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Convict Teachers and the Children of Western Australia, 1850-1890

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CONVICT TEACHERS AND THE CHILDREN
OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA, 1850-1890.

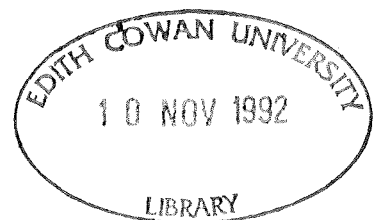
By

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A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Award of

Bachelor of Arts (Social Science) Honours
at the Faculty of Arts, Edith Cowan University,
Western Australia.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation aims to examine the relationship between convict schoolmasters and the children of Swan River Colony over the 40 year period from 1850 to 1890. Fearing detrimental effects on the lives of their children, the majority of colonists believed that importation of convict labourers threatened the well-being of the younger generation morally, physically, and intellectually. These fears, based on popular perception of the convict as a perpetrator of evil, were further influenced by a voluble media. Published articles and letters to the newspapers called for government protection for settlers and their families from convict depredations.

Public apprehension deepened with the implementation of government policies for establishing and expanding the education system. Parents believed these policies left their children exposed to moral corruption from ticket-of-leave and expirée schoolmasters within the classroom. Such anxieties led to public complaints and criticism which went unheeded by authorities. The government was faced with the problem of providing schools and teachers for a rapidly expanding and widely dispersed population following the arrival of convicts in 1850. Almost 3000 children entered the colony during the years 1850-90, and the existing education system became inadequate for such a large influx of children. Without sufficient financial resources and a scarcity of suitably qualified teachers, the utilization of convict abilities was unavoidable if an elementary education was to be established for all children in the colony.

This study will question whether the government, in the attempt to deal with problems of delinquency and a lack of teaching staff, was concerned more for the provision of teachers in isolated schools, than it was for the well-being of children. Research will focus primarily on the appointment of convict schoolmasters and on the relationships

that existed between them and the children they taught, their competence in the management of schools, and whether parental fears for their children's safety were fully justified. Examination of Education files indicate the extent of efficiency convict schoolmasters displayed in the classroom situation which led to either weaknesses in teaching skills, or to a high level of stability for children. Teacher absenteeism had a great deal of influence on children concerning the value of education, attendance levels, and on the collapse of some isolated schools. Occurrences of drunkenness, incompetence, or misconduct seriously undermined the schoolmaster's credibility as an authority figure, and discouraged any positive attitudes towards convict teachers.

The objective of this dissertation is to balance the positive and negative influences convict schoolmasters may have had on children's moral and intellectual development. On the positive side, without employment of ticket-of-leave and expirée teachers an adequate education system could not have been established, leaving thousands of children to grow up uneducated. The negative aspect will concentrate upon some of the problems caused by unqualified teachers' inability to communicate a basic education, and for some schoolmasters, poor personal conduct in teacher-pupil relationships.

A number of convict teachers were successful in their teaching careers and conducted their duties honestly and efficiently, were never reported for any misconduct, and continued teaching for long periods, bringing stability to children and ultimately, to the community. Many future colonial teachers and public leaders would owe their beginnings to humble convict mentors.

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any institution of higher education; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Signature

Date....

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to express sincere gratitude to my Supervisor, Dino Gava for his encouragement and support throughout the research and writing of this thesis. Recognition must go to my family and friends for their continual co-operation and understanding. The assistance of the Staff of Battye Library, and Gillian O'Mara in particular, is acknowledged with appreciation.

I would like to thank descendants of Ticket-of-leave and Expiree Schoolmasters:

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Mrs Lorraine Dearnley

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Shirley M. Leahy.

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INTRODUCTION

The aim of this research is to explore the role of convict schoolmasters and their relationship with the children of Western Australia during the development and expansion of colonial education in the period 1850 to 1890.

The landowning and merchant minority proposal to introduce convict labour to the colony brought scathing criticism and heated debate regarding the morality of transportation. Expectations of the social disruption of convictism in an infant colony lacking the rudiments of educational knowledge was considered a threat to the younger generation. Children faced the risk of exposure to vice and crime, and widespread moral corruption was believed inevitable if the colony accepted a criminal element.

During the first two decades of settlement the majority of children were deprived of the opportunity for an education. Basic survival took priority over education for many of the working class families, and the value of a child's labour was significant. The Roman Catholic Church and the Colonial Government established elementary education systems in 1846 and 1847. The schools proved inadequate to cope with the large number of children requiring an education. Vagrancy and crime among juveniles caused grave concern to the community as many children roamed the streets, uneducated and driftless. The need to control delinquency forced the government into expanding the education system. An increase in population and the spread of settlement into remote districts after 1850 made the expansion even more acute.

Educational thinking of the time was linked to social order and

stability with the elimination of illiteracy, and the control of anti-social behaviour. The upper class sought a docile, disciplined, and minimally educated labour force which would be unlikely to challenge the social order. There was a popular belief that traditional class distinctions shaped education and determined the type of schooling children required to prepare them for adult life. The research aims to determine the extent to which the education system in Western Australia tended to foster, perpetuate, and widen the gulf between rich and poor, town and rural children. Class division was accepted without question, but inequality of educational opportunities for the rural child in contrast to those in the larger centres of Perth and Fremantle, was not acceptable to parents. Rural settlers believed it was the duty of government to extend facilities for education into isolated areas, despite a lack of adequate resources to provide fully equipped schools.

One way of reducing government expenditure and overcoming the problem of staffing small schools, was by the appointment of convicts 'of good character' as schoolmasters. It was felt that this policy allowed the skills of educated men of the penal class to be utilized in a resourceful manner. By employing convicts in the field of education, a much needed service to the community could be provided. It will be shown in Chapter 3 that the education of colonial children as a means of social control, and the need to staff schools cheaply, was of more concern to the government than parental apprehension about moral corruption from convict teachers. Parents feared that within a classroom conducted by a convict schoolmaster, the impressionable child would be influenced towards the values, beliefs and habits of convicts.

It was mainly in the rural districts that the inferior and

subordinate position of 'schoolmaster' became available to well-educated ticket-of-leave men and expirees. Convict teachers were trapped between a social system which discriminated against them, and an education system that was still in its infancy. Early educational problems were repeatedly blamed on inefficiency or lack of experience of 'unqualified' convict schoolmasters, rather than on the parsimonious economic policies inherited from the Kennedy Government. In an attempt to provide maximum educational benefit with minimum expenditure, Kennedy's policies resulted in a pattern of severe staffing problems which would continue to plague Boards of Education until the 1890s. His inadequate funding of education lowered the prestige of government schools. Dinky and ill-equipped school-houses would have helped to perpetuate the lowly position of poorly paid schoolmasters and mistresses throughout the second half of the nineteenth century.

The Boards of Education were of the opinion that if education was to be provided for children in remote districts the appointment of ticket-of-leave men and expirees to manage the schools was unavoidable. Education files reveal that it was made quite clear to parents that without convict teachers, there would be no schools. Thus the employment of convict teachers became commonplace from 1851 until the last one retired in 1901.

The introduction of the Elementary Education Act in 1871 established compulsory school attendance for all children 6-14 years of age. Payment of teachers' salaries by results was designed to raise incentive and improve standards. District Boards were elected in local areas to supervise the management of schools, and the moral and intellectual concerns of the children. The new legislation did little to improve conditions for teachers. Government School standards

continued to deteriorate during the 1870s and 1880s, with irregular attendance and low enrolments. Many children still remained idle and uneducated, problems of truancy constantly plagued education authorities, and illiteracy rates showed little improvement by 1890.

The contribution by convict schoolmasters to the education of the children of Swan River Colony has been largely neglected in early historical writing. The first serious attempt to examine the social impact of convictism on colonial society was Alexandra Hasluck's Unwilling Immigrants (published 1959). Further research by Rica Erickson and C.T. Stannage exposed the social inequalities and harshness of the convict system. The recent works of writers and researchers such as Pamela Statham, Mollie Bentley, Sandra Bowman Taylor, and Gillian O'Mara have revealed those aspects of convictism that have long been ignored and suppressed from Western Australian history. David Mossenson (1972), briefly examined the role of convict teachers, and a more detailed research into their contribution to colonial education was undertaken by Erickson in 1983. These writers have all contributed significantly to changing values and ideas concerning the underlying issues of transportation and its social impact.

This dissertation is an attempt to take up the challenge of these historians by exposing the prominent and important role of convict schoolmasters in the development and expansion of Western Australia's education system. The study will examine whether the positive influences these teachers had on children's achievement and incentive resulted in stability for the school, and community support for the teacher. An assessment will be made to what extent negative influences such as intemperance, absenteeism, gross misconduct, or incompetence served to lower children's estimation of the value of education, and

discourage regularity of attendance.

Research has focused on three areas; Firstly, on government policies concerning the employment of ticket-of-leave men and expirees as teachers. This has been followed by an examination of the extent to which factors such as family poverty, constraints of the natural environment, and the quality of teachers affected the attendance of children, or the collapse of some schools. The third area of focus concentrates on the subsequent relationship between convict schoolmasters, their pupils and the wider community.

CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND OF TRANSPORTATION TO WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

The convict system in Western Australia developed as a reflection of British ideals and attitudes adapted to meet conditions and requirements in the colony. There was a notion that the mother country's interests should always be paramount. This competed with the humanitarian ideal that Britain's primary concern and moral duty should be focused on the protection of colonial needs and interests rather than on imperial advantage.¹

In terms of Britain's best interests however, evidence suggests that a systematic manipulation and exploitation of her colonies as convenient dumping grounds for unwanted felons, served to relieve pressure on over-crowded prisons. At the same time, transportation enabled English society to rid itself of malefactors and discourage potential criminals. F.G. Clarke emphasises this point, arguing that supporters of transportation believed that 'undesirables' might realise the inexpediency of unlawful pursuits if they feared that retribution of authorities would lead to compulsory deportation.² The Surveyor General of Prisons in England, Lt. Col. Jebb informed the Select Committee that he viewed transportation of criminals solely:

As a method of disposing of men. Under the present agreement and understanding with Western Australia, they only want to take the best of the men; it is the worst of the men we want to get rid of.³

Jebb's statement reveals that control of crime in the United Kingdom

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1. F.G. Clarke, (1977). The Land of Contrarities. Melbourne University Press, Australia. p.2.
 2. Ibid., p.2.
 3. "First Report of The Select Committee of The House of Commons on Transportation, 1856". Question : 1348. British Sessional Papers, House of Commons. Vol XVII, 22 May, 1856. p.128. (BL. R.328.42)

was of vital concern to British authorities; reformation of convicts or their capabilities and value as labourers in the colony was of secondary importance.

The British Government exploited colonial traditions of loyalty, and claimed that transportation was a means of providing the criminal with an opportunity to make a new start; to be rehabilitated and gainfully employed. In addition such an arrangement was felt to be economically beneficial to convict colonies in terms of a labour force.⁴ Philip McMichael suggests that introduction of convict labour sacrificed the colony's social and political interests, to the 'pecuniary profit' of a minority of its inhabitants. He presents the view that transportation was not only a class solution to problems brought about by rapid socio-economic change in Britain, but also served to expand imperial capitalism into the colonies.⁵

During the 1840s colonial progress was severely retarded by the lack of a large enough population to create a viable market. Masters blamed exorbitant wage rates for the economic downturn, claiming they could no longer pay their labourers.⁶ The Secretary of York Agricultural Society believed profit from employment of labour should benefit the entire community, bringing prosperity and progress.⁷ With the loss of large numbers of prospective settlers and labourers to the eastern colonies, population growth stagnated and a collapse of the economy was predicted by influential agricultural, pastoral and business

4. Clarke, op cit., p.1.

5. Philip McMichael, 'Brutalized, Beggared, and Bought', in V. Burgmann & J. Lee, (eds). (1988). A Most Valuable Acquisition. McPhee Gribble, Penguin, Victoria. p.72.

6. The Inquirer. 28 February, 1849. p.3.

7. W. Burges, Hon. Secretary of York Agricultural Society, Minutes 28 April, 1848. (BL. 412a)

interests in the colony. They saw a need for population and labour, which would serve to create capital. Although the economic recession did create unemployment, it was more pronounced in pastoral sectors. Working conditions were so poor that labourers had little incentive to work for pastoralists. They were unable to see any opportunity for their own economic advancement in such an environment. Farmers and merchants began demanding not just 'labourers', but 'cheap labourers', and as the 1840s progressed, convict labour was petitioned for as an answer to this need.

The Perth Gazette was not to be so easily convinced that transportation of convicts was the solution to the colony's need for labour. The paper was quick to point out to its readers that 'in defiance of all honor, truth, and justice', the Home Government was about to utilize Swan River Colony as 'a place wherein to cast loose the pollution of Britain to begin a fresh career of crime and outrage upon the defenceless inhabitants.... [the colony would] become a receptacle of British felony'.⁸ The paper went on to accuse the British Government of neglecting the colony's pleas for aid and treating them with contempt. The editors criticised the self-interest of authorities, claiming that it was only when there was a need to dispose of criminals that the British Government acknowledged that Western Australia needed labourers.⁹ These comments by The Perth Gazette reflected a popular belief of the majority, that the government showed not the slightest concern whether provision for settler protection would be adequate to cope with large numbers of criminals let loose on a vulnerable and unprepared community.

While The Perth Gazette could not condone the importation of

8. The Perth Gazette. 30 November, 1849. p.2.

9. Ibid., p.2.

criminals for rural or domestic labour, The Inquirer favoured the introduction of convict labourers, and stressed the importance of humane treatment and social reformation. The Editors believed that survival of the colony depended on the transportation of convicts as a labour force. They reiterated their 'gratitude for the kind consideration of the British Government....[and] entreated that they will... continue to forward drafts of convicts in rapid succession'.¹⁰ The Inquirer's comments in turn, reflected the attitudes of the influential minority.

Those who were opposed to the introduction of convicts remained unheard. They lacked influence, or were too apathetic to make a strenuous stand against transportation. C.T. Stannage argues that many colonists and labourers were too sunk in listlessness to protest. Settlers who raised objections or voiced fears, did so half-heartedly in the company of friends, or with drinking partners in public houses.¹¹

The influential minority who did have political sway, could foresee economic advantages to themselves resulting from convict labour.

The Perth Gazette openly condemned those 'unscrupulous employers of labour' who were waiting to welcome convicts, and asked accusingly:

What care they for the honour of their country, so their own coffers be well replenished? What care they for the safety of public morals, so the safety of their own private interests be cunningly provided for? They will insist upon these children of gaol reformation being turned loose upon the country, to carry abroad the blessings of cheap labour, no matter how much they may carry abroad beside of the curses of vicious example and social demoralization. 12

The paper also warned settlers of the likely contempt of other colonies if Western Australia became too eager to embrace such an 'infamous'

10. The Inquirer. 5 June, 1850. p.3.

11. C.T. Stannage, (1979). People of Perth. Perth City Council, Western Australia. p.83.

12. The Perth Gazette. 7 December, 1849. p.2.

system with all its inherent dangers to their wives and families.¹³

Special fears were held that convicts would prove to be a corrupting moral influence on the children of a colony which lacked the rudiments of an elementary education system. The majority of colonists were reluctant to accept men who were considered to be 'dregs of the British Isles', and they feared that large numbers of the 'vilest wretches' who were to be loosed amongst them would be able to destroy the peace and personal safety of settlers.¹⁴ They envisaged the colony very rapidly becoming over-run by murderers, robbers, and rapists, and were particularly concerned about dangers this presented to their children. These fears and beliefs were fuelled by sections of a voluble press repeatedly pointing out the brutalities and horrors of the convict system.

Religious leaders of the colony's churches expressed concern regarding the negative effects of transportation on the morals of settlers. Reverend Wollaston fully supported the beliefs of those who felt that:

The introduction of convicts into Western Australia, while tending greatly to the advancement of its wealth and prosperity, may be followed by consequences detrimental to the moral character and social condition of the colonists generally is a probability which we humbly conceive ought to be well considered and duly provided against.¹⁵

Wollaston could foresee the evils of introducing a criminal element into a community suffering a deficiency of knowledge, and stressed the importance of secular and religious instruction.¹⁶

The Inquirer voiced its disapproval of colonists who opposed transportation, and welcomed the expected economic benefits convict

13. The Perth Gazette. 30 November, 1849. p.2.

14. Ibid., p.2.

15. Burton, A. & Henn, P.V.(eds). (1975). Wollaston's Albany Journal. Vol 2, 1841-56, University of W.A. Press, Nedlands, W.A. p.106.

16. Ibid., p.107.

labour would bring. However, within five days of arrival of the first consignment of convicts, the paper was critically pointing out evils of the system, where dispersion of criminals in remote districts allowed close contact with free settlers. The Inquirer acknowledged there was a danger of 'sowing the seeds of vice and crime' among the more easily influenced younger generation. ¹⁷

J.S. Battye admitted that settlers were faced with the likelihood of a demoralizing influence, and dangers to families living in isolated areas. He believed that with wide dispersal of so many poorly restrained convicts, settler anxiety was inevitable. ¹⁸ As each new shipload of convicts arrived, fears increased. Letters calling for added protection appeared frequently in newspapers in the hope that threats of severe punishment and the strengthening of the police force would act as a deterrent to ticket-of-leave men embarking on fresh waves of crime. ¹⁹

While small farmers, town dwellers and labourers called for protection, and were openly critical of penal authorities, petitions from large landowners and merchants for more convict labour were forwarded to the Home Government in 1853 and 1854. Petitioners claimed the system was progressing well without any evil consequences, and glossed over the social problems that were rapidly becoming more obvious. ²⁰ That these claims were false, is evident by the Colonial Government passing

17. The Inquirer. 5 June, 1850. p.3.

18. J.S. Battye, (1913). Cyclopaedia of Western Australia. Vol 1. Adelaide. pp.143, 159.

19. C.W. Collins, 'Matters of Social Conscience: Western Australia, 1829-1890', in University Studies in History, Vol V, No.2, 1968, University of W.A. Press, Nedlands, W.A. p.8.

20. Minutes of York Agricultural Society, 9 June, 1853. P.170.(BL412 A/1) & Colonists' Memorial to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1854. C.S.O. 36/295 : Folio 224, 24 March-19 October, 1854.

an "Ordinance for the Suppression of Violent Crimes Committed by Convicts Illegally at Large", on 17 May, 1854.²¹ This ordinance was passed for the protection of settlers and their families and property against convict depredations.

With the establishment of rural schools came added fears for children's safety. Many children had to walk miles to schoolhouses in isolated places, and faced the threat of convict escapees on the run. Such dangers to children were a constant menace for parents already apprehensive about the convict presence. Public fears deepened with the implementation of government policies for establishing and expanding the education system by using convicts as teachers. Parents believed these policies left children exposed to physical dangers and moral corruption from ticket-of-leave and expirée schoolmasters within the classroom.²²

Colonial requirements demanded that convicts' labouring and professional skills be made use of in the most expedient and resourceful manner. Without sufficient financial resources and a suitably qualified teachers, the Board realized that employment of convict abilities was unavoidable if an elementary education system was to be established for all children in the colony. Parents' fears and complaints went unheeded.

Before successful utilization of convict skills could take place, settlers' fears and perceptions of the convict as a perpetrator of evil, a pollutor of morals, and an instigator of crime, needed to be allayed. In the attempt to alleviate public apprehension, the Colonial Government promised that measures would be taken for the protection of the property and personal safety of all colonists and their families. However, the same promise could not be made regarding the moral safety of children placed in the care of ticket-of-leave and expirée schoolmasters.

21. Ordinance 17. Victoria Number 7., Statutes & Ordinances of Western Australia, 1832-82, Vol 1. pp.212-215. (BL. 346.914)

22. Memorial of the York Local Board of Education, 1858.
C.S.O. 36/406 : Folio 174.

CHAPTER 2

EDUCATION OF CHILDREN IN SWAN RIVER COLONY.

In the pre-convict period the urgent need for education of colonial children became a pressing issue for the government as time progressed. While early provision for education of the children of the 'gentry' - particularly their sons - had existed in one form or another since 1830, there had been no such facilities for children of the labouring classes. Although a number of larger landowners were sufficiently wealthy to bring tutors to the colony from England, children of poorer families were in danger of growing up uneducated. The option of having their children taught by a tutor was not generally available to less affluent settlers.

A discussion on the issue of education at a meeting of 'principle' inhabitants of the Swan, held at Guildford on 30 March, 1836, revealed that schooling for their children was of vital concern to parents. While recognizing the desperate need for teachers and tutors in the colony, they were also aware of their responsibility as parents, not to neglect their duty in securing for their families the privilege of an education such as they themselves had enjoyed as children.¹ The meeting resolved to appeal to the Governor for the establishment of a school at Guildford.²

With no opportunity for an education, children of poorer families were left to roam as idle and ignorant vagrants in search of mischief or crime, or become part of the work force at very young ages. In the effort to make a living in hard economic conditions, many struggling

1. Rev. Canon A. Burton, The Story of the Swan District, 1843-1938.
Printed from original copy by Frank Daniels, Perth. n.d. pp.58-9.
& The Perth Gazette. 2 April, 1836. p.2.

2. The Perth Gazette. Ibid., p.2.

settlers were forced to place more importance on the value of their children's labour than on their educational achievement.³ As early as 1831, it was noted by J.G. Powell that it was common for children in isolated areas to supply the labouring and servant needs of the colony. He was of the opinion that parents were too often:

unavoidably engrossed in raising the necessities of life as to have little leisure for cultivating the minds of their children; and... the children themselves are employed in such occupations as their strength will permit, at earlier ages than is customary in districts where the population is numerous.⁴

That the sheer necessity of family survival at the expense of education was still a severe problem more than thirty years later, is revealed by a comment made by Mrs Edward Millett. She recognized that settlers' attitudes to education placed more significance on the value of hard work and the effort to survive than on schooling.⁵ Bishop Hale had also been aware that the constant battle for subsistence was of higher priority to isolated parents who believed children would be much better equipped to cope with the hardships ahead, by labour in the home or on the land.⁶

Education in the colony in the first two decades of settlement has been described as:

intermittent, haphazard, without any over-riding single authority, an education dependent upon enthusiasm or the voluntary finance of interested subscribers, or pure business acumen. In some cases the teachers were private individuals brought out to Western

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3. W.A.P. Phillips, 'A Precise of Uncompleted Research on the Social History of Western Australia, 1829-70', History Hons. Thesis, University of Western Australia, 1951. pp.29-30.(BL.Q370.19 Phi)
 4. J.G. Powell, (1831). The Narrative of a Voyage to the Swan River Colony. London. p.181-2.
 5. Mrs E. Millett, (1981). An Australian Parsonage. (Originally published London, 1872), Fac. Edn, University of W.A. Press, Nedlands, W.A. p.358.
 6. F. Alexander, (ed). (1957). Four Bishops and their See. University of W.A. Press, Nedlands, W.A. p.22.

