whooping cough epidemic Anderson, through Wilton, requested the assistance of another woman from the Factory to wait upon the children and the lathing and plastering of the ceiling of the nursery to help keep out the cold. This work was carried out immediately.

47 Vouchers: Male Orphan Institution 1821-3 (NSWA 4/7079), undated.

48 MOS Cash Vouchers (NSWA 4/7496), 'Particulars of ac. of the Male Orphan Institution from July 1824 to Feb'ry 1825 inclusive', Receipt, John Tawell, 5/8/1825.

49 FOS Letters 1825-9, Wilton to Committee 23/7/1828, Wilton to Committee 30/7/1828.

For most ailments the surgeons seem to have concerned themselves primarily with containment of the disease by the isolation of the infected children. However it is very doubtful whether proper attention was given to medical advice to this effect. In November 1829 Anderson was unable to suggest any measure for curing the 'Head cases' beyond separating the infected children and their clothes and bedding. Significantly he had recommended this already but without being 'so strictly attended to as I could wish'. This report probably led to some improvement for it was sent to Wilton with the instruction that he was to adhere strictly to the Medical Attendant's suggestions and Anderson was asked to report to the committee any failure to comply with his wishes. The doctors do seem to have been well supported by the committees when these were aware of their problems.

The impressions created are of helplessness in the face of the rudimentary state of knowledge of medicine and hygiene and of unconcerned acceptance of the prevalent minor infections as a normal feature of life. For example, despite the long-standing problem of ophthalmia at the

51 FOS Letters 1825-9, Anderson to Cowper 20/11/1829.
Female Orphan School in 1825–6 Surgeon Allen complacently noted as late as 24 March 1826 that 'the disease is of a trifling nature and to be cured by the most simple means.' 53

William Macquarie Cowper recalled that in 1815 an outbreak of skin disease in the head at the school had affected between forty and fifty girls and baffled the skill of the medical men.

When the doctors had for some time tried in vain to effect a cure, a poor working man came forward to offer a remedy which he said would be effectual. This he was allowed to make a trial of. It was most remarkable in its effect, and that, too, in a very short time. It succeeded in every instance, and the disorder was entirely stamped out .... he first provided himself with a few handfuls of long couch grass, not too green. If it were so, he laid it in the sum for a day or two. Of these he took a small quantity, laid it over a few hot coals from a wood fire, producing smoke and vapour from the grass. This was caught upon the broad blade of a clean axe and applied with the finger to the sore. That was all. This process was repeated daily for some time, longer or shorter according to the condition of the head. 54

If Cowper's remembrance of the efficacy of this cure was not distorted by the passing of the years it is a great pity that it was not called upon to save subsequent misery for many afflicted children.

A more efficacious remedy for this complaint would seem to have been simply the use of soap and water. Very recently medical researchers in the United States of

53 FOS Letters 1825–9, paper headed 'Mr. Allens time'.
54 Cowper, Autobiography, p.90.
America have found that hippie communities have medical problems which have been uncommon in the western world since the nineteenth century. Hippies do not wash because they believe that to do so causes baldness. Scalp itch, the foremost of these renewed medical problems, readily clears with the use of soap and water. 55

There is no mention of dental care beyond occasional requisitions for 'tooth combs'. 56 From the small numbers ordered it appears that oral hygiene was poor with the toothbrushes being used indiscriminately rather than issuing one to each individual. 57 The surgeons would have performed extractions when necessary.

**Overcrowding**

The simplest rules of hygiene were ignored. For a start, the schools were badly overcrowded.

The original sleeping arrangement for the Female Orphan School is revealed in a resolution to seek an estimate 'for fifty bed cradles to hold two children each, being 5 feet long and 3 feet in the clear'. 58 In 1806

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55 Television channel ABN2, News 14/12/1971.
56 E.g. Minute Book 1828-29, pp.159-60, 22/10/1828.
57 This would conform with the known practice with regard to towels.
58 HRNSW, Vol. IV, p.137, Meeting of the Committee 15/9/1800.
fifty cast-iron bedsteads, thirty single and twenty double, were imported from England. 59

In March 1821 Mrs Macquarie asked a Female Orphan School committee hostile to her to consider the opinions of Surgeons Stephenson and West on the then sleeping arrangements at the school:

I beg leave to inform you in some instances, three Children sleep in one Bed, and that the Medical Gentlemen highly disapprove of even Two Children sleeping together, where 20 or 30 children are in one apartment. 60

Major West thought that not only should the girls sleep one to a bed but that there should be as few to a room as the accommodation of the school would admit and that the northern windows should be screened to prevent excessive heating of the rooms. 61

West's comments produced an inspection by the committee which found the bedrooms 'clean and airy, and the children in health' and declined to take action. 62 Mrs Macquarie

59 HRA, Vol. V, p.765, Statement of Receipts and Disbursements on Account of the Gaol and Orphan Fund, from 1st day of January to the 12th day of August following (1806).

60 FOS Minutes, pp.63-4, 9/5/1821, circular letter Mrs Macquarie to Members of General Committee 28/3/1821.

61 FOS Minutes, p.64, West to Mrs Macquarie 5/3/1821. The heating could be an important consideration in crowded conditions in summer but there are suggestions elsewhere in the records that hot air was itself considered unhealthy at that time.

62 FOS Minutes, p.61, 21/3/1821.
then circulated her letter and raised the hackles of the committee members by requesting individual replies.\textsuperscript{63} The committee declined to accede to her request\textsuperscript{64} and then proceeded to dispose of the submissions by rejecting them with a firmness which probably reflected an element of pique. It asserted that the health of the children was then, as it always had been, generally good. The house

\[\text{not affording room for them to sleep in separate beds; there being now only one instance of the children sleeping three (little sisters) in one bed; and there never having been more than two instances, (except once for about a fortnight, during sickness, when five were obliged to have separate beds) no alteration is necessary in this particular.}\textsuperscript{65}\]

Similarly the idea of blinds or screens for the bedroom windows was rejected, but projecting outside caps were authorized for the schoolroom windows.\textsuperscript{66}

The situation remained unsatisfactory. The Parramatta Grand Jury, inspecting the school early in 1825, found the bedding to be clean and comfortable but condemned the crowding of three or more children into the one bed and

\textsuperscript{63} FOS Minutes, p.64, circular letter.
\textsuperscript{64} FOS Minutes, pp.66-7, 9/5/1821.
\textsuperscript{65} FOS Minutes, p.67.
\textsuperscript{66} FOS Minutes, p.67.
suggested the supplying of more of the light iron bedsteads with which the rooms were furnished. Wilton reported in 1827 that the deal boards which the committee stated to have been sent prior to his arrival in the colony for bedsteads were not then in the institution and that all the beds were then of wool: presumably wool filled mattress cases, for he asked whether straw would be preferred for new beds. Subsequent to this straw was used and as it soon became unwholesome three beds on the average required renewal each week. The impression of the doubtful hygiene of children sharing beds, particularly of such suitable material as this for retaining damp and harbouring germs and vermin, is strengthened by the knowledge that at least two twelve year-old girls were inveterate bedwetters and hints that there were others.

Great care was always taken to keep the girls protected morally and it is clear that moral rather than health considerations were uppermost in some minds in

67 SG, 3 March 1825, Presentment of Parramatta Grand Jury.
68 FOS Letters 1825-9, Wilton to Committee 31/7/1827. Wilton arrived April 1827.
69 FOS Letters 1825-9, minute on Wilton's letter 31/7/1827, Wilton to Committee 23/1/1828 and 10/7/1828.
70 FOS Letters 1825-9, untitled, undated list of girls with comments.
relation to the bed-sharing question.

It seems that, in accordance with the current practice for public institutions, the girls were locked in their dormitories at night and had to keep their bodily eliminations with them in the crowded rooms until morning. William Walker can have had no other reason for acquiring fifty-eight chamber pots in May 1825. It is explicitly stated in the Rules for Internal Management, 1829, that the Matron was to see that each girl was in her own bed at 9 p.m. and the door fastened.

The boys were certainly badly circumstanced in their sleeping arrangements. It was then the practice on board ship, in the convict barracks and other institutions for men and boys to sleep in hammocks to maximise the number who could be accommodated in a given space and this practice was followed at the Male Orphan School.

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71 A press critic wrote concerning the Hobart Female Factory: 'what the sleeping rooms must be, shut up during the whole night with the accompanying circumstances not to be particularized, must be obvious to all.' Quoted A.G.L. Shaw, *Convicts and the Colonies*, London 1966, p.287.

72 FOS Cash Vouchers (NSWA 4/7493), account dated 2/5/1825.

73 Proceedings of General Courts, p.256, Chapter 3 clause 6 of Rules.

74 MOS Minutes, 10/4/1822.
As late as January 1830 Richard Sadleir was complaining that the sleeping room for the grown children was unhealthy and difficult to keep clean. The atmosphere was unwholesome from the boys being so compactly stowed together that they could not rise in the dark 'for the necessary purposes of nature' so that punishments for 'filthiness' were frequent. How they were stowed together is made plain by a diagram drawn by Sadleir showing a room fifty by twenty-five feet with a door and one small window and a water closet let into the wall opposite the door. The outside support posts for the hammocks were three feet in from the walls thus reducing the effective dimensions of the sleeping area of the room to forty-four by nineteen. Into this space, without any passageways or gaps, were crowded the hammocks of sixty-eight boys. Like the girls, they were locked in. The whole of Sadleir's 'probationary class' formed in

75 MOS Letter Book (ML C201), p.9, Sadleir to - -/1/1830.

76 MOS Letters 1830-2 (NSWA 4/329), Plan of Boys Sleeping Room. Sadleir designed an arrangement making better use of the space and allowing access to the water closet. In 1819 H.G. Bennet presented a petition to the House of Commons from Dr Halloran in which he claimed that a sleeping space of only six feet by five and a half feet per six men was allowed on convict ships and that this led to disgusting and abominable practices: John Ritchie, Punishment and Profit, Melbourne 1970, p.71.

77 Proceedings of General Courts, p.236, Rules for Internal Management, Chapter 4.
Plan of Boys Sleeping Room

Scale 50 feet

The land forms 80 ft. represent the manner in which the children retire to sleep. The room is 80 ft. in length and 60 ft. in breadth. The children have free access to the water closet and to the water closet. A quantity of timber will be placed at various points, which can be used to collect toys or examine the room. The room can be kept much clearer than usual with a proper arrangement.
February 1829 consisted of boys of incorrigibly filthy habits and in suggesting alterations to the accommodation he had written:

I think it would not be advisable to allow the boys to sleep overhead as from their filthy habits they would destroy every thing below. \(^{78}\)

The overcrowding of his infants school reduced Sadleir to the verge of desperation. In January 1830 he had forty-two children crammed into one small, close-ceiled, badly-ventilated building, too far removed from the main school. When he asked for permission to make alterations to provide better accommodation he was told to try the verandah. This he rejected as likely to increase the ophthalmia in the summer months and involving an exposure in the winter to cold and wet hardly prudent for sickly infants such as, for the most part, were those in the institution. By August there were fifty-seven children crowded into the schoolroom with prospect of more as most admissions were very young and 'the heat & effluvia arising from so many Children last summer were scarce sufferable'. \(^{79}\)

Sadleir begged to be allowed to give the teacher Edwards the schoolroom for his quarters and to use the £14 appropriated to constructing a room for him for providing an enlarged schoolroom, even pledging to meet any extra

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78 MOS Letters 1825-9, Sadleir to Scott, 21/2/1829.
79 MOS Letters 1830-2, Sadleir to Cowper) 10/8/1830.
expense involved himself if permitted to do so. The request was minuted by Archdeacon Broughton with curt finality: 'not necessary & therefore not allowed'.

Chronic shortage of water

The problem of the want of a reliable water supply was chronic at both institutions.

At the end of our period there was still no provision at all for a water supply on the Male Orphan School estate at Cabramatta, the school being dependent on access to neighbouring land for drinking water and making no provision at all for bathing. Thus not only did the school suffer an unconscionable overcrowding but it was a crowding of the unwashed. Cartwright had been authorized towards the end of 1828 to have an earth dam dug at the back of the buildings but as they were on the top of the hill the dam must have relied on direct rain and the run-off from the buildings rather than collecting surface run off from an area of land. As such it cannot have been effective for a large establishment. Cartwright attended a committee meeting in September 1828 to explain the need to retain one of the blocks of the estate being put up for

80 MOS Letters 1830–2, Sadleir to Broughton 26/8/1830
81 MOS Letter Book, p.9, Sadleir to – -/1/1830.
Figure 3
Plan of Proposed Infant School and Playground,
Male Orphan School 1830
Plan of Proposed Infant School & Play ground

Infant Room

Pier 50 ft.
School 22 by 16

Menservy

Main School Room

Play ground

Pupil Play ground
sale in order to secure the supply of water then being used. 83 The Clerk was directed to exercise his discretion at the auction of the land on whether or not to buy in the block of 1806 acres in question. 84 He did not — and the Male Orphan School became dependent for drinking water, from land which it had owned, upon the goodwill of the purchaser, William Ellis. Sadleir unsuccessfully begged his superiors to correct their mistake and to secure the water used by the school by repurchasing the land. 85

The lack of concern for hygiene evident in this situation involved a sad falling away from the standards set by Macquarie at the inauguration of the institution when in one of his regulations he laid down what must be the first syllabus of physical/health education in Australia.

The Children of the Institution are frequently to be taken out to Walk in the Cool of the Evening, with the View to their Health and wholesome Exercise, ... The Children are also to be bathed in the sea at least twice every Week throughout the Year; namely, on Wednesdays and Saturdays at such Hours as the Master shall think proper to direct; himself or the Usher attending to see the Children bathed, and to conduct them out and Home. 86

83 Minute Book 1828-29, p.139, 11/9/1828.
84 Minute Book 1828-29, p.195, 29/12/1828.
85 MOS Letters 1830-2, Sadleir to Cowper 10/8/1830.
86 Rules & Regulations established for the Management of the Male Orphan Institution; commencing from its Establishment at Sydney, on the first of January, 1819, Sydney, 1819, p.9, No. 17.
At the Female Orphan School the water problem was less serious although nevertheless a constant source of expense and bother.

In March 1825 the school was reported to be well furnished with bad water but in great want of wholesome water. It was suggested that this situation might easily be remedied by sinking a tank in the bed of the boundary creek in the immediate vicinity of the building. Nothing came of this suggestion.

In mid 1825 and again in May 1826 Archdeacon Scott sought the opinion of the civil engineer John Busby on the best means of securing a sufficient supply of good water at the least expense. Busby advised that a large supply might be obtained at moderate expense by laying a pipe line from a stream three hundred yards from the school and connecting a forcing pump. The installation of the system would cost not more than £200 and would allow a sufficient supply for one day's consumption by the labour of one man for two hours. This would mean an annual reduction of £49.16.8 in the expenditure of the institution. In July Scott sought to have sent out through the Colonial Office a suitable forcing pump and

87 SG, 3 March 1825, Presentment of the Parramatta Grand Jury.

88 SG, 25 August 1825, Parramatta Grand Jury.
three hundred and twenty yards of two-inch lead pipe capable of bearing the pressure of a sixty foot column of water. 89 In consideration of the great and immediate need this order anticipated the subsequent endorsement of the scheme by a General Court. 90 Similarly the committee took it upon itself to authorize a commencement on the storage tanks although expenditure was the province of the General Court. 91

At the beginning of December Scott approached the Government for Busby's services from 4 to 6 December to superintend the fixing of the tanks. 92 In February Marsden was asked to make an agreement with James Orr on the best obtainable terms for the construction of an engine house 93 and Busby was soon afterwards authorized to contract with John Brown who had offered to find the


90 Proceedings of General Courts, p.31, 7/8/1826. See also p.23, 7/6/1826 where he had raised the subject.

91 Proceedings of Committees No. 1, p.8, 16/5/1826.

92 Proceedings of Committees No. 1, p.21, 21/6/1826; Corporation Letter Book 1826-27, p.166, Cowper to Colonial Secretary 2/12/1826.

required quantity of patent pipe at 16/6d per yard and to complete the work using his own materials for £stg 98.  

By this time the Corporation was in financial difficulties and expenditure was being pared to the bone. Nevertheless, Scott wrote,

The object of bringing water to the Female Orphan Institution is so desirable accompanied by so many recommendations of a local and moral nature that although the sum is large the Committee are led to hope His Excellency will approve it, especially (sic) as all the machinery, pipes &c are arrived from England.  

In contrast to its performance with regard to the Male Orphan School the Corporation was doing everything possible to have the female orphans supplied with water. However at this stage everything that could go wrong did so. The engine sent out from England was a double-power model instead of the single intended and as convict labour was not made available for the installation of the system free labour had to be hired. With these changes the actual cost of the project greatly exceeded the estimated cost, quite apart from the fact that the system did not prove efficient.


95 Corporation Letter Book 1826-27, p.240, Scott to Colonial Secretary McLeay 14/3/1827.  

96 Minute Book 1829-30 (NSWA 7/2704), pp.66-9, 25/6/1829.
In addition a dispute developed between Busby and Brown when the former accused the latter of charging for more pipe than he actually used.  

At the same time as the installation was progressing orders were given to go ahead with the construction of a well, recommended by Busby, within the Institution building. The total cost of work relating to the water supply in 1827 was £288.11.6. Even so water was conveyed only so far as a tank outside the house. In January 1828 Wilton was attempting to have the water connected to the kitchen and laundry to save the children the labour of having to carry water in buckets and having to be so much out of the house. The cistern also required to be leaded to hold the water. It had been decided to reverse the kitchen and the laundry to save pipe in carrying water to the laundry.

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98 Proceedings of Committees No. 1, p.258, 15/8/1827.


100 FOS Letters 1825-9, Wilton to Committee 21/1/1828.

101 FOS Letters 1825-9, Wilton to Scott. 'Tuesday'. This letter is bound in following another letter also undated marked as having been received 18/12/1827. From its contents it seems clearly to refer to the same project as that of Wilton's letter of 21/1/1828. Proceedings of Committees No. 1, pp.281-2, 3/10/1827 : Brown was to be asked for a detailed estimate for doing these jobs.

From December 1827 on into March 1828 the Corporation was involved in a wrangle with Busby over payment for his services alleging that he was claiming for time for which he had already been paid by the Government. 103

The hydraulic engine was not a success. The labour required to procure the school's water supply was greater than before it was installed. It was decided to obtain an estimate for stuffing the boxes and for keeping the engine in repair, 104 but in mid 1829 a competent person was still being sought to do the job. 105 James Bridge offered to complete the engine for £185 and it was decided to accept if he would agree to a penalty clause and Governor Darling would advance the necessary funds. 106 Darling agreed to advance the money but for some unrecorded reason Bridge had dropped out of the picture. A call


104 Proceedings of Committees No. 1, p.325, 19/12/1827, p.329, 27/12/1827.

105 Proceedings of General Courts, p.278, 2/6/1829.

for tenders produced only one unsatisfactory bid. During 1829 the water supply system had cost £120.17.1 but at the end of the year the inefficiency of the engine and the want of someone to put it in order led to a resolution to reconsider the whole situation. Thus, despite its best efforts, the Corporation had been unable to secure to the Female Orphan School an adequate water supply by the end of the period of this study.

**Personal hygiene**

Obviously the water-supply situation at Bull's Hill meant an almost complete absence of personal hygiene at the Male Orphan School. The girls at the Female Orphan School may not have bathed but in Scott's time at least they washed the whole body and in early 1829 there is mention of a bathing house awaiting roofing. Nevertheless


108 Statement of Receipts and Disbursements 1826-31 (NSWA 4/388), FOS Account 1829.

109 Proceedings of General Courts, p.296, 1/12/1829.

110 *Scott*, 17 March 1827, Scott's testimony in Broadbear's case. This is implied in the question and answer that he 'never went through a room when some of the girls were washing themselves, and in a state of nudity'.

111 Minute Book 1828-29, p.251, 27/2/1829.
the standard of hygiene there was too low for the unwonted
fastidiousness of Mrs Wilton who although nominally Matron
for over a year from April 1827 'repeatedly declared ... she
could not bear the smell of the children or the house,
and would not nor does not reside in it.'\textsuperscript{112}

In both institutions under the Rules for Internal
Management of 1829 the laundry was handed over to the
laundress or washerman and signed for on Monday mornings
and received back clean on Saturday.\textsuperscript{113} Given the scant
supply of clothing issued to each child it is clear from
this that changes of clothing were infrequent.

It was a duty of the matron, schoolmaster and teachers
to attend to the health and cleanliness of the children
including seeing that they washed themselves\textsuperscript{114} -- but it
was pointless to impose such duties without the means to
carry them out: and there can hardly be cleanliness
without water and changes of clothing. The situation must,
however, be kept in perspective. The English people, with

\textsuperscript{113} Proceedings of General Courts, pp.237, 263.
\textsuperscript{114} Proceedings of General Courts, pp.235, 243, 255, 263.
The girls appear to have had the services of a visiting barber; Minute Book 1829-30, p.229, 18/12/1829
FOS Cash Voucher (NSWA 4/7493), account and receipt
for payment to H. Rafter for attendance 1/4/1825 to
1/7/1825 -- probably for barbering.
the possible exception of the genteel classes, have never won a high reputation for love of soap and water. What is striking is not so much the gross inadequacy of hygiene in practice in the schools as the low standards expected by Scott in setting his requirements and the lack of any real concern about many of the deficiencies complained of. The English transposing low standards to a climate less suited to them and it is sobering to reflect that many Europeans in the rural areas had, like the despised Aborigines, virtually given up washing altogether.

**Female Orphan School drains**

The drains at the Female Orphan School provided a continuing health hazard. Before March 1825 a perpendicular fracture had appeared in the building which was attributed to both bad workmanship in the first place and to subsidence caused by a drain beneath it.¹¹⁵ In August of that year the effluvia from the various drains about the place was described as 'a perfect nuisance to the establishment'.¹¹⁶ The board of inquiry into Walker's Mastership which sat on 16 January 1826 reported that 'the nauseous and unwholesome state of the privies attached to the building require immediate attention' and that the cellars under

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¹¹⁵ *SG*, 3 March 1825, Parramatta Grand Jury.
the building were dirty and full of water from the want of proper drainage.\textsuperscript{117} In 1827 the drains were still giving Wilton concern\textsuperscript{118} and in October of that year he begged leave
to state the necessity of having a covered drain made to convey the filth from the main sewer of this Institution to such a distance from the house that its inmates may not be affected by the smell.\textsuperscript{119}

The construction of a diamond drain on a four-brick pattern was then approved to carry the waste into the river.\textsuperscript{120} Further drainage work was undertaken in 1828\textsuperscript{121} but as late as November 1829 the committee was still to be found ordering 'that a precise statement of the inconvenience arising from the present drains be made, stating whether they cannot be cleared and at what expense'.\textsuperscript{122}

\underline{Cleanliness of buildings}

Towards the end of 1821 the bedrooms of the Female Orphan School were reported to be infested with bugs and the ladies committee offered to supply a recipe for their

\textsuperscript{117} HRA, Vol. XII, p.164.
\textsuperscript{118} FOS Letters 1825-9, Wilton to Scott 25/6/1827.
\textsuperscript{119} FOS Letters 1825-9, Wilton to Committee 1/10/1827.
\textsuperscript{120} Architects & Mechanics, p.469, tender of George Hopkins; Proceedings of Committees No. 1, p.281, 3/10/1827.
\textsuperscript{121} Minute Book 1828-29, p.160, 22/10/1828.
\textsuperscript{122} Minute Book 1829-30, p.193, 25/11/1829.
erradication. In February 1822 it was decided to lime-wash the interior and to paint the bedrooms as soon as possible. Whitewashing was then performed at intervals until finally under Wilton it was made part of the quarterly routine. This task was performed by William Syrett, a free labourer often employed on maintenance jobs. The committee ordered an obvious and overdue economy at the end of 1828 in directing that in future the whitewashing should be done by the assigned government men, but for some unrecorded reason Syrett continued to do the work on contract.

The whitewashing appears to have contained the bug problem. Archdeacon Scott alleged that during Walker's incumbency the house swarmed with bugs but this assertion

123 FOS Minutes, p.82, 14/11/1821, Ladies to Committee 13/10/1821.
124 FOS Minutes, p.83, 13/2/1822.
125 FOS Letters 1825-9, Wilton to Scott 23/4/1827, Wilton to Committee 5/11/1827 and 10/7/1828. Wilton had some rooms coloured but was instructed that he was not to have this done every quarter: minute on letter 10/7/1828.
129 SG, 17 March 1827.
THE FEMALE ORPHAN SCHOOL
SEEN ON APPROACH TO PARRAMATTA
may have been coloured by the circumstance of being made while Scott was being very roughly handled by W.C. Wentworth on the witness stand in the Broadbear case. It received no endorsement in the findings of the Board of Inquiry of 16 January 1826, towards the end of Walker's tenure.

By the Rules for Internal Management the Matron in the case of the female orphanage and the Schoolmaster in the case of the male, were required to inspect the houses at eleven each morning to see that they were clean and in order. 130 The housemaids were to clean the stairs and boards of the Female Orphan School every morning, the schoolroom every afternoon, the dining room immediately after dinner, and the woodwork of the doors and windows every day to destroy vermin. 131 Prior to the issue of these regulations the Masters had a general responsibility to see to the cleanliness and general good order of the buildings.

Over all the general low state of personal and institutional hygiene prevailing in practice is doubtless sufficient explanation for contagious disease being such a marked feature of orphan school life.

130 Proceedings of General Courts, Rules, pp.235,255
131 Proceedings of General Courts, p.267.
Food

The food served to the orphans seems to have been generally adequate in quantity, but the use of a fairly rigid ration scale meant a lack of variety in the food and an absence of the possibility for imaginative preparation. Meal time can never have aroused any curiosity nor created any excitement except perhaps at Christmas when at least the female orphans were allowed plum pudding as a treat in celebration of the Saviour's birthday. In 1826 Rev. J.E. Keane and the Matron of the Female Orphan School were granted their request to be allowed an occasional change from the diet of the institution and permission to keep poultry at their own expense so that they would not have to eat beef all the time as did the other residents.

132 E.g. FOS Letters 1825-9, Requisition 6/2/1828 : The children would not eat ground maize unless it was of very good quality.

133 FOS Letters 1825-9, Wilton to Committee 16/12/1829; Minute Book 1829-30, p.229, 18/12/1829.

134 FOS letters 1825-9, Keane to Scott 14/8/1826, Corporation Letter Book 1826-27, p.91, Cowper to Keane 1/9/1826. The Master and Matron had been allowed £40 for their table in lieu of rations but considered this would be too inconvenient an arrangement: Proceedings of Committees No. 1, pp.58-9, 17/8/1826, pp.63-4, 31/8/1826. At the end of 1827 the following daily ration was set for the Master, Matron, Storekeeper and Assistant Matron: 1½lb. bread, 1lb fresh meat or 10oz. salt pork, 1oz. sugar, 1½oz. salt, ½oz. soap (Master and Matron only). Later the Master and Matron were allowed 2oz. tea per week: Proceedings of Committees No. 1, p.315, 12/12/1827; Minute Book 1828-29, p.100, 16/7/1828.
Economy was a consideration usually given priority over food value in deciding what should be supplied. For example in April 1819 the committee of the new Male Orphan School sought six cows to provide milk so that milk and rice or meal might be served for breakfast instead of tea not because this would provide a more nutritious meal but because 'a considerable saving would be made in the expenses of the Institution'.

In his evidence before Bigge Thomas Bowden outlined the diet for the Male Orphan School:

They are allowed for breakfast four days a week half a lb of bread, a pint of tea with sugar & milk, the other three mornings they have plain boiled rice with sugar & some milk for dinner they have half a lb of fresh meat & 1lb of potatoes but no bread each for four days in the week plain Suet puddings allowing ½lb of flour to each boy, the other day they have fish Ox head soup with pease in it.

They have for supper every evening ½lb of bread & a pint of tea with Sugar & milk. Bread, meat & flour are provided by open contract - potatoes we buy in the market.

135 MOS Minutes, 15/4/1819.

136 BT Box 8, Bigge, pp.337-8, Bowden's evidence. See also Rules & Regulations, p.6.

It has been pointed out that this diet compared very favourably with that of the Asylum for the Infirm and Destitute in 1880: Breakfast: dry bread, 1lb per day, tea without milk, loz for ten men, 1½oz sugar per day per man. Dinner: 1 pint of good soup. Tea: tea and anything left from breakfast and dinner. There were two puddings per annum: one on Christmas Day provided by the Government, and one on the Queen's Birthday provided by the Governor. : Vernon W.E. Goodin, 'Public Education in New South Wales before 1848', JRAHS, Vol. 36, Pt.4, 1950, p.179.
Accusations concerning want of sufficient food were prominent amongst the allegations made by the school's apprentice boys against Bowden in July 1822. They claimed that when Major Antill was in the habit of visiting the school they had been well fed but at the time of writing had during the past fortnight received bread and tea for breakfast only twice, on the other mornings being given such small quantities of rice and flummery that

if it were not for the kindness of the Servants, we should be almost in a state of starvation. When we have got nothing from them, we have been so weak that we could not work.

When pudding was served for dinner there was sufficient, for what the small boys could not eat was served out for bread, as was the share of the twelve to sixteen boys who were nightly deprived of their supper for trifling offences although they might have had only rice for breakfast and fish for dinner. A good dinner was provided when any gentleman from the committee was expected.137

From its enquiry the committee, with only Barron Field, J.T. Campbell and Rev. Richard Hill present, concluded that

we cannot help thinking there is too much foundation for believing that, since the Local Committee have discontinued their constant inspection of the House and Table, the boys have been underfed.

Consequently those of the committee present and Major Goulburn would form a new local committee to visit weekly

to examine the storeroom and accounts and each member on a weekly rotation would look in at meal times without notice to see that the children received their allowance. The provisions of the Master's family and of the school were not subsequently to be kept in the same storeroom, the practice of punishing by stoppage of food was to cease entirely, and the assistance of the surgeon was to be sought to set a daily table of diet, the apprentices being allowed more than the other boys, from which the Master was not to depart without the leave of the local committee. 138

At a special meeting a week later Surgeon Stephenson presented a table of senior, junior and hospital diets and the resolutions which had been passed were confirmed incorporating this modification. Stephenson was asked to class the inmates according to his scale. 139

138 MOS Minutes, 9/9/1822.
139 MOS Minutes, 16/9/1822.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meal</th>
<th>Senior Diet</th>
<th>Junior Diet</th>
<th>Hospital Diet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Breakfast</td>
<td>1 Pint of Oatmeal, or Rice Gruel</td>
<td>1 Pint of Oatmeal, or Rice Gruel</td>
<td>Tea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>½ lb Meat</td>
<td>½ lb Meat</td>
<td>½ lb Bread made into Panado, or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>¼ lb Bread</td>
<td>½ lb Bread</td>
<td>Pudding or Sago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 lb Potatoes</td>
<td>½ lb Potatoes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinner</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supper</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 Pint of Oatmeal, or Rice Gruel</td>
<td>Tea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>¹⁄₂ lb Meat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>¹⁄₂ lb Bread</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>¹⁄₂ lb Potatoes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: MOS Minutes, 16/9/1822.

At first sight the most obvious weakness of such a scheme is the sudden jump in ration with change in classification but as the scale could hardly do more than effect what went into the pot where meals were prepared in common the servings as they went on to the plates doubtless allowed for a gradual rather than a sudden progression. The starving involved in the hospital diet must in itself have provided a powerful incentive to get well but a great handicap to those who required something more than the will to regain their health.

In 1829 the Male Orphan School daily ration was for boys over eight years: ½ lb bread, ½ oz raisins on pudding

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140 FOS Letters 1825-9, Orr to Cowper 21/10/1826: '... it is difficult to establish a Scale of Rations for Children of different ages...'
days, 10oz meat or 8 oz flour, 3 drachms tea, 1 oz sugar, \\frac{1}{2} pint milk, as much vegetable as could be consumed; for boys under eight years: 1lb bread, 6 oz meat or 6oz flour, as much vegetable as could be consumed; for nursery children and children in hospital: bread and meat according to circumstances.\(^{141}\) Vegetables grown in the gardens of the schools can be taken for granted as generally forming an important part of the children's diet whenever they could be produced.

It comes as something of a surprise to find that in the mid 'twenties small quantities of tobacco were being issued to boys aged twelve or over in the farming detachment under James Busby.\(^{142}\)

Whenever possible meat was supplied to the orphans by their own herds and flocks and milk by their own cows. Otherwise provisions, clothing and all other supplies were obtained by contract after tenders had been invited by public notice.\(^{143}\)

\(^{141}\) MOS Letters 1825-9, Scale of Rations Issued Daily to the Boys Male Orphan School Nov 1829. See also FOS letters 1825-9, Scale of Rations Issued at the Female Orphan School November 11th 1829 by WM Ellis.

\(^{142}\) FOS Cash Vouchers, Narrow book made of foolscap pages stitched down the middle, first heading 'Saturday April 22' -- a store record of issues.

\(^{143}\) See Statement of Receipts and Disbursements 1826-31, Orphan School Estate (1829), MOS Cash Vouchers generally, SG, numerous notices calling tenders.
Under the Corporation requisitions for all needed items were submitted to the committee which considered them and authorized purchases by resolutions containing itemised lists. In mid 1827 the committee unanimously recommended the appointment of a 'mercantile person' in Sydney to act as Agent for the making of purchases of every description for both schools and to settle all accounts quarterly. 144 Appleton served in this capacity for a short period and on his asking to be relieved Beveridge was designated as the merchant to be applied to for groceries and clothing. 145 Later he in turn was succeeded by Pearson. 146 Supplies received were at least sometimes underweight 147 or adulterated and around 1826 the tender notices were calling for seconds flour. 148

**Clothing**

The orphans were, at least theoretically, dressed uniformly.

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144 Proceedings of Committees No. 1, p. 220, 29/5/1827, pp. 223-4, 2/6/1827. See also pp. 244-5, 4/7/1827.


146 Minute Book 1828-29, p. 324, 13/5/1829.

147 FOS Letters 1825-9, Wilton to Committee 16/10/1827.

148 Correspondence MOS Farm 1825-6 (NSWA 4/7504). See also FOS Letters 1825-9, Requisition 6/2/1828.
Macquarie's regulations of 1818 for the Female Orphan School specified that the girls were to attend Church 'clean and uniformly dressed' — but did not say what this uniform was to be.\textsuperscript{149} Obviously it did not include footwear for on 1 September 1819 the committee decided that the girls should be provided with shoes and ordered accordingly that they be obtained on the most economic terms under local conditions.\textsuperscript{150} In April 1820 it was decided to supply leather from the school's herds for the shoemaker and his apprentice boys at the Male Orphan School to make shoes for both institutions.\textsuperscript{151} At the end of 1823 on the recommendation of the ladies committee the elder girls were allowed two pairs of stockings per annum for Sunday wear.\textsuperscript{152}

Under the reign of the Sweetman couple in 1824 the girls' clothing was completely neglected. The Rev. William Walker wrote that when he assumed control of the school at the beginning of 1825

\textsuperscript{149} SG, 25 July 1818.
\textsuperscript{150} FOS Minutes, pp.37–8, 1/9/1819.
\textsuperscript{151} FOS Minutes, p.41, 19/4/1820. See below pp.564–5 for the outcome.
\textsuperscript{152} FOS Minutes, pp.109–110, 12/11/1823.
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 not less indelicate than our wild aborigines.153

The Parramatta Grand Jury in March 1825 found the girls all badly clad and recommended that a sufficient supply of suitable clothing should be deposited with the Matron for them 'by which the present prevention of the whole body of children's attendance on Divine Worship (as heretofore) on the Sunday will be entirely removed'.154 Walker ordered large quantities of various materials and sewing equipment155 but when Keane took over the school he found the clothing situation still desperate.

Keane felt unable to wait for dresses to be made up in the school so he ordered ready-made fifty dresses from New Zealand flax sent from the Female Convict Factory, thirty of coarse grey linen from the Factory and a hundred from a coarse grey linen bought from Henry Mann of Sydney, these being of better quality than the Factory linen or New Zealand flax. The period of neglect had, however, left its mark for Keane wrote that 'from the shocking habits of

153 BT Box 53, Missionary series, p.1470, Walker to Watson 7/2/1825.

154 SG, 3 March 1825, Presentment of Parramatta Grand Jury. The girls may not have possessed their own clothes as the Board of Enquiry, 16/1/1826, recommended 'that the children's clothing be properly marked and numbered', HRA, Vol. XII, p.163.

155 FOS Letters 1825–9, Requisition of the Female Orphan House 30/11/1825.
the children many dresses have been in the privy' and, when
he was newly arrived, in one class twenty or thirty skeins
of thread vanished in an hour. 156

Keane proposed that each girl should be equipped yearly
with a wardrobe of clothes consisting of two dresses at a
cost of 11/4½d, four pairs of shoes at 4/- per pair and
mended at 1/6d, one linen wolsey petticoat, and four calico
shifts at a total cost per girl of £2.11.10. For Sunday
wear he suggested a 'blue frock, white bonnet, apron, van
dyke & sleeves for each girl ... total for Sunday dress
11-6, but those dresses I have not made'. 157

In mid 1827 Archdeacon Scott ruled that the girls should
have a special uniform consisting of a 'blue jacket and
blue petticoats, a brown holland pinnafore, straw bonnets,
worsted stockings and black shoes'. 158 Subsequent requisit­
ions for cloth suggest stout brown linen petticoats and
flannel petticoats as well as blue nankeen petticoats; blue­
striped cotton frocks, check aprons, long white cotton mits

156  FOS Letters 1825–9, Paper signed by Keane and dated
29/5/1826.

157  FOS Letters 1825–9, Keane 29/5/1826.

158  Clifford Turney, 'The History of Education in New
South Wales 1788–1900', Ph.D. thesis, University of
is given for the letter relied upon and neither I nor
the Archives officers were able to find its correct
location.
and ribbons for the bonnets. Stays were worn and caps were acquired in 1829.

It is clear that although the girls were dressed uniformly the uniform did not have that continuity characteristic of modern school uniforms.

Macquarie's regulations for the Male Orphan School specified in detail the uniform for the boys, the items of which were to be issued and renewed at the Master's discretion:

The Clothing and Dress of the Children of this Institution is to be suitable to their Condition in Life, economical plain, and uniform; consisting of a Blue Cloth Jacket made to button, and a Pair of Blue Cloth Trowsers to reach down to the Shoe, for the cold Season; and Blue Jacket and Trowsers made of light Cotton Stuff for the hot Season, with a Cotton Shirt, Stockings, Shoes, and a Straw Hat for each Boy. The Clothing thus ordered for the cold Weather is to be made of Colonial made Cloth, if it can be procured, in order to encourage that useful Branch of Colonial Manufacture.

The Straw Hat for such Boys to have a Black Band round it, as well to strengthen as to make it look neat. -- The Shoes are to have uniform Clasps instead of Strings to tie them.

This uniform was soon made very largely, sometimes entirely, by the wearers themselves. The only variation in the

159 FOS Letters 1825-9, Requisitions 30/11/1827, 11/12/1827 and 27/5/1828.
160 Minute Book 1828-29, p.205, 14/1/1829.
161 Minute Book 1828-29, p.244, 18/2/1829.
boys' uniform mentioned in the records is the ordering of fustian suits for the summer of 1828-9.\textsuperscript{164} On leaving the school for apprenticeship boys were furnished with one good suit and two new shirts.\textsuperscript{165} Scott improved this for both sexes to two new suits of clothes.\textsuperscript{166}

In the later 'twenties children's clothing was made in the Female Factory and sent on Governor Darling's command to the orphan schools in consideration for their care of the young children of women in the Factory.\textsuperscript{167}

The physical care of the orphans does not impress favourably by modern standards and the practice clearly fell short in important respects, such as hygiene, from the standards set by the orphan regulations. Significantly the final years of the period were marked overall by decline rather than improvement. Nevertheless the physical care afforded must be rated reasonable-to-good by contemporary

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{164} Minute Book 1828-29, p.150, 8/10/1828.
\item \textsuperscript{165} MOS Letters 1825-9, Cartwright to Cowper 28/6/1827.
\item \textsuperscript{166} Corporation Letter Book 1826-27, p.31, Cowper to Wilton and to Cartwright 13/7/1827. Note also that money gained as rewards was laid out at this time in new clothing.
\item \textsuperscript{167} Minute Book 1828-29, p.175, 28/11/1828, p.244, 18/2/1829; Minute Book 1829-30, pp.79-80, 8/7/1829.
\end{itemize}
standards. The orphans' first home was the best house in the colony; the female orphans moved from that to a substantial building still serving as part of a public institution. Regular medical attention was provided from the outset and hospital facilities later incorporated in the institutions. The general conditions compare favourably with those in the generality of such institutions in Britain and the orphanages and homes for destitutes in New South Wales at a much later date and more than favourably with those of hospital and asylum patients and convicts confined in a prison.
Industrial orientation

The Sydney orphan schools followed the pattern of the British schools of industry faithfully in adhering to the two-sided approach of instruction in useful pursuits and religious saturation designed to produce industrious and amenable workers. Occasionally there are glimpses of a more liberal conception of the social rôle of these schools, particularly on the part of Thomas Hobbes Scott, but such ideas were not brought to fruition.

