



**Princes Men
Masculinity at Prince Alfred College
1960 – 1965**

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Abstract

This study is an oral history based on interviews with fifty men who left Prince Alfred College (PAC) between 1960-65. The aim was to define the codes of masculinity that were accepted and taught at the school and any other definitions of masculinity that were occurring simultaneously.

Prince Alfred College was established in 1869 as a Wesleyan Methodist boys' college in Adelaide, South Australia. The school was based on the British model and promoted muscular Christianity right through to the 1960s. This was achieved throughout the school which was immersed in Christian ethics. Sport, discipline, Cadets, Scouts, academia and school culture were used as themes to promote ethics such as helping those less fortunate, being a team player, winning and losing with grace, being honest, being fair, accepting consequences to one's actions, respecting one's elders and knowing that your actions affect those around you.

A Christian gentleman was defined as an upright, good citizen, a credit to the school, a leader, useful in the community, of sound body and mind. He was expected to strive to the best of his ability and not to give up when things went wrong. Boys were taught to follow Christian ideals and teachings as a way of life rather than just a part of life, reflecting the Methodist culture. PAC gave the boys a good preparation for life by creating self confident, Christian gentleman to become leaders in the community.

There are many different definitions of masculinity operating at any given point in time and the boys at PAC had many different ways of expressing their masculinity. The ethics of muscular Christianity and the Christian gentlemen were entwined

throughout the school and both were acceptable definitions of masculinity. Cadets and sport highlighted muscular Christianity whereas, Scouts and academia emphasised the Christian gentlemen. Prince Alfred College was very successful in transmitting a Methodist emphasis of these codes of masculinity as all of those interviewed described these ethics and many stated how they use them in their lives today.

Declaration

This work contains no material that has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in an university or tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being available for loan and photocopying.

Leah Simons
September, 2001

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Chapter 1: Introduction

There is currently a growing concern about boys' behaviour and performance in school as well as a more general concern in society about unacceptable aggressive behaviour such as child abuse and beatings perpetrated by men. Additionally there is a growing number of young male offenders entering the prison system, many of whom have committed violent offences against other males. It is important to have an understanding of how and where these male behavioural characteristics were acquired and developed.

The role of the family in society is changing and there is a general lack of appropriate role models for boys in many homes. Schools are potentially becoming more important in teaching boys acceptable male behaviour. An understanding of the links between schooling and masculinity is essential to how schools have been and continue to be a major tool of socialisation. To date there has been a lot of study on the role of schools in teaching femininity to girls but little on the links between masculinity and schooling. Understanding the past can help educators to improve the future for male and female members of society alike. Behaviour and performance of boys today relates to the homes and schools of tomorrow. These boys are the potential fathers and role models for the next generation.

This study is about a small group of men who attended Prince Alfred College (PAC) in the early 1960s and what sort of men they were taught to be at school. They are some of today's male role models and are all fathers. This research is a historical investigation based on gender and how schooling effects the development of masculinity in boys. It is one step in the process of finding the links between masculinity and schooling from a historical perspective. This study does not deal with the links between families and the teaching of masculinity.

Gender, schooling and history

Masculinity for the purpose of this research is defined as the social construct consisting of values and characteristics that were associated with the male gender during the early to mid 1960s. The biological sex of individuals does not encompass their social attributes or their socialisation process and therefore this study is based on gender. Gender is defined by Connell as 'the way that social practice is ordered'.¹ This definition is broad and flexible in that it allows for 'masculine' women and 'feminine' men. It is therefore not always tied to sex. Connell also states that 'gender is a process and not a fixed social practice. It's about bodies, what bodies do and how they react.'² Therefore there are many different masculinities at any given point in time. Hegemonic masculinity is the definition out of the many that is set up as or considered the norm. This is usually based on middle class values and is therefore most often, but not exclusively, found in the middle class.

Gender identities are complex, structurally determined processes that occur at the same time as the individual is actively constructing his/her personal masculinity/femininity. Gender also interacts with social class, ethnicity and other factors that make up a person's background and life experiences. Gender construction therefore occurs when individuals interact with society, developing their individual identities within particular cultural and historical contexts. As Kimmel states 'Men are not born; they are made. And men make themselves, actively constructing their masculinities within a social and historical context.'³

¹ R. W. Connell (1995) *Masculinities*, Allen & Unwin, St. Leonards, Ch. 3, pp. 71-76.

² *ibid.*

³ Michael Kimmel and Michael Messner (1995) *Men's Lives*, Allyn & Bacon, Boston, 3rd ed., p. xx.

Secondary schools are highly organised institutions that cater primarily for adolescents and as such are important arenas where individual gender identities are experienced, challenged and developed. Connell agrees that 'Schools do not simply adapt to a natural masculinity amongst boys ... they are agents in the matter, constructing particular forms of gender and negotiating relations between them.'⁴ Carrigan, Connell and Lee 'see social definitions of masculinity as being embedded in the dynamics of institutions.'⁵

Until recently Australian history has been written from a white, Anglo-Saxon, middle class, male perspective and has tended to focus on important events and the outstanding accomplishments of great people - usually men. This approach ignored the experiences and everyday lives of the majority of the people, as well as factors such as race, gender, sex, socioeconomic background and all the other facets that make us individuals. History was, and often still is, written from an ideal masculine perspective, which is assumed to be the norm, and therefore personal issues have not traditionally been the subject of critical reflection and analysis. Exceptions have occurred in extreme situations such as wars, which produced some people who questioned the inculcation of masculine attributes such as the aggression and blind obedience to authority that society demands at these times. This traditional approach to history omitted many other areas of men's lives and reinforced the hegemonic masculinity of the time.

Historically, schooling has been perceived as reinforcing the inborn nature of the sexes, which directly related to their biology, as well as preparing individuals for their roles in society. The definition of this inborn nature has only varied slightly through time. Traditionally, boys have

⁴ R. W. Connell (1989) 'Cool Guys, Swots and Wimps: the interplay of masculinity and education', *Oxford Review of Education*, vol. 15, no. 3, pp. 291-292.

⁵ T. Carrigan, B. Connell and J. Lee (1985) 'Toward a new sociology of masculinity', *Theory and Society*, vol. 14, no. 5, p. 591.

been seen as rough, tough, physical and harder to control than girls. They have been the future pioneers, builders of nations, and the leaders of society. In subtle and not so subtle ways these desirable characteristics of manliness have been inculcated from birth and encouraged throughout boyhood.⁶ It is important to find out how many of these ideals have contributed to men's situation in the late twentieth century. Biddulph states that

- Men on average live for six years less than women do.
- Men routinely fail at close relationships. (Just two indicators: forty percent of marriages break down, and divorces are initiated by the woman in four out of five cases.)
- Over ninety percent of convicted acts of violence will be carried out by men, and seventy percent of the victims will be men.
- In school, around ninety percent of children with behaviour problems are boys and over eighty percent of children with learning problems are also boys.
- Men comprise over ninety percent of inmates of gaols. Men are also seventy-four percent of the unemployed.
- The leading cause of death amongst men between 12 and 60 is self-inflicted death.

Surely, the most powerful reflection on the male gender is its suicide rate. Men and boys commit suicide five times more frequently than women.⁷

The men's movement, which has been developing over the last fifteen years, is about 'learning how to be confident and easy in making better marriages, jobs, pastimes, friendships and in developing a rich and sustaining inner life. It is about enjoying the key role of raising our sons to go even further in the male adventure.'⁸ One of the instigators of the men's movement in the United States was Robert Bly's International best seller *Iron John: a book about men* which explores masculinity and manhood through a Grimm Brothers' story called

⁶Helen Townsend (1994) *Real Men*, HarperCollins Publishers, Sydney, p. 31.

⁷Steve Biddulph (1994) *Manhood: a book about setting men free*, Finch Publishing, Sydney, p. 4.

⁸*ibid.*, p. 7.

Iron John.⁹ This book is a journey of self-discovery and the development of masculinity from common life experiences. It is very idealistic and therefore fits every man's life experiences in some way but it is not backed up with any research. However, it is a very important part of current popular literature that looks at the importance of initiation into manhood and the difference between the wild man and the savage man. The author suggests that all men have to get in touch with their wild man and to realise that their savage man is the aggressor. He also argues that aggression is not an acceptable way to express masculinity.

The feminist movement has changed the way history is written and perceived, and this approach is now being used in other areas of research. Feminists continue to write women into history, creating a new history that centres on women's daily lives, thoughts and experiences.¹⁰ Women are being written into history as individuals and not just subsumed in the family. A good example of this type of history is *Creating a Nation*, which rewrites women and other minority groups into the development of Australia.¹¹ Just as women have not been treated as individuals in historical writings, many of men's experiences have also not been represented. The interviews undertaken in this research are about the social construction of masculinity at PAC during the early to mid 1960s rather than simply about men as a group, and are based on the feminist practice of looking at inner experiences as well as external deeds and happenings.

⁹ Robert Bly (1993) *Iron John: a book about men*, Element Books Limited, Brisbane.

¹⁰ Patricia Grimshaw (1985) 'Women in History: reconstructing the past' in Jackie Goodnow and Carol Pateman, (eds) *Women Social Science and Public Policy*, George Allen & Unwin, Sydney.

¹¹ Patricia Grimshaw, Marliyn Lake, Ann McGrath and Marian Quartly (1994) *Creating a Nation*, McPhee/Gribble, Ringwood.

Women had to overcome oppression, but men's difficulties are with isolation. The enemies, the prisons from which men must escape, are: loneliness; compulsive competition, and lifelong emotional timidity. Men's enemies are often on the inside - in the walls we put up around our own hearts.¹²

There is a substantial amount of literature on both the overt and covert teaching and learning of the feminine ideal through education. On the other hand, there is a limited number of writings on the teaching and learning of masculinity in schools, although there is now an increasing amount of literature on the historical social constructs of masculinity.¹³ As society has changed so have the hegemonic definitions of masculinity. Currently there is a move towards actively teaching boys and men to define and construct their masculinity in an acceptable, non-violent manner. This is evident in Australian books like *Boys in Schools: Addressing the real issues; behaviour, values and relationships*, which is a series of articles written by teachers and for teachers on how they have successfully dealt with boys in their classrooms. This book also illustrates the importance of schools in shaping, challenging, developing and experiencing masculinity.¹⁴ *Secret men's business, manhood: the big gig*, was written for boys addressing the problems of growing into manhood and identifying different pathways. This is a guide for adolescent boys as they continue to develop their individual masculine identity.¹⁵ *Manhood: a book about setting men free*, explores a number of issues

¹²Biddulph, *Manhood*, p. 4.

¹³ Frank Blye (1992-1993) 'Straight/Strait Jackets for Masculinity: Educating for "Real" Men' *Atlantis*, vol. 18, nos. 1 & 2, pp. 47-59; Ian D. Brice (1996) 'Exemplary Masculinity: ideals and codes of masculinity inculcated in Australian corporate boys' schools, 1946-1960', *Childhood, Citizenship, Culture: Proceedings of the Twenty Fifth Annual ANZHES Conference*, Queensland University of Technology, pp. 83-94; Barry Thorne (1993) *Gender Play: girls and boys in school*, United States of America, Open University Press; Jane Kenway (ed.) (April 1997) 'Point and Counterpoint: Boys' Education in the Context of Gender reform,' *Curriculum Perspectives*, vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 57-78; Jane Kenway (1997) 'Masculinities in Schools: under siege, on the defensive and under reconstruction?', *Discourse: studies in the cultural politics of education*, vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 59-79; Martin Mac An Ghail (1997) 'Introduction: schooling as a masculinizing agency', *The Making of Men: masculinities, sexualities and schooling*, Open University Press, London, pp. 1-88.

¹⁴Rollo Browne and Richard Fletcher (eds) (1995) *Boys in Schools: addressing the real issues- behaviour, values and relationships*, Finch Publishing, Sydney.

¹⁵ John Marsden (1998) *Secret Men's Business: manhood - the big gig*, Pan Macmillan, Sydney.

such as relationships, violence and ways to develop into better men.¹⁶ *Raising boys*, is another practical guide to help parents deal with boys growing up and how to present them with different, socially acceptable definitions of masculinity.¹⁷ All of these books suggest that there are unacceptable definitions of masculinity in society as well as many acceptable but conflicting definitions that are causing confusion and frustration in adolescents and hence a lot of acting out behaviours which have become particularly evident in classrooms. There is a great deal of literature emerging on the sociology and psychology of masculinity, much of which is based on the experience of British and American men, but little on how schools have been involved in forming and questioning these ideals.¹⁸

Current oral histories on Australian men focus on their lives and family experiences rather than education or schooling. *Fathers, Sons & Lovers* is based on interviews of men, and boys who grew up or are growing up in Penrith, a working class suburb on the western fringe of Sydney. It mixes their words with the authors' analysis and focuses on how they constructed their masculine identity through their life experiences. West concludes that boys become men through work, sport and association with fathers and father figures. These boys grew up aspiring to the ideal of becoming the head of a family, the breadwinner and an authority figure. Fathers were the role models for this ideal. As a breadwinner is responsible for supporting his family, being employed full time was also strongly linked with being a man. Playing sport and not being gay were ways of affirming their masculinity.¹⁹ Townsend explores what men think, feel and want by utilising data collected from 350 men in group discussions (four to fourteen in each), thirty individual interviews and from questionnaires

¹⁶ Biddulph, *Manhood*.

¹⁷ Steve Biddulph (1997) *Raising boys*, Finch Publishing, Sydney.

¹⁸ For instance see Connell, *Masculinities*; David Tacey (1987) *Remaking Men: the revolution in masculinity*, Penguin Books, Ringwood, and Terry Colling (1992) *Beyond Mateship: understanding Australian men*, Simon and Schuster, Australia.

¹⁹ Peter West (1996) *Fathers, Sons & Lovers: men talk about their lives from the 1930s to today*, Finch Publishing, Sydney, pp. 174-180.

(over 200 of the 500 were returned). She looks at how men have changed and the evolution of masculinity through the participants. This is a sociological study focussed on feminism and reactions to changing gender roles in society rather than defining specific masculinities. It is strongly based around the words of the subjects, which are used throughout.²⁰ McCalman recorded the stories of a group of middle class men and women who attended four different private schools in Melbourne and examined their life experiences, including education and schooling in this context.²¹ However, these life experiences were not critically examined in terms of how these schools helped to form or develop gender identities. Williams' book consists entirely of interviews of eighteen Australian men from all different walks of life, although many are prominent, successful, public figures. She explores the relationship between fathers and sons by using individual accounts of boyhood as told by the men they became. This does not contain any analysis of masculinity but rather lets their voices be heard.²² Bowen compiled a similar book in which fourteen Australian men talk about their lives, feelings and reactions to the feminist movement. Each chapter focuses on one man and, other than a brief introduction, is entirely their words, telling their story. However, there is no analysis of their life experiences and therefore their concepts and development of masculinity.²³ Boys' experiences and definitions of masculinity at school are not dealt with in any of these books that instead focus on society's attitudes to masculinity rather than individual masculinities. The authors take a much broader perspective and present life stories and not just a section of life such as schooling. Therefore they omit how a highly organised structure such as a school affects the development and definition of masculinity.

²⁰ Townsend, *Real Men*.

²¹ Janet McCalman (1993) *Journeys: The Biography of a Middle-Class Generation 1920-1990*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

²² Christine Williams (1996) *Fathers & Sons: Australian men reveal their stories of this special relationship*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney.

²³ Jan Bowen (1996) *Men Talk: fourteen Australian men talk about their lives, loves and feelings after two decades of feminism*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney.

Until recently oral history has been viewed as less academic than traditional approaches. However, viewing schooling through the lived experience of the students is becoming more widely accepted. This is evident in the number of current writings that are based on oral history. Barman believes that interviews can be used to get inside the experience of schooling. She concludes that to understand an individual's childhood experience researchers must also understand the culture that was experienced in childhood and the culture perceived to exist at the time of the interview, remembering that 'we are constantly defining and redefining ourselves as human beings'.²⁴ Trimmingham Jack illustrates the importance of oral history in balancing historical archival information in order to give a more complete picture of schooling.²⁵ Research by Mcleod and Yates as well as Garvey investigates the process of gender construction through interviews with students. Garvey takes this a step further by analysing the accounts of men about the impact of their secondary schooling on their lives.²⁶ May, in her studies of men's and women's oral histories of selective schools in New South Wales concludes that 'much can be learnt about students' experiences at school and the way schools and classrooms operated that cannot be found in documentary studies.'²⁷ She uses both documentary and oral evidence to generate a layered analysis of the ways that boys schooling prepared them for their role in society. All of these studies view oral history as an important and essential tool to understand gender construction within schools. Oral history effectively reveals the educational experiences of each individual as they remember it. This can then be compared to archival sources such as the school magazines. It enables historians

²⁴ Jean Barman (1994) "'Oh No! It would not be proper to discuss that with you": reflections on gender and the experience of childhood', *Curriculum Inquiry*, vol. 24, no. 2, pp. 56-63.

²⁵ Christine Trimmingham Jack (1996) 'School History and Childhood: myth and metaphor', *Childhood, Citizenship, Culture: Proceedings of the Twenty Sixth Annual ANZHES Conference*, Queensland University of Technology, vol. 1, pp. 263-287.

²⁶ Julie Mcleod and Lyn Yates (1997) 'Can we find out about girls and boys today - or must we settle for just talking about ourselves? Dilemmas of a feminist, qualitative, longitudinal research project,' *Australian Educational Researcher*, vol. 24, no. 3, pp. 23-42; Terry Garvey (1996) 'Childhood, Citizenship and Masculinity', *Childhood, Citizenship, Culture: Proceedings of the Twenty Sixth Annual ANZHES Conference*, Queensland University of Technology, vol. 1, pp. 165-171.

²⁷ Jo May (1997) 'A new Frontier: exploring men's oral histories of selective schooling in Newcastle, New South Wales, 1930s To 1950s', *Orthodoxies and Diversity: Proceedings of the Twenty Seventh Annual ANZHES Conference*, Newcastle University, pp. 324.

to explore the experiences of childhood, as seen through their adult selves and thus the impact of schooling on gender construction. Oral history, which adds to historical knowledge by using students' voices can also add interest and colour to school histories.

Learning to Lead - a history of girls' and boys' corporate secondary schools in Australia, outlines the inception and development of these schools.²⁸ This was written eleven years ago and is a factual account of events and some of the ideas and values that moulded this history. In contrast to *Learning to Lead*, this study addresses the definition of masculinity by examining the every day experiences of the students, including how masculinity was reproduced at PAC through the writings of students, old scholars and teachers within the school magazine.

School histories were generally written for the record and tend to focus on major events and great deeds of students and not on the experiences of the students.²⁹ They were often commissioned by the school councils and written by previous Headmasters, teachers or old scholars. Therefore the school has the final say as to the history's contents. They tend to concentrate on school structure, those running the school and the achievements of old scholars that reflected the values and beliefs of the school. They do not usually reflect the lived experience of the students. This is evident in many Australian school histories, such as; *The Wilderness: One hundred years of History and Legend 1884-1984*; *The Christian Brothers of Wakefield Street 1878-1978*; *Pultney Grammar School 1847-1972: A Record*, *Collegiate School of St Peter Adelaide*; *Grammar: A History of Sydney Grammar School 1819-1988*,

²⁸ Geoffrey Sherington, R. C. Petersen, Ian Brice (1987) *Learning to Lead: a history of girls' and boys' corporate secondary schools in Australia*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney.

²⁹ There have been two school histories written for PAC firstly, J. F. Ward (1951) *Prince Alfred College: the story of the first eighty years 1867-1948*, Gillingham & Co. Ltd., Adelaide, and more recently, R. M. Gibbs (1984) *A History of Prince Alfred College*, Peacock Publications, Adelaide.

*The Geelong College 1861-1961 and To Grow In Wisdom: The story of the first seventy-five years of the Methodist Ladies College 1902-1977.*³⁰

Traditional school histories tend to be written entirely from archival documents such as school magazines and administrative records. They are often used as promotion or publicity for the school in order to attract students. Therefore they do not tend to show negative aspects, areas for improvement or students' experiences of schooling from their own perspective. The old scholars that appear in these histories are generally high achievers that fit the mould that the school aimed to produce. This effectively omits those who did not achieve so well and other students who were different or did not fit the mould. Even if these people became famous they tend to be glossed over with nothing more than a brief mention or they are ignored.

There are some school histories based on memoirs and questionnaires that take the lived experience into account, such as *Scots To The Fore: A History of The Scots College Sydney 1893-1993* and *Shore: A History of Sydney Church of England Grammar School*.³¹ This approach creates a different school history than the purely chronological variety. However, it also does not deal in any detail with many of the experiences and perceptions of students, which are quite separate from planned schooling. They have long term effects on student lives and are often the real results of mass schooling. Planned schooling is much easier to identify

³⁰ Marjorie Scales (1984) *The Wilderness: one hundred years of history and legend 1884-1984*, Wilderness School Limited, Adelaide; Richard B. Healy (1978) *The Christian Brothers of Wakefield Street 1878-1978*, Lutheran Publishing House, Adelaide; W. R. Ray (1973) *Pultney Grammar School 1847-1972: a record*, The Council of Govenors of Pultney Grammar School Inc., Adelaide; John Tregenza (1996) *Collegiate School of St Peter Adelaide*, Collegiate School of St Peter, Adelaide; Clifford Turney (1989) *Grammar: a history of Sydney Grammar School 1819-1988*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney; B. R. Keith (ed.) (1961) *The Geelong College 1861-1961*, The Geelong College Council and The Geelong Collegians' Association, Geelong; P. M. Twynam (1977) *To Grow In Wisdom: the story of the first seventy-five years of the Methodist Ladies College 1902-1977*, Methodist Ladies College Council, Adelaide.

³¹ Geoffrey Sherington and Malcolm Prentis (1993) *Scots To The Fore: a history of the Scots College Sydney 1893-1993*, Hale & Iremonger Pty. Ltd., Sydney; Geoffrey Sherington (1983) *Shore: a history of Sydney Church of England Grammar School*, George Allen & Unwin, Sydney.

as it is documented in reports and used as a measure of achievement both for individuals and the school.

In *Ruyton Remembers*, Marjorie Theobald, who was teaching part time at the school at the time, related the developments in the school to a changing society. Society was evolving through wars, depression, economic boom and changing values. This gives the reader a broader picture of the school and its community.³² Both interviews and archives were used as sources of information. Ailsa Zainu'ddin also used interviews in compiling *They Dreamt of a School*.³³ She was an old scholar of Methodist Ladies College and therefore also wrote a history from the inside.

These histories use the students' memories but do not acknowledge the lived experience through their voices. A few oral histories of schools have been written such as, *A Celebration of Shore* was written for the school centenary and intended as a light hearted, personalised account of school life using the memories of old boys.³⁴ Their words are extensively used for this purpose. This publication was not intended as a traditional school history and therefore no analysis is included. *Knox In our own words...* consists almost entirely of quotes of old scholars as the title suggests.³⁵ These are anecdotal stories that are aimed at recapturing the school they experienced. The author clearly states that it is not an authoritative history as this has already been done. However, there is no analysis of the schooling experience and how this affected the rest of their lives. Christine Trimmingham Jack's study, "*Kerever Park: A history of the experience of teachers and children in a Catholic girls' preparatory boarding school,*

³² Marjorie Theobald (1978) *Ruyton Remembers*, The Hawthorn Press, Melbourne.

³³ Ailsa Zainu'ddin (1982) *They Dreamt of A School: a centenary history of the Methodist Ladies' College 1882-1982*, Hyland House, Melbourne.

³⁴ Peter Taylor (1988) *A Celebration of Shore*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney.

³⁵ Adrian Nisbett, Michael Lee, Cathy Charlton and Josephine Tait (eds) *Knox In our own words...* (1991) The Fine Arts Press, Sydney. See also, Desmond Zwar (1982) *The Soul of a School*, MacMillan Company of Australia Pty Ltd, Melbourne.

1944-1965" actively studies the schooling experience of students and teachers via a number of interviews and thus creating a broader, more balanced picture of the school.³⁶

It must be acknowledged that there are many histories of every school at any point in time; as many as there are participants in the school. Each teacher, student, grounds keeper, office worker, parent and community member will have a different story to tell. Zainu'ddin also points out that the most 'difficult part of writing a history is meeting oneself when young and coming to terms with one's own past in the light of the present'.³⁷ She did not differentiate between her perceptions from when she attended the school and when she wrote this history. This highlights the difficulty of writing from within the system where the researcher has bias as a result of her own schooling experience.

PAC has had two histories commissioned by the school council.³⁸ One was written by a Headmaster and the other was by an old scholar. Consequently they focus on the values and beliefs of the Headmaster of the time. The voices of the students who experienced the system were not heard in either of these traditional school histories. However, Gibbs does point out that there were no records such as interviews, questionnaires or memoirs available at the time of old boys' recollections. It is worth noting that at the end of the first year of PAC being established it was mooted that the recollections of the boys should be collected but this was never done until a number of tapes were made in 1990 to 1992 by R. M. Gibbs, the school historian.³⁹ There are no memoirs from the boys as students when they were still at the school, no diaries or memories or autobiographies that capture the feelings of the times. In order to

³⁶ Christine Trimmingham Jack (1997) *Kerever Park: A history of the experience of teachers and children in a Catholic girls' preparatory boarding school, 1944-1965*, Ph.D thesis, University of Sydney.

³⁷ Zainu'ddin, *They Dreamt of a School*, p. xiii.

³⁸ Gibbs, *A History of PAC*, and Ward, *PAC: the story of the first eighty years*.

³⁹ R. M. Gibbs was commissioned to write a school history of PAC, which was published in 1983. In order to collect information for future histories he was also commissioned to interview old scholars and masters. The interviewees ranged from those who had left the school three years ago to over thirty-five years ago. There is no documentation on how the interviewees were selected.

get the broad picture of a school it is essential to study the experiences of the students in conjunction with archives.

By sharing their school experiences and reading the experiences of the other interviewees who attended the school at the same time both normalises and puts into perspective their past experiences. It shows that their schooling experiences in the 1960s were normal for that time. For example, a number of the interviewees described themselves as being alone at school, yet many of the others described these loners as being in groups. Finkelstein argues that individual inner processes, which actually shape our thinking and are beyond the achievement of power and status have generally not been actively studied.⁴⁰ Borland takes this further by asserting that including the voices of those who experienced the school informs their perceptions, which then becomes a dynamic factor in defining who they are.⁴¹ Education needs to be analysed as something experienced by students as well as planned by schools and teachers. In the past recollections of students have been collected to add a human element to the histories. However, it appears that those in charge of the school vetted this and only those aspects that they wished to have publicly portrayed were published. The school had the final say in commissioned works. Therefore this type of school history provides support for statements about structure, planning and outcomes.

Recollections of individuals have been collected with historians as editors but these stories were not studied in order to elucidate the experience and perceptions of each individual. By following this pattern these histories tend to focus on school culture and achievements rather

⁴⁰ Barbara Finkelstein (1992) 'Educational historians as mythmakers', *Review of Research in Education*, vol. 18, p. 288.

⁴¹ Katherine Borland (1991) "'That's not what I said': interpretive conflict in oral narrative research', in Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai (eds), *Women's Words: the feminist practice of oral history*, New York, Routledge, p. 63.

than the unique experiences of those who participated in the school. These individual recollections may contradict the views presented in traditional school histories.

Traditional school histories are based on empirical evidence and boundaries such as student achievement in academic and sporting areas that can be measured. The lived experience is not so easy to measure because it deals with memory and individual perceptions. There is a need for an approach which includes both archival and oral data and shows the planned and unplanned learning.

The writing of histories involves historians putting events into words and their words are defined by their perceptions of those events. These are generally not the words of the people who were present at the event.⁴²

The question of whether we can rely on memory to accurately describe what happened in the past is irrelevant. What is important is the dominant memory, what has been retained through time and life. This includes how the experiences of those interviewed have influenced how they define themselves and others as masculine and how their school experiences have affected the rest of their lives, in terms of a dominant and identifiable school culture. This study taps into how, at the moment of interview, these men considered their school experiences affected them. There are advantages about interviewing adults because children only know their immediate experience. Adults can see how the school experience has influenced their perspectives throughout their lives. Their memories are edited and interpreted by later experience. Everyone has his/her own perspective of individual experiences. If you interviewed three students who had just been to the same class they would each have their

⁴² Caroll Smith-Rosenberg (1986) 'Writing History: language, class, and gender', in Teresa Lauretis (ed.) *Feminist Studies/Critical Studies*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, pp. 31-33.

own unique perspective of what they just experienced of the same situation. For this study the important issue is how their schooling experience affected each individual rather than the accuracy of their memories. Sutherland concludes that 'Only as an adult did the woman have the vocabulary and, indeed, the conceptual and contextual structure that enabled her to put her childhood feelings into words. Indeed the paradox is that the closer in time you try to probe the feelings of childhood, the further away they may go.'⁴³ This illustrates how important it is to interview the adult rather than the child in this kind of research.

Historical images of masculinity

To understand what is happening with boys in classrooms today, first we must understand the past. What did the masculinities of the 1960s evolve from?

From the mid-nineteenth century middle class British manhood was defined by a strong work ethic and included independence, piety, high mindedness, sobriety, chastity, bravery, endurance, adventurousness, competitiveness, loyalty and family dedication. This view of moral manliness became evident in schools where boys were taught to be manly by putting aside childish pursuits and growing up straightforward and honest. This included the productive use of restless energy, a driving sense of duty and an absence of frivolity, all of which were marks of a true man.⁴⁴

Traditionally the quickest way to join the brotherhood of men and to become a protector of the nation was to become a warrior, pitting man against man, the survival of the fittest. This was particularly true of American men. Attitudes such as the strong will destroy the weak as

⁴³ Neil Sutherland (1992) 'When You Listen to the Winds of Childhood, How Much Can You Believe?', *Curriculum Inquiry*, vol. 22, no. 3, p. 252.

⁴⁴ John Tosh (1991) 'Domesticity and Manliness in the Victorian Middle Class: the family of Edward White Benson' in Michael Roper and John Tosh (eds) *Manful Assertions: masculinities in Britain since 1800*, Routledge, London, p. 152.

in nature, prevailed in the late nineteenth century.⁴⁵ Those who survived war were admitted into the hallowed ranks of 'real' men. Conversely those who failed were perceived not to be made of the right stuff. Manhood was therefore achieved through military service.⁴⁶ There was honour in supporting wars and those who did not were considered unpatriotic, soft, weak and unmanly. This military culture of war being good, patriotic and the making of men was also strongly adhered to at the beginning of World War I in Australia. Middle class Australians saw the war as a way to gain social standing, even honour, through a good war record.

Public schools delighted in the great chance for war glory and there was nothing less than a frenzy of blood sacrifice: the Collegiate School of St. Peter in Adelaide is reputed to have prayed to God that it should end the war with the longest list of war dead of any Australian school.⁴⁷

Australian culture since Gallipoli has been based on a strong tradition of male heroism, military righteousness and physical prowess. Political leaders have long known that nothing rallies the populous like the boys marching off to war to the tune of a patriotic song. War is seen in a moral context and therefore justified. Physical courage is seen as a moral virtue and cowardice as a moral weakness. The effect of war on men is interesting since warfare creates male victims. During World War I warfare was regarded as a normal experience for men and a pathway for boys to reach manhood. This was an experience that they were expected to cope with, however, recent evidence suggests that many were unable to do so. Military authorities were quick to attribute this to an individual's moral or psychological weakness.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Donald J. Mrozeck (1987) 'The habit of victory: the American military and the cult of manliness' in J. A. Mangan and James Walvin (eds) *Manliness and Morality*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, pp. 232-235.

⁴⁶ Ray Raphael (1988) *The Men from the Boys: rites of passage in male America*, University of Nebraska Press, Nebraska, p. 67.

⁴⁷ McCalman, *Journeyings*, p. 60.

⁴⁸ Townsend, *Real Men*, p. 2.

During World War I Australian men were required to go to battle to protect their hearth and home. Therefore an essential part of their socialisation was through heroism and the suppression of fear. The war enabled young men to prove their manhood, win the girls and have an adventure at the government's expense. This was their chance to join the hallowed ranks of heroes. Until the slaughter of troops at Gallipoli, which forever changed the view that equated glory with war, nearly all Australians saw World War I as just.⁴⁹ Even after this tragic event the majority of Australians continued to view the war this way. These military ideals of manliness were taught and inculcated in Adelaide secondary schools in the early twentieth century. This military emphasis became considerably stronger during the Second World War period and was maintained to the end of the period considered in this research. Australians were very effective soldiers due to the similarity between male society and the military. The code of morals on which mateship was based suited war perfectly as it involved viewing the world in black and white terms, unquestioning loyalty and the suppression of emotions. Colling claims Australian men have great empathy with tragic heroes as they carry a collective culture of heroic failure including events like Gallipoli.

Waltzing Matilda should have been our national anthem, as it embodies all of the elements of the cultural hero: fearlessness, hardship, contempt for authority and a loser.⁵⁰

The military cult of manliness was built on victory and military heroes. Men became driven by a fear of inadequate manhood. However supporting war, which demonstrated their national pride and patriotism, could prove manhood.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Colling, *Beyond Mateship*, p. 49.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p. 56.

⁵¹ Myriam Miedzian (1992) *Boys Will Be Boys: breaking the link between masculinity and violence*, Virago Press Limited, London, p. 34.

Men were wooed as boys by a romanticised version of war that taught them to repress empathy, to be tough and fearless, not to cry and above all to value winning more than anything. This culminated in men in powerful positions making decisions unencumbered by moral and emotional concerns. They used their 'courage' to make decisions without concern for the suffering it would bring others. This was then perceived as the epitome of male rationality. Men who took control of the public world started to define humanity in terms of reason, which directly linked to manliness.⁵² Boys discovered at a very early age that war was respectable, as there were endless role models of great conquerors, heroic warriors and brave soldiers. Ideals such as bravery, sportsmanship, and old style community service were modelled by fathers and unquestioningly emulated by their sons.⁵³ Many parents were extremely proud of their sons' manhood that led to their patriotic willingness to sacrifice their sons in war. Young women also helped to reinforce this masculine ideal by viewing men in uniform as sexy, brave and dominant. Australian girls rewarded the enlistees and heckled the others, labelling them cowards and not real men. This military culture matched British values of war, patriotism and manliness. In a letter published in the Ladies' Home Journal during World War I, a father writes to his son:

Don't forget that the biggest thing that war can do is to bring out the man (in you). That's really what you and the other chaps have gone over for: to demonstrate the right kind of manhood.⁵⁴

⁵² Victor Seidler (1989) *Rediscovering Masculinity: reason, language and sexuality*, Routledge, London, pp. 14-18.

⁵³ Townsend, *Real Men*, p. 3.

⁵⁴ Miedzian, *Boys Will Be Boys*, p. 34.

Before World War I, few Australian men had the opportunity to prove their manhood in war. However, sport taught boys that victory was the ultimate source of pride and reward, real men were winners not losers. This reinforced the attitude of winning regardless of the emotional and physical cost, teaching boys to be tough, to repress empathy and not to let ethical concerns weigh too heavily when the goal was winning.⁵⁵ These qualities became identified with rational, realistic thinking that taught boys, from the youngest age, to willingly risk their lives in future wars. Sport was used to teach and preserve discipline and order amongst troops. A current illustration of the continuing link between sport and manliness is that the briefcase that contains the secret codes required to authorise the launching of America's nuclear weapons and follows the president day and night in case of attack is called the 'football'.⁵⁶

Nineteenth century American middle class boys had their own culture, as boys and men lived in two separate groups. During this period boys were often described as ill-mannered wild savages in contrast to men who were rational and unemotional. Boys had their own sub-culture with its own rituals, symbols and values, which were separate from those of girls, women and men.⁵⁷ This was a world that was free from adult intervention and was in sharp contrast to domesticity. They spent their time, usually outdoors, in sporting activities such as hunting, trapping, fishing and wrestling as well as goading others into fistfights. In the case of urban boys, they read stories about such boys. One of the bonds that held boy culture together was the pain that they inflicted on each other. They devised a variety of physical punishments from throwing stones to beating with a paddle on the bare bottom a newcomer in a boarding

⁵⁵ Anthony E. Rotundo (1987) 'Learning about manhood: gender ideals and the middle-class family in nineteenth century America' in Mangan and Walvin (eds) *Manliness and Morality*, Manchester University Press, London, pp. 36-37.

⁵⁶ Miedzian, *Boys Will Be Boys*, p.132.

⁵⁷ Anthony E. Rotundo (1990) 'Boy Culture: middle-class boyhood in nineteenth-century America' in Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen (eds) *Meanings for Manhood - constructions of masculinity in Victorian America*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, p. 15.

house. There was a violent and often sadistic world in which war games between the settlers and Indians were popular. They had endless rounds of competition and proved their worth through fighting each other. This was also a popular method for sorting out grievances on the spot. In this culture boys had autonomy and independence which gave them power. They participated in adventures by stealing and vandalising adults' property. Boys sought out confrontations with adults and rebelled against authority figures.⁵⁸

The advent of scouting, which was founded by the British general Sir Robert Baden-Powell in 1908, became an important training arena for some young boys. They attained rising ranks within the organisation by completing various activities, each of which earns a merit badge or rank. Boys were taught manliness through principles of good physical and moral health and the value of team games. This recreated the energetic action of the frontier man through honesty, decency, duty and honour. Scouting was aimed at popularising true manliness which was based strongly on sport and a military culture amongst British, American and Australian boys.⁵⁹ This was a training scheme for boys that directly linked manliness to the training and life of military scouts and frontier men, who were considered the 'real' men.⁶⁰ These images were popularised and idealised in stories about frontier men, adventurers and warriors.

As teachers and clergy who taught in Australian schools were themselves products of Imperial British culture they perpetuated a very strong imperial ideology within the school system that advocated patriotism and manliness. Schools' and boys' stories idealised brave adventurers, frontier men and warriors who demonstrated their courage and resourcefulness by surviving

⁵⁸ Rotundo, *Learning about manhood*, p. 45.

⁵⁹ Allen Warren (1987) 'Popular manliness: Baden-Powell, scouting and the development of manly character' in Mangan and Walvin, (eds) *Manliness and Morality*, pp. 199-204.

⁶⁰ John M. Mackenzie (1987) 'The imperial pioneer and hunter and the British masculine stereotype in late Victorian and Edwardian times' in Mangan and Walvin, (eds) *Manliness and Morality*, pp. 176-177.

in forbidding circumstances, thriving on excitement and danger.⁶¹ These ideals were popularised in boy's annuals, cartoons and stories and later by cinema, which spread around the empire. Popular Australian themes were bushfires, floods and droughts where men pitted themselves against nature and survived in primitive and unfamiliar regions. The male hero was highly moral and performed his extraordinary deeds against a socially approving backdrop. These heroes reflected a straightforward good and evil world, there was no in-between.⁶² These were highly romanticised views of the world and therefore had little bearing on reality. Notably not all of these heroes were warriors in the early twentieth century, many were adventurers.

In the everyday world of the late nineteenth century being the breadwinner was central to a man's identity and pride.⁶³ The connection between masculinity and a man's ability to be the breadwinner was the result of a worsening financial situation, which was due to a cheaper workforce consisting of women and children. A second factor may have come from the movement to attain higher education for women. This was seen as a further intrusion into what had been an all-male domain. Attempts to redefine femininity were inevitably interpreted as assaults on masculine privilege and therefore masculinity itself. This initiated strong defences of the male position which manifested themselves in attempts to demonstrate male superiority and female inferiority through arguments based on the Bible, biology, medical evidence and historical precedent. During the nineteenth century, as a result of the industrialisation process, fathers were away from home more often and work was generally less integrated in family life than before. Therefore, fathers became less known, more distant and increasingly associated with the outside world rather than with the home. Consequently,

⁶¹ Christine Heward (1988) *Making a Man of Him: parents and their sons' education at an English public school*, Routledge, London, p. 56.

⁶² Townsend, *Real Men*, p. 4.

⁶³ *ibid.*

there was a lack of male role models. Schools filled this gap for boys whose lives were otherwise predominantly controlled by women before and outside of school.

During the nineteenth century gender was empowered with its present ability to define a person both socially and morally.⁶⁴ In this period there was a significant shift from a general notion of masculinity, which could include affective qualities and such feminine features as self-sacrificing, to a definition of masculinity which not only eliminated these qualities but also laid down strict guidelines about appropriate behaviour. As the Empire stretched her tentacles further abroad an ever-increasing demand for armies, pioneers, frontiersmen and administrators was created. This gave rise to the proliferation of public schools for boys of the upper middle classes who aspired to military or civil service careers. Maturity for such boys basically meant moving from one all-male environment to another. These schools created a culture that valued male friendships, interests and attributes above anything female.⁶⁵ The common themes of patriotism, heroism, adventure, war and sport were essential in the inculcation of the masculine ideal in American, Australian and British boys. The ideal of masculinity in the nineteenth century Australia was based on the British ideal characterised by loyalty, honesty, courage and endurance. Boys were locked into society's ideal just as women were locked into the definition of femininity in the early twentieth century. Although the definition of femininity was widening during this period, Brice suggests that this ideal did not change much until the 1960s and 1970s when it was challenged by second wave feminism.⁶⁶ The ideals of Muscular Christianity and the Christian gentleman were two parallel and sometimes competing strands of masculinity during this period.

⁶⁴ Kimberley Reynolds (1990) *Girls Only? Gender and Popular Children's Fiction in Britain 1880-1910*, Harvester Wheatsheaf, Great Britain, p. 54.

⁶⁵ Reynolds, *Girls Only?*, p. 55.

⁶⁶ Ian D. Brice (1995) 'Australian Boys' Schools and the Historical Construction of Masculinity - An Exploratory Excursion', *Orthodoxies and Diversity: Proceedings of the Twenty Fifth Annual ANZHEC Conference*, University of Sydney, p. 42.

Muscular Christianity stemmed from the British ruling classes' desire to control the increased leisure time of the workers which resulted from the industrialisation process. This ideal became popular in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Manliness was developed in adolescence through discipline and exercise hence the emphasis on sport. Sandiford, states that Muscular Christianity

revolves around the basic notion that there is something innately good and godly about brute strength and power, so long as that energy is directed to noble purposes. Physical weakness is unnatural since it is only a manifestation of moral and spiritual inadequacy. It could be overcome by prayer, upright living, discipline and exercise.⁶⁷

The ideal of the Christian gentleman dates back to the time of knights. A gentleman was well-born upper class just below the nobility who had the right to carry arms. Gentlemen were honourable, kind, mild, quiet, moderate, not rough or severe. They were chivalrous, well-bred, educated men of good social position or of wealth and leisure.

As PAC was established in 1869 the principles on which it was based could be expected to reflect one or both of these concepts of masculinity.

Prince Alfred College 1869-1965

The foundation stone for Prince Alfred College (PAC or Princes) was laid on Tuesday, November 5th, 1867 by His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Alfred. PAC was opened in 1869 as a Wesleyan Methodist boys' college. It was the first Methodist College established in Adelaide, South Australia. At the end of the first year there were twenty boarders and sixty nine dayboys attending the school.⁶⁸ By 1949 there were 678 students enrolled.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Keith Sandiford (1994) *Cricket and the Victorians*, Scolar Press, England, p.35.

⁶⁸ Ward, *PAC: the story of the first eighty years*, p. 19.

⁶⁹ Gibbs, *A History of PAC*, pp. 35, 283.

The city of Adelaide was planned by Colonel William Light and established by free settlers in 1836. The original population was British and the promise of religious freedom was used to attract settlers to South Australia. This set the tone of the colony and therefore the schools that were established. The founders of PAC had strong backgrounds in Wesleyan schools and familial links to the members of Wesley's Legal Hundred which ran the Wesleyan movement in England. South Australia had a large immigration of Methodist people and 'its gospel of reward for hard work rather than supporting the privileged position of a few had special attractions in colonial society'.⁷⁰ Their greatest rival, particularly in sport, was Saint Peter's College, a Church of England school that was established twenty-two years prior to PAC. The religion of the ruling class in Britain was Church of England and this British view was brought to Australia with the people, even though the Church of England did not have the predominance in South Australia that it had in England. The Church of England tended to be wealthier than the Methodist Church. So the basis of the rivalry between the schools was religion and class, as Methodism was seen as a religion for the ordinary people whereas the Church of England faith was for the social elite.

Twenty-eight boys were enrolled on the first day, 18th January 1869. The school opened in a Pirie St hall in Adelaide city, while the school building was being erected. By May 1869 there were forty-four boys enrolled nearly all between the ages of ten and fourteen: four of these were minister's sons. Boarders were taken from the beginning of the school. In July 1869 the college building was completed. The school still stands on these grounds and the original building is the feature piece of architecture. More boarders were enrolled which almost doubled the size of the school and changed the make up of the students. Many of the boarders came from farms and mining towns in the South Australian countryside. As PAC opened

⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p. 8.

without a headmaster two ordained ministers took temporary charge of the school for the first six months. The lowest age of enrolment was seven years and students were required to be able to read and write. Ministers from all denominations, except the Church of England, were offered half price fees to send their sons to the school.

Samuel Fiddian was the first Headmaster of PAC, but he was not reappointed by the committee at the end of the first year. His father was a Methodist minister. He studied mathematics at Cambridge and then became a master at Wesley College, Sheffield. As a classical scholar he was probably responsible for the school's original motto, *Ubi non est scientia animae, non est bonum* (It is not good that the soul be without knowledge). The college prospectus stated the purpose of the school was 'to impart such an education as the age demands; whether to prepare pupils for active business life, for the learned professions, or the more advanced studies in connection with the Universities.'⁷¹

John Hartley became the second Headmaster in January, 1870. His father was also a Methodist minister, he was a good scholar like Fiddian and also English. He was twenty-six, recently married and had strong ideals as a result of his family background and the educational ideas of Mathew Arnold which he absorbed. He reported at the end of 1870 that the twenty-eight boarders 'were diligent in their study and behaved as Christian Gentlemen towards each other.'⁷² Hartley had a degree in Arts and Science from London University. He started science at the school and ordered the necessary equipment. He emphasised the sciences in contrast to Fiddian who emphasised the classics. The school council was satisfied with his performance and by August 1875 the school was out of debt for the first time. Hartley left the school at the end of 1875 to take up the appointment of full-time president of

⁷¹ *ibid.*, p. 37.

⁷² *ibid.*, p. 42.

the new Council of Education, which was the forerunner of the State Department of Education. He was also involved with the establishment of the University of Adelaide.

Fredric Chapple was headmaster of PAC from 1876 until 1915, thirty-nine years. On arrival in Adelaide he was thirty years old, married with five children. Both of his parents were Presbyterians but whilst attending a Methodist school he converted to Methodism and was a devoted Christian. He was educated at London University studying at night and graduating with degrees in Arts and Science. He believed that moral training was as important as academic training but also did a lot for science teaching at the school, taking most of these classes himself. His philosophy was that the will controlled the development of boys and therefore had to be trained to choose the moral, right and true path. Exams demonstrated boys' stable characters, sobriety, manliness and purpose. He believed in, promoted and reinforced the ideals of muscular Christianity. These ideals emphasised being physically active, brave, enduring, truthful, fair, stoic and victorious as well as spreading the word of God, using Christ as a role model and helping those less fortunate.

William Bayly took over from Chapple in 1915 and followed the established mould of muscular Christianity but emphasised military manliness. In this vein he changed the school motto to *Fac Fortia et Paterie*, Do Brave Deeds and Endure, to be more manly and war-like. Bayly was the former second master of PAC but had left the school for five years to be the headmaster of Geelong College. He was an old scholar from a modest background. After attending the school for three years he became a pupil teacher at the age of fifteen and taught mathematics and Latin. He studied at University and also obtained degrees in arts and science. He was thirty-four and very experienced when he took over as headmaster, a position he held for fifteen years.