Australia by settler groups; in others, governesses... [or] emigrants with some pretensions to scholarship. 7

In 1833, the Editor of The Perth Gazette placed emphasis on the difficulties faced in establishing an education for the children of 'higher classes' and held the notion that the lack of an education system would have a negative effect on emigration. The Editorial pointed out that 'families of respectability' would see the prospect of their children running wild and uneducated in the 'trackless woods', as a deterrent for emigration to Swan River Colony. 8

The Colonial Chaplain, J.B. Wittenoom informed Governor Stirling in 1838 that continuing support from the government was needed if the deficiency of schools for the juveniles was to be remedied. He proposed the establishment of a grammar school for the 'higher orders', and an English School for the children of the 'inferior classes', to be placed under his supervision. 9 While Wittenoom's plans were focused on the benefits to children in closely settled areas, Powell argued that provision of schoolmasters during this early period failed to accommodate those families who did not live at a convenient distance from an established school. 10

E.W. Landor, investor and later Colonial Magistrate, recognized the persisting general want of the means of education when he wrote in 1847, of the scarcity of money in a new colony. Very few settlers could afford fees for even the 'commonest education' for their children. While there were those who were able to educate their children in a 'judicious

7. A.E. Williams, 'History of The Teachers' Union of Western Australia', in R.W.A.H.S.J. Early Days. Vol V, Part VII, 1961. p.3.

8. The Perth Gazette. 2 March, 1833. p.2.

9. Memorandum: Colonial Chaplain J.B. Wittenoom to Governor Stirling, 22 February, 1838. C.S.O. Vol 59 : Folio 163.

10. J.G. Powell, op cit., p.181.

and sufficient manner', Landor stressed that the prevailing want was nonetheless, deeply felt and deplored.¹¹ From the mid 1830s, delinquent children could be subjected to public whippings and humiliation at the stocks, or terms of imprisonment as a form of social control.¹² When juvenile offenders broke the law they were taken before a Magistrate's Court, the Quarter Sessions, or occasionally the Supreme Court.¹³

The Perth Gazette recognized the need to occupy children in more intellectual pursuits when it stated:

We are the last to curb or restrain the natural spirits of youth, but we must observe the streets have for some time been too much resorted to for amusements.... Such associates seldom communicate much beneficial instruction. 14

The Inquirer also warned its readers throughout July and August 1841, that to prevent the young of the colony from becoming sunk in degradation, there was a desperate need to establish a system of education for the children of the 'lower orders'. The lack of schooling was viewed as a 'crying evil' and an 'innumerable ill', and a threat to the moral discipline of the entire community.¹⁵

Until Roman Catholic Church leaders set a precedent for a school system for all colonial children in 1846, resorting to punishment of the young for vagrancy or delinquency was easier to deal with and less costly than educating them. It has been suggested that it was due to the dedication of the Sisters of Mercy that a Catholic education system was established. Their endeavours in turn, spurred the government into

11. E.W. Landor, (1847). The Bushman: Or Life in a New Country. Richard Bentley, London. p.114.

12. C.T. Stannage, (1979). People of Perth. Perth City Council, W.A. p.73.

13. Phyllis Garrick, 'Children of the Poor and Industrious Classes in Western Australia, 1829-1880', in P. Hetherington, (ed). (1988). Childhood and Society. University of W.A. Press, Nedlands, W.A. p.16.

14. The Perth Gazette. 27 January, 1938. p.2.

15. The Inquirer. 14 July, 1841. p.2.

laying the foundations of an elementary education for all children in 1847, in the fear that 'young protestants' might be subverted by catholic teachings.¹⁶ Proponents of education considered scholastic proficiency to be an important means of acquiring a desirable moral and social development, and a broader outlook and knowledge of life.¹⁷ It was with these aims in mind that a General Board of Education was formed in 1847, in the attempt to expand the existing education system and provide schooling for colonial children regardless of class. Although this was established during a period of economic depression, the government felt it was necessary to establish an Anglican based education system.¹⁸

Landor insisted it was the duty of the government, and in the interests of the colony:

to raise the moral character and condition of the people. The necessity of this must be forcibly present in the minds of those to whom the duties of legislation are intrusted [sic]; and as the most obvious means of improvement lie in the judicious instruction of the young generation, the attention of government must soon be directed to this object.¹⁹

Landor further stressed that colonists had no incentive to pursue the 'preservation of knowledge' or the 'cultivation of intellect'.²⁰

The Inquirer reported in March 1850, that most of the instructors of youth had been leaving the colony in recent years due to the lack of a field for their labours.²¹

By the beginning of the convict period basic education systems had

16. Laadan Fletcher, (ed). (1982). Pioneers of Education in Western Australia. University of W.A. Press, Nedlands, W.A. pp.1-2.
& B.T. Haynes, et al., Documents on Western Australian Education 1830-1973. Claremont Teachers' College, W.A. n.d. p.1.

17. A.G. Austin, & R.J.W. Selleck, (1975). The Australian Government School, 1830-1914. Pitman, Victoria. p.2.

18. Stannage, op cit., p.75.

19. Landor, op cit., p.117.

20. Ibid., pp.115-116.

21. The Inquirer. 27 March, 1850. p.2.

been established. Almost 3000 children entered the colony in the years 1850-68, in convict transports and immigrant ships.²² Most of these children faced a bleak future unless the government moved rapidly towards more efficient educational policies than those established in 1847, which were becoming increasingly inadequate with each new shipload of immigrants. With the introduction of convicts in 1850, came a new group of 'respectable' settlers - free immigrants, whose children were to need the benefits of an expanded education system.

After 1850, the spread of settlement dispersed many families into isolated areas such as York, Toodyay, Bunbury, the Vasse, and Albany Districts. By 1853, 50% of the colony's free population were living outside the main settlements of Perth and Fremantle.²³ This extension of settlement threatened to prevent children from attending established schools. Reverend J.R. Wollaston had noted in 1846:

On the subject of schools, I grieve to say I can communicate little that is satisfactory.... The inconvenient distances at which settlers are placed from each other, render the assemblage of scholars for a daily school almost impossible.... As to proper masters and mistresses, they are not to be found. 24

This exacerbated the conditions which had existed in the first two decades of settlement, and resulted in the government's growing awareness of the need, and subsequent expansion of the education system to cater for the large increase in numbers of children after 1850.

22. Rica Erickson, (1979). Dictionary of Western Australians, 1829-1914. Vol 3, "Free 1850-68", University of W.A. Press, Nedlands, W.A. pp.930-933.

23. R.T. Appleyard, 'Western Australia: Economic and Demographic Growth, 1850-1914', in Stannage, C.T.(ed).(1981). A New History of Western Australia. University of W.A. Press, Nedlands, W.A. p.214.

24. Reverend J.R. Wollaston to the Society For Propagation of The Gospel, 9 November, 1846, Cited in Dr David Adams. (Compiler), (1984). Historical Documents. 'Non Government Schooling in Western Australia, 1829-1903', Doc.13. W.A. Institute of Technology, Bentley, W.A. p.9. (BL.Q371.02)

With so many children arriving in the colony, the scarcity of suitably qualified teachers demanded that the government take immediate measures to remove children from the streets or the wilds of the bush, and into the classrooms. However, the idea of regular attendance at school took a long time to become accepted.²⁵ The value of children's assistance in household labour and development of land holdings continued to remain a significant contribution to family survival. Parents of the working classes were still not easily convinced that education was necessary, affordable or beneficial for their children.

By acknowledging the need for educating all children in preparation for future colonial leadership, the General Board of Education clearly indicated they were:

confident that on no one object could a liberal expenditure be more judiciously incurred, or which may more early meet with a return, than the providing of a good and substantial education for the young of the colony. 26

The Board stated their intentions to procure 'superior' teachers, fearing that 'inferior' teachers would be a threat to the morals of colonial children, and lower standards of education.²⁷

It was not considered that the younger generation were already being exposed to many demoralizing influences in their own families and neighbourhoods. Immigrant children often idled away their time alongside children of convict marriages in the streets and public parks of Perth.²⁸ Violence, drinking, gambling, and whoring, in and around the

25. Penelope Hetherington, (ed).(1988). Childhood and Society. University of W.A. Press, Nedlands, W.A. p.6.

26. Report of the General Board of Education, 16 March, 1855. Western Australian Government Gazette. 20 March, 1855. p.5. (BL. 350.5941)

27. Ibid., p.4.

28. Stannage, C.T. op cit., pp.107-108.

vicinity of their homes left many children to their own devices. Often they witnessed their mothers or wives of neighbours arrested for drunkenness or fighting in the street.²⁹ An example of this problem is revealed for the month of September 1853, in which there were five charges heard in the courts against women for drunkenness, obscene language, and street fighting - one of which was a fourth offence.³⁰ The influence of prostitution being conducted within their own homes or neighbourhoods, caused society to fear for the moral degradation of the colony's younger generation.

In his report on Catholic Schools for 1870, the Administrator Martin Griver, impressed upon the Colonial Secretary the difficulties faced in acquiring trained and qualified schoolmasters due to the 'want of means'. His concern was that lower class children of the colony required moral and religious training, and he pointed out:

The vast majority of the male population are liberated convicts and the class of female emigrants sent out here from time to time is not a superior one. If the offspring of such parents be deprived of religious training in the school-room, they will certainly not receive it.... at home for their parents have not the inclination to instruct them, nor are they capable of doing so. 31

The high rate of illiteracy and delinquency throughout the 1850s and 1860s, prompted the government to establish the Elementary Education Act (E.E.A.), in August 1871. This Act was modelled on the British Education Reforms of 1862 and 1870, in which Robert Lowe introduced his Revised Code of Education to the House of Commons. Realizing the necessity of reducing national expenditure he maintained that:

29. Ibid., pp.117-119.

30. The Perth Gazette. 30 November, 1853. p.3.

31. Report on Roman Catholic Schools, 1870: Martin Griver to the Colonial Secretary, 28 March, 1870. C.S.O. 36/662 : Folio 92. & - Western Australian Votes and Proceedings. Papers Relative to Public Education in Western Australia, 1870. (1). p.13. (BL. DDC. 328.941 Wes)

If education is not cheap it should be efficient: if it is not efficient it should be cheap.... Schools for the labouring classes should prepare children for work suitable to their station in life. He wanted no subsidised frills. 32

Lowe aimed to raise the standard of education in Britain by advocating testing of children and payment of teachers by results. Matthew Arnold, British Inspector of Schools (1851-86), was opposed to these reforms. He was critical of a government he claimed devalued and demoralized the teacher, and thus hindered the 'flow of fresh and free thought'. The purpose of education he argued, was to 'train the mind to all which is human'. In his 1856 report, Arnold was convinced that 'the teacher to whom you give only a drudge's training will do only a drudge's work, and will do it in a drudge's spirit'.³³ All of these sentiments about education in Britain was relevant to government educational policies in Western Australia, particularly from 1871.

As the British reforms had been, the introduction of the Elementary Education Act in Western Australia was an attempt to deal with the inadequacy of education in the cheapest way possible. However, the aims of the E.E.A. were not entirely successful. During the 1870s, suggestions for dealing with 'social waifs' and 'larrikins' by birching or placement in reformatories and industrial schools appeared frequently in newspapers.³⁴ Illiteracy still remained high throughout the 1870s and 1880s, and government schools continued to prove inadequate to fulfil the aims of the E.E.A. The 1881 Census revealed one child in five 4-16 years of age remained uneducated.³⁵ (see Chapter 3)

32. Jackie Latham, 'Payment by Results Revisited?', in History Today. Vol 42, July 1991. Cambridge University Press, U.K. p.7.

33. Ibid., pp.8-9.

34. The Perth Gazette. 7 February, 1873. p.2.

35. The Census of Western Australia. 1881.

Juvenile crime continued to present a pressing and costly burden for the community. In practical terms conditions for colonial children deteriorated as child numbers grew throughout the 1880s. Attempts to educate the children of Swan River Colony were motivated as much by necessity for social control of juveniles, as by a stated aim to inculcate a civilized ideal of social and moral development in the child for the good of society as a whole. From the beginning of the Kennedy Government in 1855, the right of every child to a refined and cultured form of education was considered as too costly for 'inferior classes'. By appointing ticket-of-leave and expiree teachers for small, isolated one-teacher schools, the government could provide an education extremely 'well-fitted' for children of the working classes. convict teachers played a significant role in the education of rural children from 1851 until the turn of the century.

CHAPTER 3

THE APPOINTMENT OF CONVICT SCHOOLMASTERS.

After two decades of settlement, official statistical returns for 31 December, 1849, revealed that nine Government Schools and the Catholic School System were catering for 427 pupils. The 1870 Census showed that by the end of 1869, 2188 scholars were receiving an education in 55 Government Schools, the majority of which were established in rural districts, and 105 teachers were employed.¹ Research by John Rikkers shows that, including the most humble of private schooling enterprises, academies, colleges and native mission schools, there were 110 schools operating by the end of 1869. By December 1871, this had dropped to 108, of which 61 were Government Schools, and 13 were Government Assisted Schools.² (See Appendix 3 : Tables 1 - 6)

The primary concern of the Fitzgerald Government was to provide an elementary education system for all children in the colony. With the inauguration of such a system in 1847, during the interregnum period under F.C. Irwin, a General Board was established to supervise the management of education. Responsibility for rural schools was in turn, channelled to Local Committees consisting of elected members residing in the various districts. While it was the duty of these committees to control the running of schools in their own areas, they remained under the jurisdiction of the General Board of Education.³

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1. Statistical Registers, Western Australian Blue Books. 31 December, 1849, pp.134, 142, 144. & The Census of Western Australia. 1870. 31 March, 1870. pp.39, 45-6.
 2. John Rikkers, (1984). Western Australian Schools 1830-1931. Part 1, 'Schools and Teachers, 1830-1871', Planning Branch, Education Department of Western Australia. pp.18-19.
 3. Gary Partington, 'James Pollitt Walton', in Laadan Fletcher, (ed). (1982). Pioneers of Education in Western Australia. University of W.A. Press, Nedlands, W.A. p.162.

The successful establishment and maintenance of an education system depended largely on the economic state of the colony, the need for colonial thrift, and the active voluntary and financial support of parents. The unavailability of teachers to staff schools was a problem that beset the government and Boards of Education throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. A tight colonial budget resulted in a scarcity of facilities and equipment, and low remuneration for teachers provided little incentive for anyone to take up teaching positions. Staffing problems for schools was the inevitable result. The Boards of Education were continually faced with resignations, and the dismissal of teachers appear frequently in education records.⁴

With the arrival of convicts in 1850, it was realised that the appointment of ticket-of-leave men and expirees as schoolmasters would be an inexpensive and resourceful way of fulfilling the increasing demand for teachers. They were the answer to most of the practical requirements for establishing schools, particularly in isolated areas as settlement expanded into outlying rural districts. Convicts were readily available in the colony although few were trained in the skills required for teaching. At the same time, the government was severely restricted by lack of funds for recruiting fully qualified teachers from Britain or the eastern colonies. Being bonded to the government, convicts had no powers of negotiation regarding conditions of employment and were cheaper to acquire than qualified 'free' teachers. Instead of being considered a financial liability on the colony, they could earn their living and at the same time, provide a desperately needed service. J.B. Hirst made it quite clear that the notion of utilization of convict abilities in education was not confined to Western Australia.

4. Minutes and Outward Correspondence of the General Board of Education, 1847-1871. (BL. 526). & Minutes of the Central Board of Education, 1871-1893. (BL. 205/1-4).

In the eastern colonies, the demand for educated men, regardless of their offence, resulted in many schoolmasters being chosen from the bond class.⁵

Although the General Board of Education denied that convict appointments greatly relieved the situation of acquiring teachers,⁶ it has been suggested that transportation was a boon to the colony insofar as it eased the problems of recruitment. With such a severe shortage of teachers, it was inevitable that small schools would be placed under the management of expiree and ticket-of-leave schoolmasters, and their employment dominated education in the 1850s and 1860s.⁷ Research has revealed however, that very few convict schoolmasters were appointed in the 1850s; the majority of appointments were granted to ticket-of-leave men and expirees during the 1860s and 1870s. Not once in official records is there any reference by the Boards of Education, to convict appointments being the lifeline of the education system that they proved to be. By claiming such a contribution by convict appointees, the Board would have had to admit how significant a role these men played, and that they were indispensable! The Board's underestimation of convict teachers' contribution ignored the large numbers of children being taught privately by parents or tutors of the bond class. The responsibility for education of these children would have added significantly to the inadequacies of the government education system without the network of private tutors.

A number of claims have been made that whether 'bond' or 'free',

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5. J.B. Hirst, (1983). Convict Society and its Enemies. George Allen & Unwin, Australia. p.83.
 6. Correspondence of the General Board of Education to The Colonial Secretary, 2 September, 1864. C.S.O. 36/538 : Folio 48-52.
 7. David Mossenson, (1972). State Education in Western Australia, 1829-1960. University of W.A. Press, Nedlands, W.A. pp.19, 28.

the character of many of those who were willing to take up teaching positions left a lot to be desired. Some teachers were reputed to be indolent, incompetent, intemperate, or indecent, abusing their position and thus lowering the status of teachers and the reputation of government schools in the minds of the people.⁸ While evidence from education records certainly indicates that these views regarding the calibre of teachers may be right in a number of cases, records of misconduct must be studied with caution. Teachers were subject to recrimination from all directions, with little hope of defence. A circular from the Central Board of Education in 1875 highlights the vulnerability of teachers to the whims of children, open hostility and prejudice of parents, and the possibility of fabricated charges of misconduct. The circular indicated the Board's awareness of this problem when it stated:

The effect of the present system... on the discipline of the schools is... most disastrous, it being a common occurrence for pupils threatened with punishment for bad conduct, to threaten in their turn injury to the teachers....⁹

Local committees, Boards of Education, or the government were unlikely to defend a teacher - particularly a convict teacher - against charges or complaints of a 'respectable' parent. False charges against a teacher would have been an easy method of disposing of a schoolmaster or mistress who had fallen into disfavour with children or their parents.

The Boards of Education had to contend with frequent reports of 'misconduct' from local committees. Dismissals often resulted in later

8. Bruce Haynes, 'Preamble', in Marian Aveling, (ed).(1979). Westralian Voices, University of W.A. Press, Nedlands, W.A. p.166.
& Mossenson, op cit., p.28.

9. Correspondence of the General Board of Education to The Colonial Secretary, November, 1875. C.S.O. 36/796 : Folio 88.

reinstatement of an offending teacher in another district due to the shortage of staff.¹⁰ It was common for the Board of Education to move teachers from place to place like pawns on a chess board,¹¹ and many of these moves appear to have been made for no better purpose than to placate angry or fearful parents. The threat of dismissal hung over the heads of schoolmasters constantly, and rebukes were frequent. For some teachers a low standard of education and lack of teaching skills often resulted in undue severity of treatment by the Boards of Education.¹²

Rica Erickson believes that one of the reasons why convicts tended to dominate in the appointments of teachers was that salaries depended on school fees. Because of low remuneration in small outlying schools, free men were unwilling to enter the profession. For educated convicts however, the perceived respectability of a position as 'schoolmaster' was more attractive than manual labour. Among the ticket-of-leave and expiree teachers and tutors were a number of well educated men; two at least held university degrees - (James Roe, 6709, and William Beresford, 5079 - both ex-clergymen).¹³ The majority of those appointed to teaching positions had been employed in clerical occupations before transportation.

Although unqualified as 'teachers' in terms of professional training, educated men from the convict ranks made it possible for their skills to be utilized resourcefully where they were most needed - in education. The level of ability of some convict schoolmasters and tutors was praised by Reverend Wollaston who reported in 1856, that there were several good

10. Minutes & Outward Correspondence of the General Board of Education, 1847-71. (BL. 526) & Minutes of the Central Board of Education, 1871-93. (BL. 205/1-4)

11. Correspondence of the General Board of Education to The Colonial Secretary, 4 April, 1871. C.S.O. 36/687 : Folio 5.

12. Partington, op cit., p.162.

13. Rica Erickson, (ed).(1983). The Brand on His Coat. University of W.A. Press, Nedlands, W.A. pp.286, 313.

ticket-of-leave teachers and tutors in the Bunbury and Albany Districts.¹⁴ Boards of Education records, particularly from the 1860s, refer frequently to the good conduct, efficiency, and high qualifications possessed by teachers of the penal class.¹⁵ Remarks such as these may have been used to ensure the governor's approval for appointments the Board wished to make. Someone had to be found to fill vacancies, and convicts were seen as a 'necessary evil'.

C. Bateson argued that the convicts sent to Western Australia appear to have been of a higher educational level than those transported to the eastern colonies.

Year	Ship	Total convicts	Read & write	Read only	Neither read nor write
<u>N.S.W. & Tasmania</u>					%
1826	England	148	45.9	17.5	34.4
1827	Asia	200	44.5	19.5	36.0
1833	Captain Cook	230	47.8	22.6	29.5
1846	Lord Auckland	180	45.5	13.8	38.3
		758	46.0	18.7	34.6
<u>Western Australia</u>					
1858	Lord Raglan	270	88.1	7.4	3.7
1862	Lincelles	304	67.1	20.0	12.8
1863	Merchantman	191	86.9	13.0	—
1864	"	259	71.8	23.5	3.8
1865	Racehorse	280	58.2	25.7	16.0
1867	Norwood	254	72.0	25.1	2.7
		1558	73.1	19.4	7.2

Figure 1. CONVICT LITERACY.

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Compiled from C. Bateson. p.308.

14. Rev. Canon A. Burton, & P.V. Henn, (eds).(1975). Wollaston's Albany Journal. Vol 2, 1841-56. University of W.A. Press, Nedlands, W.A. pp.236-7.

15. Correspondence of the General Board of Education to the Colonial Secretary, 2 September, 1864. C.S.O. 36/538 : Folio 48-52.