Mrs. Elizabeth Paterson writing in 1800 testified to the intended industrial orientation when she told her uncle that

some branches of manufactories will be by means of this seminary put on foot particularly making linnen and woollen clothes the latter to be procured from the Fleece of a remarkable fine breed of Spanish sheep - already in the Country - and the former from the Flax which grows spontaneous in the woods. This with their education and the Boys learning different Trades, and the girls Housewifery and the use of the needle, will be full employment.

Mrs. E. Paterson to uncle 3/10/1800 (ML Ap 36/6).
Governor King reported in 1802 that the girls of the orphan school were taught 'needlework, reading, spinning, and some few writing'.

Straw hat making was added to the curriculum in 1810 while on the cultural side a visiting singing master, Henry Parsons, was in attendance as early as 1802.

A few weeks after Macquarie's arrival an advertisement was published stating that

Plain Needle-Work will be taken into the Orphan House and executed by the Girls, under the inspection of the Matron, on moderate terms, to be paid for when delivered.

The girls made shirts and all kinds of household linen articles for sale on commission from members of the public, the income going to their general support, and they made bonnets and such more difficult items for their own use but were not so far advanced as to make them for the public.


3 Report from the Select Committee on Transportation, House of Commons, 10 July 1812, p.40, Bligh's evidence.


5 SG, 11 February 1810.

6 Report ... on Transportation, p.40, Bligh's evidence.
Entries in the accounts for subsequent years indicate that small but useful sums were earned for the school by the performance of such work by the girls.  

Advertisements and requisitions throughout the years show that large quantities of cloth of various kinds and sewing supplies were taken into the school for the production of garments. Even providing clothing for themselves by the method of the time must have provided the girls with much to do.

One of the first recommendations of the ladies committee following the move to Parramatta was for the provision of spinning wheels for spinning both woollen and linen yarn. This apparently brought no response from the committee for it was repeated in July 1820.

At this latter time thought was also being given to the need to acquire the domestic conveniences necessary for the proper training of the children as servants.

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7 See the accounts generally.

8 FOS Minutes (NSMA 4/403), p.14, 14/10/1818, letter from Patronesses 13/10/1818.

9 BT Box 23, Bigge Appendix, p.4779, Recommendations of the Lady Patroness and Vice Patroness's at a Meeting held 4 July 1820.

10 FOS Minutes, p.40, 8/5/1820.
Rev. Samuel Marsden among others took the view that Mrs Macquarie's influence was for educating the girls above themselves\(^1\). This opinion was reflected in Bigge's report where he wrote of the girls' education:

They are all taught to read and write, ciphering and needle work; and their progress and attainments were represented to me by the ladies of the local committee, who were most in the habit of visiting the school, to equal those of children of the same class in England; but they were of opinion, that it would be expedient to make some change in the general system of their education, and to adapt it more nearly to their future condition in the colony, either as wives or domestic servants.\(^2\)

If one may judge from Mrs. Nott's application for the Matronship it does seem that at least to this time the girls were offered a sound grounding in the skills of reading and writing. The letters of the university-educated Rev. J. E. Keane are by no means comparable with hers for formal correctness or the orthodoxy of the spelling and on the face of it she was certainly sufficiently well educated to aspire to the position.

By contrast, in the 'twenties no risk was run of educating the girls above their destiny as moral and obedient servants. They were denied the tools of basic

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11 BT Box 27, pp.6366-7, Marsden to Bigge 15/3/1821.
12 Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry, on the state of Agriculture and Trade in the Colony of New South Wales, House of Commons, 13 March 1823, p.72.
literacy. For example when Mrs Hannah Buckles (formerly Dart) applied for her dowry cow in 1826 she could do no more than add her mark to the letters and receipt written for her. In 1828 Wilton reported that two sisters who had been applied for as apprentices were unable to read and asked whether this would be an objection to assigning them out of the school. He found that it was not.

Wilton himself was obviously not troubled by any desire to give the girls under his charge an education which might be felt to arouse unsuitable aspirations. In his shortlived The Australian Quarterly Journal he published essays 'On Education' in April 1828 and 'On Female Education' in the July issue. In the first he told his readers that it was not his purpose to discuss 'the merits of the various advantages of education, enjoyed by the children of the lower orders of Australia'. The instruction of the poor, if that term had proper application in this colony, 'is munificent to the highest degree'. He preferred to turn from the education of the

13 Correspondence MOS Farm 1825-6 (NSW A 4/7504), Hannah Buckles to Busby 16/9/1826, receipt, Buckles to Busby 9/9/1826: written for her and signed by the actual writer.

14 FOS Letters 1825-9 (NSW A 4/326), Wilton to Committee 29/1/1828 and 5/2/1828. Contrast this with Male Orphan School where boys were sometimes kept in the school for the sole purpose of improving their education: MOS Letters 1825-9 (NSW 4/328), Cartwright to Scott 28/6/1826.
plebeian order as 'future good citizens - subjects and servants' to that of the patrician. 'On Female Education' does little more than assert the need for a good boarding school for girls which would 'mingle the utile with the dulci'. Wilton gives the impression that he considered the education of his orphan girls as a subject on which there was little to be said and that that was beneath the notice of his genteel readers - and, one suspects, of himself.

The vocational bias in the education of the boys was enjoined by the fourteenth paragraph of Macquarie's regulations for the Male Orphan School which stated that:

The Children of this Institution are to be educated only in View to their present Condition in Life, and future Destination; namely as Mechanics, Farmers, Servants, and Labourers. They are therefore only to be able to read and understand the Holy Scriptures, and keep Accounts according to their respective Vocations.

——But they are to be well instructed in making up their own Clothes, Shoes, and Hats; for which Purpose a Taylor, a Shoemaker, and a Straw-hat-maker, are to be placed permanently at the Institution to instruct the Boys in the foregoing useful Branches.

——They are to be well instructed in Baking, Cooking, and all species of Household Work belonging to their Sex. They are also to be worked occasionally in the Garden, and in digging the Ground, as a useful and wholesome Exercise, and to fit them for Farmers.

17 Rules & Regulations for the Management of the Male Orphan Institution; commencing from its Establishment at Sydney, on the First of January, 1819, Sydney 1819, p.7.
In his plan for education in New South Wales drawn up in 1824 the future Archdeacon Scott reaffirmed the industrial orientation of pauper education. For both orphans and other children taught gratuitously in the public schools of the colony

It will be sufficient if at an early Age, they are well grounded in the common Rudiments of Reading, Writing, and the Four simple Rules of Arithmetic, with their Compounds, and afterwards removed to a larger Establishment to be instructed in Agriculture, or Trades, or Apprenticed out.

However, in addition to this grounding in the rudiments of literacy and a trade or labour Scott envisaged a system of Central Schools, one in each county as the population required it, which would be equivalent to the English academies. These would educate children whose parents could pay what was considered a reasonable fee and

a limited number of Orphans who, by extra diligence in the Primary Schools, have distinguished themselves may be annually elected, and this number can be increased, as the Funds become more ample. 18

The failure of Scott's efforts to implement a version of this proposal has been discussed above.

Religion

Under the psychological theory of the time education was the handmaid of religion. Happiness for both the individual and society depended on the existence of a community of moral individuals. Morality itself was derived from a knowledge of the True religion. The individual learned the scriptures and the creeds and formulas of the True Church and was given assurance of the validity of their precepts and promises through divine intercession. As a logical necessity of conversion (or unquestioning acceptance) the individual had to live in the manner God decreed. Religion therefore provided much of the content of the curriculum and the clergy were naturally the authorized controllers of teachers. Some Christians went so far as to see the answer to all life's problems in the Bible.

The failure of the orphan schools to demonstrate the theory by conditioning the behaviour of their inmates through the inculcation of religious precept is one of the significant themes in their history. It is fairly self-evident that people vary greatly in their response to religious indoctrination. The Christian psychology is clearly invalid for the majority of people but anyone can think of people with whom it has worked to the extent of having them live by a Christian commitment and in particular Catholicism has always had marked success in conditioning many of its adherents. On the whole it seems
a fair conclusion that the orphan schools were inefficient in their indoctrination of that percentage of their pupils whose psychic constitution rendered them susceptible to the psychology of religious sanctions.

Church-going was always of great importance in the life of the orphan schools. We have seen that for a short time after its opening the Female Orphan School served as the church for the Sydney community and that the Bull's Hill site of the Male Orphan School was considered unsuitable partly because of its distance from the church at Liverpool.

Bligh testified that the girls were always taken to church. 19 Macquarie justified the schools as likely to prove of incalculable benefit to the moral and Religious habits of the Rising Generation, to whom the Colony of New South Wales must chiefly look forward for the formation of a moral and respectable Society. 20

He ordered that the girls were 'to attend Public Worship on Sundays at Church' and that each on leaving the school for apprenticeship was to be presented with a Bible and a Prayer Book. 21 Immediately after the removal of the female orphanage to Parramatta the committee, with the concurrence of Marsden, directed that the Children of the Institution shall be placed in front of the Altar during Divine service at

19 Report... on Transportation, p.39, Bligh's evidence.
21 CSIL, Bundle 12, No. 1-69, 1818 (NSWA 4/1740), FOS Regulations 25/7/1818 (also in SG, 25 July 1818).
Parramatta Church every Sunday on forms to be provided for that purpose by the Treasurer and further that the Children shall be kept at the School House for private service there, unless the Matron or Master personally attend them in going to and from the Church. 22

Normally 23 every Sunday the girls were taken down to the river at the back of the school and conveyed to and from church in Parramatta by boat. At first the passage boat was hired at £20 per annum but to save this expense 24 the school later kept one or two boats of its own. 25

The regulations issued for the opening of the Male Orphan School provided for a reading of scripture and a short prayer morning and evening. On Sundays the whole school was to attend church 'clean, and uniformly dressed', and 'according to their Ages and Capacities' the boys were to be 'taught the Principles of Christianity according to the Doctrines of the Church of England'. 26

Whatever else may have been neglected it appears that church attendance and family prayers morning and evening were, except under the Sweetmans, duties regularly observed.

22 FOS Minutes, p.16, 30/10/1818.
23 The situation was not 'normal' for quite some time after the Sweetmans took control.
24 BT Box 8, Bigge, p.3514, Rev. R. Hill's evidence 22/1/1821.
26 Rules & Regulations ... Male Orphan Institution, p.8.
THE FEMALE ORPHAN SCHOOL SEEN FROM THE RIVER
Anglican monopoly

In the light of the prevailing educational philosophy/psychology the monopolistic claims of the Established Church of England were justified. As Chief Justice Forbes put it in 1827 the English policy of educating Australia in 'principles strictly English' was in the mother country's interest but also 'it is her duty; she owes it to her own glory, and to the happiness of all Asia'. 27

Only those who accept that religion is a matter of opinion rather than Truth can afford to be indifferent to the nature of the religion inculcated or to whether any religious indoctrination occurs or not. Given the claim of the Anglican, or any other, Church to be the guardian of the Truth Dissent must be intolerable. The Dissenter by virtue of his deviations preaches untruth while toleration implies that as there are competing versions of religious Truth religion is, in practical (if not theologically absolute) terms, a matter of opinion. Interestingly as late as 1880, when the long coexistence of competing denominations in education had forced a practical acceptance of the view that religion is indeed a matter of opinion, Catholics supported denominational education against the Public Instruction

Marsden, Cowper and Cartwright the morality, piety and professional competence of a teacher weighed more than a lack of religious orthodoxy especially at a time when these virtues were only less scarce than suitable Anglicans available for employment.

The efforts set on foot by Macquarie to give the public schools of the colony a thoroughly Anglican flavour will be discussed below.

With the arrival of Archdeacon Scott there was a noticeable stiffening of the insistence on the Anglican monopoly of religion in its public aspects. Institutionally this was signified by the establishment of the archdeaconry and the Archdeacon's place in the order of colonial precedence after the Lieutenant Governor and his seats on the Executive and Legislative Councils and by the creation of the Clergy and School Lands Corporation with explicit responsibility for maintaining an Anglican monopoly of State-supported schooling. The Archdeacon, in conjunction with the Governor, was also made responsible for the conversion and civilization of the Aborigines.

Scott in particular was insistent on the orphan schools being thoroughly Anglican. The case has been presented for seeing his quarrel with Walker as an outcome of this determination, at least in part. The Archdeacon would not sanction the use of Roman Catholic
tracts in the orphan schools, desired that the servants appointed to the schools should be Protestant and in applying for clearing gangs for burning off on the farm added that the Boys of the Institution being on the Estate it would be highly advantageous if Protestants could be selected to prevent a constant collision of persons and opinions.

In one of his letters Cartwright dismisses one of his pupils as very dull and likely to be of little use to anyone but adds, in the spirit of Christian charity, as apparently the one point in his favour, that he is a Protestant.

This fear of a collision of opinions or spiritual infection was not one-sided. At the beginning of 1829 it was agreed, on the request of Rev. Fr. Daniel Power, that Power and Rev. Richard Hill should confer on the erection of a partition to divide the Catholics and the Protestants in the Castlereagh Street School House.

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30 E.g. Correspondence MOS Farm 1825-6 (NSWA 4/7504), Scott to Busby 22/12/1825; Corporation Letter Book 1826-27 (NSWA 7/2702), p.241, Scott to McLeay 14/3/1827.

31 Scott's Letter Book No. 1, p.156, Scott to Darling 5/1/1826.

32 MOS Letters 1825-9, Cartwright to Scott 19/3/1827.

33 Minute Book 1829-30 (NSWA 7/2704), pp.205-6, 25/11/1829.
Father Therry's opposition to the Anglican monopoly

When the first accredited Catholic chaplains, John Joseph Therry and Phillip Conolly, arrived in 1820, Macquarie issued them with instructions which included a prohibition on their interference with the religious education of the orphans.34

A few months later Rev. William Cowper told Mr. Commissioner Bigge that no children were kept out of the schools on account of religious principles and he had never known a case of a child of Catholics being kept back by a surviving parent or by friends because of religious scruple.35

Therry, the priest stationed in Sydney, accepted Macquarie's dictate without demur for several years and things went on much as they had always done. Then in May 1824 in an attempt to reach Catholics under Government control in the Carters' Barracks, hospitals and prisons and the children of Catholics in the orphan schools Therry submitted to the Government the Catholic Epitome of the Gospels, a work suited to children and the unlearned, with a request for permission to have it re-printed locally and circulated in these institutions.

34 BT Box 24, Bigge, p.5206, Macquarie to Conolly and Therry 14/10/1820.
35 BT Box 8, Bigge, pp.3367-8, Cowper's evidence 23/1/1821.
He promised to undertake to meet half the cost. Colonial Secretary Goulburn communicated Governor Brisbane's agreement to the request but nothing had been done by the time Scott arrived. The Epitome and the Catholic Catechism of Doctrine were then rejected as inadmissible. 36

Meanwhile Therry had taken up the question of the orphans more directly in consequence of an appeal from one of his flock, M. Hayes. Hayes applied for assignment to him of Mary Ann Wheeler, whose dead parents had both been Catholics. The committee replied requiring him to enter into a recognizance that the child would attend Anglican Divine Service. He appealed to Therry to take the matter up with Colonial Secretary Goulburn. 37 The priest did so, transmitting Hayes' letter by which it appears that the Children of Catholic Parents, are not only not to be allowed the instructions and rites of their Religion, whilst in the Orphan School, but to be precluded from embracing it, after leaving the establishment. This, I beg permission to state, with all possible deference & respect, is, in my opinion, a system of education, in a Colony like this, partial,


37 CSIL, Bundle 22, No. 1-54, 1824 (NSWA 4/1774), No. 94, Hayes to Therry n.d. (copy).
He appealed to the government to consider the trend towards relieving Catholics of their disabilities in Britain and in an argument repeated later, pointed to the moral and social evils and religious ineffectiveness of the attempt.

In mid-1822 of the proposed schools which would exclude the children of Catholic parents, he complained of compulsory religious education. The school system had reached a critical period.

On 10 November, he wrote: "The decision of the Catholics is to close the doors of these schools and send their children to schools of their own choice." He lamented that the children of Catholic parents should be induced to send their children to those schools which are not open to the children of Protestant parents.

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38 CSIL, Bundle 22, No. 1-54, No. 73, Therry to Goulburn 19/7/1822.

39 O'Brien, Life and Letters of Archbishop John Joseph Therry, p. 79, Therry to Editor, Sydney Gazette, 14/6/1823.
impolitic and unjust.

He appealed to the Government to consider the trend towards relieving Catholics of their disabilities in Britain and in an argument repeated later, pointed to the moral and social evils and religious ineffectiveness of the attempt to proselytize Ireland. He implored the Governor and the Committee to allow the orphan children of Catholics to be taught Catholic doctrine and to be exempted 'from the necessity of conforming to Protestant forms of Worship'.

In mid 1825 Therry criticised the Anglican nature of the proposed publicly supported Corporation schools which meant that

the children of the Catholic poor are to be either excluded from the salutary benefits of education, or compelled or enticed to abandon the truly venerable religion of their ancestors, according to the past and present system of the Orphan School establishment....

On 10 November 1825 he followed this with a public pronouncement, later included in a pamphlet, in which he complained of the exclusion of Catholic servants, books and catechisms from the orphanages 'lest any of the children of Catholic parents should be induced to

38 CSIL, Bundle 22, No. 1-54, No. 93, Therry to Goulburn 19/7/1824

39 O'Brien, Life and Letters of Archpriest John Joseph Therry, p.75, Therry to Editor, Sydney Gazette, 14/6/1825.
return to the Holy Religion from which they had been enticing...\(^{40}\)

At last, in June 1826, he complained directly and forcefully to the Government that 'the odious, irreligious and unjust system, which is still upheld by clerical ingenuity at the Orphan Schools' was imposed by Macquarie and proved his determination to undermine Catholicism. He traversed again the evil effects of the 'partial and proselyting system of our Orphan Schools' during its long trial in Ireland and concluded by asking that Governor Darling might

be graciously pleased to ameliorate this system...
or at least to order some means to be provided,
by which Catholic children may be rescued from
the fangs of voracious intolerance, from the
Idol of Apostacy.\(^{41}\)

Darling yielded nothing to Macquarie in determination
to maintain the Anglican ascendancy and this was not
language which could be employed in addressing him or
the Anglican exclusivists around him. Therry's letter
and Macquarie's Letter of Instructions were placed before
the Executive Council which resolved that

the Government cannot avoid expressing its
displeasure at the very unbecoming language, he
has applied to the Institutions of the Colony,
especially with respect to the Orphan Schools.

\(^{40}\) O'Brien, *Therry*, p.83.

\(^{41}\) *HRA*, Vol. XII, pp.545-6, Therry to Col. Sec. McLeay 24/6/1826.
It pointed out that the system pursued was the only one which could be followed 'consistently with His Majesty's Instructions, as signified by His Royal Letters Patent'.

Therry replied that his remarks had been made in the performance of his religious duties and that 'the opinions which His Excellency has been pleased to ascribe to me I have never even once entertained'.

Then in a final bid for access to the orphans he pointed to the retreat from the Anglican monopoly over the Charter Schools of Ireland, from which he was the more inclined to believe that His Excellency might with the utmost propriety, and without any risk of giving cause of displeasure to His Majesty or my Lord Bathurst, order a separate Asylum to be provided for the orphan children of Catholic parents, or at all events that His Excellency should allow, or rather order, relatives and friends of such Catholic Children as may be confined in the Orphan School establishment to withdraw them from it.

With the failure of this appeal to meet with any response Therry seems to have fallen back on the policy of encouraging Catholic parents to seek the discharge of their children from the orphan schools on religious grounds.

42 HRA, Vol. XII, p. 546, Extract from Minute No. 16 of the Executive Council.

43 O'Brien, Therry, pp. 92-5, Therry to (Col. Sec. McLeay) 24/7/1826, quoted at pp. 92, 94. A separate Catholic Orphan School was not provided until 1836.

44 See below pp. 615-8.
The Anglo-Irish Rev. J. E. Keane drew the opposite moral from Ireland's troubles to that drawn by Therry. In June 1826 when, in response to an instruction, he forwarded a list of fifteen girls born of Catholic parents he observed that some of the girls without effort on my part to bias their minds, desired to be entered protestants and others were as eager to be entered Roman catholics and as appeared during my arguing endeavored to influence others to get themselves entered of that persuasion. I have then Sir agreeably to my duty complied with your request but permit me to express a hope that religious distinction may not be started in the school. I do not know whether you have been in Ireland but from experience I can aver that the many defections & the present unhappy state of country has altogether arisen from religious animosity & that the Romish clergy have been found to be virtually at the head of every disturbance.45

**Introduction of Bell's National system**

Governor Macquarie was far from satisfied with the nature of the religious ministration and instruction in the colony. In 1814 he wrote of Rev. Samuel Marsden and the other chaplains being men originally of low rank and not qualified in the usual way by a liberal education for their office and they were, moreover, 'much tinctured with Methodistical and other Sectarian Principles'. Marsden had on his own authority deviated from the service of the Established Church by substituting the version of the psalms by the Methodist Dr William Goode. Macquarie forbade this practice and on appeal

45. FOS Letters 1825-9, Keane to Scott 7/7/1826.
to England his action was endorsed. 46 M. H. Ellis contends that the Governor was not an intolerant man in religion, so long as Dissent was practised in private, 47 but he believed that preservation of the established uniformity in public worship was of the utmost importance to the peace and harmony of the colony. 48

The same concern to preserve orthodoxy is evident in Macquarie's request to Lord Bathurst in 1818 for six additional schoolmasters 'untainted with Methodism or other sectarian opinion'. 49 Bathurst decided to introduce into the schools of the colony the Bell or National or Madras system of education: a monitory system in which the religious element of the instruction was Anglican. Meanwhile both orphan schools were in the hands of Wesleyans. John Hosking and Thomas Bowden had been trained in the rival Lancasterian system which used Bibles and testaments as the only instructional books. Bowden took the cards and papers which he had

used at the First Public School to the Male Orphan School which he conducted according to Lancasterian principles. 50

Dr. Andrew Bell was an Anglican clergyman who first tried his system at the Madras orphanage in the early 1790s. In 1797 he published an account of his work as An Experiment in Education. The work ran through five editions by 1814. Joseph Lancaster, a Quaker, developed a monitorial system in 1801-2 and in 1803 published Improvements in Education. His ideas were taken up by a coalition of Benthamites, liberals, Dissenters and free-thinkers who in 1808 formed the Royal British or Lancasterian Society to foster schools on his model. For a time Bell and Lancaster exchanged views on a friendly basis until Mrs Sarah Trimmer, a Church of England zealot, interfered by attacking Lancaster's undenominational schools and claiming that he had copied the monitorial principle from Bell who was its true author. Actually both men had worked out

50 BT Box 8, Bigge, p. 3329, Bowden's evidence 22/1/1822 (?1821).
their ideas independently.\textsuperscript{51}

Mrs Trimmer's unfortunate attack produced an acrimonious struggle with the parties dividing along lines of religious affiliation. In 1811 the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church was formed to promote Bell's system. It taught the catechism and the liturgy of the Church of England. In 1812 the evangelicals took control of the Lancasterian Society and transformed it into the British and Foreign School Society. It taught from the Bible but rejected all catechisms. It had no objection to Bell's system.

Both systems were similar in that they were designed to allow the spread of education to the poor by enabling one teacher to instruct a large number of pupils. Both were 'book' systems in that they relied on comprehensive manuals laying down routine for even such small matters

as how the children were to stand and sit, the dimensions of tickets, and the like. Bell's system was somewhat more flexible in that it required less thorough regimentation and had fewer monitors and larger classes approximately 24 - 36 compared with only 8 - 10 pupils. The monitory schoolroom contained a line of long desks down each side near to the walls. These were used for writing. The space between the desks was marked out in hollow squares, one for each class, in which the children stood for their lessons which were very largely feats of rote memorization. The monitors, or teachers as they were generally called in the Sydney orphan schools, were pupils in the upper classes who were instructed by the schoolmaster or matron and transmitted their knowledge to their classes. Both systems relied on rewards and the spirit of emulation and deprecated severe physical punishment. In the words of George Nadel:

As methods of teaching there seems to have been little difference between them, and to talk of them as rival systems merely refers to their attitude to the Church of England.52

52 Nadel, Australia's Colonial Culture, p.190.
Rev. Thomas Reddall and teacher training

The man selected by Bathurst to introduce the National system to New South Wales was Thomas Reddall, a mature candidate for the priesthood. He attended the Central National School, Baldwin Gardens from July 1819 to May 1820 in order to learn the system. On 19 December 1819 he was ordained and on the following day appointed an assistant chaplain to New South Wales and schoolmaster with the salary of both positions on the understanding that he would resign from the second office when the system was adequately established.53

Reddall, then aged 40, arrived with his family in September 182054 and immediately began to implement the Bell system in the orphan schools, and particularly in the Male Orphan School, with results which were to win him praise by the end of the year.

It was Macquarie's intention to station Reddall as chaplain of the Airds district early in 1821. Bigge, who was to report on the need for more proficient teachers,55


54 Goodin, 'Reddall', p. 368.

55 Report of the Commissioner ... Agriculture and Trade, pp. 73, 74, 76, 78.
suggested

that he should be allowed to take with him some of the boys who had made greater progress in the system, with a view to become teachers in the other schools.56

This suggestion was quickly disposed of. Reddall wrote to Macquarie on 23 January. The following day Macquarie requested the secretary of the committee, Rev. Richard Hill, to call a meeting as soon as practicable to discuss the proposal that twelve of the boys should go to the country with Reddall and to suggest the best and least expensive method for 'dieting' them.57

Hill called the meeting for the third day, 25 January, and only Cowper and Garling, besides himself, attended. This meeting resolved that the best procedure would be for Reddall to continue in Sydney for another six weeks or so in which time he could sufficiently initiate the boys into the system. Apart from the considerable expense which would be involved in keeping them in the country

it appears also that if twelve of the Boys were removed, they being the best, both as to Assistants in the School, and the different trades, the School would be disorganized; the Boys in danger of acquiring habits of liberty, which at present they are unaccustomed to, and which on their return might seriously affect the future good order

56 Report of the Commissioner ... Agriculture and Trade, p. 71.

57 Reddall Papers (ML A423), pp. 15-16, Macquarie to Reddall 24/1/1821; MOS Minutes (NSWA 4/400), 25/1/1821, incorporating Macquarie to Hill 24/1/1821.
of the School: — the Master would be quite unacquainted with the system, and consequently must be taught by the Boys themselves. 58

The last point seems doubtful but otherwise there was merit in the objection, especially in drawing attention to the vital rôle of the older pupils in the institution, and Macquarie and Reddall readily accepted the committee's decision. 59 However, the reference to what might happen after the boys' return suggests that the committee had failed to understand that Bigge's suggestion had been that after training they should go out as teachers in other schools to spread the system.

Reddall stayed on in Sydney instructing the children until the end of April 1821, receiving £30 for his expenses. 60 By early April the local committee of the Male Orphan School was reporting that

the National System is now regularly carried on in the School. And that six of the Senior Boys are in daily attendance to introduce the same into the First Public School. 61

58 MOS Minutes, 25/1/1821.
59 Reddall Papers, pp.19-21, Macquarie to Reddall 26/1/1821.
60 MOS Minutes, 11/4/1821. A schoolmaster appointed to one of the public schools at this time was to receive only £20 per annum.
In August 1821 the committee of the Female Orphan School were much pleased to witness the progress made by the girls in the National System as introduced by the Rev. T. Reddall and in the consequent improvement in education and good order. The ladies' committee had the previous day resolved 'that it appears exceedingly proper to select suitable children from time to time as are likely to serve for Teachers or Monitors in the school' and recommended the immediate apprenticeship to the institution for this purpose of six girls named by Mrs Ward.

In May 1822 the Female Orphan School committee considered Reddall's further attendance to perfect the girls in the system and decided to offer him a guinea for each day's attendance for his trouble and expenses but that this be diminished in proportion to whatever salary or allowances the Government intended to pay. In conformity with this Reddall had attended 22 days by the August meeting and in November submitted his account for 62 days attendance at the guinea a day.

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62 FOS Minutes, p.73, 7/8/1821. See also p.81, Ladies to Committee 13/10/1821.
63 FOS Minutes, p.72, Ladies to Committee 6/8/1821.
64 FOS Minutes, p.87, 8/5/1822.
65 FOS Minutes, p.88, 14/8/1822.
66 FOS Minutes, p.90, 13/11/1822.
The committee decided at this stage that the children of each institution should receive no more than two lessons per week. Possibly it wished to terminate the arrangement. For Reddall stationed at Airds, where he had been appointed Justice of the Peace in August 1821, the requirement that he teach weekly instead of in blocks of lessons amounted to an 'utter impossibility' and he was left no option but to decline to continue his work with the orphans.

He had also been nettled by secretary Hill's 'presumptuous' action in giving notice of a public examination in the new system at the end of 1821 without consulting him.

67 FOS Minutes, p.91, 13/11/1822.
68 SG, 18 January 1821.
69 CSIL, Reddall to Colonial Secretary 15/11/1822, cited John Farquhar Cleverley, 'The Administration of State - Assisted Elementary Education in Mainland New South Wales, 1789-1855', PhD. thesis, University of Sydney, 1967, p.146. Cleverley's references to CSIL are meaningless. They consist merely of a number without indication anywhere in the thesis of what the numbers refer to. I was unable to find this letter and that in reference note 71 below in the CSIL relating to orphan affairs or other likely locations. I have to thank Mesdames B. Horton and J. Ireland of the N.S.W. Archives Office for their unsuccessful efforts to locate these letters for me.
70 FOS Minutes, p.91, 13/11/1822.
71 CSIL, Reddall to Colonial Secretary 7/6/1822, cited Cleverley, 'The Administration of State - Assisted Elementary Education', p.147. See note 69 above.
By about the last quarter of 1821 Australia's first teacher-training scheme seemed fairly launched in both schools with good prospects for the National system soon spreading to all the Colony's schools. These hopes were not fulfilled.

In May 1825 the newly arrived Archdeacon Scott circularized his clergy in order to gather information relating to church and school affairs. The replies revealed that only four schools, including the orphan schools and Reddall's own school, were operating on the National system, and it is clear that the orphan schools only partly conformed. It comes as a surprise to find that at the end of 1827, years after the Female Orphan School had allegedly adapted to Bell's scheme, Wilton was asking Scott whether the latter had any objection to his making so elementary an innovation as 'having the floor of the School-room painted in sections for the several Classes according to the plan laid down in Dr Bell's system?' Other such important aspects as the system of incentives and rewards waited upon Scott's attention. What Reddall did with his time in the schools is a mystery: clearly he either lacked competence to perform his allotted task or was deficient in energy.

72 Scott's Letter Book No. 1, pp.18-19, circular 16/5/1825; Goodin, 'Reddall', p.368
73 FOS Letters 1825-9, Wilton to Scott 19/11/1827, p.s.
Scott asked Governor Brisbane to publish a Government Order seeking twelve candidates to be trained as teachers by Reddall and placed at the Male Orphan School under the care of Cartwright until they were fitted to take charge of the schools Scott intended to establish. Brisbane issued the Order calling for persons of sober and steady habits and strictly moral character, with preference for the native born. There is no indication that it met with any response. However, for two months from November 1826 T.L. Robinson, a candidate for appointment as schoolmaster at Campbelltown, did attend the Male Orphan School for the purpose of learning the National system.

The external contacts, with orphan teachers going into other schools or outsiders coming into the Male Orphan School, were exceptional. The teacher training was internalized on an apprenticeship basis with the pupil-teacher learning the business of schoolmastering by progressing through a hierarchy of positions similar to Bell's but with inconsequential titular variations.

74 Scott's Letter Book No. 1, pp.24-6, Scott to Brisbane 7/6/1825.
75 SG, 9 June 1825: Government Order dated 8 June.
76 Letters Received from Clergymen, Catechists and Schoolmasters 1827-28 (NSMA 4/321), p.63, Reddall to Cowper 2/3/1827.
Orphan teachers

One of the orphan teachers, Edward Edwards, stands out clearly from all the others. Edwards entered the Male Orphan School on 14 April 1820 at the age of seven.78 In October 1826 Percy Simpson applied for him for an apprenticeship to farming but although the request was marked 'granted' he remained in the school.79 Two months later when forwarding apprentices for Berry and Wollstonecraft Cartwright sent a substitute for Edwards on the grounds that he was small for his age and not fit for such a service and that it was necessary to retain him for the use of the school.80 In April 1828 Cartwright again substituted another boy, this time for a job in a warehouse in Newcastle, in order to keep him 'as he is particularly useful as a teacher'.81 Three months later a further specific application for him for apprenticeship to book-keeping was refused.82

78 MOS Roll (ML C200), No.50.
79 Applications for Children (NSWA 4/333), Simpson to Cowper 27/10/1826; Proceedings of Committees No. 1, p.113, 30/10/1826; Corporation Letter Book 1826-27, p.144, Cowper to Cartwright 31/10/1826, p.145, Cowper to Simpson 31/10/1826.
80 MOS Letters 1825-9, Cartwright to Cowper 23/12/1826.
81 MOS Letters 1825-9, Cartwright to Cowper 7/4/1828.
82 Applications for Children, application of McDonald 14/7/1828; Minute Book 1828-29 (NSWA 7/2703), pp.105-6, 23/7/1828.
In 1828 Edwards was a Monitor on £2 per annum: the same salary as the tailor and carpenter apprentices received. Early in 1829 he and Anne Johnstone, his counterpart in the Female Orphan School, were awarded silver medals for good conduct on Archdeacon Scott's recommendation and he was given a salary of £10 per annum from 1 January 1829 to induce him to remain a teacher in the Male Orphan School. When Richard Hill resigned the position of schoolmaster Edwards filled his place to the satisfaction of Sadleir who described him as a 'young lad of much promise'. Finally, in August 1830, at the age of seventeen, he left the school to go to schoolmaster Cape in Sydney.

83 Statement of Receipts and Disbursements 1826-31 (NSWA 4/388), MOS Account 1828.
84 Minute Book 1828-29, p.249, 27/2/1829; Statement of Receipts and Disbursements 1826-31, MOS Account 1829.
86 MOS Roll Book, No. 50; MOS Letters 1830-2, Sadleir to (Cowper) 17/7/1830.
Edward Edwards had obviously made himself seem indispensable and his continuance as a teacher was undoubtedly for the good of colonial education. That it was seemingly accepted as being equally for the benefit of the boy himself was a consequence of his modest physical endowments. The current status of teaching is reflected in Cartwright's sending of Thomas Broughton, when fifteen, to the committee for apprenticing out because he could do without him in the school and thought it in the boy's interest for him to be assigned to some respectable tradesman. Teaching was something boys did at school while on the way to a better fate as artisans. Bigge's hope that the school could serve the colony as a teacher training institution was virtually forgotten as not in the boys' best interests.

From the mid 'twenties a handful of the girl orphans appear in the records of the Female Orphan School as having risen through the ranks to the level of paid teachers. In 1825 Mary Hassleburgh and

87 MOS Letters 1825-9, Cartwright to Cowper 23/12/1826. Broughton was still at the school in March 1827 when, at his 'urgent request', he was apprenticed to Mr Wood, tailor. Corporation Letter Book 1826-27, p.233, Cowper to Cartwright 8/3/1827.
Catherine Cooney, both amongst the six girls chosen as House apprentices in 1820, were named as the teachers, each receiving £6 per annum. Anne Johnson, Catherine Green and Mary Piper were listed as 'class mistresses' in 1826 and by the middle of the following year Johnson had risen to 'Assistant Matron' on £10 per year. In November of 1827 it was discovered that she had been overpaid £1 for the previous quarter. The committee decided not to make a reduction to correct this but to set the girl's salary at £14 per annum, with annual increments of £1 to a ceiling of £18 per annum. Seeing that this decision was taken at a time of cost-cutting and wage reduction involving some cheeseparing economies it reflects well on Anne Johnson. At the beginning of 1829 she gave way to Elizabeth Wyatt at £10 per annum.

88 FOS Minutes, p.45, 5/7/1820; FOS Cash Vouchers (NSMA 4/7493), Servants Wages 31/6/1825.
89 Statement of Receipts and Disbursements 1826-31, FOS Account 1826: each paid £6.18. 8 p.a.
90 FOS Letters 1825-9, 'An Estimate of the annual expense of Persons proposed to be employed at the Female Orphan School in the quarter commencing 1st April 1827.'
91 Proceedings of Committees No. 1, p.304, 28/11/1827.
92 FOS Letters 1825-9, Wilton to Committee 7/7/1829, enclosing minutes of ladies committee 3/7/1829.
Possibly all of these girls were better teachers than Mary Gregory whose name figures much more prominently in the records. Mary Gregory, described as a copper coloured girl with much of the Maori in her features, was admitted to the school in July 1817 when six years old. In a list seemingly compiled about 1824 she was recorded as being in the 1st class and a teacher, but one who could be spared. At this stage she was able to read and sew but was unable to write or cipher. She was described as a mild and passive character. By February 1827 she headed a list of sixteen girls who would be most useful in the Institution and shortly afterwards an application for an apprentice which named her as first choice was minuted by Wilton to the effect that she was useful in the school.

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93 Miscellaneous Papers (NSWA 4/7510.3), 'A List of Girls admitted into the Female Orphan School, Abstracted from Papers and Memorandums, in the Office'; FOS Letters 1825-9, undated list of eleven senior girls.

94 FOS Letters 1825-9, untitled, undated list of girls with comments: Mary's age is given as 13.

95 FOS Letters 1825-9, undated list of eleven senior girls.

96 FOS Letters 1825-9, M. Collicott to (——) 16/2/1827.

In mid 1828 she again headed the list for retention and was a few days later apprenticed to Wilton as a House servant. This indenture expired about a year later when Mary turned eighteen. At the recommendation of the ladies' committee she was then employed 'as a woman (teacher) for needlework' at £1 per quarter and the promise of an increase after the first year if she conducted herself well. In November 1829 Mary married Henry Harding, a young immigrant painter and glazier who had been employed in painting the school for some weeks earlier in the year.

Mary Gregory emerges as one who possessed the virtue of being a quiet conformist. That she was no scholar was of little importance for a teacher in a school some of whose products were wholly or partly illiterate. A paper from the Keane-Mrs Collicott period names two girls each of whom it was hoped to train as 'a teacher & mistress', that is, as a teacher

98 FOS Letters 1825-9, Wilton to Committee 17/6/1828.
99 MOS Indentures 1822-32 (NSWA 4/390), No. 94.
100 FOS Letters 1825-9, Wilton to Committee 7/7/1829. See also Wilton to Committee 29/7/1829.
101 FOS Letters 1825-9, Wilton to Committee 28/9/1829 and 24/11/1829 and minutes; Minute Book 1829-30, p.161, 2/10/1829.
by trade. Significantly the one, Mary Murphy, like Mary Gregory, was 'a very good but not very quick girl' and the other, Susan Andrews, like Edward Edwards, was physically frail. It would seem that docility and an incapacity for physically hard work were the principal characteristics looked for in selecting those for whom teaching was to be considered as a career. Such teachers, especially in Ireland, were of a very inferior class.\textsuperscript{102}

The Orphans' School, Rydalmere.