John Ward became the College's fifth headmaster in 1930. He was married and had four children and was aged forty-six. He was an old scholar and had grown up in Adelaide, but was born in Manchester. He had an outstanding academic career, graduating from University of Adelaide with first class honours in classics, with the highest examination results to date. He was the first Rhodes Scholar for South Australia. Later he completed a Masters of Arts degree. He taught at PAC for two years and then became the second master at Rockhampton Grammar School in Queensland. Prior to his appointment at PAC he was the first headmaster of the Wesley College, Perth, Western Australia. He was a devoted Christian and faithful to his Methodist upbringing. The school culture did not alter much under Ward's command as he concentrated on strong morals based on duty, justice, integrity and self-discipline rather than educational change. The ideals of muscular Christianity were strongly entrenched and encouraged through this period. He retired at the end of 1948, after serving eighteen years as Headmaster.

John Dunning, the sixth Headmaster was at the school for twenty years. He was born and educated in New Zealand and brought up Protestant. Dunning strongly believed in muscular Christianity and continued to promote it throughout the school. His school and masculine ideals are discussed in Chapter 4: School Culture.

The original school building was architecturally designed, three stories in the front and four at the back as a result of the slope of the ground. The main entrance opened into a hall with a staircase going to the upper floors and the basement. On the sides were a reception room and classrooms and there was a large classroom at the rear. The first floor had an apartment and a drawing room. The bedrooms and two large dormitories were situated on the upper floor. The basement contained the kitchen, dining hall and other domestic rooms. The Waterhouse wing was added in 1878 and included the first chemistry laboratory and physical science classroom

in South Australia. The northern wing named the Colton wing was completed in 1882. A laundry room was built in 1921 but never used for that purpose. Due to high enrolments it was used as classrooms. In 1924 the Memorial building was erected containing eight classrooms, a physics laboratory, sports, music and cloakrooms as well as a tuck shop. The memorial library opened in 1929 with lists of those Old scholars who had fallen in war inscribed on the walls. The Memorial classroom block, which was added onto the Memorial building, was finished in 1955. The J. F. Ward memorial library was made by converting three classrooms in the Colton wing and was opened in 1956. This library was to have a greater emphasis on fiction and the old library was kept as a reference library for the senior boys. The new assembly hall opened in 1963 and it could seat all of the 900 boys enrolled.

Forty-four boys were enrolled by May 1869 at PAC. Classes were held from 9:00am to 12:30pm and from 2:00pm to 4:00pm in the afternoon. Enrolments had increased to 154 boys in 1873, 173 in 1877 and by 1917 reached 335 with 84 boarders. This was the first time the boarding house was full. By 1921 there were 473 boys attending the school. Record enrolments of 480 in 1923 and 400 in 1929 decreased to 333 in 1930 due to the depression. However, in 1941 numbers rose rapidly and exceeded the previous record set in the late 1920s. By 1949 they had reached 678, 808 in 1957 and 918 in 1967 (on average a fifth were boarders). It is worth noting also is that by 1955 seven families had four generations who had attended the school, giving the school a family atmosphere and tradition. Masters spending many years there and having a fatherly role also helped to create this atmosphere.

There was a tremendous denominational rivalry between Prince Alfred College (Wesleyan, Methodist) and Saint Peter's Collegiate School (Church of England), which still exists today. The early Wesleyans were determined to match or better the academic achievements of the

Anglican schools.⁷³ As Saints was established earlier than Princes there was great concern in the Wesleyan community that their boys would be indoctrinated with Anglican denominational instruction at secondary level, as they were compelled to attend Saints for want of any other secondary school. Therefore when Princes was opened, Saints saw it as competition for students that could effect enrolments. However, the Headmaster at Saints welcomed this competition with nineteenth century manly fortitude. After all, competition was healthy and Saints would survive this new challenge. Thus the rivalry began and became entrenched in both schools. PAC saw Saints as their greatest rival even after the other boys' colleges were established. Anglicanism was seen as the 'establishment' and the Wesleyans were challenging it. Academic and sporting results were always carefully scrutinised as a measure of each College's success and always compared to each other. On the sports field this rivalry was also played out in many ways. 'Intercollegiate' was the word used to describe these sporting struggles and became reserved for the sporting clashes between these two schools. Hence these 'intercollegiate' battles became the highlight competitions attracting the most spectators and they were documented in great detail in the school Chronicles and the daily papers until the end of the 1960s.

This rivalry continued throughout students' lives as old scholar competitions between the schools are still run today. An example of how entrenched this rivalry was can be seen in Mawson's successful 1911 Antarctic exploration team which included two PAC and two Saints old scholars. Their sleds carried their respective school flags as they raced each other across the Antarctic ice, accompanied by the shouts of school songs and war cries.⁷⁴ The fact that these men gave pride of place to their old school flags instead of the Australian flag is

⁷³ *ibid.*, p. 14.

⁷⁴ *ibid.*, p. 155.

significant in demonstrating just how incredibly strong their loyalty was to their schools and that this came above their loyalty to country.

In investigating the strands of masculinity to be found in PAC in the 1960s, it is important to recall the historical context of Adelaide society at that time.

South Australia and Adelaide in the 1960s

There were a number of significant events in the 1960s that affected South Australia, highlighting it as a time of increased technology and social change. In 1960 there was a cold war, men's shirts were white, their suits were baggy and their hair cropped short. Television was just starting to replace parlour games within family life. Young adults lived at home until they were married. The transistor radio allowed young people to listen to the top forty songs, anytime, anywhere. Fish, chips and hamburgers were the fast take away foods of the sixties.⁷⁵

Social changes started to be evident in 1965 when the decision was made to send an Australian battalion to Vietnam. There was a public voice about Vietnam and not everyone agreed. Australians saw on television long haired, drug taking young people, rebelling against their elders. These young people were dropping out of traditional society and creating new sub cultures. They were not following their parent's values as their own parents had done before them.

Long hair denim and loud music were signatures of the youth in the 1960s. More young people started to live in shared housing where the main piece of furniture was a stereo.

This was the decade of youth revolution, social, sexual and political radicalism. It featured the breakdown of parental authority, protest and street marches against conscription and the

⁷⁵ Michael Agars et al. (1980) *Australia in the 1960s*, Rigby Publishers Ltd., Melbourne, p. 113.

Vietnam war. All of these things happened but most of this only came to Australia in the last years of the 1960s. In many ways these changes were an acceleration of what had been happening for some time and not just amongst the young. Australian society started to question the established ways and traditional assumptions. Those from the previous generation were changing their ways and the youth of the 1960s would grow up in these changed ways.⁷⁶ The black and white rules on what made a man and a woman started to become grey. New masculinities started to evolve from the traditional stoic, strong, protector and breadwinner but only at the end of the 1960s.

The city of Adelaide experienced a number of changes and events during the 1960s. On March 14th 1960 the first Adelaide Festival of the Arts opened. This was to renew public interest in the arts and proved very successful.⁷⁷ 1963 was an eventful year in Adelaide. The Advertiser newspaper bought a computer, the first of its kind to print accounts amongst other tasks. This computer was the size of a kitchen table and saved thirty hours as the accounts could now be printed in six hours.⁷⁸ The Queen visited in February and had a private tour of the art gallery at her request. News that shocked the world was made in November when the United States president, John F. Kennedy, was assassinated.

In June 1964 the Beatles came to Adelaide where they gave two concerts and were greeted by thousands of hysterical teenagers. The World land speed record was set on Lake Eyre July, 1964.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ *ibid.*, p. 114.

⁷⁷ Peter Lord (1983) *125 Years of The Advertiser*, Advertiser Newspapers Ltd., Adelaide, p. 174.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p. 177.

⁷⁹ *ibid.*, p. 181.

In early 1965 the first kidney transplant in South Australia was done at the Queen Elizabeth Hospital. The same year Sir Thomas Playford retired as Premier of South Australia after almost twenty seven years and Roma Mitchell Q.C. of Adelaide became the first female judge in Australia. After sixteen years Robert Menzies retired as Prime Minister in 1966. He was the longest serving Australian Prime Minister. Also in 1966 the decimal system was introduced and men walked on the moon in 1969.⁸⁰

During the 1960s Adelaide experienced the great post-war influx of immigrants, the introduction of television, improvements in travel with the motor car and air travel which overcome distance and isolation. There was also rapid industrial expansion happening. These industrial and social changes were difficult for a city trying to recover from a depression and a war. Adelaide society did not adapt to these changes quickly. As stated by Gibbs, in his history of South Australia, 'many tended to cling to older ways, and in the process helped to maintain the image of respectability and sober habits.'⁸¹

Methodology

There are three types of historical writing - descriptive, narrative and analytical. Descriptive and narrative styles re-create history whereas the analytical style of history aims to understand and seek explanations. Analysis examines the direct and background causes of the topic. Direct causes are the short-term factors such as popular music, the things that cause specific outcomes. Background causes are the long term factors like the emphasis on sport in schools that effected the teaching of masculinity.⁸² The complexity of analytical research suggests that neither narrative nor descriptive methods are best for historical explanation because they can

⁸⁰ Itiel Bereson (1989) *Decades of Change: Australia in the twentieth century*, Heinemann Educational Australia, Sydney, p. 152-156.

⁸¹ R.M. Gibbs (1984) *A History of South Australia: from colonial days to the present*, Peacock Publications, Adelaide, p. 250-251.

⁸² John Tosh (1991) *The Pursuit of History: aims, methods and new directions in the study of modern history* 2nd. ed. Longman Group UK Limited, London, p. 116.

lead to assumptions being made about cause and effect. In such cases the reader is unable to validate the assumptions. Consequently in analysis, what is important is the significance and relationships of the events with each other. Each factor is weighed in turn without losing sight of its relationship with the topic.⁸³ The historical analysis method will be employed for this research.

Petersen argues that historical research is only as good as the material available due to the unspoken assumptions and values of every culture.⁸⁴ This must be taken into consideration by the researcher through a solid background understanding of early twentieth century Australian society. Written archives can also be limited by only showing what the author chose to write about, especially if these documents were written for the record.

PAC was chosen for this research, as the school archives are accessible and complete, whereas the records for state schools are often not as accessible or intact. Old scholars' associations and tradition are currently much stronger in a private school, making it easier to contact potential interviewees.

The fifty men interviewed were predominantly from middle class backgrounds. However, about fifteen of these men came from working class backgrounds. A number of those interviewed mentioned that there were two Chinese students attending at this time. There was no evidence found as to whether these boys were international students although one of the interviewees stated that there were international students at PAC during this period. The boarders were mostly farmers' sons, although there were a few interesting exceptions, which will be discussed later. The students' parents had sent them to PAC for a good education that

⁸³ *ibid.*, p. 117.

⁸⁴ R. C. Petersen (1992) *History of Education Research: What it is and How to do it*, R. C. Petersen, Sydney, pp. 30-33.

would stand them well in society with the belief that it was a privilege to attend. Methodists were not as wealthy as the Anglicans and therefore PAC was set up to cater for a broad range of students and not predominantly for the elite. The masters at PAC were a group of colourful characters in the 1960s, many of whom had been at the school for thirty years or more. As this was the post war period many of the teachers were unqualified, as there was a shortage of teachers. There were two Indian masters at the school during this time. Only two of the masters mentioned in the interviews were old boys.

Qualitative research asks “Why?”, “What does it mean?” Putting the emphasis on feelings, experiences and how they were remembered. I used interviews to find out how these men felt about their schooling and how it affected their lives. These interviews explored feelings and how and why people react in the way they do. Although I had a list of questions (see Appendix II) to ask the interviewees they had control over the order and format as they answered questions and as topics were explored in more detail, often covering a number of questions. The interviews were analysed by using themes such as school culture, discipline, religion, competition and success. Silences were also analysed as this is an important element of oral history as Barman states

Respect for the ways in which human beings choose to construct their childhoods puts the obligation on us to listen carefully, both to what is being said and to the silences. What men and women do not tell us often reveals as much as what they choose to reveal.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Barman, ‘Oh, No! It would not be proper to discuss that with you’, p. 62.

This research examines some men's experiences of masculinity while students at PAC and investigates the social construction of masculinities within some boys' experience at school and in society. This was achieved by analysing these particular men's accounts of how they learned to construct and define themselves and others as masculine. As a result this research only applies to PAC in the 1960s and cannot be accurately applied to the development of masculinity in other schools.

The main aim was to determine the definitions of masculinity at PAC and what was the 'ideal' form of masculinity presented and encouraged by the school. These questions were answered by asking exploratory questions of the sources. How were masculinities defined within the school system? What impact did the school have in the reproduction or transformation of these masculinities? To what extent did PAC emphasise and reinforce masculinities as one of the functions of the school? How were boys indoctrinated into the school's culture? How did the school culture influence the definitions of masculinity? Did the school present different definitions of masculinity as being acceptable? Were boys given the opportunity to challenge masculine 'ideals' in their schooling? How did the leadership roles assigned to boys at school reinforce the ideal masculinity?

An in-depth analysis of curriculum and related factors such as subject choice and availability and their role in the teaching of masculinity are beyond the scope of this study. Although PAC is a Methodist church school an in-depth study of the active teaching of and living by a religion (such as hymn singing, preaching and Christ as a role model) were also not investigated. However, the culture of Christian manliness is explored. As the focus of this research is on the school's representation of masculinity the boys' sexual development and experiences are also not included. This research looks primarily at boys' schooling and their socialisation into men. In addition to interview data, the interpretation and analysis of archival

sources is employed to determine the school's definition of masculinity in the 1960s and how the boys experienced the school.

A secondary aim was to define the code of masculinity that was accepted and taught at the school and any other definitions of masculinity that were occurring simultaneously. The men interviewed left the school in year 10, 11 or 12 (called Intermediate, Leaving and Leaving Honours, respectively in the 1960s). University entrance could be gained on successful completion of Leaving when students matriculated. During the 1960s there was no real competition for university places and there were plenty of jobs available. As there were fees associated with going to University which few could afford, many students from PAC applied for and won scholarships to attend the University of Adelaide, the only university in South Australia at the time. Most other students went into their fathers' business or farm. The minority who did not do this used the school connections with business and the professions to get a job.

The school Chronicles are utilised as secondary sources in this research. These show the organisation of the school, the views of those running the school and the school culture. However, the Chronicles are limited in that they only represent positive events and not generally the boys' ideas and thoughts about schooling and masculinity. Although, the Chronicles appear to be the boys' work that has been vetted by the masters prior to publication. Therefore only views acceptable to the school staff are likely to have been presented.

These magazines also include school generated material written by staff and advertisements that illustrate 'ideal' masculinity. This material, directed at students, allows the reader to perceive the world that they were being prepared to take their place in. The interviews and

school magazines provide information that will further the understanding of masculinity and masculine behaviour from the student's point of view. Therefore their words will be used to tell their stories as only they can, without losing further meaning through editing or rewriting. In this research my words will describe the context, based on interviews and archives, but this will be illustrated with their words.

This study is based on the actual experiences of students which are therefore as varied as the individuals. It analyses how boys felt and reacted to the schooling rather than their achievements in later life. The group of interviewees chose to participate in the study and includes those who enjoyed their schooling as well as those who did not. Whether they enjoyed the school or not did not matter because their experience helped to define who they were by giving them a personal construct that became a building block for the rest of their lives as men.

I attended a coeducational state high school interstate and therefore had no experience of the South Australian school culture. Having come from a very different background and bringing my own unique perceptions to this study, it is free of the particular biases of authors who have personal experience of the school. Although not having attended PAC or having any family connection with the school, I did relive my schooling through listening to and reading the interviews. I was also surprised to find that a number of their memories of schooling were very similar to my own, as my preconception was that it would be very different.

Initially, I contacted the school to obtain permission to approach the Old Scholars Association in order to access their book of names and addresses. This also made the school aware of my research. The president of the Old Scholars Association sent me a book of contacts after I had signed a confidentiality statement. This book had been compiled by word of mouth and

included current contact addresses and careers of those listed, some of whom no longer had any contact with the school. The men interviewed were self-selected for this research in that everyone who left the school from 1960-65 (140 students) was contacted individually by letter and asked if he was interested in participating. Those who were willing and had the available time were interviewed. Fifty-five out of the one hundred letters returned, replied in the affirmative, even one currently residing in Malaysia.

The men interviewed came from a wide variety of careers including; actor, social worker, crematorium operator, technician, farmer, managing director, doctor, medical specialist, stockbroker, police officer, clerk, magistrate, politician, real estate agent, accountant, lecturer, teacher, graphic artist, clerk, journalist, engineer, professional soldier, cricketer, architect, and consultant. Ten of those interviewed were third generation students, nineteen were second and twenty-two were first generation, demonstrating a strong family tradition to the school. Most of those who were first generation PAC had a family connection to the school through the mother's side or uncle's. It was noted that their sisters attended similar church schools for girls, predominantly Methodist Ladies College (now Annesley College) and Presbyterian Girls College (now Seymour College), with the exception of three who attended state high schools.

Thirty out of the fifty interviewed were the eldest child including four only children. Most started at the school in either year five or year eight which were the two major intake years at PAC, however there were some exceptions with four boys attending for the last two years only and eight boys starting in years one to three. There were eight permanent boarders and four individuals who spent various periods boarding when their parents were overseas.

Most felt that their parents sent them to PAC for a good education, the religious culture and family tradition. Being able to attend PAC was regarded as a privilege by all those interviewed. Most of the men interviewed had lived in areas close to the school or in middle class suburbs in Adelaide, only a few came from working class areas. All the men who came from working class backgrounds received sports, academic or church scholarships to attend PAC. In one case a boy's mother was the school nurse and part of her agreement with the school was that her son boarded as her accommodation at the school was not large enough for both of them (see Appendix I). I did not interview any brothers although many described their perceptions of their siblings' experiences at the school.

Interviews were conducted on an individual basis with all transcripts and written material approved by the interviewees prior to any publication. These interviews were conducted informally with a flexible format in a comfortable environment of the interviewee's choice, such as their workplace, the University of Adelaide or their home. The environments where the interviews took place were important in keeping the interviewees at ease; although initially I found the surrounding noise could be distracting and thereafter specified a quiet area where possible for the interview to take place. A set of open-ended questions was used (see Appendix II) as the basis for the interviews and guiding questions were used as necessary. They were not asked in a specified order but guided by the responses of the interviewees. They were asked for biographical data such as number of siblings, what other school/s they attended and when they started at PAC. Participants often questioned the open-ended format I used for these interviews as not being direct enough and too broad. Interviewees often stated that they were expecting more direct questions such as, 'What do you remember about a particular master?' rather than, 'What do you remember about the masters?' Therefore guiding without directing responses became a very important skill. I also explained to the participants that the questions were developed to be open so that the

responses would be unprompted and their memories would be recalled in the order that they came to mind. Consequently, the most dominant memories of their schooling experience were recorded in these interviews. Therefore other than the title of the research the interviewees were not prepared for the questions.

The interviews were taped with the written consent of the interviewees (Appendix III), and where further exploration of issues was needed, written responses were obtained. At the commencement of each interview I explained that I would be taping the interview for transcription purposes. When a tape recorder is used in an interview it becomes a factor in that interview. It allows for transcription and lets participants speak in their voice and creates an accurate record. Tape recorders enable the interviewer to concentrate on what is being said rather than writing it down accurately. As noted by Thompson, interviewees may not be as open when there is a permanent record being made of what they say.⁸⁶ The tape recorder is therefore not neutral but an active part of the interview process with the ability to facilitate or restrict communication. This was noted in these interviews by some of the more sensitive information being given after the tape was switched off. The men all appeared to be very confident and comfortable both with their professional and personal selves. They demonstrated this by answering questions in a confident manner with a steady, clear voice and looked straight at me during the interview process. Forty of the interviews were conducted face to face and the other ten were conducted by phone. The phone interviews were conducted in the evening when the interviewees were at home and were used to accommodate country and interstate interviewees. The starting times of interviews ranged from 8am to 9:30pm. The interviews took from twenty minutes to over an hour depending on the interviewee, most were about forty to forty five minutes in length, excluding the discussion time before and after

⁸⁶ Diane J. Thompson (1996) The Tape-Recorder as a Mediating Factor in Research, *Australian Educational Researcher*, vol. 23, no. 3, pp. 1-2.

the interview. The phone interviews often went longer and were easier to conduct than the face to face interviews. This could be because there was not the barrier often created by talking directly to a person, instead they were talking into a phone which may have made them feel more at ease. The men often talked for up to half an hour after the interview and this became another excellent source of information.

In order to be successful the interviews were carefully planned while still allowing the flexibility to guide the interviewee. These men were very direct in their manner in all communications, which was something I was not expecting and had to learn to accommodate. Most of the men interviewed held positions of power in their careers and were therefore accustomed to being in control and leading conversations. They were not used to being questioned. This became evident when prior to the interview they all asked a few questions such as 'What is this for?' 'What is your interest in it?' 'What is your connection with the school?' 'Did the school hire you?' 'Did your husband attend PAC?' I did not feel that despite being female and close in age to some of their children, interviewing men was a major factor. However, I expected it to have some effect and therefore initially left out questions relating to sex because of a concern that they would not be comfortable answering and that this could interfere with their responsiveness to other questions. The third man I interviewed asked me why I had not asked about sex and from this point on I added a question, which they all answered, often in detail. Again, I found this quite surprising but similar to Barman's experiences as a woman interviewing men. She also found that men were very confident about openly sharing the details of their childhood.⁸⁷ Then, after this brief conversation, they said something like 'Right, let's get on with it'. After completing the interview, statements and questions asked ranged from 'I don't understand what those questions have to do with masculinity?', 'I hope the information I gave you is useful.' to 'What do you expect to find

⁸⁷ Barman, 'Oh, No! It would not be proper to discuss that with you', p. 63.

out?', 'I would like to know what you find out.' and 'Who else have you interviewed?'

This was often followed by suggestions of other men who they thought would be good to include in the sample. A number of interesting recollections were related to me after the interviews such as how the boarders used to sneak out at night to meet girls in town and to smoke. Tunnels under the school, a left over from the war, were their pathway to freedom. Quotations in this document have been taken exclusively from the taped information.

The interviewees ranged from those who spoke easily to those who found it more difficult to express their experiences which made the interviewing process more challenging. Some remembered a lot more detail and were prepared to talk more about their experiences at school than others. This appeared to be the result of how they remembered their schooling either in detail or as a whole. Being able to actively listen and resist the temptation to share experiences became an essential skill. However, as previously mentioned, much extra information was revealed in talks after the interview and the tape recorder was turned back on or notes were taken. In some cases I was asked to turn the tape back on to record the information they remembered. Those interviewed included men who enjoyed their schooling experience and those who did not enjoy it at all. When I inquired why they wanted to be interviewed the two most common answers were, 'I had a great time at school' and 'I wanted you to get both sides of the story'. All were very keen to participate, for example, on one occasion my tape recorder would not work so I asked the interviewee if he had time for another appointment to which he replied 'Well, I'm not being missed out!' It is worth noting that this was someone who did not enjoy his schooling experience.

The interviews were then transcribed using a number of methods. Firstly by myself which proved to be very time consuming. Secondly by a typing service which was expensive, time consuming and often inaccurate. Thirdly using IBM ViaVoice, which is a continuous speech recognition program from IBM. Continuous speech recognition means that you can speak naturally, without pausing between words. Many other speech recognition technologies require the distinct pronunciation of individual words. This makes the process of dictating using ViaVoice much more natural, and considerably quicker, as well as freeing the dictator from having to consciously think about each word that he or she speaks into the microphone. While not the only continuous speech recognition program on the market, it was the cheapest at the time, being at least half the price of competitors.

The ViaVoice program proved to be a very accurate, inexpensive and relatively quick method of transcribing once the program had been trained to my voice. The time taken for corrections was cut drastically as this was completed during the transcribing process. To use ViaVoice I listened to the interviews through the headphone and dictated into the headphone microphone. This new technology was highly successful as it simplified the transcribing process. In summary, ViaVoice is an excellent tool for transcribing interviews, particularly for those who cannot touch type. Finding accurate, affordable and time-effective methods for interviewing and transcribing is of benefit to all oral history researchers.

I found two major difficulties when transcribing these interviews. Firstly, during the interviews the tape recorder picked up all the surrounding sounds like chiming clocks, telephones, radios and street traffic. This made some of the tapes very difficult to understand. Some men spoke very softly or their voices tailed off, usually at the end of a sentence. The interviews were transcribed verbatim to allow determination of normal speech patterns and their points of emphasis. The importance of clear instructions in all correspondence was

highlighted by a phone call I received about a transcript I sent the participant stating that it made him sound like a 'dolt'. Even after rewriting my letter explaining why the transcripts were verbatim for analysis and the ums, ers and ahs would be left out in any publication, many men still corrected the language in the transcripts. This is because most people are unaware of the great difference between spoken and written language. A copy of the tapes, interview transcripts, and a copy of each participant's written consent were deposited in the PAC archives.

This study is about writing men's experiences back into history as feminists wrote women's perspective back into history. It gives a more balanced picture of PAC in the 1960s as it recognises and uses the voices of the students and compares this to the school archives to create a history based on the lived experience of schooling and how this affected them throughout their lives.

Oral history is essential for understanding the history of masculinity and how schools have replicated or challenged these ideals. This type of research can enable teachers to understand this process and make schooling a positive experience for all those involved. I found the process of interviewing these men sometimes challenging, but very rewarding, and collected a great deal of information. I had set out to interview a number of public and prominent men, but ended up listening to the individuals and their school experiences. I expected to interview men who would not necessarily be particularly open about their feeling and experiences at school. However I found them to be very open about most of their experiences, there were not as many silences as I expected to find.

Defining masculinities and how these are replicated, or not, through education in Australia can provide insights for the development of new teaching methodologies that acknowledge students as unique individuals, thus assisting the elimination of narrow stereotypes of masculinity and femininity. This may lead to the underlying issue of equal opportunity rather than gender, as people are individuals comprised of many parts such as socioeconomic status, race, ethnicity, geographic location, upbringing, schooling, class etc and not just masculinity and femininity. All men are certainly not the same, just as all women are not the same, or for that matter all white middle class Australians are not the same. The interviewees had important individual characteristics and differences which were revealed in their accounts of experiencing masculinities at PAC. This was clearly evident in the marginalised individuals.

Chapter 2: Religion

PAC's founders and successive administrators considered formal religious practice an essential component for development of boys into men. Throughout every part of the school and the associated activities the boys were exposed to Christian values and morals. However, most of the men interviewed stated that they did not see religion as an important part of their schooling and that it was not pushed. There was a marked similarity of comments made by the interviewees on religion, which may be due to the school and students having different definitions of religion. However, the essence of Methodism was based on personal conviction rather than following strict rules and methods. This explains the school's approach to religion as not a set of rules enforced, but a matter of personal belief and inner response which was then shown in practical service in the community and moral living.

Methodism

Methodism arrived in South Australia in 1836 with the first British settlers. Wesleyan Methodism evolved from the religious beliefs and experiences of John Wesley (1703-1791), who devoted his life to finding a way to heaven. In 1728 he was ordained as a priest of the Church of England and shortly after this he became a fellow of Lincoln College at Oxford University. Here Wesley became the leader of a group of students called the Holy Club. The Holy Club devoted themselves to the pursuit of holiness through regular prayers, constant self-evaluation, the study of religious books, fasting and visiting prisoners and the poor. The other students called them 'Methodists', as their lives were so methodical. Later, however, Wesley had a conversion experience which gave him an overwhelming sense that salvation was a free gift from God, not something to be earned by religious devotion and righteous living. The method of winning salvation was transformed into a way of responding to God's

grace. Wesley proudly stated that a 'Methodist is one who lives according to the method laid down by the bible'.¹

Wesley preached outside of the strict boundaries set by the Church of England. He preached to working class labourers and people in unusual places, ignoring the parish bounds outside of which it was forbidden to preach. This was a response to the industrialisation process that created larger concentrations of workers in new areas. Initially Methodism was one of a number of independent bodies called societies that operated under the umbrella of the Church of England. These societies were mainly for charitable and missionary purposes. Eventually in 1791 Methodism, with its particular style of devotion, became a separate church, breaking from Anglicanism, although this was not the founder's intent. Methodism was considered an unconventional movement and was often given a hostile reception.²

There were three main doctrines of Methodism that set them apart from the Anglicans. Firstly, salvation was for everyone who lived by the bible. Secondly, assurance that by living by Methodism, the way a person behaved outwardly was the reflection of the inner spirit that God saw. This gave believers confidence to proclaim their faith and the courage to endure the challenges of life. Lastly, the ultimate aim was the conquest of inner sin and not just the performance of outward deeds. Methodism was about living according to the bible, helping others less fortunate and constant self-examination. This was a belief that was lived daily, not just at worship times or on a deathbed. Methodist believers were required to always strive to be better morally and never rest. Morality related to how to behave at home, with neighbours, at work and in fulfilling the duties of an employer or employee. These doctrines are clearly illustrated in the addresses given by the Headmaster and chaplain at school services during the period under investigation.

¹Arnold D. Hunt (1985) *This Side of Heaven: a history of Methodism in South Australia*, Lutheran Publishing House, Adelaide, p. 1.

² *ibid.*, pp. 1-22.

Before 1930 religious instruction at PAC consisted of a lesson on religion which was given to the whole school in the morning assembly. It was very difficult to present a lesson that was relevant and interesting to such a wide range of ages. Therefore it was decided to make the morning assembly entirely a religious service, as well as each form being given a Scripture lesson once a week during school hours. The form masters took these Scripture lessons until a full time Chaplain was appointed. The College Committee chose Reverend Perry, a Methodist minister and an old scholar, as the first Chaplain in 1945. As he had served in both world wars and was a league footballer, it was anticipated that he would have status amongst the boys that few other ministers could achieve.

In 1932 for the first time a service was held in the Assembly hall at the end of the school year. Students and their parents were invited to this service, which became a feature of the school year. Later a mid-year service was introduced.³ In 1945 these services were moved to Kent Town Methodist Church as the assembly hall was too small. However, in order to fill the church the Old Collegians and the Parents and Friends' Association were also invited. So many attended these services that extra seating was required.⁴

The Eric Freak Memorial Chapel was built in 1972.⁵ This memorial to a tennis player and an old scholar was built on the Headmaster's former tennis court, which was known as the 'holy half-acre'. The Chapel became the focal point of the school's spiritual life. Gibbs states that 'the chapel, long anticipated, carried the ideal of an earlier age – that a boy should become a Christian gentleman.'⁶ This research strongly shows that this ideal was still the dominant definition of masculinity that was taught and reinforced throughout the school.

³ Ward, *PAC*, pp. 184-185.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 209.

⁵ Eric Freak was an old boy who left his estate to the school.

In a 1965 sermon on pressures, loyalties, standards and values, the Headmaster used the following story from PAC life that illustrates these factors.

This year a boy came across a group in the midst of what we might call Operation Bullying. He said something like this to them, 'I am not strong enough to clean you up but, unless you stop, I am going to tell the Rev., or whatever name the boys happen to be calling Mr. Waters at the time. He won't tell you who told him but you will know that I did'. This boy did not shrink from his duty and did not fear what others would think of him. The boy was John Miles of VI B who was called to his rest two weeks ago after a short illness. Suffering always from a very weak heart, he yet entered very fully into the life of the School and thoroughly enjoyed it, never fretting over those things he had to miss. In previous years he had not won a School prize, but his name appears three times on this year's list. The Ward Library book he had at home at the time of his death was 'The Life of Christ' by Basil Mathews. We remember him with pride. P.A.C. and this land could ill afford to lose such a young man. Would that we all will be as ready to meet our Maker as I am confident John Miles was when he was called home.⁷

The Chaplain's mid-year address reiterated the importance of giving good service to your community and school.

Speaking on the general theme of 'Service', the Chaplain indicated that everyone may do one of two things with his life. He may give it, or he may sell it. Those who do the former are often thought imprudent, as when the women broke a jar of precious ointment over Jesus. It was an act of pure love, a gesture of the noblest kind, but it provoked the chilled criticisms of the market place ... 'Surely this ointment might have been sold!' Too often something like this is the world's reaction to outstanding acts of unselfishness or dedication, as when professional skill is given in service with little prospect of economic reward and with

⁶ Gibbs, *A History of PAC*, p. 344.

⁷ *Prince Alfred College Chronicle*, April 1963, p. 7.

absolutely no social advantages. Then is the judgement of the marketplace sure to be heard

... 'Might this ointment have been sold for so much?'⁸

The Christian ideals of giving back to the community and helping others were backed up in the school magazine editorials.

Yet let us not be indifferent and complacent towards what is going on around us, for the "fac" of our school motto, in demanding action, should prevent this. Rather, let us be eager to perceive and evaluate what is good, and to give the praise and encouragement that are deserved by those whose time is selflessly spent for the betterment of community life.⁹

Religious instruction

During the mid 1960s PAC had a formal assembly every morning that included a Bible reading, prayers and hymns. This took about a third of the assembly time. The rest was announcements including sporting results from the previous weekend and notable achievements of students. These services were short, starting with a hymn, then a bible reading and concluding with another hymn. They were not very participatory so the boys could be thinking of anything at the time, except possibly when they were singing. This also shows that the Methodism that was practised at PAC and indeed in most places in the 1960s emphasised personal belief and demonstrating this by living morally. Methodism shaped the boys' world at school and therefore their lives. The boys were taught and learnt Christian morals both overtly and covertly in everything they did at school. These values and morals were very much a part of the curriculum at PAC. The Methodist hymnbook was very important, as hymn singing was a major component of the service and a vital part of the Methodist heritage.

⁸ *ibid.*, April 1962, p. 8.

⁹ Editorial, *PAC Chronicle*, April 1960, p. 3.

Always morning assembly which was basically near enough to a church service without a sermon, every morning. You did religious studies certainly once a week.¹⁰

You had assembly every morning ... so there was school notices, there was a lesson read, Kyle Waters was the chaplain in those days and there would have been at least one hymn sung. If you were late and missed assembly you had to have a written excuse signed by your parents in your report book. So it was not taken lightly, you were expected to be there for morning assembly.¹¹

It played a very important part when I first joined the school, particularly in the junior school we had the catechism. It was a little prayer, verse book, a little thin thing, I don't know who wrote it, I don't know how it came about but they called it a book of catechism. I don't even know what the word means. We had a prayer book and a hymn book, but as we got through towards your final years it didn't play as important a role, like you didn't have the church services. You had the end of year church service, mid-year church service they were compulsory but it wasn't as important towards the end of the school life.¹²

Well there was hymn singing and prayers in assembly every morning, there was a Bible reading. We had to have our own bible/hymn book, it was on the book list and you had to have it. And you took that to assembly every morning and one of the prefects were rostered to read the Bible reading and I think there was hymn singing. Obviously it didn't make a great impression on me. (laughing)¹³

We had chapel service every fortnight at Kent Town Methodist where we trooped up the hill. I thought it was a good part and I think it also propagated the idea that you were part of a

¹⁰ Interview with GE, p. 6. All quotations from interviews are italicised and will henceforth be referred to by initials.

¹¹ IC, p. 6.

¹² AG, p. 4.

religious environment. There was this pastoral aspect irrespective of your religion and you hope that people went out with that later in life.¹⁴

Religion was certainly there, we had religious instruction and we had a formal assembly where prayers were conducted each morning. Whether they were taken seriously or not at the time or it was just a matter of course, it's hard to say.¹⁵

Contrary to most of those interviewed, the following student felt that religion was compulsory and pushed on them.

It did play a fairly big part but I sort of got sick of that being forced on to me. I'm probably not that sort of person, one of the things where too much and you object, but it didn't move me in a lot of ways. When I reached my teens I sort of dropped it and never went on with it at all.¹⁶

All of the boys had Scripture lessons once a week. The boarders went to evening prayers and church every weekend. Each term everyone walked to Kent Town Methodist Church for a church service as well as for the mid-year and annual school services which parents and friends were also invited to attend. The few interviewees who attended church outside of the school tended to view religion as important. A number saw the religion at school as token and not something to be taken seriously. The structured side of religion such as services and Scripture lessons was not seen as very important or strongly emphasised by many. They could take it or leave it, but it was their choice.

Religious instruction was a compulsory segment of class, taken by the Chaplain, who handled most matters of life in this period, including sex discussions. But religion was not an

¹³ AN, p. 4.

¹⁴ GD, p. 3.

¹⁵ TY, p. 4.

overriding aspect, despite Princes being a Methodist school. Prayers, the lesson and Bible readings by the prefects were given every morning at assembly, It neither convinced, persuaded or dissuaded me from religion.¹⁷

Religion was always there but not jammed down your throat but you were taught what religion was and how to live, not in a strictly religious manner, but in a reasonable manner, taking into account that what you did affected other people.¹⁸

We went to Sunday school when I was a boarder and there were some religious sessions but not much and I got married in the PAC chapel, Kyle Waters was still around at the time but apart from that it didn't have any overbearing ethos at all. People really could either tag along with it or leave it.¹⁹

Most of those interviewed were not Methodist. Religion outside of school involved different denominations but the religious morals were similar. About a third of those interviewed attended church or Sunday school outside of school. Some went more for the social interaction.

Religion at school was a fairly, well it was a non-conformist blanc mange of religion rather than pushing any denominational doctrine and my family is nominally Anglican and so I used to go to Anglican church, at one stage Sunday school, but there didn't seem to be much in conflict between the two.²⁰

¹⁶ TG, p. 3.

¹⁷ ID, p. 6.

¹⁸ NR, p. 3.

¹⁹ RF, p. 3.

²⁰ AP, pp. 4-5.

*I didn't get involved in religion outside until I left school. I think I went to church to meet girls.*²¹

There was a PAC Student Christian Movement that held fortnightly meetings, with invited speakers and panels to answer student questions. Panels were often made up of masters and guest speakers were usually local Ministers who spoke on topics like, 'Looking at Books', 'Christianity and Other Religions', 'Communism in Europe', 'The Modern Image of the Church', 'Two Young Men' and 'Seven Paths to Peace'.²² A committee of students elected by the students selected all the speakers. The students also ran debates and discussion groups that involved student participation. This appears to have been a small group of about twenty to thirty students involved in these activities out of a school of three to four hundred.²³ None of those interviewed mentioned this group or participating in it.

School chaplain: Kyle Waters

Kyle Waters took up the appointment of school Chaplain in 1955, after Charles Perry retired.²⁴ Gibbs, in his history of PAC describes Kyle Waters as 'approachable and respected as chaplain'.²⁵ He served a term as president of the Methodist Conference in 1972.

Apart from leading worship during morning assemblies, Kyle Waters also organised and led the mid-year and annual school services. These services became known as the Easter and Christmas services in the early 1970s. He taught religious education once a week to all classes

²¹ DG, p. 3.

²² *PAC Chronicles*, Oct 1960, p. 7; April 1962, p. 21; Oct 1964, p. 8; Oct 1963, p. 8; April 1965, p. 8; Oct 1962, p. 8.

²³ *PAC Chronicles*, 1960-65.

²⁴ Gibbs, *A History of PAC*, p. 304.

²⁵ *ibid.*, p. 338.

in the preparatory and the senior schools. These classes tended to be a 'chat with the chaplain' session, as there was no set syllabus and it was not formally examined.

The Chaplain's role included counselling. He was available for those who were having difficulties, such as having a seriously ill parent or grieving for a grandparent. He also coached some sports teams, which kept him more directly involved with the boys. The boys seem to feel that he was very approachable and they could ask him about anything to do with life, which included queries about sex. They felt comfortable enough to ask these questions. He was always visibly present at school occasions and available for a chat during lunch breaks. He made an effort to get to know all the boys on a personal level and made them feel that he was interested in them as individuals.

Well, Kyle Waters was a fairly dynamic, charismatic person within the school and, he did have some sort of pastoral role and did get beyond the master student sort of relationship. So, we had religious instruction once a week, traipsed off up to Kent Town Methodist church with monotonous regularity for various services, that was about it. We also had morning assembly.²⁶

Kyle Waters would have to be high up with most people, he was a joyous presence. Well he was just one of those characters that just got carried away with the whole thing and he's been a wonderful person to me and my family ever since I left school.²⁷

It was reasonably important, certainly more important than that we as boys imagined. The chaplain of the school was a really great fellow, actually he was a friend of everybody and everybody liked him. I particularly did and he was always very keen to support all the boys wherever we were at the time. He was a tremendous person, and through things apart from

²⁶ AP, p. 4.

²⁷ GE, p. 6.

*cold hard religion, he taught us a fair bit about life and he was a pretty important member of the school teacher community.*²⁸

He had an office that was described as 'being more like a broom closet' which was situated at the hub of the secondary school and quite separate from the administration block.²⁹

The Chaplain was variously described in the interviews as 'charismatic', 'open minded', 'kind', 'masculine', 'dynamic', 'magnificent', 'dominant', 'an eccentric character who acted out bible lessons to make it interesting for the students'.³⁰ He was seen by the students as a positive influence and was highly respected.

*I think Kyle Waters tried to make Scripture lessons interesting. We talked about, is there a God and that kind of stuff which was pretty radical in those days. He even taught us how to clean our teeth in one lesson and I've never forgotten because I now treat my teeth according to the way Kyle taught us.*³¹

From these students' comments he seems to have been an excellent teacher who happened to also be the school chaplain. He was often referred to, as 'The Kyle' but had no other nickname. There were only two other masters talked about in the interviews who were not referred to by nicknames. These were David Mattingley, a young English teacher, and Chester Bennett, the sports master. These masters were widely liked, respected and remembered fondly by the students. The Chaplain's four sons attended PAC during this time and one of those was interviewed. He remembered his father as being highly regarded and an integral part of the school. He was open to being challenged about religion and let the boys make up their own minds about what they believed and what religious path, if any, they chose to

²⁸ DB, p. 3.

²⁹ MH, retired deputy Headmaster of PAC 1972-1998. Interview not transcribed.

³⁰ DL, p. 3.

³¹ GS, p. 4.

follow. The boys saw him as a positive role model. All of the men interviewed remembered Kyle Waters and nearly all in a positive, fond manner.

Hymns at assembly were hand picked by the Chaplain. The students' favourite hymns like 'Onward Christian Soldiers' were sung with such enthusiasm that the 'roof would lift off the assembly hall'.³² Three to four hundred boys were singing at the tops of their voices.

*Well, I mentioned 'Onward Christian Soldiers' as a real sort of fiery type, great song, great words ... singing was not exactly a masculine thing, but people were yelling and trying to outdo each other and not holding back at all.*³³

*There were at least two hymns in the service every morning, always picked out by Kyle, who would lead it off with great gusto and everyone would carry on with him.*³⁴

There was also a school hymn, yet none of the interviewees mentioned it.

School Hymn

Lift up your hearts! We lift them Lord, To Thee;
Here at Thy feet none other may we see;
Lift up your hearts! E'en so, with one accord
We lift them up, we lift them to the Lord.

Lift every gift that Thou Thyself hast given;
Low lies the best till lifted up to heaven;
Low lie the bounding heart, the teeming brain,
Till, sent from God, they mount to God again.

Then, as the trumpet-call, in after years;
Lift up your hearts, rings peeling in our ears,
Still shall those hearts respond with full accord:
We lift them up, we lift them to the Lord!³⁵

³² NG, p. 3.

³³ *ibid.*

³⁴ GE, p. 6.

³⁵ N. E. Peard (ed.) (1961) *Prince Alfred College School Songs*, Prince Alfred College, Adelaide. No page numbers.

Boarders had more religious involvement as they were expected to attend weekly church services and evening prayers. This was not a requirement for the dayboys. The prefects were rostered on each morning for the bible readings and the Captain of the school also read the lesson at the Annual School Service. All the men that I interviewed remembered reciting prayers off by heart but not one could remember any of their titles. Interestingly most recalled enjoying singing hymns but nothing about what they were singing or the meaning of the hymns. It was just something they were required to do at school. None of them saw it as important in terms of their learning or socialisation into men.

The chaplain wrote and presented the addresses for the mid year church service which included titles like; 'Have you anything to declare?' 'Wake up!', 'Service', and 'The meaning of the school badge'.³⁶ All of his speeches had strong Christian values cleverly entwined through a story that the boys could relate to or were interested in. He used themes of school and national pride, living by the bible, contributing to the community, sport and war to get his message across as the following excerpts from the mid-year school services illustrate. In the mid-year school service, 1963, he gave a sermon on the school badge.

In 1899 the boys were very glad to get it, as it replaced a black band with P.A.C. in white letters on it. This had become fairly unpopular because children used to shout "Pigs, alligators, crocodiles"; and other rather ruder things at the wearers. So they were glad to get the new crest for that reason; and also because it was a fine thing in itself. The pleasing design is due to the artistic talent of the late Mr. Langley. ... the devices are borrowed. The shield divided into four and three scallop shells in each quarter are borrowed from the family crest of John Wesley, the Wesley crest. The shape of the cross dividing the shield, the bar above the head of the cross, and the coronet above the shield are from the crest of Prince Alfred, the Duke of Edinburgh, who of course laid the foundation stone – the first time in English history that the

³⁶ *PAC Chronicles*, 1960-65.

stone of a non-conformist institution had been laid by a member of the Royal family. This, with permission to use his name, was a singular honour, and we can hardly exaggerate what it meant for the school in a colony then only thirty-three years old. It is interesting, in passing, to note that the bar above the cross and two anchors: for like the Duke of Edinburgh of our day Prince Alfred was a sailor, and was known affectionately as the "Sailor Prince".³⁷

He finished with the following:

Being nice pleasant people won't do. Mere decency won't do. Battle must be joined! The world would go to hell if decency were the only thing to prevent it. There's no heroism, no sacrifice, no crusade in decency, because there's no cross there.

Journey's end – a quiet mind, a holy rest and peace at the last – the crown of life: no man can, in his heart, reject it. For, a stranger and a pilgrim on the earth, he looks for "the city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God".

Ours is the badge of a Christian pilgrim. Wear it with understanding, humbly. And never disgrace it: for it will never disgrace you.³⁸

In another sermon he urged the audience not only to believe in the principles and values of Christianity but to act on them by using them in their lives. This illustrates a strong Methodist emphasis.

In exhorting the congregation to 'Wake Up!' the Chaplain said that while sleep is a beautiful and necessary thing it can in certain circumstances be a vice with the most disastrous consequences. A false sense of security can lull a nation to sleep. Easy-going Australians tend to dislike the fact, but it is nevertheless true that the world is divided by a struggle for the

³⁷ *ibid.*, October 1963, p. 6.

³⁸ *ibid.*, p.7.

souls of men. World communism is conducting a persistent, determined and intelligent campaign to enslave mankind; and is succeeding not only because of its methods but because its appeal is effective at the very point where Christianity has been ineffective. It has come with the promise of justice. To be sure, the price to be paid is freedom; but what is freedom to people who are only free to starve? It is sheer hypocrisy for us to say, 'Be free,' unless by determined and intelligent sacrifice we also say, 'Take, eat, live.'

Here is a clash of belief. An inferior materialist faith may triumph unless the West rediscovers as the power of God the faith to which it still clings to by tradition. Christianity is the answer. But it must be Christianity in action - demonstrated by people who are ready to put their values before their convenience.³⁹

In the following excerpt of a sermon the chaplain used travel and sport to illustrate that our actions every moment of every day demonstrate our beliefs and values. Therefore to be a true Christian means that you use its principles and values in your actions everyday and not just when it is convenient.

The Chaplain began his address by asking the question so familiar to travellers abroad: 'Have you anything to declare?' He then reminded us that the same challenge is made time and again as we make the Grand Tour of this hurried world. At each staging place the luggage we have collected on the journey makes answer only too plainly.

In a game that your team is losing you declare whether you are a sportsman or not. In a moment of danger or difficulty you declare whether you have courage or not. Confronted by a case of great need, you declare whether you are generous or not. Meeting a fellowman – in the street, over a shop counter, socially – you declare whether you are a snob or not.

Then at last comes journey's end. The question is the same. Jesus is there and He gives the certificate this time.⁴⁰

³⁹ *ibid.*, October 1961, p. 7.

The Chaplain used the following quote, attributed to Socrates in the fifth century, to start an address on the importance of manners, helping others and loyalty.