16. C. Bateson, (1974). The Convict Ships, 1787-1868. A.H. & A.W. Reed, Australia. pp.308-9.

Almost 75% of the convicts who came to Swan River Colony were literate, and many of them received instruction on the voyage out. In the years 1850 to 1864, the Fremantle Convict Establishment employed a number of teachers to instruct the convicts in literacy and inculcate a sense of morals. From this form of education a monitorial system developed which produced thirty colonial teachers. Thomas Sweetman was employed in this capacity from 1850-57.¹⁷ Reverend Thomas O'Neill was appointed following an advertisement in the Government Gazette in November 1853, calling for a second schoolmaster for the convict establishment at Fremantle.¹⁸ He was employed as 'teacher and moral instructor' for six months until his death in 1854.

From 1850 until 1890, over 100 schoolmasters and tutors - some government appointed, a few engaged in Catholic Schools, and others privately employed by wealthy rural settlers - were men from the 'bond' class, many of whom had acquired only the limited amount of training provided in the convict establishment. Some of the private employers of ticket-of-leave and expirée tutors made requests to the Board of Education for them to be officially appointed as schoolmasters.¹⁹ One example of tutors being recommended for official engagement, is recorded in the Inward Correspondence to The Colonial Secretary in 1864. The General Board of Education recommended the governor give due consideration to a settlers' petition for ticket-of-leave man William Brooks (5329), to be appointed schoolmaster at Greenhills. Brooks, who had been tutoring in private employment for some time, was recommended by the Chaplain of the Greenhills District as a 'most efficient teacher'

17. Rikkers, op cit., p.33.

18. Western Australian Government Gazette. 22 November, 1853. p.5.

19. Erickson, op cit., p.287.



Fig. 2

WILLIAM BROOKS

Schoolmaster at Greenhills

1860-64.

(Courtesy of Battye Library, 29604P)

and 'of good character'. The appointment was approved by Governor Hampton on 13 September, 1864.²⁰

As early as 1854, the General Board of Education emphasized that on the question of whether ticket-of-leave holders should be permitted to act as schoolmasters, the Board had no objections if outlying settlers felt comfortable about accepting them as teachers. They warned however, that employment of these men should depend on whether their conduct and characters were above reproach.²¹ The Board seemed to apply a very different set of rules when it came to recommending men of the penal class in, or close to Perth. In 1853 the Board voiced an objection to the application of ticket-of-leave man Thomas Ensor (76), for the vacant position of assistant schoolmaster at Fremantle Government School. It was considered that such an engagement would be injurious to the school, as the applicant was a ticket-of-leave holder. The Board stated:

[We] are more particularly led to this conclusion having received a letter from Mr Wright, the schoolmaster, stating that he believes some of the scholars would be removed from the school were Mr Ensor appointed assistant schoolmaster.²²

It seems that regardless of whether their characters were above reproach, teachers of the bond class were not considered 'fit and proper' persons to conduct school in the larger, more important centres.

The government policy of appointing convict teachers gave rise to public apprehension in some sectors of the community concerning the corrupting influence these men could have on the educational and moral development of children. The decision by the Fitzgerald Government to

20. Correspondence of the General Board of Education to Governor Hampton, 8 September, 1864. C.S.O. 36/538 : Folio 61-2.

21. The Third Report of the General Board of Education, 1 June, 1854. C.S.O. 36/299 : Folio 29-40.

22. The General Board of Education to Fremantle Government School, 9 May, 1853. Minutes & Outward Correspondence of the General Board of Education, 1847-71. (BL. 526)

follow the eastern states lead in employing convicts as teachers was to be an area of continuing conflict of opinion, especially among parents of children with schoolmasters of the 'bond' class. This prejudice was particularly obvious in rural areas, where parents felt that their children's education was being placed in jeopardy because of the low calibre of teachers they were forced to accept and the isolation of the district. A memorial from the York Local Committee clearly illustrates parental apprehension concerning appointments of ticket-of-leave and expirée schoolmasters.

A parent is, in the present condition of the Colony almost under the necessity of throwing the education of his children into the hands of a convict, or an expirée. He must place in a position of authority and respect all but parental, a man - who (whatever his capabilities may be for a profession which has always invited the most indolent and incapable) has by know crime materially lessened his claims upon the respect and confidence as well of children as adults. We would not prejudice the interests of this class in any fair competition with free men or close against them any avenue of honorable subsistence, but fearful must be the results of confining as a matter of course and necessity into the hands of these men, the training of the children of the agricultural middle and higher classes. 23

This memorial highlights the prejudice of settlers who felt that a teacher could not be respected, and did not deserve the confidence of children or their parents, if he was, or had been a convict. The anger shown by the writers of the memorial reveals a belief that the Boards of Education considered outlying children were only entitled to 'inferior' teachers, and a low standard of education. The need for schools, shortage of teachers, and fears that their children could be left to grow up uneducated overshadowed these anxieties, and parents realized they had no choice but to accept convict schoolmasters.

23. Memorial of the York Local Board of Education, 1858.
C.S.O. 36/406 : Folio 174. (Emphasis in original).

Pressure from dissatisfied parents for improved standards was brought to bear on the General Board of Education. Early requests by the Board to the British Government for qualified and competent teachers were largely unsuccessful. Nevertheless, they stated in a positive tone:

We are not however, without hope that this evil will in a great measure be remedied if not altogether removed in a short time, since the Board has lately entered into a communication with the Colonial Church and School Society (one of whose special objects is to supply the Colonies with qualified teachers...) which has promised the necessary assistance. 24

The inability to procure 'fit and proper' schoolmasters and mistresses led the Board to suggest repeatedly that the governor consider the training of teachers within the colony. Furthermore, it was suggested that liberal and adequate salaries would encourage people to take up teaching as a profession. 25

The sentiment in early 1855 before the arrival of Governor Kennedy was that the absence of proper educational facilities was 'a great evil' in a new colony. The 'smallness' of the population was blamed for the inability to obtain staff and maintain good schools, or encourage private enterprise in the field of education. 26 Under such conditions settlers believed that if children were to be properly educated, the government had to make a more determined effort to secure teachers who were capable of providing instruction that would fit the recipients to become 'intelligent and useful members of society'. 27

The General Board of Education acknowledged the continuing difficulties of recruiting suitably qualified staff in their annual report for 1855. Members of the Board were of the opinion that with so

24. The Third Report of the General Board of Education, 1854. 1 June, 1854. C.S.O. 36/299 : Folio 29-40.

25. Ibid., C.S.O. 36/299 : Folio 29-40.

26. Annual Report of the General Board of Education, 1855. Western Australian Government Gazette, 20 March, 1855. p.4.

27. Commercial News and Shipping Gazette, Fremantle, 29 March, 1855. p.2.

many 'inferior' teachers, the standard of education could only be lowered. They pointed out that the best possible education that could be offered was a necessity for future colonial leaders.

In this colony the children of the middle and some of the working classes will probably be among the governing body of the colony.... It is far better that such should be educated to the greatest extent that their circumstances would admit of, than that they should be left in a state worse than ignorance. 28

Governor Fitzgerald's high ideals and grand plans for education had stretched the colonial budget to the limit, and his policies had proved far too costly. When Governor Arthur Kennedy arrived in the colony in July 1855, he encountered a financial crisis.

A few months after he took up his official duties, Kennedy was openly criticising these optimistic policies and the liberal system of education that had been in operation since 1847 under the direction of Fitzgerald and the General Board of Education. He stated:

The class of education you proposed giving in the government schools, and which was approved by the late governor, is of a character far too grand for the present wants of the colony, and beyond what the public are called on to provide. 29

Governor Kennedy believed children of the lower and middle classes did not require a sophisticated form of education which would be likely to give them a false sense of their social position. He maintained that children should be educated appropriate to their social station, and that schooling 'should be confined to a plain and practical education' for the children of poverty stricken families.³⁰ Traditional social distinctions determined the type of education parents accepted as being suitable for their children for the world of employment ahead of them.

28. Annual Report of the General Board of Education, 1855. Western Australian Government Gazette. 20 March, 1855. p.4.

29. Cited in John K. Ewers, 'Governor Kennedy and The Board of Education', in R.W.A.H.S.J. Early Days. Vol 3. December, 1947. p.13.

30. Ibid., p.13.

By November 1855, in the attempt to curtail expenditure and avoid bankruptcy, Governor Kennedy had abolished existing colonial plans for establishing proper educational institutions. His motive for severely attacking the cost of education at the expense of better academic quality, was to operate schools at the lowest possible financial burden to the British Government. The autocratic manner in which Kennedy announced the changes he intended to introduce brought heated arguments with members of the General Board of Education. Realizing that further discussion with His Excellency would prove futile, the Board announced in disgust:

It is quite evident... not only that His Excellency does not attach the smallest importance to the opinions of the Board, but also that he does not consider it necessary to explain his own, as to place the Board in a position rightly to understand the system of education which it seems... [he] is desirous to substitute for that now existing. 31

Recognising that their powers had been undermined, the Board could see no point in remaining in a position in which their services were no longer of any benefit and their administration mistrusted. As they were unable to perform their duties with satisfaction to themselves, or any advantage to the public, three of the four Board members tendered their resignations. 32

Not at all influenced by the Board's actions or arguments, Kennedy set about completely re-organising the education system, and promptly formed a new Board of Education. His policies put an end to state aid for church schools and caused conflict with leaders of the Roman Catholic Church that led to sectarian squabbles that lasted for many years. In the place of the dual education system, Kennedy introduced the undenominational National School System, which provided a basic

31. Correspondence of The General Board of Education to The Colonial Secretary, 11 December, 1855. (BL. 526)

32. Ibid., 11 December, 1855. (BL. 526)

elementary education for rural children. This 'plain and practical' education for all colonial children, advocated by Kennedy began a tradition of low government expenditure on schools which continued to drastically impede educational development until the 1890s.³³

One method of lowering colonial spending while at the same time providing sufficient staff for schools was for Kennedy to continue Governor Fitzgerald's policy of employing convicts as teachers. Although untrained and seen as morally suspect, convicts could nevertheless still be utilized to teach basic reading, writing and arithmetic in small outlying schools. Their lack of teaching skills was less important than the fact that children could be provided with some sort of schooling. Kennedy's new policies exacerbated the problems faced by the Board of Education. Such severe cuts in government spending on education led inevitably to meagre salaries for teachers, and staffing schools became a crisis. Convict teachers were willing to accept the low remuneration when 'free' qualified teachers were not to be found.

At the same time Kennedy had to appear to be questioning the morality of convict appointments, and paid lip service in the form of cryptic and sarcastic comments when the Board of Education made a recommendation for ticket-of-leave men or ex-convicts to be appointed as schoolmasters. While he was cutting government spending, refusing to pay for good teachers, and providing poor facilities, he persistently complained of the questionable characters of convict applicants.

An example of Kennedy's intolerant views on convict appointments as found in the case of ticket-of-leave holder Thomas M. Palmer (2897),

33. A.N. Stewart, 'Introduction', in W.D. Neal, (ed). (1979). Education in Western Australia. University of W.A. Press, Nedlands, W.A. p.2.

illustrates Kennedy's response to Board of Education recommendations. Palmer, who was recommended for the position of Schoolmaster at Albany, by the Board in January 1858, had been teaching at the Albany Government School since December 1857. He received good testimonials from both the local education committee at Albany, and the Comptroller General. When his approval was sought, Kennedy made his objections abundantly clear, and then proceeded to sign his approval without further question!

*I am informed that "Palmer"
is or has been a convict - As the
Board were of the right to do
they think the Lftr. Expenditure
than that of untainted character
maybe obtained*

34

It is interesting to speculate on the governor's motive for applying quotation marks around Palmer's name. While Kennedy was stating his preference for 'men of untainted character', he was not to know that "Palmer" would continue as schoolmaster at Albany Government School for 33 years, retiring in December 1890, a popular and well respected member of the community.³⁵ (See Appendix 1.3)

Beginning with Governor Fitzgerald's approval of the appointments of J.J.H. Hislop (530) on 15 September 1851, in the Bunbury area, and

34. Correspondence of the General Board of Education to the Colonial Secretary, 1 January, 1858. C.S.O. 36/406 : Folio 94.

35. The Australian Advertiser. 'Presentation to Mr Thomas Palmer', 19 December, 1890. p.3.

John Watson (1227) at Albany in June 1855, ³⁶ appointments of convict schoolmasters continued until the 1880s. Education records show that many of these men were extremely good teachers, while others were mediocre and a few, shiftless wanderers who earned the description of indolent, incompetent and intemperate. A close examination of records indicates that local committees had a heavy responsibility over-seeing both the conduct of teachers and the safety of children placed in their care.

With the strong emphasis on moral standards at that time, it is significant that there were appointments of men who had been transported for rape. It appears to have been a strange decision on the part of the Boards of Education to place children in the care of known rapists! No record could be found which revealed whether parents were informed as to the nature of crimes for which the teachers of their children had been sentenced to transportation. In 1864, Governor Hampton made reference to the need for caution to be exercised when considering applications for teaching positions. In his opinion, while it was 'objectionable and unfair' to penalise men because of a convict background, it was vitally necessary to be aware of their past conduct. ³⁷ He stressed that:

Reports of their antecedents as convicts should be obtained by the Board of Education.... to prevent the selection of persons, the nature of whose crimes may have altogether unfitted them for having any charge of children. ³⁸

Governor Hampton's sentiments regarding the nature of crimes committed by convicts rendering them unsuitable to become schoolmasters, appear to have been disregarded during the Weld Government. Ticket-of-leave

36. Minutes and Correspondence of the General Board of Education, 25 October, 1851, & 19 June, 1855. (BL.526), & C.S.O. 36/329: Folio 99, 16 July, 1855.

37. Correspondence of Governor Hampton to the General Board of Education, 5 September, 1864. C.S.O. 36/538 : Folio 52.

38. Ibid., C.S.O. 36/538 : Folio 52.

holder, William Henry Perrin (5691), who was transported to the colony for rape, was officially appointed as schoolmaster in 1871 after being employed by the Dempster family as a private tutor since 1868.³⁹

However, John Rikkers records Perrin as tutoring at Morby Farm in 1862, and at Buckland (Dempster's Farm) from 1863.⁴⁰ His subsequent excellent conduct over 33 years service at Wongamine School, Buckland until 1901, is one example of an expirée's successful teaching career. The Report of The Inspector of Schools for 1890 recorded an average pass rate of 81% for the pupils of the Wongamine School under Perrin's management. His discipline was 'firm', and organization - 'in accordance with the programme'; satisfactory progress had been made.⁴¹ Perrin held a respected position in the community as Secretary of the Goomalling Road Board until his death in 1903.⁴²

While parents were understandably displaying anxiety about dangers to their children's morals and safety, members of the General Board of Education appear to have been more concerned with the lowering standards of education due to 'unqualified' teachers. Throughout the records they continued to stress the importance of properly trained school teachers during the whole period of 1850-90. Official Board of Education correspondence clearly indicates however, that they were hampered by circumstances beyond their control, and were forced to adopt the policy of convict appointments with an attitude of 'no convicts,

39. Correspondence of the Board of Education to the Colonial Secretary, C.S.O. 36/613 : Folio 125, 1 September, 1868; 36/687 : Folio 4, 6 March, 1871. & Minutes & Outward Correspondence of the General Board of Education, 31 August, 1 September, 1868, 17 March, 1871. (BL. 526)

40. Rikkers, *op cit.*, pp. 57, 124.

41. Report of the Central Board of Education, 31 December, 1890. No 8. 1891. (BL. Q370.9941. Wes)

42. 'Rural and Isolated Schools in the Goomalling District, 1863-1890', "Wongamine School", Goomalling Historical Society. (Unpub. n.d. No page numbers). (BL.Q370.19346. Rur)

no teachers'.

Board of Education records show that ticket-of-leave men and expirees were often appointed as schoolmasters on a temporary basis, subject to arrival of properly trained and competent masters and mistresses to replace them. Throughout the Fitzgerald and Kennedy regimes, and also later during the time of Governors Hampton and Weld, there were many temporary appointments made.⁴³ There was an attitude of 'good enough until we find better', and in a number of instances, 'use them and abuse them - they are expendable'. James Roe (6709), ticket-of-leave schoolmaster at Greenough 1867-70, is one example of what could be termed exploitation of convict teachers. Following a clash of personalities with the chairman of the local committee at Greenough, he was dismissed on a fabricated charge. Despite the fact that he was highly qualified as a teacher, and held a degree from Oxford University, Roe found himself among the 'used and abused' convict teachers, and his qualifications and complete support of the parents of his pupils meant nothing.⁴⁴ A letter written by James Roe to the Fremantle Herald, shows the strong views he held on the subject of centralized authority over education, when he pointed out that teachers were entirely in the Board's power.⁴⁵

With the constant threat of dismissal, permanency was rare. Some convict schoolmasters remained in the position to which they were appointed for a number of years (two convict teachers only, for 30-40 years), while others were moved after short periods. If a school conducted by an unqualified teacher did not progress as satisfactorily

43. Examples:- General Board of Education to the Colonial Secretary, C.S.O. 36/299 : Folio 9, 1854; 36/538 : Folio 19, 31 March, 1864; & Minutes & Correspondence of the General Board of Education, 17 September, 1855, 12 February, 1870. (BL.526)

44. The Fremantle Herald. 1 January, 1871. p.4. & C.S.O. 36/662 : Folio 45, September, 1870.

45. The Fremantle Herald. 28 January, 1871, p.3.



Fig. 3

JAMES ROE

Schoolmaster at Central
Greenough.
1867-70.

(Courtesy of Hilary Thomas)

as the Board considered it should, the fault was usually laid on the teacher, and lack of experience was blamed. This applied to 'bond' and 'free' teachers alike - penalised for their lack of training, labelled 'inefficient', and dismissed as soon as a trained teacher could be found.

Expiree schoolmaster James Hislop (530) experienced this problem and the Board was waiting poised to replace him. The General Board of Education report for 1854 stated that the Bunbury School was not progressing as well as the Board considered it should under Mr Hislop, and his lack of training was the reason given - 'a regularly trained master' was needed:

It evidently requires considerable reformation and it will be the duty of this Board in conjunction with the local committee to take steps for effecting the same as soon as circumstances shall permit. 46

The following year, the Board further criticised Hislop, stating that Bunbury Mixed School was below required standards. While it was acknowledged that Hislop's efforts were 'painstaking' and his conduct 'exemplary', nevertheless they stressed that his acquirements did not fit him for the education of a large school such as Bunbury.⁴⁷ He was patted on the head like a good boy, but he was not good enough to compete against a 'free' candidate if one could be found! Hislop was dismissed in 1862 and replaced by Mr G. Teede - from the free class.⁴⁸

It is interesting to compare Reverend Wollaston's opinion of Mr Hislop with that of the General Board of Education during the same period. On a visit to Bunbury, Wollaston inspected the school and noted

46. Third Report of the General Board of Education, 1 June, 1854.
C.S.O. 36/299 : Folio 29-40.

47. Annual Report of the General Board of Education, 1855. Western Australian Government Gazette. 20 March, 1855. p.5.

48. Correspondence of the General Board of Education to the Colonial Secretary, C.S.O. 36/498 : Folio 165.



Fig. 4

JAMES HISLOP

c1880s.

Schoolmaster at Bunbury Mixed
School, 1851-62.

(Courtesy of Battye Library, 24259p)

with pleasure that it was 'fairly conducted', and he considered Hislop to be a 'superior schoolmaster', although in need of supervision.⁴⁹

He remarked in his journal:

Some of these convicts (ticket-of-leave) who have been unhappily tempted to commit frauds, forgeries, speculations, are well educated, and in themselves respectable, and make good schoolmasters under authority. 50

Wollaston wrote these comments in 1856, while charges of inefficiency concerning Hislop's performance as a teacher began in 1854. Wollaston's opinion of many of the convict teachers was supported however, by numerous Boards of Education reports of commendable conduct of teachers.

General Board Correspondence records reveal continuing concern about 'inefficiency' of teachers lowering standards of education, which was becoming increasingly evident in schools during this period. The Board repeatedly attempted to call the governor's attention to the issue of improving the quality of teachers, and informed Governor Hampton of difficulties they faced by being forced to perform their duties in the best way possible, rather than in the way they would wish. Regarding employment of teachers, they pointed out that 'the material in this respect is of the most indifferent description but, such as it is, we are compelled to use it or leave our work undone'.⁵¹ The Board went on to voice its disapproval of a need for recommending appointments which the members considered unsatisfactory, and reminded His Excellency they had already suffered rebuke for recommending a man 'of tainted character in continuance in office as a schoolmaster'.⁵² The Board wished a rule to be laid down regarding such appointments and suggested the government establish plans for a supply of competent teachers of

49. Burton, op cit., pp.236-7.

50. Ibid., pp.237-7.

51. Correspondence of the General Board of Education to Governor Hampton, 9 August, 1864. C.S.O. 36/538 : Folio 38-40.

52. Ibid., C.S.O. 36/538 : Folio 38-40.

'untainted' character'. This could be done only by recruitment from the eastern colonies or from England, or by training teachers in the colony. ⁵³

Advertising locally for teachers brought unsatisfactory results, and once again the Board complained to the governor that applicants had been persons already known to be inefficient and unfit, or they were from the penal class. It was acknowledged however, that applications for positions as schoolmasters from ticket-of-leave men and expirees showed many of these men to be highly educated. ⁵⁴ The Board further considered the appointments of teachers from the bond class had become a difficult and embarrassing question, and requested the governor to make a final decision regarding the issue of future appointments. It appears the General Board no longer wished to claim the blame for poor quality teachers; if the governor made the decisions, it would be his problem entirely! While they did not wish to speak for, or against the policy of entrusting management of schools or care of children to convict teachers, desiring only to consider both sides of the question fairly, the Board acknowledged:

It would seem quite natural to condemn absolutely the practice of employing men who have been convicts, as the instructors of the children of the colony, if the question could be viewed altogether alone.... It is quite possible that in our anxiety to avoid doing injury to society in one way, we may unwittingly do a still greater injury in another way. ⁵⁵

The ambiguity of the latter part of the Board's statement is obvious. It is unclear whether there was a belief that avoidance of appointing

53. Correspondence of the General Board of Education to Governor Hampton, 9 August, 1864. C.S.O. 36/538 : Folio 38-40, & 2 September, 1864. C.S.O. 36/538 : Folio 48-52.

54. Ibid., C.S.O. 36/538 : Folio 48-52.

55. Ibid., C.S.O. 36/538 : Folio 48-52.

teachers from the bond class may injure society by placing the education system in jeopardy. With no convict schoolmasters, there would be no education! Without schooling, there would be no social control of children to prevent them running riot or drifting into vagrancy and crime. Conversely, the Board may have intended the statement to mean that employment of convict schoolmasters could injure children's morals and threaten their personal safety. Either way, the Board faced a dilemma!