\textsuperscript{103} FO5 Letters 1825-9, undated list of eleven senior girls (c 1827).
by trade. Significantly the one, Mary Murphy, like
Mary Gregory, was 'a very good but not very quick girl'
and the other, Susan Andrews, like Edward Edwards, was
physically frail.\footnote{102} It would seem that docility and
an incapacity for physically hard work were the principal
characteristics looked for in selecting those for whom
teaching was to be considered as a career. Such teachers,
especially in the girls' orphanage, appear little, if
anything, better than paid monitors and there was
certainly no program of training by apprenticeship to
be compared with the later pupil-teacher system.

The educational standard at the monitor level in
the Female Orphan School must have been abysmal. A
list of eleven of the senior girls, probably all of
whom served as teachers or monitors, states that one
read well, five could read after a fashion, the remainder
could not. Writing and arithmetic are not mentioned.
Sewing was the only general accomplishment but one did
this badly and another could not sew at all.\footnote{103}

\footnote{102 FOS Letters 1825-9, untitled, undated list of
girls with comments. Andrews was apprenticed as a
servant: MOS Indentures, No. 37, FOS Letters
1825-9, Keane to Cowper 10/10/1826.}

\footnote{103 FOS Letters 1825-9, undated list of eleven senior
girls (c 1827).}
School organization and routine

Details of the routine of the Female Orphan School prior to 1825 have not survived. Macquarie wrote a timetable into his regulations for the Male Orphan School and on the principle of parallelism otherwise evident in the regulation of the two establishments this is probably also broadly indicative of the way the girl orphans spent their day, at least from about 1818.

The boys worked in the garden from the time they rose in the morning until 8 a.m. From 9 a.m. to 12 p.m. was spent in school, from then until 2 p.m. was given over to the mid-day meal and play, and from 2 p.m. until 5 p.m. was spent learning the tailoring or shoemaking trades or working in the garden. 104

When Bigge inquired into the school in 1821 Bowden led an instructional team of Thomas Bowden Junior as Assistant Master, a tailor and a gardener, the last two being convicts, each on £10 per annum from the Orphan Fund. 105

104 Rules & Regulations ... Male Orphan Institution, p.8; BT Box 8, Bigge, pp.3338-9, Bowden's evidence.

105 Report of the Commissioner ... Agriculture and Trade, p.71; BT Box 25, Bigge, p.5521, 'Male Orphan School 1821'.

At the time of admission, of sixty boys only eleven knew anything of writing or arithmetic and only fourteen could read the Bible. In January 1821 thirty-nine stood well in both writing and arithmetic and forty could read the Bible, five boys ranked as tailors and four as shoemakers, twenty-four were examined in Rev. William Cowper's Introduction to the Church Catechism and eighteen in the Broken Catechism. Hymns were sung 'with great sweetness and simplicity' and the boys also displayed specimens of shoes and clothing which they had made. The boys were divided, according to Bell, into four classes of nineteen, twenty-four and two of seven each. 106

Bigge reported that 'their progress, though creditable to the superintendence of Mr Bowden the master, had been much assisted by the later instructions of the Rev. Mr. Reddall'. 107 The Sydney Gazette thought that the proficiency displayed by these native born youths, from so short a course of instruction, stimulates a pleasing hope of the benefits to be reaped by the coming generation, when the advantages of the National system are extended to all the public Schools, whereby the natural

106 BT Box 25, Bigge, p.5521, 'Male Orphan School 1821'; SG, 6 January 1821.

107 Report of the Commissioner ... Agriculture and Trade, p.71.
talent of every little colonist may be fully
developed...108

Under the chaotic mastership of Edward Sweetman
the schooling of the male orphans came to a virtual
standstill; Sweetman admitting when resigning that he
lacked 'knowledge in scholastic business to conduct
such an Establishment'.109 Cartwright wrote a year
after assuming control that on his taking charge 'there
was scarcely the appearance of a school' and afterwards
'the older boys were almost constantly employed in one
kind of work or other about the buildings, stock or
Farm'.110 All the evidence suggests that the Sweetmans'
rule had been at least equally harmful in its effects at
the Female Orphan School.

108 SG, 6 January 1821. The committee felt that
considering the shortness of the time under the
National system the boys 'had evidently made very
great progress': MOS Minutes, 10/1/1821.

109 CSIL, Bundle 27, Jan.-Mar. 1825 (NLSA 4/1785),
No.137, Sweetman to Committee 22/3/1825 (copy).

110 MOS Letters 1825-9, Cartwright to Scott 5/3/1826.
There is some indication of the complete neglect
of educational matters in the direction to Rev.
William Couper at the very outset of Cartwright's
mastership to furnish him with twenty five of each
of complete sets of books and cards, the National
Society School Book No. 2, prayer books and
testaments: CSIL, Letter Book No.26, Miscellaneous
Persons From Ap 1825 to July 1825, pp.325-328;
three separate letters Col. Sec. Goulburn to
Couper 18/5/1825.
Scott attempted to restore proper schooling through his General rules for the Female Orphan House, 1825, and a parallel set of rules for the Male Orphan School which were apparently issued but have not survived. These rules bear the imprint of Scott's passion for order and regularity and, displaying a humane and liberal approach to education exceeding anything that had previously been evinced in relation to the Female Orphan School, set standards which were not to be attained under the Corporation.  

The plan of education was to conform as nearly as possible to the Madras or National System. A General Monitor was to be appointed to superintend the duties of the children, in part by seeing that the teachers (monitors) performed their allotted tasks of rising before the younger children and seeing to the cleanliness of their persons, beds and rooms, keeping them to the rules throughout the day, and keeping a register of all lessons and work performed in the House.

The children were to rise at 5.30 a.m. in summer and 6.30 a.m. in winter. By 7.30 they were to be washed and have the rooms tidied in readiness for morning prayer.

111 HRA, Vol. XII, pp.282-3, section on School. See also the chapters (sections) on admissions, discipline and medical care.
 DEALS were to be taken with the teachers at the head of their classes and preserving the 'utmost decency and propriety'. The morning session of school, timed to begin at 9 a.m., was to be devoted to 'reading, writing, etc.' under the superintendence of the Master. The afternoon session, beginning at 2 p.m. was for 'sewing etc.' under the Mistress. In order to prepare them for service such of the girls as were able were to take regular turns in all the duties of the House and were under no pretext to be set to non-domestic tasks. This timetable was less specific than the one by which it was to be superseded.

If the girls performed work for members of the public outside of school hours they were now to receive whatever was charged for it, except on the representation of the King's Visitor to the Governor.

A library of such books as the King's Visitor might approve was to be formed for the use of the senior classes. No child was to be allowed to leave the school unless able to

read the Bible, write tolerably well and correctly, and work the simple rules of Arithmetic, as well as be competent to make Gowns, Shirts, etc., and perform other domestic duties.

On leaving a girl was to be presented with a Bible, Prayer Book, dictionary, grammar and arithmetic book and, if particularly deserving, such other books as the King's Visitor approved.
The Rules for Internal Management of 1829 set timetables for the schools.

At the Male Orphan School the bell rang at 5 a.m. in summer (6 a.m. in winter) for the children and servants to rise. As soon as they were washed and dressed prayers were read and the children remained in school until 7 a.m. (8 a.m.) when they breakfasted and played until 9 a.m. (10 a.m.). School then commenced and continued until 1 p.m. when lunch was taken and play allowed until 2 p.m. when school was resumed for an hour. At 3 p.m. the working boys went to their respective occupations and the younger ones were occupied in the garden until supper at 6 p.m. (5.30 p.m.). Saturday was a half-holiday.112 The Female Orphan School timetable differed in that school went from 9 a.m. to 12 p.m. with the hour from then until 1 p.m. unexplained. Afternoon school ran from 2 p.m. until 5 p.m. (4 p.m. in winter) with play from then until 6 p.m.113

This may have been a reasonable, if severe, program for the older children but the mind boggles at the demands placed by it upon the contemporary three-year old. All the children under the age of three were to be in the

nursery where the nurse was to pay the greatest attention to their comfort, health, cleanliness, and diet, to put them to bed at 7 p.m. and to make them rise at 5 a.m. in summer and 6 a.m. in winter. These children were to be exercised in the alphabet for an hour morning and afternoon each day and, for the boys only, if possible a class established for them 'on the principle of the Infant Schools.'

The educational work of the school was under the immediate supervision of the 'School Master' (Male Orphan School) or 'Matron' (Female Orphan School).

The Schoolmaster saw to it that the children were clean in dress and person before prayer and before meals. He attended morning and evening prayers and accompanied the children to church every Sunday. Each evening he visited the bedrooms to hear the children say their prayers while drawn up in a square according to Dr Bell's system and that each child then got into his own numbered bed. He was present in the dining room during each meal to inspect the children's food and to see that the teachers were attentive to their duties. He was under an injunction to see that there was as little communication as possible between the children and servants or any person outside the institution and to prevent spirituous liquors being

114 Proceedings of General Courts, pp. 244-5, 265.
brought into the House. The Schoolmaster was also the librarian and the person responsible for the children's clothing, which had to be inspected weekly, and the keeping of books on the conduct of the teachers and the conduct and progress of the children and a Black Book. 115

Beneath the Schoolmaster or Matron in the hierarchy of instruction were the teachers and assistant teachers of which there was one of each, selected by the Master, for each class. The teacher attended to 'the health, cleanliness, manners and learning' (and, in the case of the girls, needlework) of the children in his or her class. He saw to the arrangement of the pupils' dress, slates, books, bed and bedding, and that they remained in their proper places 'according to the letter and numbering of each Child'. He saw that his class rose on the bell and kept to the timetable. He attended it in school, at play, at drill and at meals where he sat at the head of his class. He saw that everything

115 Last two paragraphs: Proceedings of General Courts, pp.235-7, MOS. The duty of listening to the children's prayers fell upon the teachers in the FOS but otherwise the duties of the Matron paralleled those of the schoolmaster. There was probably some deviation from the letter of the rules but not sufficient to invalidate my presentation of the rules as the practice.
was in its proper place for the monthly inspection. The teacher was also enjoined to supervise the children's ablutions but for the Male Orphan School this was, in the absence of water, a dead letter. The assistant teacher helped the teacher with his duties. 116

Every evening before prayers the Master selected a monitor and deputy monitor for the next school day and wrote their names on a slate. Their duties were to take charge of the schoolroom out of class hours when it might be used by those children wishing to 'read, write or cypher there; and for the confinement of those punished'. 117

The teacher who kept his class in order and in a state of improvement during the week was paid sixpence on Saturday, and his assistant threepence. The daily reward of the monitor was twopence and of his deputy one penny, paid on Saturday, 'in case no idleness be imputed to them, as to the care of the School in the extra hours'. The money earned was banked in the Savings Bank and taken out in clothing on leaving the school. 118

117 Proceedings of General Courts, p.244.
118 Proceedings of General Courts, pp.239-41.
Schoolwork

No information survives, beyond the broad statements of the curriculum, which reveals the nature of the literary side of the children's schooling before the twenties other than the publication in January 1810 of Australia's first school text book: a spelling book compiled from Lindley Murray's *An English Spelling Book*. This was printed for the Female Orphan School although copies were distributed also to the public school at Parramatta and a few on request to M.P. Crook for his Academy and some were available for sale.¹¹⁹

The introduction of Bell's National System made the non-vocational aspects of orphan schooling, in modern terms, a week-long Anglican Sunday school.

From a curious, undated paper in the Male Orphan School correspondence file something is learned of that school's programme in the later 'twenties:

*A Scale shewing the School progress of Children in Spelling, Reading Arithmetic & Writing¹²⁰*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mths</th>
<th>yrs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alphabet Class</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monosyllabic cards</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National School Book No. 2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parables, Discourses, Sermons &amp; Miras</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osterwalds Abridgement</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Trimmer's Do Bible &amp; Test.</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹¹⁹ SG, 7 January 1810.

¹²⁰ MOS Letters 1825-9. In the original sections are set out side by side rather than one under another as here.
Learning Figures and Tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Operation</th>
<th>Number of Boys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Addition</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtraction</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiplication</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Division</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduction</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rule of Three</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.0

Learning to write

1 yrs 6 months

A table drawn up in January 1829 lists six boys aged eleven to twelve and a half who had been in the school from three and a quarter to six and a half years and states their proficiency in reading as the Old and New Testaments and in 'cyphering' as rule of three. It gives specimens of quite good handwriting.121

These documents suggest that at the Male Orphan School the work for basic literacy, except perhaps in number, was adequate but not distinguished. It is very doubtful whether progress only to the rule of three can be considered at all satisfactory especially considering the time the pupils had been in the school. Requisitions confirm the narrowness of the content of the reading. An order from Bowden's time lists a hundred pamphlets, no doubt unspecified religious tracts, Baxter's Call, Dodderidge's Prayer, Pilgrim's Progress, Fox's Book of Martyrs and dictionaries by

121 MOS Letters 1825-9 - Minuted in pencil 'In Mr. Sadleirs letter of the 30 Jan'y 1829'.
Gurney, Johnston (sic) and Walker. Books requisitioned in later years, usually in small numbers, were Bibles, Testaments, Psalters, Prayer Books, Mrs Trimmer's abridgement of the Old and New Testaments, hymn books, Nalton's arithmetic, spelling books - some with meanings, large and small text copy heads. More unusual items include two dictionaries, half a dozen geography books, a few Tutor's Assistants and a set of scripture maps. Most of the work was done on slates and each boy was given a tin pencil case for his slate pencils. Quills, ink and copybooks were used for learning writing.

Most of the requisitions in the records come from Richard Sadleir right at the end of our period and this confirms the impression gained from general correspondence that he took a much greater interest in the schoolwork than had Cartwright. In August


124 Most of the preserved requisitions from the FOS also come from Milton at this time.
1829 Sadleir obtained Scott's approval for the acquisition of materials with which to start an Infant School.\textsuperscript{125} Considering the extreme youth of many of the children in the institution this move was long overdue. This school commenced in 1830 and late in the year Sadleir asked to be 'Supplied with Pictures for teaching the Infant School on the plan of Wilderspin'.\textsuperscript{126}

There is an indication of some thought of going beyond the 'four Rs' in the Male Orphan School Rules for Internal Management of mid 1829 where it is stated:

The Master shall read a Lecture on Mechanics, or the Elements of Natural Philosophy or Chemistry, one evening in the week, or as the Visitor may direct, to such Boys as feel disposed to attend; and if possible, illustrate the same by models or experiments for which purpose the necessary materials shall be provided.\textsuperscript{127}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{126} MOS Letters 1830-2, Sadleir to (Cowper) 22/10/1830. Statement of Receipts and Disbursements 1826-31, MOS account 1829 lists Henry Edwards as Master of Infants at £10 p.a.
\textsuperscript{127} Proceedings of General Courts, p.231, Chp.1 s 6
\end{flushleft}
Wilton wrote in November 1829 that the curriculum of the Female Orphan School, taught to the children in their respective classes, consisted of Mrs Trimmer's abridgements of the Old and New Testaments, the history of the Saviour, discourses, miracles, parables, the Church Catechism broken into question and answer, the chief Truths of the Christian religion and writing on slates.128

At least for a short time in the mid 'twenties singing was again taught by a visiting instructor for John Newsome was paid £2. 10 for the June quarter of 1825 for attendance for this purpose.129 Singing seems also to have been an 'extra' at the Male Orphan School as £3Stg. 5 was being paid in 1827 for singing instruction130 and towards the end of 1825 two flutes and a book of instruction had been purchased.131

In a few instances the desire of friends or relatives to give certain children a better education than either orphan school offered was given as a

129 FOS Cash Vouchers (MSWA 4/7493), receipt 2/7/1825.
130 MOS Letters 1825-9, undated list of staff (1827?) headed in pencil 'School'.
131 MOS Cash Vouchers (MSWA 4/7496), Abstract of Incidental Expenses and small Payments on account of the Male Orphan Institution, 1/11/1825.
reason for applying for their release.\textsuperscript{132}

\textbf{System of incentives}

In accordance with the monitorial school practice of Bell (and Lancaster) Scott developed an elaborate system of rewards as an incentive to the children to do well. This was set out in the Rules for Internal Management.\textsuperscript{133}

Every evening two reward tickets were awarded to the boy (girl) who had most distinguished himself (herself) in class that day for good conduct and proficiency in reading, spelling, writing (for girls, sewing), and arithmetic (knitting) and one ticket to the second best in each case. Every Saturday ten tickets were awarded to the child most improved in religious knowledge during the week and five each to the next two most improved. The tickets were marked with the name of each of the subjects and numbered to twenty. When a child had gained twenty of any kind they were exchanged for one marked twenty and the progression continued by twenties to a hundred, the ticket for which was marked 'Prize Ticket' and entitled the child to set rewards.

\textsuperscript{132} E.g. Applications for Children (\textit{NSJWA} 4/333), petition of F. Forbes 12/1/1829.

\textsuperscript{133} For the following paragraphs: Proceedings of General Courts, p.239 ff, 259 ff.
For good conduct 100 tickets earned 1/-, 200 1/6d, 300 2/-, 360 2/6d. For religious knowledge multiples of 100 earned books, selected by the Master, of a proportionate increase in value. For achievement in the secular subjects boys could win toys such as marbles, tops, bats and balls while the girls had to be content with such useful but probably less pleasing rewards as a pincushion for 100 tickets, a needle and pincushion for 200 and a needle, pincushion, work bag and thimble for 300. Rewards in money were to be placed in the Savings Bank and given out in the form of clothing when the winner was apprenticed. Anyone who lost any of the tickets or was 'detected in cheating, lying, stealing or misbehaving in Church', forfeited all the tickets won up to that time.

Examinations

In his regulations of 1818 and 1819 Macquarie provided for the first regular public examinations in Australia. These were held on 16 August and 1 January on the occasion of annual ceremonies to commemorate the foundation days of the institutions.

On these occasions the members and friends of the institutions assembled at St. John's Church, Parramatta, in the case of the Female Orphan School, and at St. Phillip's, Church Hill, Sydney in the case of the Male Orphan School, there to participate in
Divine Service and to hear an occasional sermon preached by one of the chaplains of the colony, appointed in rotation by the Governor. The children were then examined in the Church Catechism and the New Testament by the occasional preacher. The girls were next examined by the Patroness and Vice Patronesses who awarded, according to the regulations, one or more silver medals for 'the best Reader or Repeater or best worker in Needle Work'. The medal was presented by the Governor and worn by the winner for the ensuing year. The boys were examined by the committee and medals bestowed by the hand of the Governor or his lady, the Patroness, on those adjudged 'the best Reader, Writer and Arithmetician'.

Accounts of several of these anniversaries survive\textsuperscript{134} from which it appears that the children gave general satisfaction. Prizes were given quite freely: much more so than envisaged in the regulations. Boys were awarded medals for good conduct and gardening, best tailor, and best shoemaker in addition to those prescribed in 1819 and there were lesser prizes of books on religious and moral subjects.\textsuperscript{135}

\textsuperscript{134} SG, 6 January 1821, 4 January 1822, 8 January 1824.

\textsuperscript{135} SG, 6 January 1821; MOS Minutes, 10/1/1821.
The masters and mistresses of apprentices were expected to bring them to the appropriate service. Afterwards the apprentices were asked how they were being treated and the masters or mistresses how their apprentices were behaving. The committee had the power to remove apprentices from their situations 'in case it should be deemed expedient to do so'. The Governor would 'distribute little Rewards of Books, or suitably inscribed housewives to those who shall receive a good character from their Masters or Mistresses'.

In the case of the Male Orphan School:

After the Examination is over and the Medals delivered, the Children are to walk in Procession from the Church through the principal Streets of the Town, headed by the Master and Usher, and accompanied by such Persons as have been educated at this Institution, and who choose to form Part of the Procession.

The ideas of the public examination and the occasional sermon, patterned on the 'charity sermon', were both taken direct from contemporary English practice in connection with such institutions. The reported regaling of the orphan boys with a special old English dinner of roast beef and plum

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pudding after the 1821 examination further preserved English custom for such occasions as well as contributing the genuine Macquarie festive touch.

The examinations were probably less well supported by the public than was hoped. Following the Male Orphan School's 1822 commemoration the Sydney Gazette lamented that an Institution, of such importance to the future well-being of the Colony, should have apparently excited so little attention. Though the number present was not altogether inconsiderable, yet it was far short of what might have been expected.

Certainly the orphan school commemoration had nothing like the impact on public interest or the support from polite society of the Native Conference, held annually in the Parramatta market place on or near 23 December, which served the same function for the children of the Native Institution.

The anniversary ceremonies and examinations were comparatively short-lived for they were among the casualties of the dark period following the sacking of Macquarie's committees. Some vestiges of the proceedings did survive, at least at the Female Orphan School. It was Scott's practice that after the annual examination

137 SG, 6 January 1821. The history of Macquarie's governorship is filled with feasting.
138 SG, 4 January 1822.
and fixing of prizes a day was set in the following week for the girls to attend church in Parramatta. Wilton conducted the service and at its conclusion the top three girls amongst the seniors received silver medals and prizes were given by Mrs Darling to 'proficients in needlework etc.'¹³⁹

Under the regulations issued in 1829 for the internal management of the orphan schools there were to be weekly, quarterly and annual examinations. The weekly examination took place on Saturday morning when the registers were examined and the weekly rewards allotted. On the first Saturday in January, April, July and October the weekly examination was combined with the quarterly examination of the children's proficiency. The annual examination, which was concerned with the general state of the school as well as the progress of the pupils, was held on the first Friday in January.¹⁴⁰

Attempts to attach paying boarding classes to the orphan schools

Thomas Hobbes Scott's plan of 1824 for an educational system for New South Wales included the recommendation that a limited number of paying pupils should be taken

¹⁴⁰ Proceedings of General Courts, pp.238-9, 258.
into the Male Orphan School and taught there by the Master until such time as the population grew to a sufficient size to support the system of county secondary schools which he envisaged.\(^{141}\)

In July 1828 a plan was finally outlined for the creation of such a grammar school type class.\(^{142}\) In August notice was given that a boarding school would be commenced if the names of thirty boys were submitted for enrolment on or before 31 August. The school was to form a separate establishment on the Orphan School Estate and for twenty-five guineas per annum, paid a quarter in advance with six months notice before a pupil could be removed, boys would receive board, including washing and books, and instruction from proper masters, seconded for the purpose, in reading, writing, English grammar, arithmetic in the higher branches, mensuration, bookkeeping, geography and Latin and, if required, in Greek.\(^{143}\) Only three names were forthcoming\(^{144}\) and these were subsequently withdrawn.\(^{145}\)


\(^{143}\) SG, 11 August 1828.


Nevertheless hope for the implementation of the scheme was not abandoned. In September a General Court resolved to advertise the wish to establish the boarding school at three-monthly intervals. 146

Scott's intended juxtaposition of the Male Orphan School and the boarding school seems administratively and economically sensible but strangely insensitive to the orphan school's position at the bottom of the socio-educational scale. This is the more surprising as the colony was at the time experiencing the height of the conflict between the exclusivists with their insistence on the preservation of rigid social barriers and the liberals striving for a more open society; a conflict which has been seen to have intruded a number of times into orphan affairs. 147

146 Proceedings of General Courts, pp.165-6, 2/9/1828.
147 See the comments of William Foster, 'The Era of Archdeacon Scott in Education', JRANS, Vol. 47 Pt. 3, July 1961, pp.168-9. Foster is probably correct in his assertion that most parents feared that their children would be brought into contact with orphans of vicious and immoral habits. However Foster applies to the FOS venture Scott's remarks concerning the failure of his Grammar School - a quite different aspect of his efforts to establish secondary education for which he had acquired the Maori Seminary at Parramatta: B.J. Bridges, 'The First New Zealand School: The Maori Seminary, Parramatta, 1815-1827', New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. 8, No. 2, November 1971, pp.118-9.
The idea of extending the orphan school's role as schools of industry was also pursued. In September 1827 notice was given of the Corporation's intention to receive into these schools additional children as boarders at four pounds per quarter to instruct boys for employment as mechanics and girls for domestic service. 148 There appears to have been no response.

In June 1828 a committee was established to consider again the establishment of a paying class at the Female Orphan School 149 but the matter was deferred because of a lack of accommodation and a want of funds. 150

There is mention of only one boarder. T. Parmeter of Windsor had his daughter placed by Scott under the immediate care of Mrs Ellis. He took her away in December 1829 when he found that in fact she was 'put upon a par with the orphans' and his feelings were roused

148 SG, 7 September 1827.


Orphan schooling did not in practice live up to the goals set for it. However it seems certain that on the whole the male orphans received a better education than most other boys in the colony and in Britain who were not the sons of at least moderately well-to-do parents. Their position as resident pupils prevented the irregularity of attendance which nullified much of the potential for good of the colony's day charity schools, their teachers were most likely more competent than most, while literacy and artisan training provided skills equipping them to occupy positions among the elite of the work force. Although the education of the orphan girls was always inferior and became during the final decade more clearly confined to education rendering them useful in servile positions this schooling has to be seen against the wider context of a general disinclination to educate girls and the evidence

151 Applications for Children, T. Parmeter 10/12/1829. For the successful attempt to establish a School of Industry in Sydney in 1826 to meet the demand for servant girls see NRA, Vol. XX, p.315, Report on the Church and School Establishments by Archdeacon Scott, 1/5/1829.
suggesting that the education offered during the decade-long reign of the Woskings exceeded in liberality and quality what it was considered necessary or even permissible to afford working-class girls.
Chapter 14

INTERNAL APPRENTICESHIP

Retention of girls as maids for Female Orphan School

Some of the children were retained to labour or learn crafts within the confines of the institutions. Some but not all of these were bound by indentures. At the Female Orphan School internal apprenticeships were seen as a means of countering the constant problem of the moral pollution emanating from convict servants.

Just when the apprenticing of girls to the school began is not clear for the early records are sketchy in the extreme and it was already an established practice by the commencement of the minute book of 1818-1824. The apprentice was a tractable and cheap labourer working basically for her keep. In August 1819 the committee was distressed to find that a charge was being made for wages for certain of the girls employed as assistants in the school or the kitchen. It refused to pay and ordered further that these girls were not to receive any additional allowance of provisions.1 It relented at the next meeting a few

1 FOS Minutes (NSWA 4/403), p.36, 27/8/1819.
days later and authorized £6 for wages for the girls, with the proviso that there was to be no payment in future beyond 'some additional clothing, at the discretion of the Lady Patroness.'

In April 1820 the committee decided that in future the number of girls apprenticed to the school would be not less than six and in July indentured six girls to itself.

In the time of the Keane/Collicott administration Mrs Collicott contended that it would save much expense to rear some girls as servants to the school under regular indenture. Keane agreed, with the reservation that they ought to be bound a slightly shorter period than normal as it would be unjust to confine any girl too long.

Generally the needs of the Female Orphan School took precedence over applications by relatives and others regardless of their merits. In August 1821 the committee resolved 'that it appears exceedingly

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2 FOS Minutes, p.37, 1/9/1819.
3 FOS Minutes, p.44, 5/4/1820.
4 FOS Minutes, p.45, 5/7/1820. See also p.55, 14/8/1820 and p.58, 14/2/1821.
5 FOS Letters 1825-9 (MSWA 4/326), undated list of eleven senior girls (1827).
improper that any girl once set apart for the Institution should be allowed to go out on any pretence whatever. In commenting on Mrs Hannibal Macarthur's application for an apprentice in January 1827 Keane asked that after this the rule for the retention of the grown girls to enable the exclusion of Factory women be adhered to and a fixed order be made that no applications would be granted until all the departments of the House were supplied. This resulted in an order for the naming of twelve girls of eight years of age and upwards from the list of true orphans. These children were to be entered as servants of the institution and not assigned until they were sixteen years old. A list of the sixteen most useful girls for this purpose was submitted and the whole group was ordered to be retained.

In October 1827 Wilton was directed to select a further eight girls from a list he had submitted and

6 FOS Minutes, p.72, 7/8/1821.
7 Applications for Children (NSWA 4/333), Keane's minute on application of Mrs H. McArthur 25/1/1827. (I have used the modern spelling in references to the Macarthurs in the text.)
8 Minute on Mrs McArthur's application.
9 FOS Letters 1825-9, M. Collicott to — 16/2/1827. The list was divided into two groups of 11 and 5.
to effect a proportionate reduction in the number of servants from the Female Factory.\textsuperscript{11} Apparently it was later decided that the girls retained ought to be apprenticed in the regular way to the school instead of being simply retained beyond the age set down in the statute. In mid 1828 Wilton handed in, at the committee's request, the names of eighteen girls he conceived to be the most fit for indenture. These ranged in age from seventeen to eleven and included six named as teachers. Girls on the 1826 list for retention reappeared on this list.\textsuperscript{12}

Like Keane, Wilton believed that the needs of the orphanage must come before private apprenticeship. In May 1828 he objected that if a girl under apprenticeship was permitted to go in one case the parents or friends of all the older and most serviceable girls would apply for them and the school would be placed under the necessity of falling back on the employment of more convict women.\textsuperscript{13} In September 1829 he reiterated that

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{11} Proceedings of Committees No.1, p.289, 17/10/1827.
  \item \textsuperscript{12} FOS Letters 1825-9, Wilton to Committee 17/6/1828.
  \item \textsuperscript{13} Applications for Children, application of Richard Fenton 31/3/1827; FOS Letters 1825-9, Wilton to Committee 13/5/1828.
\end{itemize}
he and Mrs Ellis were agreed that it would be quite impossible to allow any of the older girls to leave to be apprenticed to private individuals as they would have to be replaced by Factory women. 14

The Rules for Internal Management, 1829, stipulated that:

11. A sufficient number of Girls are to be apprenticed as Servants to the Institution, and do the work of the house for such time as may appear necessary.

12. Two or three Girls above the age of Eight Years, shall be selected from each of the three first Classes to be employed as housemaids, Kitchen maids, Masters and Mistresses Attendants, Infirmary Assistants, and Nursery Maids, and they shall be exchanged monthly, except those appointed to attend on the Master and Matron. 15

Wilton seems in most cases to have been reluctant to see the girls apprenticed out and retained as many as he could. By the beginning of 1830 he had built up the number of House apprentices to twenty-seven. The committee decided that this was twelve more than he needed and directed that the number be cut back to fifteen. The names of the twelve best-fitted for private families were to be forwarded so that they might be apprenticed out. 16

14 FOS Letters 1825-9, Wilton to Committee 19/9/1829; Minute Book 1829-30 (NSWA 7/2704), p.136, 10/9/1829, p.147, 24/9/1829.
16 Minute Book 1829-30, p.267, 25/1/1830.
Trade training in the Male Orphan School

An important aspect of the education provided by the Male Orphan School was the trade training within the establishment which provided an alternative to apprenticeship to outside artisans.

Although Macquarie's regulations issued at the commencement of the school were quite ambitious regarding this area of education the provision fell short of the promise for quite a time. When Bigge enquired into the school in 1821 the only tradesman employed was a convict tailor, although a shoemaker is listed in a return at about the same time and Bigge confirms that the boys were taught shoemaking. It was not until January 1821 that it was decided to construct tailor's and shoemaker's workshops. By April 1821 a straw hat maker was also employed and in October the committee asked Governor Macquarie to appoint a sober, industrious carpenter to attend to

17 Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry, on the state of Agriculture and Trade in the Colony of New South Wales, House of Commons, 13 March 1823, p.71.

18 BT Box 24, Bigge Appendix, p.4917, A List of Persons employed in the Male Orphan Inst[n] (late 1820-early 1821); Report... Agriculture and Trade, p.71.

19 MOS Minutes (NSWA 4/400), 10/1/1821.

20 MOS Minutes, 11/4/1821.
the repairs and to instruct the boys. 21 By early 1822 a baker and a shoemaker are mentioned in connection with the school. 22

In January 1822 it was decided to indenture five of the oldest of the boys as the first apprentices to the trades then conducted in the school. 23 Meanwhile the boys in general had been receiving instruction in the trades as part of their schooling.

At the 1822 examination the boys pleased with an exhibition of their work which included the whole of their clothing except their shirts, and three or four boys were dressed entirely in articles of their own making which comprised shirt, trousers, straw hat and shoes. The shirts, with these few exceptions, were made by the orphan girls. 24 Three suits of clothing were put on display in the Orphan House to 'be seen by any lady and gentleman who will take the trouble to call' 25 and Macquarie took specimens of the articles made by the boys, none of whom were over thirteen, to

21 MOS Minutes 10/10/1821.
22 MOS Minutes, 9/1/1822, 10/4/1822 and 17/4/1822.
23 MOS Minutes, 9/1/1822, 17/4/1822.
24 SG, 4 January 1822; BT Box 52, Missionary series, p.1098, Hill to Bishop of London 6/3/1822. See also, e.g., SG, 18 March 1824, advertisement for shirting.
25 SG, 4 January 1822
England to show to Lord Bathurst. 26

**Incentives for trade instructors**

The straw hat maker, having brought the boys to a predetermined state of efficiency, was ordered a shirt, jacket, pair of trousers and a pair of shoes, which constituted his promised reward. 27

The committee was convinced of the value of this kind of incentive for stimulating the tradesmen to effective instruction. In April 1822 it resolved to award the shoemaker a gratuity of £3 for the first boy who could cut out and in every respect complete a pair of shoes in two days to the satisfaction of the committee, £2 for the second and every subsequent boy and £1 for every boy who could perfectly finish a pair of shoes outside this time limit. The tailor was awarded the same sums under the same conditions for boys able to make a suit of a jacket, waistcoat and trousers in four days. 28 In July the baker, with only one apprentice, was ordered twenty-five shillings per quarter if it was certified by the Master that the apprentice was able to bake good bread, fit for the institution. It was

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27 MOS Minutes, 9/1/1822.

28 MOS Minutes, 17/4/1822.
resolved that he had earned the award for the previous quarter. Consideration of stimulus for the carpenter was delayed for nine months but at the beginning of 1823 he was voted a gratuity of £3 for his good behaviour. By July 1823 the shoemaker and tailor were winning their rewards.

Cartwright opposed to internal apprenticeship

In mid 1825 when Rev. Robert Cartwright took over the Male Orphan School he and Archdeacon Scott conferred on how best to rectify the mess in which Edward Sweetman had left the school. Scott wrote:

I am of opinion that it \( \text{w} \) be for the interests of the Institution to separate the apprentices from the boys under tuition, & if respectable Tradesmen can be found who will take them off the hands of the Institution for the remainder of their Service & who may be depended upon for bringing them up in the habits of sobriety industry & good morals, it would be desirable that those boys should be assigned over to them.

Cartwright submitted a long list of names with critical comments.

All those marked X to be got rid of immediately of which there are 24 & the Committee ought not to

29 MOS Minutes, 10/7/1822

30 MOS Minutes, 8/1/1823, 8/10/1823: £2. At this latter date a desk made a year earlier by the carpenter's apprentice was presented to the secretary, Rev. R. Hill.

31 MOS Minutes, 9/7/1823, 8/10/1823.

be very nice about applicants for these boys will ruin the remainder - if the six or more could be sent immed down to Sydney for Berry & Holstonecraft so much the better & if any could be shipped on board any vessel going to sea it wd. be of essential service. H. Logan is incorrigible & very hardened & so is G. Gregory - both of whom I punished this day.

Cartwright wanted boys apprenticed to the institution itself cleared out with the rest:

It appears that the present system of apprenticing Boys to the Institution, however good in theory, has hitherto been unproductive of any good. The expense has been great, without affording the boys that benefit which they would otherwise have received if apprenticed to respectable Tradesmen.

The school could be supplied with the goods produced by the apprentices much more cheaply and better by open contract or by convict labour. He represented the school as currently suffering from 'immoral infection' from which it might recover if these apprentices were cleared out and the convict servants replaced by others of a better cast and kept as much as possible separate from the school.

Cartwright remained a firm believer in getting the boys out of the school into apprenticeships as soon as possible. He told Archdeacon Scott in May 1826

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33 MOS Letters 1825-9 (NSWA 4/328), numbered list of boys. This list appears to date from 1826. See MOS Indentures 1822-32 (NSWA 4/390), No.45, George Gregory 26/10/1826, No.50, Henry Logan 27/10/1826.

34 MOS Letters 1825-9, Cartwright to Scott 27/7/1825.
that he believed that he could manage the establishment to the Archdeacon's satisfaction if allowed to choose those to serve under him, the children be admitted very young and the generality of them sent out at twelve. Thirty-nine of the enrolment of one hundred and twenty were over twelve and he wanted them apprenticed.

Otherwise I fear the wicked habits they have acquired by associating with the vilest characters will hardly be subdued whilst remaining together, and I think there can be little hope of such boys becoming useful members of society unless such arrangements be made. 35

The Trustees then considered the desirability of emptying the children over twelve out of both institutions and of inserting the clause relating to apprenticeship in the draft Bill vesting the Orphan School lands in the Corporation. James Busby was employing some of the older boys at the agricultural establishment 36 but these numbered only twenty-three. 37

On 19 October 1826 Cartwright attended the committee meeting to represent to it the disorderly state of the boys and urge the making of apprenticeships. 38

35 HOS Letters 1825-9, Cartwright to Scott 15/5/1826.
36 Proceedings of General Courts, pp.21-22, 7/6/1826.
37 HOS Letters 1825-9, Cartwright to Scott 15/5/1826.
38 Proceedings of Committees No.1, p.105, 19/10/1826.
Early in 1829 he wrote of his hope that they had got rid of the worst boys but recommended removal of the two apprentices then in the school and that as policy no big boy should be kept except such as might be useful in the school. Unless this were done he feared it would be impossible to keep Edwards who promised to be a very useful teacher if kept by himself or with another reliable lad. 39

Despite Cartwright’s pleas boys continued to be apprenticed internally. 40 In February 1827 when the Corporation adopted its economy measures Scott asked the Government to make available a common carpenter and a stonemason with an understanding of quarrying who could

bring up apprentices to such work, and also make all common repairs, and erect any small school house without incurring any great expense beyond their rations and slops. 41

In April 1829 an over-age apprentice tailor named William Blake was offered £5 per annum on the Archdeacon’s recommendation to encourage him to

39 MSS Letters 1825-9, Cartwright to Cowper 15/1/1829.

40 See e.g. Statement of Receipts and Disbursements 1826-31 (MSS 4/380); MSS account 1829 where two apprentices were paid small salaries of £5, £2. References to apprentices are common.

remain in the school to complete his training. 42

**Limited achievements of internal apprenticeship**

The internal apprenticeship system by no means succeeded in making the schools self-sufficient in products on which the orphans worked - although the supply fluctuated a good deal over the years. Obviously the question arises as to how far products made in the course of instruction ought to be relied upon to meet normal demands for those products. Furthermore, at times the schools were so effectively denuded of older children through normal apprenticeship as to leave very little reason for expecting those left to produce anything usable. Nevertheless there are other times for which the impression is one of bungling somewhere in the system. Why employ a shoemaker or give him six apprentices without ensuring them the materials necessary for their task?

In the Macquarie era the girls produced an income from sewing but in the gloomy period of the mid-twenties they not only failed to do the necessary sewing for the boys 43 but they had to have their own

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42 Minute Book 1828-29 (NSW A 7/2703), p.279, 2/4/1829. There is no indenture for Blake amongst those surviving. MOS Roll Book (ML C200), p.3v, No.88, has simply 'Given leave to go'.

43 MOS Cash Vouchers (NSW A 4/7496), Eliz. Curtin 12/12/1825, 23/1/1826, for making shirts.
clothes made for them.

Although shoemakers were employed and boys apprenticed to them large quantities of shoes continued to be purchased for both schools from outside suppliers. In 1829 one of these suppliers, William Page, became the shoemaker at the Male Orphan School. A year later he offered to make all of the footwear required by the children and servants of both schools at very reasonable rates and to teach six apprentices. Sadleir recommended acceptance for footwear could not be procured at the price asked and the Female Orphan School alone required at least fifteen pairs of new shoes a week. However supplies of leather forwarded were such as to make the scheme impossible without a marked improvement.

Requisitions for leather continued to meet with an

44 MOS Cash Vouchers, receipt, William Page 30/1/1826; FOS Cash Vouchers (USWA 4/7493), receipt, John Bribey 30/9/1825; Corporation Letter Book 1826-27, p.315, Cowper to Wilton 29/7/1827. There is no shoemaker listed on the MOS staff for 1826. William Page is described as wardman: Statement of Receipts and Disbursements 1826-31, MOS Account 1826.

unsatisfactory response but in six months to the end of 1830 506 pairs of shoes etc. were made, indicating a considerable saving.