Our youth now love luxury. They have bad manners and contempt for authority. They do not respect older people. Children nowadays are tyrants. They no longer rise when elders enter the room. They contradict their parents, chatter before company, gobble their food and tyrannise their parents.

Boys come to P.A.C. of their own free will. They or their parents, think the school has much to give them - and it has. It also requires something of them - a standard of behaviour, participation and interest in school activities: in short, loyalty to the purposes of the place. But far too many couldn't care less.⁴¹

These addresses were all printed in the school Chronicle (from 1963-65) and were described as 'inspiring', 'excellent' and 'enlightening'. From 1960-62 these were only one page yet from 1963 they increased to two pages. This suggests that the midyear service became a more significant event during this period and more comparable to the Headmaster's addresses.

The Headmaster's addresses

The Headmaster, Jack Dunning, addressed the annual school service, always on a strong religious theme e.g. 'Children obey your parents in the Lord, for this is right'; 'Freedom'; 'Faithful men and men of faith'; 'Pressures, Loyalties, Standards, Values'; 'Being a good Christian and factors that make for happiness.'⁴² These addresses were also printed in the school Chronicle and were consistently three pages long. They had a very formal, traditional style that drew heavily from the Bible.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, October 1960, p. 6.

⁴¹ *ibid.*, October 1965, p. 6.

⁴² *ibid.*, 1960-65.

I want to speak to you this evening on freedom. My text is from the first epistle of Peter, chapter 2, verse 16. 'As free, and not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness but as the servants of God,' or as read by Combe from Philip's translation, 'As free men you should never use your freedom as an excuse for doing something that is wrong, for you are at all times the servants of God.'⁴³

The rest of this sermon explained how to behave appropriately and avoid temptation when the boys went out into the world. The previous year his address had focused on respecting your elders:

In the opening verses of this evening's lesson we read: 'Children obey your parents in the Lord, for this is right.' It is right, for it is the rule of nature and it is the express law of God. Paul reminds the Ephesians that it is one of the commandments – the first with a promise. Then Paul reminds parents that they also have their obligations. In the fourth verse he says, 'Provoke not your children to wrath: but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.' Parents are here told not to be unreasonable in their demands on their children, and they are advised in the words of the Revised Standard Version to give them godly instruction and discipline.⁴⁴

Dunning highlighted the importance of the boys' Christian beliefs and morals in this 1962 address. Through living a good Christian life they could get on God's honour list and thereby would be honouring the school and its teachings.

I suggest to the boys that there is a far more important honour list than our prize list or any of the lists I have mentioned. This honour list is one which no human eye will ever see. It is the

⁴³ *ibid.*, October 1961, pp. 6-8.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, October 1960, pp. 6-8.

one that neither I or nor your form masters nor your sports masters nor even your parents can draw up. This would be an honour list of faithful boys and boys of faith.⁴⁵

Jack Dunning also addressed the end of year services focusing on those who were leaving the school and the appropriate behaviour for them, eg. being honourable in their dealings with others and avoiding temptation.

The style of Dunning's addresses were in stark contrast to the energetic, interesting and less formal sermons of Kyle Waters. The students saw Jack Dunning as a good leader, aloof and authoritarian, whereas Kyle Waters was seen as approachable, open minded and helpful. This may explain why none of those interviewed commented on Jack Dunning's addresses or even remembered him as a religious man. According to these old scholars, Kyle Waters not only ran the religious side of the school but also embodied it in everything he did at the school. This suggests that the formal, authoritarian style of teaching during this period was not as effective as the humanistic style, which had a positive impact on the boys. And that the formal teaching was less influential than a member of staff who lived out his belief so effectively.

Students did not question religious teachings in those days. They learnt the Ten Commandments parrot fashion and were expected to live by these.

Well the Ten Commandments, we had to learn all of them almost parrot fashion in the junior school. I suppose it taught you to respect your elders, to realise you are not the be all and end all of life. The universe doesn't revolve around you. It taught you to be humble, it taught you that there was, under the Christian ethic ... there was the story of Jesus and the Disciples and

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, October 1962, p. 7.

*that he went to heaven and you believed that there was a God and we really didn't question it in those days.*⁴⁶

They did not remember being formally taught Christian morals but they all recounted them. Particularly the following values and morals; 'give back into the community', 'help others less fortunate', 'use your gifts to succeed in life', 'be honest and fair in your dealings with others and the school'. These morals were taught and reinforced throughout the school, but not seen by the boys as religion. It was more covertly taught than overtly. These values and morals were also role modelled by the masters in their dealings with their students and a similar code of behaviour was expected from the boys.

*Our religious classes tended to concentrate more on values-moral values, and values in life, where you just don't walk over people. If you can help along the way and still be successful, then that's the way you should be doing it, not just aim at being successful and walking over people.*⁴⁷

*It was more to do with the humanitarian aspects of Christianity, that were really primarily taught either overtly or by behaviour. ... more the concepts of Christianity in terms of salvation were probably not emphasised-it was more to do with the humanitarian side of things. A concern for the wellbeing of your fellow man/woman. In the sense that there was an emphasis on really always thinking of other people, and ... the concept of achievement was also built into that and making the best of what opportunities you had and what gifts you had and these were emphasised from a Christian perspective.*⁴⁸

⁴⁶ AG, p. 4.

⁴⁷ JK, pp. 2-3.

⁴⁸ BW, pp. 4-5.

Always being open and honest, fair and not putting other people down, turning the other cheek, basically all the teachings of the Bible. Which I can't recall at the moment (laughing).⁴⁹

I think honesty was probably counted to be on the top, both in your dealings with the school and with the other students at the school. It's not a religious thing but you were taught or you learnt that you were expected to succeed whether it be at school or on the sporting field. That was teaching us to expect to succeed when we left school.⁵⁰

A few of those interviewed had been at a state High school before attending PAC and remembered having a Methodist minister come to the school to teach religious instruction once a week. They stated that the teachings of Christian values and morals were not any different from what they experienced at Prince's. However, it is likely that a once a week lesson would not have had the same impact on students as the daily service in assembly, weekly religious instruction and consistent moral culture at PAC. Further exploration is needed on the covert teaching of Christian morals in State schools.

Summary

Although formal religion was not heavily pushed at PAC the boys all learnt strong Christian morals which most stated that they have carried through their life. The morals most spoken about were 'to think of others' and 'give back into your community'. The school Chaplain, Kyle Waters, had a positive influence on the boys and was most likely the reason that they accepted the Methodist morals that were taught and reinforced by the school. There was a difference between what the students perceived to be happening and what was actually happening. Religious faith was a choice as there was no pressure put on boys to become

⁴⁹ MJ, p. 3

⁵⁰ NR, p. 4.

church members. Instead of emphasising the identity of belonging to the Methodist church the school taught the Methodist values of being a responsible individual in helping those less fortunate, giving back to the community and respecting the needs of others.

*You see PAC was essentially a Methodist Church and they're not such a strong group as the Lutherans or Catholics, there was less of that sort of type of cohesion. Only a small sprinkling of people at PAC were Uniting Church or Methodist. Most weren't.*⁵¹

*I believe there's a code that you live by and that you expect people to treat you exactly the same way, so I think it taught you a value in life and a very high moral standard.*⁵²

Methodism was reflected throughout the whole school. PAC taught Christian values and morals and aimed to produce Christian gentleman and muscular Christians who used their talents fully and wisely. It appears that the school was very successful in this.

⁵¹ RF, p. 2.

⁵² JF, p. 2.

Chapter 3: Princes Men

What did it mean to be a PAC boy? Did the school produce the ‘Princes men’ it glorified in the school song? How successful was the school in producing muscular Christians and Christian gentlemen?

I think it gave you a confidence. ... Princes men and all those sort of the songs and things we used to sing for footy and and athletics. There was a sense of belonging.¹

I enjoyed being identified as a PAC boy. I didn't see it as a liability. I was proud to be part of the school. I don't think I was very conscious of being identified in any other way. Of course we were able to look down on boys who were equally well identified as attending only Catholic schools or whatever. That's fairly typical of the period too.²

It is clear from the following school songs and editorials why students were so proud to be a member of the PAC brotherhood.

Prince Alfred College Song

Our School colours are the glorious Red and White,
Our School-fellows always do the thing that's right,
Though we met adversity, we'll never give up the fight,
For we know "Reds can't be beat!"

Chorus

"Go in, Prince's!" shout the chorus,
Keep our colours waving o'er us;
See our rivals flee before us,
For they know "Reds can't be beat!"

Our School-fellows are the boys who never fail,
They are made of grit that must and will prevail;
Till our rivals one by one begin to fear and quail,
For they know "Reds can't be beat!"³

¹ RW, pp. 3-4.

² PM, p. 3.

³ Peard, *PAC School Songs*.

Princes men

We lift our eyes to the hills,
 And our feet to the swing of the game,
 And our thoughts to the dawn of the world that fills
 Those far-off hills with fame.

For we're Princes men! We're Princes men
 Yes now and always Princes men
 And the ancient beauty shall rise again,
 Shall rise again for Princes men.

We lift our eyes to the hills,
 And our hearts to the chiefs of our blood,
 Who with tireless hands and dauntless wills
 Have mastered the desert and the flood.

We're Princes men! We're Princes men
 Yes now and always Princes men
 And the old time courage shall rise again,
 Shall rise again for Princes men.

We lift our eyes to the hills,
 And our souls to the years to be,
 To the promise of Life that trembles and trills
 But shall thunder and shout like the sea:

For we're Princes men! We're Princes men!
 Yes now and always Princes men
 And the uttermost glory shall rise again,
 Shall rise again for Princes men.⁴

Creating tradition and developing clever minds must be secondary considerations to producing character in any school of merit. This has been, and always will be, the primary aim of education at Prince's.⁵

Prince Alfred College provides the means with which we can equip ourselves thus for life, and it is our responsibility to do so.⁶

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ *PAC Chronicle*, April 1961, p. 3.

⁶ *ibid.*, April 1962, p. 3.

Being a PAC Boy

The following student loved the tradition when at school but enjoyed moving interstate so he could be recognised as an individual and not just part of a school.

I enjoyed the whole School tradition, it was wonderful to come from a State primary school to PAC in first year going to the inter collegiate matches with school war cries and songs and everybody chanting together and everybody running in school colours. We didn't have anything like that in primary school. State High schools would have had it but it was just discovering this sudden immersion in all this fantastic tradition and it felt wonderful. I enjoyed that tradition right the way through and the fact that it had a history, but it didn't mean a lot to me after I left school I don't think. One of the things I liked about coming to Sydney was that I could be myself away from PAC and I could be appreciated for me rather than be an Old Boy of PAC which you were tended to be regarded as in Adelaide at that time.⁷

Boys were taught to be proud of their school. They were part of and belonged to a great tradition where boys were moulded into the great men of the future.

The fact that it was a college and a very well respected college. I probably appreciate having gone to Princes, I probably appreciate that more after leaving school rather than while I was actually at school. ... when I came out of school in 1960 it didn't matter how smart or dumb you were you were going to get a job. So, it was a pretty good time, you weren't overburdened with homework and it was great for sport, I basically look back on my school years as being a hell of a lot of fun. I had a bloody good time and the sport was terrific and I still keep in touch with a few of guys I went to school with. There's a good camaraderie, if I run into guys who went to Princes you feel comfortable with them. You don't sort of feel as though you are better than other people, there's a bond between you, its almost like having been members of a club for a long time. I'm proud that I went to PAC. I'm proud of the record of

⁷ GS, p. 3.

the school in many areas, obviously the one I know best is cricket. PAC has a very proud record in cricket, I quite enjoy the fact that I went to PAC and I'm proud to talk about it .⁸

There was a certain status, a bit of honour, a bit of privilege, and obviously you were somebody important. Part of the school ethos was you were expected to be someone in the community, somebody important, serve a useful purpose. There's all that tradition of all the famous people have been to the school before you and you were following in their footsteps. And there's the social advantages along the lines of becoming a good citizen, and making something of your life.⁹

PAC was considered one of the best two schools in Adelaide and South Australia, Saint Peters Collegiate School (Saints) being the other. It had a high standard of academic and sporting prowess as well as many extra curricular activities. Many commented on the fantastic grounds that the school had.¹⁰

School tradition created a sense of school spirit that gave students their identity.¹¹ This developed a special bond between the boys which would continue for those involved in the Old Scholars Association, effectively establishing life long friendships and career networks.¹²

It takes a little while as a twelve year old to realise what position you've been put in by being sent to a boarding school, but it didn't seem to take long and you soon realised the history of the school. One of the first colleges in Adelaide, the great contributions made by certain people. The great names that had gone through the college before you. So much tradition and that was talked to us and on the honour boards that were up around the different halls and that. You learnt it very quick, and you were so proud to be part of that tradition.¹³

⁸ IC, p. 2.

⁹ PI, p. 2.

¹⁰ NG, p. 4; PH, pp. 3-4.

¹¹ DJ, p. 2.

¹² JK, p. 2; PN, p. 3.

¹³ JF, p. 3.

I don't think at that stage of life one has as broad a view of society as one does when one is older, and I don't think one is aware either of the sacrifice parents made or perhaps the degree of privilege we had going there. Although I think the school always tried to emphasise that there was privilege in being sent there and that brought with it a sense of responsibility, not only to yourself but to the broader society. I think as a schoolboy, it was just the school you went to, and you were aware that you were part of a continuity of history and that there had been people before you, undoubtedly who had been rascals, but there had also been a number of people who had tried to hold to the high ideals and the high tradition, but there was some expectation that you try and maintain that. ... there was a fairly strong sense of community but I think it's more afterwards in the sense that I go to the old scholars dinners fairly regularly but that's partly to meet old friends as much as to hold up any old school tie.¹⁴

I was very proud of being a PAC boy. It meant that you belonged to an elite school among an elite community and one that you needed to live up to. By the time I was finished in my matriculation which was Leaving Honours, I was heartily sick of it. And I got very tired in having to live up to the school, rather than the school living up to its students. And it is one of the reasons why I didn't insist on my boys going to PAC.¹⁵

Nearly all of those interviewed sent their sons to PAC, even those who did not enjoy their schooling experience. This demonstrates a strong school loyalty even amongst those whose needs were not catered for by the school.

¹⁴ RH, p. 3.

¹⁵ SH, p. 3.

PAC gave its students a good start in life and a good basis for life through the religious emphasis and the individual attention.¹⁶ While PAC cultivated the boys best attributes and abilities it also provided them with a good all round education that was always presented by the masters as being better than that from a state school.¹⁷

A number felt that there was not much antagonism from those who were not as well off as private schoolboys.¹⁸ Others felt that outsiders thought that anyone who went to PAC was a *toff* or *snob* and expected them to speak with a plum in their mouths. They saw PAC boys as part of the elite, upper class group.¹⁹

The old school tie network certainly helped many to get jobs, particularly when straight out of school. It provided many business contacts, especially in areas such as the Shell company, business and accountancy. However, there was not the same advantage for those going into areas such as law, acting or social work. During the time period of this study PAC produced many doctors; ten of the fifty men interviewed had entered the medical profession. Saints, PAC's greatest rival, tended to produce a lot of lawyers. Their old school tie worked particularly well for those who went into law.

(pause) well of course there was a big gap between private and public schools and it was an ego thing. ... sometimes when you played football you were classed as college poofers and that would provoke a bit of an incident on the football field. I still think going to those colleges gave you a better start in life and I also felt that because of the religious upbringing and the individual attention to the students you had a better start. ... Adelaide was an old school tie system and it doesn't matter what you say the old school tie particularly in those days counted for the next job.²⁰

¹⁶ *ibid.*; BW, pp. 3-4; DH, p. 3.

¹⁷ PD, p. 3; PG, p. 3.

¹⁸ GS, p. 3.

¹⁹ NR, p. 1; PD, p. 3; SH, p. 4.

²⁰ AG, p. 3.

It meant that you were virtually guaranteed to get a fairly good level of education if you were prepared to take that opportunity. I think especially back then there was a recognition for people who had been to college rather than a state school. ... you were expected to conduct yourself in a fairly moral manner and never break the law or not be a yobbo or any of those sort of things.²¹

It meant you'd gone to a pretty good school and you had a good chance of doing well. And there were many kids who'd come from successful families and were probably going to be successful as well, so you had a group with an environment to achieve in.²²

Many felt privileged and proud to be going to the school and were aware that their parents had to sacrifice to send them there.²³ Some felt proud to be a PAC boy, it gave them self-confidence in all their interactions. The school's standing in Adelaide society was impressed upon them by masters and old scholars. However, some did not realise this until the latter years of their schooling.²⁴

Most felt that they were less snobbish than Saints boys were, PAC was considered more down to earth and accepting of others. Looking back, however, they often said that they were a bit snobby in their attitudes especially towards other schools, rather than to individuals. As boys, they often did not notice the status or consider the public view of them as being at all important. This contradicts the view of being privileged to be attending PAC that was drummed into every student, every day. Some stated that they did not know how good the school was until they left and entered the workforce.

It was certainly pretty well drilled into us all that we were fairly privileged although at that age you don't really know it until you finished there, but you were certainly well versed in

²¹ MJ, p. 2.

²² DT, p. 4.

²³ DM, p. 2; JF, p. 3; AP, p. 2; PC p. 2; PG, p. 3; TR, p. 5; TY, p. 3.

²⁴ DH, p. 2.

being told that you were a Princes boy and you were something perhaps a bit more important than most schools, and Saints was the enemy and the opposition and the only other competitive school out there. We were taught that Princes was something a bit of out of the ordinary. I don't know whether I believed it at the time.²⁵

I was proud of being a Princes boy I knew, to some extent, it was a privileged position. From the educational point of view, I was lucky that I was able to make that transition because I don't think I would ever have been able to do what I did, if I hadn't been given the opportunity to go to Princes and get that education. It was a good English Public School (laugh) education. ... I felt very comfortable in England, and I think part of that was the very strongly English style education that I received at Princes. So I'm grateful to Princes for that opportunity.²⁶

It was one of the top schools, two top schools in town and therefore people who went there were meant to be both rich and privileged, and that's probably what it meant in the community. Whether it was true or not is another matter but that's what it meant. That's the perception I had anyway.²⁷

I don't put a good or bad label on it all. I just say that was the way it was. The bad was in a sense it did not represent the school, the make-up of the boys that were there and the parents of the boys that were there, because I knew even in my family and others the background they came from and therefore the struggle in many cases that parents had to pay to put their boys in the school. So it didn't necessarily mean because you were a Princes boy you were necessarily from wealthy or upper socio-economic grouping at all. But of course the school had plenty of those as well.²⁸

²⁵ DC, p. 2.

²⁶ BG, pp. 4-5.

²⁷ DL, p. 2.

²⁸ DM, p. 2.

Your mates from other walks of life would give you a bit of a chiacking from time to time for the fact that you went to Princes, but in one way that made you feel a bit bad but it also made you feel a bit good. The only thing that really made you realise that the mates from other walks of life, either from church or from wherever poking fun at you – you're a College poofster are you?²⁹

I certainly would have said that it gave me an opportunity to be given a good basic education and certainly from the Christianity side of things. I thought it was very solid and I believe what private schools can give in the education system in that growing up side of things and introducing people into a life style which they can enter into once they leave school was far more beneficial than what the State education system. I'm proud that I've had the opportunity to go there and I never speak down on the school at any stage.³⁰

They were taught to think of PAC as superior to other private schools and certainly the state schools.³¹ While there was an elitist feel about Princes, they came second to Saints in public perception of the college hierarchy.³² Most did not see themselves as superior to others but believed that others, especially state schoolboys, saw them as superior.

They were taught that going to the school had some social standing and respect attached to it. They remembered being teased and singled out for special attention by others, particularly when in uniform. This was general teasing by other boys and was perceived as pretty minor, nothing out of the ordinary. They had to learn how to deal with negative comments from state school kids, razzing and a lot of flack from their mates about being 'college poofsters' and 'cream puffs' as they were Princes boys.³³ Being identified as a 'Princes Poofster' was not

²⁹ DC, p. 2.

³⁰ JM, p. 4.

³¹ JC, p. 2; PI, p. 3.

³² TY, p. 3.

³³ BW, p. 4; II, pp. 6-7; NG, pp. 3-4; RH, p. 3.

always easy but it was a term of derision rather than defining them as gay.³⁴ Some felt the negative comments did not affect them at all, while others felt it had an effect.

Most did not like the thought that outsiders perceived that they all came from wealthy families purely based on the fact that they attended a college. A fifth of those interviewed were from working class backgrounds and were on sporting, church or community scholarships. A few stated that Princes was just the school that they attended, it did not mean anything more than this at the time.³⁵

You sort tended to identify as a group as opposed to the Saints boys rather than anything else. I didn't personally see myself as superior to anybody else because I went there. I went to PAC and my next door neighbour they had a son that went to Saints but the rest of the area was all much lower socio economic level. I went to Glen Osmond primary school immediately before I went to PAC. All of them went on to Unley High mainly and I certainly had the impression from them that they perceived me as thinking I was superior to them. I've never had that attitude towards them, that was sort of more the reverse.³⁶

A lot of people outside called you a college kid and thought you were privileged and over and above them and thought your parents were all filthy rich. I didn't worry too much about that.³⁷

Nothing was bad about it. It was good. Adolescents often seek to have a superiority feeling, and there's no doubt about the fact that we had that.³⁸

³⁴ NG, p. 4.

³⁵ JC, p. 2; PC, p. 2; RF, p. 2.

³⁶ AN, p. 2.

³⁷ DB, p. 2.

³⁸ DN, p. 3.

In the private school hierarchy we were always pretty high up. Obviously we looked at ourselves as better than our great rivals which was Saint Peters. 'Cos we looked at ourselves as being more down to earth, more the common public rather than the snooties that they were, and then we looked down on the private schools like, well, the next one would be Scotch, we looked on ourselves as better off than Scotch in terms of academic work and sport. ... our Masters were always holding up Unley High as our big competitor academically (laugh). But they said don't worry about them they're being spoon fed, you're not you're being encouraged to think and be independent (laugh). I always remember that.³⁹

The general public tended to look on us as being pretty high spirited and active but they weren't negative, but the good thing was that we were looked on with a certain amount of trust by the outside world. Perhaps we were looked on as being a bit snobbish and in hindsight I think that might have been the case although then, I didn't even think about it, ever.⁴⁰

PAC boys identified themselves as not being a Saints boy first and foremost. The most common answer to the question 'What did it mean to be a PAC boy?' started with 'not a Saints boy' or 'not a blue and white'.⁴¹ Nearly all those interviewed considered the school colours, red and white very important. They were definitely not blue and white which were Saint Peter's colours. There was a great rivalry between PAC and Saints. PAC was opposed to Saints, they were the competition, perceived as the only worthwhile competition. No other school counted in this perspective.

If you were a PAC boy you were red and white, you certainly weren't blue and white. In certain places you were taunted, in others you were respected.⁴²

³⁹ DS, pp. 2 -3.

⁴⁰ DS, p. 3.

⁴¹ JW, p. 2.

⁴² AB, p. 2.

The importance of belonging to a group and thus having a group identity is illustrated in the following quotations. This was strongly fostered at PAC, as well as the belief that it was a privilege to attend the school. The school was very effective in instilling in boys a life long loyalty to PAC and their fellow students.

It meant that you had sort of an esprit de corps with your friends. I made some very strong, lasting friendships and relationships with my peers at Princes. And they're still quite a large group and we're still very good friends. I think that, plus the fact that Princes was always successful as a school academically and sporting wise in my decade.⁴³

Being part of a group or brotherhood I reckon. I think that was an important part. I still have very good mates that have stuck together and I still play tennis on Wednesday nights with a group of boys from my school. So the fellowship was very strong and important. I think it gave us a good healthy attitude to stay in work without being over the top.⁴⁴

What does it mean to be a PAC boy? To me it meant broadening my field of thinking because instead of living on the farm I was living in the city. I enjoyed the comradeship of the other boys, being a boarder. I thought the boarding house was fifty percent of the education, because I felt that living away from home, learning to do things yourself and yet living with boys of your own kind, most of the boarders were farmers' sons anyway which meant we all slotted in, and had a lot of fun. But I really felt that was half of the education.⁴⁵

There was a strong sense of school spirit amongst the staff and students giving them an identity. The masters were by and large considered good by the students. Only a few of the masters at this time were old scholars. School tradition was reinforced by parading successful old boys and their contributions to society before the students, giving them a goal to aim for.

⁴³ ID, p. 2.

⁴⁴ MW, p. 2.

⁴⁵ SV, p. 1.

Old scholars were held up as examples of sporting and academic success and therefore used as role models. Honour boards, mentions of results at assembly and speech night awards all illustrated the importance of success at the school and its' rewards.

There was also a lot of family tradition at the school, a student's grandfather, father or maybe even an uncle attended the school and therefore they were sent to PAC.⁴⁶ Sometimes this tradition was on the mother's side.⁴⁷ The successful backgrounds of many of the boys' families and their status in the wider community were used to promote achievement in the students.

(Long hesitation) Well, I don't know that I have a strong feeling of identification, it was a school that my father was greatly enamoured with. It was something that was very important to him and therefore very important to us because of his tremendously strong affiliation with it. He just thought it was a good place.⁴⁸

It meant that you were at a school that had a strong reputation in the community both for academic excellence and also for sporting achievements. I think that was probably the image or reputation of the school ... you had a lot of old scholars who had been successful in a number of walks of life, whether it was science or medicine or business or even in those days in politics. So it produced people who had both been successful personally and also contributed to the community.⁴⁹

A number of those interviewed felt that while they were at PAC they did not think it meant much to attend the school; it was just the school that their parents had decided to send them to. However, in the later years of secondary schooling and certainly after leaving and looking

⁴⁶ RS, p. 3.

⁴⁷ TR, p. 4.

⁴⁸ DJ, p. 1.

⁴⁹ GC, p. 3.

back, they saw a school that was held in high regard in the community where they established life-long contacts and that it had been a privilege to attend.

The other thing is the male bonding situation ... but tradition - the friends you keep - contacts you make, all helps you in life later on.⁵⁰

The school only did good for me and I can't see anything wrong with that school cadets and things like that gave you discipline not that I wasn't before but it sort of gave you mates from your same type of lifestyle in the country. The boarders we brought to our place especially when the watermelon was ripe, they'd come up and get the watermelon, and that type of friendship was there. Where other schools I don't think had that type of opportunity and that's about it.⁵¹

Being a PAC boy meant that there was a specific standard of behaviour expected of the boys in public, especially when representing the school. They had to be courteous, polite and behave like gentlemen in all circumstances.

People probably expected a certain behaviour out of seeing a PAC boy ... that was one thing that was drummed in whenever you went out you were expected to behave in a respectable way.⁵²

Good behaviour in public was especially important when in the correct full school uniform, otherwise there would be complaints made to the school. Each individual was seen to represent the school as a whole whenever in uniform. They were no longer an individual nor treated as such in public.⁵³ This impressed a school loyalty and ethos, a sense of belonging

⁵⁰ JW, p. 2.

⁵¹ TG, p. 2.

⁵² DM, p. 2.

⁵³ MW, p. 3.

and of being privileged to be part of that group. It also helped the community to perceive them as privileged.

Nearly all of those interviewed mentioned being given a hard time over the caps they wore and having their caps flicked off when in uniform. So most felt that it was a real penalty to have to wear a cap.⁵⁴ When in uniform the boys were teased, usually when in Rundle Street in Adelaide city, while at other places they were admired or respected.

Bad about being a Princes boy, you had to behave properly in public, of course, and you had to always be well dressed and you got slung all sorts of stuff by public school kids who were just scruffy. Well, they mightn't be scruffy but they were scruffily dressed compared to what we were and they made you feel that way.⁵⁵

One of the things you had to do was there was a fair bit of emphasis on attire and your physical presentation out in the community.⁵⁶

(long pause) ... I felt proud to be a PAC boy. I felt that it was a bloody penalty to wear a grey melange suit with long trousers and coat on my bike to school every day, no matter what the temperature, because I often remember I was sweating round where the bicycle clips were, and in those days we always had to wear a suit to our assembly every morning. It didn't matter what the temperature was. It meant that I was sort of proud when I went to dancing classes and started going out with girls and things like that. I'm sure that it gave me confidence. ... I didn't really need that too much but it added to it. So being at PAC gave - just confirmed for me self-assurance.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ PH, pp. 3-4; TR, p. 5; TY p. 3.

⁵⁵ AG, p. 3.

⁵⁶ AP, p. 2.

⁵⁷ DN, p. 3.

We all dressed up in suits and stupid little caps, and that was always an embarrassment. So you had to be pretty good at, either running or fighting (laugh). You wouldn't dare walk through Rundle Street dressed like that I always nipped off home and didn't really, tarry around in that stupid uniform. ... you used to get a lot of flack for that then, the uniform.⁵⁸

There was a bit of social recognition simply by being part of the school. And again in a time when we were expected to wear a school uniform to anything formal so that to church on Sundays or whatever, you probably wore school uniform. It was a much clearer presence.⁵⁹

Some felt that it never hurt to let people know that you attended PAC. The school helped students by giving them the opportunity to move into a different part of society after school. Being a PAC boy often meant that friends and family who attended state schools considered them snobs. Nearly all were proud to be a Princes man and felt privileged to have attended the school.

The bad point was that we were taught to be snobby, but we didn't regard ourselves as snobby as people across the way at the other schools. The good points - we were pretty proud of the heritage and many of the old scholars have become very successful in all walks of life, all the usual rubbish.⁶⁰

A negative described by a number of those interviewed was the uni-sex environment that they felt did not teach them how to deal with girls and therefore many felt socially inept when they left the school. Special help for those students that required it was not identified or given to these students. There were not as many offerings as there is today in terms of different activities.⁶¹

⁵⁸ NG, pp. 3-4.

⁵⁹ PM, p. 3.

⁶⁰ JC, p. 2.

⁶¹ DJ, p. 2; GE, p. 2.

I was conscious of being a son with a brother and not having any assistance, and being very self-conscious about the opposite sex, and not being very confident and comfortable really in transition to and from friend or socialite. And I think that was probably a legacy of the sort of school that I was at, because I was conscious of that at that time, and I've certainly been conscious since, that I think it's quite detrimental and, in fact, quite devastating for some people, by not having that natural contact with the opposite sex through the formative teenage hormonal years.⁶²

Not fitting the mould

So what about those boys who did not fit in at PAC?

They were different in some way, say they didn't play sport or were useless at sport. You had the boffins who walked round, the academia. And they are still the same. One in particular who was a boffin and is now a boffin. They were just in their little groups and talked about what books they'd read. They didn't play sport at all. They may have done some sort of sport but most of the time they just walked around in their groups and talked about things that they wanted to talk about and even now if they started talking about this business I wouldn't understand it because it was just way above my thinking. There were a few ratbags there, they did a few bad things, but they still were part of the school. They didn't sort of divorce themselves from everything.⁶³

Many could not remember anyone who did not fit in to the school culture.⁶⁴ Most activities at school were compulsory so many did not notice those who did not fit into the mould; there was always somewhere that they fitted. However, there appears to have been some bullying. One quote from an academic student illustrates two examples that occurred off school

⁶² RS, pp. 3-4.

⁶³ TR, p. 6.

⁶⁴ JF, p. 5; BW, p. 7; DB, pp. 4-5; DL, p. 5; PG, p. 6.

grounds. Only a few spoke of actually being bullied, more indicated just that they were aware that it went on.

There was a chap at school who clearly didn't like me. I think he might have been a year ahead of me, and when I was on holidays about 11 or 12 down at the beach, this guy came across me totally out of the blue and shoved my head under the water. I remember that. So I was subjected to some bullying, but not on the school grounds. I don't remember ever being bullied at school. Some bullying went on outside of school. There used to be boys who used to go to the choir, used to get kicked when they were on their way home, and they used to leap out at them and thump them, and that was off school grounds. So the teachers didn't really have any control over that.⁶⁵

Most of the time it would have been small scale ostracism. They weren't publicly beaten out or anything but it was fairly easy for other groups to keep continually picking on those sorts of fellas who didn't fit in. Not the old traditional Oxford style bullying, that just didn't happen. There was always people on duty they wouldn't put up with that sort of thing.⁶⁶

Most of those that did not fit in saw themselves as loners while those who fitted the mould saw the others as part of a group. Generally the other boys did not openly associated with the misfits.

They often either formed very small groups of their own or were often unfortunately largely ignored or even disappeared. I think if they went to a school of that calibre and expense and really found they were miserable all the time they would go somewhere else. And there are still some that did go to other schools.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ BG, p. 8.

⁶⁶ RF, p. 7.

⁶⁷ RF, p. 7.

They survived. Although they were quite lonely people I think. There weren't too many of them actually. We were really hard on people who didn't fit in. I remember when one guy there, he was a really funny looking guy, and unfortunately he had a lot of acne and he led a fairly lonely life. It was terrible when you look back on it what we used to do to these people. But if you didn't sort of admonish them you were part of the other gang. ... it was pretty rough for them when you look back on it really. These guys must have led fairly lonely lives.⁶⁸

Well, you call them names, that was about the hardest thing you could do to them really. You felt really cool about doing that. But generally no one associated with them. There weren't too many actually. That's something you're not really happy about when you look back. I only thought about it since you brought up the subject actually. I haven't thought about it for thirty two years. (Laugh).⁶⁹

They didn't have an overly happy time at school, but again I didn't have a lot of personal contact with them to make an assessment of them. I would have observed some people from a distance who perhaps didn't seem to fit in as well as others, because either they weren't good academically or they weren't all that gifted in sport so there was nothing particular they could shine at, and I think at the school at that time they would therefore have found some difficulties.⁷⁰

You just didn't have much to do with them. There were plenty of people to play with and talk to so you spent time with them.⁷¹

There was a few, what would you call them whimps or wusses in this day and age, but were sort of on their own, but there was enough in the school that they would find their own sort of clique. And the same at the other end of the scale, you had the sort of fellas that'd get out on the side block and have a bad disagreement and have an out and out fight. And the Masters

⁶⁸ NG, pp. 10-11.

⁶⁹ NG, p. 11.

⁷⁰ GC, p. 6.

⁷¹ IC, p. 9.

would be too scared to break them up. A fella six foot six and weighing eighteen stone, having a bit of a tiff. There's many a bloke I've seen carted out of there unconscious - especially after school behind the science block.⁷²

A few did not recall anyone not fitting in and it therefore was not an issue.

*I don't recall there being too many of those. We were pretty forgiving of what you could argue as the misfits. There were some unusual kids but they don't have strong memories for me. ... Princes as a rule, I wouldn't have thought they'd be all that easy on some of those kids, but I don't recall it being much of an issue in my time.*⁷³

*But there were certainly boys who didn't fit, but society was much more conformist in those days than it is now. I don't really remember boys who were totally opposed to the system or who were so different as to be absolutely noticeable. There were characters but they were still part of the scene.*⁷⁴

*I was in the A Form and everyone did (fit in). Everyone worked. The one thing is, we did tend to keep relatively close in our groups, because we went through for six years in one group of students.*⁷⁵

Others felt sorry for those that were given a hard time at school and some even tried to help or befriend the misfits.⁷⁶

*I remember that some people didn't fit in and ... I felt sure that I would have supported them rather than thought of them as different or bad because that's my life anyway.*⁷⁷

⁷² AB, p. 4.

⁷³ II, p. 10.

⁷⁴ PM, p. 6.

⁷⁵ MW, p. 5.

⁷⁶ DH, p. 6.

⁷⁷ DN, pp. 6-7.

*I always felt a bit sorry for them. They seemed to be a different strata of the school, a lesser being. Aware that they were there, but I did reasonably well academically so I didn't have to worry about it.*⁷⁸

*Very brutal for the boys that don't fit it. Boys are pretty cruel creatures ... they tend to be picked on and that sort of stuff. I think some people are natural bullies and I always felt for a number of these guys and a few of them I befriended.*⁷⁹

Others felt there was not enough diversity in the offerings of the school so that not everyone found what they were good at and therefore it was difficult for them to fit into the school culture.⁸⁰ Only two of those interviewed admitted to picking on the misfits.

*Ostracised, picked on (pause) there were some unusual characters there, certainly. The full range from really odd blokes and I must admit I used to pick on my share of them in retrospect it was sad that I did but it's human nature isn't it, we had some unsavoury kids. I sat next to one fellow who stole things of mine and I didn't realise until I actually left school that he, had stolen some quite precious things of mine. He was a homosexual too; he was another one of those, he was just revolting.*⁸¹

Many of the misfits just left, gravitated to activities outside of the school or devised other coping mechanisms.

Well particularly at the age of about 14 or so they were sort of ostracised and I was finding that at one stage myself in Year 9 - I think there was a lot of insecurity amongst teenage boys and just entering puberty and so they'd take it out obviously on the perceived weakest ones in the group so they didn't appear weak themselves. I decided I had to make friends and do Elvis

⁷⁸ PI, p. 5.

⁷⁹ SH, p. 6.

⁸⁰ DJ, p. 5.

⁸¹ RW, p. 7.

impersonations in class and this sort of stuff just to be liked a bit more and that seemed to work and by the time I got to the end of third year in Year 10, I was OK, but there were one or two blokes who were picked on and they were the object of ridicule. That certainly happened and that was unfortunate. I don't know whether the teachers ever knew about it, but it was never stopped.⁸²

Well I don't think, there may have been one but he didn't stick around he just left, we never saw him again after that. All the rest of them they seemed to cruise along day by day which I suppose I did too. It was just one of those schools where you did you own thing day by day.⁸³

Well it was very difficult for them. A lot of them took the fact that they didn't fit in to your male thing by joining clubs, they were very big into debating, chess, badminton, a lot started to play badminton and you had to play a lot of these sports outside the school even though you were part of the school. Some of my friends who were in that group did very little in the school after school, they went in the clubs and societies outside the school. The Church or youth clubs or things like Young Liberals, Victoria League, the Young Overseas League and all that sort of thing. They migrated there and didn't do much at the school.⁸⁴

Some of the boys without a history of family attending the school definitely felt isolated and found it more difficult to feel part of the school.

Within the school life you got to really look at where the kids came from, the backgrounds of the kids, you had a significant number who came from the land. They were farmers, or their fathers were farmers, graziers or on the land and they came into school and they were destined to go back on to the land so that made a large significant group. There was another group whose parents were in the professions, the older professions and also whose fathers were in business in a big way. Owners of businesses, stockbrokers or whatever and then you

⁸² GS, p. 6.

⁸³ TG, p. 5.

⁸⁴ AG, p. 7.

had a fairly, a smaller group, whose parents didn't come from those backgrounds and had obviously made considerable personal sacrifice in sending and paying the fees and they generally didn't have a family history of having the father and the grandfather at PAC either. So that's where I came from the smaller group where parents made some sacrifice, we didn't have a family history of attending PAC and you were aware that you didn't, you weren't born with a silver spoon you weren't destined to follow dad into his medical practice, legal practice, stockbroking firm or whatever or be a grazier or farmer and you actually had to make your own way and you weren't going to have the same advantages So there was a group of us who stood out.⁸⁵

There was a shame attached to not fitting the mould. These boys were described as 'failures', 'misfits', 'sissies', 'wimps' and 'wusses'. They were 'hounded', 'ostracised', 'ridiculed', 'teased', 'chiacked', 'taunted', generally given a hard time by other students and masters. Some thought that masters often picked on those who were less academically capable; those who were sat in the front row so they could receive special attention. Those in the top streams invariably stated that they did not remember anyone who did not fit in. However, many of those who did not fit in often went on to be top of their profession even though they had been in the lower streams at school.

The two or three I have seen are now either surgeons of note, professionals, top professionals in their fields of accountancy and things like that. In other words they were the academics who've really been successful.⁸⁶

I don't recall being aware of any really. I would have thought the people who noticed it most would have been those who didn't actually achieve academically. But I've met some of them since and they don't seem to have been the worse for it (laugh) thank goodness. I've since learnt that you don't have to be a bright academic to do sort of well in the world (laugh). It's

⁸⁵ AP, p. 7.

⁸⁶ AG, p. 7.

very much a personal thing. I've got to say I don't really feel I was aware of people not fitting, I felt that we all found a place in the school and went along and did our bit.⁸⁷

I remember some of the ones that weren't so good academically being picked on by teachers. ... but I haven't got strong memories of people being picked on or teased or being regarded as a failure. I'm sure there were some but they don't spring to mind.⁸⁸

The ones that didn't fit in with the other students - they were loners. Some of those have been quite successful in life. Some of them have finished up no-hopers That's life. There's going to be the leaders, there's going to be the followers and there's going to be the no-hopers. I like to think that out of Princes there were less no-hopers on a percentage wise.⁸⁹

Some remembered that events behind the scenes solved the problem.

(long pause) There was an odd person who we would find out didn't fit in but somehow or other it was solved from behind the scenes. Whether parents were brought in, or the parents may have actually come and talked to the principal saying that they realised that things weren't going well with young Fred. I've got a particular person in mind but that person has actually gone on to be extremely successful, extremely.⁹⁰

What I remember about those who didn't fit in, is I remember it came from their family life. They were either spoilt and so they struggled with the discipline and not being able to get their own way. Whereas if they came from a broadminded family, or if they had plenty of brothers and sisters, they had no problems. Nearly in every case it was a child or a boy that had a problem getting on with half the boys at school, because they were having a problem getting on, because of their upbringing.⁹¹

⁸⁷ DL, p. 5.

⁸⁸ DT, p. 6.

⁸⁹ JK, p. 7.

⁹⁰ GD, p. 6.

⁹¹ SV, p. 5.

Although the misfits were given a hard time at school some saw them giving out the same treatment that they received.

They were given a bit of a hard time. I don't think PAC was any different to any other school in that regard. ... in those days some of kids we thought were no hoppers or class idiots we'd give them a hard time or just ignore them but it was more their attitude towards others that was problem. The ordinary student didn't get involved in any of that. The problem student he was given a hard time by the others or gave them a hard time.⁹²

Teachers were not seen to do a lot about the bullying and teasing. Boys who were not good at sport or avoided playing it were seen as not fitting in.

Sport was such a big issue that those that didn't play sport, to my way of thinking didn't fit in and they just read books in the library and were often ridiculed, publicly like within the school, would have a pie tossed at them or have milk spilt over them or sort of bullied really, a few of them were, not many. But again that was just a learning for me that people are different and not everybody wants to play sport. Some people just want to sit around and talk and that's fine, but that wasn't my idea of a good time, to sit in the library and read a book when you could be out there, falling over in the mud catching footballs.⁹³

Conforming was an important part of the school culture. Those who did not conform were ostracised by the other boys and as a result had an unhappy school experience.

⁹² AN, p. 7.

⁹³ WT, p. 5.

I think it's a place where you needed to conform because you've got so many people there you've gotta have a few rules and if you ducked the rules then you paid the price and that's exactly what happened.⁹⁴

It was not good to be an outsider and it meant that you had an unpleasant time at school.

There's two or three names I could think of when you ask me that question, and I'd love to know where they ended up because I would have hated to have been in their shoes. It seemed to me that they had a terrible existence at school. I felt for them quite often. The ragging they used to get from other students, from staff, but mainly other students. Yes, my recollections are that it was not good to be different or an outsider there.⁹⁵

I think you'd have to say that schoolboys can be a pretty tough lot, and those who don't naturally fit in can suffer pretty dramatically, I would of thought. Maybe that's just another learning experience for them to go through that. School bullies in general as a group, I think can be pretty hard on those that don't fit in, and I can remember a number of incidents where somebody who didn't fit in was treated pretty abysmally actually.⁹⁶

Summary

To be a PAC boy meant first and foremost that you were not a Saints boy. Boys were inducted into the PAC fraternity by instilling school loyalty and loyalty to other students. It was a privilege to attend PAC which gave them status in the wider community. Students were provided with a good education and given opportunities to enhance their career pathways. It gave the boys confidence in their abilities and prepared them to face the outside world.

⁹⁴ DB, pp. 4-5.

⁹⁵ DC, p. 5.

⁹⁶ DH, p. 6.

PAC provided a better education, great grounds and better sporting opportunities than most other schools. It was a school that cultivated the boys' best attributes. There was a strong school loyalty established through the tradition of old scholars, family tradition and those trying to better themselves. Being a PAC boy meant wearing a uniform correctly, behaving like a gentleman at all times and dealing with teasing from outsiders. The school appears to have been very successful in producing both muscular Christians and Christian gentlemen.

Those boys who were not good academically or did not excel at sport tended not to find a place at PAC. Those who did not fit in were given a hard time by the others and were often perceived as loners. Although some felt that the misfits formed groups, a fifth of those interviewed stated in after interview discussions how isolated and alone they felt at school.⁹⁷ When describing bullying a number used strong masculine images and language, animal analogies and referred to the law of the jungle. However, there was a distinct lack of details given about the types of treatment the outsiders got, just that it was unpleasant, some tried to help, and many felt sorry for them. Most did not want to be associated with the misfits for fear of being ostracised by association. Only three admitted to being a little bullied at school or not fitting and only two mentioned that they gave some others a hard time. A few mentioned names of those that they believed were bullied at school. Some of these were interviewed yet none of them mentioned that they had a hard time at school. This clearly illustrates it was not okay to be bullied but it was also not acceptable to be identified as a bully.

⁹⁷ DJ, p. 5.

Chapter 4: School Culture and Impact

Culture is a very broad term and for the purpose of this research is defined as ‘the whole way of life of a social group’.¹ This is further defined as the set of behavioural characteristics of a particular group. Therefore, school culture includes the way in which boys responded to each other in terms of being on the ‘inner’ or the ‘outer’, the masters, classes, the boarding house environment, and organised activities such as Scouts, Cadets, and sports. The school culture included all aspects of the boys schooling experience. The school’s intent was, through its culture, to develop qualities like ‘being an upright, honest citizen’, ‘being successful’, ‘doing your best with your abilities’, ‘giving back to the community and the school’. Generally speaking these were the values of the middle classes in all British societies during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Other organisations and groups within the community such as secular and church youth groups, Scouts, most if not all private schools and some state schools also taught similar values.

The development of school culture

The school magazine, *The Prince Alfred College Chronicle* (hereafter referred to as the Chronicle) was used extensively to illustrate and reinforce aspects of the school philosophy, for example

A job well done gives satisfaction and a feeling of fulfilment. A person can feel justifiably proud if he knows in his conscience that he has done all that he could reasonably be expected to in the task involved, and even more.²

¹ J. C. Walker (1988) *Louts and Legends: male youth culture in an inner city school*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, p. 30.

² Editorial, *PAC Chronicle*, April 1965, p. 3.

No boy is reasonably educated until he is capable of meeting his responsibilities and obligations to his neighbours, in the Christian sense of the word. To have a fully developed moral sense, one must be able to take a place in the world as a man - not simply legally and physically, but by attaining mental maturity. It is hard to learn how to realise the relatively narrow limits of one's knowledge and understanding, but the foundations for this self-evaluation should be laid at school ...³

PAC aimed to develop boys' character through positive feedback and encouragement. PAC boys were given a good preparation for professional life. Interviewees' comments on their experiences highlighted how effective some of these techniques were.

There was a good feeling of mateship, whether in the classroom or on the sporting field, it was to do your best. You tried to help out your mates. There was also a feeling of if you were caught doing something wrong you were going to be punished and you were expected to accept your punishment like a man. It was mateship, discipline and give of your best, that was the feeling that I got from the College.⁴

I suppose the values were that students went out as good people into the community even if they forgot their religious background but that might have helped them along the way, to give them a few little corner stones to their life. It fostered the idea of doing the best you can with your abilities, academic or otherwise, and it tried to make you a whole being but this was the purpose of sport.⁵

I went away viewing that the world had a lot to offer and that I had the confidence and the background to face it and achieve it.⁶

³ *ibid.*, April 1962, p. 3.

⁴ IC, p. 6.

⁵ GD, pp. 3-4.

⁶ DN, p. 4.