As the appointment of bond class schoolmasters appeared to be the only way for the government to provide basic schooling, the Board of Education believed it was necessary to consider applications of deserving individuals, each on their own merits. For men who had served their sentence and were able to produce testimonials of good conduct as proof of their sincerity in seeking teaching appointments, the Board's consideration of their suitability for such positions was more favourably regarded. As opposed to 'free' applicants however, convicts had to prove their good conduct and sincerity before being given an opportunity for the first time. Being activated 'by a spirit of christianity' the Board felt that for such applicants, it would be harmful to with-hold encouragement by rejecting their appointment on the basis of previous penal status. It was acknowledged in 1864, that 'to date' no serious problems had arisen in any of the schools conducted by a teacher of the bond class which could warrant denying the Board's due consideration to individual applications for employment from ticket-of-leave or expiree schoolmasters.⁵⁶ As will be seen in Chapter 4, the same could not have been said about the Catholic School system. One incident in 1860 resulted in Supreme Court action.

There was a shift in attitudes of the General Board of Education over the years with election of new members, and change of governors.

56. Ibid., C.S.O. 36/538 : Folio 48-52. 2 September, 1864.

In the decade from 1854 to 1864, sentiments altered from a belief that education could only suffer by appointment of 'inferior' teachers, to the idea that schoolmasters of the bond class whose characters were above reproach, should be encouraged rather than rejected. It became the 'christian duty' of the Board to offer them the chance to regain their lost positions and gain respect as useful citizens. The earlier fears of deterioration of morals are not as obvious in education records from the 1860s and 1870s, as is the concern for lowering standards and the status of Government Schools.

Governor Hampton left no room for doubt regarding his opinion on the subject of employing convicts as schoolmasters. He saw no reason to discontinue the practice, providing applicants were 'carefully selected', and if no 'eligible candidate' could be found from the free classes. Knowing that if these appointments were discontinued the government would have the responsibility of providing an alternative - a large number of qualified teachers, Hampton was quite prepared to allow convict employment as teachers to continue. He insisted that:

Employing a man who either is, or has been a convict as a teacher of youth is an anomaly that can only be set aside by the peculiarly exceptional circumstances in which the inhabitants of this colony are placed. 57

Hampton declared he had found educated convicts in Western Australia were not so 'thoroughly demoralized' as those in his charge in Tasmania, and this appears to have been the way he justified his decision to approve convict appointments.

In the Annual Report for 1869, the General Board indicated that they were obliged to employ anyone who would undertake a position of teacher, with the proviso that their qualifications and conduct afforded

57. Correspondence of Governor Hampton to the General Board of Education, 5 September, 1864. C.S.O. 36/538 : Folio 52.

reasonable hope of success.⁵⁸ The Board stated however, that for more important large schools they preferred to secure properly trained and fully qualified teachers from Britain whenever possible.⁵⁹

In a further attempt to overcome scarcity of teachers and avoid the necessity of appointing convict schoolmasters, a new method of raising professional standards was introduced in 1862: that of training pupil teachers. The programme of training was modelled on a closely corresponding British system, brought to the colony in that year by William Adkinson. He was guided and impressed by Robert Lowe's British Reform Bill of 1862, and had a significant influence on all educational policies for almost 30 years until his retirement in 1889.⁶⁰ The system of pupil teacher training offered practical experience, given by the teacher for a recommended period of five years. This was changed to four years in 1875 by the Central Board of Education. It was realised by that time the pupil teacher system had 'hitherto been a failure'.⁶¹ Once trained, it was from among these pupil teachers and from the penal class that staff for rural schools was drawn during the 1870s and 1880s, as persistent efforts to recruit qualified teachers continued to be ineffective.

A number of these pupil teachers, and many monitors were trained by ticket-of-leave or expiree schoolmasters; they did not just teach the children, they were also involved in training of a future generation

58. Annual Report of the General Board of Education, 5 September, 1864. C.S.O. 36/538 : Folio 52.

59. Ibid., C.S.O. 36/538 : Folio 52.

60. Laadan Fletcher, 'Education of the People', in C.T. Stannage, (ed). (1981). A New History of Western Australia. University of W.A. Press, Nedlands, W.A. p.559.

61. Report of the Central Board of Education for 1875, Western Australian Votes & Proceedings. 1876, (No 4). p.4.

of teachers. Thomas Palmer, expiree schoolmaster at Albany, guided his daughter and a niece through the pupil teacher programme.⁶² T. Sten wrote in 1943, of one of Palmer's pupils - Andrew Muir (Junior) - who claimed 'a great deal of ... work was drilled in by senior pupils, who took the part of monitors'.⁶³ James Lloyd taught his own children at Northam, and two of them received pupil teacher training under their father's tuition. William H. Perrin at Buckland (Wongamine), also taught his own children and some of his grandchildren,⁶⁴ some of whom may have trained as pupil teachers or monitors. The children of Robert Mewburn at Mandurah, and James W. Johns(t)on at Dongarra also attended the school conducted by their fathers.⁶⁵ It is difficult to trace how many children were guided through monitor or pupil teacher training programmes by convict teachers.

In a report for 1870, Governor Weld complained to the Home Government of difficulties the colony faced with a continual lack of funds for educational purposes. He informed Lord Granville that the low class of education in colonial schools could be linked directly to the fact that many of the teachers were drawn from the convict class. Weld admitted:

The convict or ex-convict class are not as a rule fitted for the education of the young either morally or intellectually, nor is their employment as schoolmasters calculated to raise the moral sense of the colony. ⁶⁶

In that same year, after Weld had acknowledged his concern about the

62. Personal Communication with Mr Alex Palmer, 10 March, 1993.
 & Erickson, op cit., p.291.

63. T. Sten, (1943). 'A Survey of Agricultural Development in the Hay River Area of Western Australia', Department of Economics, W.A. University. p.42. (BL.Q338.10941 Ste)

64. Erickson, op cit., pp.295, 299.

65. Personal Communication with Mrs Lorraine Dearnley, 3, 15, 30 April, 1993. & Mrs Wendy Shaw, 3, 27, 30 April, 1993.

66. Correspondence of Governor Weld to Lord Granville, 25 April, 1870, (No 61), Western Australian Votes & Proceedings. 1870-71, (1). p.3. & C.S.O. 36/662 : Folio 67.

dangers to the colony's morals, of the thirty five schoolmasters appointed by the General Board of Education, three were ticket-of-leave holders, and fifteen were expirees.⁶⁷ Although clearly disapproving of such a situation, Governor Weld was faced with the same problems of recruitment that his predecessors had been, and standards of existing teachers were still seen as inefficient.

The Census Returns for 1870, 1881, and 1891, reveal that while some improvement is obvious over this period, levels of illiteracy remained high, and a large number of children were not attending schools. While comparisons for 1870 are difficult to assess as figures are only shown for the total population over 5 years of age, educational levels in the 1881 and 1891 Census are more obvious for the progress of children 4-14 years of age. In the years 1870-81, the average school attendance decreased from 71.7% to 69.5%. In 1881, school enrolments totalled 59.27%, while 17.11% received schooling at home. The period 1881-91 shows an increase in the percentage of children attending school. Enrolment figures for 1891 showed 69.05% were being educated at school, home education was reduced to 13.25%, and those not receiving an education dropped from 23.6% to 17.7%. This resulted in an increase in the number of children who could read and write; up from 50.9% to 59%, while those who could not read or write decreased from 31.9% to 29.7%⁶⁸ The improvement in educational levels is certainly not spectacular. (See Appendix 3 : Tables 7-11).

During the 1870s and 1880s there was a marked increase in the number of private schools being established. Education records show that at the same time, government schools were decreasing in number and enrolments, and declining in standards despite the introduction by

67. Correspondence of the General Board of Education to Colonial Secretary for 1870. C.S.O. 36/662 : Folios 1-95.

68. Census of Western Australia. 1870, 1881, 1891.

Governor Weld of the Elementary Education Act (E.E.A.), on 17 August, 1871.⁶⁹ The changes to the education system brought about by the E.E.A. were stimulated largely by this decline in standards.

The deterioration of standards and stagnation of government schools was obvious to Mrs Millett, who clung to the idea that the only reason for the decline was the quality of teachers. She wrote in 1872:

The amount of education acquired at these little isolated government schools varied somewhat with the efficiency of the instructors who, in a struggling colony, must occasionally be such as it is possible to procure, rather than those really qualified to fill the situation.⁷⁰

Millett did not even consider that meagre teachers' salaries, out of date reading books, poor facilities, and lack of equipment may have had a significant bearing on the decline. Her use of the word 'occasionally' fails to give any impression that the problem of poorly qualified teachers was the on-going, and persistently dominant issue the Board of Education had struggled with since 1847! Her writings seem generally to have been an attempt to present a progressive view, rather than one of a tight colonial budget, and the parsimonious government policies which were passed down as a legacy from Governor Kennedy's regime.

As population increased and expanded into outlying areas, and more schools were demanded, government expenditure on schools and education failed to correspond with the need. Long after Kennedy's time, this tradition of government paucity was still evident. One example of this is the statement of teachers' salaries for 1876, in which a £1500 increase was placed on the estimates. Two thirds of that increase went to seven schools in Perth and Fremantle, while one third was to be divided between the remaining 63 schools. The Speaker for the Legislative

69. Statutes & Ordinances of Western Australia. 'The Elementary Education Act', 35 Victoria, No 1, Vol 1, 17 August, 1871. pp. 653-659. (BL.Q370.9941. WA Gen)

70. Mrs Edward Millett, (1981). An Australian Parsonage. (Originally published London, 1872). Facsimile Edition, University of W.A. Press, Nedlands, W.A. p.355.

Assembly, Mr Steere was openly critical of how much value the increase had been. He believed:

It was a system which no doubt worked very well in centres of population, but very badly in rural districts, to the interests of which in a colony such as this a fair share of consideration should be paid. 71

Low government spending on education rather than the quality of teachers perpetuated the problems that were at the root of the deterioration of the government education system.

The E.E.A. did nothing to change conditions for school teachers in rural areas. They still retained the lowly image they always had. Nor did it improve their remuneration, which persistently produced 'inferior' teaching.⁷² Schoolhouses continued to be dingy and poorly equipped, and facilities were still inadequate. The E.E.A. introduced centralized control, a set syllabus, compulsory schooling for children 6-14 years of age, and established the British system of examination of children and the payment of teachers by results. Teachers' salaries depended on pupils passing the Inspector's examinations. All of these new conditions were based on the British Reforms introduced by Robert Lowe in England, in 1862 and 1870.⁷³ Compulsory school attendance meant the Government were faced with the provision of more teachers, schools and facilities to cater for larger numbers of children.⁷⁴

It has been claimed that apart from being a salary injustice to teachers, the 'payment by results' system stimulated 'feeble and shiftless teachers inherited from the convict period' into improving their

71. Western Australian Parliamentary Debates. Legislative Council, (1), 28 August, 1876. p.108.

72. Mossenson, op cit., p.68.

73. Jackie Latham, 'Payment by Results Revisited?' in History Today. Vol 41. July 1991. Cambridge University Press, U.K. p.7.

74. Annual Report of the Central Board of Education for 1873. Western Australian Votes & Proceedings. (No 3), 1874. p.6.

skills and standards.⁷⁵ While 'payment by results' may have led to improvement in standards, the statement is an injustice to those convict schoolmasters who earned the respect of the community through the stability they brought to the school and its pupils, rather than the 'feeble and shiftless' description many did not deserve. With the introduction of the E.E.A., teachers' living depended on an improvement of their teaching efforts. As the 1880s progressed however, limitations, imperfections and abuses of the 'payment by results' system became increasingly obvious. The Central Board acknowledged that it was common practice for children to threaten irregular attendance or leaving the school as revenge against an unpopular teacher, knowing his or her salary depended on their attendance.⁷⁶

Despite the aims of the E.E.A., the two decades following the introduction revealed the inadequacies of decentralised control. With settlement so widely scattered as it was, the Central authorities had little idea of conditions that applied in isolated areas. While more schools were established in the remote districts under the new Central Board of Education, the district Boards became increasingly ineffective in the performance of their duties. The growing apathy of district board members affected efficient operation of the Central Board. Little more than a year after the introduction of the E.E.A., the Report of the Central Board stated:

We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that unless members of the District Boards ... take more direct and personal interest in carrying out the principles of the Act ... the success of the Elementary Education Act will not be so decided as at first we had reason to believe it would.⁷⁷

75. Mossenson, op cit., p.54.

76. Central Board of Education Circular, November, 1875.
C.S.O. 36/796 : Folio 88.

77. Annual Report of the Central Board of Education for 1872.
Western Australian Votes & Proceedings. 1874. (No 3), pp.5-6.

The weakness of the district boards was criticised again the following year, and deterioration of schools was viewed as a threat to the colony's education system. The Central Board commented that little care had been taken by the district boards; 'their services have consequently been useless'.⁷⁸

By issuing standard regulations, and employment of William Adkinson as Inspector of Schools, The Central Board hoped to be kept in close touch with all facets of education in rural areas and towns. The Inspector relied on the vigilance of district boards, and investigated any complaints of incompetence or mistreatment of children. The Central Board was in turn, dependent on Adkinson's professional advice, and formed educational policy on his recommendations.⁷⁹

Throughout the 1870s and 1880s, there were many reports from district boards of misconduct or incompetence. Although similar reports are recorded for the 1860s, an ever increasing number of schools meant there were more teachers after 1870-71, which largely explains the number and frequency of reports. It does not adequately explain the increasing severity of the charges. The most common references in education files were charges of drunkenness, absenteeism, indiscriminate corporal punishment, assault, and indecent conduct towards female pupils.⁸⁰ An examination of Boards of Education correspondence shows however, that such charges were as common among the free teachers as they were for those from the penal class. It is obvious that children faced the dangers of moral corruption from teachers in general, rather than from ticket-of-leave and expirée teachers specifically. There was

78. Ibid., Report for 1873. Western Australian Votes & Proceedings. 1874, (No 3), pp.5-6.

79. Partington, op cit., p.162.

80. Minutes & Outward Correspondence of the General Board of Education, 1847-71. (BL.526) : & Minutes of the Central Board of Education, 1871-93. (BL.205/1-4).

also the chance that a number of the charges could have been fabricated. The occurrence of charges such as these will be more closely examined in Chapter 4.

The Government School System was unable to cope when there was a huge population growth with the discovery of gold in the period 1886-90. Increased immigration brought an expansion of the economy and a sharp rise in school enrolments - more so in assisted schools than in government schools. Education reform was called for, and this demand resulted in the 1890 Constitution which introduced an era of decision making on educational issues by majority opinion in the colony.⁸¹

The introduction of the Elementary Education Act in 1871 was intended as a turning point in the history of education in Western Australia. The Act was designed to equip children with the right attitude toward learning, and at the same time raise standards and attendances in schools. It acted also as an enforced incentive to teachers to improve their methods of teaching. In these aims however, it was only partially successful. Unqualified teachers from the 'bond' class as well as from the 'free' classes continued to be appointed throughout the 1870s and 1880s, and were frequently penalized for their lack of efficiency, competence, and qualifications.

Convict schoolmasters were viewed by government and education authorities, parents, and the community as a means to an end. They had clearly defined roles and responsibilities, and were there to do their job - educate the children and be of benefit to the community. Social interaction was geared to that end. While some did conform to expected patterns of behaviour, others did not. Ticket-of-leave schoolmasters had to contend with the social gulf between 'bond' and 'free' within the schoolroom and the community in which they lived and taught. Under such difficult conditions it is surprising that any convict teachers survived in the education system until 1890.

81. Mossenson, op cit., pp.64-5, 70.

CHAPTER 4.

CONVICT TEACHERS' RELATIONSHIP WITH CHILDREN

PARENTS, AND THE COMMUNITY.

Wealth and the concept of social class was the basis for differing attitudes towards education in Swan River Colony in the second half of the nineteenth century. Equality in education greatly depended on where children lived and went to school, and the social class into which they were born. Intellectually bright children of wealthy families had the opportunity for developing prospective talent through a classical education. Children from the working classes who showed any intellectual ability were suppressed by the basic elementary education they received. Social control by levels of education formed and maintained a distinct 'social strata' by training children for working class life.

In 1871 Fremantle Herald Columnist, 'Sandal-wood Cutter' satirically approached the issue of government education from the viewpoint of a poorly educated 'working class' man. Very tongue-in-cheek, he said:

Edication has sent into the world thousands of empty-headed, conceited, flashy, good-for-nothin's, that but for cheap schools and the edication cry, might a been useful as blacksmiths, carpenters, or shoemakers. The curse of the present system of edicatin' the children of the poor and middlin' classes, that it makes 'em dissatisfied with that station in life to which it has pleased Providence to call 'em... (Sic) 1 (See Appendix 1.2)

Children of the labouring classes in the larger centres had better educational opportunities than did their counterparts in outlying rural schools. Country parents were quick to criticise the fact that schools in Perth and Fremantle were provided with the best teachers, facilities and equipment, to the detriment of their own children. They were not

1. 'Chips by a Sandal-wood Cutter', The Fremantle Herald. 28 January, 1871. p.3.

concerned with inequalities between rich and poor, but wanted equal opportunity in education for the country child with those in the larger centres.² Apart from poverty stricken families who failed to place education as a high priority over subsistence, most rural parents beleived that education of the rising generation was of vital importance. The quality of that education imparted in isolated schools conducted by unqualified teachers, country parents viewed as disadvantageous to their children.

It has been argued that Governor Kennedy's 1855-56 educational changes created and fostered class distinctions.³ The implementation of his policies of low government spending introduced and perpetuated a poor standard of education for children of the working classes. This widened the gulf between rich and poor on the basis of education. In 1870 the Board of Education was of the opinion:

Those whose position in life does not enable them to pay for a higher education for their children, we question whether it would not be better for them to be contented with the very excellent plain education which is given in the Government Schools.⁴

Recognizing the desire of some parents to pursue an education which had 'the appearance of superiority', the Board explicitly suggested working class settlers restrain the urge to seek upward social mobility for their families through education.⁵

Nineteenth century awareness of class distinctions accounted for the perpetuation of divisions that existed between the classes in Swan

2. B.K. Hyams, & B. Bessant, (1972). Schools for the People. Longman, Australia. p.116.

3. John K. Ewers, 'Governor Kennedy and the Board of Education', in R.W.A.H.S.J. Early Days. Vol 3, December, 1947. p.14.

4. Report of the General Board of Education, 24 April, 1870. Papers Relative to Public Education in Western Australia. Western Australian Votes & Proceedings. 1870. (No 1), p.9. (Emphasis in original).

5. Ibid., p.9.

River Colony. In correspondence from the General Board of Education to Governor Hampton in 1864, it is clear that class division had become an issue of concern. The Board pointed out the evils that could beset the colony if classes should set themselves one against the other - free against bond. It was believed that such a division in a small community would be opposed to the interests of the colony in general, and the education of children in particular, thus creating what the Board described as an injurious effect on the happiness and well-being of all. ⁶

That class distinctions were being influenced by the practice of employing teachers from the penal class was clearly the opinion of the General Board of Education.

The members of each class are shaping their conduct towards the members of the other class as they are led and guided (it might be almost imperceptibly) by those who possess influence among them and who are in fact their recognized teachers. ⁷

It remains debatable whether convict schoolmasters did influence pupils' class consciousness. Teachers' methods of instruction and relationship with children differed from one school to another, and influence over the development of pupils' individual attitudes cannot be generalized. There were no references in official correspondence of any parental or local committee / district board complaints of any specific attempts by convict schoolmasters to influence children's social awareness. Such consciousness was inbuilt and accepted by children.

Any impact a convict schoolmaster could have on children insofar as the blurring of class lines was concerned, threatened the existing division between 'bond' and 'free' which the gentry preferred to strengthen. Mrs Millett claimed however, that class distinction between

6. Correspondence of the General Board of Education to Governor Hampton, 2 September, 1864. C.S.O. 36/538 : Folio 48-52.

7. Ibid., 36/538 : Folio 48-52.

the penal and free classes did not exist in the schools where children of convicts and colonists were treated alike.⁸ Whether or not this was fact is difficult to ascertain. No evidence could be found to prove or dispute Mrs Millett's opinion. It was more probable that as children generally reflect parental attitudes, there may have been class discrimination between the pupils in the school grounds or behind the teacher's back.

For some convict schoolmasters the social distinction between 'bond' and 'free' was a heavy cross to bear. In a letter published in The Inquirer, George (Joseph) Rossiter (4867), wrote bitterly of his experiences as a teacher in Swan River Colony:

[From] a desire on my own part to become a free and useful member of society... a continuous resolution set in to raise myself to such a position that temptation to theft would be an infinite descent therefrom and impossible Not so; I recovered nothing at all It is a modish law with Western Australian society not to admit nor recognize any person who has once been a convict. I stood uninvited at their doors to transact any business ... I passed unrecognized in the streets, even by my lady pupils and the older boys Ah! the shrine of society requires more atonements than law! ... 9

(Extract, Appendix 1.1)

Rossiter's letter also refers to the 'indignity and repulse' with which two of his assistant teachers, William J. Robson (5129), and William Beresford (5079) were treated.¹⁰ Such contempt for ticket-of-leave and expiree schoolmasters can be detected between the lines of many entries in education records, and Colonial Secretary's Office correspondence.¹¹ It seems however well behaved a convict teacher was or how

8. Mrs E. Millett, (1981). An Australian Parsonage. (Originally published London, 1872), Fac. Edn. University of W.A. Press, Nedlands, W.A. p.355.

9. The Inquirer. 15 March, 1865. p.3.

10. Ibid., 15 March, 1865. p.3.

11. Minutes and Correspondence of the General Board of Education, 1847-1871. (BL. 526). & Minutes of the Central Board of Education, 1871-1893. (BL. 205/1-4). & C.S.O. 36/406 : Folio 94. 36/474 : Folio 130.

efficiently he conducted his school, it was almost impossible to dispel the criminal stigma. Popularity and the respect of pupils, parents and community was difficult to attain.

The social importance of the rural school depended on the teacher in charge. Incompetence or unpopularity of a teacher could result in little social contact or community involvement with the school or its activities. In such cases social isolation was a severe problem for expiring and ticket-of-leave schoolmasters. On the other hand, an efficiently conducted and stable school environment encouraged the establishment of a bond between school and community.