The fluctuations in internal apprenticeship and trade training are well illustrated by the vagaries of the bakehouse and its staff. From time to time resolutions were passed calling for one (or both) of the schools to do its own baking but in the case of each school there continued frequent alternation between the supply of bread on contract and baking within the institution. As early as November 1822

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46 MOS Letters 1830-2, Sadleir to Cowper 8/11/1830.

47 MOS Letters 1830-2, Account of work done by the Shoemaker during the last six months, 3/1/1831.


49 MOS Cash Vouchers, Henry Thwaite, James Elder 19/12/1825, MOS Letters 1825-9, Servants belonging to the Male Orphan School under the Master, 15/4/1826, undated memo. headed in pencil 'School' (1827?), Cartwright to Cowper 12/1/1829, Sadleir to Cowper 21/12/1829, SG, 16 December 1826; Proceedings of Committees No. 1, p. 316, 12/12/1827; Minute Book 1828-29, p. 204, 14/1/1829, p. 236, 29/1/1829; p. 251, 27/2/1829; Minute Book 1829-30, pp. 31-2, 16/6/1829.
one of the boys in the Male Orphan School was doing all the duties of the kitchen following the dismissal of the school's baker but the good work of training such a capable apprentice was not maintained.

50 MOS Minutes, 22/11/1822.
Chapter 15

DISCIPLINE

Discipline a cause of failure

On the evidence presented in this thesis the Sydney orphan schools cannot be rated overall as successful educational institutions even by the criteria of their own age. Too often they fell far short in practice of the standards set by their own regulations. Too often their products were other than the moral, God-fearing people they aimed to produce.

The schools' discipline had not a little to do with this failure. Despite the prevailing educational theory of the Christian psychology, which sees discipline as a personal attribute: something acquired by socialization and internalized, in practice the schools operated as though discipline was inevitably something to be imposed by watchful authority. The children necessarily given some degree of responsibility under the monitorial system were themselves subject to constant scrutiny and the distrust evidenced by excessive supervision extended upwards to encompass most, at times all, of the adult staff.

The impression of the orphan schools which overwhelms all others is of the stifling regimentation,
the ceaseless supervision which was relaxed only when the children were safely under lock and key and, as a concomitant of this, the complete lack of any evidence of the emotional warmth of a home: even that attainable in an institutional home. Probably an emphasis on the gloomy theology of sin and punishment rather than the 'good news' of God's love and human redemption deprived many of religious consolation.

As the years passed the schools became less like the charity boarding schools from which they derived and assimilated progressively to the penal institutions of convict-based New South Wales. This went beyond atmosphere to the physical appearance of the institutions and of their pupils.

The twentieth century Russian educator A.S. Makarenko saw the presence of locks in an orphanage as certain evidence of the failure of the institution for a need for them shows 'we - they' feeling instead of the necessary sense of unity. This distinction is one which is made, or resisted, primarily from above. It can hardly fail to provoke a reaction from those treated as potential thieves or absconders as the orphans clearly were. The history of Sydney's orphan schools is a saga of the raising of walls and fences, of the fitting and turning of locks, of the patrolling
of domestic constables, and ultimately of the segregation of the morally unclean from the rest. Allied to these developments was the trend towards legalism: towards viewing childish misdemeanours as crimes in a legalistic sense and towards the use of the courts to discipline apprentices.¹

The 'we - they' dichotomy carried over into punishment. This was predominantly humiliation in which authority, working on the deterrent principle also dominant in penology, set the child apart and revenged itself upon him or her for a transgression. One would expect a feeling of hatred for that authority to be aroused in any child subjected to such punishment and for a defiant reaction from a spirited child. What was seemingly also aimed for, but with ham-handed ineptitude, was the more positive sense of shame on the part of the offender - but a feeling that the offending act damaged the self-esteem could be expected only where the orphan identified with the institution and its values. Clearly many of the orphans did not and humiliating punishment was no way to bring them to do so.

Disciplinary practice to 1825

Information on the state of discipline in the orphan schools is lacking for the period before the

¹ See below pp. 598-603, 632-6.
'twenties but from the general reputation of the Female Orphan School to this time it seems safe to assume that it was harsh. Bigge reported:

Much strictness is found requisite to enforce obedience amongst the children of the Female Orphan School, and their tempers and dispositions are not very easily controlled.²

Bowden's free use of the deprivation of food at the Male Orphan School has been noticed.

Degrading punishment was rampant in the 'twenties prior to the arrival of Scott.

The humiliation of Sarah Patfield is the severest example of the deterrent principle at work in orphan discipline. She had committed the crime of producing garments which she sold to her married sisters outside the institution. The committee having found her guilty of behaving 'in a most scandalous and disgraceful manner' and desiring 'that some proper example should be made of her before the other children, without utterly ruining her by a public prosecution' resolved that

a suit of Factory clothing be provided for her - a collar of wood marked Thief to be worn day and night - that her head be shaved in the presence of the other Girls - and that solitary confinement and bread and water be continued 'till the next meeting - and that she be brought down to prayers in that disgraceful manner night and morning.'³

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2 Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry, on the state of Agriculture and Trade in the Colony of New South Wales, House of Commons, 13 March 1823, p.75.

3 POS Minutes (NSMA 4/403), p.77, 17/10/1821.
Subsequently it was resolved that she be discharged from the school and that Rev. Samuel Marsden be requested to dismiss her before the other children. 4

Another young victim of 'correction' was Mary Ann McGrath who having been represented to the Committee to have behaved very ill in the School and in the presence of the Committee, having also endeavoured to criminate one of her School fellows, by a gross falseness the Committee as a punishment to her and as a warning to others have directed that a log be attached to her right leg, as a mark of disgrace, and an impediment to her climbing the Trees, and other wild conduct. 5

This treatment did not blight Mary Ann's life. She had been in the school only three months at the time of her sentence. About five years later she was reported as never having been found bad by the current staff 6 and early in 1827 she was apprenticed to the institution. 7 She became smitten with love for the storekeeper of the Male Orphan School and in 1828 at the age of sixteen married with the committee's blessing and was awarded her cow. 8

4 FOS Minutes, p.79, 14/11/1821.
5 FOS Minutes, p.90, 14/8/1822.
6 FOS Letters 1825-9 (RSUA 4/326), untitled, undated list of eleven senior girls (c1827).
7 FOS Letters 1825-9, M. Collicott to (---) 16/2/1827.
8 FOS Letters 1825-9, Milton to Committee 13/5/1823 and minute. Concerning cows see below p. 585-7.
It has been pointed out that in imposing such punishments

the committee was not being deliberately over-harsh or sadistic, but was following methods of disciplinary action generally consistent with those advocated in the monitorial system. ... 9

Head-shaving, neck-yoking, humiliating signs and solitary confinement were also established practices for humbling female convicts. 10

Opposition of Scott and Cartwright to degrading punishments

Nevertheless, there were people sufficiently enlightened to deprecate the barbarity of some of these practices and notable amongst them locally were Archdeacon Scott and Rev. Robert Cartwright.

Cartwright reported to Scott that

a mode of punishment existed tending to degrade the Children to the state of a Convicted Felon, and debase their minds by such an infamous practice. 11

Walker delivered into Scott's possession a log and a four foot long chain weighing two pounds. The children


confirmed that this instrument had been used upon them and although Scott professed a cautiousness in accepting such evidence

yet there are other circumstances known to Your Excellency which strongly corroborate that statement and for which I learnt from Your Excellency you had dismissed the Person then in charge from his situation. 12

This could only refer to Edward Sweetman yet he was not dismissed but rather transferred to the Male Orphan School. Apparently such severity as he practised was acceptable with boys. The Archdeacon feared that the evil effects of such punishments and the neglect of the dark period 1824-5 would long remain a scar on the minds of the children. 13

Apparently the members of the old committee felt some guilt for when Scott asked several of them whether it was true that the log and chain punishment was authorised by the committee they declared that 'it was quite unknown to them'. He was able to point to the minute book

from which it appears that such a practice did prevail and had reached to an alarming and I may I think justly add an unpardonable extent... 14

12 Scott's Letter Book No.1, p.130, Scott to Brisbane 7/11/1825.

13 Scott's Letter Book No.1, p.129.

14 Scott's Letter Book No.1, p.130.
When he was in the colony with Bigge the children were in a state of order and rapid improvement under Reddall's direction and no such punishments were in use, so I believe that the introduction of that practice far from correcting a small evil, produced a much greater & led to the state of insubordination and frequent elopements the Rev. R. Cartwright complains of.\footnote{15}

As early as November 1825 the 'mild & gentle and persevering discipline as well as the kind treatment' of Cartwright had sufficiently impressed Scott for him to ask that some specific mark of His Majesty's favour be solicited for him.\footnote{16}

**Rules relating to punishment**

The hand of Scott is evident in the disciplinary provisions of the regulations issued for the Female Orphan School in mid 1825. The Masters and Mistresses were admonished to treat the children with kindness. The Master alone had the power of corporal punishment which was to be resorted to only very rarely when 'positively expedient'. In such cases the name of the child, the crime and the measure of punishment were to be entered into the 'General Monitor's Registrys' and reported to the King's Visitor weekly. The teachers (that is, the older pupils) were to report all discipline

\footnote{15} Scott's Letter Book No.1 pp.130-1.

\footnote{16} Scott's Letter Book No.1, p.131.
cases to the general monitor and were permitted no
independent measures beyond 'turning down' the offender
in class or setting her in the middle of the class.
No child was to be punished by the loss of food and
punishment was to consist generally of extra tasks
after school hours. 17

Rules for punishment were also laid down in
chapter 4 of the Rules for Internal Management.
Children guilty of disorderly conduct, disobedience or
idleness were to be entered in the Black Book in which
was to be recorded the date, name of the child, offence,
the punishment determined by the Master, and whether
the punishment was administered or the child let off.
All punishments were to be inflicted in the presence
of the other children - the deterrent motive -
in the schoolroom after morning school at which time
the Master would take the reports on improper conduct
or language from the class teachers. Hardened offenders
were to be punished by solitary confinement and any child
not amended by the punishment was to be placed in the
newly-introduced punishment class. 18

17 HRA, Vol. XII, p.282, General rules for the Female
Orphan House, School: III (3) and (5), X, XII, XIII,
XV and XVI.

18 Proceedings of General Courts (NSWA 4/291), p.251,
275, Form of Black Book, p.244, Chapter 7, s 4,
duties of teachers.
Increasing severity towards the end of the period

On the question of discipline, as with several other matters relating to the orphans, Scott was unable to carry the Corporation Trustees with him. The end of the decade, especially after his resignation and Cartwright's retirement, was marked by increasing severity in discipline and a rapid assimilation to the practices employed with convicts.

In June 1828 the Trustees resolved, upon the recommendation of the committee:

That places similar to work houses be provided at the Male and Female Orphan Schools, in which those apprentices may be confined whose improper conduct prevents their masters or mistresses from keeping them; and that an amendment of the Colonial Act of the 2nd August 1826, No. 4, be drawn up, and submitted to His Excellency the Governor ... giving to the Magistrates power to sentence Apprentices to confinement in the above places.19

Nothing appears to have been done to further this resolution but it signals the hardening attitude towards the troublesome.

In February 1829 the committee was authorized by a General Court to make the necessary arrangements for providing sufficient accommodation for an additional class at each school to be called the probationary

This step was taken because of 'great injury' having been found to result from allowing new admissions to mix with the other inmates without first taming them in such a class. 21

Sadleir immediately separated twelve or fourteen boys 'all as yet for confirmed filthy habits' intending to house them in two cells behind the storekeeper's room and to keep them apart as a separate school under two of the senior boys until a suitable person could be found to conduct it. 22

A parallel class was formed at the Female Orphan School under the charge of a free woman, Mrs Jean Forester, who, although giving satisfaction, was paid only the convict salary of £7 per annum. 23 This class was also segregated, its yard being fenced for this

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20 Alterations had to be made at each school: Minute Book 1828-29 (NSWA 7/2703), pp. 234-5, 29/1/1829, p. 243, 18/2/1829, pp. 246-7, 27/1/1829.

21 Proceedings of General Courts, p. 135-6, 3/2/1829.

22 FOS Letters 1825-9 (NSWA 4/328), Sadleir to Scott 21/12/1829 and 23/2/1829, Sadleir to [---] 2/3/1829.

23 Wilton asked for an increase for Mrs Forester. Broughton minuted the letter: 'a gratuity of £(3-sewn in) at the end of the year if she continues to behave well'. She was employed throughout 1830 but received only £7 in each year although the gratuity would probably have been entered in the accounts amongst the incidental expenses: FOS Letters 1825-9, Wilton to Committee 16/12/1829; Minute Book 1829-30 (NSWA 7/2704), p. 83, 8/7/1829, p. 229, 18/12/1829; Statement of Receipts and Disbursements 1826-31 (NSWA 4/388), FOS Accounts for 1829 and 1830.
purpose, and while it was being organized Wilton was directed to keep the new admissions apart from the other girls.

Chapter 6 of the Rules for Internal Management dealt with the Punishment Class. All children of immoral or vicious habits, and of incorrigible tempers or whose character has been notoriously bad, previous to their admission were to be put into this class until their conduct proved them worthy of being placed with the other children. The boys were to wear a yellow jacket with black sleeves and the girls a dress of a different colour and inferior materials to the other girls and in each case the offence was to be written on the child's back, it seems by means of painted punishment boards. Prayers were to be attended morning and evening in the schoolroom with the punishment class placed behind the children in the other classes and marching out after them. The hours of school were as for the other classes except that instead of play these children were to be kept at

24 Minute Book 1829-30, p.60, 16/6/1829.
26 POS Letters 1825-9, Wilton to Committee 7/7/1829: 'I should be glad to receive as soon as they can be painted the punishment boards for the children.'
'laborious and degrading work according to their ages and strength'. The schoolroom, sleeping room and yard of this class were to be distinct from those of the other children and only bread and water were to be given for breakfast and supper. Such was the reception which Christian charity provided for the unfortunate young of New South Wales on their arrival at the orphan schools.

In at least one respect disciplinary measures were still felt to be inadequate in both schools at the end of the period. The ladies committee recommended 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. Tenders were soon let for their erection. Similarly Sadleir felt much inconvenience from want of proper cells to punish the boys in cases of insubordination.

27 Proceedings of General Courts, pp.242-3 (for HOS). It is a perplexing question of some moment as to how far Scott is to be identified with these regulations. The punishment boards, distinctive dress and food discrimination seem quite irreconcilable with the pronouncements of 1825 which we know to be his yet it was he who advocated the 'probationary' classes: Proceedings of General Courts, pp.185-6, 3/2/1829.

28 FOS Letters 1825-9, Milton to Committee 7/7/1829, quoting minutes of Ladies Committee 3/7/1829.

29 Minute Book 1829-30, pp.113-4, 12/8/1829.
(en)
A drunkness to secure the men in until they could be removed to the watchhouse. 30

He was given permission to construct two tiny cells. 31

Grim though this discipline was it conformed generally to the area of psychological stress endorsed by the educational theory of the monitorial systems which frowned upon the bad old practice of flogging. The Male Orphan School, however, does seem to have departed from monitorial practice and resorted to corporal punishment more often than it would countenance. The letters of the kindly Cartwright show that he was not averse to the use of the stick. Richard Sadleir was clearly determined that no boy under his care would be spoilt by sparing the rod: at the top of his school requisition list for 1830 is an order for 160 yards of canes32 in which, if they were of any quality at all, there would have been a great deal of flogging.

This is not to say that unrestrained corporal punishment was countenanced. In 1826 the schoolmaster,

30 MOS Letter Book (ML C201), rough draft of letter, 7/1/1830. MOS Letters 1830-2 (MNA 4/329), Sadleir to Cowper 22/3/1830: the cells are indispensable.

31 MOS Letters 1830-2, Sadleir to Cowper 22/3/1830: 'Estimate of two Cells 4 feet wide & 7 long to confine Boys in'.

32 MOS Letters 1830-2, 'Annual Estimate of Provisions & Stores Required for the Male Orphan School for the year 1830.'
Edward Webster, gave several boys from 24 to 27 lashes each for talking during prayers. A complaint was made to the committee in relation to Thomas Jones, one of the sufferers, and after viewing the boy's markings it drew Cartwright's attention to the affair with the view to his preventing similar punishments in future. 33

The feelings of alienation produced in the inmates by the harsh disciplinary practices is best evidenced by the problem of absconding. This will be discussed in the course of the next chapter.

LEAVING THE SCHOOLS
CHAPTER 16

LEAVING THE GUARDIANSHIP OF THE ORPHAN AUTHORITIES

Methods of leaving

An orphan left the guardianship of the orphan school authorities normally by attainment of the upper age limit after passing through a period of apprenticeship, quite frequently by an order for his or her return to a parent or parents,¹ and occasionally, in the case of girls, by marriage with the committee's consent. A fourth, illegal, method was for the discontented orphan to take his leave on his own initiative by absconding and then evading the efforts to apprehend him.

As parents applied for their children by means of the normal procedures for applying for apprentices and some of the children were apprenticed to relations the question of returnees will be discussed in connection with apprenticeship.

Marriage

As early as September 1803 an orphan girl left the Female Orphan School through marriage when Mary Peat married Lawrence Brady, a baker, at St. John's

¹ MOS Roll Book (ML C200) shows that of 277 boys enrolled to the end of 1829 55 were returned to parents.
Parramatta. ² By the end of 1805 three orphan girls ³ and by August 1806 six had been married out of the school and portioned with £10 each. ⁴ Mrs King has been described as acting in this period as a matrimonial agent armed with the powers of refusal and consent. ⁵

When, at the end of 1807, Viscount Castlereagh considered ways of providing for orphan girls he wrote to Governor Bligh of holding out encouragement by grants of land to those who marry them, but not suffering such grants of land to be alienated during the life of the female grantee. ⁶

² SG, 4 September 1803.
³ HRA, Vol. V, p.762, 'Statements of Receipts and Disbursements on Account of the Gaol and Orphan Fund, from the 1st day of January 1805, to the 31st day of December following'.
⁴ HRA, Vol. V, p.765, 'Statement of Receipts and Disbursements on Account of the Gaol and Orphan Fund, from 1st day of January to the 12th day of August following (1805)'.
⁵ Mornie Bassett, The Governor's Lady: Mrs. Philip Gidley King, London 1940, p.35.
⁶ HHRSH, Vol. VI, p.401, Castlereagh to Bligh 31/12/1807.
There is no evidence that the existence of this incentive was made known to the public.

Taking the period as a whole marriage provided a most unusual way for a girl to leave the institution. There are no definite references in the surviving records to marriages from the school from 1806 until well into the twenties although Rev. William Cowper, who arrived in 1809, told Commissioner Bigge at the beginning of 1821 that he could recollect two or three marriages from the Female Orphan School. Many of the girls who had gone out to service had been married.⁷ Bigge reported that only five of the girls enrolled to the time of his enquiry had married out of the school.⁸

Because of the low age at which girls were sent out of the school those married from it were inevitably very young and few such marriages were to be expected. What would seem to need explanation is why there were so many marriages in the very early period.⁹ The

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⁷ BT Box 8, Bigge Appendix, p.3355, Cowper's evidence 23/1/1821.
⁸ Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry, on the state of Agriculture and Trade in the Colony of New South Wales, House of Commons, 13 March 1823, p.72.
⁹ See Report from the Select Committee on Transportation, House of Commons, 10 July 1812, p.41, where some surprise at the youth of the orphan brides seems to be indicated.
answer probably lies in the attitude of the time to extra-marital sexual activity. Where there was a moral problem, as with female Aborigines, every effort was made to marry them as young as was considered decent.\footnote{What mattered to respectable people was not so much whether sexual activity was confined to one partner, or the age at which it began, provided this was not before the mid-teens, but whether it was sanctified by marriage. See B.J. Bridges, 'The Native Institution, Parramatta and Blacktown', The Forum of Education, Vol. XXXI, No.1, March 1972, p.35, for desire to marry Aboriginal girls at sixteen. This desire to counter Aboriginal 'immorality' by early marriage was often expressed in the early nineteenth century.} Undoubtedly the orphan girls were considered in the same light when some of them were already sexually experienced and the Female Orphan School was considered little, if anything, better than a bawdy house.

Male orphans were not permitted to marry while under the guardianship of the orphan authorities. In 1822 when boys were first becoming available for apprenticeship a Sydney hat-maker named Uther objected to a clause in the indentures nullifying them should the apprentice marry with the consent of the committee. The committee thereupon resolved that 'the Children should be apprenticed precisely on the same conditions as Boys are Apprenticed to trades in England' and removed the clause. Governor Brisbane approved,
apparently thinking it important to follow English
practice to the letter.\textsuperscript{11}

The marriage cow\textsuperscript{12}

In a harsh age Lachlan Macquarie stands out from
his fellows as an unusually warm-hearted person and
it is typical of him that he should have decreed the
delightful practice, at variance with so much else
in the depressing story of the orphan schools, that any
girl or boy who showed 'Exemplary good Conduct' during
apprenticeship would receive the gift of a cow as
a marriage portion when the marriage was approved by
the committee.\textsuperscript{13}

On 14 April 1819 two recently married girls were
ordered cows and in the following years a steady
succession of similar orders were given for young cows,
sometimes with the qualification added that they should

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{11} MS Minutes (NSWA 4/400), 17/4/1822; CSIL, Bundle 17,
No. 1-7; 1822 (NSWA 4/1756), p.6, Hill to Brisbane
17/4/1822 and Brisbane's minute thereon.
\item \textsuperscript{12} The cow awarded to an orphan marrying was, of
course, not confined to those leaving the school
by virtue of the marriage but this seems the most
appropriate place to discuss this tradition.
\item \textsuperscript{13} SG, 25 July 1818, Regulations for Female Orphan
School (also in front of FOS Minutes (NSWA 4/403));
Rules & Regulations for the Management of the Male
Orphan Institution; commencing from its Establishment
at Sydney, on the First of January, 1819, Sydney 1819,
p.6.
\end{itemize}
be in calf, until a cow and calf became the standard present. 14

In July 1827 Robert Petit became the first old boy of the Male Orphan School to qualify for a cow and calf. 15 He was the only male to receive such an order during the period under study but because of the late start

See Correspondence POS Farm 1825-6 (NSWA 4/7504), various papers concerning the cow ordered for Mrs Hannah Buckles (née Dart) 1/9/1826 where she asks whether the recipient had the privilege of selecting the cow. The terms of resolutions for the granting of cows suggest that the farm overseer chose the animals. Mrs Buckles must have been told this for she later sent one John Naughton to take delivery of the cow granted to her.
The place of the Native Institution within the orphan school framework is illustrated by the award of a cow to the convict Robert Locke in November 1827 after he had married one of the Aboriginal girls from the Institution:
Proceedings of Committee's No. 1, p. 260, 15/8/1827, p. 299, 14/11/1 27.

of the Male Orphan School and the age for admission
few would have been of sufficient age to qualify. The
absence of Petit's name from the Roll Book suggests
that he may possibly have been old enough to go
straight to an apprenticeship when admitted.

Boys absconding

Many of the boys apparently found the harsh life
offered in the Male Orphan School so intolerable that
they preferred to take their chances in the wider
world by running away.

It is impossible to determine the frequency of
absconding as there is no extant record of those who
ran away. That it was a serious problem does, however,
appear from occasional references in the records. In
1825 Cartwright was complaining of 'frequent elopements'.
In January 1827 the committee authorized his request for
the erection of a nine-foot paling fence to enclose a
yard at Bull's Hill for the boys to play in.

Obviously a fence of this height in the middle of a
farm could serve no useful purpose other than to prevent
those inside it from getting out. The following month
Cartwright was instructed to take down the height and
description of the boys 'to enable the Committee to

16 Letter Book of Archdeacon Thomas Hobbes Scott No. 1
(mL A850), p.131, Scott to Brisbane 7/11/1827.
17 Proceedings of Committees No. 1, p.165, 31/1/1827.
advertize them in case of absenting themselves'.

These developments came at the peak of what was considered Cartwright's benign reign.

The Male Orphan School Roll Book records, in the column listing dates of leaving the school, those who absconded and apparently were not recovered, but a comparison of this book with other documents shows it to be a very imperfect record.19 Of the 276 children listed as being enrolled to the end of 1829 twenty are recorded in the departure column as absconders. Of these three absconded with siblings outside the school, one to his mother and one, it was believed, to his father.21

18 Corporation Letter Book 1826-27, p.218, Cowper to Cartwright 21/2/1827, p.s.

19 Although the Roll professes to be a numbered list of all pupils from the inception of the school it does not list the most notorious of the escapees and writes off as a runaway in March 1822 a boy still in the school in October 1823.

20 Not counting one apprenticed without entering the school.

21 Of this last case Sadleir wrote that Thomas Stuckey was visited by his mother and on a succeeding Sunday absconded on the way home from Church, it was believed with his father.

I can only account for the proceeding by supposing the boy to have made a complaint to his mother of our severity as he is one of the proscribed Class & has been frequently punished & that the Father took this method of releasing him.

This suggests that although some were running to close, and probably loved, relations most were running from life at the school. In addition to the twenty Joseph Davis, probably aged twelve, was expelled in November 1824 for repeatedly running away during his twenty-two months on the roll.

It must be remembered that the similarity of the schools to convict establishments went so far in both cases as the employment of domestic constables, mainly to control the convict servants, and the locking up of the children at night. During the day the monitorial system placed the children under virtually constant supervision. Considering the high rate of successful absconding in relation to the enrolment of the Hale Orphan School it seems reasonable to assume both a correspondingly high rate of unsuccessful attempts frustrated by the system of surveillance, locks and fences and of abscondings where boys who got clear were recaptured or gave themselves up. Many of

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23 See MOS Cash Vouchers (RSIA 4/7496), 21/1/(1525) 'Apprehending Runaways - 10-0' (i.e. 10/-), Abstract of Incidental Expenses and small Payments on account of the Hale Orphan Institution, 27 December 1825: Reward for apprehending (John) Prosser 10/-.
these children had nowhere to go and probably returned when the heat evaporated from the crisis which may be assumed to have been the immediate cause of most of the attempts.

The minutes of the committee give a glimpse of one such case. William London, aged 14, and Samuel Ogden, aged 13, absconded from the morning of 6 October 1823 until the evening of the following day. As this was the third time London had absconded the committee ordered him a flogging.24

Only one runaway was accorded a 'wanted' notice in the Sydney Gazette. Early in 1823, while the school was still in Sydney and escape probably easier in the anonymity of the town, twelve year-old George Freeman ran off and made his way to the Hawkesbury where his father was a cooper at Windsor. The constables at Windsor made unsuccessful efforts to take him and the desperate youth took to the bush with a gun. The committee decided to offer a reward of twenty Spanish dollars25 and advertised that this amount would be paid to anyone lodging him in one of His Majesty's gaols or

24 MOS Minutes, 8/10/1823; MOS Roll Book, Nos.32,58. London is the boy, referred to in note 19, as having been written off in 1822 as a runaway.

25 MOS Minutes, 16/4/1823.
bringing him to the school house in Sydney. On the very day of this advertisement Freeman surrendered and then behaved in an exemplary manner for almost three months until he was apprenticed as a tanner to Simeon Lord at Botany Bay. It seems that he absconded from Lord's service. One would like to know something of the background to this young desperado's adventures.

Another colourful escapee was James Bircham, enrolled 1826, who in 1832 at the age of thirteen managed to get as far away as New Caledonia before his luck ran out and he was drowned.

Girls absconding

Absconding was much less of a problem for the Female Orphan School but the frequency with which girls absconded from service when put out on apprenticeship suggests that the difference between boys and girls in absconding from the schools may be attributable to

26 SG, 17 April 1823

27 MOS Minutes, 9/7/1823. Cf. 'List of 117 Boys Received into the Male Orphan School 1819-24' (NSWA 4/7208), No.61. and MOS Roll Book, No.61. In the Roll Book he is called Thomas Barnard and his father James Barnard. The name differences between the two lists appear in the entries for his brothers and there are other discrepancies.


stronger preventive measures with the girls. Escape from the Female Orphan School at Parramatta must have been extraordinarily difficult in the face of all the usual precautions employed in a gaol. During the day the girls were under constant supervision inside fences and at night were locked in upstairs dormitories with iron bars on some or all of the windows, with a constable patrolling the grounds throughout the night. Nevertheless the fact that a number of the girls who absconded from service made their way back to the school suggest that the difference between boys and girls in absconding from the schools is at least in part a reflection of more satisfactory conditions at the Female Orphan School.

Macquarie was sufficiently concerned by the 'elopement' of two girls shortly after his arrival to issue a warning to anyone who might encourage such behaviour. In this case investigation had shown 'that very unfair and improper means were used, by Persons residing at Sydney to seduce them from the Paths of Virtue'. His Excellency promised to prosecute

30 Perhaps it should also be remembered that the records relating to girls are scant and uninformative.

31 Minute Book 1828-29 (NSW 7/2703), p.8, 1/2/1828: estimate for painting 'the Iron Bars of the Window (sic.) at the Female Orphan School'.
to the utmost rigor of the law anyone, regardless of 'Rank, Class, or Denomination ... who shall dare to attempt to seduce or entice away any of the Girls' and to expose the offender's name publicly in the Sydney Gazette.\textsuperscript{32} It was well known in Sydney that one of the persons at whom this order was particularly directed was Simeon Lord who had seduced one of the girls and had been the subject of an investigation by the committee.\textsuperscript{33}

Only one other girl is subsequently mentioned as having escaped. She was a wild little unfortunate named Norah Sullivan who was possibly undergoing isolation at the time. Norah was released to her mother Catherine Elliott but returned some time later to explain to Wilton that her father was a convict at Port Macquarie and her mother in gaol in Sydney for theft. Considering her 'an improper girl to be placed with the other children' he put her into a separate room until he heard from the committee.\textsuperscript{34} Six weeks later

\textsuperscript{32} SG, 28 January 1810.

\textsuperscript{33} BT Box 8, Bigge, pp.3375-83, Marsden's evidence 27/12/1820; BT Box 25, Bigge, p.7063, Bigge to Bathurst 7/2/1823. This was a ground for Marsden's refusal to serve with Lord and Andrew Thompson, also a man of loose morals, as a Road Commissioner.

\textsuperscript{34} Proceedings of Committees No.1, p.176, 21/2/1827; Corporation Letter Book 1826-27, p.286, Cowper to Wilton 12/6/1827; FOS Letters 1825-9, Wilton to Scott 7/10/1827.
she ran away and was recovered from the home of Mrs Squires 'a notorious character at Kissing Point'.  

Any institution is likely to find that some of its members have difficulty in relating to it satisfactorily and some may prove quite unable to do so. However in the case of the Sydney orphans the disciplinary practices employed seem so productive of feelings of alienation that blame for most, if not all, of the absconding problem must be laid at the doors of the institutions themselves.

Chapter 17

APPRENTICESHIP: THE RULES

The concept of apprenticeship

Normally the orphan left his or her school to become a 'useful' member of the labouring classes as an apprentice.

The term apprentice then, as now, was applied to describe a young person bound to serve a master and to learn a craft from him. There was also wide currency for the debased sense of the orphan, indigent or coloured individual bound in conditions of semi-slavery to menial labour. The apprenticeships of Sydney orphans were of both types: an apprentice was bound to labour with or without the benefit of learning a trade.

Unregulated custom of earliest years

The first reference to the disposal of girls from the Female Orphan School is a statement made in December 1805 that eight of them had been bound as apprentices to officers' wives.¹ Governor Bligh

¹ HRA, Vol. V, p.762, Statements of Receipts and Disbursements on Account of the Gaol and Orphan Fund, from the 1st day of January 1805, to the 31st of December following, p.765, Statement of Receipts and Disbursements ... 1st day of January to the 12th day of August following (1805): 11 bound at that date.
testified that in his time if any respectable person applied for an orphan as a servant the committee deliberated on the application and if satisfied allowed a girl to go to the applicant. Such children were 'very well qualified before they left the school, to read and write, as well as to do all work as sempstresses'.

Viscount Castlereagh in his despatch to Governor Bligh of 31 December 1807 contemplated the increasing number of orphans who would have to be provided for and cautioned that

the utmost care should be taken in apprenticing them and settling them - taking some security from such persons as they may be bound apprentices to for the care of their religion and morals.

It seems that the committee did exercise great care in apprenticing but that prior to 1818 it followed no precise rules.

Macquarie's regulations

Macquarie's regulations for the governance of the Female Orphan School, 1818, decreed that no girl was to be kept in the school beyond the age of thirteen but was then, as soon as a situation could be procured, to

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2 Report from the Select Committee on Transportation, House of Commons, 10 July 1812, pp.40-1, Bligh's evidence.


4 Report from the Select Committee on the State of Gaols, &c., House of Commons, 12 July 1819, p.17, Alexander Riley's evidence.
be apprenticed as a servant or otherwise to a person of good character, as approved by the committee, for a period of five years or until married with the consent of the committee. The Male Orphan School regulations issued in the following year were similar except that the age for apprenticing was set at fifteen and the period of the apprenticeship was to be five, six or seven years according to the trade. As the aim was not only to provide servants, as in the case of the girls, but also to train artisans 'properly qualified sober industrious Mechanics' were amongst those to whom they were to be apprenticed.

The orphan was bound to serve according to his or her 'Art, Power and Ability ... and honestly and obediently' in all such lawful business as the master or mistress might direct. In addition the boy was subject to more specific injunctions regarding respect for the master's property and it was required of him

5 CSIL, Bundle 12, No.1-69, 1818 (NSWA 4/1740), pp.250,262, Regulations F0S.


7 Rules & Regulations ... Male Orphan Institution, p.3, 7th rule.
that

he shall not haunt Inns, Taverns, or Ale-houses: he shall not play at Cards, Dice, Tables, or any other unlawful Games: he shall not contract Matrimony; nor from the Service of his said Master Day or Night absent himself; and he shall behave himself honestly and orderly towards the Family of his said Master...

In return the master or mistress was to

Teach, Instruct, or cause to be Taught and Instructed ... to the best of (his or her) Skill and Knowledge, in all useful and needful Occupations becoming the Station of Life of the Said Orphan; and will find and allow unto the Said Apprentice Sufficient Heat, Drink, Apparel, Washing and Lodging, and all other things needful or meet for an Apprentice during the term aforesaid; and the Said Apprentice shall be allowed to attend Public Worship always on the Sabbath Day.\[9\]

Corporation statute

Macquarie's regulations were in force until 1826 when the Corporation dealt systematically with apprenticeship in chapter 12 of its statutes under powers granted by the local Act 7 Geo.IV No.4.\[10\]

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8 INDENTURES 1822-32 (N.S.W.A 4/390), item 2, indenture: William Davis to Thomas Bowden 25/9/1822. This is on a printed form.

9 BT Box 21, Bigge Appendix, pp.3557-8, Indenture (Female) Orphan School.

FORM OF INDENTURE FOR APPRENTICESHIP
UNDER THE COMMITTEE ESTABLISHED BY
GOVERNOR MACQUARIE
THIS INDENTURE, made the Second Day of May, in the Year of Our Lord One thousand eight hundred and twenty-one, between John Palmer, Esq. in and John Palmer, Esq. of the said County, being the Trustees of the Male Orphan Institution of New South Wales, of the one Part; and Simon Lord of Paris in the said County of the other Part, WITNESSETH, that the said Trustees have put, placed, and bound, and by these Presents do put, place, and bind Christopher Ralph to be an Apprentice with him the said Simon Lord and as an Apprentice with him the said Simon Lord to dwell from the Date of these Presents, for and during and until he shall come to the Age of twenty-one Years:—By and during all which Time and Term the said Christopher Ralph shall be his Master, well and faithfully serve in all such lawful Business as the said Christopher Ralph shall be put unto by the Command of his said Master, according to the Skill, Power, and Ability of him the said Christopher Ralph and shall honestly and obediently in all Things behave himself towards his said Master: he shall do no Damage to his said Master, nor see it done by others; but to his power shall prevent or forthwith give Notice to his said Master of the same; the Goods of his said Master he shall not waste, nor give or lend them unlawfully to any: he shall neither buy nor sell without his Master's Leave: he shall not haunt Inns, Taverns, or Ale-houses: he shall not play at Cards, Dice, Tables, or any other unlawful Games: he shall not contract Matrimony: nor from the Service of his said Master Day or Night absent himself; and he shall behave himself honestly and orderly towards the Family of his said Master, during the said Term. AND the said Simon Lord for his Part, for himself, his Executors and Administrators, doth hereby promise and covenant to and with the said Trustees and every of them, their and every of their Executors and Administrators, and to and with the said Christopher Ralph, that he the said Simon Lord shall from time to time find and allow unto the said Apprentice sufficient Meat, Drink, Apparel, Washing, Lodging, and all other Things needful or meet for an Apprentice, during the Time aforesaid:—And shall allow him to attend Public Protestant Divine Service, once at least on every Sunday. PROVIDED Always, that the said Term or Time shall, at the Pleasure of the aforesaid Trustees, by a Minute to be entered in their Book, and signified in writing to the said Simon Lord his Executors and Administrators, be determined immediately upon the Death of the said Simon Lord or at any Time before its Expiration, as aforesaid.

IN WITNESS whereof, the said Parties have hereunto set their Hands and Seals, the Day and Year above written.

Sealed and delivered,

In the Presence of

[Signature]

[Signature]
Boys were to be apprenticed not earlier than their tenth year nor for a period beyond their nineteenth year. If not bound out at ten they were to go to the school's agricultural establishment. Girls were to be 'placed out at Twelve years old or earlier if possible', with a lower limit at nine and the apprenticeship not to extend beyond the age of eighteen years. The committee was allowed discretion to advance or retard the age at which a child was bound if it seemed desirable in the particular case, to extend the period of an apprenticeship as punishment for offences under the Act, and to terminate a girl's apprenticeship by giving her permission to marry.11

The granting or refusing of applications for apprentices and the disposal of the children was at the discretion of the committee. The parties and the apprentices were liable to the same obligations to which they would be liable if these apprentices were twenty-one years of age. This provision was a measure of the severity of the law in relation to apprentices and reflects most clearly the orphan's destiny as a servant for the 'respectable' classes. The orphan

11 Corporation Statutes Chap. 11 s.3. Note that the clause at first read that indentures could be entered into at an earlier than usual age. The variation 'or later' is an afterthought entered over a caret.
FORM OF INDENTURE FOR APPRENTICESHIP UNDER THE CORPORATION
This Indenture,

made the fourteenth Day of February in the Year of Our Lord One thousand eight hundred and twenty (220) between the Trustees of the Clergy and School Lands in New South Wales, and the said Thomas Aschat (Burgess) of Sydney, Esquire

WITNESSETH, that the said Trustees have placed to dwell and serve from the Date of these Presents, until the third February 1827 - or until his lawful returning unto the control of the said Trustees - during all which Term the said Apprentice (Burgess) (Burmilne) faithfully shall serve, in all lawful Business, according to his Power, and Ability; and honestly, orderly, and obediently, in all Things, behove himself towards his said Master and towards all other Persons having lawful Charge of said Apprentice, during the said Term. And the said Thomas Aschat (Burgess) doth covenant with the said Trustees, and their Successors for the Time-being, by these Presents, that he, the said Apprentice (Burgess), shall and will teach, and cause to be taught in the best Way and Manner, and shall allow competent and sufficient Meat, Drink, Apparel, Lodging, Washing, and all other Things necessary and fit for an Apprentice, that there be not any Way a Charge to the said Trustees, during the said Term, and that the said Apprentice shall and will have lawful Charge of the said Apprentice, shall observe and conform to all such Rules, Orders, Bye Laws, and Regulations as the said Trustees shall make from Time to Time, pursuant to the Colonial Act, 4 Geo. IV.

In Witness whereof, these Presents have been duly executed by the said Parties, the Day and Year first above-written.

Signed, sealed, and delivered,

by the said

in the Presence of

[Signatures]

[Signatures]
was denied a right to any say concerning the occupation for which he was to be prepared or the person into whose control he was to pass and was denied also the law's usual protection of the statutory child. The harshness of this section was apparently felt at the time for after Governor Darling had seen the draft statutes 'it was further ordered that the Consent of parents of Children now in the Institution be obtained before they are apprenticed'.