The school motto, which was *Fac Fortia et Patere*, “Do Brave Deeds and Endure”, was mentioned by many as being the main aim of the school; to turn out good, upright, citizens who would benefit the community and bring credit to the school. PAC encouraged students to do their best with their individual abilities, thus producing successful, well-rounded individuals, who tended to become leaders in the community. Nearly all of those interviewed remembered the school motto but did not interpret its meaning.

Fac Fortia et Patere (laugh). The aim of the school was to turn out pupils that were good citizens, that were honest and could be of benefit to the community. That’s about what I would have thought was their basic aim. And to cultivate the best out of everyone they put through there.⁷

Well, the motto was “Do Brave Deeds and Endure”. I won’t say we weren’t encouraged to do that, we were, but the main ethos at the school was for you to aim to be a responsible, caring human being, but also a successful human being.⁸

*It was really the doing of good deeds and sort of being positive. What was *Fac Fortia et Patere*, “Do Good Deeds and Endure”, that good Christian sort of thought and ethos of remembering that there are people in the world worse off than us. Offering support and help and thinking of some of the major care programs like World Vision. ... the ethos was that what you guys have got is a really good opportunity here, why don’t you grab it by the hands (laugh) but I didn’t.⁹*

*Now, what was the motto, “*Fac Fortia et Patere*”, the motto sticks in my mind and I suppose they engendered a sense of honour and integrity.¹⁰*

⁷ PD, p. 4.

⁸ NR, p. 4.

⁹ WT, p. 4.

¹⁰ AP, p. 5.

“Do Brave Things and Endure”, wasn’t it? I believe the school encouraged us to do our best despite the emphasis on academic achievement with the class structures being set up accordingly, and me being one of the top ones it’s easy to say this, but I felt that the school did attempt to respect people for what they were able to do and encourage them, including the sporting. ... that it was generally to bring out gifts and talents and to do those things well. There was certainly again the element of being part of a community.¹¹

PAC's motto was originally *Ubi non est scientia animae non est bonum*, (That the soul be without knowledge is not good). These words are taken from the first part of the second verse of Chapter 19 of the book of Proverbs. Ward comments in his school history that the words of the motto were chosen to manifest ‘that union of piety and scholarship which, to the strictly Evangelical mind of the mid-Victorian non-conformist Englishman, was the highest ideal of a Christian gentleman.’¹² In 1919, the Head Master, Mr. Bayly decided to change the motto as it was too cumbersome. Three new mottoes were considered. *Virtuti nihil obstat*, (Nothing hinders courage) and *Deum venere: regem honora*, (Fear God: honour the King) were discussed. The third motto was agreed upon, becoming the current motto - *Fac Fortia et Patere*, (Do brave deeds and endure). There is no evidence as to why this motto was chosen or where it came from but it is most likely an adaptation from a story by Livy about a Roman youth. The youth was captured while attempting to assassinate the Etruscan King. He put his hand into a flame and told the King that ‘*et facere et pati fortia Romanum est*’, (it is the way of a Roman both to do brave things and endure). This motto is certainly more vigorous than the original and was in keeping with the strong military culture of the early twentieth century. It encapsulates the ultimate sacrifice that a hundred and seventeen old boys had paid in the First World War.¹³ The school motto was also used in the chorus of the school song.

¹¹ DL, p. 4.

¹² Ward, *Prince Alfred College*, p. 146.

¹³ *ibid.*, pp. 146-7.

Then sing it, and sing it, and sing it again,
 The jolliest boys and the pluckiest men
 Are the boys who can join this rousing refrain,
 Fac fortia et patere!¹⁴

The school strongly encouraged success, which appears to have been generally defined by wealth. Therefore career pathways that led to high incomes were encouraged and presented as something worthwhile to aim for. Alternately, to become a sport hero by playing cricket or football in a state or Australian team gave ultimate status. Old scholars were used as role models for students. These people were publicly successful, publicly acclaimed, therefore the school got public acknowledgment and good advertising for future students. Boys were taught to publicise the school and propagate its good name in the wider community. Every old scholar represented the school in everything they did for the rest of their lives.

They were encouraged to become Christian gentleman, 'respect their elders', especially the Masters and to 'look after their fellow man'. Mateship was also fostered and encouraged and helped to establish life long bonds between the boys. This is reiterated in the third verse of the school song.

Princes stand by a pal, sir,
 One cannot tackle a team;
 But together we'll tackle the world, sir,
 Whatever the odds may seem.¹⁵

They were being trained to become the future pillars of the community. PAC was presented as being worthy of giving back to, and this culture was continued through the Old Scholars' Association. An unwavering confidence and belief that they were better than others as a result of their education was instilled in the boys. Most old boys sent their sons to PAC.

¹⁴ Peard, *PAC School Songs*.

¹⁵ *ibid*.

Many commented on the Christian ideals that they were taught and the school's aim to produce Christian gentleman, yet none explained what this meant in any detail. Becoming a Christian gentleman encompassed the following qualities: being an upright, good citizen, of sound body and mind, a credit to the school and a leader in the community. The values that demonstrated this were; 'always doing one's best', 'keeping on trying and not giving up when things go wrong'. These values were reflected in all those interviewed in the majority of questions.

The school fostered the development of people of sound body and mind and good sports and fostering Christian gentlemen in that sense. They particularly fostered people who would go on to greatness. They were people who loved the school. There was a sense of the importance of playing for the team. You were part of a community. ... there was a strong sense that you all had to lift brother arms and play our part and go on to great success, but as part of a group.¹⁶

If it had to be put in an overall sort of encapsulation, it would be this idea of turning out well educated, well mannered, well rounded young men.¹⁷

... the ethos really was mateship and look after your fellow man and certainly respect your teachers, which we didn't have a problem in doing. That's what really came through. ... they didn't push the ethos. It was more this is what it is fellas, and this is how it is, and this is the way it will be. And we tended to go with the flow. We really did conform.¹⁸

The aims were to be upright citizens in the community, to be proud of our school, responsible citizens with good positions and certainly Christian ideals too, Christian teachings.¹⁹

¹⁶ SH, p. 4.

¹⁷ DH, p. 4.

¹⁸ RS, p. 7.

¹⁹ DM, p. 3.

PAC boys were taught to be the future leaders of the community. They were expected to be honest, useful members of society. Again, old scholars were used as examples of leaders with integrity, high standards and honour. The school also offered lots of activities such as sports, Cadets and the opportunity to become school prefects that gave boys the chance to develop leadership skills.

We always assumed that we were going to be leaders in society. That we would be leaders of others and it was assumed that we would have integrity. The aims of the school were to bring out our abilities and there was enough different areas that they encouraged to make sure that almost everybody had something that they were encouraged in ... every individual, every boy - without it really being spelt out. It seems to me in hindsight that everyone was encouraged in one of their talents ... if you were good at something then you usually got reinforced in that.²⁰

You'd have to say that they were trying to equip young men ... to go on and become leaders in the community through the education and the fields they take up through that, like doctors, lawyers, accountants. But more than that to be leaders within their community. People of high calibre and standards. ... it's amazing how many people that are leaders in the community went to PAC.²¹

They were taught to be confident young men ready to face anything that life had to throw them, as they were privileged to have had such a good, all round education. Discipline taught the students not only to do the right thing but the difference between right and wrong. Only a couple of the men interviewed felt that they were given the freedom to think for themselves and make decisions. However, most thought that if they did their best, they could achieve anything as the leaders of men.

²⁰ DS, p. 3.

²¹ JF, p. 3.

Honesty, self-denial, leadership, integrity, they expected us to be the leaders. ... to go out and feel confident to be a leader of men. I had always felt quite comfortable in a leadership position. I've never had any great leadership roles but I've always felt quietly confident that I did my best, and that if I took the role seriously then there wasn't anything I couldn't do.²²

It was a very good time at Princes, there was discipline, and if you did things wrong and you got caught, you were going to get punished and you understood that and you accepted your punishment like a man. But there was also a freedom to think, and to think for yourself and to express yourself. ... I'm sure that feeling was engendered by having been at Princes you were given some freedom of thinking to work things out for yourself and you were obviously encouraged and probably pushed in certain directions. So it was a great time to be educated at PAC.²³

Academic achievement, which was strongly emphasised as part of the school culture is discussed in chapter six. It was mentioned by the interviewees much more than sport as an aim of the school, yet they felt that sport was emphasised as a masculine activity. This taught them the gentlemanly way to deal with success and competition.

High academic achievement leading to good employment prospects. Turning out good upstanding citizens. There's good moral values.²⁴

That you had to be good and also be successful, it was sort of a mixed message. The other message and actually it is a much more honest one than a lot of the schools teach now. It was that the world's competitive and you've got to get used to and learn to deal with it in an even handed and gentlemanly way. ... we learnt to be competitive from about Grade 5, 6 or 7, and we were taught to do that in the context of caring, and responsibility. Success wasn't the only

²² BG, p. 6.

²³ IC, p. 2.

²⁴ MJ, p. 3. Similar comments made by RS, p. 7 and PC, p. 3.

*thing even though it was important to try and achieve. It was a balanced message and it was a much more consistent message because ... life only becomes more competitive, certainly over the first ten years of professional training and professional life, so it's a reasonably good preparation for the world.*²⁵

School impact

When asked what impact the school had on them the answers ranged from having no or very little impact, to a huge influence. Some felt that the school's traditional structure, full of consistent routine and unchanging expectations that students could rely on, had an impact on them.

*It never changed, it was always there, it was something you could rely on. You could go there every Monday morning after having a weekend off and things would always be the same. You were expected to work, exams had to be passed and probably life becomes much lighter.*²⁶

*I don't know whether it had a great influence on what I've done since I left school to be honest ... it taught me discipline, it taught me to be honest with people. It made me stand on my own two feet better than perhaps what I would have. That's probably the biggest impact ... I don't know whether it had a great deal to do with what I eventually went and did.*²⁷

A number felt that their parents and their activities outside of school such as Scouts, church groups and sport had a greater influence on them than the school. The belief that the school did not have a large or lasting effect on their lives is contradicted by their comments on the aims and the culture of the school that clearly show that there has been a large and long acting influence of the school and what it taught them about being men.

²⁵ RH, p. 5.

²⁶ NG, p. 9.

²⁷ JM, p. 6.

The school backed up the values that the family taught. In other words there was a good balance of reinforcement between the family and PAC. This is a major feature of private schools, as parents do not pay to send their children to a school teaching values that the family disagrees with. Life long friendships were established at the school. These ensured their continued involvement with PAC, particularly if their sons attended. There was evidence of strong loyalty to the school with many of the sons of these students, even of those who did not enjoy the experience, following in their father's footsteps.

My family's had the biggest influence on me, but they took on board the fact that the school was part of what they wanted and they sort of allowed the school to be as important as they wanted it to be. But they were the big influence and the school backed it up.²⁸

The school had a big impact because really our life revolved around it. It was going through the motions of lessons which weren't easy. It was full-on sport after school, and on Saturday morning or afternoon, and then even holidays, there's still that link with Scouts. It was very much an integral part of our lives. That was supported by having an older brother and having parents who were behind you.²⁹

It had a pretty profound effect at the time, but influence from the family of course is strongest, but the peer pressure was quite strong. There was a very strong peer pressure to conform and if you were not the academic star or the sports star you got ostracised.³⁰

It was very significant. It was probably the most significant influence in my life. I was only there for 7 years but of your education 7 years is a pretty big chunk. My closest friends 30 years later are friends that I made at PAC. ... its had an enormous impact on me³¹.

²⁸ ID, p. 4.

²⁹ RS, p. 9.

³⁰ DG, p. 5.

³¹ AN, p. 6.

There was a strong sense of school spirit and belonging to a group that would always be there throughout their lives after school.

... there was a sense of school spirit. We identified with our school, which was notably absent amongst the people I mixed with from Unley High and places like that.³²

School spirit was also reinforced in the school magazine editorials, which were written by students.

Along with increased interest in school activities come better school spirit and a sense of belonging. If a boy takes a part in his school's life he feels part of it. ... If he has taken part in it as he should, it has been an extremely rewarding and happy way of life.³³

The school engendered self-confidence and a belief in the students' abilities. Boys left the school believing that they were a cut above others and that PAC was one of the best schools not only in Adelaide but also in South Australia. The following school song illustrates this.

Best School of All

It's good to see the school we knew,
The land of youth and dream,
To greet again the rule we knew
Before we took the stream;
Though long we've missed the sight of her
Our hearts may not forget;
We've lost the old delight of her,
We keep her honour yet.

Chorus

We'll honour yet the school we knew,
The best school of all.
We'll honour yet the rule we knew,
Till the last bell call.
For working days and holidays,
And glad or melancholy days,
They were great days and jolly days
At the best school of all.³⁴

³² DJ, p. 4.

³³ Editorial, *PAC Chronicle*, April 1965, p. 3.

³⁴ Peard, *PAC School Songs*.

The school promoted academic excellence and encouraged students to go to university.

There were many more opportunities in the 1960s for university graduates, who were assured of a job after graduation. There was not a job shortage in any area and therefore students did not have to think or deal with the consequences of unemployment or seek alternatives.

Probably gave you that little bit more confidence. It gave you the desire to succeed, ... not feel that success was something that you shouldn't really aspire to. ... so its got something to do with the rural background, where you just don't step out ... of the pecking order, if you do you don't make it in the rural area, that's the way it was in those days. You all had to work together. Some people were more well off than others, I suppose by hard work but that was probably transferred to me. ... in the 1960s you see we weren't used to compromising, everything was there. If you wanted to do it, you could. We didn't have to think, if we did this we'd have to sacrifice that or whatever, you just did things.³⁵

The old school tie helped to create a bond between boys that lasted a lifetime. It ensured and instilled school loyalty, in part through frequent references to it in the school Chronicle. Past students belonged to and were a part of an old boys' club, the PAC fraternity.

The first thing that my education at Princes got me I'm sure was a job, because the first job I had was with sharebrokers, [who] had gone to Prince Alfred College. I'm sure, whilst you weren't aware of the old boy network but way under the surface it was just bubbling away.³⁶

³⁵ GD, pp. 5-6.

³⁶ IC, p. 8.

I've always kept my contacts. ... it's a huge impact. It's been a big part of my life. Not that I've been on committees or anything like that but its always there. I'm interested to get the Chronicle and see what's happening and when friends have said 'where shall we send our kids to school?' I've always said Princes was a good school and still is a good school. If you want to go to a private school, it's one of the best.³⁷

This last quote also illustrates that past students used their well established opinion that PAC was a superior school by recommending it to friends. This belief in the superiority of a PAC education was encouraged by the school and confirmed at speech days as shown in the following report.

The guest of honour this year was The Right Honourable the Lord Mayor of Adelaide, Mr. C. J. Glover who, after distributing the prizes and scholarships, spoke to the boys. He recalled that thirty-eight years ago his father was the first Old Boy of the School to present the prizes at a speech day and observed that he himself was the first Old Boy of the second generation to do so. His advice to prize winners was to be mindful of and grateful for what the School has done for them, to the less successful to persevere and do their best, and to those returning to remember that school days are happy days and to stay as long as possible. He concluded by expressing the belief that school life today is far better than it was in his schooldays and that the greatest lesson the school has to teach and the most essential is that of courage.³⁸

Even those who did not like the experience still keep promoting the school as one of the best. This loyalty was encouraged through the Old Scholars' Association which held regular functions and had a number of sporting teams. About a quarter of each edition of the school magazine was taken up with describing their activities.

³⁷ TR, p. 6.

³⁸ PAC Chronicle, April 1962, p. 8.

Everyone at Princes is a part of it. Again I made great friends there who have come through with me for the last thirty years. ... we had a reunion - a thirty year reunion last year and had an enormous turnout - it was something like about 80 or 90 per cent of the boys from our year turned up to this dinner, and it was fantastic meeting up with all these other guys. There was huge community out there and that you may know them from the years before or a couple of years later. It just gives a bond with other people that makes it very easy to introduce ourselves and talk to other people outside. It's a very strong bond.³⁹

The school taught boys to be independent, free thinkers able to look at all the possibilities and make up their own minds. This helped to produce leaders by creating decision-makers with good, Christian values.

I can't emphasise enough the free thinking aspect of Prince Alfred that sticks in my mind a lot. I can remember Patto and I went to the first Bill Haley rock and roll movie. ... it was not looked upon highly by parents. It was one of the movies where you weren't supposed to go to so you snuck into it. But once again you weren't taught that rock and roll music is bad for you or anything like that at school You felt that you could go and have a look and make up your own mind whether you liked it or you didn't. ... so I've always felt that in my life that it was up to me to either go and look at something, read something, see something, whatever it was and make up my own mind. I believe that's come from my education that I never felt that there were things that were going to be bad for you so you don't even try. Those are the important things that I got from the education.⁴⁰

It was individuality. They certainly tried to make people think and do for themselves, and pushing yourself maybe beyond your own ability, or believing that you can go up to your own ability would be more like it ... also to broaden your spheres with your involvement in sport and encouragement of sport, whether it be at school, or outside, or in extra-curricula

³⁹ MW, p. 4.

⁴⁰ IC, p. 8.

activities. In other words, a wide education, because there were hobbies, and there was Scouts, and Cadets ... and they were all part of the schooling programmes. So they were actively fostered rather than passively.⁴¹

However, at the same time the school put much emphasis on conformity. Some students saw the school as being highly structured and felt that they were expected to conform. They were certainly not allowed to have their say and make their own decisions. They were not taught to question the system, rather to do as they were told and learn from example.

They were typical of the time in a sense. That you were being trained to be a leader of the community. They really thought that the leaders of the community would come from the private schools. There were the older contacts that you had with other people, of the generation that had been there before, and that you would do good things both in your work and in your life, lead a life as a Christian gentleman. Do the traditional things, get married and have a family. I don't think there was a great encouragement to do unusual things or eccentric things. ... it tended more in those days to be drummed down your throat. This is what you should do, rather than ask yourself what you should do. I could sense a real change in the seventies and eighties. The 1960s were still a bit more like the thirties, and forties and fifties.⁴²

The school maintained strict and constant control over the lives of the boarders. It was possibly the biggest influence in their lives. Some of the boarders saw their sheltered, regimented existence as an advantage because it stopped them from coming into contact with the less desirable side of life until they were mature enough to handle it. The boarders had the opportunity to get to know each other at a deeper level and establish closer relationships than the dayboys.

⁴¹ PG, pp. 4-5.

⁴² PN, p. 5.

Really the school had quite a significant impact on my life because I was a boarder so the school was my life. Virtually everything that we did apart from in the holidays was school related. Even, for example, socialising, where dayboys might go off to night clubs and things and maybe drink, our socialising was virtually restricted to dances with the girls from similar schools and certainly no alcohol. So I suppose it kept the bad influences of society away from you. You were aware of them because you'd see them in the paper and perhaps see it occasionally happening to the dayboys but it stopped you falling into pitfalls.⁴³

It taught me in lots of cases there's always another way to do things. In associating and living closely with other boys at the boarding school, and on exits sometimes you'd go home with a mate. It broadened your mind in that all families don't operate the same, and they all think differently. Some of the boys came from the Northern Territory, some came from the South East and some of the boarders even came from overseas. It broadened your whole aspect because you got to know them, you got to know the way they lived, which I felt was a great advantage. And you don't get that so much if you are a dayboy because it's when you're living at the school and living with the other boys, is when the environment gets created that you sit down and have a heart to heart talk, that you only have when you are living with someone. There's a saying that 'you never really know somebody until you actually live with them'.⁴⁴

The school also dominated the lives of the dayboys. Most did not have outside activities such as sport, clubs, Scouts, church groups etc, this was all done within the school, unless they came to the school late. Most only had friends at school not outside. Those who came for the last year or two of their schooling kept contacts from outside of the school. Some went to state schools first or came from strong rural communities and kept their links with them.

⁴³ MJ, pp. 4-5.

⁴⁴ SV, p. 5.

Role models

The Masters modelled 'ideal' manliness for their charges and aspired to give the boys the best possible education to make them into fine public men. Boys were expected to have and show a great deal of respect for their teachers. Good instruction was imparted to them, training them to become honourable and truthful men of society. Of most importance to the school was the Headmaster, for his beliefs about the 'ideal' man and leadership were the keystone for the school's culture. PAC stood for what the head stood for. The Headmaster's job was to model socially accepted behaviour.

Jack Dunning: Headmaster

He had a thick square head, greyish hair, spoke well, always wore an academic gown - had an impeccable memory for names.⁴⁵

John Angus Dunning was appointed Headmaster of PAC in 1949 and retired at the end of 1969. Arriving with his wife and two daughters, he became the sixth Headmaster of this eighty-year-old school. All of the previous Headmasters had been born and educated in England and therefore the school was strongly, if not entirely based on the English corporate boys' school system. Dunning's appointment broke with this tradition as he was neither English, Methodist nor an old scholar. He was born in New Zealand in 1903, brought up Presbyterian and educated at Auckland Grammar School where he was awarded academic scholarships. He graduated in advanced chemistry and mathematics from Auckland University College and then completed a Master of Science degree with honours in mathematics at the University of Otago, 1924. Next, he won a Rhodes scholarship and studied

⁴⁵ AB, p. 2.

mathematics at Oxford. On finishing at Oxford he returned to his previous position teaching in New Zealand at John McGlashan College, Dunedin, where he was a sports master and played cricket, rugby, hockey and golf. He had represented New Zealand in test cricket and football. He was appointed as Headmaster at Scots College in Warwick, Queensland in 1939. He held this position for ten years and at the same time was an elder in the Presbyterian church.⁴⁶

He was a strong candidate for the position of Headmaster at PAC because he was highly qualified and experienced in both learning and teaching. He brought his love of sport and strong belief of its importance in schooling to PAC. The School's emphasis on sport was noted in the majority of the interviews. When I asked the students what they remembered about Jack Dunning, the most common response was that he had been a test cricketer for New Zealand and loved sport.

Dunning also liked the sea, something that probably related to his early experiences as his father was a mariner and a farmer. He was eager to learn and was brought up with his Scottish ancestors' respect for learning. This was certainly borne out in his career as well as in his sister's. She became a principal of a high school in New Zealand.

During his twenty years at PAC, Dunning was a member of the following educational groups; the Public Examinations Board, the Australian Council of Education, Standing Committee of the Headmasters' Conference of the Independent Schools of Australia and from 1960 a member of the Council of the University of Adelaide. In the wider community he was the President of the South Australian Branch of the Royal Commonwealth Society from 1958-60, a member of the Ground and Finance Committee of the South Australian Cricket Association and a trustee of Kent Town Methodist Church. In the Honours List for the New Year, 1965 he

⁴⁶ Gibbs, *A History of PAC*, pp. 277-279.

was awarded the Order of the British Empire 'in recognition of his distinguished service to the cause of education and the community'.⁴⁷ A full page in the school Chronicle was dedicated to this achievement which, included a photo of Dunning sitting at his desk, in front of a full bookcase wearing an academic gown. It was also noted that 'a glance at these varied public activities and interests makes it clear how well the honour was deserved'.⁴⁸

The school Council set out the Headmaster's general duties as - 'to select, control and arrange the duties of the various staff; arrange the religious services and religious teaching, with the help of the chaplain; exercise general control over the Preparatory School; maintain the school property and finances; and have overall responsibility for the boarding house'.⁴⁹ The Headmaster embodied the school community and identity by orchestrating all activities. Therefore, the Headmaster's beliefs, values and morals were reflected in the school's emphasis on religion, sport and academia. He was answerable to the council for the school's running. The teaching staff consisted of five ministers and nine laymen. He ran the school essentially alone as there was not a large hierarchical administration as there is in schools today. The students called him 'the Boss', which he had also been called at Scots College.⁵⁰ Dunning had taught maths in his other appointments, but there was no evidence in the interviews or Chronicles to suggest that he did any teaching at PAC.

*Didn't see much of him, most people were a bit afraid of him. He was generally referred to as 'The Boss' but nothing more derogatory than that ... we never had him in any classes, I don't think he did any teaching. So he would have obviously been an administrator. A fairly strong sort of a guy ...*⁵¹

⁴⁷ PAC Chronicle, April 1965, p. 15.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*

⁴⁹ Gibbs, *A History of PAC*, p. 279.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*

⁵¹ RF, p. 4.

He was simply in charge and everyone in the school knew this so he was regarded with respect, fear and awe. Privately boys also referred to him as 'Jack'. He did not attract the nicknames that the masters did, possibly because he did not have the close contact with the students that they did.

The headmaster's reports on the school at Speech Days were printed in full in the school Chronicle. These reports included any new buildings or plans for future building and property acquisition, as well as lists of current student successes in the public examinations and the awarding of Rhodes scholarships to old scholars. The Headmaster regarded old scholars' success as important in promoting the school culture as the following quote from 1963 Speech day illustrates.

Two boys of our intercollegiate team of recent years have this week brought honour and distinction to themselves and their old School. P. L. Rogers was awarded the Rhodes Scholarship. He has had a remarkable academic record both at school and at the university. He is good at games, but what is more important, he possesses to a marked degree those qualities of character which Rhodes was seeking in his Rhodes Scholars. Manly but not sophisticated, and modest to a degree, he is an old boy of whom we are very proud.⁵²

The importance of academia was strongly emphasised by the headmaster in these speeches propagating and reinforcing the culture of the school into the community. He also noted the boys and their parents had a responsibility to make the most of the opportunities offered by PAC. After mentioning that more boys than usual in the senior school were showing a lack of interest by not attending events such as the mid-year and annual school services, intercollegiate competitions, the school concert or the cadet camp, he then went on to say that

⁵² *PAC Chronicle*, April 1963, p. 10.

These boys must know that acceptance as a pupil at a school carries with it certain responsibilities, which a minority of our boys are not prepared to accept. In many cases the fault lies with the parents, and for them the greatest guilt is that they are not doing their duty to their sons by seeing that they get the very best out of their years at school.⁵³

Gibbs in his, *A History of Prince Alfred College*, calls the period that covers 1948 to 1969 'Dunning: Strengthening the Old Ways' which encapsulates the school culture that he encouraged.⁵⁴ Dunning reinforced the values and beliefs of his predecessors. He demonstrated 'masculine strength' throughout his life and lived in 'a strongly masculine world, reinforced from 1949 through membership of the Adelaide Club (the school's only headmaster to join it) and always, most strongly, through the School itself'.⁵⁵ He even resisted the push to move towards coeducation in the late 1960s. The school did not change a lot during this time, it was the Headmaster who succeeded Dunning who introduced innovations and more modern values by making sweeping changes to administration, curriculum and the teaching staff. Dunning believed in sporting and academic excellence, producing the future leaders of society and giving back to the community.

Boarders saw a more fatherly side of the Headmaster as he showed an interest in their welfare by spending a lot of time around the boarding house. He was able to do this because he lived on the school campus. The boarders had a high respect for Dunning, believing that he was fair, compassionate, approachable and did not like using the cane unless absolutely necessary. They also saw him as a person with a good sense of humour.

I remember him quite well. A highly respected man. He seemed to have a gift to know about all the boys throughout the school, which was just incredible. Very understanding, gentle man, I just can't speak highly enough of him. Other students might have differing opinions

⁵³ *ibid.*, p. 9.

⁵⁴ Gibbs, *A History of PAC*, pp. 271-296.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p. 329. The Adelaide Club was a men's only club.

depending on what they got up to, but we saw a lot of him as boarders. After school hours he used to be around the boarding house. He used to be at the dining room table quite often on the staff table.⁵⁶

He was the Head. Everyone looked up to him. He seemed to be a nice guy, I remember once I was potentially in a little bit of trouble but he gave us a bit of fatherly advice and it wasn't as dramatic as we thought it was going to be. So he was pretty compassionate.

What did you do?

I had the use of my grandparents' car on the weekend and drove around the place and apparently you weren't really supposed to give other boarders a lift, there was probably some concern about them being where they shouldn't be. No doubt there is always some concern about car crashes. We'd go off and visit the girls that we met at the school's dances and things. He really wasn't too worried about it actually. I personally think he thought that whoever it was that had sent us to see him perhaps over reacted a bit but he had to support them too. He was fairly nice about it and just said "Well, you shouldn't really be doing that boys and off you go." (laughing).⁵⁷

The dayboy's perceptions of their Headmaster differed from that of the boarders. The dayboys saw him as aloof, unapproachable, a person to be feared and who demanded respect; a person few had much contact with other than watching him make announcements at weekly assemblies, speech days and the annual school service where he delivered the sermon. Most of the students feared being sent to him for discipline. Some viewed him as hard where others saw him as fair, even handed and deserving their respect.

Apart from his very imposing physical presence I didn't have a lot to do with him. He never taught me in a class at all. ... so far as I was concerned as a student just that big man who was there at assembly and who sort of talked in assemblies. There was always the fear that if

⁵⁶ JF, p. 2.

⁵⁷ MJ, pp. 2-3.

*you'd done anything terribly wrong you'd have to be marched up to the Headmaster's office. Fortunately it was something I never had to do. ... the prefects would tend to have a lot more to do with the Headmaster.*⁵⁸

Although most students had very little direct contact with Dunning, they perceived him as a good leader who fulfilled their belief of what made a good Headmaster.

*Thought he was a good Headmaster, but didn't personally have very much to do with him, so I couldn't really say I knew him personally. He seemed to be a good leader. He seemed to have a lot of respect amongst the students and the staff.*⁵⁹

Dunning was respected and held in awe by students as he had been a Test cricketer for New Zealand. Nearly every person interviewed remembered this about him.

*Oh the old Jack. Fantastic. Loved his cricket. During the test cricket he'd walk around with an earphone in his ear trying to get the latest test scores, because he did play cricket - test cricket for New Zealand himself. Overall a very well liked Headmaster.*⁶⁰

*He was a cricketer. He had been a test cricketer and he was very keen on cricket. They said that cricket ... was always the best outfitted. I just thought he was a good Headmaster and a nice bloke.*⁶¹

*I thought he was excellent. He was certainly well respected by the parents and the lads. And a well regarded educationalist and also he put a lot of money into cricket.*⁶²

⁵⁸ AN, pp. 3-4.

⁵⁹ DM, p. 2.

⁶⁰ JW, p. 2.

⁶¹ PP, p. 2.

⁶² GD, p. 3.

He had a rugby background but he had an affinity with football. He was always out watching the footy on the front or the back oval, he was pretty good rower himself, and so rowing was seen then as pretty much a male domain. And he enjoyed tennis. I don't think he had a lot of time for gymnastics and Scouts, it was the army, he was more the macho type.⁶³

Those who did not play in the upper levels of cricket and football felt that the Headmaster was not interested in them.

I only really got to know him in the last years of school because he was pretty aloof and he was the Headmaster so, you had to go and see him for things there were difficulties about. He was a good cricketer and he seemed to favour the major sports of cricket and football and looked with less favour on the sports that I played in.⁶⁴

I wasn't, outgoing, popular, gregarious. I wasn't the kind of a student that would have made an impression and because I was playing a lower level in most sporting ventures I didn't cross paths with Jack Dunning.⁶⁵

The Headmaster's reputation was handed down via siblings and parents, so that when boys reached the school they had often already met Dunning and knew exactly what to expect of him and what he expected from them as students.

Being a man that I already had some respect for because he'd been a Headmaster when my brothers had been there. ... I'd been to speech days and things when I was a little kid and I can remember him standing up on speech days and speaking, so I knew who he was. I knew that he was a man who had a reputation for being fairly strict but on the other hand gentle and he had an international reputation as being a test cricketer and I therefore saw him as being somebody who was to be respected. He wasn't a very approachable sort of person

⁶³ WT, p. 2.

⁶⁴ JC, p. 2.

⁶⁵ DC, p. 2.

*where you could bounce up to him and say hello, how are you in a casual sort of way. But equally when you did have to talk to him he would listen.*⁶⁶

Although most of those interviewed had positive memories of Dunning and all respected his authority, a number also felt that he also had some shortcomings such as being aloof, distant, unapproachable, gruff and not being up with the twentieth century. These students attended PAC in the later part of this period.

*Jack Dunning was an old school style school Headmaster. A rather stern, severe man in the sense that he was humourless. Ran a good school but his limitation was in terms of imagination not moving quickly in the 1960s to bring Princes into the later part of the twentieth century. He was handicapped by a rather elderly teaching staff and without much imagination coming forward in any way, with the exception of probably two or three masters that showed up in the 1960s of being a little bit brighter in terms of initiative.*⁶⁷

*He was the Headmaster the whole time I was there. Although you'd probably have to say he wasn't a particularly approachable sort of person. He was a little bit aloof, he wasn't the sort of person you got close to, and I was a prefect at the end and I don't remember that he had that sort of close contact with students.*⁶⁸

*Strong personality, certainly I don't recall him being discussed adversely in the school community that I was aware of, but then I was pretty young and pretty immature. I'm a bit coloured by that fact that he gave my father the advice that I would never make it at University so I didn't bother to matriculate for that. ... it was unforgivable of him so I don't have any fond memories of Jack Dunning just on that single act.*⁶⁹

⁶⁶ BW, p. 3.

⁶⁷ TY, p. 3.

⁶⁸ DH, p. 2.

⁶⁹ DJ, p. 2.

By the time I got there he was a fairly benign older man who had lost his punch. I understand he used to be quite a dynamic and active person but we hardly ever saw him because he had just lost his impetus by the time I had got to the senior school.⁷⁰

Jack, I didn't have a lot to do with him. He always acknowledged who you were, in the sense that he knew your name, or if he didn't, he pretended he did, he was never a teacher. He was basically a figure to look up to because he was a test cricketer. He was pretty well liked. It was towards the end of his time, but he was still very active. ... the school was running along pretty well on its own as much as I could see. And in assemblies there were odd sort of things, that he hadn't moved up with the time. One instance in which he really sort of, got very upset because the school screamed with laughter when he said his hobby and everyone should go out and bird watch - couldn't understand until the chaplain put him right. He thought bird watching was a great hobby, and so did the boys of course, different birds!⁷¹

When boys attended school appears to have influenced their opinion of Jack Dunning. Boys in the early period remember him as a great, fair Headmaster whereas some of those in the latter period felt that he was past his time. There was also a clear difference of perception depending on whether the boys were sportsmen, academics, boarders or dayboys. Boarders saw him more as a fatherly, approachable, good-humoured man who did not like using the cane. Dayboys felt that they had little if any direct contact with Dunning or 'He was just the scary man at the top of the school'.⁷² Dunning's era spanned a time of change of thinking in society. This is borne out by the different perceptions of the boys from the earlier part of his tenure compared with those from later. The different perceptions of the headmaster appear to be related to the number of years that the boys had attended the school. For example, if they had been there from year one when the muscular Christian culture of the school was also the norm in society, then the interviewees were positive in their attitude to the Headmaster. For

⁷⁰ MW, p. 2.

⁷¹ PG, p. 2.

⁷² DC, p. 2.

boys who had attended other schools with a different culture and attended PAC for the last two to five years of their schooling, the Headmaster was behind the times.

Those who were good at sport, were in the top sporting teams, or good academically certainly had more direct contact with Jack Dunning than the rest of the students. Prefects also saw more of him due to their role in discipline and school loyalty, although it seemed that they did not have as much contact with him as the non-prefects thought. Nearly all of those interviewed commented on Jack having an amazing memory, which he demonstrated by knowing all their names and his ability to place them in the appropriate family. He was looked up to by the students for having been a test cricketer and 'The Boss' of the school. He ensured that the school had a strong emphasis on sport. He had a genuine interest in and liking for the boys he educated. This was shown by his attendance at all major sporting events, keeping up with the boys and old scholars' academic, professional and sporting achievements and their family situation. Dunning created a school environment built on success, school loyalty and giving back to the community.

Masters

The role of Masters was much more comprehensive than just being teachers. They were role models of what a Christian gentleman was expected to be. The masters' role modelled proper presentation by demonstrating how to dress like a man. The more formal the clothing and the more masculine strength the masters displayed, particularly when disciplining, the more respect they were given by the students. Dress was also used as an authority mechanism because it made the masters stand out even more and they expected students to do what they were told and give them respect. The masters tended to be presented neatly in sports jackets and ties or formally in suits. A number of the older masters wore academic gowns over their suits, which gave an Eton feel to the school. Old, discoloured, academic gowns were

perceived by some of the students to be worn as a badge of honour indicating how long their owners had been at the school.

*They were still wearing their gowns. They wore their black sort of graduation bachelor gowns to class and some of them were so old that they were actually green rather than black, so it was a bit like a touch of Eton in that way.*⁷³

*Most wore suits most of the time or fairly formal sports jackets but, certainly all the older men, all the established men wore their academic gowns around the place, and they came in very handy if there was no blackboard duster or whatever. But by 1960 there were probably fewer wearing academic gowns. The older men were hanging on to them. I can remember somewhere in probably '58 or '59 Argus shouted himself to a new gown, which replaced a very tattered old thing, but it was almost a badge of honour to have a fairly tatty gown that you wore around the place. But certainly by 1960 they were getting to be worn less and less.*⁷⁴

When the new summer uniform consisting of shorts and short sleeved shirts was introduced for the boys in the mid 1960s the masters also started to wear short sleeves but always with a tie. The previous uniform for the boys was formal and consisted of a double-breasted suit, white shirt, tie and cap, which they wore throughout the year.

*At the time I was at school they changed over the summer uniforms to grey shorts and shirts and that was mainly designed for the junior school, whereas everybody took the opportunity to wear it, and some of the Masters started wearing kilts and long socks and probably a white shirt and a tie. But most of them wore jackets and suits. The Headmaster wore a gown and some of the older (masters).*⁷⁵

⁷³ GS, p. 2.

⁷⁴ PM, p. 3; PN, p. 2; TY, p. 2 made similar statements.

⁷⁵ PP, p. 2.

Some of those interviewed noticed that there was a quite a difference in the way that the masters dressed, varying from quite formal to casual attire.

Some of them I can remember ... tended to be fairly formal. This was in preparatory school they wore suits or sports coats. Some of them actually wore gowns in those days. I remember one maths teacher about second year he tended to wear corduroys and pullovers. He looked fairly casual. And some were quite immaculately dressed. There was a real difference.⁷⁶

Many of the comments made about the masters described them as a variety of people with individual characteristics, rather than as teachers or in terms of their teaching ability. The boarders and the dayboys made similar comments about the variety of personalities and teaching techniques of the masters. Students' strongest memories of the masters were of characters rather than what they learnt from them. The quality of teaching was seen as being very mixed, some were good teachers some not so good, but they were all different and all remembered as individuals.

There was a pretty amazing mixture of personalities.⁷⁷

A mixed lot. Some of the teachers were quite good and some were quite terrible.⁷⁸

Probably the best thing is their eccentricities, because there were lots of eccentric men at that stage. And in school terms, they had become famous. I look back and see myself as being taught by a whole range of the great legends. And most of those disappeared before 1960.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ PN, p. 2.

⁷⁷ DJ, p. 2.

⁷⁸ DM, p. 2.

⁷⁹ PM, pp. 1-2.

They all had their own personalities. They weren't in any one mould. They were human beings from different walks of life, different parts of town. They had a great variety of individuals. They weren't sort of streamlined in any way, so the variety was quite remarkable. That really gave us a pretty well round education on the whole of life, not just in academia.⁸⁰

They were all to a degree eccentric in their own way and the longer they were there the more eccentric that they got because they got fixed in their own ways which they thought obviously were right and who were we to complain because they wouldn't have held their jobs unless they got results and they certainly did that. Some of them were there for forty odd years. Or more.⁸¹

Generally outstanding gentlemen. Maybe I was very fortunate to have the teachers that I did all the way through, but most of them were pretty outstanding examples in leadership and the appropriate values, and learning. Trying to instil the right sort of approach to learning, and attitude to life and not being restricted to just getting good grades but moving onwards to learn how to study at university, and to living after that.⁸²

They were all characters in their own right. The majority of them had been there for quite a considerable part of their entire life. There were a cross section of ages ... some of these Masters who'd been there and I knew them already if you like, by name and by reputation, so it was like you were going to a place where there were people that obviously had already established a reputation so you already had a feeling that they were probably good people. There was some you knew they had a bit of a funny reputation. There were other Masters who had started, around the same time as you did or came along while you were at school who didn't have that same tradition, so there was certainly across the board sort of age group and quality and you soon learnt the ones that were good teachers and those who weren't. But overall I would say that there was a positive feeling about the staff.⁸³

⁸⁰ MW, p. 2.

⁸¹ DB, p. 1.

⁸² DH, p. 2.

⁸³ BW, p. 2.

One student had quite a negative view of teaching staff as being incompetent and beyond their usefulness. He left the school in the later period and this may explain a number of negative comments about the masters, such as they were older, more tired and not keeping up with the times.

Generally speaking I thought the teaching staff at Prince Alfred College when I was there was appalling. Most of the senior schoolmasters had well and truly out stayed their use by date. They had been in education for a long time they were, in my opinion, not particularly good and during the early part of the 1960s Prince Alfred College's scholastic results were not good and I believe that was partly ... as a result of the inadequate education system but particularly the masters in charge.⁸⁴

Masters role modelled the perceived norm of being a man, within the school and the part of society that the students were expected to enter. This was to ensure that they entered society smoothly. Boys were taught how to look, talk and behave as expected in their future career, be it farmers (who were established and relatively wealthy), bankers, businessmen or doctors. Boys were groomed for their future role as breadwinners and gentlemen. Most were expected to follow in their father's footsteps and enter the same career.

Like most children I thought that they were good father figures and they were upright citizens. I always thought that they were very fair and reasonable in their attitudes. I didn't really have a lot of problems with the teachers. They were good.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ TY, pp. 1-2.

⁸⁵ MW, p. 1.

You could go on forever. I remember a lot of the funny stories, it's the stuff legends are made of. But no, certainly there was a wide range of personalities and those who at one end you might call compassionate and the more human people to those who were extremely set in their ways. And it was totally business as usual, you fitting their mould and their methods, and if you didn't you often found yourself in another class.⁸⁶

They tended to be older and invariably longer serving by comparing with state schools. There were a few well-known identities, characters if you like at PAC. In fact there was still some of them when my son went there. I felt the masters ranged from being particularly good to being particularly ordinary. I would recall teaching in the state school system as being in some cases as good if not better.⁸⁷

Most of the masters had been at the school a very long time, only a couple were ever referred to as being young. All the teachers in the senior school were male, with the exception of the French teacher, Miss Edgerley and the librarian. Most of those interviewed felt that the teachers were dedicated, well to reasonably well qualified and therefore knowledgeable in their subject area. A number referred to the masters as 'living legends'.⁸⁸ Older students and siblings passed down Masters' reputations to the younger boys, often before they got to the school. Loyalty to the school was also demonstrated in the length of time the staff stayed at the school and the number of ex-scholars who came back to work at the school.

Everything from good to very good, to bad, or inadequate or inept, or whatever, and some of them I have the highest regard for and still do, some of them are still alive. Others of them seemed to go from being a person I didn't respect to become a respectable citizen. Some of them have retired in recent times. Others shouldn't have been there at the stage I was at school. (laugh) In fact, one of the pictures I have is of one of the Masters who also taught my

⁸⁶ PH, p. 2.

⁸⁷ II, p. 3.

⁸⁸ RS, p. 3; PH, p. 2.

father. This is still one of the good things about Princes is the long time that Masters or teachers stay at a place like Princes.⁸⁹

There were some positives and some negatives. They are mostly positives. I can think of my English teacher Alan Denis, whom I found quite inspirational and who was a bit like the Robyn Williams character in Seize the Day (Dead Poets Society).⁹⁰

A whole range. There were good, bad and indifferent. Some of them were excellent. I have very good memories of the last year. We had a very nice person and he was a good teacher, explained things very well. I had one teacher whom I regard as brilliant because I was not very good at maths and he had a real teaching ability. He was very, very good at explaining difficult things and I really thank my whole education to him because he got me through maths, without which I would not have matriculated. I had other teachers whom I don't think were very good teachers at all. I had outside coaching in one or two areas. But other teachers were probably picked more for their sporting ability than for their teaching ability. I don't think they were very well qualified basically, and there were a few other odd eccentric ones who weren't the best. So I had a whole range. I had very good and very bad.⁹¹

As adolescents the boys were struggling to find their own identity and place in society. They searched for and identified role models amongst people they respected which may have included the Headmaster, masters and peers. Masters modelled the rewards of hard work, good presentation and good values such as 'respect for others', 'strive to do your best', 'work hard and reap the rewards'.

You followed the example of people you liked. The ones I liked were the ones that had a good sense of humour and were fair, and in that respect I suppose I followed their example.⁹²

⁸⁹ DL, p. 1.

⁹⁰ GS, p. 2.

⁹¹ PN, pp. 1-2.

⁹² PP, p. 2.

*I suppose they were role models weren't they, really?*⁹³

This encompassed giving back to those less fortunate, the school, as well as loyalty to classmates. This bred a loyalty to the school and hence the strong old school tie network was reinforced, and continued throughout their lives especially in the context of work.

*By and large, I thought the Masters were good really. The first Master in Grade 5, was a temporary Master, and that was a case of the opposite happening. This Master was treated very badly by the boys because he didn't have an air of confidence, and didn't seem to be very secure in what he was doing. The boys really made his life an absolute misery, and I really felt for him. And there were times when this man virtually broke down. He literally did break down in front of the class and rush out of the room into the teachers' common room, which was just across the hall, and the head of the primary school - Mr Close would have to come in, and say: Now boys that's enough pull yourself together, and give Mr X a fair go. But it's a bit like a pack of animals once the animals are out and down on the ground then you keep pursuing this animal, to wound. This gentleman had problems that we sort of latched on to and made his life pretty miserable. Occasionally I'd stay behind to give the guy a bit of a hand at the end of the term for example, he'd need things to be tidied up, and I kind of felt sorry for him and so I stayed behind and gave him a bit of a hand.*⁹⁴

*There was an emphasis on balance. There was also an emphasis on tradition, which is probably a bit old fashion these days. Some of the tradition of Queen and Country might be regarded as not necessarily politically correct these days. I don't think there was ever any question for anything other than honesty was to be respected. Diligence and questioning. ... so we learnt values of fairness, challenging ideas, but doing so in an open and respectful way. That stood us in good stead.*⁹⁵

⁹³ PD, p. 2.

⁹⁴ BG, p. 2.

⁹⁵ RH, p. 2.

The length of time the masters taught at the school confirmed their loyalty to the school and their belief in the system. This also helped to reinforce the Christian ethics and values that were taught throughout the school.

That I have learnt enormously from my teachers, about good things to do, and also things to desperately avoid. Because there were those two extremes. ... I suppose I learnt lots of things about morality, and lots of things about tolerance. We had to be very tolerant sometimes. But there were so many pieces of input, but you were always seen as very much a pretty passive recipient of all that was going on. And I'm sure that we learnt lots more than we were perhaps intended to.⁹⁶

It's the thing that the colleges have over the public system is an ethos, a sort of service, there's more to life than education, there's the religious side of things, which was important. ... service to the community, service to the school as well. Some of those Masters had been there for a long time and were dedicated and the place is important, and it's worth working here and staying here and putting the effort in.⁹⁷

Nearly all of the masters were given nicknames as a result of a particular outstanding characteristic. It took me some time to work out their real names as even in the interviews they were nearly always referred to by their nicknames. For example, Juicy Mutton, Tinny Steele, Rat Smith, Argus Dennis, Rajah Coombes, Killer Crouch, Tojo O'Connell, Doggie Glansie, Texas Ted and Tag Luke.⁹⁸

The old Tojo, Mr O'Connell who was the English teacher, and for most who we couldn't work out. And I, like most people was a bit confused by him but it wasn't until years later that I

⁹⁶ PM, p. 2.

⁹⁷ PI, p. 2.