One particular feature of community involvement with the school was that of the local committees, and after 1871, the district boards. These groups ensured that the most isolated schools which were out of reach of the Department Inspector were efficiently run. Often the difficult task of investigating parental complaints and reprimanding teachers or dismissing and recruiting new teachers, was left to the local committees / boards. They were also responsible for keeping in touch with absenteeism when compulsory school attendance was introduced in 1871.

James Roe (6709) was critical of the usefulness of school inspections by local committee members. He pointed out that anyone was capable of making observations about children's 'face, hands and hair', and listen to them read or examine copy books. Roe insisted however:

Such an inspection as this is clearly valueless as a test of the master's efficiency or the progress of the children. To rightly estimate the progress of a school, and the real merits of its teacher, requires all the discrimination of one constantly engaged in the work of inspection and enjoying considerable experience. 12

Roe was of the opinion that local committees could be done away with,

12. The Fremantle Herald. 28 January, 1871. p.3.

'they either do nothing, or make mischief', and he suggested the inspector should have sole superintendence of schools.¹³ His outspoken views on education were one of the issues which led to Roe's dismissal. A convict schoolmaster's opinions were not appreciated!

The attendance rate of children was a significant factor determining whether schools once established, remained viable or closed down. In his Annual Report for 1869 Inspector Adkinson claimed 'irregular attendance and early school leaving were prevalent weaknesses' in the small schools, and noted 'with few exceptions the work of the schools was unsatisfactory'.¹⁴ It would be enlightening to discover whether he was using the larger Perth schools or British schools as a yardstick for this judgement!

Irregular attendance was a problem common to most isolated one-teacher schools. Examination of records reveals the regularity of attendance at school depended on three main factors - family poverty or illness, constraints of the natural environment, and the quality of teachers. Firstly, in cases of poverty, for parents to send their children to school often meant hardship within the family. School fees created financial difficulties. In 1880 the Northam District Board recommended the Central Board allow 13 children at Katrine School to be placed on a free list as parents were too poor to pay fees.¹⁵ In some cases the teacher allowed parents to pay part of the fees in kind. The schoolmaster at Mandurah, Robert Mewburn (1889), accepted eggs, honey, clothes and services as part payment of school fees. He wrote in his diary, 'by carting - 2/6 ... 300 shingles - 4/6', and deducted this from the

13. Ibid., 28 January, 1871. p.3.

14. Annual Report of the General Board of Education, 26 April, 1869. (Q370.9941. WA. Gen). & Western Australian Government Gazette, 26 April, 1869. p.2.

15. Correspondence of the Central Board of Education to Northam District Board. 28 July, 1880. (BL. 205/3)



Fig. 5 ROBERT MEWBURN

Schoolmaster at Mandurah, 1872-91.

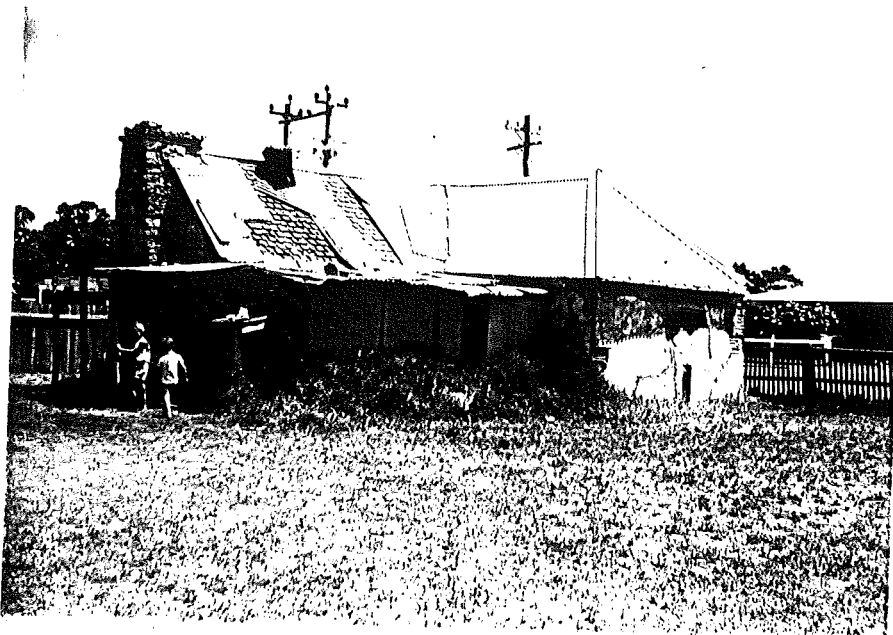


Fig. 6 First Mandurah Schoolhouse.
Built by Robert Mewburn in 1876.

(Courtesy of Lorraine Dearnley).

amount owing in fees.¹⁶ Mewburn's diary clearly highlight his attitude of community caring and sharing. (Extracts, Appendix 1.5)

Family hardship was also created when children's labour was lost to the school. Boys were needed to fulfil certain tasks on the land, while girls were often kept away from school to help in the home. Rival demands on children's manual labour had always made schools difficult to establish and maintain.¹⁷ When elementary education became compulsory in 1871 children continued to absent themselves from school for a variety of reasons. Central Board of Education correspondence is full of district board reports of absenteeism. One example of this problem is that of the schoolmaster at Marradong, James Lever Ainsworth (7597), who wrote to the Board in 1882 complaining parents would not send their children to school. The Board informed him that parents would be contacted and that he could expect a visit from the Inspector.¹⁸ Teachers often found themselves with almost empty classrooms, particularly during seasons such as harvesting when the importance of farm work thrust the value of education into the background for the poorer families in the rural areas. The issue of absenteeism remained constant regardless of whether the teacher was bond or free.

An irate parent wrote to the Editor of The Perth Gazette in 1874 criticising the adoption of the compulsory clause of the Elementary Education Act, claiming it was impracticable in the colony.

There is a great deal of poverty if not of want among us here
 I for one have sunk deeper into poverty since I came here
 Why a girl whose mother is ill ... is not to be kept at home to attend to household duties, I know not. When a father

16. Diary of Robert Mewburn, (1875-91), Entries for - March, 1875, & June, 1877. pp.16, 22. (Unpublished - Courtesy of Lorraine Dearnley).

17. D.P. Leinster-Mackay, 'On the Un-English Character of Western Australian Independent Schools, 1846-1976', in R.W.A.H.S.J. Early Days. Vol VII, Part 8, 1976. pp.47-8.

18. Minutes of the Central Board of Education, 3 June, 1874.(BL.205/1)

is ill and unable to work, if the boys can get work of any kind to help their parents, why they should not do so, I know not. It is as important that children should go to labour early and learn to be independent of their parents, as that they should be taught. 19

This complaint reflected the general attitude among the poorer families to compulsory education. On the issue of household labour replacing the importance of schooling, the authorities were immovable, insisting that children's employment at home would not be accepted as a valid excuse for not attending school.²⁰ The Central Board fully realized that difficulties could be anticipated with 'parents who cared little about their children's future, throwing obstacles in the way of the proceedings of the District Boards'.²¹ Being far removed from the realities of remote life on the land, the Board could not comprehend the value of children's labour to their struggling parents.

As the letter from 'irate parent' reveals, illness in the family kept children away from school. Attendance was seriously affected by occurrences of epidemics which swept through districts, leaving most of the children incapacitated. In August 1890, the Murray District Board wrote to teacher Robert Mewburn questioning the reason for so much sickness at the Mandurah School, and whether the sanitation had any bearing on it. Mewburn stated in reply:

I have the honor to inform you that in my opinion (and that of others) the smell arising from putrid decayed fish is one of the principal causes of sickness among the children attending the Govt School, particularly during the late influenza; and the festering heaps of animal matter must have a baneful effect upon the whole community. 22

(See Appendix 1.4)

19. The Perth Gazette. 6 February, 1874. p.3.

20. Minutes of the Central Board of Education, 3 June, 1874.(BL.205/1)

21. Ibid., 11 August, 1874. (BL. 205/1)

22. Minutes and Outward Correspondence of the Murray District Board of Education, 8, 22 August, 1890. (BL. 1203/298)

He pointed out how disastrous the consequences would be for community and children alike 'in the event of fever or contagious disease visiting Mandurah'.²³

The second factor, the natural environment, was a significant determinant of levels of school attendance. Long distances to walk, cold and rain, all acted as deterrents for children attending school. In 1869, George Newly Wardell (7584) complained to the Board about the condition of Parkfield Schoolhouse. It was built of rough slabs which allowed in the rain. 'Part of the floor is under water and the chimney smokes...' ²⁴ District boards were sympathetic towards teachers who tried to perform their duties under such poor conditions, and keep the school functioning with low numbers during the winter months. The Central Board waived the compulsory schooling regulations by accepting the distance from the nearest elementary school as an excuse for non-attendance of children. The Beverley District Board was informed in 1878, that there were no objections to the practice of counting children as being in attendance if they were 'unavoidably absent due to inclement weather'. ²⁵ In 1884, in an attempt to prevent closure of a school the York District Board requested the Central Board make allowance for low numbers because children were unable to attend when the river was too high. ²⁶ Many such letters in education records indicate local fears of school closure and the threat to teachers' salaries as a result of low attendance.

Closure of schools led to inconvenience for families whose children were deprived of education once a school ceased to function. Closure

23. Ibid., 22 August, 1890. (BL.1203/298)

24. Minutes and Outward Correspondence of the General Board of Education, (?) May, 1869. (BL. 526)

25. Minutes of the Central Board of Education, 6 August, 1874. (BL. 205/1) & 14 August, 1878. (BL. 205/2)

26. Ibid., (?) June, 1884. (BL. 205/3)

had little to do with the status of the teacher. Convict schoolmasters faced the same attendance difficulties as free teachers. Many small schools opened and closed, then re-opened again, dependent on enrolment numbers, attendance levels, and whether there were sufficient teachers, 'bond' or 'free' available to staff them. Reverend Mathew Hale recognized how greatly parents valued the schools in remote areas, even though some of them were 'by no means as efficient as they ought to be'.²⁷ The Central Board commented on the inconvenience of school closure in its report for 1875:

With reference to the schools reported to have closed, pending the appointment of new teachers.... With few exceptions, whenever a teacher within the last two or three years has left his appointment, that circumstance has been followed by the temporary closing of the school for several weeks, and sometimes for months. 28

School closure due to falling attendance during inclement weather was not as common as closure due to decreasing enrolments when families moved away from the district. In the attempt to keep enrolment numbers up and prevent closure, children under school age often attended classes with older brothers and sisters. Although the Boards of Education understood the reasons for this, they disapproved of the practice.²⁹ Teacher absenteeism, desertion, or dismissal left no-one available to conduct the school until another teacher could be appointed.

The third factor controlling regularity of attendance relates directly to the quality and popularity, or lack of it, of the teacher. Regardless of whether teachers were from the penal or free classes inefficiency, indecency, intemperance, or any undue harshness towards

27. Correspondence of Rev. Mathew Hale to the Legislative Council, June, 1871. p.7. (BL. 370.9941. Hal)

28. Report of the Central Board of Education for 1875, Western Australian Votes & Proceedings. 1876. (No 4). p.4.

29. Minutes and Correspondence of the General Board of Education, 1847-1871. (BL. 526). & Minutes of the Central Board of Education, 1871-1893. (BL.205/1-4) & Annual Report of the General Board of Education, 26 April, 1869. (Q.370.9941. WA. Gen)

pupils did little to encourage regular attendance at school. On the other hand the character of a teacher, bond or free, often motivated close relationships. More informal classroom settings tended to foster higher levels of co-operation between pupils. With small numbers there was also the opportunity for more effective individualized instruction, which encouraged teachers' awareness of pupils' strengths and weaknesses and general levels of ability. The fact that all grades were taught in one room must have proved distracting for pupils and teachers, and a severe test for unqualified teachers' skills.

Achievement levels for teachers and children were extremely limited in remote schools by a lack of basic necessities. It was a rare teacher who could teach effectively with poor facilities in under-equipped schools. Following his inspection of schools in 1869, William Adkinson noted:

The want of books is a great drawback to progress - the parents being too poor to purchase them. I believe this to be a deserving case for a good supply of free stock. Desks and other school furniture are much needed. 30

It follows from the Inspector's report, that the Board of Education was well able to assess the shortcomings of the system. As late as 1890 the lack of facilities and up to date equipment stimulated critical comments from Reverend D. Shearer, who claimed books used in government schools were 'wretched and antiquated'. He observed:

Our teachers have not the tools with which to do efficient work. They are doomed, year after year, to labour on with text-books which will never draw out the intelligence of the children. 31

Research supports A.N. Stewart's conclusion that the 'plain and practical' education introduced by Kennedy resulted in a 'tradition of educational

30. Annual Report of the General Board of Education, 26 April, 1869.
(Q370.9941. WA. Gen)

31. The West Australian. 9 May, 1890. p.3.

parsimony which lasted until the 1890s'.³²

A significant influence on children's progress came from the teachers' ability to teach. Many of the free teachers were as inexperienced in teaching skills as the convict teachers; for both, it was a case of learning how to impart knowledge by trial and error. The 1869 Inspector's Report noted that children at Ferguson School were lacking in the explanation of principles and class teaching had been neglected. The children, he said, were 'being left to work too much by themselves from books'. Adkinson felt that schoolmaster W.J. Carpenter (4166), should have attained a higher standard.³³ James Henry Lloyd (2028), who taught for 21 years (1866-87) at Northam Government School, received a good report for his efforts. Adkinson remarked that Lloyd had 'succeeded very well with comparatively young children'. George Haywood (2943) did not fare so well in the inspection of Newcastle (Steam Mills) School. His mode of discipline was considered to be 'unnecessarily harsh', although he worked hard.³⁴

In the smallest, most remote and poorly attended schools, low paid and inexperienced teachers often had little motivation to persist with good intentions. Although most teachers tried hard at first to give of their best to pupils, with such great isolation and limited opportunities for advancement in rural schools, many fell by the wayside. Some simply deserted their post, others 'sought affection from the female pupils', or found solace by intemperance. In the classroom the latter two problems inevitably led to poor levels of efficiency, 'a lack of

32. A.N. Stewart, 'Introduction', in W.D. Neal, (ed). (1979). Education in Western Australia. University of W.A. Press, Nedlands, W.A.

33. Annual Report of the General Board of Education, 26 April, 1869. (Q370.9941. WA. Gen)

34. Ibid., 26 April, 1869. (Q370.9941. WA Gen)

systematic instruction, and a tendency to compensate for these deficiencies by a lavish application of corporal punishment'.³⁵ The effect such low standards of teaching had on pupils left much to be desired. Parental complaints to local committees / district boards regarding standards appear in education records equally for bond and free teachers, taken over the thirty year period from 1860 to 1890. Through the 1860s to early 1870s, there were more convicts appointed than free teachers and the majority of complaints about conduct, efficiency or competence therefore, appear against ticket-of-leave or expiree schoolmasters. It was usually the same few teachers re-offending a number of times.

From about 1873 onwards more free than convict teachers were being appointed in the well established government elementary schools. (See Appendix 2.3). From that time, the approval of ticket-of-leave or expiree appointments appear to have been mainly for the government assisted, provisional and independent schools, which continued in operation only so long as attendance and enrolments remained constant. This move was possibly part of a Central Board of Education policy to phase out convict teachers as the 1880s drew to a close. By 1890 it appears that only seven were left in the system, and they were no longer young men. In August 1890, George Pearson (6697) was dismissed from Quellington School after deserting his post.³⁶ During the period 1890-93, Mewburn and Berwick died while still employed, Johns(t)on, Palmer and Hasleby (9462) retired, and in 1901 the last convict teacher, Perrin retired. These last six schoolmasters referred to were not those for whom parental or local committee / board complaints appeared in

35. Hyams & Bessant, op cit., p.29.

36. Minutes of the Central Board of Education, 28 August, 25 September, 1890. (BL. 205/4)

education records.

Both intemperance and absenteeism of teachers added to the incidence of low attendance among children. There was little point in walking miles to school and finding the teacher absent or drunk! An 1879 report stated the teacher at Guildford Girls' School, Miss Thompson was 'constantly absent without leave causing attendance to fall off'.³⁷ In 1888 a teacher 'resigned and left the same day',³⁸ leaving the children stranded. Another entry noted that Mr Trotter of Perth Boys' was absent from duties 'caused by the effects of intemperance'.³⁹ A report for 1881 reveals a more serious problem faced by the female pupils - that of sexual misconduct. The Board recommended the dismissal of schoolmaster H.D.C. Williams (4172) on charges of 'indecent conduct towards some little girls... not again to be employed as a teacher'.⁴⁰ In 1885 a schoolmaster was dismissed for 'kissing the girls'.⁴¹

Of all the charges, rebukes and dismissals recorded in education files against convict schoolmasters, intemperance appears the most frequently. Ticket-of-leave schoolmaster Robert Clarke (4389) was repeatedly rebuked and dismissed for intemperance, then re-instated in different schools despite the misgivings of the Board. He was finally dismissed in December, 1877.⁴² In 1868 the General Board informed Bunbury Local committee of the appointment of George Newly Wardell (7584) as schoolmaster for the new school at Capel. The local committee was

37. Minutes of the Central Board of Education, 9 July, 1879. (BL.205/2)

38. Ibid., 31 December, 1888. (BL.205/3)

39. Ibid., 14 August, 1878. (BL.205/2)

40. Ibid., 21 December, 1881 (BL.205/3)

41. Ibid., 31 December, 1885. (BL.205/3)

42. Minutes & Outward Correspondence of the General Board of Education, 19 January, 1 March, 4, 27 April, 20 May, 3 June, 12 October, 1870. (BL.526). & Minutes of the Central Board of Education, 25 June, 1874, 10, 27 December, 1877. (BL.205/1-2)

warned that reports of Wardell's intemperate habits were known, and that he should be carefully watched'.⁴³

In 1869 the General Board complained to the Resident Magistrate at Newcastle that the schoolmaster at the Steam Mill, George Haywood (2943), was clearly under the influence of alcohol during the Lord Bishop's visit to the school. The Board informed the Resident Magistrate that the schoolmasters at Seven Springs (George Pearson, 6679); Wicklow Hills (James V. Warren, 1356); and Katrine (Theodore Richards, 5813) were also known to be 'addicted to intemperance' and were frequently in the habit of drinking at Newcastle.⁴⁴ In the opinion of the Board:

However efficient a master may prove, if his moral character is reprehensible he is quite unfit for his office.... Unless a very material improvement takes place, the Board will feel it their duty to replace the parties referred to by teachers whose moral conduct at least can be relied upon.⁴⁵

Schoolmasters were usually issued with several warnings about intemperance before the board acted. Retribution in the form of eventual dismissal for intemperance was less likely for teachers of the free classes than for convict teachers. While Daniel McConnell (4540) was dismissed for drinking in 1875, re-instated then dismissed again in 1881,⁴⁶ a free teacher at York, George Blakiston had a temperance problem which resulted in continuous warnings without dismissal for over two decades until he retired in 1882.⁴⁷ Although dismissal for

43. Minutes & Outward Correspondence of the General Board of Education, 2 August, 1868. (BL. 526)

44. Ibid., 8 June, 1869. (BL.526)

45. Ibid., 8 June, 1869. (BL.526)

46. Minutes of the Central Board of Education, 25 May, 1875.(BL.205/1) & 6 April, 1881. (BL.205/3)

47. Correspondence of the General Board of Education to Colonial Secretary, 25, 29 May, 1861. C.S.O. 36/474 : Folios 139 & 141. Minutes & Correspondence of the General Board of Education, 18 May, 1869. (BL.526). & Minutes of the Central Board of Education, 27 April, 1875. (BL.205/1)

drinking appears more frequently for convict teachers than for free, inconsistency of Board warnings, dismissal and re-instatement is evident over the 40 year period of this study. Decisions to dismiss teachers from the penal class for drink related charges appear to have been based on whether free teachers were available to replace them. An intemperate free teacher was obviously considered to be a better teacher and less likely to corrupt children's morals than an intemperate convict schoolmaster.