Thereafter parents might, and sometimes did, arrange their children's apprenticeships subject to approval by the committee or made their wishes known to it.

From the outset the Trustees retained the right to protect the orphan. The indentures were voidable if, in the judgement of the Trustees, the character or circumstances of the master or mistress became injurious to the apprentice; upon the decease of the master or mistress; the assignment of the apprentice without the committee's consent; or upon conviction before one or more justices of the peace of hiring out the apprentice's services.

12 Proceedings of General Courts (NSWA 4/291), p.60, 5/9/1826. The seemingly superfluous order was also made that the boys would not be apprenticed to persons living in an immoral state of life (p.61).


14 Statutes, chap. 12 s.8.
Under Section vi of the Act all disputes between masters or mistresses and apprentices were to be tried under summary jurisdiction by one or more Justices of the Peace who might punish the errant apprentice by solitary Confinement, in such Place as by the Governor shall be appointed, for any Time not exceeding One Month, or, by extending the time of Service, to any Term not exceeding One Year.

The master or mistress found to be at fault could be punished by the withdrawal of the apprentice or a fine of £10 for each offence, payable within twenty-four hours and subject to levy by distress and sale of goods. The following section allowed appeal by petition to the quarter sessions.

**Gratuity for satisfactory apprentice**

When a boy apprentice completed his indentures with a certificate of permanent good conduct from his employer, the approval of the Trustees and no record of punishment under the order of a magistrate he was to receive a gratuity of £stg.15 from the committee or, at its discretion, was to have his interests promoted in some way to the extent of that amount. Every master or mistress was to pay in this amount to the Trustees at the end of an apprenticeship for the benefit of the apprentice.15 This was soon amended to allow for the payment of a smaller sum according to the circumstances

15 Chap. 12 ss. 12,13.
of special cases. 16

The master or mistress was not required to pay a gratuity to a girl apprentice 17 but on a couple of occasions girls were given a cow on the receipt of certificates of good behaviour. 18 This same reward was given to Edward Gregory for his services as a teacher in the Sydney Public School. 19

Sea apprenticeship

Sea apprentices formed a special class, governed by particular regulations. 20

In English charity school practice many boys were apprenticed to Thames watermen and fishermen in 'notoriously hard and dangerous river labour' 21 or were sent to sea. This became the most favoured means of disposing of boys. Schools were endowed near ports to prepare boys, through a concentration on mathematics,

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18 Proceedings of Committees No. 1 (NSWA 4/292), p.275, 7/9/1827. In 1810 Sarah Hopkins was given £5 on leaving the FOS: SG, 21 July 1810, accounts for June quarter. These were exceptions. There is no record of other girls leaving the school receiving anything.

19 Proceedings of Committees No. 1, p.290, 17/10/1827.

20 Statutes, Chap. 12, ss 9-11.

for service in the Royal Navy, or in the growing merchant service and reviving fishing industry. The Act 2 Anne c 6 authorized two or more justices of the peace and mayors of towns to bind any boy over ten years of age chargeable to the parish to the master of an English ship. This apprenticeship system amounted to an impressment of the helpless young but it was held to be necessary as the only way to man the naval and merchant fleets.

In 1828 a Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Police of the Metropolis which was gravely worried by juvenile crime suggested that the boys be sent to the navy or at least trained for the sea. Many of these juvenile delinquents were orphans or neglected children.

In New South Wales also there was a special demand for seamen. Convicts and ticket-of-leave men were not permitted to go to sea, the life was harsh and dangerous.


23 A.G.L. Shaw, *Convicts and the Colonies*, London 1966, p. 161. The sea-apprenticeships also bring to mind the facts that the hulk *Sabraon* was used as a reformatory with naval discipline for Sydney's delinquent boys 1891-1911 and that military-type discipline is still the main feature of treatment of delinquent boys in N.S.W.
and the treatment of men by their employers often very bad. The fact that sailing was the most common employment accepted by Aborigines seems to indicate that fair remuneration was offered to them. This was not the case in any field of employment for which white men could be procured.

As early as October 1808 Campbell and Company advertised for three apprentices, twelve to fifteen years old, for their ship Elizabeth, the boys to be 'found' for five years on the same terms as in England and when in port to 'have the advantage of an Evening School'. However this seems an isolated case and there is no evidence of a concerted move to establish colonial sea-apprenticeship on a firm footing.

Geoffrey Blainey has pointed out that few letters in the Historical Records of Australia touch on whaling in the twenties and one seems to imply that for a time whaling had been dead in New South Wales until, possibly


25 These remarks are based on my study of Aborigines in employment in eastern Australia from the 1790s to the end of the 1850s which it is hoped soon to offer for publication.

26 SG, 23 October 1808.
in the middle of the decade, Jones and Walker sent out their small fleet.27 Jones and Walker applied to Archdeacon Scott on 10 August 1826 for boys as apprentices for the South Sea whale fishery.28 This coincided with Cartwright's move to clear the Male Orphan School of the bigger boys and came just in time for the clauses concerning sea apprentices to be included in the draft statutes. Shortly afterwards an advertisement named 'Masters and Owners of Ships' along with 'Tradesmen, and Others' as persons invited to apply for apprentices.29

Under the 1826 regulations an apprentice might be placed by his master or mistress, being a shipowner or merchant, in the immediate care of the captain of his or her vessel. The boy was not to be wilfully left by the captain at any port or place beyond the seas on any pretence whatever. Within eight days of the arrival of the vessel in Port Jackson the apprentice was to be brought before one or more of the Trustees of the Corporation who might require that he be examined by a surgeon. Should the apprentice have died or become ill during the voyage this was to be verified by medical or other proper testimony within eight days of arrival. While in port the boy was to be permitted to

28 Application for Children, Jones & Walker to Scott 10/8/1826.
29 SG, 21 October 1826.
attend school at the charge of the Corporation for three hours per day. Considering the callous treatment of colonial ships' crews at that time these regulations were doubtless essential for the protection of the boys.

Bye-laws of 1829

Bye-laws of the Corporation passed in June 1829 made two changes to the regulations concerning apprenticeship. The upper age limit of apprenticeship for males was raised to twenty-one years, subject to extension as punishment. Secondly, it was required that the master or mistress should ensure, instead of merely permitting, that the apprentice attend a place of public worship every Sunday if residing within three miles of one.

Mode of application

From 1826 persons wanting apprentices were required to make written application in a letter to the Clerk of the Corporation 'stating their Abode and Occupation, which must be certified by the nearest Minister and Magistrate'.

At the same time the Masters of the Schools were seeking some improvement on the hit-or-miss custom of

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30 Corporation Statutes, Chap. 12 ss 9-11.


32 SG, 16 August 1826, notice.
generally apprenticing the child on top of the list of those ready for assignment to the first applicant.

In August 1826 Cartwright suggested that before indentures were made out the applicant should be required to visit the scene of the child's labour to satisfy himself of the boy's disposition and ability.\(^{33}\)

Shortly afterwards Major Druitt, who had been allowed three boys, called at the Male Orphan School to make a personal selection to submit for approval.\(^{34}\)

Cartwright was then asked for his recommendations concerning the trades to which boys for disposal ought to be apprenticed and to list the names and addresses of parents,\(^{35}\) presumably to facilitate the taking of their views.

Keane was also finding the old method unsatisfactory. He asked Cowper to 'have the goodness also to acquaint me with the nature of the service & family when a selection of a girl may be required'. Faced with a particular case of selecting an apprentice he wished to name one girl if she was required for employment as a housemaid, children's nurse, needlewoman or storekeeper but another if she was to work in the kitchen or scullery.\(^{36}\)

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34 MOS Letters 1825-9, Cartwright to Cowper 13/9/1826.
35 Corporation Letter Book 1826-27 (KSNA 7/2702), Cowper to Cartwright 14/9/1826.
36 FOS Letters 1825-9 (KSNA 4/326), Keane to Cowper 10/10/1826.
Unevenness of sources

Apart from the references in 1805 and 1806 to the apprenticing of girls to the officers' wives and the testimony to the carefulness of the committee in placing children no information survives on apprenticeship prior to 1818. By the time that Mr Commissioner Bigge investigated 88 girls had been apprenticed out of a total enrolment to that time of 217 girls.¹

Between 1818 and 1824 applications for girls were recorded in the minute book of the committee. The enrolment was much smaller and applications far fewer than in later years. The male orphans were not yet available for assignment as only the oldest of the boys reached the age for apprenticeship and they were bonded internally. The records are quite full for both sexes for the second half of the 'twenties and form the basis for the account which follows. The pattern for the whole period 1828-1830 is much the same, with the

¹ Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry, on the state of Agriculture and Trade in the Colony of New South Wales, House of Commons, 13 March 1823, Adelaide 1966, p.72.
exception that exchange of apprentices seems to have been more frequent prior to 1826.

Applications from 1826

Where the applicant was beneath the first rank in colonial society the general practice was to submit character references from one or more of the chaplains or magistrates. Where this had not been done such references were sometimes called for or the appropriate chaplain asked to investigate the applicant before a decision was made. ²

Most applications were granted. Doubtless few people would persist with a petition which appeared unlikely to succeed either from want of personal standing or the necessary testimonial support. ³ However, so far as one is able to judge from the details given in the applications, the decision over-all lacked consistency. Even where guiding principles, such as objections to convicts and non-Anglicans, were called on in making decisions they were not applied uniformly. Possibly decisions may have been influenced by oral evidence in committee which has left no deposit in the documentary record. Sometimes the strange procedure was adopted of refusing an application on the ground

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² See generally Applications for Children (MSMA 4/333) and the various minute books.

³ Applications for Children. This observation is based on those applications which are minuted. However many have no decision noted.
that no child was available to be apprenticed, rather than deferring consideration until a child was available or granting the application in advance of availability.

**Applications by relatives**

Many of the petitions name specifically the child wanted and perhaps more than a quarter of all applications were from parents wanting their children or young men or women their younger siblings. Towards the end of the decade at least one third of applications fell into this category.

A number of the letters were from women who had been left widows with young families and no option but to place the children in the orphan schools. Having re-married and improved their circumstances they wished to have their children restored to them. Some of these applications express love for the child or children and no doubt reflect the wrench felt at separation. They are a poignant comment on the unintentional barbarity of a system which had not devised a means of helping the virtuous needy without rending, at least temporarily, the bond of family.

Where a convict mother was still in assigned service she apparently often worked on her master or mistress to apply for her child as an apprentice so that they might be reunited. On a number of occasions they were successful both in getting the master or
mistress to apply and in having the committee grant the request.⁴

A few of the applications by parents convey a desire to use the parent-child relationship as a claim for gaining needed cheap labour rather than concern to be reunited with a wanted child. Thus Elizabeth Kenniwell, wife of a poor shopkeeper, successfully applied for her son by a former marriage assuring the committee that she 'would not presume to make this request, but from the frequent & unavoidable absence of her husband' she needed the boy's help or 'must trust to entire strangers to assist her, or neglect the business'.⁵

In a curious petition Mary Clitherow, the free wife of an industrious convict plasterer, applied to have 'a young girl who is well known to me named Mary Walsh aged 5 years'. The Rev. William Cowper reported that the child was the applicant's daughter and that the woman appeared to have mothered five children. These were spread around the countryside: a boy with Captain Dillon, another at home with Clitherow working for 10/- per week, two boys in the Male Orphan School and the girl whom the mother wanted at home because her health was

⁴ Application for Children: see for example the petition of Archibald Bell, Mrs Street of Woodlands, Bathurst and Mrs Catherine Palmer.

⁵ Applications for Children, petition of Eliz. Kenniwell.
not good. Although from these circumstances Mary Clitherow appears at least a doubtful character her petition was also granted.⁶

In contrast to these cases is that of William Roberts who unsuccessfully applied for his brother-in-law whom he professed to wish to place in a private school and later to apprentices. Roberts described himself as a jeweller and claimed to have preserved an irreprouachable character through seventeen years' residence in the colony.⁷ The committee's ground for refusal was the fact that he kept a public house.⁸

In general the committee refused applications where the relative or his or her spouse was a convict still under sentence and might return one or more but not all of the children where a family of children was applied for.⁹ The retention of younger children may have been

⁶ Applications for Children, petition of Mary Clitherow 28/5/1827.

⁷ Applications for Children, petition of Mr. Roberts 6/3/1828, Roberts to Committee 13/3/1828.


to ensure that they received the schooling considered desirable for them.\textsuperscript{10}

Because at that time children were protected only by the criminal law and parental rights were otherwise unabridged the applicant might be required to take his child or step child as an apprentice instead of receiving it back unconditionally as was usual with applications by relatives. This meant that the instrument of surrender of the child drawn up at the time of admission remained in force and the committee retained supervision in the interest of its welfare under the Act governing apprenticeship. When Mrs Anne Raper applied to have her sisters Ellen and Sarah Bolton released to her care nine year old Ellen was apprenticed to her husband Edward Raper but Sarah, being too young to apprentice, had to remain in the school.\textsuperscript{11}

\textbf{Religious qualifications}

The religious affiliations of the applicants and of the children were considerations which clearly weighed heavily with the committee when apprenticing children.

\textsuperscript{10} This was certainly so in a case discussed in Cartwright to Scott 28/6/1826: MOS Letters 1825-9 (MSWA 4/328).

Mary Jackson arrived as a convict in 1827 and her son John was taken from her in conformity with the rules and placed in the Male Orphan School. She married a free, industrious tradesman named Condon and applied later in 1827 to have her son returned to her. She impresses as an affectionate parent writing *inter alia*: 'I could have left my child with his grandmother in plenty only with the view that I should be able to provide for him'. In almost all cases the sons of Factory women were released to them but Mary Condon was not given her son. He was retained in the school until September 1830 and then apprenticed to a Mr MacLean in the far distant County of Argyle (southern tablelands).

Why were these apparently callous decisions taken? Mary Condon was still a convict in 1827 and although that would have told against her it was not an insuperable objection. If the committee knew something discreditable to her or her husband it is surprising that no notation to this effect was made. The reason appears to lie in the note added against her reference

12 Applications for Children, Mary Condon 7/11/1827.
13 DG5 Roll Book (ML C200), No. 197, and generally for the return of female convicts' sons.
to her marriage that it had been performed by Father Therry. As the wife of a Catholic she could hardly be trusted to rear her child as an Anglican as required by the Orphan School rules. In an age of greater religious certitude and less tolerance or indifference in the ruling class this was a good and sufficient reason for rejecting the petition.

On leaving the mastership of the Female Orphan School Rev. J.E. Keane was assigned as apprentices Bridget Murphy and Hannah Quinlan, each a twelve-year-old described as a 'Catholic child'. The only conclusion one can draw is that the purpose of these assignments was to ensure that the girls were indoctrinated in the Anglican faith.

In March 1829 Mary Solomon applied for an apprentice girl and Rev. William Cowper reported that the Solomons appeared to be respectable dealers but as they held no seats in a place of worship he did not know how far they could ensure the girl's attendance at church on Sundays as required by the indentures. The Archdeacon objected on this ground to the application being granted.

14 MOS Indentures, Nos.76,77.
15 Applications for Children, petition of Mary Solomon 10/3/1829.
Strangely this insistence on the maintenance of the Anglican monopoly was not consistently enforced, but there may be some special significance in the fact that both of the exceptions involved convict mothers who married members of the police force.

Ann Kelly (formerly Joyce) obviously was not going to compromise on the religious issue to regain her daughter. She has a child in the orphan Establishment, namely Mary Ann Joyce, who was wrested from Memorialist without her consent and placed there in 1823, when Memorialist was in her servitude, and was unable to resist the measure which her religious tenets would strongly compel her to do, she being a member of the Catholic Church.

Since she had become free 'and has the means of Educating her own child according to the religious beliefs she prefers' she asked for her return and thanked the school's patrons 'whose motives she has no doubt are pure and claim her gratitude'. This request was granted. 16

In September 1829 Bridget Guider whose son Bryant McIann had likewise been placed in the Kale Orphan School on her arrival as a convict was able to secure his apprenticeship to her Catholic husband who was a conductor of police. 17


17 Applications for Children, petition of Bridget Guider 15/9/1829; Minute Book 1829-30 (NSWA 7/2704), p.151, 24/9/1829.
No provision for adoption

The regulations under which the orphan schools operated constituted the only child welfare measures in force in New South Wales. They were so restricted as to leave much to be desired. There was no provision for the court committal of neglected children to the care of the State through the agency of the orphan schools and no provision whereby children in such custody could be placed with adoptive parents.

In February 1827 Ann Raphael, having no living issue, applied to be allowed to adopt the orphan infant Isabella Maria Gill, but was told that the petition could not be granted. Whatever the merit of Mrs Raphael as a foster parent the committee had no power to grant her petition, although had she acquired control of the infant before her admission to the school it seems unlikely that the de facto adoption would ever have been challenged. Such unregulated adoption was a common practice in early New South Wales.

This was obviously an anomalous situation. The committee of the Corporation was best placed to have


controlled responsible adoption and adoption by good parents would have benefitted the child, the parents and, by easing the pressure on their facilities, the orphan schools. In 1820, under Macquarie's committee, William Mortimer of Mortimer Farm, Airds, and his wife, who were childless, were permitted to take three year old Edward Mortimer Travers home to raise him as the son of the farm.20 Judging from his prospects there, conditions at the Male Orphan School and its products, he was peculiarly fortunate in his disposal.

Analysis of apprenticeships

Archdeacon Scott reported that from May 1825 to 30 June 1829 69 boys and 71 girls had been apprenticed. The indentures of a large sample of the girls and almost all of the boys remain among the records.21

There are 54 indentures for girls entered into in the period from 21 August 1826 to the end of the 'twenties. All were apprenticed simply to learn 'the Art, Trade and Mystery of a Servant', nineteen being apprenticed to the Institution itself. The applications reveal that in many cases the girls

20 MOS Minutes (MWA 4/400), 5/10/1820; MOS Roll Book, No.31.

were wanted as nursemaids. 22

There was a great demand for female domestics in a socially stratified society where domestic chores and virtually all other labour was performed by hand and where women and girls were relatively deficient in numbers. Despite this demand convict women proved so unsatisfactory that it was difficult to place them. It was alleged that many of the convict women employed in private families corrupted the morals of the children and led them into prostitution. 23 Domestic servants who were not, and had not been, convicts were very difficult to obtain. The currency lasses generally objected to service and had better prospects in life. The orphan girls had no such freedom of decision and were available for distribution as a free-born alternative to convicts. 24 However

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22 MOS Indentures 1822-32. I have also used the MOS Roll Book for information on apprenticeship. For the period of the Corporation's control it would be possible to make a list of the assignments to apprenticeship ordered from the various minute books but the gain from this was not considered sufficient to justify the considerable labour involved.

A form of indenture seems first to have been drawn up by Judge Field who chaired the committee from May 1821: FOS Minutes (TSHA 4/403), p.78, 17/10/1821.

23 Report from the Select Committee on Transportation, House of Commons, 3 August 1838, p.IX.

it will be seen that some of them were found not to 
be any improvement on convicts.

Many of the names of the masters or mistresses 
are familiar to students of that era and over the whole 
period for which records survive the award of apprentices 
served as a tangible reward for persons associated 
with the management of orphan affairs. 25 One mistress, 
Mrs Mary Batman, had herself been an Orphan School girl. 
She was well regarded by the committees, and by Rev. 
Samuel Marsden in particular, and received several 
apprentices over the years. 26

There are 64 indentures for boys in the records, 
dating from September 1822 to the end of the decade. 27 
These do not show the complete picture of trade training 
because in Bowden's time eight boys were apprenticed 
to him for training within the school 28 whereas later 
internal training is not reflected in the indentures.

25 FOS Minutes (NSMA 4/403), pp.71,73,80 and 84: apprentices to Rev. Richard Hill, John Palmer, 
Judge Advocate Wylde and Lady Brisbane.

26 FOS Minutes, p.95, 12/2/1823; Applications for 
Children, petition of Robert Batman 2/2/1829; FOS 
Indentures, No.125. See below for removal of 
apprentice by a court.

27 These include indentures in New South Wales Archival 
Estrays: Clergy and School Lands Corporation: Male 
Orphan School Indentures, 1822-31 (NL Uncat. N3S 
Set 502 Item I).

28 NOS Roll Book. This book names masters but does not 
give occupations.
The breakdown for the sample recorded in the extant indentures is: servant eighteen, seaman ten, tailor six, shoemaker six, gardener and botanist (under the Colonial Botanist Charles Fraser) four, gardener three, wheelwright and tobacconist two each and draughtsman, baker, cabinet maker, currier, tanner, cooper, smith and maltster one each. In the five remaining cases the occupation is not named.\textsuperscript{29}

The aim of turning out much needed artisans was hampered by the want of a sufficient number of suitable masters willing to take apprentices. As a consequence the shortage of artisans tended to be self-perpetuating and roughly half of the boys in this group of apprentices entered occupations with no real claim to a skill. Nevertheless, the Male Orphan School is to be accounted an important source for colonial tradesmen.

\textsuperscript{29} The cooper finished his term as a shoemaker. The draughtsman was an Aboriginal boy. Note that these indentures provide only a descriptive sample. For example only one cabinet maker appears in this list yet on 9 November 1826 three boys were assigned to a David Bell to learn cabinet making and upholstering: Proceedings of Committees No.1, p.114, 9/11/1826.
Table 4

Age on entering Apprenticeship

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<th>Age</th>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Indentures prior to 1826 do not state the age which was probably the set age of 15. Most of the very young boys were put out in the second half of 1829 during the drive to purge the school of its older pupils.

2. Both girls and one of the boys were returned to parents. A five year old boy, not included in this table, was also bound when returned to his mother.

3. Caroline Doyle apprenticed twice. These figures correct an obvious slip in age, 14 for 4, and one in date, 1829 for 1830.

Source: MOS Indentures 1822-32 (NJA 4/390).
The masters of male apprentices were a much more heterogeneous group than were those of the girls. Servants were dispensed to some of the gentry and clergy closely associated with the school but many of the artisan masters seem to have been men in humble circumstances economically and of inferior social status.

**Sea apprentices**

The ten 'sea apprentices' were boys aged twelve to sixteen who were indentured to Jones and Walker between August 1826 and March 1827. Other records indicate that Kossman Brothers also received three apprentices. In December 1826 indentures were drawn up for ten boys aged twelve to fifteen as sea apprentices for Berry and Wollstonecraft but the papers were not completed. However this firm seems

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30 Revs. Robert Cartwright, Samuel Marsden and Thomas Reddall and also the Lay Clerk to the Corporation, Charles Cowper.

31 MGS Indentures. Proceedings of Committees No. 1, pp.107-8, 26/10/1826: Jones & Walker allowed six boys. According to the MGS Roll Book this firm received only eight apprentices - but the Roll Book is often inaccurate.

32 MGS Roll Book. See further below.

33 MGS Indentures Nos. 58-57; Proceedings of Committees No. 1, p.113, 30/10/1826. See CSIL, Archdeacon Scott (M/S A 4/1913-4), Scott to McLeay 23/10/1826, private: Scott was anxious to have Berry and Wollstonecraft take a number of sea apprentices to help break up the rebellious gang of boys working on the farm.
to have employed two orphans as seamen from 1826. In April 1829 the possibility was explored, apparently without success, of having the government colonial vessels take boys of bad character as sailors.

Life at sea was hard and dangerous and it is not surprising that these apprenticeships appear to have been unpopular with boys and parents alike or that they were seen as a means for disposing of problem boys.

Charles Cowper, Clerk to the Corporation, persuaded Jones and Walker to send an agent to Cabramatta to collect the first six apprentices assigned to them because the Articles of apprenticeship not being yet entered into I was afraid of the Boys refusing to go on board of Ship on their arrival in Sydney, and I believe the Magistrates could not compel them. If however the boys are willing to go any unpleasantness will be avoided.

The clear implication of this somewhat cryptic letter is that Cowper anticipated trouble and was seeking to

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34 Applications for Children, petition of Berry & Wollstonecraft 30/10/1826: want nine apprentices including two sailors, petition of Berry 11/6/1829: mentions the nine apprentices in their employ.

35 Minute Book 1828-29, p.311, 15/4/1829.

prevent it by having the boys bound before they learnt their fate. Similarly when Jones and Walker sent for another six apprentices Cowper wrote: 'I am directed to enclose Blank Forms of Indentures to be filled up by you, so that they may be completed immediately on their reaching Sydney'. The unwilling were to be left as little room for escape as possible.

Of the first draft brought to Sydney only three of the boys were actually bonded to the firm at that time. Objections were raised and pursuant to the regulations the parents had to be consulted. They were permitted to suggest alternative apprenticeships. Cartwright had written warning that Simon Watling had a great dislike for the sea and that it would be well to agree to his becoming a shoemaker. He was allowed to go to his parents at Windsor until assigned to Thomas Walker, Esq. J.P. of Concord. John White,
described by Cartwright as 'a quiet well disposed boy'
was assigned to a Sydney tailor after his mother had
interceeded begging that he not be bound to the sea
because of his poor health and bad eyesight and her
own hopes for his future.\textsuperscript{41} The third of the trio
finally did go to sea for Jones and Walker.\textsuperscript{42}

The method of replacing these three boys to make
up the six apprentices allowed Jones and Walker is
highly significant. Thomas Bridge, Thomas Dawcey
and John Prosser were chosen, so far as the records
indicate, not from any personal characteristics of
fitness for the life or incorrigibility justifying their
condemnation to such a service, but because of their
defencelessness in having no one to take their part as
had the lads they replaced. The committee decided
that:

Prosser's mother being a common prostitute and
her residence unknown, and Bridge and Dawcey's
parents being both prisoners, it was resolved,
that they be apprenticed accordingly.\textsuperscript{43}

\textsuperscript{41} MOS Indentures, No.40; Proceedings of General Courts,
p.43r, 5/9/1826; Applications for Children. The very
favourable reports on mother and son by Revs. Henry
Fulton and Robert Cartwright no doubt carried weight
with the committee in this case.

\textsuperscript{42} MOS Indentures, No.50: Henry Logan.

\textsuperscript{43} Proceedings of Committees No.1, p.76, 6/9/1826.
In mid 1830 Sadleir detected Nathaniel Tollis in theft, with one of his schoolmates as an accessory by virtue of joining with him to incriminate an innocent boy. Sadleir's response was to turn the offenders over to the Hossman Brothers as sea apprentices. The Hossmans rejected them as being too young. The dreadful Nathaniel Tollis, a son of the late Corporal Tollis, was only eleven and as the Male Orphan School had been responsible for his 'formation' from the age of three he was no advertisement for it. Sadleir then named for Hossman Brothers two other boys, Samuel Harrington and Alfred Logowen, 'both of whom I would be anxious to get rid of'. The Hossmans actually received Tollis and Harrington who was aged twelve.

Richard Sadleir clearly saw the sea life as a fitting fate for those whom the school had failed to redeem.

**Similarities to convict assignment**

Orphan apprenticeship was much like convict assignment. The child being apprenticed had his(or her)
services assigned for a given period of time subject only to the continued good behaviour of the master or mistress, although more attention was paid to his interests, especially if he had a relative outside the school sufficiently interested to intervene on his behalf. In both cases assignment came close to being a lucky dip and although theoretically in both apprenticeship and convict assignment the law protected the rights of both master and servant, in practice it leaned towards the enforcement of subordination to the master. The dissatisfied master could often turn in his assignee. Discontented apprentices, like convicts, could in practical terms opt out of the relationship only by bolting and thus getting on the wrong side of the law.

There was little if any difference in the treatment of transported, working-class boy convicts and native born, working-class boy 'orphans'. Macquarie used the Carter's Barracks in Sydney for boy convicts, Darling insisted that they be taught a trade and to read and write, and Bourke at the end of 1832 adopted a semi-apprenticeship system to dispose of new arrivals straight from the ship. 46

Governor Gipps certainly saw apprenticeship as virtually the juvenile form of assignment and his remarks are in all probability applicable within our period. In answer to a request to report on the prospect of employing juvenile offenders sent out from Britain for apprenticeship he stated his fear that they would

for the most part be associated with and treated as Convict servants, and that in fact apprenticeship in New South Wales will be found to differ but little from Assignment.\(^47\)

The orphan boy apprentices 'are I fear in too many cases allowed to mix with and be little distinguished from Convict Servants'.\(^48\)

Problem of absconding

The apprenticeship system could hardly be said to have worked smoothly. There were too many delinquent or incapacitated apprentices and too many unsatisfactory masters or mistresses, especially as they were supposedly screened. Probably Rev. Richard Hill was right when he told Mr Commissioner Bigge, concerning female apprentices, that 'there will never be a want of applications to take

\(^47\) ERA, Vol.XX, p.179, Gipps to Glenelg 29/5/1839.

\(^48\) ERA, Vol.XX, p.180, Gipps to Glenelg 29/5/1839.
them. The only Difficulty will be in finding suitable Persons'.

Judging from the frequency of absconding many of the children did not find their apprenticeships any more satisfying than life in the schools.

Simeon Lord notified the Corporation in August 1826 that he had no objection to receiving six or eight boys aged from eleven to fifteen to be taught the textile business, hat making, tanning and currying if the Corporation will engage that Boys shall be compel'd to serve faithfully, the whole of the time they may be bound for, so long as I perform my part of the Conditions.

When asked to elaborate, Lord said that of his earlier apprentices he had fed and clothed three or four for three years only to have them run away or be enticed away by their parents. He made the stipulation because apprentices returned nothing for the outlay on them until the last four years of the apprenticeship. He had complained to Major Goulburn and to the Police Office without result.

The committee held that it had no power under the bye laws to enter into such an undertaking as Lord

49 BT Box 8, Bigge Appendix, p.3515, Hill's evidence 22/1/1821.

50 Applications for Children, Lord to Cowper 28/8/1826.

51 Applications for Children, Lord to Cowper 4/9/1826.
demanded. However the Act for controlling apprentices was passed soon afterwards and while it was pending applications for apprentices were left unanswered for some time. A further move for strengthening the power to subordinate apprentices was made in October 1828 when the Government was asked for an amendment to the Act 'authorizing Justices of the Peace to sentence Apprentices to the House of correction for misconduct'.

Masters and mistresses having trouble with apprentices often wished to return them but once having got such children off their hands the committees were always most reluctant to allow them to be returned. The Act served to protect the Trustees from such demands. After its enactment they were able to point to its terms and insist that the masters abide by the terms of the indentures and resort to the courts to have wayward children disciplined.

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52 Minute on Lord to Cowper 4/9/1826.


54 Minute Book 1828-29, p.163, 22/10/1828. This had been authorized by General Court 3/6/1828. The Act was not amended in the direction of the request until 1834. See An Act for apprenticing the Children of the Male and Female Orphan Schools and other Poor Children in the Colony of New South Wales, 4 July 1834, 5 Geo. IV. No.3, s6.

Patrick Dunn who was ordered for admission to the Male Orphan School early in 1827 to be apprenticed out immediately absconded and was not seen again. 56

Dickey, an Aboriginal youth apprenticed to Jones and Walker in 1826 at the age of fifteen, was reported in mid 1827 to be on Cartwright's farm with his sister. 57

In November 1827 a wheelwright named White reported that the boy Jacques, apprenticed to him in 1824, had run off and an ambiguous reference hints that he may have done so on an earlier occasion. 58 Two further cases were reported in 1828 and another early in 1829. 59

Of the girl apprentices Martha Brierley ran away frequently from her master, a Mr. Tomlin, until finally she was taken back into the Female Orphan School until reapprenticed to a Mr. Pearce of Seven Hills. 60

56 Letters from Col. Sec. Ja. 1821-28 (NSIA 7/2710)
   No. 69, LeCleay to Cowper 21/3/1827.

57 MOS Roll Book, No. 137; MOS Indentures No. 53,
   27/10/1826; MOS Letters 1825-9, Cartwright to
   Cowper 24/8/1827.

58 Stock Returns and Correspondence (NSIA 4/343),
   p. 322, Orr to Cowper 19/11/1827; MOS Roll Book,
   No. 34.

59 Minute Book 1828-29, pp. 69, 173-4, 236.

60 MOS Letters 1825-9, Hilton to Committee 25/6/1827
   and 3/7/1827; Corporation Letter Book 1825-27,
   pp. 295, 301, Cowper to Hilton 27/6/1827 and 5/7/1827.
Mary Brown, apprenticed to Captain Joseph Moore in November 1826, had run away three times by the following July. Archdeacon Scott then issued the instruction that she be sent to the police in Sydney and her master sent for to confront her so that she might be punished under the Act of Council 'passed for the purpose of punishing the children of this Institution, who run away from Service'.61 Within a month Mary had run away again complaining that her mistress had severely beaten her. Wilton reported that he thought the child was not properly treated.62

Moore laid a complaint before the Parramatta Bench but Dr John Harris, who was the sitting magistrate, refused to interfere stating that the Corporation settled such matters. Harris, along with all other magistrates, had been furnished with a copy of the Act. The committee decided to report this instance of his obstruction to the Government.63

Mary Brown was then permitted to remain in the school64 until 29 September 1827 when she was again

61 FOS Indentures, No.55; FOS Letters 1825-9, Wilton to Committee 3/7/1827, Wilton to (Cowper) 26/7/1827.
64 FOS Letters 1825-9, Wilton to Committee 17/8/1827 and minute.
brought before the Parramatta Bench, this time consisting of Harris, Thomas Walker and John Palmer. Moore testified that the girl had

four times absconded from his service, that she (had) been in the habit of committing some paltry little Thefts in Deponent's Service, notwithstanding every exertion of Deponent's to prevent such conduct; that she had also been absent two nights in the Bush.

There is no mention in the proceedings to the apprentice mounting a defence or even being given a right of reply. The Court apparently agreed with the Archdeacon that the Act served to allow magistrates to discipline apprentices rather than trying them, although it is possible that the record indicates merely that this girl had no defence. She was sentenced to the Factory cells for one month on bread and water and was then to be returned.65 She was reassigned by the consent of all parties to George Jewell, miner to the Australian Agricultural Company, in November 1827.66

In both the Brierley and Brown cases there is an indication of consistent ill treatment causing the

65 Letters from Col. Sec. &c. 1821-26, No. 206, McLeay to Cowper 11/9/1826 and enclosed copy of court proceedings. The statement is not clear but apparently the meaning is that the girl was to be returned to the Fos.

66 Fos Letters 1825-9, Hilton to Committee 13/11/1827; Fos indentures, No. 55. The indentures were amended a month before the child left the school to go to Jewell.
absconding, although this is not to say that the apprentices were guiltless of provocation. The ill treatment was quite explicit in the case of Elizabeth Jenks who absconded from the service of Robert Batman and was withdrawn by the Parramatta Bench when taken before it. 67

Female apprentices turned in

Occasionally a girl was turned in for bad conduct, especially if her behaviour threatened to contaminate the children of the family in whose service she had been placed and if uncompleted indentures left the master or mistress free to withdraw from the agreement. 68

By mid 1828 the abandonment of such apprentices was sufficient of a problem for the committee to ask that the General Court lay down rules for dealing with such cases. 69

Samuel Mason, storekeeper in the Surveyor-General's Department turned in Mary Taite because he feared she would 'take to bad ways'. She is both slothful and disobedient and I fear is getting Connected with men I therefore wish to turner her in before any thing Serious happens. 70

67 Minute Book 1829-30, p.148, 24/9/1829, p.106, 4/11/1829. See also Appendix B.


69 Minute Book 1828-29, p.73, 28/5/1828.

70 Applications for Children, letter from Samuel Mason, not signed or dated.
Farther Hillas found her intended apprentice, Mary Linnigan, quite unfit to be trusted with a child, the purpose for which she was wanted.

She is also very much addicted to theiving so much she Pilers and purloins every thing that she can lay her hands on and her conduct and behaviour in General is so very Indecent and Improper that it renders her unfit for my Service.

She was unsure whether the child's behaviour arose out of occasional mental derangement or an evil disposition. 71 These and other cases like them call into question the usual assumption that the Female Orphan School had very largely overcome the morality problem of its foundation years.

The chronically physically unfit formed a second category of returned female apprentice. The practice of assigning such children persisted until late in the 'twenties and was a justifiable cause of complaint against the system. For example, although Phoebe Brady was returned in 1822 because she was subject to fits 72 she was re-apprenticed the following year to a couple named Forbes, who had previously been unsuccessful applicants for an apprentice, 73 and Ann Ralph was

71 Applications for Children, petition of Farther Hillas 26/12/1829; Minute Book 1829-30, pp.234-5, 7/1/1830.
72 FOS Minutes, p.86, 8/5/1822.
73 FOS Minutes, p.106, 14/6/1823. Between times the mother had absconded with this girl and the committee decided not to attempt to recover her: FOS Minutes, p.33, 14/3/1822.
returned because she was 'both a cripple and afflicted with the Kings Evil'. Such apprenticeships were consistent with the general policy discernible in orphan affairs of moving the problem children out of the institutions whenever this proved possible. However the complaints about unfit children led to the introduction of medical examinations to ensure the fitness of children to be apprenticed and to remove unfitness as a pretext for returning them.

Protection of apprentices

The conduct of masters in a number of instances was quite irresponsible. Children applied for and assigned were sometimes left unclaimed at school or allowed to leave the master's service and supervision or simply abandoned. One girl spent fourteen days in the cell of the Female Factory as a consequence of being abandoned. Another died and the master failed to make the proper communication of the fact to the secretary of the committee. Despite a

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74 Applications for Children, petition of John Weiss 22/11/1828. See also Miscellaneous Papers (NSIA 4/7510.3), 'List of Children Received From the Female Factory without orders from the Corporation'; Minute Book 1826-9, p.173, 4/11/1828.


recommendation to the contrary at that time he was later allowed other apprentices.  

Up to the time that Bigge took evidence no person had been prosecuted for breach of indentures. The committee on occasion attempted to persuade errant masters to resume their agreement and sometimes transfers were effected by mutual consent. 

The case of Mary Greene offers stark testimony to the laxity of the supervision of apprenticeships and protection of apprentices afforded by the Female Orphan School committee. Mary Green was assigned to Mrs Greenway on 27 August 1819. In November 1821 Rev. Richard Hill reported to the committee that Greenway had discharged the girl from his service and her mother had told Hill that she had 'fallen into loose habits'. Garling, as the institution's solicitor, was asked to take whatever measures seemed called for.

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78 FOS Minutes, p.36, 14/3/1822.
79 FOS Roll Book, No.54: apprenticed 27/12/1826, No.103: 11/12/1827.
80 ET Box 8, Bigge, p.3355, Rev. W. Cowper's evidence 23/1/1821.
81 FOS Minutes, p.36, 27/3/1819. The minutes show that Mary Edwards was assigned to Mrs Greenway and Mary Greene to E.S. Hall but subsequent references indicate that this was a slip in recording.
82 FOS Minutes, p.81, 14/11/1821.
Seven months later the committee still had no knowledge of the child's whereabouts and only then ordered that enquiries be made. There is no evidence to suggest that she had been located when in August 1822 the committee finally considered Francis Greenway's part in the affair. Greenway had turned the girl out for allegedly stealing some cash notes from him.

The Committee were unanimously of opinion that Mr. Greenway has betrayed the trust reposed in him with regard to the said Orphan Apprentice inasmuch as that he should have prosecuted her for the theft or have retained her in his House under his protection...

It was merely resolved that he had forfeited all future claim to an apprentice and no further action was taken.

After the enactment of 7 Geo. IV No.4 prosecution was threatened at least once in order to compel a master to abide by his obligations under indentures. On other occasions complaints were laid against masters or magistrates issued orders against masters after hearing charges against apprentices. Occasionally

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83 FOS Minutes, p.85, 8/5/1822.
84 FOS Minutes, pp.87-8, 14/3/1822.
85 FOS Minutes, p.88.
87 Proceedings of Committees No.1, p.317, 12/12/1827; Minute Book 1826-29, p.8, 1/2/1828; p.20, 3/3/1828 and cases discussed above. See also Appendix B.
parents sought to intervene on behalf of their apprenticed children. 36

**Pregnant apprentices**

Only two girls fell pregnant while under the care of the Female Orphan School and at the time both were in private service under apprenticeship.