⁹⁸ All nicknames are spelt phonetically as no one ever wrote them down.

realised just how much he had given us even though he was totally eccentric almost off the planet as far as we were concerned, but his love of English was probably a very strong influence. And Rajah Coombes, I've got strong memories, because of his Chemistry experiments and shaking a test tube. I remember me sitting in the front row and him taking his finger off and me having some sort of acid or something spilled all over me and the panic that then ensued. Juicy Mutton, he was fairly old. Duff he was quite eccentric. The PE teacher, Prigmore, that was him. He was quite sadistic in some of the things he did.⁹⁹

Well, Tag Luke stands out. He was the maths teacher, and the tennis coach. He was a real character. Well, he was just as likely to get the whole double maths lesson out on the tennis court to pick up the weeds and the stones and clear it up. Or when he was teaching us calculus I remember he got us out on the football oval and asked us to form the locus of the point equidistant between the two goal posts. Which we didn't understand, but I've never forgotten it since because it was the path of full forward to shoot goal on which is a line running straight out from a spot mid-distance between the two goal posts, and that's how we learned about calculus. And he was unusual with his technique, and he used to sit next to you in class while other boys were reading out their homework, and if they got something wrong, he'd give you a clip across the ear and say "Pass it on over darling". So, he was a character. And there were other characters like that as well. Rajah Coombes was the Indian fellow who taught us chemistry, and he had the biggest cane that I've ever seen in my life, which I'd never seen him use, but he used to flex it in front of the class and we were terrified of doing anything wrong in his class. And, Doggie Glansie. I was just 12 years old in Year 8, He used to get paranoid about us laughing at him. Gradually worked himself into a lather and you would be in big trouble. So there were a few characters that stand out with their different teaching techniques, and of course all the boys used to like trying to mimic them, take them off with their accents etc, and some of the kids were fantastic at it. The athletics coach Tojo O'Connell - he had a very pronounced speech impediment, which every boy in Princes would copy - cruelly, but that was the way it was.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ DG, p. 2.

¹⁰⁰ DT, pp. 1-2.

There was some good characters, they pretty well all had nicknames, some fairly obvious ones like there was Tinny Steele, Juicy Mutton, Killer Crouch which was not quite so obvious. That was because he was a master who always liked to crack a few jokes you see and the kids would all say "Aw ha ha that was a killer", and then there was Doggy Glansie, he was a sort of a pretty stern master and maybe the doggy came from he was always barking orders. And then there was Tojo O'Connell, he was called Tojo because he used to shave his head and General Tojo from the Japanese general he apparently used to shave his head or he looked a bit like Tojo.¹⁰¹

Most of them were good, some were crabby, they were all different. But some were difficult, some authoritarian, some couldn't control classes, some could impart knowledge easily, others sort of, didn't do it by scare tactics, but certainly got results. ... other than that they were all individuals, and all had nicknames and all got chiacked from behind their backs, and occasionally heard what you said, but other than that, most of them were a breeze really.¹⁰²

The masters were also made fun of and mimicked behind their backs, by the boys. Nicknames were, as expected, derived in a range of ways. From their names (Juicy Mutton and Tinny Steele); from their initials (TG Luke became Tag and RT Smith became Rat); from their ethnicity (Rajah Coombes who was ethnically Indian) or from mythology (Argus Dennis, Argus was a monster in Greek mythology that had 100 eyes, so while some eyes slept the others kept watch.¹⁰³ This nickname suggests that the boys could not get away with much in his classes as he saw everything.)

¹⁰¹ IC, p. 4.

¹⁰² PG, p. 1.

¹⁰³ Edith Hamilton (1969) *Mythology: timeless tales of gods and heroes*, The New American Library Inc., New York, p. 77.

There were A, B, C, D and E streams during this time at PAC. Most of the men interviewed believed that the A and B streams got the better teachers and you were lucky to be in the top streams, particularly the A. Once a student was placed in a stream in year eight they did not change except to go down, never up. The future farmers, who were usually boarders, the majority of whom were in the lower streams and were perceived to have had the less capable teachers. Those in the top academic streams had the better masters, less behaviour problems and were expected to go to university and/or enter a profession or business.

One of the things that occurs to me a lot in my last year or so, was the Masters very much fitted into the streaming process as well. Up in the A and the B stream you had the cream of the masters. Down in the C and the D stream you had masters who weren't as able as teachers and I always remember the Geography master, he was about one class ahead of the class and if you asked him a question which was not, more than one class ahead of him, he used to have to say I'm not quite sure but I'll go and find out. You used to think he doesn't seem to know much more than he's trying to teach us but that was certainly very much the impression. In many respects you got second rate teachers.¹⁰⁴

I was lucky enough to be in the A stream so I probably got the better teachers.¹⁰⁵

Most of the masters were involved in extra curricular activities such as cadet and scout camps, sport on Saturdays, hobbies and clubs. This is where the boys got to know their teachers better and often gained their respect. Masters taught the boys manners, especially how to behave in society.¹⁰⁶ This also links with the Christian ethics taught and reinforced throughout the school.

¹⁰⁴ AP, p. 4.

¹⁰⁵ PC, p. 2.

¹⁰⁶ DM, p. 2.

It wasn't so much in the classrooms, it was more the extra-curricula that taught you about yourself and how to extend yourself and so on. ... you remember a lot about that but you learn a lot at the same time as well as character forming. You learnt how to get on with other people. You learnt about how to look after others as well as yourself, how to cook and find your way round, how to live in the bush without all the luxuries at home etc.¹⁰⁷

That's difficult. Honesty, just honesty.¹⁰⁸

The thing I remember about the Masters at school is that they all had a facet that fitted in. They all had a specific purpose. We had an English Master and I still remember Tojo we called him. He wasn't a brilliant English Master in that sort of field, but he was a brilliant Athletics Master, he created some brilliant sportsmen in his day. Tinny Steele I remember - he was a man who had a brilliant memory.¹⁰⁹

They developed my love of sport. That's number one. They taught us how to get on with each other in a community type atmosphere. They taught us to develop a study technique to pass exams and that type of thing.¹¹⁰

The boarders had a lot more personal contact with the masters and Headmaster outside of school hours, particularly with the boarding house master/s as they also lived at the school. They often ate with the boys and supervised their study time and other activities such as sports and dances.

The boarding house Masters sometimes were a little bit tough but I certainly wouldn't say anything against that because what they did and what they had to do was very beneficial and it helped me in the long run and I reckon it helped a lot of the other boys to stand on their own

¹⁰⁷ JC, pp. 1-2.

¹⁰⁸ JF, p. 2.

¹⁰⁹ SV, p. 2.

¹¹⁰ DB, pp. 1-2.

*two feet, and not have to rely on their parents every day of their lives. I certainly got a lot out of that.*¹¹¹

*I thought they were good teachers and sort of interested in boarders because they'd see more of them.*¹¹²

*As a young lad they were sort of a bit awe-inspiring is probably the word. But then as you grew older and grew up you became wiser and realised they were human.*¹¹³

The masters created an environment in which the boys could do their best and achieve. Most of the boys liked this but some obviously didn't enjoy it. Some students felt isolated and alone, yet other students saw them as part of a group that stuck together. Some saw themselves as part of a group that didn't fit into the schools' mould.

*Leadership. That's something I got even though I hated Princes and desperately tried to be invisible the whole time I was there, but somehow that message got through.*¹¹⁴

Apart from one bloke that I remember in particular they were not the sort of people who you felt that if you had a problem you could go to and discuss that problem with them and get one to help. That's one of the reasons my next younger brother didn't enjoy his time at school because he was a person who very much under achieved while he was at school. It's interesting because he subsequently left school not matriculated. He did adult matriculation and did an economics degree and has done very well for himself since but at the time he was dyslexic and he had all sorts of problems at school and did not get the sort of help really that I would see the teachers would give you these days. But, there's only one teacher who I could

¹¹¹ JM, p. 2.

¹¹² MJ, p. 1.

¹¹³ PD, p. 1.

¹¹⁴ DG, p. 2.

remember who I have any sort of close, semi close relationship that I could go up to and actually talk to outside of the classroom or perhaps two.¹¹⁵

Although most felt that the masters had very little personal affect on them their comments in the interviews indicate otherwise. A number spoke of masters who had affected them but did not say how.

Well they all made you feel it was important to do well and achieve.¹¹⁶

Very mixed and all plenty of character. Some were rather forbidding, others friendly, others loquacious and entertaining. Most of them engendered a sense that you wanted to do your best.¹¹⁷

They taught you that the world wasn't an easy place to live in, even in the 1960s and that if you had some disappointments you've got to swallow them and just get out and do the best you can. And of course they were very strong on loyalty, to your family, your school, the business you're in. They taught you that it doesn't matter what happens - honesty, respect for your superiors will always go a long way.¹¹⁸

I would think at the time that I was going to school there was still an understanding that you respected your seniors and people who have earned respect of their peers and others, and so that was reinforced, not in any aggressive way but just by their manner, that they were educated men and I respected them for that ... the ones who earned that respect were people who treated you as human beings and were interested in you more than the curriculum and took an interest in your extra-curricula activities and were happy to talk to you about things of

¹¹⁵ AN, p. 3.

¹¹⁶ DT, pp. 1-2.

¹¹⁷ RH, p. 2.

¹¹⁸ AG, p. 2.

that nature. So I learnt from that experience that there was certain values in life and I've tried to continue with. And they reinforced values that I probably had from my home.¹¹⁹

They taught us responsibility for our own actions.¹²⁰

Generally some left little personal effect, but there are others who I truly admired and served as important role models.¹²¹

I respected those that had that sort of natural gift for teaching that they could put that message across in two or three different ways that made sure that everybody understood it.¹²²

I can think of some who had a very powerful influence on me in terms of their integrity and their life values - their sort of qualities if you like that were impressive.¹²³

For some reason, for particular ones, I can repeat some of the stories they told me and some of the impressions. They told me things that if my parents had said them to me would have meant nothing, but because they came from someone else and someone that was making some impression over me, it made a big impact.¹²⁴

This student did not feel that the masters had much of an influence on him but provided him with a good education.

I don't think I ever was that influenced by them. I'm a fairly individual sort of person, made my own decisions perhaps, rather than needing to be influenced by someone. Certainly, I

¹¹⁹ BW, pp. 2-3.

¹²⁰ DC, pp. 1-2.

¹²¹ RH, p. 2.

¹²² WT, p. 2.

¹²³ BW, p. 2.

¹²⁴ DC, pp. 1-2.

*remember them fondly, and appreciated their dedication, their kindness, I got a good education and it's partly due to them.*¹²⁵

Corporal punishment was common and some felt over the top and unnecessary but this was also part of teaching them to be men by accepting consequences for socially unacceptable behaviour. This is discussed in more detail in chapter three.

*We were taught manners, how to be in public, things like we always had to wear our caps, you sort of stood up on a bus, never sat down, the reason for that was, even if you were sitting down and a Master got on, he'd make you stand up. There was a lot of discipline in that way.*¹²⁶

*Well through the discipline they taught aspects of self-discipline and the importance of that.*¹²⁷

*Well, there was discipline. One of our English teachers used to hit you with a sandshoe while quoting Shakespeare. "The quality of mercy is not strained. It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven upon the place beneath." as he was whacking you with the sandshoe (laugh). So you had to behave. There were others that lost their temper and you didn't respect them so much, but generally they taught you how to behave.*¹²⁸

A fellow called Tinny Steele taught me Maths. He was a disciplinarian and had no hesitation getting you out in front of the class if your collars were undone or your cuffs were undone and he said to be a man you've got to start looking like one. And I suppose he took a bit of an interest in the boys out of the classroom as well. Most of the masters took an interest in the boys out of the classroom. In fact when you go to some of the masters' funerals, there are hundreds of his old students there so that will sort of tell you that even though they were pretty tough and you reckon they were bastards while you were at school you had this huge respect

¹²⁵ PI, p. 2.

¹²⁶ TG, p. 2.

¹²⁷ GC, p. 2.

¹²⁸ DT, p. 2.

*for them after school. And it was interesting that after school for the next 20 odd years, I could not bring myself to call them by their Christian names.*¹²⁹

Role modelling was linked to discipline that involved consequences and rewards for specific behaviour. As boys searched for role models they often looked at authoritarian figures such as the masters, which they either accepted or rejected and acted accordingly. At this time it was commonly believed that giving the boys strict rules in a structured environment would limit or eliminate any role confusion. If the boys identified with this it would simplify their life and future in society. There was a clear definition between the roles for men and women in the 1960s, although this was evolving. The norm in society was that men were the breadwinners and therefore had careers and the women, once married, looked after their husband, home and children. Masters helped to create a structured environment with clear rules and consequences for boys to find their own path and develop into Princes men for their future role in the community.

Prefects

Prefects helped maintain discipline and were also used as role models along with the masters, particularly for the younger boys. Senior boys were expected to set the tone of the school and an example for the junior boys; this was especially so for prefects. The roles of both senior and junior boys are clearly stated in the following editorial.

With respect to the role of the senior boy, there are certain pertinent facts, which should be pointed out. The most obvious is that the senior has a much more responsible task. He sets the tone of the school by his own example. ... in examining the role of the junior, this much may be said. It behoves younger boys to realise the importance of school spirit both to the school as

¹²⁹ AG, p. 2.

a whole, and to the individual. Ideally, the senior and the junior should combine in raising school morale to the highest level possible - and so create a fine "school spirit".¹³⁰

Prefects had a minor role in maintaining discipline such as making sure the school uniform was being correctly worn in and outside of the school.¹³¹ They monitored the boys' behaviour in schoolyard activities during lunch breaks and after school. Prefects had specific duties yet none of those interviewed mentioned what these were, other than the supervision of minor discipline.

*It was traditionally one of maintaining school discipline in the areas of recess and lunch time and after school sort of things in terms of maintaining school dress code and that type of thing. Obviously it was a position that was given to boys who had achievement in various areas or across the board.*¹³²

*In a minor way really control the activities of boys at school to enforce some of the more minor rules in the school, we promoted the school outside the school in terms of showing an example to the community as to what went on. We had to take part in school assemblies, sort of lead the school and in reading the bible lesson to the school. We generally ran the four houses and prepared the school for major sporting functions while there was school participation so that all the students knew the school song and the particular war cries that were required and everyone knew they had to be marshals for particular events at Adelaide oval.*¹³³

*They had some minor disciplinary roles. Otherwise it was more of a status thing but reflected if you like, the recognition of the senior staff and to some extent other students and their achievements in the school.*¹³⁴

¹³⁰ Editorial, *PAC Chronicle*, April 1964, pp. 3-4.

¹³¹ DT, p. 6; GD p. 6; JK, p. 8; RH, p. 7; TG, p. 5; SV, p. 3.

¹³² BW, p. 7.

¹³³ DB, p. 5.

¹³⁴ IL, p. 10.

They were a good liaison between the students and the masters but they were like military police to a degree. In the last couple of years, prefects didn't worry you like they did when you were in the first couple of years because you knew most of them anyway and you knew which ones you could manipulate a bit and which ones you just steered clear of.¹³⁵

The prefects were sort of like a staff appointed police force. His role was to keep jackets buttoned up and socks pulled up and the rest of it, and caps on. The prefects were significant in their own cloistered space where they were, they were encouraged to be a little bit of a school elite.¹³⁶

They had a good time (Laugh). Prefects, some of them were better than others. Reading the Lesson in the morning - in their Prefects' Room where they could all hide away and tell stories. Cleaning up the place, making sure you weren't smoking - catching you smoking, I think it was a bit of an ego trip myself. For some of them anyway. Some of them certainly treated it as an ego trip.¹³⁷

Prefects helped to organise school activities, such as sports carnivals and other inter-house competitions. The boarding house prefects helped the boarding house masters with the daily routine

Well certainly the house prefects were given areas of responsibility for looking after particular people in dormitories. Getting people to be at meals on time, those domestic type things in the kitchen, to be responsible for the homework side of things and also to be responsible when boarders went outside such as perhaps looking after people if they went to outside sporting events whatever the situation may be.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ NR, p. 5.

¹³⁶ SH, p. 7.

¹³⁷ TR, p. 3.

¹³⁸ JW, p. 7.

Prefects made sure students learned the school song and war cry early in their schooling.

They modelled correct presentation and behaviour particularly for the younger boys who often looked up to them.¹³⁹ Being the school captain was presented as a great achievement and a position for others to aim for. Their loyalty and leadership within the school was rewarded with their own room.

I remember that mostly in first year because you had some learn all the school songs and all the war cry and if you didn't then you had to go to one of prefects and recite them and if you hadn't done that within the first four weeks you got whacked on the bum with a cane by the head prefect. They had got this sort of status which meant that they were able to pick on the young ones. ... but they definately had some status.¹⁴⁰

The prefects had to hear all the new boys say off by heart the school songs and war cries and so on. Little boys had to line up and front the prefects and that didn't hurt in inspiring a bit of awe and for the most part prefects were much bigger than those boys when they started off. I don't think they were any bigger than boys are currently or more advanced towards being a man than boys are these days, but certainly the impression of a young boy was that they were nearer.¹⁴¹

Prefects were chosen by a vote of peers and masters but the Headmaster ratified the final appointments.¹⁴² Being chosen as a prefect by the masters and peers was a reward for their achievement at the school in sport and/or academia. Many saw this as a popularity contest and therefore most of the prefects were good sportsmen.

Prefects were elected by the Masters. They came from Leaving, Leaving Honours. A percentage of boarders were in that, and they themselves then elected the Head Prefect.¹⁴³

¹³⁹ GD, p. 6.

¹⁴⁰ DG, p. 5.

¹⁴¹ PM, p. 7.

¹⁴² DT, p. 6; JK, p. 8; NG, p. 10; PD, p. 5.

¹⁴³ AB, p. 4.

The most popular people (became prefects). ... sporting prowess always came into it and academic achievement, but if you were a top academic you were a fair chance to be a prefect, but then sport came next really. Not many were prefects that weren't academics or sports.¹⁴⁴

Perhaps we saw that they must be seen as being popular within the school and through their teachers. But a lot of them had to have qualifications in the way they conducted themselves to get to that position. Plus a lot of them seemed to be good at sport, usually in the first eighteen, second eighteen or something. As long as they met behaviour conditions they were the people chosen for their leadership capabilities. ... being quiet and rather probably small I wasn't that tall, 5' 8" I suppose you sort of get overlooked. These other kids have got more going for them. So, personality comes into it.¹⁴⁵

Prefects were presented as role models to the younger students, something to aim for in their future. This gave these boys a chance to practice the manly behaviour that they had been taught in their earlier years, almost like a transition between boyhood and manhood. Prefects had more to do with younger boys, as they did not get much respect from their classmates. They were recognisable by the different tie that they wore as part of their uniform and the blazer pocket embroidered with the word prefect and the year.

You wore the tie, it was a good advance, you were definitely superior to all the other plebs who didn't have this special prefect's tie.¹⁴⁶

They had their own different uniform and different ties and so on, hats and blazers, and they had their own prefects' room with amenities that they could use.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ TR, p. 3.

¹⁴⁵ JF, p. 6.

¹⁴⁶ NG, p. 10.

¹⁴⁷ JC, p. 4.

*They were very, very important in the fact they were part of the disciplinary system and part of the leadership team of the school. ... they were the leaders of the school on and off the grounds.*¹⁴⁸

*They were sort of disciplinarians and role models.*¹⁴⁹

*You admired them and respected them because they had achieved that they were certainly good people and deserved it.*¹⁵⁰

*Well when you are junior you look at them with fear and trepidation until you got to know that they didn't have much power really. I don't think they meant very much to me at all, other than I suppose the image of the Head Prefect which was projected a little more strongly. And then I became a prefect so I probably would have been a bit disappointed if I hadn't been selected. For whatever that really meant, it obviously was a prestigious position. But it was all image really.*¹⁵¹

Most of the prefects were sportsmen rather than academics. They attracted more of the girls due to the status of being a prefect. They were chosen by the masters to promote the school in the community by leading by example. It was considered an honour to be chosen as a prefect.

*To be a Prefect you had to be well, very few academic people ever got to be Prefects, unless they were also good at sport. Only sporting people.*¹⁵²

They strutted around and did their stuff. Prefects pulled in more birds than anybody else. They were normally sportsmen. The captain of the school would usually be an academic sportsman.

The captains at Princes were carefully selected. Most of the prefects were carefully selected

¹⁴⁸ ID, p. 5.

¹⁴⁹ JC, p. 4.

¹⁵⁰ JW, p. 5.

¹⁵¹ DL, p. 6.

¹⁵² NG, p. 10.

although the boys had a vote but we always suspected that the Headmaster finally vetted the list and if he didn't like somebody he'd cross him off and go down to the next one until he filled the positions. You could never prove that, but it appeared that way.¹⁵³

They were nice blokes, I suppose. I don't suppose they were all sporting heroes but they were either academic or certainly the outgoing gregarious ones. Without being the difficult ones from the staffing point of view.¹⁵⁴

They were supposed to lead by example and all that sort of stuff, but I just didn't see any difference really between the prefects and the boys, except that they used to sit in their little house sometimes, and they were separated them a bit from the other guys and I don't know that that was a healthy thing. I don't think the separation really helped. The role of dobbing I didn't think was healthy either. That was supposed to sort of influence the discipline to some extent and be the eye and the ears of the teachers but they weren't, they were the same as everybody else. But they were given some powers perhaps to have undue influence. I don't remember that being fair or not. I didn't see that they were valued.¹⁵⁵

Those who were prefects felt that it was an important role and an honour but only students in the early years of school looked up to them.

Leadership in trying to set examples in the sporting events to encourage good attendance by example. Prefects were generally the ones who usually were seen to have leadership potential.¹⁵⁶

The role of prefects was to give a good example and we had some interesting people as prefects. ... it was to maintain school standards We honestly tried not to be little Hitlers. We had a fair sense of natural justice. There was more mature people there in the prefects

¹⁵³ AG, pp. 7-8.

¹⁵⁴ DC, p. 5.

¹⁵⁵ MW, p. 5.

¹⁵⁶ DH, p. 5.

*room than I was at the time and through working together we were able to look after some of the little kids, bring them on and also maintain the honour and values of the school.*¹⁵⁷

*Peer group law and order and setting example and leading by example.*¹⁵⁸

Prefects had a section in the Chronicle called the Prefects' Palaver, which discussed their achievements, usually sporting in a rhyming poem.¹⁵⁹ In 1964 it was entitled, 'A Roll-call of Heroes'.¹⁶⁰ The Palaver highlighted the prefects' role as leaders and role models for the younger students.

Prefect's Palaver

Simon Tregoning is captain this year,
His fame as a sportsman has spread far and near.
Plays cricket and footy and putting the shot,
Hurdles and swimming the whole blooming lot.
Chris Bennett, the editor, is next on the roll.
And ably indeed fills this difficult role.
Rob Boer is next, no mean swimmer he,
And with us as well are the strong rowers three-
The Captain of Boats- Big "Richie" is first,
The second is "Tass", by no means the worst,
The third Brian Wheatly-a singer of note.
How can we lose with these three in a boat?
Andy Compton plays cricket-spin bowler of guile,
Been playing St.Peter's for quite a long while.
Dale Cooper is next, a scientist clever,
His motto could be, "The Army Forever".
"Perce" Day is an athlete, he's fast you'll agree,
On Adelaide Oval or at M.L.C.
Mike Gray is a batsman of style and fire,
Though he's watching me write this, I'm really no liar.
"Jack" Horner you'll find belongs in this rhyme,
But he's bound for Duntroon for quite a long time.
John Loxton you know, came top of the State,
The teachers he teaches; all think that he's great.
A sportsman and scholar is noble Dick Nob,
Winning basketball matches is his special job.
Johnny G. Williams makes lessons a riot,
You'll know he's not there if the classroom is quiet.
Ash Woodcock leads out the cricketing side;
He's a batsman of style, all bowlers defied.
Extremely well known is our Mark the "Bot",
In winning tennis he helped us a lot.

¹⁵⁷ DN, p. 7.

¹⁵⁸ MJ, p. 5.

¹⁵⁹ *PAC Chronicles*, 1960-1965.

¹⁶⁰ *ibid.*, April 1964, p. 28.

And now to the editor this I must send,
 But wait, there's one more, 'tis I, Close.
 The End.¹⁶¹

There was a change in the prefect's role in the later part of this period.

I was a prefect and Jack Dunning wasn't very happy with our particular year. We got hauled in after a school assembly one morning and said we were the worst bunch of prefects for X years and had to pull up our socks and so forth. We had playground duty. We had to tell boys to pick up bits of paper and just sort of, stop the whole school from rebelling. In the early days the prefects had to hear school war cries and songs and so on being recited to them and getting ticked off but that had been dropped by the time I became a prefect. Prefects didn't have a great role actually, it was more of a status more than anything else. We had our own room which was nice – I can remember listening to the transistor radio in the prefects' room and hearing pop songs which was a luxury that the rest of the school didn't have.¹⁶²

Summary

PAC promoted idealised notions of manliness by making these an integral part of the culture during the 1960s. This was achieved through formal education, training and sports. PAC spread a culture of Christian manliness, sportsmanship, team spirit, and noble conduct. Boys were taught and expected to become leaders of the community. As adults they owed their successes, both professionally and personally, to their school. School speeches stated this, encouraged boys' further involvement after leaving school and confirmed the validity of the claim with many examples of successes of old boys.

¹⁶¹ *ibid.*, April 1965, p. 28.

¹⁶² GS, p. 7.

PAC provided the right kind of environment for boys to develop their interests, choices of career and means of advancement in the world. This in turn provided boys with a sense of pride, preparing them to become the people who led society by example. Although there was an overall belongingness and loyalty established through uniforms, rules etc, there was also an acceptance of individual thoughts and expression so long as they were expressed in a manner which did not contrast with the school philosophy. Therefore there was no room for radical individuals. Boys' identities were subsumed within the school establishing an unfaltering school loyalty and a *esprit de corps* making boys highly connected by being identified as part of the old boy network when entering the working world, as it does today.

The Headmaster, masters and prefects all modelled appropriate behaviour and presentation for the boys. The prefects were very important role models as they were peers and were looked up to by the younger students. The Headmaster was to be feared; he was a distant, unapproachable person who students usually equated with punishment. Many described him as a father figure and just as their fathers' word was law at home, the Headmaster's word was law at school. The masters ranged from those who were respected, looked up to, feared for ruthless discipline, to those who were not respected and those that were ridiculed.

All those interviewed still referred to the masters by their nicknames, although they did not use any nicknames when referring to classmates. The masters who were most respected, liked, and therefore remembered very fondly were not given nicknames. Some were liked as people but not respected as teachers and they were given nicknames. The master's reputations were handed down through siblings or other relatives who attended the school. Therefore the masters were labelled often before a student got to the school or during school without necessarily having been taught by the person. Giving the masters nicknames effectively brought them closer to the students' level and gave them a human quality. It made the masters

a little more human and less godlike, unlike the Headmaster who was referred to as 'The Boss'.

Masters taught the boys how to present themselves as men in the community. This was modelled by their clothing, behaviour and leisure activities. There was a dress code for staff but a much more rigid one for students. As students were representing the school, particularly when in uniform, it had to be worn in its entirety. This included a double-breasted suit, tie and cap even when it was 40 degrees outside. Masters often wore suits, sports jackets and academic gowns, which effectively distanced them from the students. This formalised their status within the school, continued tradition and gave the school an Eton feel, which confirmed the school's status in the community. Masters set the example for the students so they would be looked up to and the students would do as they were instructed.

Prefects were also used in this way as they were expected to behave appropriately and not get into any trouble inside or outside of the school. They had to be good sporting and/or academic students to earn the privilege of being a prefect. This set a standard for all students to follow.

Boys were taught Christian values like giving back to the community, the school and those less fortunate, respect for themselves and each other, to do their best, be honest, lead by example and behave like a gentleman. This instilled school loyalty and reinforced the old boy's network, while preparing boys for their future roles as breadwinners in the community.

*But the education I got was a good education for life, so I don't feel as though I was neglected by the masters in my education or that I wasted my time at Princes because I came out of Prince Alfred College ready for life. That's pretty important.*¹⁶³

¹⁶³ IC, p. 5.

Old boys were also used as role models of success in various areas. This is evident in the Old boys' section of the school Chronicle that appeared in each edition and detailed the careers of old boys. There was also an old boys' day held each year where they were invited back to the school and paraded in front of the school assembly.

Chapter 5: Discipline

Academic discipline, developing self-discipline and maintaining law and order were all integral parts of the learning environment at PAC. It was therefore significantly involved in the development of aspects of masculinity in the students and in the maintenance of a strong masculine culture. A variety of methods were used to maintain discipline by the Headmaster, masters and prefects. It was also encouraged through Scouts and Cadets.

Frequently with hits of wood but not by everybody. Yeah, it was fairly effective, fairly strong discipline. I don't know whether anyone could have been accused of out right sadistic assault, but it was enforced fairly hard.¹

There was discipline where you were told you should stand up on the bus for older people, ladies especially. If the Master got on the bus and you were sitting down and other people were standing, you would probably get detention or lines or something like that. Prefects gave lines. Suspensions if you were caught smoking and all those sorts of things. It was pretty strict.²

Types of discipline

Discipline at PAC in the 1960s was strict and rigorously enforced.³ Punishment was one of the ways used to maintain discipline. Punishments for incorrect behaviour varied from verbal comments, private discussions, public humiliation in front of the class, to caning, detention, suspension and expulsion for the more serious offences. Appropriate behaviour in class included listening quietly, answering questions, following instructions, completing homework assignments correctly and on time, wearing correct school uniform, honesty and accepting

¹ RF, p. 6.

² TR, p. 6.

³ PC, p. 4.

punishment like men. The students were expected to dress and behave like gentlemen. The Headmaster, masters and prefects modelled correct behaviour. Avoiding punishment was the reward for those who behaved like gentlemen. When asked how discipline was maintained at PAC, one of the interviewees responded,

Violently! Lots of caning. Often with a recognition that the requirement was being punished and not the individual. We laugh today about dear old Juicy Mutton who according to legend caned boys, not very often because he was a gentle old soul, but if somebody offended then he would apply the cane, and then had been known to wrap his arm around the shoulders of the victim and say "but I do love you boy", liable to misinterpretation these days. But he was simply saying, you're alright, it's not you I'm punishing, it's your bad behaviour. But there were other people who used a cane viciously and often. There were plenty of clouts under the ear, even the Tag Luke bit, where the boy in the back row, gave an incorrect answer so you belted the guy in the front row and said, "pay him back at recess time, son". Those sort of things were taken as given. I know it was possible for prefects to punish boys, but I can't recall them actually doing it. And even as 16 year olds, I remember Argus Denis lining up boys who hadn't got their report book signed and applying his sandshoe to the seat of learning, and it was seen as a bit of a joke. But he did it and that side stung for a while afterwards, but it was his right because you hadn't done what was expected and it was part of the pattern of retribution. But it was a very disciplined school in that sense. I'm not sure that it was any different to other schools. Certainly the punishments were no more severe than I'd grown up expecting to be around the place for offenders when I was in primary school, so it was not a major thing.⁴

You got belted around the legs, slapped across the hands, never across the face or shoulders, of course. If it was bad you got the cane, like if you scratched your names on the back of the organ in the assembly hall, you got six of the best from the Head. My Headmaster was an ex New Zealand test spinner so when he flicked you with the cane he had a bit of a wrist

⁴ PM, p. 5.

movement and it hurt. You used to stuff your pants with blotters and all that sort of thing so it didn't hurt too much.⁵

With a sandshoe, with bluff, with threats, with a cane, but with the example. All those things that I mentioned first are peripheral aspects really, and some of them were stage aspects, some of the Masters had very good techniques at maintaining discipline. In those days the society was more rigid in its expectations and thus the discipline came more naturally, and on top of that I think that some of our Masters were excellent teachers.⁶

Fairly rigidly, we got the cane, and if you mucked up you'd get sent out to the corridor, and the corridor had an uninterrupted view from the Headmaster's office. That was unfortunate, as if he happened to walk out of his office he'd see you standing in the corridor. That was a real terror. It happened to me once. Luckily Jack Dunning never did come out of his office, (laugh). If he'd seen me standing there. It was unbelievable terror.⁷

You were sort of meant to behave like a gentleman. I only ever saw one bloke get a whack actually, so that didn't come into it, but it was maintained by your pride in the school and how you should behave.⁸

The masters were always right, no negotiation was entered into, the students were expected to be honest about what they had done and take the punishment. Masters would simply ask 'Did you do that?' 'Yes, sir' 'Come out here'. This was a common conversation between a master and his students at the end of which punishment was meted out. The cane in general was a last resort.

⁵ AG, p. 2.

⁶ DN, p. 5.

⁷ NG, p. 8.

⁸ DM, p. 4.

Well, there was the cane, the lack of which was always pretty good. If you did something wrong in a particular art class you got your head put in the timber lockers down the side of the room and the backside was hit with the back of the sandshoe. Of course, your head came up and you hit the top of your head on the locker as well.⁹

Well, discipline was important and was maintained through the Masters and through the prefects, and through a Master whose role it was I think to discipline and be stern, and make sure that everyone was behaving themselves. It was almost like a separate role he had, to be in charge of discipline.¹⁰

Well, the threat of physical punishment was pretty powerful in those days, so we used to get the cuts. But the most effective discipline, from the Masters anyway was those who could - could discipline by their mental sort of approach, but in the long run it was always the threat of having a whack on the backside. And also from the boarding house that was done by the prefects.¹¹

Jack Dunning used a slightly different approach when disciplining boys in his office. He would allow the boy to tell his side of the story, but still punished him even if he agreed with the student. The code of behaviour known and accepted by the boys was not to tell on someone else (referred to as 'dobbing in'), to be honest, take discipline like a man and definitely not to cry or show any emotion. This is another contradiction because if they could not 'dob in', how could they be honest?

I can remember Dunning caning blokes all through my time at PAC. That was the main way. It was all the threat of the cane hanging over us.¹²

⁹ GE, p. 5.

¹⁰ DH, p. 9.

¹¹ DS, p. 4.

¹² GS, p. 6.

I think Jack Dunning was known as being fair, but could be very firm as required. Not just firm but very firm. It was discipline that was probably stronger than what you may have got in a public school because there was always the thought that you could be asked to move on. And in my time there were four people, four lads who were expelled. There was a bit of rivalry between two schools and these fellows put some paint over another school and got expelled (laughing). So yeah, it was fairly rapid justice.¹³

Some remembered masters shouting to maintain order in the classroom as a form of verbal discipline. The threat of being caned weighed heavily on most students, while others competed to see how many cuts they could get from a particular master. This demonstrated individual toughness and manhood that was admired by the other students. They could also be summonsed to a talk in the masters' staffroom. Statements on discipline varied from a lot of corporal punishment to a little verbal discipline. The students did not question the discipline. Two mentioned that they were heard before being disciplined. However, both of these were top sporting students who appeared to have been treated differently to the others. Common punishments besides caning, were lines, detention after school and detention on Saturday morning, which prevented them from participating in school sport. Popular discipline techniques used by staff members included pushing, shoving, a clip over the ears, throwing dusters and chalk, standing very close and walking around tapping a cane or stick on their leg. Most students toed the line and obeyed the rules for fear of the consequences, especially the cane.

In those days the teachers were allowed to use the cane. They had a detention process where you were either kept in after school or you had to do the Saturday morning service which everybody hated which meant that you'd be missing sport if you were a sportsman. So they had a very, very, strong line of discipline.¹⁴

¹³ GD, p. 9.

¹⁴ ID, p. 3.

There were a few who tried to push the limits and how they were disciplined. One guy I know was stripped of his prefectship, a couple were expelled for various misdemeanours with alcohol, not the other hard stuff but just the ordinary booze, now they put the whole school out. Other than that it was more just respect and that's what we were expected to do. I wasn't that sort of boy at that stage because I just accepted that this is right and this is how I'd been brought up.¹⁵

There appears to have been variation in the types of punishment used in relation to the academic stream; humiliation for top students and more corporal punishment for less academic students. Those in the higher academic streams did not recollect much caning or punishment of any sort, just the expectation to behave appropriately, which meant in a gentlemanly and honest manner. They all commented that discipline was not a problem in their classes. These comments were especially notable from those who were in the A and B streams.

Not a lot of verbal discipline ... sometimes, there's the one offs ... teachers would verbally discipline a child and make them embarrassed in the class context. There was one particular teacher I think that went a little bit overboard but on a couple of people that were having difficulties, but there was very little verbal discipline. There was not that sort of ranting and screaming from the side lines, sit down, behave, get the hell out of it and that sort of thing. It was more the finger, come over here and a private little conversation in the corner, so you knew you were in real strife when the finger went up and you were summoned.¹⁶

¹⁵ PG, p. 5.

¹⁶ ID, p. 4.

In the traditional methods of the 1960s (laugh). Very rarely did I get involved in the physical cane or boot, but it happened and occasionally people talked about it as being an occasional event and probably totally over the top to what really happened I couldn't tell you which teachers did [cane] or didn't, because it wasn't a big feature.¹⁷

There was a little bit of caning, but I think it was by and large maintained by peer pressure. I think the better Masters knew that the best way to discipline the students was to make those who didn't behave look ridiculous in front of their peers - just verbally, not ridiculous in a humiliating way but make them look, their misbehaviour look, anti-social and disruptive, and I think that's the way that the majority of them maintained discipline.¹⁸

Normally by shouting, punishment of a detention or doing lines or what ever. I don't recall a lot of it. It wasn't something that I made a habit of myself. I don't recall corporal punishment being a big thing. Although certainly it was okay in those days to push kids around that were not so called toeing the line and a push or a grab or a squeeze or a back hander. I can't say I remember incidents happening but I'm sure they did. ... I remember I was involved in stuffing up a piece of scientific equipment and being hauled before the science master and getting a lecture from him, but that was sort of careless rather than wanton disobedience.¹⁹

Those from the C, D and E streams all had vivid recollections of the discipline.²⁰ Some viewed it as rather harsh.

In the third stream, well Tinny Steele, I think he probably belted just about everyone for almost nothing - it was just his way of doing it, he'd been there from the twenties. So it was a strange mix really. The prefects had some sort of power - I didn't get into trouble very much, but the prefects had certain powers, keep you in after school that sort of thing and probably do

¹⁷ MW, p. 4.

¹⁸ RH, p. 5.

¹⁹ II, p. 9.

²⁰ JF, p. 5.

*an imposition. I can't really remember. Certainly in the boarding school it was more pronounced because they were there all the time.*²¹

As a reaction to the discipline, students developed cunning and made sure they did not get caught, rather than behaving well all the time. Six strokes of the cane was the most that was given, three strokes was more common. These were delivered to the bottom or hand of the offender, often in front of the class so that it served as a warning to others. However, if you took it like a man and did not wince, your reputation was made at school. The less academic students often viewed the punishment positively, as a way of belonging.

*Just made sure that when you're mucking around, you do it without being noticed, (laugh). And don't get caught, I used to muck around. I remember that distinctly. I remember getting caned a few times, especially in second year. I don't know how come it was the second year, because I was trying really hard in the second year. I was the new boy and I got hit about five or six times. I remember distinctly and I didn't flinch, I just stood there, "How did you do that?" That changed my image overnight really. Yes, it was the thing I really needed, I was one of them then. So I could take risks, it was amazing. Yeah, I always remember that. They asked you "Did you do that?" and you'd say "Yes sir." "Come out here." Everyone was honest. We accepted the punishment like a man.*²²

*We used to go and get the cane a few times (laugh). As the chaplain's son I used to be wanting to show that I wasn't the chaplain's son, so I used to cop a fair bit of discipline. But it was all taken as it was intended. I thought it was good character development, it taught us a certain toughness, that if you got knocked down once, you'd get up and keep going. I think a lot of people because of their make-up they can't handle that but we have to take the good with the bad and you keep going.*²³

²¹ PN, p. 6.

²² NG, p. 8.

²³ JW, p. 3.

The prefects in the early part of this period were allowed to cane students. In the first week of school all the new boys, predominantly year eights, had to learn the school song and war cry off by heart. The prefects had a list of names that were ticked off when a student recited the words correctly. If after the first week they were unable to do this, the Head prefect caned them.

Well really that was through caning actually. That was a really good method. When I first got to the school in '57 we had to learn the school war cries and school song and I think it might have been the football song in the first week otherwise we got caned by the Head Prefect during the first week. We had the prefects ticked our names off on a list while we recited these things, and the boys that couldn't do that within the first week got caned.²⁴

Parents agreed with the discipline; those who did not could always take their boy/s out of the school. Those who did not abide by the rules were expelled or suspended, thereby forcing them to attend a public school. The threat of this weighed heavily on the students' consciousness. The discipline was much more physical than it is in schools today, although it was normal for this time period in both corporate and state schools. Parents who sent their boys to boarding school put their children into the school's hands and thus approved of the discipline that the school chose, including when and how punishment was used.²⁵ The school's type and style of discipline was often backed up at home. Parents paid to have their boys educated and disciplined in order to achieve the end product, an employable young gentleman. The school attracted future students by advertising the emphasis on discipline at the school.

²⁴ GS, p. 6.

²⁵ PP, p. 5.

Comparison between the discipline used in the state system and Princes was given by the few that experienced both systems. State high schools appear to have given students more leeway or were not seen to be as strict in their approach. There was always the threat of being asked to leave Princes and therefore attend a public school, which was considered shameful.

Boarding house discipline was very strict, the Housemaster being described as 'The Jailer'. The Housemasters were often old scholars who were undertaking a university course and therefore just out of secondary school themselves. The prefects in the boarding house also had the power to discipline students. Additionally, the Masters saw a lot more of the boarders than of the dayboys so knew them on a more personal level. Whether they boarded for a year or for their entire schooling all remembered the boarding house as being very strict, even stricter than the rest of the school.²⁶

Discipline first of all came either from the teachers in the first instance or through the prefect system. That at times could be punitive. I was involved in some of that associated activity when I was a boarder and beltings or thrashings were quite common. Discipline was more evident in the boarding house than in the case of dayboys. The boarding house prefects were allowed to put the sandshoe around younger members of the boarding school. Basically with the supervision of a House master. Most of the House masters were university students living in the school with the responsibility to attend to certain aspects of boarding school life, such as meals, homework and a few other disciplines. The situation that would require somebody to be thrashed or hit would be, for example, getting out of bed early in the morning prior to the wake up call, going off and going into the showers, that was taboo. You had to wait until the bell went off, if you got into the showers early then you were likely to get six of the best. They were the sort of disciplines that came pretty regularly and in some cases if a boarder hadn't been belted in some stage in his boarding school life then he was a bit of a goodie two shoes. So to be belted was almost a sign of masculinity and it was considered to be an important part

²⁶ PP, p. 5.

of growing up in boarding school life. Certainly masters, particularly the form master and the Headmaster, were still caning boys by the time I left the school and it certainly didn't seem to be abating in any sense in terms of the mid 1960s.²⁷

Discipline was maintained similar to what it is these days, through the Masters, through to the Boarding House Masters, to the Housemaster to the Prefects. The prefects demanded a fair bit of respect and had a fair bit of power in those days. Which I feel never hurt, because it taught boys to be men. There was the odd one that didn't like it, but most of them did. They learnt to toughen up and stand up for themselves. I'll give you an example of when I was in school. There was one fellow who went into a competition - and we used to get cuts from the sandshoe from the prefects if we did anything wrong, and he went into a challenge and he would get more cuts than anyone else, and it just didn't worry him - he could go up and get six of the terrific best with twenty prefects watching him and he'd walk out laughing - didn't worry him, 'cos he was in a challenge. But there was one particular day that he got blamed for something that he didn't do and it upset him, and he got three of the slipper and he went back to bed and cried about it, but you see it wasn't the slipper, but it was his pride that was hurt, because he got punished for something he didn't do. And, I don't think that was a bad thing, it was just a lesson for him. But it pointed out to me in those days how you needed the discipline. It didn't hurt. It did far more good than harm and I have no regrets from those days, at all, on the discipline side.²⁸

There's two sorts of discipline aren't there? There's self-discipline, and then there's corporal discipline. They cultivated self-discipline, but the corporal discipline was definitely answered early in my years with the slipper (laugh). In the boarding house there was a regime of school prefects and House Prefects, and the house prefects were Lord Almighty, particularly in the early years. If you were caught racing around when the lights were out they'd whip you into their study and give you six with the slipper, they frightened us like that in the early years. I think that we saw a transition there, by the time I left I was the Head of the boarding house

²⁷ TY, p. 9.

²⁸ SV, p. 3.

and I was the only one allowed to cane in the last twelve months and I did it very rarely.

There was also a change in the age of the boarding house Masters, the first one was Des Peers, he was there, and the last boarding house Master, I think was Rob Prett, and he was probably thirty years younger than Peers. It was a different generation, and discipline was a bit different.²⁹

Boarding house prefects held more authority than the school prefects, particularly with discipline, and were feared more. Many of the interviewees stated, in post interview discussion, that most of the caning and other corporal punishment never hurt anyone and should be brought back into schools today. However the masters that they admired and respected maintained control without the use of corporal punishment. It appears that caning was used less by the end of this period especially in the last years, 1964 and 1965.

Effects of discipline

Most of the men interviewed felt that the discipline enforced at the school helped them to build character by cultivating self-discipline. They did not feel that caning or any of the discipline was overdone at Princes. That was the way that it was, they took the good with the bad and the good outweighed the bad. Getting caned was an accepted and expected part of being at the school. There was no stigma attached to boys who were caned by a prefect, master or the Headmaster. However, there were a few examples of inappropriate discipline.

I was pushed by another bloke. But I was caned by a master. Every now and then it must have bordered a bit on unnecessary, virtually all corporal punishment does but the lack of it whilst I can understand nowadays why people abhor such things, the lack of it leads often to a huge amount of chaos. People have got no idea where they stand and they'll do anything, so that was fairly well repressed. It was pretty obvious what you were expected to do.³⁰

²⁹ PD, p. 4.

³⁰ RF, p. 6.

The one I remember the most, actually didn't relate to me. It was in the last year and one kid came in to get his books. He was doing another subject so he wasn't in the class and he came in after the class that I was in had started and he'd forgotten his books which was a bit unfortunate. Anyway as he was going he said to the master, "Ta", and the master thought he was actually taking the mickey out of him so he lent over the bench and out with his piece of plastic piping and gave him a belt with a bit of plastic piping and sent him off on his way with his books. This was his manner rather than him taking the mickey out of the teacher. Occasionally you'd get these aberrations and I think that was an aberration. That wasn't the norm of inappropriate, unwarranted discipline but generally I can't recall occasions when I was physically assaulted. Perhaps I hadn't done something to warrant it or at least at the time.³¹

Corporal punishment created fear in many students and hence they tried to avoid being caned.

I was really scared. I actually had a very bad experience, I got six of the best over my hands as a child, nine year old at Glen Osmond Primary and that knocked hell out of me, so I was absolutely petrified of getting the cane (laughing). My hands blew up and it was over whistling in class ... and I thought it was so unfair, but I didn't ever tell my parents, you didn't in those days. This fella kept me waiting. The Headmaster's office, I can see it now ... he had a phone call, I had to wait that much longer ... he gave me 3 of the best with this cane, by hell it hurt, so I was petrified of the cane.³²

³¹ AP, p. 6.

³² RW, p. 5.

They avoided the cane mainly by behaving in the expected manner or working around the rules.

(Laughing) It affected you in a way that there was a big incentive not to cross the paths, but to behave yourself when you knew you were being observed (laughing). I don't think it's any different today.³³

It didn't really because I never got caned. I always made sure I did what was expected of me and just stayed out of trouble.³⁴

It wasn't a big part of my schoolboy life. I was pretty much happy to toe the line and if you toed the line it was pretty easy. If you were caught perhaps being a little bit careless or so called naughty, well, you were given a chance to shape up and if you did that that was basically the end of it. Discipline I think was just a more formal part of upbringing than parenting, you do what I do or do what I say because I say it, and you tended to accept that in most cases much more so than today. And for me that was fine. In fact at times I think I perhaps didn't challenge things enough.³⁵

I think I learnt self-discipline. I hated the concept of someone telling me what to do. I really loathed that I couldn't stand being pushed around, so I think I really did learn self-discipline. I was determined that no one would ever get me into trouble for doing the wrong thing. I liked to be a real sort of loner. Didn't really like being in teams particularly. So I tended to do my own thing a bit - I enjoyed that. I wasn't imposed on by authority but I did things so that it wasn't breaching authority but I could do it my own way.³⁶

³³ AN, p. 6.