Expiree and ticket-of-leave schoolmasters had to contend with all the factors determining low attendance beside their own personal relationships with pupils and the community. There are many references in education correspondence which indicate convict teachers' attempts to create an attractive and beneficial school environment were thwarted by the Boards of Education. In 1869, the Board refused to allocate funds for a boat to enable children to cross the flooded Avon River to Katrine School in the winter time. Ticket-of-leave schoolmaster Theodore Richards (5813) was informed he could make his own arrangements with local parents.⁴⁸ A further example of a convict teacher's frustrated efforts to provide incentive for pupils, is the case of James Hislop (530). When the Bunbury Local Committee made a request on his behalf for funds to provide end of year pupil prizes, the General Board denied the application.⁴⁹ This was blatant discrimination against a ticket-of-leave schoolmaster. Less than a fortnight previously the Board had approved the same request from the Guildford Local Committee.⁵⁰ The Guildford School was under the management of a 'free' teacher! The

48. Minutes and Correspondence of the General Board of Education, 18 May, 1869. (BL. 526)

49. Ibid., 28 December, 1855. (BL. 526)

50. Ibid., 28 December, 1855. (BL. 526)

children of wealthier merchants and businessmen had to be considered at Guildford School. At Bunbury, children were in a more remote, rural situation and therefore the status of the school less important

Board of Education recommendations for the appointment of expirée or ticket-of-leave teachers were sometimes refused by either the governor, local committees, or by parents on the basis of their convict status. In 1866, although Theodore Richards (5813) was recommended by the Board as a highly efficient teacher, he was refused by the local committee and parents at Guildford because he was 'a person originally from the convict class'.⁵² General Board of Education records reveal other examples of such refusal; Thomas Ensor (76) in 1852, Charles Baker (341) in 1854, and George Pearson *(?) in 1868, all on the grounds of convict background.⁵² Edward Ashby (1523) was also refused in 1861 on the basis of persistent re-convictions.⁵³ When the sanction of the governor was sought by the Board for appointment of Ashby, Kennedy called for his antecedents which revealed a number of re-convictions. The Board's recommendation was promptly rejected by Kennedy's endorsement 'I can not, with this information before me sanction the appointment of this man in any branch of the public service'.⁵⁴

Governor Kennedy's blunt refusal to consider the employment of Ashby as a schoolmaster was not to prove the end of his teaching ambitions. In 1868, Governor Hampton approved the appointment of Ashby

51. Correspondence of the General Board of Education, 18, 29 May, 1866. C.S.O. 36/573 : Folios 164, 166.

52. Minutes and Outward Correspondence of the General Board of Education, 9 May, 1852, 23 January, 1854, 6 October, 1868. (BL. 526)

53. Correspondence of the General Board of Education, 18 April, 1861. C.S.O. 36/474 : Folio 134-5.

54. Ibid., C.S.O. 36/474 : Folio 134-5.

* There were two George Pearsons, both teachers. Education records do not always give convict numbers in their correspondence.

to Greenhills School.⁵⁵ No record could be found which showed whether he actually took up his duties at Greenhills. He was re-convicted of forgery and uttering in July 1869, for which he received a seven year sentence.⁵⁶ Despite his constant misconduct, Ashby must have gained re-employment as a schoolmaster because he was 'summararily dismissed' from Williams School in 1879, charged with 'indecent towards the female pupils'.⁵⁷

It is apparent that grave misconduct did not always lead to permanent dismissal. The worst case appearing in records relating to sexually oriented charges against teachers, is that of Thomas Clancy (2293), a convict schoolmaster at Dardenup Catholic School in the Bunbury District. He appeared before the Supreme Court in January 1861, on a charge of rape which was ammended to 'carnal knowledge and abuse of a female pupil of 7 years of age'. References to Clancy as a teacher do not come to an end following a 'guilty' verdict based on conclusive evidence, and a sentence of death.⁵⁸ For some mysterious reason the execution did not take place. Rikkers makes a further reference to Clancy as teaching at Perth Roman Catholic Boys' School until 1864.⁵⁹ One other reference appears in General Board correspondence in 1870, in which the Board

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55. Minutes & Outward Correspondence of the General Board of Education, 1 September, 1868. (BL.526)
56. R. Erickson, (1979). Dictionary of Western Australians. Vol 2, "Bond 1850-68", University of W.A. Press, Nedlands, W.A. p.13.
57. Minutes of the Central Board of Education, 25 June, 1879.(BL.205/2) (Missing education records from 1856-68, and 1871-3 make it difficult to trace the movements of some teachers.)
58. Resident Magistrate, Bunbury, to Colonial Secretary, C.S.O. 36/459 : Folio 301, 8 October, 1860. & Folio 316, 3 December, 1860. The Inquirer, 2 January, 1861. p.2. The Criminal Record Book, Acc. Cons. 3422, WAS 49. Vol 1. Supreme Court of Western Australia Registers, 1830-1953. Acc. Cons. 3472, WAS 122. Bundle 135, Case 848. 1 January, 1861.
59. John Rikkers, (1984). Western Australian Schools 1830-1931. Part 1, 'Schools and Teachers, 1830-1871', Planning Branch, Education Department of Western Australia. pp.76, 106.

enquired what steps the Fremantle Local Committee proposed to take for filling a vacancy 'in the event of the dismissal' of what appears to be 'T Clancy'.⁶⁰ No reasons were given for the pending dismissal.

There are a number of cases in which schoolmasters were re-instated following dismissal or 'removal' from a school for indecent conduct towards female pupils. In December 1869, W. Smith - a free teacher - was removed from the school on a charge of 'seeking to gain the affections of a young girl', a pupil in his school.⁶¹ The General Board informed him two months later:

Such a proceeding is positively wrong in itself, and must in every case ... give occasion for offence and scandal, and do serious injury to the cause of education. The decision of the Board is therefore that you be temporarily suspended from your office as schoolmaster.... The Board do not think it necessary that your suspension be for any long period. ⁶²

Three months after issuing this reprimand, the General Board informed the Fremantle Local Committee of Mr Smith's appointment to Fremantle Boys' School, but without warning them of his previous history!⁶³ In 1871 James V. Warren (1356) was dismissed for gross misconduct, yet he was re-appointed to Dumbarton School sometime in 1872.⁶⁴ Most indecency charges against teachers did not reach the courts, and consequently were never proved or disproved.

That the morals and personal safety of children were so lightly regarded by education authorities, was an anomalous situation. The Boards of Education and parents repeatedly complained of the likely

60. Minutes & Outward Correspondence of the General Board of Education, 13 March, 1870. (BL.526)

61. Ibid., 6, 24 December, 1869. (BL. 526)

62. Ibid., 6 December, 1869, 29 January, 1870. (BL.526)

63. Ibid., 30 April, 1870. (BL.526)

64. Correspondence of the General Board of Education to the Colonial Secretary, 18 April, 1871. C.S.O. 36/687 : Folio 5.
& Correspondence of the General Board of Education, 3 April, 1871. (BL.526)

moral corruption from convict teachers, yet the Boards perpetuated such misconduct by re-appointing offenders to other schools, thus allowing it to continue. By re-instating teachers who had committed gross misconduct, the Boards were not eradicating the problem of sexual interference of children, but were spreading it from one school to another. This made it appear even more widely spread than it probably was. The Board's verdict, 'dismissed for gross misconduct, never again to be employed as a teacher', was a mockery when records show that after the lapse of a few months or a year, offending schoolmasters 'bond' or 'free' were re-appointed at another school. The need for teachers and the social control of children out-weighed the concern for morality. A contradiction of priorities becomes evident; schoolmasters could 'fiddle' with the children and be re-instated, but if they 'fiddled' the books with fraudulent registrations it was dealt with severely under the By-Laws and regulations of the E.E.A. :

Teachers in Government Schools found guilty of wilful falsification of returns, will be instantly dismissed. 65

Teachers 'found guilty' of fraud had very little chance of re-employment regardless of whether they were from the free or penal classes. Dishonest dealings with the Boards did not lead to removal to another school.

The Boards of Education policy in shuffling teachers from school to school, or manipulating appointments was not particularly conducive to stability for pupils or teachers. It did not give schoolmasters long enough in one place to prove their worth as teachers. Much of this manipulation recorded in education files was evidently based on whether an appointee was of 'bond' or 'free' status, rather than on their qualifications. As an 1868 Report on Schools to the Colonial Secretary

65. By-Laws & Regulations of the Elementary Education Act of 1871, Western Australian Government Gazette. 31 October, 1871. p.217.

stated:

There is no standard of qualification of masters, mistresses or assistants Whenever practicable, a competitive examination of candidates for the office of male and female teachers is required. 66

In 1868, although the General Board of Education highly recommended ticket-of-leave man George Pearson (?) for schoolmaster at Upper Swan School, the local committee refused him on the basis of his convict status. The position was then offered to another ticket-of-leave man Robert Clarke (4389), who was well known as prone to intemperance. Less than two weeks later the Board recommended for the governor's sanction, a teacher of the 'free' class, Mr E. Norris as schoolmaster for Upper Swan and Robert Clarke as schoolmaster, Gingin. The local committee were at once informed of the governor's approval of Norris' appointment,⁶⁷ and the Board subsequently wrote to Clarke:

Other arrangements have been made for the appointment of a master at Upper Swan School. The Board have obtained the sanction of His Excellency to your appointment as master of the Gingin Mixed School. 68

This series of letters indicate Board manipulation of appointments on the grounds of convict status rather than on qualifications.

The employment of ticket-of-leave or expirée schoolmasters often stimulated enrolment and attendances, and brought a stability to schools which had previously been lacking under management of free teachers. The appointment of James Hislop (530) is one such example. Mr C. Ommanney, a teacher of the free class, had allowed school attendance to drop

66. General Board of Education Report on Schools for 1868, 6 April, 1868. (BL. 526)

67. Minutes & Outward Correspondence of the General Board of Education, 6 October, 2, 14 November, 1868. (BL.526)

68. Ibid., 18 November, 1868. (BL.526)

through his inefficiency and 'grave misconduct'.⁶⁹ The Bunbury Local Committee took steps for his removal from office by withdrawing his salary and recommended the General Board dismiss him. Following the Board's enquiries, the recommendations of the local committee were upheld. Ommanney resigned and left the district before the dismissal could be put into effect.⁷⁰ The local committee proposed James Hislop (530) to succeed Ommanney, and the General Board duly reported to the Colonial Secretary:

There are 30 children now attending his school. The Committee speaks highly of him as a respectable, quiet person, and well qualified to teach, and request this Board to recommend him to His Excellency for the government allowance ... to commence from the 15th September last. ⁷¹

Hislop maintained attendance and stability in the Bunbury School for over ten years.

Long years of faithful service dismissed in an abrupt line or two in official records was common. There was no recognition of a job well done in any of the Boards of Education correspondence for ticket-of-leave or expiree schoolmasters, despite evidence of lengthy and positive contributions.

Thomas Berwick (9664), was privately employed as a schoolmaster by the Jarrahdale Road Board in 1878, and was officially appointed in 1879. After a slow beginning the school flourished as the timber industry became established, and under Berwick's management, gained in enrolments and stability. He remained as schoolmaster until his death

69. Canon A. Burton, & P.V. Henn, (eds). (1975). Wollaston's Albany Journal. Vol 2, 1841-56, University of W.A. Press, Nedlands, W.A. p.119. & Correspondence of the General Board of Education to the Colonial Secretary, 4 August, 1851. (BL.526)

70. Correspondence of the General Board of Education to Bunbury Local Committee, 4, 22 August, 24 September, 10 October, 1851.(BL.526)

71. Ibid., 10 October, 1851. (BL.526)



Fig. 7 THOMAS BERWICK

Schoolmaster, Jarrahdale,
1878-1891.

(Courtesy of Battye Library),
(BA.801)

in 1891.⁷² Although he had taught for approximately 14 years at the same school, all the Central Board of Education could find to record in the Minutes was a brief notation, 'Death of Thomas Berwick - Master of Jarrahdale School'.⁷³

Three weeks after recording Berwick's death a similar notation in the Minutes of the Board stated, 'Death reported to the Board of Robert Mewburn, Schoolmaster of Mandurah School'. A settler petition requested the Board allow Mewburn's daughter to keep the school in

72. Rica Erickson, (ed).(1983). The Brand on His Coat. University of W.A. Press, Nedlands, W.A. p.293.

73. Minutes of the Central Board of Education, 15 October, 1891.
(BL.205/4)

operation.⁷⁴ Robert Mewburn (1889) had been appointed to Mandurah School in 1872 and like Berwick, taught there until his death in 1891.⁷⁵ No reports of misconduct or complaints of inefficiency appear in Board records for either Berwick or Mewburn. Like many of the convict schoolmasters, Mewburn brought stability to the children of Mandurah School, was an active participant in community life, and was well respected by the people in the district. On the resignation of 'free' teacher George Blakiston from the York Boys' School in 1882, the York District Board complained to the Central Board of the unsatisfactory state of the school. Although the Board recommended Robert Mewburn to succeed Blakiston as schoolmaster, the position was declined by Mewburn.⁷⁶ He preferred to remain at Mandurah where he had built his own home and schoolhouse.⁷⁷ (See Figure 6)

James Waterson Johns(t)on (5793) was appointed schoolmaster at Dongarra * Government School following the resignation of Robert Clarke in August 1874. Johns(t)on's appointment was confirmed by the Central Board on 3 September,⁷⁸ and he remained at the same school for 18 years with good records of service during that time. In 1882, his step daughter Caroline Russ began monitorial duties under Johns(t)on's tuition. She was officially appointed in July 1883, and continued in service as a monitor at Dongarra until her resignation in 1892 when

74. Ibid., 5 November, 1891. (BL. 205/4)

75. Erickson, (1983). op cit., p.293.

76. Minutes of the Central Board of Education, 18 January, 1 February, 1882. (BL.205/3). & Diary of Robert Mewburn, entry 8 April, 1882, p.36. (Courtesy of Lorraine Dearnley.)

77. Personal Communication with Lorraine Dearnley. 3, 15, 30 April, 1993.

78. Minutes of the Central Board of Education, 11 August, 3 September, 1874. (BL. 205/1)

* The spelling Dongarra was changed to Dongara in 1893.



Fig. 8 JAMES WATERTON JOHNS(T)ON

Schoolmaster at Dongarra Government
School 1874-92.

(Courtesy of Wendy Shaw).



Fig. 9. DONGARRA GOVERNMENT SCHOOL GROUP. c.1890-92.

Schoolmaster - James Waterson Johns(t)on. (1874-92). Monitor - Caroline Russ.

(Courtesy of Wendy Shaw)

James Johns(t)on retired as schoolmaster. Due to confusion in early family papers regarding names, the family feel there still remains some doubt whether James Waterson Johns(t)on was in fact a convict.⁷⁹

Conclusions concerning the impact of ticket-of-leave or expirée schoolmasters on the social environment of the nineteenth century are difficult to make as convict teachers exhibited both positive and negative influences. While some lived in social isolation, others became active, popular, accepted and respected members of their districts. For some teachers, alcohol was a constant stumbling block to their teaching careers. Others married, purchased or built their own home and settled with families, often teaching their own children in the schools. A number of convict schoolmasters, lacking a stable family life, drifted from one place to another teaching for short periods and were then dismissed, re-instated and dismissed again for various reasons ranging from inefficiency to indecency. Many teachers of the bond class gave a degree of stability to the school, its pupils and the community by remaining in the same school for many years. The convict teachers contributed to the progress and development of Western Australian education by preparing the young to take their place in society. One experience the ticket-of-leave and expirée schoolmasters certainly had in common was the constant surveillance of education authorities, the children, parents and the community.

79. Personal Communication with Wendy Shaw, 3, 27, 30 April, 1993.

CONCLUSION

The introduction of convicts as the answer to a need for labourers in Swan River Colony brought with it apprehension for the majority of settlers. Newspapers published letters and editorials, either denouncing the decision and pointing out the evils of transportation, or pronouncing the virtues and expected benefits of a labour force. The perception of convicts as a source of crime and corruption was strengthened as settlers realized personal safety and property were under threat from convict depredations, particularly in remote areas. Calls for protection which clearly reflected public fears, were ignored by large landowners, merchants, and business men who regarded convict labour as necessary for colonial economic progress.

Religious leaders warned of the dangers of introducing a criminal element into an unprepared and vulnerable community which lacked the rudiments of education. Although a basic system of education had been established within the first twenty years of settlement, it catered mainly for the sons of the gentry. While some families were wealthy enough to bring tutors or governesses to the colony from England, the majority of children from the working classes lacked the opportunity for schooling. In 1846, Roman Catholic Church leaders established a system of education for all children regardless of class. This move was followed in 1847, by the government introduction of an elementary education system. Children roaming the streets uneducated, led to a demand for social control of juvenile vagrancy and crime. There was a belief that it was the duty of government to provide a basic elementary education system.

With the coming of convicts and the expansion of population from 1850, settlement spread into more remote districts, and the establishment

of rural schools became imperative. The government was forced to come to terms with the provision of facilities and teachers on a tight colonial budget. It quickly became apparent that staffing schools with a lack of funds presented a problem. Few qualified teachers could be found and those who were available, were employed in the large centres of Perth and Fremantle.

The government policy of appointing convicts as schoolmasters which began as early as 1851, was an inevitable progression in the search for teachers for small schools in remote districts. Ticket-of-leave men and expirees were readily available in the colony, and the skills of educated men amongst them had to be utilized in the most resourceful way. The need for schools demanded that the government follow the eastern states' lead in employing convicts as schoolmasters. This policy caused further anxiety for parents already apprehensive about the possibility of dangers to their families due to the convict presence. Complaints concerning the personal safety of children, and the likelihood of moral corruption within the classroom conducted by a schoolmaster of the bond class, went unheeded. The government was aware that without convict teachers, plans for the social control of juveniles by an expansion of the education system could not be established.

In 1855, the arrival of Governor Kennedy placed severe pressure on the education system. His policies were aimed at cutting government spending to avoid colonial bankruptcy and prevent a financial burden for the Home Government. The standards set by the previous government were lowered by Kennedy replacing the existing education system with one that would fit children for their place in society determined by class. Three of the four members of the General Board of Education resigned in disgust, and Kennedy promptly formed a new Board. He infuriated the Catholic Church leaders by removing all government funding to Catholic Schools.

On the issue of appointing convicts as schoolmasters, Kennedy persistently made cryptic complaints regarding the 'tainted character' of men who were or had been convicts. He paid lip service to the moral issue of whether it was 'expedient' to appoint such men if 'untainted' persons were available, then proceeded to approve the appointments. He wanted better teachers but refused to allow funding for recruitment from outside the colony, or offer higher salaries with which to attract qualified and educated people of the free classes to the profession.

The General Board of Education was left with the task of recruiting whoever was willing to take up positions as teachers. Members of the Board pointed out the dangers to children's morals under the influence of ticket-of-leave and expirée schoolmasters, and continually complained of the need for efficient and qualified teachers to staff the schools. During the 1860s and 1870s, the Board was forced to accept the situation against its better judgement, and convict appointments dominated in the rural areas. Parental complaints of discrimination of rural children against those in the larger centres made no difference, and convict schoolmasters continued in the service of government education until 1901.

Successive governors and Boards of Education members brought more tolerant attitudes toward the employment of convict schoolmasters. Education records reveal that changes also appeared in the focus of concern - more for the falling standards in government schools than for the dangers of moral corruption by men of 'tainted character'. In 1862 an attempt was made to overcome recruitment problems and raise standards by training teachers locally with the introduction of the Pupil Teacher system, and then by legislation in 1871. The Elementary Education Act (E.E.A.), established centralised control, compulsory schooling for all children 6-14 years of age, and payment of teachers by results of examinations conducted by a visiting Inspector of Schools.

The regulations placed on education by the government and education authorities did not meet with the understanding or compliance of all parents. The value of children's labour at home often prevented parental acceptance of the compulsory clause of the E.E.A., and the concept of regular attendance at school took many years to enforce. The Act did little to improve conditions for convict schoolmasters. Although their appointments continued, they were still considered as morally suspect by parents, accused by the Boards of Education of inefficiency, and replaced whenever a free teacher became available. Many of the schoolmasters had to fight for survival in a system which often blatantly discriminated against them on the basis of convict status.

Ticket-of-leave and expiree schoolmasters were employed in the smallest, most remote and poorly attended schools. A lack of teaching qualifications and 'incompetence' were blamed when a school did not progress satisfactorily, or collapsed due to falling attendance. While regularity of children's attendance was certainly influenced by quality of teachers, the natural environment and poverty in families also determined attendance levels. These three factors had a significant bearing on whether a teacher was able to teach effectively in such conditions. The viability of small schools and whether they remained open when attendance or enrolments dropped, also depended on the same factors. The far distant Boards of Education did not appear to recognise the difficulties created by natural factors such as inclement weather, flooded rivers, and long distances children had to walk to school in the remote districts.

The government and Boards of Education either could not comprehend, or refused to admit that low government funding perpetuated low standards in rural schools. Dingy, leaky schoolhouses, lack of equipment and the basic necessities which enabled a schoolmaster or mistress to teach effectively, were common problems in the isolated schools. Out of

date books and low salaries for teachers could never have motivated effective teaching or learning. Such poor conditions, combined with social discrimination against them must have quickly destroyed the incentive of many ticket-of-leave and expirée schoolmasters to do their best for their pupils.

Good intentions to start with would have rapidly disintegrated for those with little endurance. The loneliness of social isolation for bond and free teachers often resulted in drinking problems, or a 'search for affection' from pupils, which in turn usually ended in a dismissal and a lowering of children's estimation of the credibility of the teacher. Absenteeism or desertion of their position as schoolmaster may have been in response to loss of incentive or the lack of a settled family life. The lowly image of teachers generally did little to encourage community acceptance and respect for convict schoolmasters, and permanency was rare. Only two expirée schoolmasters taught for over thirty years - Palmer for 33 years and Perrin for forty years - in the schools to which they had been originally appointed. A few taught at the same school for 18-20 years - Lloyd, Johns(t)on and Mewburn - and many others for 8-10 years. These teachers brought stability to the children in their care, and a sense of continuity and unity to the whole community in which they lived; well deserving of respect from pupils and parents alike.

The continual transference from one school to another gave many convict schoolmasters little opportunity to create a stable environment or prove their worth as a teacher. Repeated changes of teachers forced children to make adjustments to different teaching methods and new relationships. This was particularly so in the rural schools. What children did manage to learn in the classroom was of less importance to the government and education authorities the more remotely they lived.

The study of the relationship between convict teachers and children has indicated that children were not adversely affected so much by ticket-of-leave and expiree schoolmasters, as they were by the policies of educational inequalities between rural areas and the larger centres, and by low government funding. Whether convict teachers gave long years of faithful service or moved from school to school with monotonous regularity, they all stamped their mark on the children, schools, and the community. Individually and as a group, they made a significant and beneficial contribution to education in Western Australia, and dominated the education system for almost half a century. Without the ticket-of-leave and expiree schoolmasters, an elementary education could not have been provided in the remote districts as quickly as it was. An almost totally illiterate generation of rural children may have been left to retard the progress of Western Australia as it moved into the twentieth century.

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APPENDICES.



APPENDIX 1.

App 1.1

'A Convict's Career'

(Exerpt - Published in The Inquirer, 15 March, 1865).

A letter written and read before the Gloucester Assize Court in England, by George Rossiter (4867), who was charged with returning from transportation to Western Australia. 1864.

[... He pleaded guilty...[and then] asked permission to read a statement before sentence was passed.... He read as follows]:

"My Lords and Gentlemen of the Jury -

Were there not circumstances connected with the case to dispose you to lenity, and a desire on my own part to become a free and useful member of society (for I and every other convict have failed to become a recognised one), I should desire perpetual incarceration, or resignation of this life. About 8 years ago I received from this court the very severe sentence of fifteen years transportation. I was a youth then, and the impression was deep and terrible. From that moment a continuous resolution set in to raise myself to such a position that temptation to theft would be an infinite descent therefrom and impossible. I laboured through my term of imprisonment; received remission and license for exemplary conduct, and opened a scholastic institution in the town of Fremantle near the mouth of the Swan River. By perseverance and merit I obtained precedence over the other academics there

My pupils were ... the children of all the respectable inhabitants and Government officials of the place. Your Lordship would imagine that I had recovered even more than the position I had lost. Not so; I recovered nothing at allIt is a Modish law with Western Australian society not to admit nor recognise any person who has once been a convict. I stood uninvited at their doors to transact any business I passed unrecognised in the streets, even by my lady pupils and the older boys.