Early in 1821 Elizabeth Richardson was pregnant allegedly by young John Bateman, later to achieve lasting fame as the founder of Melbourne. Two magistrates obliged him to enter into a bond to pay twenty pounds per annum for the support of the child. 39

Richardson fled from her master Mr Hook and placed herself in the care of Blackman, the district constable at Minto. He was prepared to keep her until after her confinement provided he was reimbursed for the expenses. 90 The committee decided, rather quaintly, that it was very desirable to avoid taking any part in the support of the Girls who may behave so shamefully, lest the evil example should be injurious to the School and resolved to ask that unless she could be sent to

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36 E.g. Minute Book 1828-29, p. 8, 1/2/1828, pp. 235-6, 29/1/1829. Parents also intervened in some of the cases discussed.

39 FOS Minutes, p. 58, 14/12/1821. The spelling used in the minutes is Bateman.

90 FOS Minutes, p. 53.
the Factory her expenses be met from the Police rather than the Orphan Fund.\textsuperscript{91} Governor Macquarie agreed to her expenses being met from the Police Fund.\textsuperscript{92}

Three months after learning of the pregnancy, in May 1821, the committee called Batman before it. He denied the truth of the girl's deposition naming him as the man responsible for her condition and refused the committee's proposal that he should marry her. Hook was examined on the subject and it was decided that the bond previously extracted lacked legality. Finally the committee resolved to forego prosecution for seduction on the condition that Batman pay the Institution £50 for expenses.\textsuperscript{93} Consistent with a desire to put distance between himself and his past acts and present problems Batman sailed for Van Diemen's Land late in the year and the committee settled for £25 after receiving a memorial from John's father William Batman,\textsuperscript{94} who had been performing work for the Female Orphan School from at least as early as 1806\textsuperscript{95} and continued to figure

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{91} FOS Minutes, p.59.
\item \textsuperscript{92} FOS Minutes, p.60, 21/3/1821.
\item \textsuperscript{93} FOS Minutes, p.69, 9/5/1821.
\item \textsuperscript{94} FOS Minutes, p.79, 14/11/1821; P.L. Brown, 'Batman, John (1801-1839)', ADB, Vol.1, pp.57-8.
\item \textsuperscript{95} VRA, Vol. VI, p.172, Balance Sheet of the Orphan Fund November 1806 to June 1807.
\end{itemize}
prominently in the orphan accounts long after this affair. 96

The second case occurred in the latter part of 1823 when James White reported that his apprentice was pregnant to an Everitt Simmons. The committee simply resolved that if Simmons would marry the girl it would consent and the affair passed off quietly with Rev. Richard Hill marrying the expectant parents. 97

Apprenticeship to persons beyond supervision

In March 1821 the retiring Matron of the Female Orphan School, Mrs Collicott, was granted her request to take Charlotte Cornwall with her to Port Dalrymple as an apprentice and Richard Dry of Launceston was also allowed a girl apprentice. 98 These were exceptions to the rule that apprenticeships were granted only to people over whom the committee could exercise some surveillance although Mrs Collicott was obviously a special case. This rule was stressed in May 1823 when Percy Simpson, the Commandant at Wellington Valley,

96 E.g. Architects & Mechanics 1825-6 (HSMC 4/346), 1825-6 passim.

97 Minute Book 1828-29, p.149, 3/10/1823 and marginal annotation.

98 FOS Minutes, p.61, 21/3/1821.
took a girl to that place. Simpson received but ignored an instruction to transfer her to a resident of Bathurst and Governor Brisbane was asked to intervene to prevent the need for legal action for her recovery. 99

It is another of the varied indications of declining standards in the care of the orphans that as the 'twenties progressed boys and girls were assigned with increasing frequency to masters in far distant parts of the colony where they were beyond the effective protection of the Corporation. Exile to 'the bush' was clearly seen in some instances as a means of disposal to be employed with troublesome children. 100 Such situations provided less scope for criminal acts on the part of the children, absconding was difficult or impossible and it was much less likely that the master could attempt to return his apprentice. In short, such apprenticeships were an adaptation of the transportation principle.

Incorrigible children

On rare occasions the committee gave up completely in its dealings with an incorrigibly bad child. A

99 FOS Minutes, pp.95-6, 12/2/1823, p.103, 14/5/1823.

100 E.G. FOS Letters 1825-9, Milton to Committee 28/4/1829; FOS Letters 1830-2, 'List of Boys discharged from The Male Orphan School with the dates of admission, &c.', 'A List of Incorrigible Boys'.
Sydney carpenter repeatedly refused to take the girl Elizabeth Crowe, alias Wade, back into his service after she served a sentence of fourteen days solitary confinement at the Female Factory. The committee, feeling that she had proved herself an incorrigible, declined to insist that he take her back and washed its hands of her by sending her in the government vessel to her convict mother at Port Macquarie. 101 Similarly Ellen Diggins was returned by Mr Lamont from Port Macquarie on account of her 'very improper conduct' and was ordered to be received back into the Female Orphan School but kept in isolation until the establishment of the punishment class. Shortly afterwards advantage was taken of an application to release her to her elder sister. 102 There is no evidence of any concern about the sister's fitness as guardian, no safeguarding apprenticeship. Mary McAmara, although not an apprentice, is in the same category. She and her younger sister were returned to their


mother and her husband. When the mother was gaol
soon afterwards the committee resolved that harry was
'so loose in her habits and language as to prevent her
being received back'.

**Successful apprenticeships**

This chapter has inevitably presented a rather
gloomy picture of orphan apprenticeship. However
many apprenticeships probably turned out quite well
for both parties. The normal preoccupation of a
documentary record is with problem cases. No news is
good news and for a large percentage of the apprentice-
ships no complaints were heard from either party.

On the side of positive evidence Alexander Berry wrote
in June 1829 that his partner Woolstonecraft had
informed him that the firm's nine apprentices at its
Shoalhaven establishment 'are now becoming so useful,

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103 Minute Book 1828-29, p. 141, 11/9/1828, p. 173,
28/11/1828; Letters from Col. Sec. Ac. 1821-26,
Nos. 222, 223, 224. Note the similar case of the
African half-caste Ann Randal. She had been in
the P33, was transferred to Blacktown and on the
closure of the Aboriginal school there was placed
in Cartwright's care at Liverpool. He had her
returned to her mother because 'of the injury
sustained by the Aboriginal Children from
witnessing (her) vicious conduct': Minute Book

104 Of course this cannot be taken too far. Children
of docile disposition may have been no more than
amenable slaves under a system designed for
their subordination.
(being already more serviceable than the generality of Convict Servants) that he would gladly take six more'.

105 Applications for Children, petition of A. Berry 11/3/1829. See also ST Box 8, Bigge, p.3355, Rev. W. Cooper's evidence 23/1/1821: complaints had not been numerous.
THE ORPHAN FARM
Chapter 19
UNDERDEVELOPMENT OF THE ORPHAN LANDS 1802-1825

The pattern of farming operations

The history of the orphan estates falls into three parts. For some two decades there was no more than a half-hearted effort to turn the landed endowment to profit by developing its farming potential or leasing to outsiders. Mrs Macquarie tried with limited success in the last months of her husband's government to stir the committee to greater activity. Then from 1825 to 1827 there occurred a brief burst of activity under the superintendence of James Busby when a real attempt was made to develop a farming establishment which would return economic and educational advantages to the orphans and to the colony in general. This project was a casualty very largely to the Corporation's financial difficulties and the ramifications of an obscure and unsatisfactory contract with Busby.

Finally there was a brief period in which this establishment was run down and the orphans' landed heritage dissipated. These three periods are the subject in turn of this and the two following chapters.
Some use was being made of Grose Farm, a fenced property close to the town and school, as early as 1802 for in September of that year the committee resolved to pay the gardener then cultivating it six guineas per annum. In 1806 this grant was described as having on it a commodious farm residence and outbuildings with two good gardens. Nevertheless, efforts to rent it out failed in 1806, three times in 1808 under varying conditions, and again in 1812.

The rent-income King had in mind in making the orphan grants failed to materialise. To the end of our period there was a persistence of both trouble with trespassers on the orphan land and a failure to find acceptable tenants.

**Foundation of the Orphan herd and flock**

Rev. Samuel Marsden was one trustee who was disturbed by the failure to make some profitable use of the grants. A short time after the institution of the Orphan Fund Marsden was nominated treasurer and was directed by Governor King to receive as remuneration for this service five per cent of all money received

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1 HRA, Vol. IV, p.98, minutes of committee 23/9/1802; SG, 30 June 1805, caution against removal of palings.

2 SG, 3 and 10 August 1806, 16 October, 13 and 20 November 1808, 29 February 1812.
into the Fund. At that time, with the Institution in its infancy and funds very low, Marsden declined to accept this liberal offer. However by the end of 1804 the Fund showed a healthy balance and Marsden was again directed to take five per cent from the sum total so far received. He wrote in reply:

The Institution being founded in Charity, I have no wish to appropriate any part of the money arising to the Fund to my own personal benefit, but shall at all times be happy to render any assistance to the Institution in my power without fee or reward.

The sum owed him from the percentage allowed stood at £190.10. 0. He asked to be permitted to purchase government cattle to this value as, in his opinion, 'this would be a very considerably increasing property, and at some future period yield much supply to the children'. Should the Governor and committee refuse to accept this request he asked that they appropriate the money to the benefit of the orphans in some other way.³ For some reason unknown King did nothing about Marsden's offer at this time.

At the end of 1805 the Orphan Fund had a credit of £509.19. 2: the balance due of the profits for one year of the sale of the annual supplies. The committee suggested the propriety of liquidating this

³ BT Box 12, Bigge Appendix, pp.123-4, Marsden to King 25/1/1805.
Governor King had liberally endowed it with land and the most prudent plan was to stock it as soon as funds permitted in order to create a permanent fund for its support. He asked for himself only one cow which he wished to bestow on a private individual. The committee and the Governor gratefully accepted his generous offer which helped provide a foundation for the Orphan School herd. Palmer was ordered to add to the original draft, at the same prices, nine cows and two sheep or ewes. A statement of account in August 1806 gave the orphan stock as '1 bull, 16 cows, 6 calves, 123 ewes, 2 rams, 29 wethers, 30 ewe lambs, 32 male lambs'.

Harsden gave up a small fortune — and the capital with which he might have made a large one. Unfortunately for him his fellow colonists were often led to notice his less creditable actions, or those which could be interpreted as such, and to overlook or forget his

6 BT Box 12, Bigge, p.135, Harris, Jamison and Palmer to Harsden 29/6/1806, pp.135-7, Harsden to Committee 29/6/1806, pp.135-9, Committee to Harsden 7/7/1806, p.140, King to Committee 7/7/1806; BT Box 25, Bigge, pp.6037-8, Harsden to Bigge 30/1/1821.

7 BT Box 12, Bigge, p.140, King to Palmer 7/7/1806.

8 HRA, Vol. V, p.765, 'Statement of Receipts and Disbursements on Account of the Gaol and Orphan Fund, from 1st day of January to the 12th day of August following' (1806).
claim by the purchase of breeding stock. Commissary Palmer was consequently ordered to deliver to the treasurer from the government stock eight breeding cows at £28 per head, eighty ewes and eighteen wethers at £2: a total value of £stg.400, the balance to be retained to meet further requisitions for stores.4

On the same day as making this order King wrote to the Orphan School committee requesting early consideration of Marsden's letter, entered in the minutes of 25 January 1805, and also the necessity of putting the farms in order to receive the breeding stock being alienated.5

When Marsden relinquished the treasurership to return to England in 1806 he was owed to 31 December 1805 a total of £stg.255.14. 6 on his percentage. He again declined to receive the money, although his fellow committee members urged that they did not 'consider such a privation of what is so justly due incumbent on you'. The chaplain considered that the Institution was still in its infancy and 'the number of poor objects who call for its protection daily increasing'.

4 BT Box 12, Bigge, pp.132-3, King to Palmer 16/5/1806.
5 BT Box 12, Bigge, p.134, King to Committee 16/5/1806.
acts of selflessness. By 1820 John Harris, a member of the committee in 1806, had come to think that it was Governor King who had originally given the orphans forty or fifty head of cattle.²

Some development of the Cabramatta estate

It was probably late in 1806 that a start was made on the erection of a house for the stock keepers at the Prospect corner of the Cabramatta estate (see map p. 69I), although the work of erecting the frame dragged on until well into 1807 and the house was still unfinished in July 1810 when tenders were called for its completion. The terms included a requirement that 'Sufficient Security must be given for the due Performance of the Contract'.¹¹

Meanwhile, by mid 1807, Thomas Rose, the overseer, had erected 'the necessary buildings and Stock Yard' and a cart, grindstone and wheat mill had been purchased for a total investment to that time of £54.10. 6. Three hundred male sheep had been purchased from

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² John Harris's evidence 15/3/1820.

¹¹ ERA, Vol. VI, p.172, Balance Sheet of the Orphan Fund Nov. 1806 to June 1807.

¹¹ SG, 7 July 1810.
Harsden for £300. With these developments it appeared that there was a serious intention to turn the farm lands to profitable account.

The history of the farming establishment from 1807 until the establishment of the new Female Orphan School Committee in 1818 was lost with the committee minutes of the intervening years. There can have been little to tell. The property remained undeveloped except for the section of extremely rich ground, later known as the Old Farm, where the overseer's hut and the stockyards were sited and the overseer was permitted to cultivate a few acres for his private advantage.

In the early years of Macquarie's term the quarterly accounts give occasional indications of activity at the farm: small sums were listed as having been expended on it or income was received from the sale of sheep and cattle. For the years 1810-12 expenditure of £237.10.11 was offset against an income of £273.19.2 for a negligible profit.

12 HRA, Vol. VI, p.172, Balance Sheet. Rose was receiving £65 p.a.


14 SG, quarterly accounts 1810-1812. It was not until early in 1818 that Macquarie first enquired what use was being made of the estate and the current state of the herd; C30L, Colonial Letter Book. From Jan 1818 to July 1818 (NSA 4/3496), Campbell to Harsden 15/12/1818.
At the beginning of 1821 the farm staff was still restricted to a convict overseer and a stockman. The overseer received only the pay and ration of a common servant at the Orphan House and the stockman, denied the usual tea and sugar in his ration, was the loudest of all the servants.15 Bigge reported that

The farm, though consisting of 1500 acres of land in a good situation, has not been made productive. There was only one inclosure upon it, and a small house in a bad situation; and from the neglect of the herdsmen and superintendent, the cattle of adjoining settlers were permitted to range upon it.15

Stock losses

The growth of the Orphan herd received a serious setback in 1814-15 when a severe drought caused stock losses and it was found necessary to move the cattle to pasturage between Liverpool and Port Hacking. There some strayed, were not recovered, and bred into a wild herd. This loss was later unjustly attributed to the negligence of Rev. Samuel Marsden who had come to be regarded as having a special responsibility for the herd

15 Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry, on the state of Agriculture and Trade in the Colony of New South Wales, House of Commons, 13 March 1823, p.72.
simply through being somewhat more diligent in his supervision of its affairs than were his inactive fellow committeemen. Marsden objected that he had no special responsibility nor could he stop the drought.\footnote{17}

In October 1818 Marsden, Palmer and Hanibal Macarthur were appointed a sub-committee to devise means for the recovery of the stray cattle\footnote{18} but nothing was achieved. In April 1820 it was again resolved that the local committee should report on the practicability and propriety of getting in the stray herds.\footnote{19} An arrangement was entered into with the overseer Edward Gray for their recovery by allowing him two cows for every ten recovered, not calculating any under one year old.\footnote{20} Finally in May 1821 defeat was admitted with the decision that as the overseer could not reclaim the cattle he was to shoot such as he could identify and salt them on the spot for the use of the Institution.\footnote{21}

\begin{footnotes}
\item 17 ET Box 1, Bigge, p.279, John Harris's evidence 16/8/1830; ET Box 26, Bigge, p.5178, Marsden to Bigge 5/2/1821.
\item 18 F05 Minutes (NSHA 4/403), p.18, 30/10/1810.
\item 19 F05 Minutes, p.42, 19/4/1820.
\item 20 F05 Minutes, pp.45-6, 5/7/1820.
\item 21 F05 Minutes, p.69, 9/5/1821.
\end{footnotes}
The cattle on the Cabramatta estate in its unfenced condition were virtually wild. They were very difficult to handle and accurate information on their numbers was lacking. Much of the stock was probably never imprinted with the orphans' 'O' brand.22 The inefficient husbandry and losses went hand in hand.

On 30 October 1818 the committee examined the overseer John Alford and his return of stock and found his answers to be 'so very unsatisfactory' that the sub-committee was asked to make an immediate stocktake.23 This took place the following day when 117 cattle and 354 sheep were counted. The committee subsequently resolved to initiate proceedings against Alford, who had been removed, and another man, apparently the shepherd, on a charge of felony in respect of cattle presumed to have been taken from the farm24 and at the end of the quarter they suffered a combined stoppage of £22. 2. 1. from their pay on the ground of misconduct.25

22 Correspondence EOS Farm 1825-6 (NSW A 4/7504), Redfern to Busby 4/3/1825.
23 EOS Minutes, p.18, 30/10/1818.
24 EOS Minutes, pp.22-4, 30/11/1818.
At the November meeting the committee appointed Edward Gray, a free settler, as overseer and extracted a £200 security for the 'faithful discharge of the trust'.

Clearly the difficulties of herding cattle on an unfenced run near a market for cattle and beef were too ready an excuse for lazy oversight, too convenient a cover for theft and conversion. This was partly guarded against, although it can hardly have been hoped very efficiently, by a request in April 1820 that Sir John Jamison, John Palmer, Hanibal Macarthur and G.T. Palmer should visit the farm quarterly in rotation to muster the cattle and report to the quarterly meetings.

In March 1821 the committee directed the overseer to submit monthly returns to John Palmer.

At the time of the opening of the Male Orphan School its committee requested the supply of six milch cows from the herd and although the Female Orphan School

26 FOS Minutes, p.21, 30/11/1818.

27 FOS Minutes, p.50, 19/4/1820.

28 FOS Minutes, p.60, 21/3/1821. The papers on the orphan school estate are very imperfect and no returns were made prior to 1818. Returns were made on printed forms from 1820 but the printed parts provide only for 'Horned Cattle'. Quarterly returns of sheep commenced in 1825. See Stock Returns and Correspondence (S.S.A 4/343), especially Busby to Scott 7/9/1825.
ordered compliance the herd was unable to provide them.\textsuperscript{29} An appeal had then to be directed to Macquarie who agreed to lend a bull and six cows from the government herds on the execution of a bond.\textsuperscript{30}

In April 1820 it was decided to kill off the flock of sheep as needed for the consumption of the school.\textsuperscript{31} By January 1821 the herd was approaching two hundred head and was expected shortly to be able to meet the demand of the Female Orphan School for meat.\textsuperscript{32} In May up to £500 was voted for the purchase of good breeding cattle;\textsuperscript{33} £515 was actually spent.\textsuperscript{34}

The Female Orphan School had for some time an arrangement whereby it was permitted to draw meat from the government stores. This allowed it to make a great saving in expenses without loss to the commissariat as an equivalent quantity of meat was turned in when beasts became available for slaughter.

\textsuperscript{29} MOS Minutes (NS:\A 4/400), 15/4/1819; FOS Minutes, p.41, 19/4/1820, p.44, 5/5/1820.

\textsuperscript{30} MOS Minutes, 8/5/1820, 12/7/1820, 8/10/1823; CSIL, Bundle 14, No. 116 Pt.2, 1820, pp.89-99, Hill to Macquarie 17/7/1820.

\textsuperscript{31} FOS Minutes, p.42, 19/4/1820.

\textsuperscript{32} BT Box 8, Bigge, p.31516, Hill's evidence 22/1/1821.

\textsuperscript{33} FOS Minutes, p.70, 9/5/1821.

\textsuperscript{34} 31, 8 March 1822, Orphan Accounts.
In November 1822 the Male Orphan School committee, pointing to this practice, asked for the same privilege. Governor Brisbane refused the application and terminated the arrangement for the Female Orphan School on the ground that it interfered too much with the multitudinous duties of the commissariat store.

Mrs Macquarie's suggestions

Mrs Macquarie felt strongly that the orphan farm should be conducted in such a way as to enable benefit to be derived from the cattle owned. She expected that following the move of the Female Orphan School to Parramatta the gentlemen of the committee would have inspected the stock and corrected the evils preventing their improvement. Eighteen months later, when it was obvious that the committee was not going to act, she penned her opinions on the matter in a letter directed to Lieutenant Governor Erskine, the unofficial president of the committee.

Farm superintendent Gray was a gunsmith by trade and ignorant of rural concerns. He allowed the orphans'
land to be used as a common by the neighbouring landholders, hired out the working bullocks to plough for others, and occupied his time in matters for his own profit to the neglect of the stock. A respectable person, possessed of the requisite skills and of integrity and good conduct, should be appointed to the situation. As no reputable person of independent mind would take the situation it would be necessary to pay such a salary as to provide comfort and make it worth devoting full-time superintendence to the concerns of the farm. Direction had been lost in a large committee. The superintendent should receive his instructions from only the president of the committee who would be free to call on the other members to give him advice and they to offer it to him.

The superintendent's house was so very bad, merely a wretched hut, that no respectable man would reside in it. Its situation, near to the north-west corner of the estate, was reportedly a bad one in relation to the estate as a whole. A comfortable house, with a garden and other enclosures, should be built on some more eligible situation near to the centre of the grant.
The committee already had before it this question of the overseer's residence and the problem of whether to repair it or to build more substantially elsewhere with proper yards and enclosures. On the recommendation of Wylde, Harris and George Palmer, who thought the old house and enclosures not worth repairing, a position within half a mile of the centre of the grant was chosen and a new weatherboard cottage and a good barn erected there. Stockyards were constructed and about forty acres of the land enclosed and subdivided.

Although central this position was poor in that it was hemmed in on three sides by bush and in James Busby's opinion, given in 1825, the soil was only of secondary quality and the area even of that limited. This meant that this situation was inferior to much of the rest of the property and although tolerable wheat crops were grown with the assistance of manure from the stockyards Busby did not think it worth the expense of cultivating under the prevailing agricultural economy of New South Wales.
Subsequent to these developments and prior to the onset of a serious attempt to develop the estate in 1825 the Hale Orphan School moved to Bull's Hill on the estate and that site was developed.

Mrs Macquarie suggested that if any part of the estate were to be let it ought only be to small settlers receiving from thirty to one hundred acres on clearing leases or, alternatively, that they be paid to clear the land and charged rent annually. This would be a means of improving the grant and if renting were continued of having it yield a revenue. A large pastoralist tenant would not have an interest in improving the land and would be more likely to trespass on other parts of the run. The small settlers would be an answer to the trespassing problem as they would form a buffer and would be the first to receive injury. The part retained for the orphan herd ought to be fenced and at least two hundred of the best ewes kept to manure the fields and the enclosure at Parramatta and to supply wool for the girls to spin. 42

Mrs Macquarie was obviously giving more thought to the improvement of the estate and to exacting benefit from it than was the committee. The points about fencing

42 BT Box 22, Bigge, pp.4394-5, Mrs Macquarie to Erskine 13/6/1820.
and keeping off trespassers were subsequently taken up although not strictly in her terms or, probably, as a result of her letter.

The problem of trespassing

The various committees experienced a continuous problem of trespass on the large, undeveloped estate and although varied remedies were tried the problem was 'solved' only with the sale of much of the land.43

The Messrs Jamieson, father and sons, although frequently warned off, persisted in feeding their cattle on the estate, even on the part required by the school's own cattle. Finally the overseer complained to the committee at its meeting on 19 April 1820. The Jamiesons apparently learned that the complaint would be made. One of the sons also attended and requested permission for their cattle to continue on the farm. This request was rejected and it was resolved to serve written notice on the Jamiesons that legal action would be taken against them should they continue to trespass.44

As overseer Gray reported that a considerable part of the land was not currently required by the orphans'

43 The absence of clearly demarcated boundaries could lead to innocent trespass. See FOS Minutes, p.41, 5/4/1820.

44 FOS Minutes, pp.42-3, 19/4/1820; BT Box 26, Bigge, pp.5165-6, Hill to Bigge 5/2/1821.
cattle the meeting resolved to accede to a request from Judge Advocate Wylde, whose farm adjoined the estate, for permission to feed his cattle on the farm. In return Wylde's stockmen were expected to help keep off trespassers. This decision may well have raised a few eyebrows for Wylde, a prominent member of the committee, chaired this and other meetings around this time. However this same meeting also decided to kill some of the sheep and when the Master and the overseer both complained of the state of those slaughtered Wylde made his own land available for the desired change of pasturage and the sheep improved considerably.  

The committee further resolved on 19 April 1820 that a stockyard and paddock of thirty acres should be enclosed and on 14 August this was extended by a request to the local committee to see to the enclosure with the least possible delay of as much of the farm as it might consider necessary for the school's herd.

45 POS Minutes, pp.42-3, 16/4/1820; ST Box 26, Bigge, p.6136; Hill to Bigge 5/2/1821.
46 POS Minutes, p.42.
47 ST Box 26, Bigge, pp.6136-7, Hill to Bigge 5/2/1821.
48 POS Minutes, p.41.
49 POS Minutes, p.50, 14/8/1920.
By January 1821 an engagement had been entered into and a redbook and stockyard was then in formation.

Another approach to the problem of trespass was the decision in May 1820 to call for tenders for leases for 50 years, of the farm not needed by the company, with the option of a 50-year lease for one of the farms. When the offer was launched, the attempt to attract 1000 legal expenses faced resistance from some who were glad.

Despite the offer being made, the past behavior was not acknowledged.

JUDGE ADVOCATE JOHN WYLDE
By January 1921 an engagement had been entered into and a paddock and stockyard was then in formation.  

Another approach to the problem of trespass was the decision in May 1920 to call for tenders for lease for a five year period of the 6000 acres of the farm not needed by the present herd. An advertisement was published on a number of occasions without result.

Despite the resolution-making nothing much had happened at the farm. The Jamiesons had been abusive on occasions when they had been asked to take their cattle from the grant and finally went a stage further with some of them physically assaulting the overseer. When the attack was reported to secretary Hill he sent a note to solicitor Garling and prosecutions were launched. One of Jamieson's sons brought an apology for the assault and an offer of 233.10.0 for the renting of 1000 acres. The committee decided to allow the legal proceedings to run their course and to reject the offer to lease, considering that the Jamiesons' past behaviour indicated a likely intention to range over the whole run. The sons were convicted; a second

50 BT Box 9, p.3151, Hill's evidence 22/1/1921.
51 F05 Minutes, p.144, 8/5/1920.
52 SG, 20 May 1920; BT Box 26, Bigge, p.6167, Hill to Bigge 5/2/1921. Note that this decision was taken very shortly before Mrs Macquarie advised against large leases.
prosecution, against the father, was waived.\textsuperscript{53}\nMacquarie agreed to allow the committee's expenses to be paid out of the fines to the Crown.\textsuperscript{54}

In resisting the attempts to remove them the Jamiesons had been influenced by a sense of grievance that Wylde was permitted gratuitous use of the farm. Their viewpoint might well have elicited some sympathy had they behaved with more discretion.\textsuperscript{55}

In October 1821 Wylde returned from a lengthy absence on circuit in Van Diemen's Land and reported that only a very small herd of his young heifers had been put onto the estate and they had been driven home each night. His overseer reported that it was quite impossible to keep trespassers off for 'all notice was disregarded & the pasture considered indeed as a free common to the neighbourhood'. He declined to make further use of the run and recommended that no tenant seemed likely to be forthcoming that either the whole estate be fenced or the overseer given the services of enough men to police all parts of the estate constantly and to drive to the pound the herds

\textsuperscript{53} POS Minutes, p. 53, 18/10/1820; BT Box 26, Bigge, pp. 3165 ff, Hill to Bigge 5/2/1821.
\textsuperscript{54} POS Minutes, pp. 54-5, 3/1/1821, p. 57, 14/2/1821.
\textsuperscript{55} BT Box 26, Bigge, p. 5170, Hill to Bigge 5/2/1821.
and flocks 'that, I am told, are to be found at large in all parts of the Estate'.

The estate was fenced during late 1821 and early 1822 but in such a manner that a careful survey later revealed that the line of fence did not coincide with the description of the grant or Surveyor General Oxley's plan. On the Cabramatta Creek boundary the fence stopped more than a mile short of the creek which was shown in the plan as the boundary and on the western side some six to seven hundred acres not belonging to the grant was enclosed. Fortunately none of this wrongfully enclosed land had been granted and it was decided to remedy the mistake by assigning it as an addition to the orphan grant.

This takes the account up to the time of the establishment of the Male Orphan School on the estate.

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56 Correspondence OS Farm 1825-27 (NSW A 4/394), Wyile to Hill 13/10/1821; JOS Minutes, p.78, 17/10/1821.


59 Farm Journal No.1, p.90, 23/11/1825.
and the serious attempt to develop it for farming purposes which is the subject of the next chapter. But as the trespass problem was not solved by either the enclosure of the estate or the presence of the school and farm establishments it will be well to anticipate here in order to complete the discussion of intrusion.

As late as mid 1827 trespassing cattle were still sufficiently a cause of concern for Cartwright to be ordered to impound all beasts found on the estate and to furnish a memorandum concerning the owners of cattle still permitted to graze there.  

In September 1825 the estate was one of a number of Clergy and School Lands Corporation properties listed in a public notice warning trespassers against removing timber and offering a reward of $3 Spanish for information leading to a prosecution. Archdeacon Scott admonished the superintendent, James Busby, 'to be

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61 SG, 29 September 1825.
particular in finding out any individual cutting timber and immediately to apply to the Attorney-General to have them prosecuted. By 1827 building timber was reported to be very scarce on the estate and offered only enough shingles for present needs—nevertheless the committee raised no objection to the cutting of four thousand shingles for government use.

It seems likely that after the run was fenced an insistence on taking the shortest road to Liverpool was a more important cause of intrusion than either the illicit grazing of cattle or the theft of timber. The road to Liverpool had passed through the grant but when the property was enclosed the road had to be resurveyed and the route to Liverpool lengthened. An apparently increasing number of travellers insisted on going the shorter journey along the old road, often wantonly destroying the fences in order to do so.

The complete and arrogant disregard of the property rights of the orphan establishment are well illustrated

62 Farm Journal No.1, p.87, 18/11/1825.
in several reported instances. Messrs Henry O'Brien
and Browne Jr ignored both a warning notice that the
road was closed and the verbal warning of Thomas Colbane,
who was in charge of the Old Farm, in destroying two
panels of fencing whereby the school lost nine head
of cattle. They were warned to repair the damage
and to desist in future or the Trustees would launch
an action for trespass. In another incident soldiers
from a detachment at Kemp's Creek cut the fence, despite
the remonstrance of one of the farm servants who happened
to be present. Cartwright then wrote out a 'no-trespassing'
notice but no sooner had it been set in place with a
man to watch beside it when another party of soldiers
came along and again cut down the fence - with the
institution's axe.

Because the repair of the fences involved heavy
expenditure without return the committee recommended
in August 1827 that four thousand acres on the Liverpool
side of the estate should be sold. This idea of
creating a buffer at the focal point for travellers did

65 Proceedings of Committees No.1, p.178, 1/3/1827;
Corporation Letter Book 1826-27, p.231, Cowper to
O'Brien and Browne 3/3/1827.
66 NOS Letters 1825-9, Cartwright to Cowper 26/2/1828.
not succeed. Towards the end of 1823 Cartwright had to ask for the insertion of a notice in the Sydney Gazette warning trespassers on the grounds immediately adjoining the school itself who were in the habit of breaking down fences, riding and driving cattle and teams through them, 'even through our yards, both in the direction of Liverpool & the Souparstures Road' in consequence of which some of the cattle had strayed and been lost. On one recent occasion several days had been wasted in recovering the working bullocks.\footnote{53}

\textbf{Depredation}

Besides trespassing depredation proved to be an intractable problem. After the farm establishment was created in 1825, and quite apart from the exploits known to be attributable to resident villains, carts were held up and robbed, wheat stolen, gardens robbed, and livestock stolen - even from the yard of the school itself.\footnote{59} Apart from the known theft of animals the suspicion that orphan cattle were being stolen for slaughter led to the offer of a reward of £3\textstg. 10 for information leading to a conviction.\footnote{70}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[59] Farm Journal No.1, p.10, 21/2/1825, p.73, 19/9/1825 and 20/9/1825, pp.96-7, 8/12/1825, p.97, 9/12/1825, p.98, 10/12/1825. \textit{SG}, 3 April 1826; 2 and 9 February 1827; KOS Letters 1825-9, Cartwright to Couper 22/5/1827.
\item[70] \textit{SG}, 1 November 1826.
\end{footnotes}
The estate also harboured its own bushrangers. A party of seven male bushrangers and two or three women, including the notorious Sarah Brown, had reportedly 'long infested' the farm by the time that the nightwatchman disturbed three of the men in the slaughterhouse at 2 a.m. on 22 August 1827. He fired one shot before they escaped leaving traces of blood indicating that one had been hit. Several weeks later the three bushrangers were caught and Henry Gascoigne Fane stated that the ball fired by the watchman had pierced his hat in three different directions and carried away part of his skull.  

After the excitement of this incident Cartwright asked to be supplied as soon as possible with a good musket, a brace of good horse pistols and a cutlass to supplement the musket the school already possessed. He also represented as 'quite necessary' the clearing of about seven acres of brush near the school which had served to harbour the bushrangers and when searched had generally yielded articles hidden there by the thieves amongst the school's convict servants. Further, the yard and vineyard ought to be enclosed by a paling fence.

71 NOS Letters 1825-9, Cartwright to Couper 22/8/1827; 32, 14 September 1827.
and the existing four rail fence utilised elsewhere.\textsuperscript{72} The committee acceded to all of these requests.\textsuperscript{73}

In mid-afternoon on 24 November 1829 bushrangers wounded one of the school's servants within half a mile of the Institution. Richard Sadleir immediately requisitioned for more weapons for the protection both of the school and of its drays when they were on the road.\textsuperscript{74} The requisition was refused.\textsuperscript{75}

At 11 p.m. in the evening of 21 December an agitated Sadleir sat down and penned his protest to Charles Cowper. He had at the moment of setting pen to paper returned from the pursuit of 'O'Donaghue'-Jack Donahoe: the Wild Colonial Boy - and two others 'who had taken their station within a quarter of a mile of the place & who are continually hovering about us'. He thought the committee could not be aware of the fact that the neighbourhood was infested with bushrangers. He would see it as his duty to use every precaution against loss of property but felt that the denial of

\textsuperscript{72} Hob Letters 1825-9, Cartwright to Cowper 22/3/1827.
\textsuperscript{73} Proceedings of Committees No. 1, p. 232, 3/10/1827.
\textsuperscript{74} Hob Letters 1825-9, Sadleir to Cowper 24/1/1829, Requisition ... for the quarter ending December 31st 1829.
\textsuperscript{75} Minute Book 1829-30 (NSMA 7/2704), p. 220, 9/12/1829.
arms absolved him from responsibility should anything serious occur.76

Orphans' cattle

Although the living parent of an 'orphan' was expected to contribute to his keep if able to do so, any estate left a genuine orphan was not appropriated on the plea of offsetting the expense of rearing him but was put to use to build a stake for him when he left the school.

In 1821 when Corporal Tollis died three Tollis boys were taken into the Male Orphan School and the youngest was boarded out by the committee.77 More than a year later the committee received a report that Tollis had left a house, furniture and a few head of cattle in the charge of Sergeant Whalan. Tollis had in fact left a house in Elizabeth Street, £12.16.11 in cash and six head of cattle. The committee recommended to Whalan that he should sell the house and put the proceeds into cattle which the committee would depasture gratuitously on the school farm for the benefit of the boys.78 This appears to have been the first instance of what became the standard practice. The

76 HOS Letters 1825-9, Sadleir to Cowper 21/12/1829.
77 HOS Minutes, 10/10/1821.
78 HOS Minutes, p.96, 12/2/1823, pp.102-3, 14/5/1823.
committee sought out the legacies of orphans and invested the proceeds in cattle. By mid 1827 when the Corporation began to sell the farm there were fifty head of cattle on the run belonging to orphans, many of whom had left the schools.

In 1827 Edward Gregory claimed compensation for the loss from the estate of two of the cows purchased from the money left him by his father. He was told that he must accept the risks of the investment but could return the ownership of the cattle to the institution and elect instead to receive the cash and interest upon it. He chose to do this.

79 Farm Journal No. 1, p. 13, 1/3/1825, pp. 68-9; 31/3/1825, p. 82, 7/11/1825, p. 84, 12/11/1825; Corporation Letter Book 1826-27, p. 88, Cowper to Archibald Bell 1/9/1826.

See also Inventory of Documents and Accounts Relative to the Male and Female Orphan Institutions 1800-1825 (M:JA 4/7491-1), item 460, Jane Sims requesting order to obtain her son's cattle from the OS Farm 3/2/1825, renewed 15/2/1825. This is the only instance in the records of a child with cattle on the estate who had a living parent.

80 MOS Letters 1825-9, Cartwright to Cowper 11/6/1827.

Chapter 20

JAMES BUSBY: VITICULTURE AND HORTICULTURE

James Busby

It has been noticed that one of Governor Brisbane's expressed reasons for superseding Macquarie's committee in January 1824 was dissatisfaction with its failure to develop the orphan lands. Shortly afterwards a fortuitous answer presented itself in the person of James Busby.

Busby, the twenty-three year old son of Scots surveyor and civil engineer John Busby, arrived with his parents as an immigrant in February 1824.¹ For two years prior to leaving England he had given much time and attention to acquiring a knowledge of viticulture and winemaking 'from a persuasion that this branch of rural economy was likely to be important to the Colony'. To this end he had, at considerable loss of income and actual expense, visited some of the best winemaking provinces of France² and on the way


² Papers Relating to the Claims of James Busby (NSW 4/7502), 'Memorandum James Busby to Committee of the Church Corporation', received 28 August 1826.
out to New South Wales had taken the opportunity to visit the Constantia and other vineyards in the neighbourhood of Capetown. He began compiling *A Treatise on the Culture of the Vine, and the Art of Making Wine*, which was to be published in Sydney in 1825, and on arrival submitted to the Government the introduction which gave some of his reasons for thinking the work worthy of its attention.

Busby pointed out that the vines did not produce any grapes for three years and that the grapes seldom made good wine before the fifth or sixth year. Giving the vine a trial was therefore an expensive undertaking and beyond his means. Unless a private individual was given public assistance the experiment was likely not to be attempted in New South Wales for many years.

The statement was well received by Governor Brisbane

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4 SG, 12 May 1826.

5 Papers Relating to the Claims of James Busby, Memorandum...recd. 28/8/1826.

6 Papers Relating to the Claims of James Busby, 'To His Excellency Sir Thos Brisbane K.C.B Governor and Commander in Chief &c &c &c The Memorial of James Busby', May 1824.
and Colonial Secretary Goulburn who assured Busby of support for a trial on a sufficient scale to test the capabilities of both the climate and soils of the colony for viticulture.⁷

One could easily gain the impression from Busby's writings that he saw to the colony as early as 1791. Phillip G. Fit at as a supreme 900 wines on his for many years after. Busby was to acquire from established the grape, although Brisbane he and did nothing considerable. Goulburn with arrangement.

⁷ Papers Relating Memorandum, April 30/3/1826.


JAMES BUSBY
and Colonial Secretary Goulburn who assured Busby of support for a trial on a sufficient scale to test the capabilities of both the climate and soils of the colony for viticulture.7

One could easily gain the impression from Busby's writings that he was attempting something entirely new to the colony. This was not the case. As early as 1791 Phillip Schaffer, who came free on the First Fleet as a superintendent of convicts, was cultivating 900 vines on his farm at Rydalmere which was known for many years afterwards as The Vineyard.8 Moreover Busby was to acquire the plants for his own vineyard from established settlers who were already growing the grape, although it seems without his expertise.

Brisbane became preoccupied with other matters and did nothing further concerning Busby for some considerable time. Then he turned the matter over to Goulburn with the assurance that he would confirm any arrangement Goulburn and Busby came to. Goulburn at

7 Papers Relating to the Claims of James Busby, Memorandum...recd. 28/3/1826.
first proposed a trial on twelve to fifteen acres of the garden on the race course at Sydney but Brisbane rejected this because the land would soon be required for building.\(^9\)

A few days later Busby met Goulburn in the street and was asked to call on Rev. Thomas Reddall who had a better proposal than anything hitherto thought of. Reddall approached Busby and told him that there was a need for someone to take charge of the Orphan School estate and that Goulburn felt that Busby could join this with great advantage to his other pursuit.