³⁴ GS, p. 6.

³⁵ II, p. 9.

³⁶ PN, p. 6.

For others non-corporal punishment was the most effective form of discipline.

I wasn't subject to too much physical abuse, or physical smacking or belting of the cane or the sandshoe or all those other things. I've had to sit down and write out Psalm 43 ten times, and thought it was scary. It had its desired affect.³⁷

Corporal punishment may have been a deterrent to many boys but it certainly was not an effective punishment for everyone. The following student felt that the corporal punishment had a long term negative effect, even though he felt that he often deserved it.

I think it just left a deep resentment. I don't remember ever being caned and not feeling deeply resentful for the punishment. I very often deserved it. But I deeply resentment the method of punishment. There was only one time - I remember once when I was in Grade 7, when the teacher caught me doing something and gave me a smack with his hand on the back of the legs which was a very minor kind of corporal punishment but he stood me in front of the class, and that humiliated me and that was the only time that I felt punishment was effective. The main reason was because I respected the teacher, and I desperately wanted to please him and I was very cross with myself for having actually gone and done something out of favour. But to all the other teachers, corporal punishment, was not just a waste of time, but actually had exactly the wrong affect, it just made me more rebellious.³⁸

³⁷ DC, p. 4.

³⁸ SH, p. 5.

Many felt that the discipline had little or no effect on them, it was not positive or negative.

Yet many commented that it did not hurt them or do them any harm.

I don't really think it had a great, very dramatic affect on me. I still got up to as much mischief as I'm sure I would have if I'd gone to a public school. I was no angel, I don't think I was a complete ratbag either. I think probably life in itself was a little more disciplined than what it is now. You accepted discipline better than you do now is probably a better way to put it.³⁹

I'll illustrate how the discipline affected me, by the fact that I did get the maximum penalty a couple of times and I felt confident enough to disobey the rules, and I always have done. While at school I certainly obeyed the rules until Leaving Honours when one started to experiment with drinking and smoking, obviously that was just being young and stupid and living outside the rules. I didn't have trouble with discipline at PAC and none of the Masters found me difficult, because I wanted order at school and found that it was there.⁴⁰

I don't think it had a lot of effect to be quite honest. Not mentally. I think any discipline is good. My parents were disciplinary - we had to do what we were told and if you didn't do it you got punished for it, and I believe that that was the system at Princes as well. And you come out of life realising that you just can't do what you want to do. If there was a few more canes in the school today we might not have these people out knocking old people over and robbing. And of course, drugs and cigarettes were taboo - you were out the door if you were caught. That's all there was to it. You didn't get a second chance. I don't think I ever saw drugs at Princes when I was there. If they were there I never saw them. There was the odd one used to go down the tunnel and have a cigarette, but generally discipline was good in the place. I don't believe it was over dealt with.⁴¹

³⁹ NR, p. 3.

⁴⁰ DN, p. 6.

⁴¹ JK, p. 7.

(pause) After the first time it probably brought you down to earth. I don't think it really caused you any great undue concern or distress. It wasn't a pleasant thing but I think it might have remedied my ways as an individual to some extent. But I think you took it and got on with life. You didn't hold the teacher with any form of remorse or any form of hatred. He had a job to do and I accepted that most of the time that you were in the wrong and that the belting you were receiving was for, at the time, a just cause.⁴²

Although the boarders had much stricter discipline and much less freedom than the dayboys there were again some who viewed the discipline as having a positive affect on their lives while others saw it as having a negative effect.

It affected me in a very positive way. And yet you understood that the Masters knew lots of things that went on but didn't chase - they weren't, overboard. I remember coming out after tea one night and the House Master came out and looked down to the pavilion, and he could see the smoke coming out of the top room. And he said, " Gee whiz, there's quite of few of them having a fag up there", and he just went back to his room and he didn't do anything about it. And we were not supposed to smoke. So above the strong discipline they were still realistic, and you actually appreciated them for that.⁴³

I was fifteen when I got there so I had been used to a bit more freedom than I had suddenly, and so it did give me problems at times. I just didn't like the restrictions, but there was one house master who I got on really badly with and I always felt that he picked on me. He gave me a lot of trouble, and at times he stopped me from going out quite unjustifiably I think But otherwise I just took it as it came and it was just part of life really. My parents were reasonably strict anyway so it didn't seem all that different, it was just that it was a bit more institutionalised.⁴⁴

⁴² TY, p. 6.

⁴³ SV, p. 3.

⁴⁴ PP, p. 5.

Well, you just toed the line and you knew the rules and you just did your best to stick to them. They had like a live- in- Master and he was like a jailer. He was so strict, and everyone hated him. No one really wanted to get into trouble so, we toed the line pretty well. Especially me, being a quiet boy (laugh). There's always those that are willing to bend the rules, or go that bit too far, some used to get into trouble a bit more than others.⁴⁵

The following student felt that the discipline had a negative affect on him and as a result of this he did not enjoy school. He was in one of the lower streams and went on to be a very successful consultant.

Well, it became a bit negative in the end. I wondered how many times I'm going to be hit today, or how many hours out of the day will I be outside. It was really quite terrible. I think that I was constantly reminded that, you've wasted thirty pounds of your father's money today by being outside of the class instead of being inside the class. I just had very poor marks, poor grades. Just didn't really want to be there.⁴⁶

The following two students were from the top streams and their comments highlight how different the discipline given to the top students was and how differently they viewed the affect on them individually as compared to the case above.

There was nothing over the top really. I got my ear twiggged occasionally. I saw people wrapped over the knuckles with a ruler, but as I said, there were occasions where they used the cricket bat. Probably it was kind of show. This aspect can be twisted into being a terribly brutal thing. There was certainly real control over how hard they whacked people. I'm sure it hurt, but it never shocked me as being something terribly brutal. I don't think I worried about it.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ JF, p. 5.

⁴⁶ WT, p. 2.

⁴⁷ BG, p. 4.

I don't think I was disciplined all that often. I was a bit of a goody two shoes, probably. I don't think it affected me personally. I often made this habit of grinning in class and I can remember one Indian background teacher who thought I was grinning or laughing at him, and seemed to be paranoid and he got very upset about it one day, and that was a bit traumatic. I was made to stand outside, and it was a misinterpretation, but I wasn't laughing at him or taking the mickey out of him or anything, but I think, otherwise the discipline was more something I usually saw than was a recipient of.⁴⁸

Fairness of discipline

None of those interviewed minded the discipline, as long as they believed it was generally fair or they knew they had broken the rules, which had been clearly stated. Although most viewed the discipline as fair, there was no choice but to accept it as part of being at the school. There was little variation in the comments on discipline, most simply accepted it as part of being at the school and did not ever think to question or challenge it.

By rods and sandshoes and picking up papers on the front and back ovals. In that sense it was a relatively strict regime, but certainly not a stifling regime. Some of the Masters even appeared to be sadistic. I don't see anything necessarily wrong with physical punishment but it still partly depends on how it is given and the reason it was given. I suffered certainly some injustice, but it was also done to many others. It was that a teacher did not know how to control a class by any other means than brute force leading to appearing to be sadistic. So it was seen as a threat - it was certainly there, the threat was there.⁴⁹

Not knowing that there was an alternative. Was it fair? When you are there you don't have any option and you don't know any different and it didn't concern me, or at least I didn't question it. At the time I did not question it. In retrospect, two things come to mind. It is harsh

⁴⁸ RH, p. 6.

⁴⁹ DL, p. 5.

and it is tough and it is maybe not fair, and it also makes it easier for the teachers to get on with what they are really there to for, teaching, and not have to concern about fair or unfair or whether they are measuring their discipline or acting incorrectly. When I think back, if some of those teachers had to concern themselves a lot more with how they were exercising or implementing their discipline techniques - I just can't help think that their teaching might have suffered.⁵⁰

I never felt that I got belted for anything that I didn't do. The one time where I felt that, and that was in the Cadets more so than the classroom situation, where I thought I was being treated a little harshly, I was given a hearing. I was at least given the opportunity to put my case. I don't think you can ask for any more than that. So I never felt that I was disciplined unnecessarily or unfairly.⁵¹

Absolutely totally, unquestionably. In fact, some of the kids deserved more. I chose on one occasion to play tennis without permission on the lawn courts - knowing full well that you had to have permission, because only the Drive Ten could play on the lawn courts. I felt entitled because I was playing in a House - because the Houses were very strong in those days, and competition was rife because it was always a thing to beat School House, and we had senior teams and junior teams, and I, along with the infamous Ian Chappell, because he was in Bailey House, he was a real rebel, and I thought here's an occasion for me to be a rebel, because we were both in the House tennis teams - guys who played sport could usually transfer across to other sports - and we proceeded to have a hit, and then we were descended upon by Gabby Graham, Gabb the tennis coach - and he just stood and watched us, and we just kept hitting. Regrettably I miss cued and hit him with a tennis ball - it wasn't intentional 'cos that wasn't in my nature, and instantaneously he gave us a thousand lines each. Now that's discipline and that's how it was handled - at that level. And boom, boom. Not a problem.⁵²

⁵⁰ DC, p. 4.

⁵¹ IC, p. 7.

⁵² RS, p. 8.

There were those who did not see the discipline as acceptable, rejected it or viewed it as 'stupid' and 'puerile'. Some felt that the prefects got out of hand, while others saw the masters in this way.

At the end of a rod. The school discipline was if there was any mucking around as there always was, and I was always in there somewhere - was, you would be - you either got the cane - many times I got - I used to get beaten with the handle of a cricket bat. I remember being whacked with a tennis shoe. Some people used flexible hosing from the Bunsen Burners, everything - each teacher had their own sadistic tool which was used in various ways - that was generally the case, occasionally if you had been very bad you were sent to the Headmaster's study and given six of the best with a serious cane and probably made in India for the purpose (laugh).⁵³

Discipline was an important part of moulding boys into men. It taught them about the consequences of behaving inappropriately, which was achieved mostly through humiliation, fear and pain. Masters modelled different types of masculinity through their different approaches to discipline. Those who used force and fear were compared unfavourably by interviewees with the few that used their teaching skills and a humanistic approach to disciplining their students. These few, namely Chester Bennett, David Mattingley and Kyle Waters, chose to talk to their students rather than beat the bad behaviour out of them, which was the norm at this time. They got to know the boys and presented lessons that were interesting, topical and relevant to the students. The boys respected these masters and mentioned them numerous times in the interviews.

⁵³ SH, p. 5.

The role of Scouts and Cadets

Scouts and Cadets were another part of the school program that taught and role modelled self-discipline and law and order enforcement respectively. The importance of being a gentleman and how to behave appropriately in society was emphasised, particularly in Scouts.

The Cadets had their own section in the school magazines and reported on the various activities that they undertook. The emphasis in the magazines on Cadets did not vary much during this time and an average of two pages was dedicated to them in each edition. This included reports on camps, bivouacs, shooting competitions and a list of those who earned officer status. The Scouts reports were only about a page long and included reports on camps and hikes.

During this period of time the students had a choice to be in either Scouts or Cadets, but it was a compulsory to be in one or the other. However, a number of students felt that they did not have any choice at all and were simply expected to join the Cadets, as there were limited places in the Scouts. If they were in Scouts outside school then they were automatically allowed to join the Scouts in school. Only a few boarders were in the Scouts. There were two groups of Scouts, the Sea Scouts and the Land Scouts. Only two of those interviewed had experience of both Scouts and Cadets at school.

I was in both actually. I started off in the Scouts and then I changed to Cadets. I didn't like the Scouts so much, probably because all my mates were in the Cadets and I enjoyed the Cadets a lot more actually. With the Scouts they seemed to emphasise passing tests all the time, but I think because I was with my mates in the Cadets I had a lot better time. I enjoyed that.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ DM, p. 4.

Well, I was in Cadets and that was great fun. I was in Scouts too. As Scouts we went on great rampages in the big tunnels under the ovals and under the parklands and had a great time. As Cadets we went through the usual Cadet training which taught you even more rigours of disciplinary lifestyle and went on camps and that was good. But they were good fun times, learnt lots of good things. Bush craft and survival and that sort of thing.⁵⁵

The only way to avoid Scouts or Cadets was if you were good at sport, and you were selected to coach some of the younger students. Sport for the junior school and Scouts/Cadets were scheduled at the same time on Wednesday mornings.

Students from Leaving and Leaving Honours (year eleven and twelve) who were in the top teams could offer to coach the younger boys at sports. As this was on at the same time as Scouts and Cadets they avoided them.⁵⁶

We all had to go in army Cadets and if you were good at sport you could probably get out of that and go and train the juniors, and every Wednesday morning was Cadets. Say if you were in the first cricket you could sort of, avoid being in the army Cadets, you could help train the juniors, they had sports training at the same time.⁵⁷

Non-participation was mentioned by one student who was thrown out of Cadets and another student who only went to the school for the final two years. There was limited interaction between the two groups and most wondered what the other group did. They were like two separate secret societies.

⁵⁵ MJ, p. 5.

⁵⁶ TY, p. 4.

⁵⁷ AP, p. 2; also stated by IC, p. 3.

Probably only about 20% of boys chose Scouts. That's a bit of a vague figure but when I think about it there were a lot of Cadets. When you think about Year 9, 10, 11, 12 in the school, there were many Cadets at the time, and there probably weren't a lot of Scouts. There may have been a 100 in total. We copped a bit of flack, but it was because we chose it and we enjoyed it, and I think we were jolly lucky that we were given the opportunity that we had.⁵⁸

It was more like, 85/15. It was only the 'Privileged Few' that got into Scouts. There were lots that wanted to get into the Scouts but only a few were chosen. It was quite amazing actually. The Scouts was seen as being a much easier life, more fun. Camps and that, where Army was plod, plod, plod, shiny boots and buckles and war. Regimented. And most people would have loved to have got into the Scouts, I would've anyway. They seemed to have more fun.⁵⁹

I'm just trying to think now. I think I actually explored the possibility of going into the Scouts, but priority was given to those who had previously been involved in the Scouts outside the school to join the school Scouts and I think from memory that the number they could cope with was taken up, so there wasn't an opportunity to do Scouts so I had to do Cadets.⁶⁰

I'd been thrown out of Cubs in Jamestown for telling dirty stories once when I was in Grade 6, I think. That's my story anyway. I had, sort of been there, done that, that sort of idea and had no wish to go back to the Cubs or Scouts or whatever and I just went with the rabble and went into the Cadets.⁶¹

I was in the Scouts. It was a weekly event, I think it was Wednesday mornings. The morning was given over to Scouts or Cadets and those who were involved in Scouts spent the morning Scouting. There were Sea Scouts and other Scouts, and those in Cadets were doing their drills and marching.⁶²

⁵⁸ RS, p. 2.

⁵⁹ NG, p. 10.

⁶⁰ GC, p. 6.

⁶¹ AB, p. 4.

⁶² DH, p. 5.

I was in the Scouts. I think I was basically in the Scouts to get out of being in the Cadets, which was a bit of a unfair trade-off because I think you only had to be in the Cadets for about two years whereas if you opted for Scouts that was right into Senior school.⁶³

There was an overwhelming response from those who attended Cadets that it taught them discipline. They saw Cadets as having stronger discipline than the school. Both groups went on camps, Cadets went to El Alemain and did obstacle courses etc. The Scouts went adventuring in the Flinders Ranges and Kangaroo Island.

Scouts

The Boy Scouts, started in 1907 by Sir Robert Baden-Powell, were developed as a way to improve boys' fitness and discipline. The goal was to inspire each boy 'by some direct effort, to make himself a fit and worthy representative of the British race'.⁶⁴ Scouts were like an adventure where boys went on camp and learned life skills. PAC Scouts went on weekend hikes and camps and earned proficiency badges for various activities. The two masters who ran the Scouts at PAC were both well respected and liked by the boys. This could be because they really enjoyed the Scouting activities.

Many went into the Scouts, as they did not want to be either a Cadet or want to have anything to do with guns, war or war games. Many had strong feelings and views about the Cadets using guns and pretending to be soldiers. A lot saw the discipline in Cadets as bullying and unnecessary. Scouts was a fun activity where boys could let off steam and learn some life skills.

⁶³ DJ, p. 4.

⁶⁴ Reynolds, 'Girls Only?', pp. 57-58.

The majority of those in the Scouts also came out of the upper academic streams. Those more academically inclined tended to be anti-Cadets but loved the Scouts. Many mentioned that their sons had also gone through the Scouting movement or that they had been leaders in Scouts for many years.

I loved the Scouts. My sons have all been through the Scouts and I spent 9 years as an adult leader because of the enjoyment and satisfaction I got out of my time with the Scouts particularly enjoyed the week long hikes through the Flinders and the Grampians or where ever it was.⁶⁵

The Scouts shaped my life ... I didn't wish to be a Cadet. I didn't wish to carry arms. I didn't wish to pretend to be soldier. I couldn't understand why people really wanted to go into Cadets. The freedom of discovery, doing things as opposed to marching up and down. It seemed pretty unproductive.⁶⁶

I didn't want to go in the Cadets, so I was in the Scouts. The Scouts were a pretty spirited sort of group, so there was a pretty good chance there of mucking around and letting off steam, generally mucking about.⁶⁷

I loved shooting, so (laugh) I should have really been in the army - in the Cadets, but, perhaps I could see something in the Scouts that was more fulfilling to us, and the fact that I loved camping. I prefer being with smaller groups rather than larger groups. I think the fellowship through Scouts. Cadets you lined up and marched, I'm not a disciplinarian. The Scouts were a more relaxed type of adventure and probably did a lot more of what I enjoyed in the Scouts than I would have in the Cadets.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ AN, p. 7.

⁶⁶ DL, p. 5.

⁶⁷ DS, p. 5.

⁶⁸ JK, p. 4.

I was in the Scouts almost throughout from junior school to senior school. Ted Whitworth was the Master there. I think he was a very fair gentleman and I think he taught us a lot of values, another aspect of religion came through the Scouts. I know he subsequently became a lay preacher or something, but again it was another episode of teaching us how to bond and communicate and get on with other people. I enjoyed that. I had nothing to do with Cadets at all. My brother was in the Cadets and I didn't enjoy his painting up his webbing and cleaning his shoes - that didn't hold any fascination for me at all.⁶⁹

The Scouting movement epitomised the concepts of the muscular Christian gentleman, just as Baden-Powell intended. Scouts taught Christian values through activities such as camping that the boys found interesting. The Scouts learnt life skills like self-dependence, cooking, tying knots, map reading, working together, sewing a button, lighting a fire and how to be a leader.⁷⁰ Scouts reinforced the lessons from school where they were encouraged to do their best, become leaders in the community, encourage others, to be adventurous and use initiative. Scouts earned proficiency badges by showing that they could cook or put up a tent correctly etc.

How to tie knots (laugh). In a small way a bit of everything else that was happening at school too, because it was a microcosm of what was happening elsewhere, and you had a chance to learn in a different way, and at the end of it to lead in a different way. The prefects were leading at school and to be a senior person in the Scouts it was leading in a different way.⁷¹

Independence, leadership, encouragement to do the best you could. To be adventurous. ... to use your initiative.⁷²

⁶⁹ MW, p. 4.

⁷⁰ DC, p. 4; AN, p. 7.

⁷¹ DH, p. 6.

⁷² DL, p. 5.

*You learnt to look after yourself ... even since I've left school I can go out in the bush and I'll look after myself out there. And if I don't get supplies I'll survive. And I think that was something that came from the Scout training to a certain extent. ... I've been a survivor - when we were on the farm I lived off the land down there, not with our own stock, but basically off the wild life and that. For years I lived off rabbits, kangaroos, that type of thing.*⁷³

*The wonderful thing I think that the Scouting movement gives kids is discovering yourself. You are put in situations where you've got to conquer your fears, you've gotta look after yourself when times are tough you've gotta keep going you've gotta develop inner resources - and in the process of doing all those things you discover what you are. You discover- perhaps the meaning of life too. You discover qualities in yourself that you didn't know you had, to me wonderfully important in the development of people. Being able to look after yourself when times are tough.*⁷⁴

Cadets' view of Scouts

Despite the competition for the limited places in Scouts, the Cadets tended to look down on the Scouts. This may be due to them being defensive about their failure to get into the Scouts. Some Cadets perceived the Scouts as a hiding place for those weaklings who were not tough enough to be a Cadet. To them it was more manly to be able to fire a gun than to tie knots and be able to survive in the bush. Cadets were seen as more masculine, even by those who did not agree with them handling guns and live ammunition. However, a number of those interviewed stated that they certainly would not have let their sons do what they did.⁷⁵

⁷³ JK, p. 5.

⁷⁴ PI, p. 3.

⁷⁵ PM, p. 6; RW, p. 6; TY, p. 2.

We called the Scouts sissies or something to that effect although they weren't. There was a bit of rivalry between Scouts and Cadets because you had to be in either one or the other. The Scouts in their Scout areas tying knots and that sort of thing while we were out standing on a parade ground holding a weapon, learning how to fire it and all that sort of stuff.⁷⁶

Bits of sissies, largely speaking. Didn't have the manhood to do soldiering. I subsequently think a great deal of the Scouts. While I was at PAC, I thought the Scouts were those that weren't brave enough to do Cadets, and to handle weapons. A number of them really were of that type that needed a little bit of mothering and wouldn't want to do anything too tough although they did go camping. They probably took their favourite pillow and their mother probably came to the Scout's camp and tucked them in, that was my feeling.⁷⁷

I wouldn't have minded being in them but they were considered to be more namby pambies - that was the soft option. The tough guys were in Cadets - where the dregs went if you like. It was gentlemen versus players sort of stuff.⁷⁸

I opted for the Cadets because I thought the Scouts were something effeminate at that particular time. I thought the Cadets showed more in the masculinity side of things than perhaps the Scouts may have in that era.⁷⁹

A number of the Cadets saw the Scouts as having a great time and resented being in the Cadets. They also felt that they were not given a choice to be in the Scouts.

⁷⁶ DB, p. 4.

⁷⁷ DN, p. 6.

⁷⁸ GS, p. 6.

⁷⁹ JM, p. 6.

I was in the Cadets. I really wanted to go into the Scouts but I hadn't been a Cub Scout outside of the school and wasn't allowed to go in which I thought was unfair. So you really had to be a Cub Scout to go into the Scouts.⁸⁰

I had no part of (Scouts) although some of my best friends were part of the Scouts and they had a lovely wild time. There were two groups within the Scouts. There were those who were in it because they were keen Scouts and wanted to be involved either in the sailing activities of the Sea Scouts, camping, expeditions and all the rest. But it was also a hiding place for people who did not want to be involved in Cadets in a time when it was compulsory. I really enjoyed my time in the Cadet group - in year twelve I was the first regimental sergeant major.⁸¹

The Scouts, it was the thought at the time, don't ask me why, were perceived as sort of wishy washy for the want of a better word, "I'm not going in that lot". So I had very little to do with the Scouts, lets' say that.⁸²

Cadets

Mr Hugo Leschen formed the Cadet Corps in South Australia at the close of 1899 with the approval and support of the Headmaster of PAC. Mr Leschen was a physical education teacher who taught at most of the corporate schools and ran his own gym. Initially Cadets were recruited from PAC and Saints, and then later from other schools. Cadet Corps were already established in Victoria and New South Wales by this time. Sir Robert Baden-Powell commented that 'over 30 percent of the officers of the Australian Contingents [for the Boer War] were at one time Cadets.'⁸³ Cadets provided an avenue for boys to have an adventure at school, where they were moulded into well-disciplined soldiers. School Cadets provided the link between being a schoolboy and becoming a soldier in the army. Traditionally, Cadets were used as a training ground for future soldiers.

⁸⁰ RW, p. 6.

⁸¹ PM, p. 6.

⁸² PH, p. 10.

⁸³ PAC Chronicle, July 1900, p. 349.

The school's marching song for Cadets embodies many manly values that the school encouraged. These include looking after others, especially women; steadfastness; bringing honour to the school through war, winning and being made of the right stuff. Although this song was written during the Boer war it was included in an anthology of PAC songs published in 1960. None of those interviewed spoke about this song yet they all mentioned the values that it illustrates.

Cadet's Marching Song

When the boys in brown are marching by,
 How we love to see the colours fly;
 They are the bulwarks of our liberty,
 For the land that is guarded is the land of the free.
 All our trust is in our boys to-day,
 How we cheer them as they march away!
 We know they will not falter, they will keep their honour bright;
 Listen, for the boys are marching! Left! Right!

Chorus

Marching, marching, in a steadfast band,
 We are the guardians of our native land;
 We are the bulwarks of her liberty,
 For the land that is guarded is the land of the free.
 Singing, singing as we march along,
 Marching as we sing the Princes song;
 For the honour of Australia we must keep our rifles bright.
 Steady, boys, and all together!
 Left, right; left, right; left, right!

They are marching to the grand parade,
 They are members of the brown brigade,
 They're a guarantee that war must cease,
 For the land of many marksmen is a land of peace!
 If you watch them when the bullets fly,
 Firm and steady they, and clear of eye.
 For the honour of Australia they will make the bullets ring.
 Steady when you press the trigger! Ping! Ping! ⁸⁴

The Cadets learned to shoot guns, starting with a 303 shotgun and then graduating to a Bren gun using live ammunition.⁸⁵ They played war games, which disturbed some of the participants. The values of one student are clearly illustrated in the following comment.

⁸⁴ Peard, *PAC School Songs*.

⁸⁵ A bren gun is a type of machine gun/automatic weapon.

I was in the Cadets. I remember the Scouts seemed to have a great time. At one stage, when we went to Woodside Army Camp, I can remember being quite disturbed by the war play that we had to do. There was part of it that was just good fun, but there was one stage where we had to make out we were tracking and shooting each other with blanks. That would have been probably about Intermediate or Leaving. I can remember feeling quite disturbed by that - the reality of on the one hand being involved in something which was false but on the other hand it was something which could be real and being asked to aim guns at fellow beings and shoot them. I wasn't devastated but I can remember being disturbed about it.⁸⁶

Historically, sport was created as a battle training ground developing and fostering skills such as leadership, obeying instructions without question and working as a team. Boys received this training more formally and overtly in Cadets. Sport reinforced the lessons learned from Cadets.

Those who really enjoyed Cadets particularly liked the camps where they learned leadership and some basic first aid. One of these students went on to become a high ranking officer in the armed forces and three other students from the same year also went on to Duntroon.⁸⁷

From 14 until I left I was a Cadet and rose to the top rank of Cadets and enjoyed being one of the bosses there. If I couldn't be a boss on the sporting field, I was boss there. I remember enjoying many camps, particularly at Woodside. Some were at Warradale for doing skills training. I enjoyed learning about navigation and weapons. When I was in school I was selected for the rifle and the machine gun team for South Australia so I was a pretty fair shot. I found the Cadets to be interesting and creative. Early in my career I was top of the State in the St John's Ambulance Cadets. I enjoyed bandaging people up and learning about what you do for first aid in the Cadets.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ BW, p. 6.

⁸⁷ Duntroon is Australia's premier military college established in 1911 and is situated in Canberra.

⁸⁸ DN, p. 6.

[I have] very vivid memories of Cadets which in many ways led me into a situation where I was called up for National Service and went to Vietnam. I do believe that my involvement in Cadets stood me in good standing. I very much enjoyed the Cadet side of school life. I attended regularly the camps that were conducted through the Cadet Corp activities. I rose to the rank of under officer, which I held for three years. I was regularly involved in the rifle shooting teams at Prince Alfred College and won a number of events either as a team member or as an individual.⁸⁹

School Cadets was great. We went to Woodside with the school Cadets I think that sort of disciplinary bit and everything we got from that was great ... brought you closer together. I thought school Cadets was a huge plus. You got to shoot a gun, which I'd never done before and dodge bullets. We had an incident where a person let a bren gun go off. He'd fired a couple of times but, just like me, he'd never shot one before. It frightened him a bit, he fell over and away went the bullets. I enjoyed that because it was probably more outdoors, hands on which suited me.⁹⁰

A number of the boys did not like Cadets, especially the camps which they found uninteresting and uncomfortable. They hated cleaning their gear, polishing boots and buckles as well as wearing an uncomfortable, cumbersome, hot and embarrassing uniform to school once a week. Many saw the whole exercise of Cadets pointless and irrelevant to their future.

The Cadets, I hated. (laughing) Because I don't know whether it was the regimentation of it but I really felt it was a little bit of a puff and nonsense and sergeant majors yelling to get your lines straight and all that sort of thing. I didn't think it really had much of a place within the school because it was probably and is still a part of the discipline of that era. I didn't like it, its about as simple as that.⁹¹

⁸⁹ TY, p. 2.

⁹⁰ TG, pp. 4-5.

⁹¹ ID, p. 4.

I was in Cadets. Not very happy memories. I hated going to the annual camp. The first time we had it at Warradale they didn't supply me with a pillow or anything, so we had to rest out head on our boots. We had to make our own palliasse to sleep on, which was a kind of bag and we filled it with straw ourselves, just like out in the middle of Vietnam virtually. I really hated it. I was fairly immature for my age and I got pretty homesick over the four or five days we were there. Then I decided to get on the other side to the ranks so I went along to the NCO [non-commissioned officer] course and finished up being a sergeant by the time I got to Year 12. That made me feel a bit better about it. It was quite a good experience trying to teach lessons to a platoon about how to dismantle a bren gun and all this kind of stuff. I used to hate having to clean gear every Tuesday night and so forth and I remember feeling very faint once or twice in parades on hot days so, a lot of negative memories. I've lost some hearing in my right ear I think because of having to fire a rifle at a rifle range. The specialist at the hospital said that was the only possible reason.⁹²

All my time was with the Cadets. You got this uniform and you had to get dressed at home and ride to school on your bike wearing army uniform. Just imagine that for a picture, or be dropped off by Dad or Mum! There was a parade on the oval. Then, of course, there were these compulsory camps which I think there was one a year and again the pack mentality, the square peg or the weaklings sort of thing boiled over. Army camp for some was less than happy and I count myself among those because it was just uncontrolled rabble in those ways. Even though people kept a lid on it, once you got six guys in a tent fooling around it just got out of hand in a lot of ways. But going back to the school, Cadets was in your uniform and polishing the bits and being on parade and having your brass work polished - a lot of ritual and rigmarole on the oval. But I don't really know what it achieved.⁹³

⁹² GS, p. 6.

⁹³ PH, p. 10.

Another view was not to take Cadets seriously, it was just a compulsory part of school and a bit of a joke. This group liked to upset the discipline and even challenged it a little on the occasion.

I had three years in Cadets, and probably I, including a lot of other people, didn't take it all that seriously. We regarded it as a bit of a lark, and did what we could to upset the discipline that had to be applied from time to time.⁹⁴

I got kicked out of them because I had a couple of words to say to a visiting regular army person one day who was there, who I think made some comment about the way either I was dressed or the way I handled the rifle. I can remember throwing the rifle down on the ground in front of him and, of course, he took a bit of umbrage about that. He had the right to do so in the long run when I reflect on it. I think I was taken out of Cadets for the remainder of the year. I don't have a beef with what occurred because I think the school Cadets were an integral part of the structure of the school at that particular time as the Scouts were.⁹⁵

Several of those who were in Cadets mentioned that their fathers did not agree with it being compulsory or teaching them how to use guns. These students also said in the interviews that they would not want their sons to learn how to use a gun. No one who had been in Cadets said that their sons participated in Cadets or that they would have liked them to.

I went to Cadets for the first two and a half nearly three years. I only went because I had to. My father wasn't a greater believer in forcing us to go to Scouts or Cadets but I've got to say I didn't get a great deal of encouragement from home for the Cadet part. Probably the thing I remember most about it was breaking a tooth eating rice on a Cadet camp at El Alemain. There was a stone in the rice and I bit on it and busted a tooth. Scouts and Cadets didn't really hold a great deal of importance to me.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ GC, p. 5.

⁹⁵ JM, p. 6.

⁹⁶ NR, p. 5.

Cadets was interesting. It taught us a lot about how important it was to have your uniform looking pretty smart, and cleaning your belt, all the buckles and the brass. It was just a form of training from the viewpoint of standard dress. There was discipline imposed upon us privates by the hierarchy, the Warrant Officers. If we were caught being a bit silly you had to run around the oval with your rifle above your head and so that was a sort of punishment. I think on the bigger scale, once you got through all that foot slogging, cleaning your rifles and things, some of the army camps were good fun at Woodside and El Alemain. You got to see a bit of countryside, you were with guys out of your class or out of your year and probably got to meet a few more people. When you go away with people you learn a lot more about their habits, and that wasn't too bad. If you were in the school Cadets, the army Cadets you were seen as sort of being a tougher breed than if you were in the Sea Scouts or the Land Scouts. I know with the girls that that was so. The skills of weapons, the firing of rifles - that was something my father discouraged. He didn't have any weapons on the property and so you learned to shoot a rifle and then the automatic weapons. That would have been the main skill that I learned.⁹⁷

Cadets mainly taught discipline by obeying instruction, attention to detail such as the uniform and self-discipline. This was army discipline, which many of the boys disliked, yet they liked the school discipline. If they became a corporal or a higher rank the discipline was easier as they were the ones who gave the orders rather than receiving them. Many of the boys who grew up on farms really enjoyed using guns, as this was part of their previous experience.

Cadets [and Scouts] both taught you discipline. Cadets was very heavily army discipline and most of the lads hated it. If you got a stripe and became a corporal or sergeant that wasn't too bad. But most of the blokes that I knew who were in the Cadets didn't like the Cadets. [I] didn't like being shouted at. It was shouting and bullying really, like the army. It taught us how to handle a gun, which was probably the biggest thing. The country boys quite liked it

⁹⁷ WT, p. 5.

because they got to handle a gun. City blokes very rarely handled guns. I learned to handle guns in the Cadets. Scouts taught you a little less discipline but they taught you all sorts of interesting things. I can remember we had proficiency badges in areas such as growing plants and vegetables, how to tie a knot and how to whittle with a knife and that sort of thing so you learnt a lot more from the Scouts.⁹⁸

I didn't mind it, but we hated the weekly parades. If there was a way we could get out of the weekly parades on Wednesday morning, we would, because you had to clean all your gear and that sort of thing, so you (would) play sport if you were any good and get out of it. I liked the camps. ... I didn't mind the discipline, I probably didn't go much on the getting dressed up and cleaning all your brassware (laugh). So I never progressed through - I didn't want to be an under officer or anything like that. ... just sort of went along with the crowd. I think the discipline was good in that too. I can't see any problem in that at all.⁹⁹

Cadets gave the students an idea of what it would be like to be in the army through teaching skills like shooting guns, camouflage, war games, digging latrines, keeping living areas tidy, how to handle ammunition, map reading and paying attention to detail. Cadets were taught the importance of attention to detail as this could save lives in a war situation. This was mainly taught through a strict dress code. The boys were taught how to present themselves appropriately in public, particularly when representing the school. They also learned how to live in close quarters with others their own age, often from their own class. Cadets taught boys the importance of discipline in a military situation via an introductory understanding of the military and basic training. Cadets reinforced the school's discipline as students had to obey instructions without question and accept their punishment like a man for breaking the rules.

⁹⁸ PN, p. 4.

⁹⁹ TR, p. 3.

We took the discipline with a grain of salt, but again you learnt about the importance of discipline in a military type situation and while you had to have discipline, that we probably in terms of our general lives regarded as a bit excessive and a bit unnecessary, you could see why in the military context it would be necessary. You got some basic understanding of the military and some basic training. You had the range days and camps and that sort of thing so you learned a bit of skill.¹⁰⁰

Some boys felt that they did not learn many useful skills from Cadets except map reading, orienteering, working together as a team on camps, navigating obstacle courses and living communally.

We did a bit of firing of guns so I learnt about that, if you call that a skill. We used to go down to the range once or twice a year and fire up the .303s at targets.

Did you ever use live ammunition?

Yes, but it was all pretty well supervised. It was at a range down at Port Adelaide and it wasn't a really dangerous kind of thing. I think I learnt a bit of orienteering when I went on camp, but I wouldn't say I learnt very many skills.¹⁰¹

I learned how to dismantle a rifle, and discipline mainly. Working with a group of people and having to do things together. I tried to get into something that would be really what I call reconnaissance - but I got into office work - sitting at the back lines rather than the front lines.¹⁰²

Those who did not like to participate in the Cadets found other avenues like building the obstacle courses for the others to complete, joining the band or being in charge of supplies. They enjoyed seeing the other Cadets struggle to get through their creations giving them a

¹⁰⁰ GC, p. 6.

¹⁰¹ PP, p. 3.

¹⁰² TR, p. 3.

different sense of achievement to those doing the obstacle course. They were rewarded by being given the privilege to be part of the twenty one-gun salute for the Monarch's birthday celebrations.¹⁰³

Scouts at the school was regarded as being very much a sort of weak thing to do. So the Scouts were not regarded as a serious option really. The idea was to become a Cadet and then hate it. So that was the style you had to adopt. I never really found out if the Scouts had fun, they were just regarded as wet so I didn't do it. I actually found that I got a bit bored with just hating and so I took an interest in the school band and became a bugler, then the lead bugler and then in my final year I became a drum major in the school band. Then the most humiliating moment of my school career, at the passing out parade in the school Cadets I received a trophy for the most efficient Cadet. To be regarded as the most efficient Cadet was a source of a good deal of lampooning from the other boys who spent a lot of time trying to do anything but be an efficient Cadet (laugh). ... we really threw ourselves into the band and we had a very good music teacher and we really put our heart and soul into the band, and entered band competitions, and I spent a lot of time with the band outside of my school hours. There were one or two competitions and we used to do tricky marches and we were quite excited. We did extremely well and our band was very, very good.¹⁰⁴

That was Wednesday morning from about Intermediate. We got this big decision from one lot of boys in the Scouts and they went off and did naughty things - they went swimming without their clothes on and things like that. We didn't join the Scouts. The Cadets was all about war and I'm somewhat of a pacifist. We got round that by joining the key store. It was the greatest perk because you got the keys which meant that because you were administrator you had to keep the rolls and keep stock of all uniforms and all the boots and gaiters. There was about two or three of us who managed to get ourselves into the key store. The band was another way

¹⁰³ AB, p. 4.

¹⁰⁴ SH, p. 6.

to get around it and we could play our own musical instruments. I remember not liking that "man stuff"- that was even more rigid than school.¹⁰⁵

Scouts' view of Cadets

The Scouts did not view the Cadets very highly. They saw them as more masculine, gun crazy and not self-sufficient as they always obeyed orders and did not do anything without an instruction.¹⁰⁶ They were very separate from the Scouts who saw the military style discipline as unnecessary and over the top. Most watched with distaste the Cadets marching up and down on the parade ground in uniform with polished boots and buckles. Scouts were taught to develop and use their initiative, by thinking for themselves. For them Scouting was more interesting and consisted of fun, constructive and useful activities. However, Scouts did not view the Cadets as negatively as the Cadets viewed the Scouts in terms of masculinity.

Cadets were more masculine. Got to go on army camp and that sort of exciting stuff. It wasn't a great issue like I'm in the Cadets and you're in the Scouts or anything like that.¹⁰⁷

Not particularly highly. I thought it was a totally disciplined totally self-humiliating kind of exercise from the outside. That may well have been exaggerated by my father's opinion of the army. He 'd come back from the war and didn't like anything to do with guns and that maybe sowed some seeds of discontent in me in that regard. And maybe that's why I was in Scouts in preference to Cadets but I enjoyed the boy Scouts.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ DG, p. 5.

¹⁰⁶ MW, p. 4; PD, p. 5; SV, p. 6.

¹⁰⁷ AP, p. 7.

¹⁰⁸ DC, p. 5.

I thought that was a complete antithesis of what I wanted to do. I didn't want to be following arbitrary rules and marching around, and generally having your belts, and your boots all clean just for the sake of it. I thought it was completely pointless.¹⁰⁹

They were hopeless. There's a lot of antipathy between the two and good natured fun poking. I thought the Cadets was too regimented and like school with a very strict chain of command whereas in the Scouts you were more allowed to do your own thing, a bit more initiative forming.¹¹⁰

Basically friendly rivalry, never did as interesting things as the Scouts did, that's what the Scouts always thought. Silly old Cadets marching up and down - the Scouts were much freer. Certainly when I was running the Scouts room it wasn't basketball it was basket brawl and it was virtually no rules, the whistle was blowing when somebody looked as though they were about to get injured, and it was that sort of letting off steam and doing what you want to do and tearing madly around which probably was the nice release from the discipline elsewhere. And we did constructive useful things - the Sea Scouts built boats and the Scouts had their own little house out the back, and we used to go in there at lunch time and make things and do things, and look after the gear, and prepare for hikes and it was great.¹¹¹

We thought they were a bit, a) military and b) gun loving and c) loitering around and not fending for themselves. That's a pretty broad and unfair assessment whereas we used to have to think for ourselves and as I say you learnt a certain amount of resourcefulness of how to handle a boat and interesting things like that. ... I think you start to realise the value in difference.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ DS, p. 5.

¹¹⁰ JC, p. 2.

¹¹¹ PI, p. 4.

¹¹² RH, p. 4.

The following student did not see the Cadets negatively but felt that it might have been fun.

Cadets seemed like a bit of fun at time. I was more inquisitive as to what it really meant and was impressed by the spit polish shoes and the shining buckles. Without really having much more of an insight into what they got up to.¹¹³

Summary

Through discipline boys learnt to be honest, behave like a gentlemen and to accept their punishment like men. Christian Gentlemen were expected to behave within the rules and thereby demonstrate self discipline. Taking punishment like a man and obeying those with power over you made muscular Christians. If you were caned and did not wince, your reputation was made, by enduring pain and showing no emotion. You were accepted into the PAC fraternity. This was particularly relevant if you were a new boy.

Most viewed the discipline as fair as it was part of being at the school and therefore part of their good start in life via a good college education. Discipline helped the students build character by learning to take on the world and pick themselves up and go on when things went wrong. They only resented being punished when they saw it as unfair, in other words for something they did not do. The school's culture was reinforced by the fact that most felt that they would get the same discipline at home and in society. The discipline was representative of the 1960s, corporal punishment was permitted and used in both corporate and state schools. There were only a few interviewed who saw the discipline as barbaric and unnecessary, which they resented.

¹¹³ II, p. 9.

The affect of the discipline on most seemed minimal, it was perceived as a part of school life and was not challenged or questioned by the students. They did not feel that it did them any harm and it taught them how to behave properly. Discipline tamed their boyish enthusiasm. Post-interview discussions revealed their view that young people today could benefit from more discipline. The cultivation of self-discipline was viewed as an important part of their schooling. The discipline was taught overtly but the message behind it about gentlemanly behaviour was covertly taught and was therefore part of a hidden curriculum.

Scouts and Cadets were important tools used to teach the boys self-discipline and order, presentation and obeying rules. Scouts emphasised survival - man against the environment, whereas Cadets emphasised strict discipline, presentation, not to question orders, how to handle and shoot a gun, being a good soldier rather than a good survivor.

Cadets remembered guns and discipline whereas Scouts remembered bonding, communicating and learning how to get along with others. Scouts was much more social and less regimented than the Cadets. Cadets saw the Scouts as '*sissies*', '*namby pambies*', '*less manly*' and not brave enough to be a Cadet. Scouts viewed Cadets as '*more manly*', '*thick*', '*hopeless*', wasting their time, full of arbitrary rules, not able to fend for themselves. Cadets were not seen to be as interesting as Scouts by both Scouts and Cadets. Scouts were glad not to be in Cadets and did not like anything to do with the military or gun loving attitudes. Scouts learnt how to survive and think for themselves. Cadets just learnt how to obey orders, march in a straight line and polish their boots.

A number of the Scouts got their sons involved in Scouts or became Scout leaders. None of the Cadets mentioned their sons being in Cadets.

There was some rivalry between the Scouts and the Cadets as is illustrated in how they viewed each other. As regular Army Officers ran Cadets, it was perceived as more realistic and beneficial to their survival in society at a later date. Most really enjoyed the camps and getting to know each other on a more personal level. In Scouts many felt that they learnt to be more self-sufficient by learning skills such as sewing on a button, lighting a fire and cooking a simple meal.

So there was discipline in the school setting which ranged from largely example and chiding in the upper streams to stricter methods of control in the lower streams. It is to be questioned if boys in lower streams required more discipline or if the masters relied more on corporal punishment than on other methods of maintaining order. There was a tendency in the lower streams for boys to view public punishment as a means of being accepted by the other boys. The Scouts and Cadets had a strong role in advocating forbearance, survival skills, operating as a team and obedience. Cadets supported the ideals of muscular Christianity whereas Scouts emphasised being a Christian gentleman.

Chapter 6: Competition and Success

Traditionally sport and academic achievement have been treated as separate entities in school histories.¹ They are addressed together in this chapter as both were used by staff to foster competition and success at PAC. This provides further insight into the definition and development of masculinity within the school.

Competition was a major tool used at PAC to inculcate many of the characteristics considered to be the hallmarks of a man. Academic competition was used to create Christian gentleman. On the other hand sporting competition reflected and promoted the ideals of muscular Christianity. This was based on the school's contention that competition breeds success. Academic and sporting competition at PAC was largely based on rivalry with Saints, who were the school to beat, particularly in sports, but it extended to all contacts with other schools and sporting clubs as well as that between individual students and houses. However, the fiercest competition was always with Saints.

Sport

Sport had a very important role in the life of PAC. It had long been a part of the English public school curriculum and therefore was established at PAC as more than a pleasant pastime for the boys. Sport was 'manly' and seen as the appropriate training at school for boys to be properly prepared for 'life's battle'.² The period in which PAC was established was also a time when muscular Christianity prevailed. This was still evident in the school right through the 1960s, particularly in sport.

¹ For example see Sherington, *Shore: a history of Sydney Church of England Grammar School*.

² Gibbs, *A History of PAC*, p. 17.

Throughout the College's history, sport provided the arena for heroes to evolve and perform. It was possible to feel both pleasure and pride in the hero's deeds and to identify strongly with him. Heroes were held in high regard by the rest of the school. It was not just the number of runs he made or goals he kicked but how he did it that made a hero. Behaving in the proper manner on the sports field was instilled in the boys by coaches and admired by peers, reinforcing fair play and gentlemanly behaviour rather than muscular Christianity.³ Boys becoming sports stars after leaving school was seen as the school in action, where their school training and character was tested. These old scholars were closely watched and presented to students as examples of what the school produced. Sport also had a social side. Students were expected to attend school sporting events that also attracted old scholars and many prominent members of the public. The school Chronicles were full of role models and were dedicated to the deeds and successes of both current and old scholars.

All the Intercollegiate teams were featured in the Chronicles, including their photos, which were often on the same page as those of the house prefects. House captains and team captains were sometimes the same person, they were often prefects as well. About a quarter of the Chronicle was dedicated to sport, not including the old scholars section which was predominantly sport. This included house notes, list of colours awarded to students and individual sport reports. Colours were the school's reward for excellence in sport. Each sport was identified by roman numerals and the year. For example cricket, XI 1962 or football, XVIII 1965 or rowing, VIII 1960. This was embroidered onto pockets which the boys had sewn onto their blazers. Full colours were awarded to all of those in the intercollegiate teams and half colours to the reserves. Merit badges were for those who had earned full colours in three different sports. Older students role modelled appropriate behaviour and success when coaching the junior teams and were looked up to by the younger boys as heroes or even idols. This was the school tradition that they were part of and were expected to keep.