And, to mention a trivial but aggravating incident, the lady of a resident ship owner [complained] that they were obliged to allow their daughters to be taught dancing by a convict, adding, "I know that his arm must be a viper's grasp around them". Ah! the shrine of society requires more atonements than law! I could not stand it, and therefore petitioned His Excellency for my pardon, and obtained it. My position was not a jot better. The brand remained. I attempted by marriage to force a footing; but - worst endeavour in my life - I drew forth the slumbering venom of colonial magistrates, commissary, and the whole free community at large, as "Satan among the children of Job". There are others worse off than myself. Poor Robson, Redpath, and Beresford are treated with every indignity and repulse. The former and latter were among my assistant teachers. The uneducated convicts and poor ticket-of-leave labourers who have not the means of pushing themselves into circumstances, are reduced to the government working depots; they are crammed full of them. The struggle for life is over with them; the free class have triumphed and set up their throne of tyranny there.... I have not time to tell of all the barbarities practised there. This drove me to break up my establishment and go to Singapore..."

The young man's voice weakened as he proceeded, and he ended in a burst of tears. All in the court looked on with sympathetic interest.... The judge then feelingly pressed upon the prisoner that the contumely of society for the convict was a part of his burden, and he must bear it. He ended by sentencing him to fifteen years penal servitude ..."

Note: George Rossiter arrived in the colony for the second time aboard the "Belgravia" in 1866. (8978).

App 1.2

CHIPS BY A SANDAL-WOOD CUTTER.

(A 'tongue-in-cheek' parody about the value of education).

'Edication'

Edication's the cry just now. Everybody's got somethin' to say on the subject.... It makes me sick to hear and read all the humbuggin' nonsense as is spoke and rote about edication, of course I ain't a goin' to run it down altogether, but I mean to say that a good deal of money that's spent... by Gover'ment and parents in edicatin' the children... is thrown away... for its done and is doin' a good deal of harm. Every boy and gal in a country ought to learn to write well enuff to write a letter to his parents... and to do summs in addition, subtraction, and division, with a little general knowledge about geografy and natural history.... Instead of schools turning out good useful plowmen, mechanics, grooms, and gardeners, and gals that will make good cooks, nursemaids, and general servants, they turns out gents who wants to be clerks, or hold some respectable sitervation... and have spare time to cultivate their w'iskers.... The gals too! Are they like the gals of twenty or thirty years ago? No.... Servant gals, who'd been edicated in Gover'ment Schools... and tho' about as useful in a house as so many blind Hottentots, considers they are quite equal to their missises, and give them cheek accordingly. Is the world any better for all the edication that's been a-goin' on for the last twenty years? I dont think it is.... Edication has sent into the world thousands of empty-headed, conceited, flashy, good-for-nothin's, that but for cheap schools, and the edication cry, might a been useful as blacksmiths, carpenters, or shoemakers. The curse of the present system of our edicatin' the children of the poor and middlin' classes, that it makes 'em dissatisfied with that station in life to which it has pleased Providence to call 'em.... "Edication for the millions" a fine soundin'

frase..... There's a saw that too much of anythin' is hurtful, and you
may take my word for it, there's a great deal too much Edication just
now.....

The Fremantle Herald. 28 January, 1871. p.3.

3

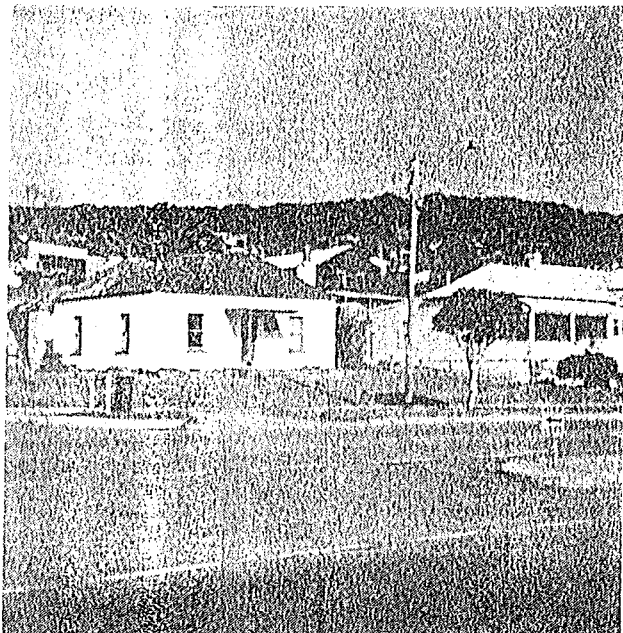
App 1.3

PRESENTATION TO MR. T. M. PALMER.

YESTERDAY evening in St. John's School-room a ceremony of the most pleasing nature was performed, namely, the presentation of a handsome silver inkstand and silver pen to Mr. T. M. Palmer, who has for the last 33 years been the master of the Government School in Albany. Mr. John Moir, who was a pupil of Mr. Palmer's, was in the chair and there was a large attendance of past and present scholars, their parents and friends. The room was prettily decorated with flags and on the platform were seated the scholars of the Government Girls' School all in evening dress and some carrying baskets of flowers. The proceedings opened with an orature by Miss Allen, after which the chairman in explaining the reason of the gathering, paid high tribute to the services rendered by Mr. Palmer during the long period in which he had acted as Government Schoolmaster. The children then sang the chorus entitled "The Spring" which was well rendered. A recitation by Master A. Thompson, "The Schoolboy's Woo" was next given, after which Misses Castledine and Mitchell sang a pretty duet entitled "Charming Bells." The Rev. Williams then addressed the gathering after which Mr. A. Thompson sang "Sailing" which was well received. A recitation by Master Prideaux, followed by a song by Master Scott Williams were well executed. A chorus by the children "Above the Spire" was the next item in the programme, after which the presentation to Mr. Palmer was made. The chairman again addressed the audience and Mrs. Knight gracefully presented the inkstand and pencil to Mr. Palmer, adding a few kind words for his future welfare. Mrs. Knight also presented Mr. Palmer with a handsome pipe and snoker's companion from Master Matthew Cunningham. Master Prideaux then read an address from the past and present scholars of the Government School in which the value of Mr. Palmer's services were spoken of in high terms by those signing the address, and wishing him every future happiness and prosperity. Mr. Palmer responded in suitable terms, and Mr. Moir called for three cheers for Mr. Palmer, which were given in a most hearty manner. Mr. De Hamel proposed a vote of thanks to Mrs. Knight, which was carried with acclamation. Mr. W. G. Knight responded on behalf of Mrs. Knight. The remainder of the musical programme was next gone through. Miss Milne gave a pianoforte solo "The Patrol March." The children then sang a chorus. Master A. Thompson recited "Little Brown Hands," and Mrs. Wyle sang the pleasing song "Silver Bells of Memory." A duet by Misses Castledine and Monaghan "Come Birdie, Come," was next given, followed by "Nancy Lee" by Mr. A. Thompson, part of the audience joining in the chorus. Selections on the bells by the Manchester Unity Bellringers (Messrs. Miller, Stone, Thomas, and Adlington) were given on two occasions, and were much appreciated. Mr. Wyle sang an amusing comic song, and Miss G. Monaghan gave the "Flower Girl," during which some of the children with baskets of flowers went among the audience distributing small bouquets and button-holes. The Chairman read an apology from the Rev. Mr. James for his unavoidable absence. The Rev. Father Matou then addressed the meeting, after which votes of thanks to the performers and the Chairman were given, and enthusiastically carried. The singing of "Auld Lang Syne" brought a most successful and enjoyable entertainment to a close. Much credit is due to Mrs. Milne, who organised and carried out the programme of the evening.

The inkstand, which is of silver, has two inkpots, and there are depressions in the body of the stand which serve as pen rests. The penholder, which is of solid silver, was made by Mr. J. E. Buckley, Albany. On the inkstand is the following inscription, "Presented to Mr. T. M. Palmer by the past and present pupils of the Albany Government School in loving recognition of his earnest and faithful tuition."

Mrs. Milne desires to thank those who so kindly assisted her in carrying out the programme of the concert last evening.



Dwelling of Thomas Matthew Palmer at Albany.

(Photo taken December 1981)

(Courtesy of Mr Alex Palmer)

Presentation Ceremony for Schoolmaster Thomas Matthew Palmer, on the occasion of his retirement.

- The Australian Advertiser,
19 December, 1890. p.3.

Schoolhouse built for settlers

WITH the local population growing by the month, the need for a school for settlers' children was increasing.

A letter of request was submitted to resident magistrate David Murray, dated February 11, 1854, and signed by the locals.

In response, surveys were made for a school, cemetery and glebe (land given to a parish) at Serpentine Bridge in late December, 1854.

A schoolhouse and teachers' quarters were built east of the bridge on the north bank.

The half-day school opened in 1858 and the Education Board appointed John Fairburn as schoolmaster for 70 pounds a year. He taught 18 pupils (two were his children).

The original building, described in 1879 when in dire need of repair, measured 12m by 5m and the schoolroom was 6m by 4.6m.

Walls were clay plug, there were split jarrah rafters and battens topped with sheoak shingles and a verandah faced the road.

The school was closed in 1864 when the Fairburns left the district, but reopened in 1867 with Walter Smith teaching 14 children. However he didn't stay long.

The next teacher was the aged Octavius Ryland, who taught between 1870 and 1884, retiring when 84.

Shortly after, young Charles Batty took over but complaints were common among parents about the wretched state of the school rooms.

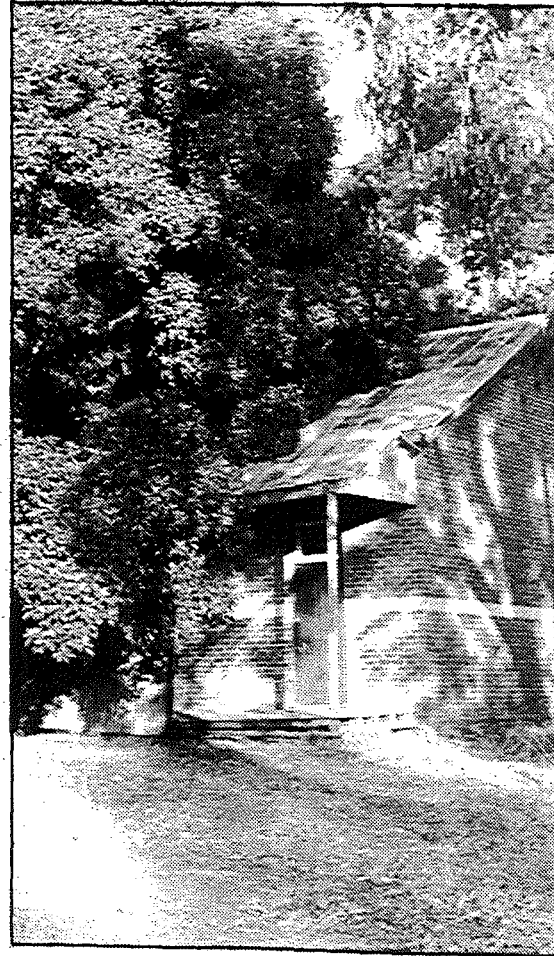
The roof leaked badly

A new building replaced the old school in June, 1889, at a cost of 76 pounds, 19 shillings. It was built by Richard Tonkin and George Postans.

Charles Batty, who in his student days became the first junior monitor

in 1850s

at Jarrahdale School, went on to teach at the Serpentine and Madella Brook half-day schools between 1886 and 1890.



App 1.3 a

SERPENTINE BRIDGE SCHOOL
(Opened 1858)

ABSENTEEISM OF CHILDREN.

App 1.4

Mandanah

Aug 2nd 1890

Sir,

I notice in your remarks on the Absentee forms - a number sick - Now in a small place like Mandanah there should not be so much sickness, if the Sanatory conditions of a town were properly carried out -

May not the stench arising from the fisheries have something to do with the sickness?

You will oblige the Board by reporting upon it.

The Teacher

Mandanah School

I have _____

Arthur Birch Hon Sec M.D.B.C.

Reply - Govt School Mandanah - Aug 22nd 1890

The Secy M.D.B. Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 2nd inst., I have the honor to inform you that in my opinion (and that of others) the smell arising from putrid & decayed fish is one of the principal cause of sickness among the children attending the Govt School, particularly during the late influenza; and the festering heaps of animal matter must have a baneful effect upon the whole community.

In the event of fever or any dangerous contagious disease visiting Mandanah the consequences must be disastrous.

During winter time there is little smell except when the festering heaps are stirred up by parties removing it for manure, and then the odour is fearful.

The heaps are too near the dwelling houses, and when disturbed as they frequently are during the fishing season the offensive smell penetrates to a great distance.

Signed by N McIntyre

Teacher

Page 1

Robert Mewburn, Jan 12. 1875

Walter Mewburn 2500A

Mary Ann — 1800. 1872

Rachel — 18 Feb 1876

Margaret Alice 1st Nov 1878

Rachel Olga 24 Oct 1880

Robert Thomas 22 Oct 1881

Lucy Mary Aug 25. 1883

G. William Dec 4. 1885

Ruth Feb 28 1889

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By Carting		2. 6
1/2 of 75 Beech \$ 18.9		8. 3
By Burdick's		9. 4
By Shind 3/5 Eggs 2/5		17. 7 1/2
1/2 of 14 Book 9/9		4. 6
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Leeds to June		8. 4 1/2
Leeds Sept.		4. 9 -
State (Dec 8 1871)		5. 3
		9. 3
		12. 3 1/2

John Lane		22
Broth for ward	Y. H.	
2 doz Eggs	2/6	1 3/4
2 doz Eggs	2/6	6 - 1
1 doz Eggs	1/3	
2 bottles Honey	1/6	
Geo	2	1.2
Copier Bk	6	6
First June 1877		8.0

2734 2
Coby 4-3

3 doz Eggs $\frac{3}{4}$ doz 2 Hens $\frac{1}{16}$
 $\frac{1}{2}$ doz. Eggs 5/8.
 Wall clothes

Settled Aug 28/77 11 9-1/2

Aug 24 Date 6 4¹⁴ 32 9

Tests Left:

Casper Bk 6

Cash of - 4793 kg
Deb to S. School 260
~~Bur~~ Exp 46

McAllan drowned.
 Sunday 28 Nov 1881
 Found on Wed 30th 1881
 X E. Sutton's Quies Tales }
 X E. Sutton's Jam Herald. }
 * Inspector 2 Dec^r 1881
 21 Present
 Sweezy to Remaule left 11th Feb^r
 4th Apr 1882.
 Kent Reguⁿ for firewood 12th
 Apr 7th
 Freshwaters Rain 6th & 8th Apr
 Turned over manure heap.
 Planted Potatoes 10th Apr
 Planted Radishes 8th &
 * Weiborn Sec^d CB, repaying me
 1st Feb. York Grover returned.
 Potatoes for 1st crop 25th Apr
 Mr Forbes sale 26th Apr.
 Reas June 12th 1st lot
 R Thompson left Forbes 2nd June
 Execution put in by W.D. Moore
 July 15th

36
 Reas 13 July 1882
 Forbes sale 23 July 1882 2nd lot
 Bought to amonit 27 20th
 sold up by W.D. Moore for last
 PA 4 1/2 Lams of 11.6.0 to W.D. Moore
 Barry nearly ripe Oct 24
 25th Oct^r Rholes found
 dead on the road between
 Remaule & Rockingham
 18 years p.c. in Manawatu
 shot himself with Revolver through
 the head when found pistol clenched
 in his hand - direct Sem Insanity.
 * Suspector May 10/83
 23 Present
 Comm Barly 16 May 1883
 Contam to Mr Badgley
 Reas June 5th 1883.
 P.C. June 2nd 1883. 2nd lot from
 Mr Hall for rep. goats
 John Luckey left for penning
 July 2nd 1883

Rains July 28th - Great Sun & 14 July
 * Mr Gardner here Friday 3rd
 Heavy frost 1st Aug. 1884
 Snow order 24 Aug

1 Cootice 2 Tin Cans 1 Acid
 4 Grop Malates 5th Lot 26 & 1/2
 1 doz Tomatoes 1/2 lb 1/6

12th Chest Sea

Lucy Newburn Born

Saturday 12 past 4 a m

Dec 1st 25th 1883.

Strong frost Sept 5th cut potatoes
 6 quarts of apples 10 Sept. Very sharp

Nov 5th Mr J. Gardner inspected

about 24 present

Beautiful rains about this time

Commenced cutting barley 7th Nov.

Mr Gardner here 10th Nov 1884

24 present - 1884

June Rains

10th May Potatoes 1/2 lb - Very bad cold

11th May Barley

17 July 1884 Mr Lethbridge & Mr Lane
 Rain a little before
 Splendid rain about 7 1/2 inches

Mr Adkinson here 23 Sept 1884 - 25/10/82
 Conkermounded the Australasia

for 1885 - 26 Sept 1884

Rain 6:15 6th - also good

Saturday 7 Feb 1885 - 1885

For the weather the end saw 1/2 evening

Shadows 4th

Potatoes 1/2 lb in July

Free Rain 13 Aug 1885

20 July Splendid Rains. Sent to Leggie

for second hand clothing £2 by Leggie

July 24 sent £2 to Leggie for 2 headcloths

Rec Results 20 July, £9.18.0

Buller Potatoes 1/2 lb 1886

Benjamin Rains 14/10/86

Ames Rains July 1886

Scarcely any rain up to the 14th

Ames Rains 15th - 1886

But very slight

20 Finished Kitchen June 22nd

Boy & flower 22nd June

He & flower June 15th

poke 10th June 22nd

potatoes July 11th

Bo & flower 21 July 1876

peas 24th July

Bent for June 1st Aug set Cabbages

peas 21st July

M. Adkinson Aug 6th

More Carting 14th Aug

begin school 18th Aug 1876. Beans 21st Aug

Christmas 29th Aug

W. & family 2 Bushes June 13th potatoes

Results to June 27th 14.0.0 Sept 5.

PA W. & family 25th Sept 14. 27.0.0

Anna's chimney Sept 25th

Aug potatoes 11 Oct 11th hanging 1st Oct

W. & family 24th 24th 14th June 1600th

Bent June 25th Oct

Corn plastering school 4 Nov 76.

PA & family 14th 3. 10.0.0

put in floor 4th Oct - finished school

W. & family 10th June 16/77
T. & family 8th Nov married June 19/77
14 Bush Butter from Coopers 18th June
very fine wind, about this time

rain wanted for Barley, potatoes &c.

Bo & family 10th June 16/77

potatoes 22 June 1877

Finished potatoes 11 July

Very frosty end of June

Dog about 23 June 1877.

Harry 1 Month 6 July.

Peas 13 July

At Holmes - Engraved

Beans planted 26th July

3 last Rows potatoes

Truckley 4 afternoon 1st day

June 19th to 20th July

2 Rows potatoes 28 July. Beans

planted 20 July

Very wet 21st day with high winds

to McIntyre 19th

Gentle rain about the 1st Sept

but not hard, enough.

Attendance to June 1877

No on Roll 28

No daily att 23.9

Boys 22 Girls 7

going to school 6 mos

and June 25.

Amount rec'd on att 19.13.9

School fees 4.10.00

25-12-1 43.15.0

19.13.9

2.41.3

Attendance to June 30/75

21 above 90

No on Roll 22.9

No attend 21.5

Capt Grant 18.7.6

Fees 3.18.0

furnished to Mr. Aikin

July 17/75

Average on Roll 25

No attend 23.7

No going to school 22

Capt Grant 20.11.3

Fees 4.9.3

for to Mr. Aikin in July 1876

to Deer 70 from Roll

No attend 21

No days 22

Capt Grant 17.10.5

School fees 3.10.4

sent March 17/76

Amount pd 51

APPENDIX 2.App 2.1 Governor Kennedy's Policy for Colonial Education, 1855.

It laid down twelve suggestions for the guidance of the Education Board. I quote them in full:—

1. That it is desirable that the schools in this colony, supported at the expense of the public, should be available for all sects and denominations of Christians, without giving offence to the conscientious scruples of any.
2. That to effect this, the Roman Catholic Bishop should be offered a seat at the Education Board in conjunction with a minister from every other religious denomination.
3. That the Scripture lessons, as used in the Irish National Schools, should be read in lieu of the whole Bible.
4. That a layman be appointed as Chairman of the Board. In mentioning this, His Excellency is of the opinion that a lay member as Chairman would ensure impartiality, and avoid even the suspicion of preference for any one particular sect.
5. That, as a general rule, education afforded at the public expense should be available to those only who are unable, through poverty, to pay, and should be confined to a plain and practical education embracing reading, writing, elements of geography, first four rules of arithmetic, with Rule of Three, Practice, etc.
6. It appears that the present system provides an extraordinarily cheap education to those who can afford to pay, to the great neglect and disadvantage of those who cannot pay, and for whom the Government is more particularly bound to care; that, in a small community like this, it also renders the establishment of a good mercantile or classical school, by private enterprise, an impossibility.
7. That masters and mistresses of Government Schools should be paid a fixed and liberal salary, but that they should be prohibited from receiving fees or gratuities.
8. That the scholars attending the Government Schools should be divided into three classes, according to their several means of payment, and that the amount of their payments should be credited to a fund for the provision of school necessities, etc., and that the attendance at the schools should not be less than six hours daily.
9. That the amount annually voted by the Legislative Council for education should be placed at the disposal of the Board of Education, to be applied as they see fit, subject, however, to the confirmation of His Excellency, of all changes and new appointments.
10. That schools in the rural districts, subjecting themselves to the general supervision of the Board of Education, should be entitled to an annual grant, the amount of which is to be decided by the Board.
11. That an annual inspection and examination of the whole of the schools be held by one or more members of the Board, or persons to be appointed by them, and who will report to the Board; and that the expenses of such examinations be defrayed by the Education Grant.
12. That the Board report annually to His Excellency.

Reference: John K. Ewers, 'Governor Kennedy and the Board of Education', in R.W.A.H.S.J. Early Days, Vol.3, December 1947. pp.13-14.

THE CENTRAL BOARD OF EDUCATION, 1871-1893.

App 2.2

35^o VICTORIÆ, No. 14.*Elementary Education.*

3 FOR the purposes of this Act there shall be a Board, to be called "The Central Board of Education," and such board shall consist of five members, all of whom shall be laymen, of whom the Colonial Secretary for the time being, or such other person as the Governor in Council shall appoint, shall be one, and shall be the chairman thereof; and the Governor in Council shall also appoint the other four members, who shall hold office for a period of three years only, unless the Governor in Council shall see fit to re-appoint them; provided, always, that no two of such four members shall belong to one and the same religious denomination.