Busby accompanied Reddall to the Cabramatta grant. He 'expressed some degree of repugnance on finding that I was to succeed to a person of no character, and to a situation which had been far from respectable'. As an educated gentleman, who had already received a 2,000 acre grant in the Hunter River district,\(^10\) he was careful always to insist on proper recognition of his worth. Reddall assured him that both he and Goulburn were most anxious to employ the orphan boys in the culture of the vine as a means of disseminating the

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\(^9\) This and the following four paragraphs are based on the Memorandum recd. 28/8/1826. See also CSIL, Bundle 22, No. 54-39, 1824 (A.SWA 4/1775), No.62, p.142, Busby to Brisbane 2/9/1825. Busby wanted a number of small trials rather than one big one.

\(^10\) Davidson, 'Busby', p.186.
knowledge throughout the colony when they left the school. Busby's employment would be placed on an altogether different footing to that of his predecessors in charge of the farm, the emoluments would make it worth his while, and his services might be represented much to his advantage to the Government at home.

In September 1824 Busby, in consultation with Goulburn and Reddall, accepted employment on the basis of receiving one third of the net profit of the soil and gross increase of the stock which it was intended to purchase.11 Busby received no formal acknowledgement of this agreement but Brisbane tacitly accepted it by calling on Busby to report on the nature and capabilities of the estate and later concurred with an observation by Archdeacon Scott that even if the expenditure on the project should exceed the proceeds of the agricultural pastoral establishment the funds of the Institution could not be better employed.

Hofyl

Scott had previously been advised to let the estate but when he learnt of Busby's interest he assured him that he had no intention of interfering with the arrangement which had been arrived at. Instead he

11 See also Papers Relating to the Claims of James Busby, Busby to Trustees of Male & Female Orphan Schools 27/12/1824.
spoke of organizing the boys in the projected agricultural establishment on the principle of that of Hofwyl in Switzerland.

Hofwyl was a school for the sons of the European aristocracy established in 1811 by Philippe Emanuel de Fellenberg (1771-1844) who acknowledged a debt to the naturist thought of Jean Jacques Rousseau and followed Pestalozzian methods. Each pupil had a small garden which he was required to cultivate with care and the whole school worked on the vegetable patch as a joint venture. The curriculum also included numerous games to be played outdoors as part of the open-air program and Greek, Latin, German, French, History, Geography, Pure and Applied Mathematics, Natural and Mental Philosophy, Chemistry, Music, Drawing, Gymnastics and Divinity - with special attention to Greek and Divinity. Viewed from the point of view of total education Scott was certainly using the analogy very loosely if he was thinking of his more expansive but frustrated ambitions for non-orphan education at Cabramatta. Likening the education of Scott's orphans to that of de Fellenberg's young aristocrats is ridiculous.

Goulburn's view, according to Busby, was that the principal object was to try the cultivation of the grape in New South Wales. Compared with this the benefit of the instruction of the boys in the art was of quite secondary importance but as the orphan estate would benefit from success he considered it reasonable for it to bear the expense.  

**Busby takes charge of farm establishment**

James Busby was prevented by some unspecified circumstance from taking charge of the farm until 10 January 1825.

Although the Hale Orphan School was at this time languishing under the almost criminal mismanagement of Sweetman Busby's Journal reveals that at least their superiors, Reddall and Goulburn, were taking a close interest in the farm department.

On 11 February 1825 Goulburn and Reddall divided the responsibilities of the establishment giving Sweetman charge of a gardener at Bull's Hill, the carpenter, tailors, shoemakers and brickmakers and a cart and team and placing everything else, including a staff of nine servants, under Busby.  

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13 Papers Relating to the Claims of James Busby, Memorandum...recd. 28/8/1826.

14 Farm Journal No.1, pp.4-6, 11/2/1825.
Busby also received charge of the brickmakers and on 29 April was authorized to keep separate accounts for the farm.

A cart, farming implements and blacksmiths tools were acquired. Work was begun on a potato field and a start was made towards acquiring the vine cuttings for the viticultural experiment from Blaxland's vineyard and from Macarthur and Harrington at Camden.

On his arrival Busby found on the estate or belonging to it 404 head of cattle. A month later a count of the sheep returned 273 breeding ewes and 16 lambs. Efforts were made soon afterwards for the removal or purchase of cattle, horses etc. belonging to Bowden and Mrs Ward and other non-orphan school stock placed in separate enclosures. In May twenty old and sick

15 Farm Journal No.1, p.5, 17/2/1825.
16 Farm Journal No.1, p.27, 29/4/1825.
17 Farm Journal No.1, p.9, 18/2/1825.
18 Farm Journal No.1, p.11, 26/2/1825.
20 Letters and Miscellaneous Papers re James Busby (NSWA 4/402.3), untitled, undated memorandum (October 1826); Papers Relating to the Claims of James Busby, Busby to Committee 14/6/1826; Farm Journal No.1, p.1, 10/1/1825.
21 Farm Journal No.1, p.5, 14/2/1825, p.3, 18/2/1825, p.9, 18/2/1825, p.35, 30/5/1825.
cows were sent for agistment on Henry Badgery's farm at South Creek at a cost of fourpence per week in the hope that they would benefit from a change of pasturage. At the same time Busby acquired assorted grass seed for pasture improvement.

On 13 June 1825 Busby reported to Archdeacon Scott in Parramatta with a plan of the estate. In the course of lengthy discussion Governor Brisbane entered and instructed Busby to draw up a report on the whole farm specifying the capabilities of the different places for an agricultural establishment. Scott gave it as his opinion, with which Brisbane fully concurred, that no convicts should be employed but that salaries should be paid to induce free persons of good character to take charge of the various departments. In particular he wanted a wheelwright, a carpenter and a blacksmith. Cultivation should be restricted to supplying the needs of the Institution and the main effort directed to teaching boys the management of flocks bred from the best kind of sheep John Macarthur would sell.

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22 Farm Journal, No.1, p.27, 30/4/1825, p.33, 20/5/1825.
23 Farm Journal, No.1, p.32, 16/5/1825.
24 Farm Journal No.1, p.38, 13/6/1825.
Money considerations were to blight the hopes for a free staff, and in their farming activities the boys seem never to have had much to do with sheep.

In the middle of June a horse was sent to Parramatta to fetch the Colonial botanist Charles Fraser in order to take his advice on the planting of an orchard. 25 Fraser approved of the piece of ground already enclosed and promised to provide a plan for the planting of the trees. 26 Subsequently his assistance was sought also with regard to garden seeds. 27 In July a gardener named Pollard was engaged for a month at £3 and his rations to plant the orchard. 28

Busby's Report

Much of Busby's time until August was occupied in making a very thorough survey of the estate in order to draw up the report commanded by Governor Brisbane. The resulting twenty-two page document, dated

25 Farm Journal No.1, p.43, 22/6/1825.
26 Farm Journal No.1, p.44, 24/6/1825.
27 Farm Journal No.1, p.100, 15/12/1825.
28 Farm Journal No.1, p.50, 4/7/1825.
August, is impressively competent and thorough, especially for so young a man.29

Busby discussed the soils and herbage of each part of the estate in detail. He gave as his total assessment the opinion that about 2,000 acres were worth cultivating in the present circumstances of the thinly populated colony, more than 6,510 acres, including the cultivable portion, were good sheep pasturage, 2,974 acres were indifferent pasturage and too wet for sheep and 2,016 acres were barren bush and scrub. Cleared land totalled 1,500 acres, most of it in the vicinity of the school establishment at Bull's Hill where nearly two hundred acres had been enclosed and sub-divided into paddocks. About 250 acres of the total had been cleared and subdivided since Busby assumed control and huts erected for the purpose of forming an agricultural establishment.

29 Papers Relating to the Claims of James Busby, 'Report On the State and Capabilities of The Orphan School Estate 24th Augt. 1825'. The map on p. 691 accompanied this report. The following paragraphs are derived from the report. There can be no doubt that Busby was an able young man. Before reaching the colony he had already become the general man of affairs for his family and his Treatise was a remarkable work; Ramsden, 'James Busby', especially pp. 362, 369.
JAMES BUSBY'S MAP OF THE ORPHAN ESTATE ACCOMPANYING HIS REPORT OF 24 AUGUST 1825
Three cleared sites: the Old Farm, Bull's Hill and the Superintendent's residence and stockyards ranked in that order for agricultural usefulness but a site facing Cabramatta Creek, where there was eight hundred to a thousand acres of good soil together, was better than any of these. On agricultural grounds alone he favoured placing the agricultural establishment at the Old Farm on account of the soil being richest there and contiguous to an abundance of good water. New buildings would be needed.

However lack of good water and remoteness from church and medical assistance made Bull's Hill unsatisfactory as a site for the school. Some of the buildings were unsuitable and would be inadequate when the enrolment increased but were readily convertible to housing the considerable number of people, including the boys, who would be working on the farm and to workshops for the millwright and rough carpenters. The housing of the agricultural department at Bull's Hill would, therefore, permit the very desirable removal of the school without loss of the investment in the existing buildings. Moreover although the soil was not so rich as at the Old Farm the quantity of
reasonably good land was greater and the situation
being more central to the good pasture was better suited
for the supervision of the sheep and cattle.

Busby doubted the wisdom of cultivating at more
than one place if Bull's Hill was made the agricultural
station in the interests of the Institution but he
opposed letting the other cleared areas. They would
be valuable for pasturage, especially for weaning
lambs and calves. None of the soil was inexhaustible
and men with sufficient stock to keep the soil fertilized
would be such as could easily obtain a grant of their
own. Such tenants as might be found would only exhaust
the soil and move on.

When, in the event, the Corporation's financial
plight halted the construction of a new school
establishment all three existing developed sites
continued to be used by the agricultural department.

Since the erection of the boundary fence the run
had been sub-divided into four main sections for the
management of the cattle and further sub-divided
wherever smaller enclosures could be formed with a
small line of fence. All the enclosures offered
access in all seasons to water on at least one side.
The expenditure of so much money on fencing suggested
that the depasturing of stock offered the best return
for the capital invested - but changes needed to be
made.
The 464 head of cattle then on the run were a degenerate stock unsatisfactory for either the dairy or the butcher. A sufficient supply of milk for both institutions had never been forthcoming but in the attempt to get it the cows had been harmed by overmilking and their calves stunted. Busby recommended that only fifteen to twenty cows and fifteen working bullocks should be retained and the rest of the herd sent to the rich herbage of the interior with some good bulls in order to improve it. The increase of this herd should allow a constant supply of meat. Milk should be provided by the purchase of twenty to thirty heifers of a good milk breed and this herd kept in good condition by allocation of the best pasturage and by artificial breeding.

The removal of the bulk of the cattle would leave the way open for the introduction of 2500 to 3000 sheep which would be more profitable and could make the best use of the herbage and enclosures on the estate. There was currently only a flock of three hundred and these animals had been purchased with an eye to carcase rather than fleece. They should be kept separate and already a beginning had been made in their disposal by slaughter. 30 Busby was looking

30 Farm Journal No.1, June 1825.
to the value of exportable wool. Two additional flocks of breeding ewes of strong fleece should be purchased, preferably with a nucleus, however small, of pure merinos.

**Educational aspects**

Educationally Busby saw the farm as offering scope for the tuition of boys in the cultivation of three or four hundred acres of the soil, rotation of green crops, cultivation of the vine and tobacco to test their suitability for the colony, management of a dairy and merino flocks and the arts of the millwright and the rough carpenter who might be engaged. In this way the boys should be trained for future usefulness and the Institution's finances benefit at the same time.

How far such English practices as crop rotation ought to be introduced was a problem which must be solved empirically. Busby was conscious of the need to offer the boys under his charge insights into something better than 'that sluggish and rude cultivation practised by the lower settlers of the Colony'. At the same time he was well aware that realism demanded acknowledgement of market forces in local conditions and that there was a limit to the value of the scientific, intensive farming of the more advanced
districts of England for a colony where nature assisted a low input system of agriculture. The principles to be adopted should perhaps be that profitability and instruction must each be made to a degree subservient to the other and that improvements ought to be adopted only to the extent that they were demonstrated to be profitable.

The number of boys to be employed in this side of the School's work was likewise a matter for trial. He thought that at fourteen they would have enough strength to take on the various tasks under the free men of good character promised by Brisbane. Instruction would be theoretical as well as practical for the boys would be required to give reasons for everything which they had done or seen done. When they were capable of handling a team of oxen or a pair of horses they would be ready to succeed their instructors and, in an application of the monitorial system, become the teachers of their juniors.

Purchase of a better quality flock

Archdeacon Scott endorsed Busby's report as very able. He wished to implement immediately the proposals concerning the sheep. He had not yet received any statement of the orphan accounts and did not know what money was available but did not think the proposed five hundred breeding ewes could be purchased for less than £5,000 unless the Government was able to make
available a selection from its flocks at Bathurst. About twenty four rams would also be needed. Scott was anxious that these should be purchased at the next week's sale by Macarthur of acclimatised pure blood descendants of George III's flock. The price would doubtless be high. 31

Because of the recent theoretically munificent endowment of the Corporation Brisbane declined to take the responsibility of advancing money for orphan farm purposes but offered to submit to Lord Bathurst any submission the Archdeacon might wish to make on the matter. 32 Scott proceeded nevertheless to implement Busby's proposals as far as he could. Busby attended the Macarthur auction and bought three yearling and three three-year-old rams for a total of £106. 0. 0. 33 Then Scott asked to be allowed to purchase at a fair valuation about four hundred maiden ewes from the government flocks at Bathurst 34 and Brisbane instructed

33 Correspondence MOS Farm (NSW A 4/7504), Statement dated 14/9/1825.
John Maxwell, Superintendent of Government Stock at Bathurst, to transfer to Busby a flock of ewes at their value. Busby sent two convict servants to take delivery but the flock was not in a fit state for transfer until February 1826. Busby agreed to the price of £2.10.0. per head assessed by Maxwell and the flock of 364 two-year-old ewes was despatched from Bathurst on 22 March 1826.

Cattle station at Bathurst

On 3 October 1825 Scott, unaware of the existence of the orphan grant at Bathurst, ordered Busby to go into the County of Argyle to select a station to which the cattle could be sent. Busby saw Surveyor General Oxley three days later and learned of the Bathurst grant. The Archdeacon then redirected him to look over that holding and gave him an order on the


36 Correspondence HOS Farm 1825-6, Maxwell to Busby 1/12/1825, 27/2/1826, 27/2/1826 private and 22/3/1826; Farm Journal No.2 (NSA 4/402"'), p.58, 4/3/1826; Letters and Miscellaneous Papers re James Busby, untitled, undated memorandum (October 1826).

37 Farm Journal No.1, p.77, 3/10/1825.

38 Farm Journal No.1, p.77, 6/10/1825.
Assistant Surveyor at Bathurst to put him in possession of any and all of the government reserves there on account of the Church and Schools Corporation. 39

Busby set out on 17 October and returned on 3 November. 40 A few days later he obtained an authorization from the Government for the cattle to go onto the government side of the Macquarie river. 41

On the morning of 6 March 1826 301 head of cattle were despatched for the orphan property at Kelso, five miles from the present site of Bathurst, 42 under three convicts: Patrick Donally, overseer, and Edmond Walsh and John Handley. 43 Donally was given a letter of instructions and was to resort to the magistrates at Bathurst if necessary for the enforcement of his authority over the other two men. 44

39 Farm Journal No.1, p.77, 8/10/1825.
40 Farm Journal No.1, p.79, 17/10/1825, p.80, 3/11/1825.
41 Farm Journal No.1, p.83, 10/11/1825.
43 Farm Journal No.2, p.60, 6/3/1826. I have used the men's own spelling of their names.
44 Farm Journal No.2, p.58, 4/3/1826.
Problems concerning clearing

One of Mr Commissioner Bigge's recommendations led to the employment of unskilled convicts in clearing gangs preparing the land for settlement by stamping, clearing and burning off. This was a mixed blessing so far as the orphan estate was concerned. When parties in the neighbourhood were discharged from other properties rather than take them back to Sydney the overseers brought them onto the estate and put them to work felling the trees. But the gangs did not complete the job by burning off and when the system of clearing parties was abandoned early in 1826 there was more than eight hundred acres where fallen trees were damaging the grass and frequently broke the limbs of wandering sheep and cattle.45

After receiving a report from Busby concerning this problem in July 1825 Archdeacon Scott asked Governor Brisbane for preference over all other applicants for clearing parties to be formed from men on the next two convict ships to clear the fallen

timber and put the land in a revenue producing state. From August Busby records measuring and paying men from the clearing gangs for clearing, stump burning and hole filling.

In January 1826 Scott asked the newly arrived Governor Darling not to decrease the number of men at the clearing work but if possible to increase them. He calculated that there was sufficient timber then to be burnt off to occupy sixty-six men for eight months. In March Busby went to Sydney to see Darling concerning the clearing and to renew the appeal for men. He estimated then that some six or seven months' work would be required to burn off all the felled timber and from ten weeks to three months merely to burn that in sight of the buildings. Darling told him that the withdrawal of the clearing parties was a general measure from which he could make no exceptions, but he did not rule out the possibility of future assistance.


47 Farm Journal No.1, p.62, 5/6/1825, p.64, 10/6/1825 and various later entries in this and Farm Journal No.2; Ledger Orphan School 1825-6 (NSWA 4/393); NOS Cash Vouchers (NSWA 4/7496), Riley Smith 7/11/1825, William Leary 7/-7/1825.

48 Scott's Letter Book No.1, pp.155-6, Scott to Darling 5/1/1826.

Nine days later Busby applied, on Scott's authority, to Superintendent of Convicts Hely for twenty men to be assigned for employment in burning off and stump ing.  

**Farm Progress 1825-6**

By late 1825 yards and corn stacks had been erected at Bull's Hill and Busby was housed in the constable's house there. In mid 1825 the barn was removed from the New Farm and set up at that site. Ivo Hearn, a free man, was employed to build a house for overseer John Mathew at the Old Farm and a range of new huts for the men.

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50. *Farm Journal No.2*, p.65, 1/4/1826.

51. *Farm Journal No.1*, p.34, Division of Labour for week ending 12 November 1825.

52. *Farm Journal No.1*, p.77, 3/10/1825.

53. *Farm Journal No.2*, p.77, 14/4/1826.

54. *Farm Journal No.2*, p.59, 1/3/1826. The location is not stated but the Old Farm was the only site currently without a residence and Mathew is otherwise named as the overseer there.

Busby commenced to plant the vineyard about June 1825. By the end of the year he had planted one acre four rods with 1,646 cuttings and by August 1826 had increased this to two and a quarter acres with 3,672 plants of seven different varieties which were kept distinct. About one-sixth of the plants failed from drought conditions but were replaced from the nursery which had been established. The ground had all been trenched, mostly eighteen to twenty inches but to three feet in places. In the infancy of the plants much manual labour was required for hand tillage but the rows had been spaced to permit the use of the plough at a later stage. Some $7\frac{1}{4}$ man days of labour had gone into the project at a cost in wages of £52.10.4. and, with wear and tear on tools, perhaps a total outlay of £60.56 In addition the orchard had been trenched and planted and a vegetable garden prepared.57

56 Papers Relating to the Claims of James Busby, Busby to Cowper 24/3/1826.

57 Letters and Miscellaneous Papers re James Busby, untitled, undated memorandum; FOS Cash Vouchers (NSWA 4/7493), receipt Jas. Poplin 14/5/1826.
In 1825 wheat, corn and cabbages were grown at the Old Farm, wheat at Bull's Hill and barley, potatoes and a hop garden were planted. At the end of the year the whole work force, men and boys, was employed harvesting and convicts from the clearing party assisted in their own time. This set the pattern of operations which continued the following year.

In February 1826 Busby wrote to Hely asking for the assignment of twelve more labourers and a convict accustomed to the cultivation of crops. There was then 150 to 160 acres of the 1,600 acres cleared land in cultivation and on the pastoral side 560 cattle and 900 sheep. A month later nine additional men were received.

58 Farm Journal No.1, pp.11,36,69,85,89; Farm Journal No.2, p.86.
59 Farm Journal No.1, entries for Nov.-Dec. 1825.
60 See Ledger Orphan School 1825-6, Account of Labour Performed on the Male Orphan School Farm 1825-6.
61 Farm Journal No.2, p.50, 16/2/1826.
From the time that Busby took charge until 30 June 1826 the increase in sheep was 234. Some 354 bushels of wheat, 320 bushels of maize and five and a half tons of potatoes had been raised and 560 pounds of wool sold through Aspinall and Brown at 1/4d a pound.63

This appears a promising beginning. W. Hely, the Principal Superintendent of Convicts, wrote to Busby: 'I understand your pastoral, agricultural, and viticultural affairs prosper amazingly and am glad of it'.64 Despite this appearance of energy and the long-awaited development of the farm towards true usefulness Busby's masters, the Trustees of the Corporation, were far from satisfied and the steps which would lead to the dissolution of the farm establishment had possibly already been set in train.

On 10 April 1826 Archdeacon Scott and Rev. Samuel Marsden visited the Male Orphan School and at Cartwright's request the management of the accounts was transferred to Busby and the carpenters, bricklayers,

63 Papers Relating to the Claims of James Busby, Busby to Committee 14/3/1826.

64 Correspondence MOS Farm 1825-6, Hely to Busby 18/5/826.
tailors and the carpenter were placed under his superintendence together with an extra number of boys, making with those previously transferred a total of twenty-five.65

**The work of the orphan boys**

In April 1826 Busby described the boys as being partly employed as mechanics and partly in gardening, agriculture, and culture of the vine.66 The impression given by the brief references in Busby's farm journal is that the boys of the agricultural establishment worked as a gang on some particular task and that although they might be working to a common end with the assigned servants they were not intermingled with them. The boys are mentioned particularly in relation to the hop garden and were undoubtedly used mainly there and in the vineyard in pursuit of the aim of spreading these 'new' industries. There is no reference to field lessons or direct tuition and the educational aspect of the boys' work seems to have been confined to learning by doing the tasks set. This modification of the original scheme in the direction of less

65 Farm Journal No.2, p.73, 10/4/1826.

66 Correspondence 03 Farm 1825-27, 'Name and description of People employed on the Orphan School Estate - April 1826'.
thorough tuition is sufficiently explained by the abandonment under financial pressure of the intention to employ free staff.

Apart from the boys working under Busby during 1826 there was the gang under Alexander Kinghorne at the site of the new combined orphan school. Cartwright wrote concerning them:

The Boys that I consider the most troublesome are those belonging to Mr. Kinghorne's Department though I must say to their credit and that of their overseer that they are now doing as well as boys under such circumstances can be expected to do. I generally send 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 take 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.67

In the period surveyed here the estate had at last received the necessary capital and labour investment to place it in such a state that it might be expected soon to begin to make a significant contribution to the orphan economy - provided that the terms of Busby's employment could be re-negotiated satisfactorily. His percentage remuneration could

be seen to constitute a barrier to financial viability. Secondly the estate was beginning to provide some educational advantage although with the limitations imposed by the want of proper instructors. However the Trustees as a body were not convinced of the value of the estate as a working concern, and they were intent on revising Busby's contract or removing him. The chapter which follows takes up the questions of the dismissal of Busby and the liquidation of the farm establishment.
Decision to terminate Busby's contract

The Clergy and School Lands Corporation was formed in March 1826. According to a memorandum in the Corporation papers the Trustees then saw the heavy expense of the agricultural establishment and found that there was little or no produce coming from the estate or instruction for the boys and felt bound to terminate the agreement with Busby. ¹ It seems clear that the garbled account in this memorandum telescopes events and that the moves to abrogate Busby's contract did not begin before August.²

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¹ Letters and Miscellaneous Papers re James Busby (ASMA 4/402.3), untitled, undated memorandum (dated on internal evidence October 1822).

² The Corporation records show that no formal steps were taken against Busby prior to August.
Busby attended the committee meeting of 11 August with his accounts and, in compliance with a request, three days later submitted a statement of his claims against the estate to 30 June 1826. The committee met again on 17 August. It decided that it was expedient to place the agricultural undertaking on some regular system and that it was necessary to make a new agreement with Busby on different terms as early as possible. He was to be asked for a detailed report on the agricultural establishment.

Although not told officially Busby discovered 'that it is in agitation to propose a new arrangement of the emoluments of my situation'. This led him to submit a lengthy memorandum recounting the origins of his engagement and why he considered that it was not open to the committee to alter the terms as for other government superintendents receiving a portion of the produce of their establishments. His engagement had


been made to effect certain purposes and the remunerative arrangement was calculated to compensate by the increase in later years for its inadequacy at first and for the small degree of respectability attaching to the position hitherto. The superintendence of the Orphan School Estate was only his ostensible duty and was altogether a secondary consideration. His percentage was not to be seen as part of his salary for an office he would never have accepted for itself and the duties of which could not in reason have been so rewarded. Busby had no documentary evidence of the terms of his agreement with the Brisbane administration but Rev. Thomas Reddall added a minute to the memorandum certifying the accuracy of Busby's account of the mode of remuneration and its purposes. Subsequently the Attorney-General, Saxe Bannister, also testified that he had frequently heard Brisbane discuss the subject of employing Busby and

\[
\text{I have no doubt of its having been intended by His Excellency to make a permanent experiment on the vine; and in bringing up some of the orphans in agriculture.}^7
\]

6 Papers Relating to the Claims of James Busby, 'Memorandum James Busby to Committee of the Church Corporation' recd. 28/8/1825, enclosed in Busby to Cowper 24/9/1826.

7 Papers Relating to the Claims of James Busby, memo., S. Bannister 27/9/1826.
Busby put the reasonable proposition that it was not for him to attempt to justify his income in terms of his humble endeavours for their value was decided when the Colonial Gov. encouraged me to give up other views and pursuits and pledged themselves to support me in this. The trouble was that his reward was, by any reasonable standard, far too generous. An enterprise such as the orphan farm which was struggling to establish itself on an economic footing simply could not afford to pay one man one third of its gross product and in this case the Corporation lacked the resources to carry the losses. Goulburn's dictum that the orphan school should bear the costs as it was to share the benefits was invalidated by the imposition of an uneconomic cost structure and by placing the total burden on the institution while its interests were relegated to a position of secondary importance. The farm needed Busby for his drive and capabilities but it could not afford him.

Faced with this situation the Corporation referred the question of Busby's embarrassing contract to the Solicitor-General, John Stephen. He concluded that as

8 Papers Relating to the Claims of James Busby, 'Memorandum James Busby...', rec'd. 29/3/1826.
the agreement was 'highly prejudicial to the orphan Institution' and had been entered into by Brisbane and Goulburn, not the Corporation, the Government was bound to accept some responsibility for the obligation to Busby.⁹

At a General Court on 23 September it was moved that Busby's claims should be paid according to the agreement up to 31 December 1826 and that the committee be authorized to negotiate new terms with Busby and report back. This was rejected in favour of an amendment moved by Bannister and seconded by Stephen expressing the resolve to 'support the important engagement with Mr Busby as fully as is consistent with the powers of the Trustees'. However as it seemed to exceed their powers it was to be submitted to the Governor that the Government should pay the Trustees 'reasonable sums for what shall be allowed to Mr Busby' or, if it seemed best to him that the Corporation should carry on the project, with indemnification by the Government, subject to a new contract if a simpler one could be arrived at.¹⁰ This was a constructive amendment


attempting to preserve the farm development and do justice to Busby while passing back to the Government, where it rightly belonged, the problem of the contract.

Adverse report by Cartwright and Throsby

Rev. Robert Cartwright and Charles Throsby were asked to make a survey and report on the operations of the agricultural establishment. This report, apparently submitted in October, was highly critical. It was alleged that Busby had not sent men to keep a daily surveillance of the cattle on the Cabramatta run or mustered them more frequently than once a month, and that as a consequence their number had diminished to 299. The cattle at Bathurst were also reported to be in an indifferent state and deficient in numbers. Many of the sheep were in a very bad state of disease and they appeared to have been much neglected. Busby had had from fifteen to thirty-two men under his direction to care for from 465 to 602 head of cattle and from 209 to 1,000 sheep as well as the cultivation of the soil. Besides the consumption of the farm produce he had required of Cartwright a constant supply of provisions and at the time of reporting the boys had not been supplied with vegetables for
The committee resolved:

That Mr. Busby's attention be called to the present condition of the sheep, and directed to take some immediate steps to put a stop to the scab which appears to have taken such a hold of the flocks, as well for the interest of the Trustees as his own.¹¹

This did not satisfy Archdeacon Scott who was to persist with a desire to press the question of Busby's alleged mismanagement in connection with the termination of his contract. Scott immediately called a special meeting of the committee apparently to consider the removal of Busby on the ground of the state of the livestock. The Archdeacon did not attend the meeting, chaired by Marsden in the presence of Robert Campbell and Revs. William Cowper and Richard Hill, but it had before it three recent letters and a memorandum from him. The decision was a rebuff for Scott. The committee noted that Busby had already had his attention drawn to the state of the sheep and had acknowledged the communication. It could not interfere with his

¹¹ Letters and Miscellaneous Papers re James Busby, untitled, undated memorandum (October 1826). Busby apparently also exercised general control over the government clearing parties on the estate and he made the contracts for supplying his establishment: Proceedings of Committees No.1, p.35, 19/7/1826.

¹² Proceedings of Committees No.1, p.109, 26/10/1826.
management until his claim was settled. 13

The merit of the charge that the cattle were neglected, made in the context of presenting a case for terminating Busby's expensive employment, is at best dubious for those under his immediate care. There seems no economic, or other, sense in expecting a close supervision of stock on a well-fenced run - although, of course, it was necessary to exercise vigilance for the detection of sick, injured or missing animals.

Early in 1827 Cartwright acknowledged that it was difficult to keep the cattle together: 14 it was easier to criticise Busby's supervision that to improve on it. This supervision does not, in fact, appear to have been neglectful. The Farm Journal for 1825 reveals constant mustering of the sheep and cattle.

The surprising thing about the number of cattle is that it was so large only a year after the bulk of the herd had been sent to Campbell's River. In all, between 1 October 1824 and 30 June 1826 there was a natural increase in cattle of 231 from an original total of 410

13 Proceedings of Committees No.1, pp.112-3, 30/10/1826. The Committee had before it letters from Scott dated 24, 26 and 28/10/1826, which are not in the Corporation papers or recorded in his letter book, and a confidential memorandum.

14 NOS Letters 1825-9 (NSA 4/328), Cartwright to Cowper 17/1/1827.
and according to Busby only three were lost by 'native dogs &c'.

When events at the Bathurst station are considered one sees something of the difficulty he faced in managing a large and scattered concern with inadequate lieutenants and real deficiencies in his own performance which cannot be excused on this ground.

The Bathurst cattle station

In April 1826 overseer Donally reported that the blacks were very troublesome and had driven the men from two of Lawson's stations. He was probably allowed the firearms which he requested for protection.

In August Donally was returned to the main farm by order of the Bathurst Bench after being brought before it for 'being at large armed in the Bush and for aiding and assisting the escape of the Bushrangers from Bathurst Goal (sic.)'. He was acquitted of the charge of taking to the bush but the magistrates felt that recently he had acted favourable towards the bushrangers. Busby was then authorized to hire a

15 Papers Relating to the Claims of James Busby, Busby to Committee 14/0/1826.

16 Stock Returns and Correspondence (NSW 4/343), p.93, Donally to Busby 1/4/1826.

17 Correspondence MOS Farm 1825-6 (NSW 4/7504), Magistrates at Bathurst to Busby 12/8/1826. Stock Returns and Correspondence, p.111, Hanley to Busby 1/8/1826: "Donelly was apprehended on the third day after he went".
Meanwhile Hanley and Walsh carried on by themselves, expecting that Busby would send them the third man who was necessary if the cattle were to be kept together. In the autumn the cattle had been showing up well but by late winter were doing poorly in very bad weather and several died. The men were much in want of shoes and other articles. To their surprise Busby sent neither the third man nor supplies. Finally they had to buy clothes and claim reimbursements. Maxwell, the Superintendent of Government Stock, and Brown, the contractor for supplies, were both reportedly surprised at not hearing from Busby given the circumstances.

On the evidence of the letters of Hanley and Walsh Busby's neglect of the Bathurst station was undeniable and culpable. However the stock returns show the number of cattle running at around 300 and a muster

19 Stock Returns and Correspondence, p.93, Donally to Busby 1/4/1826.
21 Stock Returns and Correspondence; Letters and Miscellaneous Papers re James Busby, untitled, undated memorandum (October 1826).
on 3 November 1826 revealed an increase of thirty two head since arriving at Bathurst. 22

For some reason unknown Donally was permitted, in the face of the ruling of the local bench, to return as overseer. He arrived on 1 November 1826. Hanley and Walsh immediately asked to be recalled to Cabramatta, for

we dont think ourselves safe in stopping with him after the manner he tried to serve us by false Reports and now says he will be revenged of us. 23

Later, apparently in March 1827, Hanley and Walsh were taken up on a charge of cattle stealing but were acquitted, sent in to the barracks, and then returned to the Male Orphan School estate. Donally meanwhile was walking the treadmill. 24

The difficulty of finding suitable men for the Bathurst property, so obvious here, is highlighted by the fact that Donally's replacement, John Mathews, seems to have been trustworthy and reliable 25 but had been condemned by Cartwright and Throsby as unfit for

22 Stock Returns and Correspondence, p.127, Hanley and Walsh to Busby 4/11/1826.


24 Letters from Col. Sec. &c. 1821-29 (NMA 7/2710), No.80, McLeay to Scott 4/4/1827.

25 Mathews, no longer in the service of the Orphan School, was still being employed by Cartwright and Busby in 1828: MOS Letters 1825-9, Cartwright to Cowper 9/2/1828.
his charge as overseer at the Old Farm and was an illiterate placed in a position requiring the submission of returns, occasional correspondence and responsibility for signing for rations delivered by a local supplier.

The overseer problem

This case is symptomatic of a general difficulty in obtaining reliable overseers.

In the latter half of 1825 Busby sought an answer in the employment of the free gardener Robert Pollard at £3 per month. Pollard either did not really want the job or he lacked the strength of character needed for dealing with such difficult men as the convict servants. He refused to supervise the men as directed and had to be dismissed at the end of November.

Busby then recommended to Scott that an appeal for a suitable man should be directed to James Smith, superintendent of the government agricultural establish-

26 Correspondence OS Farm 1325-27 (NSWA 4/324), untitled, undated report of Hon. C. Throsby and Rev. R. Cartwright.

27 See papers in Tender, Correspondence and Receipts for Rations Supplied for Labourers at Bathurst (NSWA 4/7503), where Mathews makes his mark.

28 See above pp. 325-8, regarding the criminal acts of overseers.

ment at Grose Farm. Smith replied that he did not know of a convict in government service likely to fill the situation of an overseer. Scott could do no more than to advise Busby to apply direct to Goulburn for a suitable man from the next ship.

Subsequently the committee sought the answer in a free overseer. In September 1825 John Connelly and his wife were employed at a joint salary of £36.43. 6. 8. However Connelly proved unable to manage the men and Cartwright replaced him with Benjamin Wilson as acting overseer. Wilson was a convict carpenter who had given many years of faithful service and had been in charge of the establishment when it was first formed. Scott disapproved of his being used other than at his trade and it was directed that he be put to work finishing the Master's residence. Scott's attitude was understandable considering the need for competent artisans but it cost the school one of the few worthy convict servants it had the good fortune to receive. Wilson felt it a hardship to be reduced to a level with his fellow servants

30 Farm Journal No.1, pp.99-100, 15/12/1825.
31 Correspondence M03 Farm 1825-6, James Smith to Colonel Dumas 22/12/1825, Scott to Busby 22/12/1825.
through no fault of his own. Cartwright, obviously sympathizing with this feeling, pointed out that both Macquarie's and Brisbane's committees had promised to get him a ticket of leave if he worked well and acknowledged his worthiness to receive this reward.\(^{33}\)

At the same time Cartwright submitted that with so much to do he must have an overseer. He made the recommendation, later endorsed by the committee, that Robert Pollard be appointed for six months at £35.20 with the privilege of eating in Cartwright's kitchen. He described Pollard as a proper person to be around boys\(^{34}\) but Pollard's earlier dismissal for refusing duty and the limited engagement seem to indicate the great difficulty of finding overseers rather than real suitability.

**Negotiations concerning Busby's remuneration**

On 5 September 1826 a General Court of the Corporation referred the question of Busby's salary to a committee to report on.\(^{35}\) This began a very lengthy wrangle between Busby and his employers.

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\(^{33}\) HOS Letters 1825-9, Cartwright to Scott 22/9/1827; Proceedings of Committees no.1, p.283, 3/10/1827.

\(^{34}\) HOS Letters 1825-9, Cartwright to Scott 22/9/1827; Proceedings of Committees no.1, p.283, 3/10/1827.

\(^{35}\) Proceedings of General Courts, p.61, 5/9/1826.
In a further report Cartwright and Throsby added fresh criticisms of Busby's management. Many acres of maize had been planted at the Old Farm but the plants were barely visible above the ground and not worth the expense of cleaning. They condemned the sowing of maize in an area infested with young cotton plants and surrounded by plantations of old ones and did not 'hesitate a moment in strongly recommending that evidently useless expense' on this farm 'to cease as soon as possible'. They charged that Busby's computation of the produce and stock could not be relied upon. In particular, the estate had fewer sheep on it than he returned and by his own showing he had only 273 ewes and 42 lambs the first year, how then is it possible they can increase to 599 ewes producing by his calculation 496 lambs the second year?36

On 5 December 1826 the General Court resolved to give immediate notice to Busby that his services would not be required after 31 March 1827 and that his accounts would be settled according to the agreement which he might be able to prove existed.37

36 Correspondence 03 Farm 1825-27, untitled, undated report of Hon. C. Throsby and Rev. R. Cartwright. This document, which is rough and much pencilled over, states that the sheep are nearly all free of the disease mentioned in the previous report.

37 Proceedings of General Courts, p.70, 5/12/1826.
Busby contended that he had a right to the prospective produce and, in the opinion of the committee, estimated such produce, and in particular the wine, at a very high rate. As the report of Throsby and Cartwright returned an estimate less favourable to Busby the committee felt 'great embarrassment in coming to a conclusion' and recommended that the claim be settled by arbitration. The Trustees proposed that the matter should be settled by four impartial persons, two nominated by each party, with power to add a fifth in case of deadlock. Busby promptly agreed to arbitration, turning down the

38 NAA, Vol. XIV, p.100, Darling to Huskisson 31/3/1823, Papers Relating to the Claims of James Busby, Busby: 'Estimate of the Produce of the Orphan School Estate for Ten Years commencing 1st October 1824'; assesses annual value at £663. 6. 0. Busby believed that he had claims to another £100 per annum which he reserved the right to add should any reduction be made in the principal claim. As this was the claim arbitrated upon the special mention of the 'wine' is odd for the vineyard at 222.13. 8 is much the slightest item.

39 Proceedings of Committees No.1, pp.151-2, 4/1/1827; Papers Relating to the Claims of James Busby, 'To the Trustees of the Clergy & School Lands in the Colony of New S. Wales The memorial of James Busby 13 December 1826'.


41 Papers Relating to the Claims of James Busby, Busby to Scott 5/1/1827; Proceedings of Committees No.1, p.161, 17/1/1827. The arbitrators named were Carter and William Cordeaux, by the Corporation, and Nemys and A. Berry, by Busby.
alternative offered soon afterwards of one third of the produce of the land and of the increase of stock to 31 March 1827. 42

The whole matter then became bogged down for some months in an impasse. Scott had informed Busby in October 1826 of his intention to investigate the latter's conduct of his charge. The superintendent expressed surprise at this turn of events and consciousness of the rectitude of his superintendence and urged an immediate inquiry. 43 This was not acceded to but after arbitration was decided upon Scott intimated his intention of putting the question of neglect before the arbitrators with a view to the reduction of Busby's claims. 44

Busby refused to allow his conduct to be a question for the arbitrators. As a public servant he was, he said, amenable to his superiors. Because he conceived 'that nothing could affect my claims but culpable negligence or misconduct' he demanded the complete investigation of his conduct since taking charge of

43 Correspondence OS Farm 1825-27, Busby to Scott 27/10/1826.
44 Correspondence OS Farm 1825-27, Memo. by James Busby 5/3/1827.
the Orphan School Estate or a formal renunciation of any charges whatsoever. This matter was resolved on 16 March when Colonial Secretary McLeay informed him that the question of his conduct would not be brought before the arbitrators.