³ *ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

As a young boy at the school you were in awe of the older boys at the school who were achievers, especially in athletics. I can remember going to some of those combined school sports and Intercoll sports where you had these guys who were ahead of you and were heroes because they were so good, and they beat Saints and they beat other schools and you looked at them as heroes for their achievements.⁴

First term house reports in the school Chronicle started with the committee and a list of prefects in each house. The inter-house competition included points gained in the following; athletics standards, sports day, cross-country, swimming from 1962, junior and senior football, cricket, tennis, rowing, basketball, Cadets (but not Scouts), debating and academic results.⁵ The winner was awarded the house cup. Each house captain prepared a two-page house report, to appear in each of the two annual editions, which included where the house came in the inter-house competition.

Each sport also had its own report of varying lengths. The sports in order of length of reports are as follows; cricket, football, tennis, athletics, swimming and rowing. This illustrates a possible hierarchy of sports within the school. Other evidence of this hierarchy is found in the school having songs for football, tennis and cricket but none for rowing or athletics. There were two football songs.

There was no doubt that football and cricket took precedence. Bearing in mind at that time that there were only five sports that were available, I was in football and cricket, athletics was prominent in the season of first term, and tennis was an alternative in first term to cricket and athletics. But I'm mindful of the fact that tennis really had only six players, and it was very hard to get into the tennis team, so not a lot to choose. And the other available sport was

⁴ DT, p. 4.

⁵ The Cadet competition involved grenades, shooting, bren gun handling and rifle events. There does not appear to have been an equivalent competition for the Scouts.

rowing. And that was a first term sport, so first term was very much cluttered with sport.

All sports increased at the end of the year - and there was an interval in second term, bearing in mind we had three terms.⁶

These reports included photographs, lists of results, critiques of players and detailed notes on where the team went wrong and how to improve. Critiques were not included if the competition had been won. Although matches were played against many other schools, Saints were the main protagonists and these matches were the ones highlighted in play by play reports.

Sport was an integral part of the boys' education at PAC and was believed to develop leadership skills through working as part of a team. These skills would be useful in the world of business or as leaders of the community. Sport embodied the definition of masculinity. Real men played sport and those who did not participate were considered 'sissies', 'bookworms' or 'not quite all there'. Some sport was compulsory; until year ten, Wednesday morning was devoted to sport. Everyone was expected to participate in sport as well as a couple of physical education lessons a week.

In Year 8 and Year 9 Wednesday mornings were spent playing sport ... you were encouraged and almost expected to play team sports on the weekend as well and go off to training after school to cricket and football. Within the school the boys sort of regarded the top sports boys as being the top of the pile and the best students were not considered anywhere near as equals to the sort of guys like Ian Chappell and so on.⁷

Boys were required to complete athletics standards, for example, run a hundred yards in a prescribed time.⁸ These standards were set at a level that most, if not all the boys could attain. Achieving athletic standards gave the boys an individual sense of success and reinforced team

⁶ RS, p. 2.

⁷ GS, p. 3.

⁸ DT, p. 4.

values as they earned points for the inter-house competition. This was very different from the traditional competitions where one boy wins. It appears that the boys were either good academically or in sport; rarely was an individual good at both.

The glamour bits seemed to be the boys that really had an aptitude and often appeared to have a certain style about them in terms of their approach to sport. Those who were really sporty people got aided for sport and those of us who were more academic got left in the academic stream.⁹

Boys were divided into houses for school competitions. The houses were named School, Bayley, Cotton, and Waterhouse. The boarders were all in School house. The dayboys were divided alphabetically into each of the other three houses. Bayley house was named after the Headmaster of PAC 1915-29. George Cotton and Thomas Waterhouse were the original secretary and treasurer respectively of the school council.

Inter-house competition was considered to be very desirable. The following editorial was to let students know that current house spirit was low and this was not good enough.

A marked difference between P.A.C. and some other schools is that at Princes there is scarcely any house spirit (School House naturally being an exception, by reason of the corporate life they are able to lead). Whilst it may seem incongruous to discuss house spirit while ostensibly considering school spirit, this is not so. If a fine house spirit can be created, the standards of the school will obviously rise – the spur of competition being one of the greatest aids to success.¹⁰

⁹ DL, p. 3.

¹⁰ Editorial, *PAC Chronicle*, April 1963, p. 3.

The boarders tended to win all the inter-house sports competitions because they spent most, if not all their spare time playing sport, as there were fewer other distractions or family involvements. This meant that they had a lot of practice as a team and therefore honed these skills. The dayboys also believed that the boarders were better at sport because they were more accustomed to physical labour as many were farmers' sons. However, School house was not good at debating, which involved oratory skills, or at chess and other intellectual competitions. They usually came last in these inter-house competitions.

As boarders we played a lot after school. We weren't off doing things that kids do at home; you were still stuck in school and not that that was bad there was plenty of opportunity for cricket and football and tennis and just about anything else you wanted to do. I learnt to play eight ball quite well there, spent many hours on weekends at the eight ball table.¹¹

It was a very important part of the boarding house life, you were encouraged to play sport. If you didn't play sport you basically missed out on a lot of what the school had to offer.¹²

Sports developed physical skills and team sport also involved meeting and learning to get along with others. Davy states that 'Sport has a social and moral value, not to be overlooked, and in these respects it can be a positive factor in the development of personality.'¹³ Sport helped to make boys complete, rounding off their personalities, to eventually become honourable and sociable men with healthy minds and bodies.

Princes had a lot of history in sporting achievement. Look at all the Chappells (Ian, Greg and Trevor) who were of my era. They relished their sporting achievements more than academic achievements. They always did well in the public exams. They looked for academic

¹¹ MJ, p. 2.

¹² PD, p. 3.

¹³ G. C. Davy (1960) *The Christian Gentleman: a book of courtesy and social guidance for boys*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, p. 124.

achievement there. If you look through the school magazine at the time, you'd see pages and pages devoted to sporting achievements. ... getting people to achieve and play on a competitive basis. ... but largely the guys that achieved in a sporting sense were sort of looked upon as the achievers in the school and not forgetting the academic achievements. The best measure of the sporting achievements is whether or not you rolled Saints in sports. ... academic achievements rated the same, fill a page in the Chronicle, distinctions in all these subjects. So there was a big influence on sporting aims in the school and that was the vehicle which they used for character building people. ... but the sporting field was a very important part of the school. It was the only way apart from being in the classroom that you could character build people it was the only other tool that the school had. The ethos was around the 'do brave deeds and endure' type thing and how that translated into reality. If you do it on the sporting field then you've made it. I feel the academic side was less so.¹⁴

There was an overwhelming response in the interviews that sport was a very important part of PAC.¹⁵ Some of those interviewed felt that for many of them it was more important than the academic side.

Sport was critical for a number of reasons. It was seen as part of the curriculum but it was also part of the school ethos. And very much part of the chauvinistic spirit of the school. The teachers seemed to want to have the school do particularly well. ... so we all were very wrapped up into the spirit of the thing and used to get into tremendous cavalcades for going to watch the football or something, and we used to be very big on war cries and all this sort of carry on which was really very aggressive, chauvinistic sporting behaviour. To the point where the opposition, St Peter's College in particular, just didn't really want to know about it. Very, very typical of the times (laugh).¹⁶

¹⁴ PH, pp. 6-7.

¹⁵ DH, p. 3; DB, p. 2; DJ, p. 2; GD, p. 2; JW, p. 5; TG, p. 2; IC, p. 2.

¹⁶ SH, p. 3.

The school always felt that sport was important. Sport was always more important than school to me. But you were encouraged to participate in any and many sports when I was there, not only in the traditional, in those days such as football and cricket. ... but you were also encouraged to try and do athletics if you could, gymnasium type work which was no good to me because as soon as I was upside down I had no sense of direction.¹⁷

It was a very major part of it and that was to stop us thinking about the other sex.¹⁸

Very important at Prince's. If you weren't in sport you were regarded as, not a freak, but you weren't regarded as being complete. We had a few brains at school who didn't play sport, it was a pity they got a bit of the bully type thing. You were regarded as complete, you had this aura about you particularly if you were in the intercoll side. To make the intercoll sides against Saints was always regarded as the match to be in, it's a bit like the State of Origin.¹⁹

It certainly had an important part in terms of building the concept of representing the school and achieving. Although at the junior levels everyone took, but as you moved up a bit it became certainly quite an exclusive group. I don't think I could say it was over done in the expectation that sport predominated. You could only see it as an adjunct to the school. Extra-curricula.²⁰

It was a very important part (laugh). In fact, it probably had more focus on sport than on academic work for a lot of us. (laugh).²¹

¹⁷ NR, p. 2.

¹⁸ JC, p. 2.

¹⁹ AG, p. 3.

²⁰ DL, p. 2.

²¹ GC, p. 4.

Although all of those interviewed stated that the school saw sport as very important, they did not explain the role of sport. When further questioned they stated that they learnt a lot from sport, such as being a good winner and loser, working as part of a team and keeping going when things got tough. These values were backed up in school magazine editorials, such as the following.

Sportsmen everywhere applauded when a New Zealander, Peter Snell, showed qualities of endurance and determination to better the existing record times for the mile and half-mile. To achieve this feat, he trained arduously over many months, and persevered until he was the very epitome of Robert Bruce's famous statement "If at first you do not succeed, try, try, try again".²²

Over the years, since 1869, Princes has built a reputation worthy of the upholding. Perhaps we tend to confine our comparisons with other schools too much to the field of sport. We should be more conscious of our standing in respect to manners and behaviour. The school motto instructs us to "do brave deeds and endure". This instructions has an implication of manly forbearance. A Christian gentleman does not need to travel to strange lands to be persecuted for what he does. If we always do what we think is right, there will be persecution enough, in the form of stinging jibes and criticisms. We must indeed live bravely: "faciamus fortia". Just as hard, let us endure: "patiamur". If we can do these things, we shall be secure in the knowledge of having done the right and of thus being truly "Princes men".²³

Chester Bennett was the sports master at PAC during the 1960s. He continued to coach and influenced many young sporting careers, well after his retirement from PAC. Chester was highly regarded, respected and liked by the students. He was remembered particularly for his

²² *ibid.*, April 1962, p. 3.

²³ *ibid.*, April 1963, p. 3.

discipline style that did not involve physical punishments and for treating the boys as adults. In Gibbs' history of the school Chester Bennett is described as the 'doyen of coaches'.²⁴

Chester Bennett was the coach of the first eleven, he also taught me. Chester had a big influence on me as a person obviously because I was playing a lot of cricket and he was also the first eighteen coach and very softly spoken, quiet bloke, lovely human being ... one of those guys who didn't say much, but when he did say something it was very worthwhile. I remember we used to change in the prefects' rooms for cricket. And I'd got out, it was my last year at school and I was captain. We'd lost a match against Kensington that we should have won, and we'd made some mistakes in the field ... we'd lost by 3, 4 runs. I was very angry about it and there was still about an hour of the match to be played so we had to bat for a short while and I always used to bat at number three, a wicket fell early and I went in and I was still angry when I went in to bat and I was so angry I got out so then I'm more angry. I walked into the prefects' room and I took my protector off and I threw it up against the wall and swore. I suddenly get this light tap on the shoulder and I look around and it's Chester and I'm thinking, "Christ, I'm in trouble here, one for throwing the protector and two for being angry and three for swearing". This is typical of Chester, he just said "Ian, you've just had a very good lesson today, nothing much is achieved in anger" and then just turned around and walked out. By not punishing me, I learnt a better lesson because what he told me was very important and he was quite right, you don't achieve anything in anger. Not that I completely learnt the lesson but it always stuck in my mind when I was getting angry on the field.²⁵

The senior football and cricket coach, I have a great deal of respect for. Chester Bennett was well known in the sporting and school world around Adelaide but he had the knack of taking senior students and treating them like young men not like boys. We were given the leeway both in sport and outside sport at school to make our own decisions, and he would back us up,

²⁴ Gibbs, *A history of PAC*, p. 338.

²⁵ IC, pp. 4-5 This incident was also remembered by GS, p. 4.

*provided we were willing to stand by our decisions and do the right thing both by ourselves and by him. So he's probably the guy that I would have the most respect for then.*²⁶

Dunning believed that sport should occupy a properly strong place in school life and fostered this at PAC. He had a strong sporting background, having represented New Zealand in test cricket and football. Many of the masters also had sporting backgrounds having played in State and national teams. All of the masters coached a sporting team.

*Sport was important at Prince's, my word, especially when old Jack was there, and particularly football, cricket and tennis. They weren't the only sports but they were the important ones. If you played anything else you were a bit of an 'Also Ran'.*²⁷

*Because I played in a much lower level than A and B in football we had some of the Masters who really probably knew nothing about Australian Rules coaching us and I found that rather interesting in that they knew nothing and that they were still there pepping us up.*²⁸

Football was the only winter sport, until basketball was introduced during the period of this study. Boys saw football as the game of real men and cricket as the game of gentleman. Being good at football proved your manhood as you had to be tough and could get hurt.

*You had to be tough in football. Football's a tough, he-man game, that was the one to excel at. Cricket was more of the gentleman type; you don't get hurt, big deal. More skill than brute force and that's why football was always looked upon as being a better game. A bit better fun. Get out and involve people. It still is.*²⁹

²⁶ NR, p. 3.

²⁷ DC, p. 2.

²⁸ DC, pp. 1-2.

²⁹ NG, p. 13.

Sport was a very important part of school life, provided you played football and cricket (laughing) particularly cricket because the Headmaster in those days was Jack Dunning who had played test cricket for New Zealand. I ended up rowing and that was very much the forgotten sport, you really were almost looked down on. It was strange because we used to have these sort of sayings well if you played cricket you'd be all right.³⁰

There were many different teams particularly in football and cricket so that everyone had the opportunity to take part in a sport. All the boys were expected to be in a team and participate in sport at some level. Therefore there was an emphasis on competing and not just competing to win which was also evident in the athletics standards. This created a strong sporting culture and reinforced its importance at the school.

When I went to PAC the thing that really hit me about sport was that there was a team for everybody no matter how good or bad you were. I was never a great sportsman. I really just enjoyed participating and enjoyed the opportunity I had to do it, which has continued on after I left school.³¹

Well, I used to love sport but apart from one particular sort of sport I wasn't very good at it. I enjoyed it both as a sports person and a spectator. We had six open football teams and that says something about the school. ... I was a good distance runner and held some of the school three mile records and that was the sport I had a natural gift at, but I didn't really get into that much at school because I had a bit of an inferiority complex about sport. I was small and fairly weak and was surprised when I found I could out run people at certain distances quite easily, I have to say, that although I wasn't strong out in the cricket field or tennis court, I actually enjoyed that aspect of school.³²

³⁰ TR, p. 4.

³¹ BW, p. 4.

³² RH, p. 4.

Correct behaviour of spectators was also expected, such as applauding good play no matter which team and cheering your school on without criticising the umpires or the other team. Booing, slow applause and counting out were considered inappropriate behaviour that demonstrated bad sportsmanship. Sport reinforced good manners and thus how to behave in an appropriate/socially accepted way. It also developed team players, leaders and good sportsmen. This again, illustrates an emphasis on the importance of participation and correct behaviour; not exclusively on success and winning.

Not everyone can excel or lead in a field, but almost anyone can take part. Only one person can captain a sports side, but the rest can form part of the team. Team games teach one to cooperate with others.³³

The war cry was used at sports meets as the cheer that got all the spectators involved and feeling part of the on-field action.

*We had the principal razzle dazzle war cry. We used to have the whole school working together on the football ground "Hey, hey, where, where, we want a goal kicked over there" and we had these exaggerated arcs and from the ground the whole stand who would be like this. There was a song "Light Spectacular" with a bit of movement. And that was all good fun. There's another one too but I can't think of it. That was actually very strong in those years.*³⁴

*We had a war cry which was stupid. "Warrigo? Warrigo? one way we, Prince's, Prince's, PAC." I remember I know the words but the action again was pretty stupid and you'd never get away with that sort of thing now. Pretty (laugh) silly. But that was sort of everybody doing the same thing at the same time, it used to sound good. We used to get enjoyment and great fervor out of this. The big team scene.*³⁵

³³ Editorial, *PAC Chronicle*, April 1965, p. 3.

³⁴ SH, p. 3.

³⁵ NG, p. 14.

War Cry

Razzle dazzle, hobble, gobble, zit bom bah;
 PAC! PAC! Yah, yah, yah!
 Iki iki alla alla, whiskers on your gobba-gobba,
 Nagasaka yah;
 PAC! PAC! Yah, yah, yah!

Anna manna mona mike,
 Barcelona bona strike;
 Allego ballego woe wack wee;
 Prince's! Prince's! PAC!

Hitcha pitcha dominitcha,
 Hon pon hee;
 Allego ballego funny sunny galligo,
 Blitherer PAC!³⁶

The football song, school song and the war cry were the three songs that the boys remembered having to learn in the first week of school. These songs also back up the values taught through sport. They use masculine language and have some war analogies with sport. These songs reinforced the school's ideals in producing, fair, successful leaders. There was a second football song and songs for cricket and tennis (See Appendix IV).

Football Song (Go in Prince's)

In every kind of manly sport
 Australia leads the way;
 She honours those, as well she ought,
 Who honour her at play;
 But there's one sound her sons love best,
 It is the football's thud;
 And there's one cry above the rest
 That summons up her blood:

Chorus

Go in Prince's! Princes one and all!
 Go in Prince's! Princes on the ball!
 You must never know defeat,
 For they say "Reds can't be beat,"
 So whene'er the foe you meet,
 Go in Prince's!

Young men at tennis sometimes play
 For "love sets" in that game;
 When "stickers" at the wickets stay,
 Then cricket's rather tame;
 But when you hear this chorus ring,
 'Tis then your spirits rise;

³⁶ Peard, *PAC School Songs*. The warcry was the result of a combined effort of the boys prior to 1926.

You're bound with all the rest to sing,
And raise it to the skies.

"Half back" all back must boldly show,
The "goal sneak" must be fair,
The "back" men to the front must go,
The "followers" everywhere.
We love our champions in the field,
We give them all their due;
Before them every foe will yield
When e'er you sing this through.

When schooldays all are over, for
Your life-work has begun,
When you're no more a "rover," for
You've grown too stout to run,
Think how you played a noble part;
Remember, too, with joy,
The song you sang with all your heart,
When once you were a boy.³⁷

Those who were not interested in sport knew that it was important to participate even if you were not good at it. They often stated it was a way to get to know different people and an opportunity to learn a social sport. It was also a way of being accepted.

*I wasn't particularly good at any sport in particular so I just did them.*³⁸

*I wasn't a great sportsman. I played a bit of football. ... I did a bit of running too, but I wasn't all that good at it. But it was pretty important. Most of the boys played some sport, and some of them played a lot of sport, and people who were good at sport were looked up to. They were admired, they were praised. If somebody from the boarding house did well it would be mentioned in the announcements at the meal, sort of congratulations.*³⁹

For one who was disinterested in sport such as myself it was a real pain in the arse because there was all this emphasis on sport not only just in physical education which was only twice a week, but competitive sport. Competitive team sport particularly, sports days, football,

³⁷ *ibid.* The football song was the result of a combined effort of the boys prior to 1926.

³⁸ RF, p. 3.

³⁹ PP, p. 3.

intercollegiate cricket all that sort of stuff. ... at the end of the year they had this one boring cricket match with St Peters College and that was the only time I ever rode my bike to school because, I could ride off that way but do a U-turn at some stage and ride home rather than have to watch cricket. There was the expectation that you'd all go off to Saints to watch cricket but there was no roll there to make sure that you'd actually got there. The head of the river was quite a social event so I used to go to that one but most of the others I avoided if it was at all possible.⁴⁰

Because I wasn't that good at it I was low down in the pecking order and I didn't feel that confident. I didn't start playing good cricket until I left PAC. I had a good season at ANU and that was because PAC never thought there was anything I could do with a cricket bat. So I was glad to be able to play cricket outside of PAC environs, to be honest.⁴¹

I was always the odd one out. I was not physically strong, and once I got my glasses that changed my life really. That happened at Kilkenny Primary. I was in Grade 3 and I was falling behind academically from the other children. I was quite markedly short-sighted, and I got specs, and then I was "goggle eyes", "four eyes" and immediately (clicked fingers) – my whole social standing just collapsed. It was a traumatic time for a young person to have glasses then, and I found I was having to play by myself because of my specs. And when I got to Princes I didn't have much to do with sport because I might get my glasses knocked off my face and broken, and so that kind of inhibited me, and so I ended up being the sloth, and not being the sporty type. But I can say this for Prince's, they did try.⁴²

There were a few students that were not able to participate in sport due to long term illness or who just hated it, living too far away from school to be able to make it to practice, or working a part time job. They all felt sport was strongly emphasised at school and they were ostracised or felt that they missed out particularly on the social side of playing sport. However some

⁴⁰ AP, p. 2.

⁴¹ GS, p. 4.

⁴² BG, p. 5.

formed a group with others who disliked and/or were hopeless at sport. It is evident from these interviews that their self esteem was affected.

If you didn't play sport you were a nerd, or whatever those names are. And a few people were like that unfortunately. It was a bit of a worry. They were always looked down upon.⁴³

I hated it. From what I've since discovered my mother had a very traumatic birth and I was very ill as a child so I was told I couldn't do anything, so I avoided any contact with sport. I got very good at manifesting sickness, so if there was a cross country run I could throw up at the drop of a hat, and become quite ill, or get notes to avoid it. There were times when it got very difficult because there was always a lesson every Wednesday morning we had to do sport and I used to sort of get changed and when we used to kick footballs, I'd run around the edge of the oval and hide behind trees. And cricket was great because you could just field and so you would find yourself a position way out there and when batting you could get yourself on the end of the line and hope to God they'd finish before it was your turn. I managed to avoid sport. I was with a group that was very good at that.⁴⁴

I was not very good at sport. I didn't have a very good eye for anything. I couldn't handle a ball very well, so I looked on sport as a chore that I had to live through until I could bow out of it by about Year 10. ... but as for individual sports I was better in them than in the team games where I was always looked on as being a bit of a dead weight.⁴⁵

Well, socially you were an outcast. I was not allowed to have physical contact in any way, shape or form and I couldn't be hit on the side where I've got a scar. So very simply it was hard to make friends with anyone because you weren't with them on Saturdays. You weren't involved in the after curricula activities of any enjoyment. On Saturday, I sat home and was

⁴³ NG, p. 3.

⁴⁴ DG, p. 3.

⁴⁵ DS, p. 4.

bored out of my brains from the point of view of having no social life with anybody at Prince Alfred College. I made my own friends in the district where I lived. That proved a problem because unless you are brilliant at it or you are better than average at Prince Alfred College you are just an ordinary person the others sort of look down on you. ... certainly affects you, sport is the thing that settles you in within the system and makes friendships and that sort of thing.⁴⁶

I've never been much of a sporting person. I still can't coordinate my hand and eye. I went out on a few sorties, cricket bat or a cricket ball in the middle and I thought "This is not for me". You get pasted (meaning "paid out") by the other fellas that were out there, "Why don't you hit the ball?" and all that sort of thing. I did tail of the pack as usual. Those things knock your self esteem around a bit. You suffer from that a little bit and I remember Dad saying to me once, "Well, you can't hit a ball straight, why don't you try for the rowing team", and I did. It made my relationship at the school a little more difficult. First I was hopeless at sport. I found myself not being part of the sporting fraternity which was a big part of PAC.⁴⁷

I was a bit of an individualist, I suppose. I can tell you that I tended to go off to the back room and do a bit of photography and something like that. I found ways around sport. At the time the assembly hall was being built because, I do like things technical, electrical, I got involved in some of the back stage stuff. There were probably three or four boys who were with me in that category. Weren't the sporting types. You actually wanted to do something and somehow you became this little group at the hall. We went out and we did photography. We had a dark room set up in one of the rooms around in the old quadrangle, we'd go in there and take pictures and print them and that sort of thing.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ GE, p. 3.

⁴⁷ PH, p. 4.

⁴⁸ PI, p. 3.

Those who were not in the top teams, that is the first eighteen in football and first eleven in cricket often felt that sport was a waste of time.

I was never a gladiator - I can play any sport and every sport adequately, I can play golf, tennis and all the things one needs to play now reasonably well. I wasn't ever first material really. I played the odd game, but it was an embarrassment to keep me there. It was better to have Dave Noble, who seemed to be a good leader as captain or vice-captain of the seconds. I like sport. There were too many people that went on to be national and state champions in my year. In the year that I was there we just tallied up anybody and everybody at a time, and in that context I was a second grade sportsman.⁴⁹

Sport stars were revered as heroes and looked up to by others, particularly the younger students. They were used as role models for others to aim to be as successful as they were. This also encouraged school loyalty as each student tried to be as good or better than those boys who went before him, to prove he was worthy of wearing the PAC uniform. Sporting heroes were acknowledged for their feats by walking into assembly last and in order of achievements and being clapped by the other boys. There was no suggestion in the interviews that boys who did not enjoy sport did not acknowledge these achievements. This could have been a result of peer pressure and not wanting to be labelled as different or even worse, a bad sport.

There was also a strong recognition of the top sports people. There was a time also before 1960 - you've got to remember that as far as I recall 1960 was the first year that there were two Leaving Honours classes, and so there were three Year 11 classes, two Year 12 classes, so there were a number of boys below Year 11 who were in first teams. ... obviously boys were expected to perform well at sport, but there was a lot of recognition of the top sportsmen. ...

⁴⁹ DN, p. 3.

for example, the tradition at that time was that on the Friday before the Intercollegiate contest, the members of the team that were going to play the next day, simply waited until most of the school was seated in assembly, and then as they came in to assembly they were applauded - and that was all the recognition that was given. In one sense, there was no more recognition for the captain and the star of the team, than there was for the youngest team member. There was very much a sense of community within the school, but certainly as a student I don't think that those things were spelt out as examples.⁵⁰

Sport and playing in the top team was a bit of a status symbol. The guys always used to like to know how you were going and it helped me fit in particularly coming in fresh. ... if you played cricket and footy you were okay. ... there were occasionally times when you got some extra privileges in terms of time off or trips or whatever through sport. But it didn't seem to intrude much on school hours most of it was weekend sports and of course practice was after school.⁵¹

Obviously, the competition and rivalry on the sports field in the intercollegiate games against St Peters were major events, and good sports were looked up to, admired and respected.⁵²

There was the sort of idealisation of the sports stars. Incredible status. The first eighteen or the first eleven team. They were highly revered.⁵³

You actually enjoyed being part of the closely knit school going along and supporting the heroes that were older than you when you were younger. Representing the school in things like the Combined Schools Athletics, Intercoll football, and tennis and cricket, and even in the rowing, all those were big events where you felt part of the school. Even though you were spectator, you enjoyed it.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ PM, pp. 4-5.

⁵¹ II, p. 7.

⁵² ID, p. 6.

⁵³ DG, p. 3.

⁵⁴ DT, p. 4.

It certainly got them status in terms of, amongst their peers. For example, people knew who was the top cricketer for the day. Maybe the dials up on the board as well.⁵⁵

Sport was a big thing at school. If you were a good sport, it was everything to be a good sport. Good at playing games, good at football, good at cricket, good at tennis, you were held in esteem, high esteem for that.⁵⁶

Another way that sport was encouraged at PAC was the long-standing succession of sports scholarships.⁵⁷ This meant that the school could attract potentially good sportsmen to be students, particularly those that came from families who could not afford to send them to PAC.

Boys in the first eleven played in the B grade district cricket competition. Here they played against men and the boys saw this as completely acceptable and normal. The men treated them as cricketers rather than schoolboys and therefore did not play down to them on the field, although they did call the boys 'poofers' and 'cream puffs'.

It meant that you got called a poofster pretty often when you were playing cricket. In those days PAC played in the second grade competition. So we were playing against men, I got into the first eleven when I was 14 so I was playing against grown men at that age. ... it didn't seem to be anything exceptional. ... because the college was in B grade competition and had been for a long time, and in fact not long before I went there they actually won the B grade competition one year.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ RF, p. 3.

⁵⁶ RW, p. 3.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*

⁵⁸ IC, pp. 1-2.

So you didn't play against other schoolboys?

Only St Peters and Adelaide High the rest of them were district teams like Woodville. We played in the district competition B grade which meant we were probably out of our depth as we played a very high standard of cricket, certainly for schoolboys and we played on the weekends right through the school holidays so I played my first match before I started school.⁵⁹

Team sports gave those participating the opportunity to get to know each other and to learn how to cooperate with each other. This was considered a valuable experience. Teamwork bred unselfish behaviour, as the individual must put aside his own glory for the good of the team. Otherwise, the team would become victim to its 'stars'.

Team work, relying - and not just relying on yourself but relying on other people built a good foundation for the team spirit. And not selfishness and things like that.⁶⁰

Team work. That's very important now, although say, I was playing footy, back in the early days if I had a chance to kick a goal, even though it was a hard shot, I'd have a go at it, but as time went on you'd hand ball to someone else and he'd kick the goal and you'd sort of bathe in his light and that sort of thing. It did change.⁶¹

Sport taught team spirit and how to work together to achieve a goal.⁶² A good effort and team spirit was used to inspire pride in achievement, however too much pride could become arrogance. The boys viewed it as an honour to be chosen to represent the school in sport. The school expected the boys to have a positive attitude about attending intercollegiate

⁵⁹ II, p. 6.

⁶⁰ JF, p. 3.

⁶¹ NG, p. 3.

⁶² JF, p. 3; MJ, p. 2; JW, p. 2.

competitions. The most important thing in sport was playing the game, not winning at all costs as this could lead to bad sportsmanship.

Working together in the sporting field with your colleagues – it also taught an exaggerated level of aggression in relation to team play and I sometimes wonder whether it was really necessary. There was a strong sense of fair play though, in the sense of cooking the books and cheating was regarded as absolutely below the pale and not the gentlemanly behaviour and they tried to teach values of playing by the rules.⁶³

Whilst it was important to me to win, it was important to lose graciously, if you do happen to lose, and there were some very strong teams in that era and listening to the coaches at the end talking to parents and saying “well look, we want to keep nice and positive, let’s not be derogatory like the opposition”. And some of those values were quite subtle, but quite important. All the players are there to try and do their best, and whilst the umpire was there also to judge the game, quite often they don’t see what should be seen and make a bad decision so, lots of those sorts of things. Fighting wasn’t encouraged on the field, there’s no need for fist fights or physically hurting anybody, but playing the game as it should be played in a good spirit.⁶⁴

Well, it probably taught me how to lose, gracefully. It taught you a lot of team spirit ... I reckon it helped you in business after school in that you realised that to succeed in business even if you were the boss you had to have a good team behind you.⁶⁵

Team work, team spirit, working with a whole range of people and with a particular goal in mind. Discipline, coordination and aerobic skill type development, although I never would have considered it that. Being active and pushing yourself learning to achieve by physical exertion and competition. Leadership I have great memories of those times and mateship. I

⁶³ SH, p. 3.

⁶⁴ WT, p. 3.

⁶⁵ AG, pp. 3-4.

made a lot of friends and met a lot of people and did things, went places that I wouldn't have done had I not been involved.⁶⁶

It was very much a team sports play that the team sports gave you that sort of team spirit and so I thought that was a pretty important ingredient and also to take the knocks, not grizzle when you got a few hits you had to get up and bounce back and that sort of added approach to life.⁶⁷

Sport taught the values of being humble, proud to win, striving for excellence, doing your best, and aiming to win. Participants learnt to respect the authority of the Captain, to carry out his instructions regardless of what they thought of him. Good sportsmanship implies fair play, respect for the rules, referees and opponents, the will to win without grumbling in defeat or gloating in victory. This included not deceiving or questioning the referees' decisions, rather accepting it with grace, as umpires are not infallible. Learning to take the good with the bad was encouraged, as well as not bragging about winning and not making excuses for losing. Being honourable and fair when playing and not bending the rules or breaking them was also encouraged. Good manners such as, win or lose, shaking the hands of the other team demonstrated this.

It always taught you if you win a big match you ought to be pleased but don't forget the other guys lost and you might lose next time. So it taught you to be humble as well as proud of being on a winning side. It also taught you to strive for excellence. To strive to win.⁶⁸

Learning how to lose, learning to be a good loser which is pretty hard for some people. Learning how to lose and to congratulate your opponent on performing better than you did.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ II, p. 7.

⁶⁷ PC, p. 2.

⁶⁸ AG, p. 4.

⁶⁹ DH, p. 3.

You learn with any sport how to lose - that's the best thing. And in the seconds we often lost and learning how to lose is very important early in life. It's very nice to ride on a crest of success like our firsts always seem to do. I didn't have the application or the seriousness to have to win, and that sort of characterised my life. I never thought that I had to win at sport. There were other things that I enjoyed doing better.⁷⁰

Showing respect for the school and team was demonstrated by dressing correctly, neatly, looking after the uniform and also by leaving the premises where they played neat and clean. Winning was more important for the top teams; for the other teams participation and enjoyment were stressed. The top teams created the leaders and therefore winning was important. For the other teams, working as part of an effective team was important for their future careers.

Fairness, in the sense of fair competition, which would be, basically taught through life anyway. Push yourself to your limits if you want to - if you can, and if you get beaten well then you are accepting. In the church basketball we had a couple who really were very weak and I was always quite happy for them to be on the court when I was coaching. The lower level you tended to get everybody involved on equal time rather than just pick the best five and if you lost because everyone played, well, that's just too bad.⁷¹

The fair go, doing things for enjoyment sake as well as for winning, working hard at something and putting up with the success and the disappointments. Both the sport, and things like scouting and other extra curricula activities, did teach you to be positive in that regard.⁷²

⁷⁰ DN, p. 4.

⁷¹ PG, p. 4.

⁷² RH, p. 4.

(Laugh) It gives you the ability to relate to people, playing team sports. The great thing of sport is the activity and opportunities you have to meet other people, to do other things, it gives you the opportunity to travel. It's good for the body, mind and soul, and it is important, always played sport. Will play sport for as long as I can.⁷³

Boys were taught how to win and lose graciously which was an important preparation for their future roles as leaders. As Davy states 'We will not be unduly concerned about the result of a match. Victory is pleasant, but defeat is not usually a disgrace. The reputation of the school is not likely to suffer in the minds of sensible people even if we lose every match of the season.'⁷⁴

It played a very important role as far as the school was concerned. We soon learnt to know that PAC was a great school as far as tradition was concerned, and we had to live that on the outside as well with the way we wore our uniform, and the way we conducted ourselves outside of school hours. And sport and winning and the way we went about that, and winning or losing, put the school in a certain light as well. Being part of a team, playing another college, and we thought of it very highly and we certainly did our best for the school.⁷⁵

There were three main sporting values that boys were expected to cultivate in their daily lives. These were to aim to win, never give up and help others. Sportsmen were endowed with the skills to win a battle and hailed as conquering heroes when they won, especially if they beat Saints.

They had their Memorial Drive teams and they had their A football teams, and their cricket teams, the sole purpose of existence was to attempt to beat Saints.⁷⁶

⁷³ TR, p. 3.

⁷⁴ Davy, *The Christian Gentleman*, p.125.

⁷⁵ JF, p. 2.

⁷⁶ RF, p. 3.

Sport was an important part of teaching the ideal of manliness to boys in the 1960s. Sport was an all-male arena designed to create leaders for society. The Captains of the first football and cricket teams were regarded as heroes and used as role models, giving them better opportunities in the public sphere. Victory, a sense of fair play, which included being a good winner or loser, plus team and school loyalty were strongly emphasised values. The boys were taught the importance of having a healthy body and to behave in a gentlemanly way when playing sport.

Academic achievement

Academic success like sporting success was fostered through competition. Academic results, other than those for the public examinations for Intermediate, Leaving and Leaving Honours, were counted in the inter-house competition. However, only the results of the top three students in each stream were awarded points. Debating was also included in the school's inter-house competition. Academic success was measured on an individual and a whole school basis and was used to promote PAC. At assemblies and speech days the names of students who passed the public exams and where they came in the State were presented. These lists were also printed in the school Chronicles with photos of those who scored highly, usually within the top fifty. The old scholars' sections in the Chronicles are full of old boy academic achievements such as completion of university qualifications or winning scholarships. Prizes were presented at the annual speech day for overall academic achievement, specific classes and extra curricular activities such as debating.

Streaming and classroom seating plans

Academic competition amongst the boys was fostered in the classroom through a streaming process and a seating plan. The streaming process operating at PAC during the 1960s was based on IQ test results which were administered on the first day of term in year eight. Depending on a boy's score, he was put into one of a number of streams, A, B, C, D or E.

When I went to school it was in Grade 5 and there was only one class of grade 5 so you're there with the whole school of Grade 5 but at Grade 6 there was a big intake which doubled the number of students and so this was the first time they started streaming. So you had an A and a B class and that went through to Grade 7 and then you go to first year at the senior school which was Year 8 and then there was another big intake that virtually doubled the number of students again and so instead of having 2 classes you actually had 4 classes and so they then streamed again and A, B, C and D and whatever and eventually there was A,B,C,D and G. G for general, so as far as 5 classes so one of the emphasis was you got streamed as you went through the school. Well, if you were a top student you would stay in the A stream, if you were a lesser student well you'd probably go into B or whatever and if you were in the B class in Grade 6 you may go down to C or D.⁷⁷

There were upper and lower classes in each of these five streams. The most academic students were in the A stream. They were seen to have the better teachers and had to do an extra subject at Intermediate level. They were encouraged to do their best and aim high. This group of boys was expected to go on to university. Those in the top streams took a language as this was regarded as an academic subject. Sometimes they were required to take an extra subject beyond the compulsory number in order to extend the boys. Some felt that academic achievement was only emphasised for those in the top streams.

⁷⁷ AP, p. 3.

Well, you were the elite of the group because that meant that you were doing Latin or French, you were doing English, two Maths, Latin, French, there had to be a couple of others tucked in there somewhere else.⁷⁸

They put great importance on academic achievement, they prided themselves on the achievements that their students attained. When I was there they graded them into streams, the upper students were in the A stream all the way and if you got down as low as the D stream, basically you weren't really expected to pass. These boys weren't expected to succeed and I often wondered why parents would send somebody who was only capable of making a D stream to a place like PAC where it cost them a good deal of money to get them educated. I think in hindsight I can see that some of them went there through tradition but by going there they did make contacts that helped them through life, even though they weren't all that good at the study side of it.⁷⁹

For the mid streamers and the lower streamers, I don't think academic achievement was considered very important, and in fact some of the boarders were just put in the bottom stream. You were streamed supposedly on academic ability so there might have been an emphasis on academic excellence in the A stream. In the B stream where I spent most of my time you were just encouraged to try and get along. Some of the others in the lower stream I think were considered a bit of a joke, particularly boarders – 'cos in those days they really just went there to pass the time of day before they went back to their property. Some of them probably suffered but then I doubt whether they would have done better anywhere else.⁸⁰

Well, I was just a country kid and always found it fairly hard in the classroom, and when I went down there of course, although it wasn't too bad at primary school, I soon found out that there was plenty of kids brighter than me. You had your examinations when you first came in, and you got fitted into A class, B class, C class, D class going on scholastic ability, and I was in C class ...

⁷⁸ GE, p. 2.

⁷⁹ NR, p. 4.

⁸⁰ DJ, p. 3.

and I was fairly shy and quiet. I often found it difficult academically and thankfully my children are quite a deal brighter (laugh), because they've done quite well at Uni.⁸¹

If you wanted to get into university it was very high. That was crazy in retrospect, because I remember being amazed at someone in the D stream has become director of a department and from the C stream has become a top rate lawyer and so on, so it all seems very artificial.⁸²

It makes it easier for teachers to teach everyone on reasonably the same level, and I thought there is quite a deal of difference between the As and the Cs and the Ds. I had friends in the A class right through the boarding house because you mix together. ... I don't know whether dayboys, they could have got the same through sport and that, but there was no doubt that these kids in the A class were heads and shoulders above you in intelligence and sometimes you used to go to them for help with your homework, and they found it easy, and you were still trying to grasp it. If you've got a mixture there, the teachers are probably going to plod along a little bit slower and they're going to sort of, look after the lower ones. The A ones can't move along as quick so, that gets back to that debate about having special classes for the high IQs and not holding them back.⁸³

What made you think that there were so many other kids that were brighter than you?

Well, just by the streaming ... well there were 32 in A and 32 in B and 32 in C and you were in the C class so you're on the bottom 50% anyway, so that's how you realise that it's a bit harder as you go onto the bigger school. People come from everywhere - it's a bit more challenging.⁸⁴

Boys tended to associate and identify with those in their stream. This was particularly evident in the A and B streams. However, a very different point of view is illustrated by the following student who felt that streaming had an isolating effect as it resulted in each form class only associating with each other and not the rest of the school.

⁸¹ JF, p. 4.

⁸² JC, p. 3.

⁸³ JF, p. 4.

⁸⁴ JF, p. 4.

I've got no idea, because we were so isolated from other streams. I had a good friend who was in the B grade - I was in the A and he was in B for all of our school lives and we were really good buddies and we used to do all sorts of things together, but never at school. Our whole friendship revolved around what we did after hours and on holidays.⁸⁵

You identified as an A student because that's the stream you were in.⁸⁶

We always used to look down on the people in E, thought they were all dunderheads. So there was a little bit of snobbery, the A's thought they were better than the B's and it went all the way down. So the E's and the A's didn't even talk, I don't think. That was part of life too. Should have mentioned that before actually, a bit of snobbery between the ones who could do the work and the ones that were probably ready to go back to the farm after Year 10, and were only there because their parents, sort of sent them to this school, and it was quite easy to see.⁸⁷

There were some positives and negatives as a result of the streaming process. It tended to lock the boys in, as they were labelled bright or dull, based on the stream they were in. However, the positive of this is that they could compete with students at their own level and therefore experience some academic success. This was backed up by awarding prizes in every stream and in each subject, not just for the highest scoring student overall.

I think you tended to get somewhat locked in. There were some positive and negatives with that as well, because what it meant was that you became a reasonable fish, or a competitive fish in a pond in which you could compete where in fact if you'd been not so bright and you'd been in the A stream well you'd be in the bottom of the A stream forever and you haven't got a hope, your'e competing against a lot of people who were much brighter than you. So, that's one of my major recollections because I ended up in the D stream you see, so I was one of the thicker students

⁸⁵ BG, p. 7.

⁸⁶ BG, pp. 2-3.

⁸⁷ NG, pp. 5-6.

going through. But I suppose within the D stream I was one of the top 3 or 4 students so occasionally you'd win a prize for being 2nd or 3rd or something. Where if I'd been in the B stream or the A stream, well, I wouldn't have been in the running.⁸⁸

I tend to think that the people who were top of the class really got the attention and I think people who were a bit dumb with results and had a lot of talent – I'm not sure that was really recognised. They just tend to think they're the dumb guys who don't get anywhere. And looking back now, a lot of those people have been really successful in business, whereas the people who got As and Bs have professions, but they haven't done other unusual things, and you can see how talents have really come out now. People that you thought were real no hopers at school are very successful, and leaders of the community – it's really quite surprising. I don't think their talents were necessarily brought out as much in those days.⁸⁹

There was every encouragement to achieve academically and names on honour boards for those who did well, and cups and prizes, they had cups for sporting achievements, and prizes on Speech Night at the end of the year, and colours, for those excelled at sport.⁹⁰

The boys viewed their brightness in terms of what stream they were in at school. Those in anything below the B stream were considered 'thick' or 'dills' and were looked down upon by those in the higher streams. Some of these so-called 'dills' went on and got university qualifications, while others now run successful businesses. Each class tended only to associate with one another, as very few classes were a mix of the streams. This caused isolation for some students but also allowed them to compete with boys of the same standard.

⁸⁸ AP, p. 3; similar statement made by TY, p. 4.

⁸⁹ PN, p. 5.

⁹⁰ DH, p. 5.

The boarders as a group were considered less academically gifted because they knew they were going back onto the farm and did not need to be intellectual. Those entering family businesses were viewed in a similar way.

It was important to be successful and winning prizes was part of this, as it was public acknowledgment in front of friends, parents and siblings. This was an avenue into manhood based on success, which was admired and respected by the wider community. Never being beaten by girls was also important in any inter-school competitions such as debating. Being beaten by a girl was the ultimate disgrace and tainted the boys' masculine image.

Beyond the direct curriculum unfortunately we didn't get colours for drama and for public speaking and for the last two years I won both the drama prize even though I was Leaving and not Leaving Honours and the public speaking prize and while I was at PAC we never lost a debate against any girls school, in fact all my way through Duntroon and university the same. So a bit of luck there. I had a fairly big role or the biggest role in both school plays in my final two years, so that was the area beyond direct curriculum. So public speaking prizes and dramatic prizes, I had a mortgage on those and I wasn't a great gladiator at sport although I've got photos of me in second elevens and second eighteens.⁹¹

The physical environment of the classroom consisted of five to six rows of single desks across and five to six rows deep.⁹² Masters stood at the same level as the students with no dais or raised platform.⁹³

It was all very formal, Master out the front and that was it, and you didn't speak unless you were asked to.⁹⁴

⁹¹ DN, p. 2.

⁹² AB, p. 2.

⁹³ AP, p. 5.

⁹⁴ PI, p. 2.

Each class had a form room and the boys kept their books in their form desk. Therefore, they usually sat in the same desk and the masters changed rooms.

Well, in those days most of the subjects were taught in your classroom, even though you might have had different teachers, it was all in the one room, so the teachers came to you rather than you going to the teacher. The exception to that - the A Stream had to do an extra subject in Intermediate which was Latin it was compulsory, so we had a choice between Geography and French and I did Geography and I think for those two subjects you went to another class because you were in with other streams for those two subjects, so you sat anywhere in those classes, but all the other classes were in our classroom and we retained that seat. I think that was retained pretty well all the way through. Obviously we went to the physics lab and the chem Lab, that sort of thing for experiments.⁹⁵

When they went to different classrooms, which appears to have been in Leaving and Leaving Honours, there were fewer students in a class than desks so they could choose where they sat.⁹⁶ One boy sat at each desk in the senior school, which was in contrast to the Preparatory school, where they sat two to a desk and in alphabetical order.⁹⁷ This appears to have continued until the end of first term of year eight when they were moved into academic order based on overall term results.

Yes, the dux of the class for the previous term sat in the top right hand corner and you were sat in your finishing position so the dumbest boys in the class for that term sat in the front row.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ GC, p. 2.

⁹⁶ AG, p. 2.

⁹⁷ DH, p. 5.

⁹⁸ AG, p. 8.

Well, that's amazing in hindsight, the top boys sat in the top right chair and the bottom boys sat in the front left hand chair. They went from - facing the students, went from right to left and from the back down to the front, and we were organised - in the form class, we all had an individual form that we were in, and then we might have moved around for other subjects, but in that class we sat in academic order.⁹⁹

There was a wide variety of responses to what the seating plan was in classes. This appears to have been dependent on the stream the student was in. Seating in the form classes appears to have always been in academic order, but not in the other classes. Most classes stayed in their form room, at least until the later years when they changed rooms more often. Those in the A and B forms stated that they stayed in their form room while others shifted. There is a difference in recollections about this, which may indicate that each stream operated differently or that it did not stand out as much in the memories of those in the lower streams. Competition and thereby success was very important in the A and B streams. This may also indicate that the system of teachers shifting rooms changed during this period, although it is unlikely as no other evidence was found to back this up.

The seating plan at least in the top streams, created a culture of competition and success on an individual and class basis. The following comments were made by top streamers, the other students did not make any comment about the competition in class positions.

⁹⁹ DS, p. 2. This academic ordering of classes was also stated by BG, p. 7.

*You were expected to do the best you could. Now whether that was the teachers instilling that or whether that was my own feeling, or parents, I couldn't say but I know there was a strong atmosphere amongst the people in my class of competitiveness and they were keen to do well, and get as high up in the class if they could, and I think that was quite a positive driving force in doing well.*¹⁰⁰

*On the previous term's marks and that just made us want to work. It didn't matter if you were on the bottom or near the top - we always wanted to improve by one or two seats. And that was good. Everyone tries hard to do that extra little bit.*¹⁰¹

*I planned to sit towards the back most of the time (laugh).*¹⁰²

*I think it was first in best dressed. You used to cart all your books around with you from room to room.*¹⁰³

*The good boys were at the back and the bad boys were at the front.*¹⁰⁴

*Bad behaviour was normally dealt with by punishment not by where you sat.*¹⁰⁵

You had regular term reports which gave a mark and so you knew where your mark was and you also knew where you were within the class in that subject. ... you also had a total mark with a ranking. There was a very distinct pecking order it was A, B, C, and D which did general academic course ... the A stream were very much aware they were the intellectual giants of the year and you were an intellectual midget if you like to coin a phrase. There was only the one

¹⁰⁰ DT, p. 4.