4 IT shall be lawful for the Central Board of Education:

1. To exercise a general supervision over all schools receiving Government aid in secular instruction only, and a more special direction over purely Government schools, and to appoint and instruct an Inspector of Schools, and other necessary officers.
2. To make general by-laws and regulations, subject to the provisions and restrictions herein contained; and such general by-laws and regulations shall be approved by the Governor and be laid upon the table of the Legislative Council at its next sitting, and shall be binding if no objection thereto is made within thirty days from the commencement of such session.
3. To apportion and distribute such funds as may from time to time be provided and set apart for educational purposes by the Legislature, subject to the conditions of such grants and the provisions herein contained.
4. To communicate with local boards upon the educational requirements of their districts; to confirm the appointments and dismissal of teachers for purely Government Schools, to assign them such salaries or remuneration as may be expedient, to consider complaints against such teachers and to decide on the same in accordance with the general rules of the public service and to any special engagement entered into with such teachers; to decide on all matters connected with the erection of school houses; the establishment of new schools; of new educational districts; of district boards; and of the endowment of schools under the provisions herein contained or such as may hereafter be enacted.
5. To fix a scale of fees to be paid and received for the attendance of children in purely Government schools; Provided, always, that such fees be not exacted in cases where the child or its parent, through absolute poverty, is unable to pay.

App. 2.3 Teachers at Elementary Schools
for the Half Year ending 31 December, 1875

Name of School	Name of Teacher	Name of School	Name of Teacher
Albany, Boys'	*T.M. Palmer	Jarrahdale	*J. Allsopp
Albany, Girls'	M.A. Monaghan	Kojonup	A. Loton
Australind, Mixed	S.L. Clifton	Katerine	M. Wilkerson
Bunbury, Boys'	G.R. Teede	Ludlow	F.C. Simpson
Bunbury, Girls'	E. Eedle	Mandurah	*R.W. Mewburn
Buckland, Mixed	*W.H. Perrin	Northam, Boys'	*J. Lloyd
Beverley, North	*G. Pearson	Northam, Girls'	S.M. Taunton
Brunswick	A. Marriott	Newcastle, Mixed	*J.W. Humphrey
Bridgetown	S. Gardiner	Perth, Boys'	C. Trotter
Busselton	J. Fletcher	Perth, Boys'	W. Cousins
Canning Landing	E. Mason	Perth, Girls'	A. Veall
Dongarra	*J.W. Johnson	Perth, Girls'	V. Sherwood
Dumbarton	*J.V. Warren	Perth, Infants'	R.C. Jeston
Fremantle, Boys'	G.B. Humble	Perth Barracks, Mixed	*S.M. Stout
Fremantle, Boys'	W. Smith	Perth, South	E. Wood
Fremantle, Girls'	Mrs. Broomhall	Pinjarrah	W. Hymus
Fremantle, Infants'	B. Morris	Picton	S. Milward
Ferguson	A. Gardiner	Quindalup	W. Campbell
Freshwater Bay	A. Herbert	Rockingham	F.L. Hymus
Greenough, Central	E.M. Beleda	Roebourne	F. Hester
Greenough, North	G.W. Bell	Serpentine	*O. Ryland
Greenough, Nth Back Flats	W. Jones	Swan, Upper	E.C. Norris
Greenough, Sth Back Flats	A. McCartie	Tipperary	R. Pyke
Greenough, Mid. Back Flats	E. McAuliffe	Wicklow Hills	*T. Richards
Gynudup Brook	Isa Mitchell	Wanneroo	J. Simpson
Guildford, Boys'	A. Gardner	Wonnerup	M.P. McCourt
Guildford, Girls'	A. Thompson	York, Boys'	G. Blakiston
Geraldton, Boys'	*R. Clarke	York, Girls'	Jane Boyd
Geraldton, Girls'	J. Strappini	York, Infants'	A. Horley
Greenhills	E. Gorman		

* Denotes Ticket-of-leave and Expiree Schoolmasters.

Report of the Central Board of Education, To His Excellency the Governor,
For the Year Ending 31 December, 1875. Western Australian Votes & Proceedings, 1875, (4), p.5

APPENDIX 3App. 3.1 STATISTICAL RETURNS FOR 31 DECEMBER, 1849.

Population: Males - 2685, Females - 1969 = 4654.

Education: Return of Schools - Government and Roman Catholic:

<u>Schools</u>	<u>No. of Scholars</u>
Perth Boys' School	50
Girls' School	29
Infants' School	50
Fremantle Boys' School	30
Girls' School	10
Murray Boys' School	15
Guildford Boys' School	9
York Boys' School	30
Albany Mixed (Mrs Knight's) School	38
Roman Catholic School System (including Sisters of Mercy and Aboriginal children - 7 in Perth, 18 in the Melbourne District.)	166
Total	427

STATISTICAL REGISTERS, Western Australian Blue Books.

31 December, 1849. pp. 134, 142, 144.

App 3.2

TABLE No. 2.—Occupations of the Male Population in Western Australia, also the number of Female Domestic Servants on 31st March, 1870, not including 1,470 Prisoners.—(Continued.)

DESCRIPTION.	DISTRICTS.												TOTALS.
	ALBANY.	CHAMPION BAY.	FREMANTLE.	GREENOUGH AND IRWIN.	MURRAY.	PERTH.	ROEBOURNE.	SUSSEX.	SWAN.	TOODYAY.	WELLINGTON.	YORK.	
MISCELLANEOUS.													
Gardeners and Vine Dressers - -	5	4	4	3	2	63	...	4	8	5	4	...	102
* Teachers - - - - -	7	7	9	7	4	20	1	8	7	11	14	10	105
Medical - - - - -	1	1	4	1	1	5	...	2	1	4	3	2	25
Clergymen and Ecclesiastics - -	2	1	5	1	1	13	...	1	4	46	3	4	81
Judicial - - - - -	...	...	...	1	1	6	...	...	...	1	...	1	10
Newspaper Proprietors - - -	...	...	3	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	5
Hawkers - - - - -	...	...	1	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
Government Civil Servants - -	40	25	102	13	12	115	6	18	33	17	30	21	432
Totals - - - - -	55	38	128	26	21	227	7	33	53	84	54	38	764
DOMESTIC SERVANTS.													
Male - - - - -	25	39	36	16	9	116	6	14	24	41	4	51	381
Female - - - - -	39	49	92	27	9	262	4	16	48	19	64	45	674
Totals - - - - -	64	88	128	43	18	378	10	30	72	60	68	96	1055
PENSIONERS - - - - -	14	8	229	11	3	124	...	1	7	15	3	7	422
NOT STATED - - - - -	16	...	4	2	13	69	8	...	12	43	41	...	213

* The number of Clergy in the Toodyay District includes 8 Priests and 33 Monks at the Roman Catholic Mission of New Norcia.

App 3.3

TABLE No. 3. EDUCATION.—Education of persons in Western Australia of the age of 5 years and upwards, not including Prisoners.

DISTRICTS.	No. above 5 years of age who could read and write.	No. above 5 years of age who could read only.	No. above 5 years of age who could not read or write.	Total number of 5 years and upwards.
Albany... ..	887	131	335	1353
Champion Bay	594	115	351	1060
Fremantle	2001	378	372	2841
Greenough and Irwin ...	733	206	264	1203
Murray	363	94	126	583
Perth	3236	555	511	4302
Roebourne	141	7	24	172
Sussex	528	110	187	825
Swan	909	164	326	1399
Toodyay	1384	276	443	2103
Wellington	1178	241	424	1843
York	1282	279	582	2143
	13326	2556	3945	19827

TABLE No. 4 EDUCATION.—Return of the progress of Schools under the control of the Board of Education in Western Australia since the establishment of the present System of Education, 1856 to 1869.

Sites and Description of Schools.	Numbers of Scholars on the Rolls.															Average Daily Attendance.														
	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867	1868	1869	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867	1868	1869		
Albany Mixed School	20	20	42	40	50	50	51	49	54	42	59	47	51	37				28	22	33	35	44	38	22	31	32	31	23		
Australind Do.			16	16	14	14	15	18	16	19	16	15	10	16				17	16	13	12	11	12	12	12	12	9-61	13		
Beverley Do.						14	14	29	25	26	23	17	19	17						14	12	13	13	16	15	9	9-1	12		
Do. North Do.														17														12		
Bridgetown Do.														18														11		
Brunswick Do.									20	18	17	17	15	10														11		
Bunbury Do.	30	31	40	50	44	40	28	64	54	59	45	66	58	66									14	14	12	14	11	11		
Busselton Do.	15	12	16	20	35	21	30	23	35	45	54	52	62	53				31	30	26	20	42	40	20	37	50	51-34	60		
Canning Do.										12	15	18	16	33				20	25	16	18	20	25	15	36	40	39-6	51		
Capel Do.												13	16										11	15	15	11	14	16		
Ferguson Do.													21	17	14													11		
Freemantle Boys' School	60	73	81	100	68	90	96	76	110	114	99	113	101	156				38	36	60	46	38	90	97	75	77	83-1	102		
Do. Girls' Do.	50	54	68	80	117	112	104	115	110	111	98	69	69	72				51	68	63	65	70	64	59	71	58	52-9	50		
Do. Infants' Do.	44	60	60	60	52	50	72	78	65	51	68	44	94	126				52	49	30	21	30	30	61	37	35	41	61		
Freshwater Bay Mixed					16	16	16	20	18	16	16	15	16					16	15	16	17	13	13	13	12	12	14			
Geraldton Boys' School																														
Do. Girls' Do.									31	50	57	56	71	35	39													24-92		
Geraldine Mines Mixed													18	51														32-2		
Greenough Central Do.							34	15				37	41	20																
Do. North Do.												42	42	19							22	30								
Do. South Do.												37	42	36									15	15	27	28	20-8	20		
Gingin Do.													28	28														12		
Guildford Boys' School													27	24	29													12		
Do. Girls' & Infants' }	18	23	26	50	68	70	72	64	120	51	60	91	81	69														6		
Greenhills Mixed										20	18	29	15	20														57-		
Gwalla Do.										25	27	31	28	43														52		
Katrine Do.										16	32	37	39	40														12		
Kojonup Do.										20	20	25	18	13														19		
Ladlow Do.												24	28	33														21		
Mandurah Do.														14														10		
Marineup Do.														17														13		
Mininup Do.													13	22														15		
Northam Do.										16	17	21	28	38														12		
Newcastle Do.												26	29	34														16		
Parkfield Do.														17														32		
Perth Boys' School	77	76	126	140	160	107	113	120	168	180	180	210	221	201														21		
Do. Girls' Do. }										87	91	100	89	86														101-5		
Do. Infants' Do.	70	89	98	100	118	141	145	163	194									80	90	105	95	97	108					190		
Do. Pensioners Barracks																														
Do. South Mixed																														
Pieton Do.						20	21	15	15	32	42	39	38	37																
Pinjarrah Do.					19	16	20	21	22	29	20	21	22	18																
Quindalup Do.																														
Rockingham Do.																														
Rottnest Do.																														
Serpentine Do.																														
Swan (middle) Do.																														
Do. (upper) Do.		16	12	12		13	19	16	17	15	25																			
Seven Springs Do.																														
Springhill Do.																														
Tipperary Do.																														
Toodrav (Steam Mill) Do.	12	17	20	11	29	20	11	20	18	23	31	37	41	31																
Wicklow Hills Do.																														
York Boys' School	33	37	38	40	30	30	41	26	40	42	43	44	45	48																
Do. Girls' Do.					40	49	57	59	57	72	72	69	75	82																
Totals	429	513	643	712	874	897	1027	1217	1454	1586	1802	1916	2051	2188				515	576	608	711	835	1021	1101	1278	1363	1437	1569		

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CENSUS, 1870—RETURNS.

TABLE No. 5.

Abstract of the Return of the Progress of Schools.

Period.	No. of Schools in operation.	No. of Scholars on the Rolls.	Average Attendance.	Average No. on the Rolls at each School.	Average attendance at each School.	Per centage of Attendance to Nos. on the Rolls.
1856	11	429	...	39.	...	...
1857	12	513	...	47.9	...	...
1858	13	643	...	49.4	...	...
1859	14	742	515	53.	32.5	69.4
1860	16	874	576	54.6	36.0	65.8
1861	20	897	608	44.8	30.4	67.7
1862	23	1037	711	45.	30.9	68.4
1863	28	1247	845	44.5	30.2	67.7
1864	32	1454	1021	45.4	32.0	70.0
1865	36	1586	1101	44.	30.5	69.4
1866	41	1803	1278	43.9	31.1	70.8
1867	42	1946	1363	46.3	32.4	70.0
1868	48	2054	1437	43.	30.0	70.0
1869	55	2188	1569	39.8	28.5	71.7

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Table 6.

SCHOOLS IN PROGRESS AS AT DECEMBER 1871

GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS

8	Albany	123	Katrine
16	Australind	126	Kojonup
18	Beverley North	130	Ludlow Bridge
19	Beverley South	131	Mandurah
24	Bridgetown	138	Mininup (Farm)
25	Brunswick	139	Morumbine
26	Bucklands	145	Newcastle
27	Bunbury Boys'	157	Newtown (Vasse)
29	Bunbury Girls'	160	Northam
35	Busseton Mixed	162	Parkfield
38	Canning Police Station	169	Perth Boys'
39	Canning Timber Station	189	Perth Girls'
47	Dongarra	196	Perth Infants'
49	Ferguson	213	Perth Barracks
53	Fremantle Boys'	238	Perth South
67	Fremantle Girls'	239	Picton
68	Fremantle Infants'	240	Pinjarra
82	Fresh Water Bay	243	Quindalup
87	Geraldton Boys'	244	Rockingham (East)
88	Geraldton Girls'	248	Serpentine
91	Gingin	250	Seven Springs
94	Greenhills	251	Springhill
95	Greenough Central	257	Swan Upper
99	Greenough North	260	Tipperary
98	Greenough North Back Flats	265	Toodyay Mills
101	Greenough South	270	Wandering
102	Greenough South Back Flats	273	Wicklow Hills'
103	Guildford Boys'	276	Wonnerup
108	Guildford Girls'	280	York Boys'
118	Gwalia	285	York Girls'
		286	York Infants'

GOVERNMENT ASSISTED SCHOOLS

11	Albany	Roman Catholic Mixed
31	Bunbury	Roman Catholic Mixed
37	Canning Landing	Roman Catholic Mixed
46	Dardanup	Roman Catholic Mixed
72	Fremantle	Roman Catholic Boys'
74)	Fremantle	Roman Catholic Girls'
74)	Fremantle	Roman Catholic Infants'
112	Guildford	Roman Catholic Mixed
146	Newcastle	Roman Catholic Mixed
217	Perth	Roman Catholic Boys'
219	Perth	Roman Catholic Girls'
220	Perth	Roman Catholic Infants'
291	York	Roman Catholic Mixed

INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS (CATHOLIC)

36	Busseton Roman Catholic
59	Fremantle Day and Boarding School for Young Ladies
89	Geraldton Roman Catholic
96	Greenough Central Roman Catholic
97	Greenough East Upper Back Flats Roman Catholic
100	Greenough North Upper Roman Catholic
134	Marah Benedictine Priory
150	New Norcia Boarding School for Native Boys
151	New Norcia Boarding School for Native Girls
149	New Norcia Mission for the Civilization of the Natives
155	New Norcia Novitiate
160(b)	Northampton Roman Catholic Mixed
212	Perth Our Lady's College
222	Perth St Joseph's Girls' Orphanage
269	Wandering Roman Catholic
277	Wyening Benedictine Priory

INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS (OTHER)

17	Bejoording
41	"Carbarcline" (Beverley)
93	"Glendearg" (Toodyay Valley)
120	Herne Hill Logue's Academy
129	Lockville
135	Margaret River "Wallcliffe"
147	Newcastle Whitfield's
160(a)	Northam St James Parsonage School
163(a)	Perth Academy and Boarding School
164	Perth Anglican Orphanage for Both Sexes
178	Perth Commercial Boarding School
181	Perth Cowan Ladies' College
197	Perth Jones College for Young Ladies
208	Perth Native and Half-Caste Mission
245	Roebourne Withnell's
247	Rottneest School for Warders' Children
255	Swan (Middle) Native Mission
261	Toodyay Braybrook Day School for Girls
263	Toodyay Native Institution
	see also under 'Sunday Schools'

John Rikkers. (1984). Western Australian Schools 1830 - 1981,
 Part 1, 'Schools and Teachers 1830-1871', Planning Branch,
 Education Department of Western Australia. pp.18-19.
 (BL. Q371: Wes)

App. 3.7 Education Levels and School Attendance. 1870. 5 Years and Upward. (as at 31 December, 1869)

Total population 5 years & upwards	Number who could read & write %		Number who could read only %		Number who could not read or write %		Number of scholars on School Rolls	School attendance %	
19,827	11,326	67.2	2556	12.9	3954	19.9	2188	1569	71.7

Compiled from The Census of Western Australis, 31 March, 1870. pp.39, 46

App. 3.8 Education Levels and School Attendance, 1881. 4-14 Years of Age. (as at 31 December, 1880).

Locality	Total number of children 4-14years	Number who could read and write %		Number who could read only %		Number who could not read or write %		Not specified %		Where educated	Number of children being educated %		Average school Attendance %	Number of children not being educated %	
Rural Towns	3791 3612	3774	50.98	1209	16.33	2363	31.92	57	0.77	Schools Homes	4388 1267	59.27 17.11	69.50	1748	23.63
TOTAL	7403									TOTAL	5655	76.38		1748	

Compiled from The Census of Western Australia, 3 April, 1881. pp.12,14

App. 3.9 Education Levels and School Attendance, 1891. 4-14 Years of Age. (As at 31 December, 1890).

Total number of children 4- 14 years	Percentage who could read and write	Percentage who could read only	Percentage who could not read or write	Percentage not specified	Children educated at government., assisted, and private schools %		Children educated at home %		Children not being educated. %	
12,363	59.00	8.69	29.71	2.60	8356	69.05	1639	13.25	2138	17.70

Compiled from The Census of Western Australia, 3 April, 1891. pp.53, 57-59.

App. 3.10 Number of Children Receiving Education 4 - 16 Years
 (as at 31 December, 1880)

Districts

Districts	Govt Schools	Assisted Schools	Private Schools		Not Receiving Education	Total
Blackwood	36		3	49	36	124
Fremantle	432	240	204	86	344	1306
Greenough\ Irwin	213	50	12	73	249	597
Murray	107	2	3	41	108	261
The North	21			35	28	84
Perth	546	559	266	135	508	2014
Plantagenet	59	70	85	60	164	438
Sussex	146	1	17	92	125	381
Swan	177	89	43	133	267	709
Toodyay	317	20	34	181	334	886
Victoria	202	106	3	114	288	713
Wellington	187	76	36	147	210	656
Williams	57		12	114	194	377
York	236	76	2	139	362	815
Total	2736	1289	720	1399	3217	
Total at Schools			4745	Total No. of Children		9361

Municipalities and Towns

Municipality or Town	Govt Schools	Assisted Schools	Private Schools	Educated at home	Not Receiving Education	Total
Albany	59	69	80	27	70	305
Beverley	15				5	20
Bridgetown	34				12	46
Bunbury	57	32	20	6	59	174
Busselton	63		13	6	23	105
Cossack				9	10	19
Fremantle	393	227	198	50	281	1149
Geraldton	132	53	2	18	82	287
Gingin			6	10	24	40
Guildford	97	31	13	6	37	184
Kojonup	10				15	25
Newcastle	14	17	14	2	10	57
Northam	72			10	17	99
Northampton	18	7		2	12	39
Perth City	520	497	262	77	398	1754
Pinjarra	12		2	7	14	35
Roebourne	21			3	3	27
York	81	56	1	9	62	209
Total	1598	989	611	242	1134	
Total at Schools			3198	Total No. of Children		4574

App. 3.1.1 Number of Children Receiving Education.
Compulsory Age 6-14 Years (as at 31 December, 1890)

Districts

Districts	State Schools	Private Schools	Educated at home	Not Receiving Education	Total
Blackwood	33	8	23	32	96
Fremantle	584	373	68	196	1221
Gascoyne	26		26	16	68
Kimberley, (East)			5		5
Kimberley, (West)			2	12	14
Kimberley G\Fields			2	3	5
Murray	79	35	60	42	216
The North	42		25	20	87
Perth	810	480	148	254	1692
Plantagenet	280	179	105	132	696
Sussex	169	13	79	37	298
Swan	301	87	148	206	742
Toodyay	285	74	121	175	655
Victoria	473	34	151	237	895
Wellington	254	25	81	83	443
Williams	54	4	184	116	358
Yilgarn			3	7	10
York	281	46	141	175	643
Total	3671	1358	1372	1743	8144
Total being Educated			6401	No. of Chn	

Chief Towns

Chief Towns	State Schools	Private Schools	Educated at home	Not Receiving Education	Total
Albany	249	166	38	52	505
Beverley	16	5		4	25
Bridgetown	21	1		5	27
Bunbury	95	9	4	8	116
Busseton	61	6	8		75
Carnarvon	25		6	1	32
Cossack	9		4	3	16
Derby			2	2	4
Fremantle	488	341	38	105	972
Geraldton	181	12	10	23	226
Guildford	116	29	5	11	161
Kojonup	17		6		23
Newcastle	90	11	18	22	141
Northam	70	21	1	5	97
Northampton	40			2	42
Perth City	768	425	110	179	1482
Pinjarrah	19	1	6	1	27
Roebourne	33		2	4	39
Wyndham			2		2
York	154	28	7	18	207
Total	2452	1055	267	445	4219
Total Being Educated			3774	No. of Chn	

App. 3.1.2 Occupations of Persons. Males and Females in Each District, 1881.
Sub-class 3, Professional:- Education

Teachers, Tutors and Governesses.

Districts	Government Schools		Assisted Schools		Private Schools		Tutors and Governesses		Not Stated	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Blackwood		1					1			
Fremantle	6	5	2	7	2	6		1	2	1
Greenough \ Irwin	2	3							3	3
Murray	3					1				
The North						1			1	1
Perth	3	8	5	12	2	23		1		4
Plantagenet	1	2			3	1		3		2
Sussex	1	3				3	1	5	2	1
Swan	2	1	2	1		1	4	2	3	4
Toodyay	2	6				2			4	6
Victoria	3	1		3		1	2	1	1	2
Wellington		4		2		1		4	1	5
Williams		2					1	8		1
York	3	4		3			3	11	2	3
Total	28	40	9	28	7	40	12	36	19	33
	68		37		47		48		52	
							Total number of Teachers		250	