Secondly, Busby objected to the draft arbitration bond because of its failure to specify the points for arbitration and the committee's resolution seeming to imply that there was no agreement beyond 31 March 1827. Before proceeding to arbitration he wanted the committee to acknowledge the existence of an agreement which made computation of his remuneration to 31 March automatic and left for decision only the compensation to which he was entitled for the loss of prospective income beyond that date. He pointed out that he had already been offered verbally £1,000 and £1,750, which he had accepted in settlement only to find that this was contingent on an advance of £750 from public funds which Governor Darling declined to make. This was

45 Correspondence OS Farm 1825-27, Busby to Scott 20/1/1827, Busby to Cowper 6/2/1827, Busby to Scott 8/2/1827, Memo. by James Busby 6/2/1827; Proceedings of General Courts, pp.35-31 3/2/1827 (incorporating Busby's memo.).

46 Correspondence OS Farm 1825-27, Busby to Cowper 16/3/1827.

47 Correspondence OS Farm 1825-27, Busby to Scott 20/1/1827; Memo. by James Busby 6/3/1827.
implicit recognition of a continuing agreement as his claim for the two and a half years' actual service did not exceed £500 to £600. He 'never desired to receive more than disinterested persons should say I was entitled to receive' but arbitration on the committee's terms must inevitably produce a result unfavourable to him. 48

The committee contended that Busby was objecting to the most important points for decision by the arbitrators. 49 On the contrary it is clear that he was insisting on no more than were his rights. The committee was seeking both to merge the separate questions of payment and compensation and to prejudice Busby's claim by raising the negligence issue. This was consistent with the other efforts at this time to reject or beat down claims on the Corporation funds. Despite the renunciation of the charge of negligence it was decided to put the critical report of Cartwright and Throsby before the arbitrators 50 and Busby's application for his third of the cattle and sheep about

48 Correspondence OS Farm 1825-27, Memo. by James Busby 6/3/1827.


50 Correspondence OS Farm 1825-27, Busby to Couper 16/3/1827, minute.
to be sent to the interior was refused on the spurious
ground that he had accepted arbitration on his claims.\textsuperscript{51}

With the decision in March not to press the
negligence charge - at least not to do so openly -
Busby agreed to proceed on condition 'that the bond is
to be quite general and not to confine the Arbitrators
to any particular question'.\textsuperscript{52}

During the prolonged negotiations Busby had
threatened to resort to legal action to secure his
rights. He was summoned to dinner at Government House.
Exactly what occurred is unknown but the following day
he was gazetted Collector of Internal Revenue, at 2400
per annum, and Member of the Land Board, at 2100 per
annum, for one year from 1 April 1826, the day after
his association with the orphan estate was to terminate.
Darling intended the former position for a relative and
Busby, who took the job because it would give him a
claim for another government post, agreed that he
would resign should this person arrive within the year.\textsuperscript{53}

\textsuperscript{51} Correspondence OS Farm 1825-27, Busby to Cowper
27/3/1827; Proceedings of Committees No.1, p.195,
29/3/1827.

\textsuperscript{52} Correspondence OS Farm 1825-27, Busby to Cowper
16/3/1827.

\textsuperscript{53} Eric Ramsden, Busby of Waitangi, H.E.'s Resident at
New Zealand, 1833-40, Wellington 1942, p.31; HRA,
Vol. XVI, p.41, 'The Memorial of James Busby...';
10/1/1831.
The Governor was obviously doing what he could to help the Trustees in their embarrassment at the Corporation's financial straits and the moral and legal strength of Busby's position.

The arbitrators finally sat on 10 September 1827 and awarded Busby £Stg.1,250 (3500 per annum) for the period of his employment: 1 October 1824 to 31 March 1827. This sum was very much less than Busby claimed. The arbitrators apparently felt it was high but that it was called for by the nature of the agreement made in 1824 and the expectations it held out of an extended engagement. Each party was to pay its own costs. After allowing for advances made the Corporation had £1,033. 6. 8 to find. Busby was not satisfied. Eventually, in 1831, he went to England and appealed to the Colonial Office.

54 The bond expired and had to be renewed. Spark replaced Berry: Proceedings of Committees No.1, p.272, 29/8/1827; Papers Relating to the Claims of James Busby, Busby's arbitration bond 10/9/1827.


56 HRA, Vol. XIV, p.100, Darling to Huskisson 31/3/1825.

57 Ramsden, Busby of Waitangi, pp.30-31.
Scott tried late in 1825 and again following the arbitrators' decision to have the Government accept liability for paying Busby. On both occasions he was told that as the lands were vested in the Corporation it must pay.\(^58\) In December 1827 the Corporation asked the Governor to direct the law officers to state a case for the opinion of the Supreme Court on how far the Corporation (rather than the Government) was liable to discharge any claim in which it had 'no beneficial Interest'.\(^59\) As the question was framed by Chief Justice Forbes Darling thought that there could be little doubt as to the nature of a Supreme Court opinion. He still held that as the Corporation had received the estate which had benefited from Busby's exertions it did have a beneficial interest and ought to pay.\(^60\) Sir George Murray endorsed this view, adding that the very fact of submitting the matter to arbitration was an acknowledgement of liability. However as the Corporation had no funds the Governor was authorized to pay Busby out of colonial funds and to recover the money from the

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58 Papers Relating to the Claims of James Busby, McLeay to Scott 4/12/1826 and 28/9/1827.


60 \(^{\text{ERA}},\) Vol. XIV, p. 96, Darling to Mushisson 31/3/1828.
Corporation funds when this became possible. 61

**Alleged improvement in situation after Busby's departure**

The departure of Busby was represented as marking a great improvement in the affairs of the estate. Prior to 31 March 1827 the staff of the whole Male Orphan School establishment had been 55 at £945.13. 4. per annum in salaries and £564. 7. 6. in rations: a total of £4,520. 0. 10. With Busby's £500 this rose to a grand total of £2020. 0. 10. Cattle numbered 538 and sheep 1,034 but meat had to be purchased for the male institution up to the end of December 1826 as well as for the female school. No vegetables were produced from the five acre garden and there was little milk. 62

After 31 March the staff dropped in number to 34, at £625. 6. 8. in salaries and £293. 5. 0. in rations for a total of £910.11. 3. and a saving of £1,100.18. 4.

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62 This and the following paragraph are based on R33 Letters 1825-9, undated return headed in pencil 'School' (S272).
The sheep were put out on agistment at one-third of their produce, with the institution to be supplied with killers for meat every three months. There was a large saving (£418.12. 0.) in meat no longer bought and there was milk and vegetables to supply both schools.

There were obviously some important savings but this is a somewhat overdone 'before' and 'after' account. It is beyond belief that with the departure of Busby an allegedly unproductive garden grew suddenly bounteous and that parsimonious cows began to give forth milk in abundance. It is true that meat was bought in February 1827 but to see this in perspective one needs also to be told that at the same time fat cattle from the Bathurst run were being sold at auction.53 Busby had sown; his successors reaped. By 1830 Sadleir was making excellent wines from the produce of the vines Busby had planted.64

**Break up of the farm establishment**

At the beginning of December 1826 the committee suggested that because of the heavy expenditure on the

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53 Corporation Letter Book 1826-27 (NSWA 7/2702), pp.215,217; Cowper to Cartwright 15/2/1827 and 21/2/1827.

agricultural establishment thought should be given to breaking it up and letting or selling all but 1,280 acres around the site for the proposed new building.65

Cartwright and Throsby were asked to report on the disposal of the estate.66 They recommended abandonment of tillage of the soil apart from the vineyard and the hop field which were in the paddock adjacent to the garden of the school and could be united with it. Cartwright should have the direction of the whole establishment and power to reduce it. The sheep should be culled to leave two good flocks of ewes, wethers and wether lambs and the cattle brought from Bathurst for a selection of the best cows and steers from both herds. The surplus stock might either be consumed or sold on the best terms obtainable.67

Once these proposals were endorsed the committee pressed on with the reduction of the farming establishment and its expenses. From Busby's entry on duty to 30 June 1826 expenses had amounted to £626.17. 9. For

65 Proceedings of Committees No.1, pp.125-6,128, 4/12/1826.
66 Proceedings of Committees No.1, p.138, 6/12/1826.
67 Proceedings of Committees No.1, pp.150-2, 155-6, 4/1/1827.
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67 Proceedings of Committees No.1, pp.150-2, 155-6, 4/1/1827.
1826 as a whole they came to £1,220.15.4. In 1827 they were cut back to £702.1½.6. and in 1828, after the sale of much of the land, they were down to only £101.1½.5. 52

When Busby departed Richard Cartwright, the Master's eldest son, succeeded him at the rate of £100 per annum for the time he would be in charge. 59 By March 1827 there were only one man and his wife at the Old Farm, where the stack of wheat still stood and most of the cattle were depastured, and one man in charge of Busby's house at the former central agricultural station. 70 However in mid 1827 there were still nineteen overseers, mechanics and laborers on the victualling list and Cartwright was instructed to see that the arrangement made by the Archdeacon as to the reduction of labour, at the end of the last quarter may be forthwith carried into effect. 71

52 Letters and Miscellaneous Papers re James Busby, undated, untitled memorandum (October 1825); Statement of Receipts and Disbursements 1826-31 (NSWA 4/388), statements for 1826, 1827 and 1828. These figures are exclusive of salaries and wages. William Westbrook Burton, The State of Religion and Education in New South Wales, London 1840, p.34, gives the 'expense of the management of this portion of their property' as 1828: £322. 5. 1, 1829: £72.13. 6. 1830: £334. 1. 0.

59 MOS Letters 1825-9, Cartwright to Scott 27/2/1827; Proceedings of Committees No.1, p.194, 21/3/1827.

70 MOS Letters 1825-9, Cartwright to Scott 19/3/1827.

Maintenance of stock on agistment

In March 1827 the orphans owned 50½ head of cattle and 890 sheep. Drought conditions prevailed and from a want of water and grass on the estate the committee decided to send the animals into the interior on agistment. This expedient became a fixed and continuing practice. Agreements were made with Richard Cartwright (Argyle) and James Orr (the Hunter).

The sheep were divided into two equal flocks of 445 and the cattle into herds of 223 and 231 respectively. Payment was at the rate of one third of the annual produce both Males and Females, and until they are killed off Eight shillings per head per Ann for all the Males which you receive from the Institution of one Year old and upwards.

At periods to be fixed later three months' supply of meat for both schools was to be sent down at the sender's risk and expense and the cows were to be milked only in case of necessity. This left one bull and fifty of the best cows on the estate. 72

Orr fell sick and was unable to keep to his contract and disease broke out in the flock assigned to him. The committee asked Rev. Frederick Wilkinson, the chaplain at Newcastle, to join Orr in making some temporary arrangement with William Ogilvie to take over the care of these sheep and cattle. This was done and the General Court asked to confirm the same terms as for Orr. Orr complained that the stock had been transferred to Ogilvie without sufficient ground and answered charges concerning his alleged neglect. Whatever the realities of the situation Orr's sickness was of short duration and it appears that Wilkinson and Ogilvie were very close and Ogilvie anxious to take over the contract.

The flocks contained only ewes and wether lambs but the decision to purchase two breeding bulls as soon as possible for the Orr-Ogilvie herd indicates that despite the alienation of the bulk of the orphan estate there was no intention of allowing the herd to run down.

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74 Stock Returns and Correspondence, pp.311-2, Orr to Cowper 22/9/1827, pp.318-20, Orr to Cowper 19/11/1827; Proceedings of Committees No.1, pp.397-9, 28/11/1827.

Some of the convict servants went with the cattle as part of the general reduction of the staff. Ogilvie applied for the transfer to him of the assignment of six convicts, including the ubiquitous Patrick Donally. The Crohcn Farm a wasted resource

At the end of our period the orphans owned a considerable number of animals but their guardians were paying dearly to run them on the lands of private individuals who had to drive them long distances up and down the country. Consequent upon this arrangement were other forms of wasteful expenditure, such as the buying of mutton because of the failure of the orphans' sheep to arrive from up-country and the paying of £12 to John Palmer Jr. to journey 160 miles to the Hunter and back to witness the withdrawal of Ogilvie's third only to find that Richard Sadleir, then catechist at the Hunter, had also been asked to perform this same service. Other private individuals had regularly to be asked to perform this service of supervising the withdrawal of thirds or to check the accuracy of the returns and

76 Stock Returns and Correspondence, pp. 357-8, Ogilvie to McLeay 16/11/1827, p. 359, Ogilvie to Cooper 28/3/1827.
78 Stock Returns and Correspondence, pp. 405-6, Palmer to Cooper 26/4/1828; Minute Book 1828-29, p. 70, 15/5/1828, pp. 85-6, 17/6/1828.
The recurring costs involved all have to be set against the single infusion of cash received from the sale of the land.

Moreover, while these expensive and inconvenient arrangements prevailed, for the last quarter of 1829 almost four hundred head of cattle from the estate of the late William Balcombe, the Corporation's former treasurer and a judgement debtor to it,80 jostled the domestic herd for the scant grass in drought conditions on the remnant of the orphan estate.81 As with the sale of the land this involved the use of orphan resources for general Corporation purposes rather than for the benefit of the orphans.


80 See Minute Book 1828-29, pp.265, 266, 282; Minute Book 1829-30, pp.3, 132.

81 Stock Returns and Correspondence, Return of Cattle mustered at the Male Orphan School 10 December 1829; M3 Letters 1825-9, Sadleir to Cowper 21/12/1829; Minute Book 1829-30, p.228, 19/12/1829, p.234, 7/1/1830.
The orphan farm lands were potentially very valuable as a source of support for the orphan schools and education in the affairs of the land for the boys. The convict servants were too often untrustworthy and inefficient, Busby was impossibly expensive, and there were limits to the work which could be performed by children especially when they required instruction in the work and may have been no more committed to advancing the institution's welfare than their convict companions.

The committees lacked the necessary capital for investment to put the estate on a profitable basis until Macquarie's time. Then the opportunity was missed. The Orphan Fund was considered over-abundant and cut severely when an energetic committee might have urged the need for investment of some of the surplus to put the estate on a commercial basis. Under the Corporation the financial pressures produced the desperate policy of realizing on the land assets in order to consume the capital.

Although, therefore, much might be said in extenuation one is forced to the conclusion that land and farming affairs were badly mismanaged and that even within the actual range of investment more astute direction might have made the estates thriving establishments. The farm
perhaps more than any other aspect of the orphan establishment suffered from the employment of unfit agents under the inadequate supervision of remote or part-time supervisors who had little idea of the real state of the undertaking.
Chapter 22
CONCLUSIONS

Whiggish assessments

The dominant characteristic of the existing body of writing on Australian educational history is undoubtedly the rather whiggish determination to discern development and improvement, as judged by modern criteria. Earlier accounts of the Sydney orphan schools and remarks concerning them conform to this tradition. For example, C. Turney in the introduction to *Pioneers of Australian Education* states that King's orphan school 'was instrumental in rescuing many of the rising generation from ignorance and immorality'¹ and later in the same volume R.J. Burns writes:

> At the Orphan School conditions improved rapidly after the Corporation gained control. Disease caused by the lack of hygiene, inefficient instruction, excessive punishment, poor diet,

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and bad financial management had characterized these institutions in the period immediately prior to their transfer to the Corporation's control. In all the aspects mentioned improvement was marked and rapid.  

These are the impressions left by the two substantive mentions in this book.

William Foster has written, in similar vein to Burns, that Scott

... found the two Orphan Schools in a 'loathsome and horrid state of disease' and, in the face of hostile criticism transformed them into well-organised institutions, which gave adequate lodging, food and education to children, born in sin or abandoned by dissolute parents, and ultimately set them on the path to hope.  

Of course the 'whig delusion' generally contains a measure of truth, in greater or lesser degree depending on circumstances. In the field of educational development in nineteenth-century Australia the doctrine of progress is more applicable than in most others. On the other hand it appears particularly inappropriate in relation to the relief of the indigent and orphaned:  

2 R.J. Burns, 'Archdeacon Scott and the Church and School Corporation', in Turney, Pioneers of Australian Education, p.21.

and the treatment of the delinquent. It must be rejected in the statements quoted is the emphasis. It seems reasonable to assume that the Orphan School did rescue many of the rising generation from ignorance and immorality but it has been seen that contemporary testimony emphasized the frequent failure to achieve this end in the first decade and more. Burn's statement is sound insofar as it is true that conditions were deplorable when the Corporation took control and that Archdeacon Scott attempted to remedy the situation. However as it stands it is quite misleading. On the findings of this study hygiene and health were abysmal at the end of the 'twenties, punishments appear to have been strengthening in severity, the instruction can hardly be said to have improved markedly when the teachers were unsatisfactory and pupils were sent out illiterate or barely able to read, financially the orphan schools were less well provided for than ever before and they had been shorn of their estates.

Vernon Goodin also saw the history of the orphan schools in very favourable terms, writing that:

Those who indulge in the strange pastime of painting our early days in blacks and greys with violent splashes of scarlet should pause at the story of the Orphan Schools. If the Charity Schools were the glory of the age of Queen Anne to Addison, the Orphan Schools should be the glory of the age of King and Macquarie to us.⁵

He draws attention to conditions for orphans in England and notes that King housed the orphans in the best house in the Colony and that on the transfer to Parramatta Macquarie provided the government boats and ordered the rooms heated in readiness.

Those orphan children should have gone down on their knees and thanked God that they had been born in rude, profligate, benighted New South Wales, and not in civilized, circumspect, cultured England.⁶

As a judgement set against some English practice of the time and in the terms stated it is difficult to argue with this. In pointing to King's intentions and the situation in the 'golden age' of the later years of Macquarie Goodin has directed attention to what is best

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in the early decades of the orphan schools but in addition there is plenty of black and grey to be observed in the period he covers.

Overall there is little to comfort the whig historian as he contemplates the Sydney orphan schools before 1830. What strikes one as most significant is not their continued development and improvement but rather their failure to make substantial progress. After a decade of struggle and squalor the Macquarie era saw improvements, especially from 1818, and the schools probably reached their most satisfactory condition around 1822-1823, declined sadly in 1824-1825, revived to a degree under Scott's attention in 1825-1826, and suffered a decline in a number of respects with the onset of the financial cut-back at the beginning of 1827 and by 1830 were, in the case of the Male Orphan School in particular, in most respects less satisfactory institutions than in earlier years and less well endowed.

Archdeacon Scott

The rejection in this thesis of the prevailing whig interpretation of orphan affairs in the period under discussion is a consequence particularly of this downturn in orphan prosperity under the Church and Schools Corporation. It involves a reassessment of the generally
Laudatory judgements concerning the contribution of Archdeacon Scott. His role and that of the Corporation have received a great deal of attention at various points throughout this study partly as an inevitable consequence of the heavy concentration of the extant sources within this period, partly from a rejection of the philosophical and methodological interpretation wherein progress has been too readily assumed and Scott's word too readily accepted, and partly as a reaction to the simplistic outcomes of overlooking the impact of social considerations such as political struggle on school affairs.


...nearly all the people Scott disciplined, and often rightly disciplined, were members of Wentworth's and Smith Hall's party, and found in the *Australian*, the *Monitor* and even the *Gazette* valiant defenders, inspired not by justice or legality but by political kinship. Here he is rightly recognising the political motives of Scott's opponents but why did he not test the reverse proposition that Scott's motives and his support were based on contrary political views?
Thomas Hobbes Scott has been fairly acknowledged as a man committed to the furtherance of education in New South Wales. His insistence on the keeping of proper records, the prevalence of his minutes on correspondence and references to his visits testify to his close interest in education and the improved administration of the schools. That he saw education in New South Wales in terms of an Anglican monopoly cannot rightly be held against him. It was obviously unwise for the State to identify with a Church in a situation of religious pluralism where it needed to provide temporal unity by transcending religious differences. But from the point of view of the head of a Church claiming sole guardianship of the one and eternal Truth intolerance of dissent may logically appear mandatory. Censure of Scott as a bigot is misdirected and anachronistic but he was blameworthy for the lack of frankness in his promotion of the Anglican monopoly - as evidenced in his two-faced dealings with the Wesleyans.

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8 E.G. 39, 6 January 1829.

Scott has with less justice been accepted as an efficient and upright administrator doing his best to cope with the problems posed by unfit assistants in the schools. He was a man given to extremes. He was generous to a fault in his praise and support of faithful and subservient subordinates but also possessed of a well-developed capacity for pettiness and vindictiveness which could make life very uncomfortable for anyone who offended. His worst characteristic was his fondness for the tactic of getting up false cases against those who stood in his way. He could not carry the Corporation committee with him in his allegations of negligence against Busby, the documentary evidence exposes his use against Milton of misrepresentation concerning stores, the gaoling of the Broadbears was a vicarious punishment of Walker in circumstances of a conspiracy in which he may have been involved and his whole campaign against Walker's Mastership raises a strong suspicion of subterfuge. 10

10 Goodwin, 'Public Education in New South Wales', p.199, also points to Scott's statistics of developments since Macquarie's time as so wrong that it is 'difficult to evade the conclusion that the figures were deliberately false and malicious'.
Goodin has pointed out that after Scott had been in office as Archdeacon for one year only ten of the twenty-five teachers with more than two years' service were still working under him and this number was soon further reduced to six. Of the twenty-three new appointments made in 1826-1827 only nine remained on the pay-roll at the time of the Archdeacon's resignation in 1829.\(^\text{11}\) In some instances these departures may have been a consequence of inefficiency or unsuitability in the teacher but it would be a dangerous simplification to assume that the teachers were always at fault.

Scott must be given much of the blame for the over-extension of the Corporation and the resultant loss of the orphan estates in the financial reconstruction. His charges against Walker have focussed posterity's attention on his efforts to improve physical conditions at the Female Orphan School and distracted attention from the fact that on the evidence conditions there could hardly have been worse than those at the Male Orphan School to which he paid little attention. Many of his most enlightened thoughts on orphan education such as advocacy of humane discipline and a sound basic education for girls remained no more than pious

\(^{11}\) Goodin, 'Public Education in New South Wales', p.199.
expressions of intent written into the rules and regulations while he was a party to their watering down in practice. It does not seem too harsh a judgement to say that on the whole Scott's administration of orphan affairs does nothing to enhance his reputation.

Scott retired from the Archdeaconry on 10 September 1829, frustrated and downhearted. Governor Darling had shrewdly observed regarding his intimation in 1827 of his intention to resign that from the Archdeacon's point of view the decision was correct.

He never could recover his first mistake, connecting 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.12

His defects of character were in part responsible for his failure to attain that ascendency over the General Court and its committees to which his position as Archdeacon permitted him to aspire. Where these bodies openly frustrated his desires, as in the Busby case, he was clearly in the wrong. His standing with his fellow Trustees fell so low that on one occasion he

suffered the humiliation of failing to secure election
to the committee until Chief Justice Forbes and
Colonial Secretary McLeay withdrew to make room for
him.13

**Orphan Fund - basis of State-supported education**

The inauguration and development of the Orphan Fund
has a significance for education in New South Wales far
outrunning its connection with the initial object of
providing shelter and education for orphan and destitute
children. Colonial office recognition of the need for
State intervention in education in a society so
peculiarly constituted as that of New South Wales at the
turn of the century cleared the way for the very early
involvement of the State in the general provision of
education which has put it at the forefront of a State/Church/
private-venture mixture for the greater part of
Australian educational history. The growth of the
Orphan Fund allowed King and Macquarie to develop a
pattern of public 'charity' day schools which differed
from their English counterparts in that they were
supported not by private charity but by the State.

New South Wales followed behind only Revolutionary France,

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13 Proceedings of General Courts (NSW A4/221),
pp.172-3, 25/6/1823.
and slightly anticipated Prussia (1807), in instituting State education for the ordinary child. The transfer of the public schools to the Church and Schools Corporation made no difference to the basis of support. The Church of England was an Established Church receiving its landed endowment and the Orphan Fund from the State and carrying on with loans out of the public revenue.

By late 1829 the seed sown with the planting of the Female Orphan School had grown and branched into the two orphan schools and thirty-six day schools, including five infant schools, enrolling 253 orphans and 1,267 day pupils. Archdeacon Scott reported in September 1829 that 'out of the 5,754 children under 12 years of age 1,265 or nearly one fourth are receiving education at the expense of the Crown'.

Dora Payser has claimed that the Female Orphan School and the later schools under the orphan committee were not strictly State institutions because although

14 Goodin, 'Public Education in New South Wales', p.192.
the Government controlled appointments, finance and budgeting the supervision of the schools was in the hands of private individuals working in an honorary capacity and some of the money was collected by private subscription in a mixed system which was to become typical of social welfare institutions in Australia.17

(Peyser's criteria would seem to involve denial that American public schools are State schools because they are administered by school boards of citizens and that the Departmental schools of modern New South Wales are State schools because of the parental donations.) From 1824 the public charity school system became fully a State system when control passed to a committee of public servants spending only public money.

The Sydney orphan schools are otherwise of significance in the history of Australian education for the first ventures in technical, agricultural and teacher education and of more than ad hoc child-welfare arrangements.

assimilation of the schools to reformatories

As the period progressed the Sydney orphan schools came increasingly to have more in common with reformatory schools or juvenile prisons than modern orphanages. The fences constantly increased both in number and height and with constables patrolling, punishment classes in black and yellow garb and isolation cells the schools took on more of the physical appearance of gaols. 18

In 1829 the situation of the girls in the Female Orphan School was similar to that of the convict women in the Female Factory (commonly called 'the numery') in that both were kept in separated classes behind walls, rigidly separated from males. 19

18 For the similarity of the MOS to a juvenile prison see the description of the Refuge for the Destitute begun by the Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents and Improvement of Prison Discipline, Report from the Select Committee on the State of Gaols, &c., House of Commons, 12 July 1849, p.149ff, evidence of Samuel Hoare Jun. In the 'thirties and early 'forties absconding and larceny were similarly a problem at the boy convict establishment at Point Puer (Van Diemen's Land) where discipline was harsh: A.G.H. Shaw, Convicts and the Colonies, London 1966, p.234.

Archdeacon Scott inaugurated The King's Orphan in Hobart in 1828 and based its management on the practice of the Sydney orphan schools. Its permanent building, designed and approved by early 1829, bore the stamp of a penal establishment and the terminology and practice of the school had convict characteristics. The Hobart school was starting at the point of development reached in Sydney: John C. Brown, 'Poverty is not a Crime': The Development of Social Services in Tasmania 1803-1980, Hobart 1972, p.26.

Perhaps it is not going too far to see in the treatment of the orphans the implied assumption that they would act as delinquents. If so it was too often a correct, and seemingly a self-fulfilling, prophecy. As well as the visible restraints the Rules for Internal Management imposed a network of supervision and reporting catching up everyone in the institution except the rank-and-file children. It is painfully obvious that many of the orphans were miserably unhappy, quite unloveable delinquents kept in the schools only by coercion.

**Limited success with the children**

The Rev. Samuel Marsden told Commissioner Bigge that he had 'very great reason' to be satisfied with the improvement of the female orphans in the institution as 'several of them have turned out well & become very good wives'.\(^{20}\) Perhaps his choice of words indicated a low expectation of the rate of reclamation. Scott, too, seems to have had limited hopes for as late as February 1829 he wrote that since the Corporation assumed responsibility the children were much more orderly & if the discipline laid down be continued, considering from what class they spring they may be made useful as they grow up.\(^{21}\)

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20 ST Box 8, Bigge Appendix, pp. 3322-3, Marsden’s evidence. Emphasis mine.

Scott harked back to Governor King's notion of a quarter of a century earlier that the children's morality was only to be preserved, and the colony ultimately reclaimed through them, by the institutionalisation of as many as possible.

In a Convict Colony and where so many vicious examples exist, I was anxious to detach the children as much as possible from such scenes of iniquity; and, altho' this may have at the first view a tendency to destroy the natural ties between the parent and the offspring, yet where that offspring must necessarily become contaminated at so early a period of life, and imbibe all the horrid passions of its vicious parents, I cannot conceive that such arguments ought to avail here, whatever they might and should avail in a Country differently populated. 22

The Female Orphan School had risen above its early reputation as little better than a brothel but it remains unclear whether this was owing more to changes wrought in the girls themselves than to improved supervision. Although there must have been opportunities for lesbian play in the dormitories at night measures against the moral dangers posed by the male sex stopped short only at chastity belts.

The surviving comments of the Masters and matrons concerning their charges in the period of the Corporation

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are generally sour. The fact that numbers of the
children specifically spoken of in derogatory terms
had been in the schools for many years, often from very
young ages, is testimony to the failure of the
institutions in their professed function of laying down
moral guidelines by internalizing the Christian values.
This failure was confessed in Cartwright's attitude
that boys of twelve would inevitably corrupt their
juniors if allowed to remain in the Male Orphan School
and in the willingness of the committees to condemn
some of the children to apprenticeship at sea or in a
remote rural district in order to isolate them as
much as possible from society.

The Gospel psychology underlying the education
provided by the orphan schools seems to have had only
a very limited success and to have been quite clearly
an outright failure with many pupils. This will cause
no surprise. It also failed abjectly with the convicts
and the Aborigines. The Currency youth, some of whom
had been educated in the similarly oriented charity

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23 E.g. see HO 5 Letters 1025-9 (NSW A 4/329),
Cartwright, numbered list of boys 1022; Cartwright
to Cowper 7/1/1029; HO 5 Letters 1030-2 (NSW A 4/329),
Sadleir, A List of Incorrigible Boys, used
descriptions such as 'Thief' and 'Liar'.
public schools, although uniformly well regarded as a class in the 'twenties, like their fellow colonists gave little attention to religious observance. Most significantly this theory of behaviour also failed a large part of the body of single male missionaries sent by the (London) Missionary Society to the Society Islands from 1795. These men were supposedly exemplars of the force of the Gospel 'truths' in motivating human behaviour yet in their solitude their religion failed them. Lonely men 'went native' to find solace in the arms of native women or deserted to Port Jackson where some of them participated in the depravities for which it was already becoming a byword. When religious principle failed with men who had dedicated their lives to its propagation it could not be expected to have much success with people like the convicts and the children of the orphanages similarly isolated from affectionate relationships.

Part of the problem, no doubt was that the God the evangelical clergy presented to the orphans was a wrathful Old Testament God punishing sin rather than the loving New Testament God who sacrificed His Son that sinners might be forgiven. It may be significant also that the religious observances of the Church of England were ritualistic and routine, lacking the vitality of the less fossilised practices of the Non-Conformists and the mystique and colour of the Catholics.
When the Christian psychology failed the conductors of the orphan schools had no other approach to fall back on but the penal concept.

The orphans were obviously emotionally deprived. The schools appear singularly devoid of affection. The children were regimented, supervised ceaselessly in an atmosphere of lack of trust, goaded and punished, deprived of privacy and individualism and offered only the love of an intangible God who with His rewards and punishments must have seemed merely another, more important, master or Visitor. Within this framework long hours were spent at work or learning, too often in crowded and odorous conditions and with the constant transmission of one or other of the endemic complaints. In short, the orphan schools possessed many of the characteristics of an environment now regarded as likely to develop in individuals personality or character problems. Contemporary thinking was set too firmly in the religious mould to look past the character defects of the delinquent child to the system which failed him.

Certainly some of the children seem to have turned out well and gone on to happy and useful adulthood but one gets the impression that in this they owed at least as much to their inner resources as to the schools. For those who were amenable and who responded to the education offered, and especially the boys placed in
trades, the schools may well have opened the way to a more satisfying life than did similar schools in England. New South Wales society was much more open. 'Jack Bodice' Macarthur, who allegedly began life as a staymaker's assistant, was perched on top of the colony's social pyramid epitomizing a rise which was unthinkable in England (and which he and his kind wished to prevent in New South Wales in future). Such rises were, of course, beyond the orphan boy but as an artisan he would have skills to sell in a seller's market and the prospect of a relatively comfortable life and respect beyond that accorded the tradesman in England. The girls too had the advantage of living in a colony where the sexual imbalance and the poor characters of the convict women placed them in a position of unusual advantage in choosing a husband.

In the 'twenties especially female orphans were treated very much as members of the inferior sex. There is every reason to believe that the education offered them declined very sharply, in some cases to nothing beyond religion and work skills, they were offered less attractive and fewer prizes, were put out, invariably into menial service, at an earlier age, and were allowed no apprentice gratuity.

A.H. Riordan in his thesis on the schools refers to research on criminal subcultures and suggests that
might with some reservations be here suggested that the Orphan schools played some part in presenting the growth of his hierarchy of juvenile crime. This was by their function of taking in and educating those children who were, by their exposure to bad influence, most in danger of being contaminated, and taking that path which leads to a profession of crime. 24

This relates directly to the aim of raising children to a life of honest industry. One may fairly assume that, for some children at least, the schools did provide an alternative to a future life of crime or vice but the extent to which this was so raises 'if' questions and is an intangible. It would be wrong, however, to assume that the alternative was gangs of colonial Oliver Twists falling under the influence of transported Fagins to become Artful Dodgers. The small town-rural nature of the colony and the existence of stronger police measures precluded the growth or survival of juvenile crime on the British pattern in the anonymity of urban conglomerations.

There were plenty of Currency lads and lasses of similar parentage to, and indeed often siblings of, the orphans who did not pass through the schools and were no

more criminal than those who did. Mr Justice Burton in an article written in 1840 stated respecting the Currency class

that there was not one of them ever tried before the writer for any of those atrocious crimes which are attributed to their country, but belong only to the convict class; nor did he hear or know of any person born in the colony, being tried for, or even charged with, either the offence of rape, or any other licentious crime; nor has he ever found any offence committed by any one of them, such as to call upon him to pronounce sentence of death; and no such sentence has ever passed within his knowledge, or any crime committed with such a degree of violence as to justify it.25

It is an important, but unanswerable, question whether the orphan schools produced people less given than other Currency to the more venial offences of carelessness about acquiring other people's cattle etc., other larcenies and the sins of irreligion and fornication.

A school which aims to achieve certain benefits for all its members must be judged by the harsh criterion of its failures rather than by those who might reasonably

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be considered its successful products. Where every failure affects a human life it would be inhumane to do otherwise. On this basis the Sydney orphan schools had too many failures, in terms of their own stated goals, to be rated successful educational institutions but they seem to have been no worse than most similar establishments elsewhere at that time.
APPENDIX A

THE SCOTT-WALKER CONFLICT

The historiography of the Scott-Walker battle is most interesting. With the exception of C.H. Currey those writers who have previously touched on the subject have approached it from the angle of the work of Scott and the Corporation and have come down clearly on the side of Scott. One is led to see in this case a classic instance of the danger of misreading or misinterpreting the sources relating to a situation of conflict when one has a mind-set induced by concentration on one of the parties rather than on the conflict itself.

misread the evidence concerning punishments, to see the Board of Inquiry as vindicating Scott's allegations, to confuse the Walker v Scott and Broadbear v Macarther & ors. cases and to give total and uncritical support to Scott on the whole issue. University of Sydney thesis writers in Education have likewise condemned Walker as an inefficient or otherwise unsuitable Master, but in each case they misinterpret some of the evidence with a bias against him. One turns the Board of Inquiry's criticisms of the Female Orphan School's facilities into personal criticism of Walker; another criticizes him for the forms of punishment imposed by the earlier committee and for laxity in medical matters which were primarily the surgeon's responsibility, a third attacks Walker's religious heterodoxy on the basis of an uncorroborated assertion by Scott who will be seen in this thesis as not above helping his case with distortion and even Governor Darling characterized him as an alarmist (HRA, Vol. XII, p.257). None of the historians have given proper consideration to the difficulties of the situation at the school as Walker inherited it from Sweetman.
CAROLINE DOYLE

Caroline Doyle entered the Female Orphan School on 14 July 1820 when she was six years old.¹

In August 1821 Caroline was described as 'a very bad child' and as the girl who brought the sore-head ailment into the school.² She was to be put out of the institution 'pro tempore' if a suitable place could be procured. The following February she was still there although the committee continued to speak of putting her out as soon as possible.³ Apparently no one was willing to take her for she remained in the school.

In 1827 she was in the first class and was described as being small for her age, able to sew and to read a little but 'a pert girl and no worker'.⁴ In

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¹ FOS Letters 1825-9 (KSA 4/326), Hilton to Committee 25/9/1829.
² FOS Minutes (KSA 4/403), p.57, 7/8/1821.
³ FOS Minutes, p.93, 13/2/1822.
⁴ FOS Letters 1825-9, Untitled, undated list of girls with comments and Undated list of eleven senior girls. Internal evidence dates both lists at 1827.
March 1827 Keane placed her on the list of girls to be retained by the school in substitution for Anne Kelly who had been apprenticed out. Then in April Rev. Thomas Hassall applied for a girl on behalf of Michael Hindmarsh, a settler at Campbelltown, and specifically named Caroline among three girls from who he wished the choice to be made. The girl had wasted no time in making an unfavourable impression on the new master. Wilton wrote on the application: 

I should strongly recommend that Caroline Doyle be assigned as I have found her to be addicted to stealing, lying & extreme obstinacy - & therefore likely to injure the morals of the other children.

The indentures were signed on 10 May. Caroline was then aged fourteen.

After the girl had been assigned to Hindmarsh her mother Mary Ann Caton, who had wished for some time to take her, applied for her,

5 FOS Letters 1825-9, Keane to (Cowper) 7/3/1827.
7 Wilton's minute on Hassall's petition.
8 FOS Indentures 1822-32 (MKA 390), no. 92.
9 FOS Letters 1825-9, Undated list of eleven senior girls.
being at this time much in want of a girl to assist me in my business of a Laundress I am emboldened to add, that under my roof she will now find a comfortable home and may be placed under the kind protection of a mother. 10

Caton renewed her petition in March 1828 after having been informed that her daughter had been transferred from Hindmarsh to a Mr Smith of Five Islands (Wollongong). 11 Hindmarsh placed Doyle with Smith without authority. He was directed to make a proper transfer of the indentures or to take her back, which he apparently did. 12

Caroline continued in her apprenticeship to Hindmarsh until September 1829 when certain Illawarra magistrates issued a warrant withdrawing her from the apprenticeship on the ground of Hindmarsh's ill-treatment. They fined him £5 and returned her to the school on 24 September. 13

Wilton wrote immediately to the Committee. He had 162 girls counting Caroline. She had been a very bad girl when in the school previously. Should she be retained or re-apprenticed? The answer was that she was to be apprenticed as soon as possible. 14

10 Applications for Children, undated petition of Mary Ann Caton. A minute states that the girl has been assigned to Hindmarsh.


12 Minute Book 1828-29 (NSW 7/2703), p.92, 4/7/1828.

13 FOS Letters 1825-9, Wilton to Committee 25/9/1828, minutes thereon and enclosed warrant dated 19/9/1828; Minute Book 1829-30 (NSW 7/2704), p.171, 6/10/1829.

14 Wilton to Committee 25/9/1829.
At the beginning of October 1829 Edward Joseph Keith, solicitor, applied for her and on 2 October, at the age of sixteen, she was apprenticed for the second time.15 Within a month she had absconded and Keith was advised to take the matter before the magistrates.16

So much is known about Caroline Doyle because she was one of the most troublesome pupils of the Female Orphan School. In a number of ways she epitomises the problems which the orphans and the orphan schools had with each other. She was a delinquent, if such a term can be used appropriately of a six-year-old, at the time of admission. Her mother was apparently a poor type unfit to have control of her but anxious to use the blood tie to claim her when she was old enough for her labour to be of value. The Female Orphan School in turn failed her by treating her from the outset as a problem child instead of a child with problems. Instead of striving to reclaim her from her bad start in life the orphan authorities evinced an early and persistent

15 Applications for Children, Keith's petition 1/10/1829; MS Indentures 1822-32, no.113.

desire to avoid the challenge by passing her on to someone else. She was both the victim of a bad master and, in turn, a troublesome apprentice headed for a brush with the law. The clear impression is that at sixteen Caroline Doyle was an experienced recipient of punishment but had yet to savour affection from anyone.
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