¹⁰¹ MW, p. 2.

¹⁰² WT, p. 6.

¹⁰³ AB, p. 2.

¹⁰⁴ DT, p. 3.

¹⁰⁵ DL, p. 2.

class round about 34-36 but you had different lessons and so there was some mingling between the streams for the lessons.¹⁰⁶

Only a few of the men interviewed remembered behaviour as being part of where they sat. By sitting the boys in academic order, competition was encouraged so students strived to improve their grades and thereby be moved further towards the back of the class, as no one wanted to end up in the front row. It was not masculine to be the lowest achiever even in the top streams. The strongest comments of this nature were made by those who had been in either the A or B streams. Most interviewees still remember where they sat in class more than thirty years later, which illustrates how important success and competition was to them at school and currently. This style of seating plan fostered competition.

You were constantly reminded of how well you had done. If you had done well you were in the back row, and if you were in the front row you were in the bottom 5 or 6 of the class. So there was always reminder of the competitive side - I usually came about between 5th or 8th in the class so I was either in the back row or the second to back row which I thought was great, but if you'd been in the front row all the time it wouldn't have been too good. You were constantly in view, and the first to be picked up if you were misbehaving, and you were constantly reminded that everybody else in the class was better than you. It was very competitive. You had a lot of reminders of how well you had done. Amongst my friends anyway - there was quite a competitive feeling about academic results, and doing as well as you could. You were quite keen to beat the other guy. To achieve a better result and get further back in the class.¹⁰⁷

That originally started with the brightest students being to the rear of the class and the students with a less meritorious result sitting towards the front of the class and to some extent that also dictated that the student who could work on his own tended to be placed further away from the

¹⁰⁶ AP, pp. 3-4.

¹⁰⁷ DT, p. 3.

*teacher. Those students that required additional or a more intense involvement by the teacher either for the teaching or a disciplinary point of view would obviously be seated nearer the front.*¹⁰⁸

*Everybody in the class really knew the pecking order in terms of academic achievement by where they were sitting in the classroom.*¹⁰⁹

Others did not remember such an academic system of seating. This may be because it was different in different streams or they just did not see the competition as important and therefore did not remember it. These interviewees emphasised behaviour and sitting with friends more in their answers.

*Various. I think sometimes it was streamed from top to bottom, but generally it was where you wanted to sit or you'd rather sit with your friend.*¹¹⁰

*You had your home class, that's what it was called, and all of your books were left in that desk so you had a seating plan in that class but you'd go off to other rooms for various other lessons and there wasn't structured seating there but of course you tended to sit with the same friends all the time and often in the same place. I can remember specifically a few mates and me, we always used to sit up the back in biology classes together and not pay very much attention.*¹¹¹

*I think in junior school I was sitting in one spot but in the upper classes you went from classroom to classroom for different subjects, and so you couldn't sit at one seat all the time. I don't think there was any requirement to sit in one seat, but it was natural to gravitate to the same location.*¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ TY, p. 2.

¹⁰⁹ BW, p. 3.

¹¹⁰ JW, p. 1.

¹¹¹ MJ, pp. 5-6.

¹¹² SH, p. 2.

Importance of academic achievement

The majority of those interviewed stated that the school viewed academic achievement as very important, yet none of them said why it was important. Academically successful students were not held in as high esteem as the sporting greats when they were at school. Their achievements were acknowledged by the school more as old boys, when they were used as successful examples for others to follow. Their home environments appear to have viewed academic achievement as important. Many mentioned their fathers when talking about this but not their mothers. Education was a vehicle to success and recognition in the community.

The A stream boys were really quite academic. The D stream were not but they were given just as much help as anybody else, particularly if they were any good at sport. But, yes, strongly pushed and strongly stressed, the academic side.¹¹³

I think there was a strong emphasis on academic achievement. The classes were all streamed because that's the way most schools were and the inside of the class was streamed. I was in the A Form and therefore academic achievement was rewarded by prizes and it was with us all the time - academic achievement was important. And that was every day of our lives - we knew that.¹¹⁴

I think academic achievement was sought after. It was by no means the only thing. Sporting achievement was of great importance, and I was in the B stream I remember, I intensely wanted to be in the A stream. Even though the A stream was filled with geeks, I still wanted to be part of it.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ DC, p. 4.

¹¹⁴ MW, p. 4.

¹¹⁵ SH, p. 5.

Although perhaps in the view of those students who achieved academically but didn't achieve in other things were perhaps regarded as 'swots' or whatever in those days. But nevertheless there was still a recognition of their ability and what they achieved academically with some measure of envy I would have thought. But certainly the school itself regarded academic achievement as very important. The public exam results were important.¹¹⁶

It was very important because there's no doubt that those that were in the sort of D and E stream were considered dumb heads and idiots. Just the lowest of the low. They were just tolerated and were provided woodwork and metalwork, just to keep their hands busy.¹¹⁷

We were there to grow as people - the way you do that through education and that was basically to succeed with good marks. There's no doubt in my mind. None at all.¹¹⁸

There was the perception that some of those who achieved less academically, particularly boarders, did not really try as they were going back into their fathers' business or to the farm. They were there to pass the time and get some good contacts for the future. The lack of expectation both by the school and the students for these boys to succeed academically was indicative of the times. Many felt that the competition and achievement was strongly emphasised in the top streams but not at all in the lower ones.

In those days the academics used to get straight A's and yet the sportsmen that couldn't give a damn would suddenly win a sports scholarship anyway, and then you get the dills like me. It all depended on where they came from because their families could afford to send them there.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ GC, p. 5.

¹¹⁷ DG, p. 4.

¹¹⁸ DL, p. 4.

¹¹⁹ AB, pp. 2-3.

If you weren't particularly bright, and you knew it, then there was not an academic future there for you. That was worked out at a fairly early age and a lot of those other students who didn't aspire to much - except the fact that they knew they were going into the family business or home onto the farm or what ever. A lot of those students just enjoyed school for what it was but the academic side of it didn't interest them very much at all. And because of that they did subjects that were considerably easier and considerably more interesting in the practical sense rather than a theoretical sense.¹²⁰

We were told that we had the best results in the State and that we were able to knock off Adelaide High, and I believed that we did, whether we did or not. There was the good old joy and business of telling us how many people we had in the top ten or hundred, or whatever else like that, and we believed that we had the Masters and the number of people to achieve. We were pretty arrogant about that I think. Really we didn't make a lot of fuss about it, but within ourselves we believed that we were born to be at the top and that if we worked hard we would achieve it.¹²¹

It was never really pushed, but it was just so much competition from the people around you. Your test results were always made public to the rest of the class and if you didn't go too well everyone knew about it. So it was a real competition. It was great. It's taught me a lot and I thrive on it even now - competition in the job and all that. It's never rubbed off.¹²²

The boys were encouraged to work hard and reap the good results. Some felt that they were all encouraged to their best but others felt that they were not encouraged, just tolerated. The masters expected them to compete and achieve by doing their best. Parents reinforced this with the boys' belief that they were privileged to go to this school and they owed their parents for this opportunity. Achieving academically was one way to prove that their time at the school was worthwhile and they were worthy of the cost to their parents.

¹²⁰ DB, p. 3.

¹²¹ DN, p. 4.

¹²² NG, p. 3.

Well, for me personally it was very important. I had a father who was very keen to see me do well academically and my mother as well and it meant a lot to me when I came top a couple of years. I felt very pleased, it was a big thing for me. But for the school as a whole, I don't think academic achievement was perhaps as high as it is in selective High Schools in the State system. It had a certain place and was sort of honoured but not as much as some schools might honour it.¹²³

To me it was particularly important – My father took seriously ill when I was fifteen and I had just been fairly immature and pleasure loving before that. I knew my parents were having a bit of a struggle sending me along – I decided then that I was really going to do my best and that – my dad's illness more or less coincided with me coming top of the class and staying top of the class all the year for the rest of my schooling, and I think in that part it was particularly important. My parents didn't encourage it, in fact they tried to encourage me away from the desk a bit and into other things, so it was just, a competitive drive. The school, of course, encouraged it.¹²⁴

They wanted us to achieve but at our own pace. To try and achieve to your highest level without being pushed as distinct from other schools which if you were not academic you are not in the school.¹²⁵

Well, my parents kept drumming in to me what the future was if I didn't do any good - I'm not really an academic type of person. I don't know if people of my artistic ability are academic, you get it one way and you don't get the other. I was too busy being a boy when I was young, jumping on tractors and things like that. I had to achieve something as a reward to my parents for giving me the opportunity. I was trying my darnedest but I should say I came out of it comfortably.¹²⁶

¹²³ GS, p. 5.

¹²⁴ RH, p. 5.

¹²⁵ JW, p. 3.

¹²⁶ TG, pp. 3-4.

Some of those interviewed did not think there was any great emphasis on academic achievement or did not take it seriously on an individual level. However, they all thought the school and most parents viewed it as important.

*It was to my parents and it was to the school but it wasn't very important to me – at that time.*¹²⁷

*Not greatly. In always wanting to be a farmer the academic side wasn't all that important to us. The last year I probably had more of a ball rather than doing scholastic work.*¹²⁸

Success was acknowledged by prizes at speech day, names on honour boards and position in class. Competition was fostered through a seating plan in form classes as boys sat in order of overall academic achievement. This was also reinforced through the streaming process.

Academic success was based on the individual but was for the school, every student's success was the school's success. This helped to foster school loyalty and a link with the school throughout their lives. Academic achievement reinforced the Christian values of doing your best, striving to improve and working hard to achieve the rewards. Only a few felt that academic achievement was the strongest emphasis at the school, for most it was sport.

This, certainly, is where the value of a sound education, as given at Prince's, must lie. Such a Christian Education gives an accurate guide to personal values, and it is the duty of every boy to follow and use this guide. It has been said many times before, and is worth saying again, that the purpose of education is not to make the student remember a mass of facts, but to fit

¹²⁷ WT, p. 4.

¹²⁸ JK, p. 5.

him for his place in the world. Used wisely, the lessons of education can help in the future of both individual and community.¹²⁹

Our aim must be twofold - knowledge and character. Both are important and must be developed apace. Knowledge is offered to us over a period of many years and, if we have the good sense to accept this gift, we shall be of good use to society in this respect. However, knowledge is a standard commodity when compared with character. ... It is in this latter sphere that independent schools have a golden opportunity to improve the standards of the community, for church schools present opportunities which at present are less extensive in State schools.¹³⁰

If, then, we have made use of this broad education, we can feel more confident that we shall be able to "fight the good fight" in life, armed as we are with a Christian and academic grounding.¹³¹

It should be remembered that mere qualification by success in exams should not be the primary aim of education – most realise this fact, although it is often pushed to the back of the mind.¹³²

At present, geared as we are to examinations, the emphasis on fact-learning is producing students qualified in limited fields, but unable and unwilling to do so very much thinking outside their particular spheres. Education is becoming in some ways similar to apprenticeship. The range of subjects is small, with a too-heavy emphasis on relevance to one's future job.¹³³

¹²⁹ Editorial, *PAC Chronicle*, October 1961, p. 3.

¹³⁰ *ibid.*, October 1962, p. 3.

¹³¹ *ibid.*

¹³² *ibid.*, October 1964, p. 3.

¹³³ *ibid.*

It appears that academic excellence was considered important at PAC. Due to the class streaming and ranking boys could win prizes and gain a sense of achievement in each stream. The ranking system which was more evident in the A and B streams encouraged competition and higher achievement. The boys who were expected to work in the family farm or business were generally not in the top academic stream as both boys and school had a belief that they did not require academic skills.

In his 1965 speech day address the Headmaster covered all of the desired areas of success, using old boys as examples for current scholars to emulate. The areas required for a student to be successful Christian gentleman were involvement in the church, community, academic achievement and sport.

Old boys of all ages continue to play an important part in the life of the community. In view of their numbers, this is to be expected, but it is pleasing to see that so many are taking a very active part in the work of the church, in public affairs and in voluntary organisations. I must content myself with mention of a few recent successes of younger old boys. We congratulate M.E.B. Smyth on the award of the Rhodes Scholarship. He was Captain of the School in 1954, and had a fine all-round school record. At the University, our old boys have their share of passes and probably of failures as well. On the one morning we learned that J.V. Lloyd had topped second year and C.G. Luke first year medicine. In another realm, four old boys, Ducker, Hurn, Pittman and Lill, were among the twelve chosen for the first South Australian Sheffield Shield games.¹³⁴

¹³⁴ *PAC Chronicle*, Speech Day, Headmaster's Report, April 1965, p.11.

Summary

There were two areas of success, which were fostered through competition operating at PAC. One had immediate benefits if a boy became a sporting hero and the other was academic success, which could lead to professional success after school. Long term success and immediate prize rewards were perceived as minimal compared with the popularity and accolades awarded to sportsmen. Old scholars' academic successes later in life reflected favourably on the school and they were honoured more often than were sportsmen. A possible explanation for this is that sportsmen have a limited lifespan in the public eye, whereas leaders in their chosen professions, such as judges, officers in armed forces, doctors, academics, serve the community over a much longer period.

The common values that were taught and encouraged through sport and academic achievement were the importance of winning or being at the top of the class, being honest in your dealings with others, working hard to achieve good results, doing your best and keeping on trying to improve. Loyalty to the school was instilled by playing as part of a team, particularly if you were in an intercollegiate side. The skills of leading and being a good team player were also taught through sport. Team spirit was also part of the academic side of the school as the individual's successes became the school's successes. Giving back to the community was more evident in academic study as this enabled them to contribute to society through excellence in their career. This would also help the boys to have a higher earning capacity and thus a greater ability to give financially. It appears that the school was very successful in instilling the values of the Christian Gentleman via academia and muscular Christianity through sport.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

During the 1960s, Prince Alfred College promoted two parallel and sometimes competing ideals of masculinity but, from a Methodist perspective. These were muscular Christianity and the Christian gentleman. Muscular Christianity was characterised by prayer, upright living, discipline and exercise. This created athletic, strong well disciplined team players, who would obey orders without question for the greater good, the future soldiers. On the other hand, a Christian gentlemen was honourable, kind, mild, quiet, moderate, educated and well mannered not rough or harsh. This ideal was used to create leaders and officers.

These ideals were achieved throughout the school with an emphasis on morals and particularly Methodist ethics. Academia, sport, discipline, Cadets, Scouts, and school culture were used as the means to promote ethics such as helping those less fortunate, being a team player, winning and losing with grace, being honest, being fair, understanding that there were consequences to your actions, respecting your elders and knowing that what you do affects those around you. The main Methodist ethic that was instilled in boys, and that they carried throughout their lives, was that of helping those less fortunate and more generally helping their fellow men.

The Headmaster of PAC, Jack Dunning strongly believed in the values of muscular Christianity and followed these when running the school. These values were firmly entrenched in the school through previous headmasters rigorously enforcing this belief system. The students looked up to him for having been a test cricketer for New Zealand and referred to him as 'The Boss'. This nickname encapsulates the student's experience of what a boss should be, how he should act and present himself. Therefore they viewed a boss as someone in a position of power over others, distant, who did not show emotion, who was followed by others, encouraged and enjoyed sport, who was not afraid to punish those who broke the rules, who led by example and who was loyal and fair in his dealings with others.

His background was well publicised by the school, especially to students. This was evident in the school magazines where the Headmaster's qualification, background, career and currently held positions in the community were stated. He was held up as an example of what hard work and never giving up could produce - a successful, respected, community minded man. Dunning maintained a school environment built on competition, success, school loyalty and giving back to the community. He represented muscular Christianity and served as a role model for the boys.

Sport was an essential component of muscular Christianity where athleticism and team values were instilled rather than individual success. Boys were expected to become men, then husbands and fathers while at the same time rejecting anything feminine or female. The sports arena appears to be the one place where boys could express emotion and let out anger. Boys who did not like sports and therefore did not fit the muscular Christian definition of manliness were labelled as not quite right or unhealthy. The sporting, upright, manly boy was physically active and Christian. The games that were strongly encouraged at PAC were team sports, which required qualities of leadership in some, working together, winning and losing graciously and school loyalty. Through sport a boy could prove himself to be manly and 'made of the right stuff'. By playing sport his masculinity was proven and it was the training ground for the rites of passage from boyhood to manhood.

There were three main sporting values that boys were expected to cultivate in their daily lives. These were to aim to win, to never give up and to help those on your team. It was not to help the boys on the other team, they were the enemy that had to be defeated. Sportsmen were adorned with the skills to win a battle and hailed as conquering heroes when they won, especially if they beat Saints.

Team sports demand fitness, skill and assimilation of moral values like loyalty, pride in winning as an individual but more importantly as a team, losing graciously, meeting new people, leadership and an ability to work as a team with one's peers.

The sports used were all-male arenas and the emphasis on them was designed to create leaders and team players for society. The Captains of the first football and cricket teams were regarded as heroes and used as role models for muscular Christianity and Christian gentleman respectively.

The muscular Christian attributes that were modelled, encouraged and reinforced were independence, leadership, stoicism, taking punishment like a man, athleticism, being a team player and a protector. Aggressive behaviour did not appear to have been encouraged, although masters did turn a blind eye to boys settling their differences with fistfights. Yet the discipline at the school illustrated power and controlled aggression by use of physical punishment. However, through much of history physical punishment and fear were considered good discipline methods and used in institutions such as schools and within society. Men were characterised by not being a pooker, a girl or feminine, which were seen as the greatest insults.

Boys also learnt how to be men through discipline and this was strict and rigorously enforced at PAC. Punishments for incorrect behaviour varied from verbal comments, private discussions, public humiliation in front of the class, to caning, detention, suspension and expulsion for the more serious indiscretions. Appropriate behaviour in class included, listening quietly, answering questions, following instructions, completing homework assignments correctly and on time, wearing correct school uniform, honesty and accepting punishment like a man. These were also a reflection of general society manners. If boys were caned but endured pain without wincing, their reputation was made. They were accepted into

the PAC fraternity, which was particularly relevant if they were new to the school. Taking punishment like a man was an important hallmark of muscular Christianity.

Most of those interviewed felt that the discipline at the school helped them to build character by learning that there are consequences to actions, to accept punishment and to pick themselves up and go on when things went wrong. They only resented being punished when they saw it as unfair, in other words, for something they did not do. Most felt that the discipline was the same as they had received at home and in society and that it reinforced the school's culture. The discipline was representative of the 1960s in that corporal punishment was permitted and used in both private and state schools. There were only a few interviewed who saw the discipline as barbaric and unnecessary, and something they resented. Law and order discipline tamed their boyish enthusiasm and they viewed it as an important part of their schooling.

The boarders and the dayboys had different experiences at the school. As the boarders lived at the school they had much more to do with each other and the masters. This created a bond between them, taught them independence, discipline, to respect others and a sense of belonging. The boarders as a group and individually had to deal with institutional food and lots of strict rules. They had a number of ways of dealing with this. Some challenged the authority by competing to see how many cuts they could get, others used the rules to suit themselves; others were more sneaky and learnt how not to get caught.

Being a boarder was seen as a character building experience, teaching them to survive without their families and to live in a group. They got to know each other very well living in such close quarters and developed strong friendships as a result. Nearly all of those interviewed remembered how good the boarders were at sport and commented on their terrific team spirit. Boarders felt that they learnt how to survive on their own and therefore were well prepared to

go out into the world. Muscular Christianity was the predominate definition of masculinity in the boarding house due to a stronger emphasis on sport than on academia. However, the values of operating as a team, honesty, fairness and helping others were reinforced by the boarding and dayboy experience.

The Headmaster, masters and prefects all modelled appropriate behaviour and presentation for the boys, which also reflected the norm of society. Some were Christian gentlemen while others were muscular Christians. The prefects were very important role models, especially to the younger students. They were chosen by the school and therefore fitted the image that the school wished to encourage and develop. Peer pressure was an important tool in making boys conform. Family pressure was also effectively used as boys were constantly reminded at school that their parents were paying and/or giving up a lot to send them to PAC to acquire a good education. Boys had to live up to the expectation of the school, their family and society in order to become men.

A strict dress code was enforced at the school both for students and masters. Students were expected to present themselves neatly attired in their school uniform and reminded that they were always representing the school while in uniform. The wearing of the uniform helped to make students be part of the school and helped to build pride in the school, loyalty to the school and self esteem of students.

While discipline was taught overtly, the covert message behind it was about gentlemanly behaviour and was therefore part of a hidden curriculum. Self-discipline, internalising feelings and a sense of fairness were all encouraged, as were being tough and taking punishment like a man and not crying or showing any feeling. These values of stoicism were backed up in Scouts and Cadets.

Scouts and Cadets were compulsory activities that were enjoyed by many of the students who learnt useful skills from their involvement. Scouts and Cadets were an important means of teaching the boys self-discipline and order as well as presentation, helping others, obeying rules, confidence in their own abilities and leadership skills. Scouts emphasised survival, man against the environment whereas Cadets emphasised strict discipline, presentation, not to question orders and how to handle and shoot a gun. It taught boys how to be a good soldier rather than a good survivor. To conform and be part of the school group or team was strongly encouraged in Cadets but also allowed for individuality so long as it did not jeopardise the group's aim or purpose. It was also important that the boys accepted responsibility as a member of the school and later in society. However, both Scouts and Cadets were also used to teach Methodist principles. Scouts encouraged the values of being a Christian gentleman whereas Cadets reinforced muscular Christianity.

Being a Christian gentleman required becoming an upright, good citizen, a credit to the school, a leader, useful in the community, of sound body and mind. Students were expected to strive to the best of their ability and not to give up when things went wrong. They had to be polite, honest, courteous to ladies, have the highest of ideals, be a cut above other gentleman by being Christian and educated.

The boys admired and liked the masters who maintained discipline without use of corporal punishment. These masters behaved like Christian gentleman, got to know the boys and taught them in a way that was relevant to their everyday lives. So, although being a man meant taking physical punishment and being tough they actually responded better to alternate discipline and learnt more this way. This is another area for further research into determining how this affected the way that they taught their sons to be men and how they treated those subordinate to them in the workforce when they became the person with the power.

Interviewees indicated that academic achievement was very important for students in the A stream and a little less so for students in the B stream. The A and B streams got the better teachers and students were encouraged to not only do their best but to excel. Those who expected to go back to the farm or a family business tended not to be in the A or B streams and not to have the need, motivation or encouragement to do well academically. Their future was already determined and university was not part of this.

The boys viewed their academic ability in terms of what stream they were in at school. Students in anything below the B stream were considered dumb and they were looked down upon by those in the higher streams. Some of these so-called less intelligent boys went on to get university qualifications and/or run successful businesses. Students tended only to associate with others in their stream as very few classes mixed students from different streams. This caused isolation for some students but also allowed them to compete with boys of similar standard and motivation.

Success was acknowledged by seating position in class, mention at assembly, prizes at speech day, names on honour boards and reports in the Chronicle. Competition was fostered through a seating plan in form classes that was in order of overall academic achievement. This was also reinforced through the streaming process.

Academic success was based on the individual but was also for the school. This helped to foster school loyalty and a link with the school throughout their lives. Academia reinforced the Methodist values of doing your best, striving to improve and working hard to achieve the rewards. However those in the lower streams tended to do the minimum school work and concentrated on sport where these attitudes were also taught. Only a few felt that academic study was the strongest emphasis at the school, for most it was sport. However, academic learning provided them with a value system and skills to become good members and leaders

of the community. Academia was used as part of the Christian gentleman ideal whereas sport was predominately used to produce muscular Christians.

Common values that were taught and encouraged through sport and academic achievement are the importance of winning or being at the top of the class, being honest in your dealings with others, working hard to reap good results, doing your best and keeping on trying to improve. Loyalty to the school was instilled by playing as part of a team, particularly if you were in an intercollegiate side. The skills of leading and being a good team player were taught through sport, Cadets and Scouts. Team spirit was also part of the academic side of the school. A boy's academic successes became his house's and then the school's successes. The individual was part of a greater team of classmates and masters all of whom helped the student succeed.

The following quotation from the school magazine in 1960, accredited to the student editor, indicates how highly this student regarded the school and the education it provided in producing Christian gentlemen.

... Throughout our schooldays at Prince Alfred College, we are nurtured in the ways of Christian gentlemen, we are educated in the best possible manner, and we are provided with the best possible facilities to pursue our extra-curricular activities. What is more important, we leave school, the bearers of a heritage as rich as that of any school. Prince Alfred College has produced many great Australians. Statesmen, soldiers, lawyer, surgeons, ministers of religion, teachers, sportsmen, in fact leaders in all spheres of community life have passed through this school, and we are grateful for the inheritance which these Old Boys have left us.¹

¹ Editorial, *PAC Chronicle*, October 1960, p.3

The main Christian ethics taught were helping others and living by Methodism, that is being a good person inwardly as well as outwardly. These ethics were not gender specific and were therefore not specifically masculine. It appears that the school was very successful in instilling these values in the students.

PAC taught that it was important to know that you are good on the inside and not to just act that way on the outer, to strive to be better morally and never stop trying to better oneself. Living as a Christian was also a way of bringing honour to the school. Masters and Headmaster role modelled Methodist values. The ideals of the Christian gentlemen and muscular Christianity were reflected, encouraged and reinforced throughout the school system from a Methodist perspective. Helping others less fortunate, and being a good person were also very important and essential to becoming a well rounded man. This was reinforced by encouraging good values, especially a sense of fair play and respect for their team mates, the other team and the umpires. While economic reward was encouraged it was not the most important thing in life. Yet the school encouraged boys into the professions/careers that made a lot of money, with the expectation that they would give back to the church and the school.

Formal religion was not seen as important by the boys, yet the influence of religion on morals and behaviour was everywhere in the school, accepted as an integral part of the school. Church services were an opportunity for social interaction. The boys enjoyed talking to the chaplain, Kyle Waters, and felt comfortable to ask about life issues. Kyle Waters was always visible, he coached sport and unlike the Headmaster and some of the masters he got to know the boys on a personal level. He related to the boys well and allowed them to challenge religious ideas and beliefs. No where else in the school did they mention being able to do this with any of the values being taught. Kyle Waters like the Headmaster epitomised muscular Christianity as well as some aspects of the Christian gentleman but from a Methodist perspective.

Building character appears to have been a function of the school and an essential component in the teaching of Methodist ethics. Numerous good Methodist role models were presented to boys in the form of the masters and old scholars who, for example, may have become ministers. Some of the values taught to the boys by Masters and prefects were giving back to the community, the school and those less fortunate, respecting yourself and each other, doing your best, being honest, leading by example and behaving like a gentleman. This system instilled school loyalty and reinforced the old boys' network, while preparing boys for their future roles as breadwinners in the community. It also taught boys that men helped each other in the workforce.

Peer group pressure to fit in was very strong and ensured that most conformed. Those in the top streams invariably stated that they did not remember anyone not fitting in. As these students fitted the school ideal of the Christian gentleman individually and as a group it is understandable that they would not know of anyone who did not fit in.

Despite the alleged *esprit de corps* and sense of belonging, those boys who were not good academically or did not excel at sport were not comfortable at PAC. Those who did not fit in were often perceived as loners and given a hard time by the others, emotionally, physically or both. It was probably both as a number of those interviewed mentioned physical aspects to this. A number of interviewees mentioned physical fist fights as being a method for the boys to settle their differences but most did not mention teasing or taunting within the school. Those who fitted the PAC mould did not want to be associated with the misfits for fear of being ostracised by association. It is clear that it was not okay to be bullied nor was it okay to be identified as a bully. It was not masculine to admit to being bullied, as boys do not cry or do others in. This also relates to discipline in that muscular Christians were perceived to be tough and strong and able to take physical punishment, whether it is through sport, being a

Cadet, or as the result of breaking rules. Christian gentlemen were survivors and could therefore survive against the odds.

Many stated that the school let them be individuals, but this is in conflict with the evidence that there were boys who did not fit in. There were silences about who the misfit boys were and few details of what sort of treatment they received at school. This indicates an underlying culture of not talking about being bullied or being different. Being bullied was undoubtedly not a pleasant experience and understandably not one to be talked about lightly. Possible explanations for this would be firstly that the 'boys do not do each other in' culture is still operating forty years after they left school. Secondly, that there is a lingering sense of shame of either not fitting in and not really being a part of the PAC culture or of having participated in the isolation of the misfits. Thirdly, recognition that those who did not fit in tended to become very successful in their professions and hold powerful and influential positions. Being an individual is acceptable in society if you are successful but at PAC at that time it was not really acceptable. Men did not show or express their emotions except on the sports field. They presented a tough, no nonsense, fair, honest, confident and stoic exterior.

Those boys who did not fit the PAC mould found different avenues to avoid cadets and sport. As cadets was compulsory those who hated it got themselves in a position of being in charge of planning and constructing obstacle courses for the others to complete. To avoid sport some manifested illness, others looked after the equipment room, some did photography and others helped with the construction of the new assembly hall. These behaviours were acceptable but do not appear to have created any different definitions of masculinity.

Those who fitted in became who and what they expected to become which was either a Christian gentleman or a muscular Christian or a mix of both. Men stick together as a group and help each other; those who are different are ostracised yet often become the most

outstanding. Old scholars used as role models fitted the school's ideal culture. An example of one outstanding old scholar was not used as role model is Sir Robert Helpman who attended PAC for two years. Helpman gets a very brief mention in that his time at the school was unhappy, but no mention of him becoming a world famous dancer. The school certainly chose their role models carefully. They also tended to idealise very narrow definitions of masculinity and not cater or allow for alternate definitions.

The school culture was used to reinforce both the socially accepted ideals of muscular Christianity and the Christian gentleman in the 1960s. This was achieved by encouraging and instilling a lifelong loyalty to the school and its students, which had far-reaching implications. It continued and strengthened the old boy network and produced upright, honest and fair gentleman loyal to the school, who would become the future leaders of the community. Leaders were those who reached the top of their career and were an example to others of what a good education produces. They demonstrated a balance between academic achievement and sport. The school inculcated a specific masculine ideal that created school loyalty thus creating good team workers, leaders and men who would obey instructions. Although individual talents were encouraged there was a strong school culture of holding together as a team.

There were a number of ways that this loyalty was incorporated into the school's culture. A major contributing factor was the Old Scholars' Association which kept old boys in contact with each other and with current students. These past students were often used in the magazines as examples of the right sort of manliness, mostly muscular Christians and many of their articles reinforced school loyalty. The school owned its old boys and their achievements were attributed to the school having cultivated and refined their characters and abilities. This attitude does not include the influences of family and other experiences boys would have had outside of the school environment.

Sports also played a very important role in building school culture and loyalty. Boys' sporting successes were also held up as examples for students to learn from and emulate. The captains of the football and cricket teams were strongly supported and admired for their manliness and leadership skills. They were excellent role models of muscular Christians. All boys were encouraged and expected to play sports for their school. This developed comradeship and ensured loyalty to each other and the school.

Single sex schools legitimated the existence of exclusively male spheres of operation that were not available to women. As there were no girls at the school it enabled boys to define the characteristics of a real man and a real woman unchallenged. Boys therefore developed their individual masculinity in an almost entirely male environment. The few women that they had contact with were in nurturing and caring roles. There was evidence in the interviews that it was not okay to be called a girl or to act like a girl. More attention needs to be given to what is innately masculine and what are culturally imposed attributes. Most of the boys spent their youth, the period between childhood and becoming an adult, at PAC. The school was therefore one arena where boys could create subcultures of their own. However, there was little evidence of this having happened at PAC due to the two dominant forms of masculinity being so successfully produced and reinforced in the boys.

The school magazines reflected the competing ideals of muscular Christianity and the Christian gentlemen, which may indicate that members who did not identify with the school's definitions of masculinity had either surrendered, stepped aside or been vetted by the masters.

PAC provided an environment for boys to develop their interests, abilities, and means of advancement in the world. This in turn provided them with a sense of pride and a lifelong loyalty to the school. It prepared them to become those who led society by example. It also established school loyalty and an *esprit de corps* that made boys highly connected by being identified as part of the old boy network when entering the working world. However, while there was the outward appearance of uniformity, boys could express their individualism by developing and using their talents fully, fairly and effectively. Boys were encouraged to achieve to the best they could, whatever their ability was.

While most interviewees felt that they got a good preparation for life from being educated at PAC, many felt socially inept when they left school and not very well prepared to deal with women. School activities like Cadets, sports and Scouts involved interacting with other boys and men but not with women. Relating to women was not seen as an important part of their education and they were very aware of this deficiency when they left school. Their inculcated views on being a man did not include friendships or relationships with women. They were trained to and therefore only prepared for relating to other men. At this time the working world was predominantly men; women did not hold positions of power in the workforce and were still paid less than men. Sport and Cadets trained boys to interact with men, which in time would translate into the interaction around a boardroom table, and at the pub. Part of being a muscular Christian or Christian gentleman was to be attractive to women but they were not taught how to do this. They lacked appropriate role models as there were so few women at the school to interact with and the only girls on the campus were the Headmaster's daughters.

The Headmaster was seen as someone to be feared, he was a distant, unapproachable person whom students usually equated with punishment, but was also described as fair and a father figure. This suggests that their own fathers were distant and tended to be more involved with

punishment rather than listening to or dealing with emotional problems. This is highlighted by the fact that whenever their fathers were mentioned in the interviews it was in reference to decision-making about subjects, sports and their future career pathways. This also suggests that their fathers were very important role models. Powerful men were therefore seen to be educated muscular Christians involved in sport and in the broader community. Further research is needed to clarify the relationships between these fathers and sons and how this affected the rest of their lives and their individual development of masculinity. There is also need to clarify if there were differences between dayboys and boarders in this respect. It is possible that the masters, Headmaster and peers were much more important role models for the boarders as they lived at the school and therefore had more limited contact with their fathers.

Most people aspire to fit in to the norm that is presented to them. Therefore the PAC norm became the student's norm while they were at school and for many these values have been carried throughout their lives. Becoming productive members of society, giving back to the school, respecting others became part of the fabric of their lives. There are many values taught both in the past and presently, to males and females alike, that are not gender specific, rather they are culturally specific.

Whether the school's definitions of masculinity were appropriate for all the boys and how they reacted to feminism are areas for future research. Many commented on the difference between the male dominated working world of the 1960s and the present and also made a point of being politically correct during the interviews. For example, by putting any comment that might be considered sexist now in the time frame of the 1960s and clearly stating how different this is now.

Changes in the school structure and curriculum came with the following Headmaster, Jeffrey Bean, who in 1970 started to bring an outdated school into the present. The Vietnam War was the first war in which Australians participated but soldiers did not return as heroes. Prior to this and other societal changes such as the feminist movement it was clear what a man was and how to become one. The roles of both men and women in society were clear. For the boys at PAC men's role in society in the 1960s was also very clear - they were to become breadwinners and to look after their women and children and to lead the community at work and play. This was the conventional society that existed at the time these boys attended school, before societal changes started to redefine education.

The values of both muscular Christianity and the Christian gentleman from a Methodist perspective were presented and promoted as acceptable definitions of masculinity. These values were intertwined throughout the school. Muscular Christianity was strongly represented by the Headmaster and some masters as well as through activities such as sport and Cadets. The Christian gentleman was role modelled by some of the masters like Chester Bennett the sports master and David Mattingley. Academic achievement and Scouts also promoted the Christian gentleman. Competition, success, self-discipline, law and order discipline, teamwork, honesty, working hard and helping others were ideals reinforced in all aspects of PAC.

During the 1960s PAC produced good human beings who believed in and used their abilities. The students had a duty to use their talents effectively wherever they were and whatever field they operated in, which was a Methodist ethic. PAC was very successful in this as all of those interviewed described these ethics and many stated how they use them in their lives today.

There were a number of contradictions at work in the daily making and remaking of masculinities at PAC. The Methodist ethic of the school was being challenged constantly by having to accommodate rule by fear of corporal punishment, the alienation of those who did not fit in, an undercurrent of snobbishness and sense of superiority, the elevation of sporting prowess over academic achievement and the symbolic violence that was inflicted upon those who did not achieve academically.

Further research is also required to determine the extent to which the teaching of masculinity has changed and if this has helped to define the masculine ideal in schools today. Similarly there is need to determine if the ideals that were taught in the 1960s have continued to serve the needs of those past students into the 21st century and if they are the most relevant ones for teaching today. The affect of curriculum and hidden curriculum, although beyond the scope of this study, also requires further research.

Men's history and therefore boys' schooling is important in understanding what happens in secondary schools today. These models of manliness, which were inculcated in this South Australian secondary college from the early twentieth century until the 1960s are no longer appropriate. This is an important area of study that needs further research to fully understand and identify the implications for education in the future of teaching masculinity.

Appendix I Information collected from Interviews

Interviewee	Career	Previous Career	Siblings	Sisters schools	Brothers school	Position in family	Day boy/ boarder	Gen. PAC	Grade started PAC	Suburb in Adelaide	Why parents send you to PAC	Parents involved at school	Send your son to PAC
AB	stock agent	same	2bbg	MLC	PAC	second	boarder	3	8		tradition	no	
AG	investor	electrician	1 bg	MLC		eldest	db	2	3	Prospect	tradition & religion	yes	
AN	magistrate	lawyer	3 gbbb	Walford	PAC	second	db	3	8	Myrtle Bk.	tradition	yes	yes
AP	social worker	clerk	1 bg	Girton		eldest	db	1	5	Beaumont	good opportunity	no	
BG	GP	physiol.	2 bb		PAC	eldest	db	1	5	W.Croydon		no *	yes
BW	obstetrician	same	2 bb		PAC	young.	db	2		Grange	best school	no	yes
DB	ag.consultant	insurance	none			only	db	2	8	Summerton	good educ.		sportsdays
DC	architect	same	1 bg	St.Peters		eldest	db	2	8	Gilberton	trad.good school	no	
DG	communications manager		3 bbgg	Walford	PAC	last	db	1	8	Glenside	bro.did well there	no	
DH	architect	same	2 bbg	PGC	PAC	eldest	db	2	3	Highgate	fa.pres.old boys *	yes	yes
DJ	invest advisor	finance	2 bbb		PAC	middle	db	2	7	St Georges	dad proud of school	yes *	
DL	civil engineer	same	1 bg	MLC		eldest	db	3	7	Eastern S.	tradition	no	
DM	crematorium operator	funeral director	3 bggg	Walford		eldest	db	2	8	EdenHills	trad.gmother p.fee	no	
DN	army engineer	Duntroon	1 bb		PAC	eldest	db	1	8	Walkerville	mo.wanted best	yes	
DS	uni lecturer	same	4 bbbbb		PAC	eldest	boarder	2	8	Riverton	good educ.	no	
DT	eye specialist	same	2 bbg	MLC		eldest	db	1	7	Plympton	dad missed out		
GC	politician	Shell Company	1gb	MLC		last	db	3	1	ToorakG	trad.relig.all round	no	yes
GD	civil engineer	same	2 bgg	MLC		eldest	db	1	11	Tusmore	be with friends	no	
GE	air training corps	pilot	none			only	db	1	8	Royston Park	good education		
GS	uni. lecturer	public servant	1 bb		PAC	eldest	db	1	8	St Georges	dad teacher g.sch	no	
IC	journalist	sportsman	2 bbb			eldest	db		8		cricket scholarship		
ID	journalist	same	1 bg	Wilderness		eldest	db	1	9	Joslin	good school		sportsdays
II	civil engineer	same	5bbbbbg	Norwood	Norwood	second	db	3	11	Magill	scholarship 2 yrs	no	
JC	eye surgeon	same	2 bb		PAC	eldest	db per.b	3	1	N.Adel.	trad.good school	yes	
JF	farmer	same	3 bggg	Concordia		eldest	boarding	2	8	country	educ. tradition	no	
JK	real estate	fencing contrac	2 bgg	MLC		eldest	db	1	3	Malvern	name came up	no	
JM	police officer	same	none			only	boarder	1			mother school nurse		
JW	accountant	same	3bbb		PAC	eldest	db	1	9	Kent Town	good education	yes father chap	

Appendix I Information collected from Interviews - Continued													
Interviewee	Career	Previous Career	Siblings	Sisters schools	Brothers school	Position in family	Day boy/ boarder	Gen. PAC	Grade started PAC	Suburb in Adelaide	Why parents send you to PAC	Parents involved at school	Send your son to PAC
MJ	clerk	same	1 bg			eldest	boarder	1	11	country	moved to country	no	
MW	ortho.surgeon	same	1 bb		PAC	second	db	1	6	Somerton	best school	no	
NG	lab manager	mining dev.	1 bb		PAC	eldest	db	1	8	Joslin	got scholarship *	no	
NR			3 bbgg	Mitcham Girls	PAC	second	db	2	8	Blackwood	tradition	no	
PC	stockbroker	accountant	2 bbg	PGC	PAC	eldest	db	2	8	Tusmore	rel.sport.trad.ed.	no.later	yes
PD	stock agent	same		PGC		eldest	boarder	3	8	country	trad.good school	no	
PG	doctor	same	1 bb			eldest	db	2	8	RoystonP	methodist school	yes	
PH	bus. manager	technician	2 bbg	MLC	PAC	eldest	db	2			tradition		no
PI	architect	same	1gb	MLC		second	db	1	8	Wayville		no	
PM	teacher	same	2 bgg	Ad.High,Marryatville		eldest	db	1	8	MileEnd	got a scholarship	yes	yes
PN	barrister	same	1 gb	Girton		second	db 2 y.b.	1		KensingtonP	close to home	yes	
PP	director	carpenter	3 gbbb	MLC	PAC	last	boarder	1	11	country	relig.good school		no
RF	TAFE lecturer	same	2 bbg	Wilderness	PAC	second	db 1y.b.	3	4	Hackney	could afford to	no	no
RH	physician	uni lecturer	3 bbgg	Annersley	PAC	eldest	db	2	2	ClarenceP	educ. Tradition	no	yes
RS	teacher	clerk	1 bb		PAC	second	db	3	3	Port Adel.	opportunity out of	yes	
RW	real estate agent	clerk	1 gb	PGC		last	db	2	6	GlenOsm.	trad.good contacts	no	*yes
SH	council planner	same	4 bbbbb		PAC	fourth	db	2	1	Beaumont	tradition	no	
SV	farmer	same	3 bbbb		PAC	last	boarder	1	8	country	good schooling	no	
TG	graphic designer	same	3 gbgg	Wilderness,Norwood		second	db	3	8	Paradise	good opportunity	no	no
TR	financier	banker	1 bb		PAC	second	db	1	6	Maryatville	tradition	no	
TY	shipbroker	same	2 bgb	PGC	PAC	young.	db. 1yb	1	6	Erindale	religion, education	y.tuckshp	
WT	manager	electrician	2 bbg	MLC	PAC		db	2	8	Plympton	tradition, religion.	no	
											w.class area.		
Note that under position in family 30 eldest includes 4 only children.													
There are 22, 1st Generation; 19, 2nd Generation and 10, 3rd generation of a family attending PAC													
4 boys started in grade 11 and 8 started in years 1 to 3.													
PGC - Presbyterian Girls College													
MLC - Methodist Ladies College													

Appendix II

Interview Questions

1. Profession / Previous profession/s
2. How many children in your family? Which were you?
3. What school did your sisters attend?
4. Were you and any brothers first generation PAC?
5. Were you a boarder or a day boy?
6. When did you start at PAC?
7. Why did your parents send you to PAC?
8. Were they involved in the school?
9. Where did your family live?
10. Were all the teachers male?
11. What do you remember about the masters? What sort of a personal effect did they have on you? What did they wear? What did they teach you beyond the curriculum? What sort of seating plan did you have?
12. What did you think was good or bad about this?
13. What do you remember about the Headmaster?
14. What did you aspire to become while at college ?
15. What did it mean to be a PAC boy?
16. What did you think was good or bad about that?
17. How did sport fit in with school life? What skills and values did you learn from playing sport?
18. What part did religion play in school life?
19. Was religion at school and outside similar or different?
20. What was the ethos and aims that the school fostered?
21. In your case how successful do you think the school was in producing this ethos?

22. What sort of an effect did the school have on you personally?
23. How important was academic achievement at school?
24. How did the lives of day boys and boarders vary?
25. How was discipline maintained at the school?
26. How did this affect you?
27. What sort of impact did the school have on your life compared to outside influences such as media, clubs, family, friends etc?
28. What do you remember about the Scouts/cadets?
29. How were you involved in clubs or hobbies?
30. What do you remember about those who didn't fit into school life?
31. What made a boy popular at school?
32. What was the role of prefects?
33. How did the school acknowledge success?
34. How was competition emphasised and fostered?
35. How did boys settle their differences?
36. What was your knowledge and observations of sex at school?
37. Describe what a real man of the sixties was?

Appendix III



Graduate School of Education

Masculinity and boys at Prince Alfred College 1960-65 : a comparison of hegemonic masculinity and the Prince Alfred College "ideal ."

Interviewee's Release Form

I have given permission to Leah Simons, the interviewer, to record an interview with myself as part of the research project mentioned above.

I agree to the following conditions:

1. The interview may be transcribed and copyright will be retained by the interviewer.
2. I will receive a copy of the transcript.
3. I have the right to correct errors in the tapes prior to its inclusion in the PAC archives.
4. I give permission to the interviewer to include the interview, or parts of the interview, in materials which will be published or produced in relation to the research project mentioned above.
5. The interview will not otherwise be published without my permission.

I now give /do not give (*cross out one*) permission for my first and last initials to be attributed to the interview when it is published.

Signed _____

Date _____

Name (please print) _____

Address _____

Appendix IV – School Songs

Football Song

‘Tis the Princes First Eighteen my lads, That
ne’er defeated team my lads:
When the boys are on the green, my lads, All
our rivals wonder where they are.
See, the Reds have got the leather boys, Mark
how they play together, boys;
Let us cheer our comrades on forever, With a
hip, hip, hip, hoorah!¹

Cricket Song

Come out into the ground, boys
And bring your bats along, For cricket we are
bound, boys
And sing this cricket song:

Chorus

With a cut and a drive and a hit for a
five,
And a slog to and on for a three
Not a mull of a catch, we must win the
match,
Whatever the odds may be.

Keep well upon your guard, boys,
Hit straight along the ground,
And when you hit, hit hard boys,
And let the chorus sound.

Don’t pull a straight one on, boys,
Nor poke one up too high,
And when you cut, cut down, boys,
And make the leather fly.

Each year we play the Saints, boys,
And have our work cut out;
We’ll win upon that day, boys,
When you hear the Prince’s shout.

And if we win or lose, boys,
No matter whose the game,
We’ll always do our best, boys,
And cheer and sing the same.²

Tennis Song

Cricket and football their votaries have,
Rowing by many’s thought nice, boys,
But there’s a sport yet which we must not
forget,
In playing it, take this advice, boys:

Chorus

Hoick! Smash!
But do nothing rash;
Hit the ball hard o’er the net, boys!
Lob! Place!
And keep a good pace,
Take all the chances you get boys.

Let not your double faults often occur;
Keep cool, and place out of reach, boys;
If the ball outside go, don’t blame luck, for
you know
That fortune smiles fairly on each, boys.

If when the gam’s o’er you find you have lost,
Don’t vainly mourn your defeat, boys;
But make up your mind that you’ll not be
behind
The next time, for “Reds can’t be beat,” boys.

So in the game of the battle of life,
There’s many a tough struggle yet, boys;
Then all do your best when it comes to the
test,
And take all the chances you get boys.³

¹ PAC School Songs, 1960.

² F W Maudsley, PAC School Songs, 1960.

³ PAC School Songs, 1960.

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