Promising lives: First placegetters in the Queensland Scholarship examination 1873-1962

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the School of History, Philosophy, Religion and Classics at the University of Queensland in December 2006.

Marion Elizabeth Mackenzie BA, BSW, PGDip(Arts)
Statement of originality

I certify that this thesis is original and my own work, except where the work of others is quoted and acknowledged as such in the text. This material has not been submitted, either in whole or in part, for a degree at this or any other university.
Abstract

The Scholarship was an external examination held at the end of primary school when students were generally aged thirteen or fourteen. It dominated Queensland education for ninety years from 1873 until 1962. For much of that period, passing the examination was the only opportunity for most children to enter secondary education. It was at first a competitive examination for limited places in the early grammar schools, and later a qualifying examination for entrance to any secondary school.

The principal focus of this thesis is the early promise displayed by 186 young Queenslanders who were ranked first in the state in the examination. It draws conclusions about the impact of education on individuals and society through longitudinal research, by examining the influence of family, school, community attitudes, world events and personal choices on the outcomes for those successful students. It investigates how early success was translated into their later lives, how they dealt with the opportunities and barriers they encountered, whether females and males had different outcomes, and in what ways they differed from their peers. It also examines how their lives impacted on the Queensland community and beyond through their professional lives and community activities.

By employing case-study methodology and a biographical approach it was possible to recognise not only commonalities among the Scholarship winners, but patterns of resistance and accommodation to community expectations. The long time-span under investigation made it possible for slow changes to be revealed, particularly in community attitudes to secondary and tertiary education and the education of girls and women. In a complementary case-study the same methods were used to trace the careers of the teachers of students placed first in the Scholarship. This revealed high levels of ambition, dedication and innovation among that group of educators.

Teaching families figured prominently in the backgrounds of the successful students,
although they were from a wide range of family circumstances. Their school experiences were varied, but demonstrated little change in curriculum and teaching methods over the ninety years of the examination. Females faced contradictory expectations and attitudes to education, family formation and career development. Although males continued their education in an anti-intellectual climate, their choice of occupations and prospects was much more extensive than for females.

While successive Queensland governments failed to address the educational needs of the state, resulting in very low participation at secondary levels, the majority of Scholarship winners sustained their early success by completing their secondary education and graduating from universities. From there they entered professions and took up leadership positions in the community. It was not always a smooth path to success, particularly for women, who faced what seemed insurmountable difficulties. Men, while less encumbered by social constraints, encountered the dislocation of military service. Those who were unable to proceed through the education system for a range of social, political and economic reasons were frequently able to negotiate alternative routes to fulfilling their early promise.

This study is significant for the growing understanding of the influence of education on those who participated as students and teachers. It demonstrates, in a Queensland context, the consequences for learners with ability when opportunities were provided and restrictions were removed. It also reveals the personal fulfilment of those who were guided by strong and passionate interests and sense of purpose.
Acknowledgements

The nature of this project was one that involved the assistance of a great many people. I would like to give special thanks to Dr Rod Fisher, my principal advisor, for his inspiration and guidance over many years; Dr Geoff Ginn, my associate advisor, for his assistance; and my husband, Malcolm, for his encouragement and support.

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Staff of the Fryer Library
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Mackenzie, Marion E. Tales from the Scholarship years. Talk delivered at a meeting of the Wynnum Manly Historical Society, 16 October 2003.


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## Abbreviations

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td><em>Adelaide Advertiser</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACER</td>
<td>Australian Council for Educational Research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACGS</td>
<td>Anglican Church Grammar School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACT</td>
<td>Australian Capital Territory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADB</td>
<td><em>Australian Dictionary of Biography</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AEd</td>
<td>Certificate of Education (UQ 1938-58)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGPS</td>
<td>Australian Government Publishing Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIF</td>
<td>Australian Imperial Force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMP</td>
<td>Australian Mutual Provident Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIF</td>
<td>Advanced Management Program (Harvard Business School)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANU</td>
<td>Australian National University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AR</td>
<td>Admission register</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARSQU</td>
<td><em>Annual Report of the Senate of the University of Queensland</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASIO</td>
<td>Australian Security Intelligence Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aust.</td>
<td><em>Australian</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>AWM</td>
<td>Australian War Memorial</td>
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<td>b.</td>
<td>born</td>
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<td>B</td>
<td>Boys</td>
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<tr>
<td>BA</td>
<td>Bachelor of Arts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BBC</td>
<td>Brisbane Boys College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BC</td>
<td><em>Brisbane Courier</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE</td>
<td>Bachelor of Engineering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEd</td>
<td>Bachelor of Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BGGS</td>
<td>Brisbane Girls’ Grammar School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BGGSU</td>
<td><em>Brisbane Girls’ Grammar School Magazine</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BGS</td>
<td>Brisbane Grammar School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BGSU</td>
<td><em>Brisbane Grammar School Magazine</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BHP</td>
<td>Broken Hill Proprietary Company Limited</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSc</td>
<td>Bachelor of Science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSHSM</td>
<td><em>Brisbane State High School Magazine</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BT</td>
<td><em>Brisbane Telegraph</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAE</td>
<td>College of Advanced Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBC</td>
<td>Christian Brothers College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEGS</td>
<td>Church of England Grammar School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cent.</td>
<td>Central</td>
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<tr>
<td>CER</td>
<td>Commonwealth electoral roll</td>
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<tr>
<td>CertEd</td>
<td>Certificate of Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CM</td>
<td><em>Courier Mail</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>CNTPA</td>
<td>Crow’s Nest Tourist and Progress Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CP</td>
<td><em>Cairns Post</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSIR</td>
<td>Council for Scientific and Industrial Research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSIRO</td>
<td>Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CUP</td>
<td>Cambridge University Press</td>
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<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>died</td>
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<tr>
<td>da.</td>
<td>daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DC</td>
<td>Death certificate</td>
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<tr>
<td>DFC</td>
<td>Distinguished Flying Cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DipEd</td>
<td>Diploma of Education</td>
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</table>
DM  Daily Mail
DS  Daily Standard
EOG  Education Office Gazette
EQHC  Education Queensland History Collection
FRCOG  Fellow of the Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists
FS  family sources
G  Girls
GCB  Gold Coast Bulletin
GPO  General Post Office
GT  Gympie Times
HT  head teacher
IGGS  Ipswich Girls’ Grammar School
IGGSM  Ipswich Girls’ Grammar School Magazine
IGS  Ipswich Grammar School
Inter.  Intermediate
JOL  John Oxley Library
LLB  Bachelor of Laws
LM  Lilley (Memorial) Medal
m.  married
MA  Master of Arts
MBBS  Bachelor of Medicine, Bachelor of Surgery
M’borough  Maryborough
MMC  Maryborough Morning Chronicle
MD  Doctor of Medicine
MDM  Mackay Daily Mercury
MEd  Master of Education
MGGS  Maryborough Girls’ Grammar School
MGS  Maryborough Grammar School
MLA  Member of the Legislative Assembly
MLC  Member of the Legislative Council
MPESU  Manual of Public Examinations held by Sydney University
MPEUQ  Manual of Public Examinations held by the University of Queensland
MSc  Master of Science
MUP  Melbourne University Press
n.d.  no date
n.p.  no page number
NAA  National Archives of Australia
NC  Nambour Chronicle
NSW  New South Wales
NSWER  New South Wales electoral roll
OUP  Oxford University Press
PC  personal communication
PhD  Doctor of Philosophy
PMG  Postmaster-General’s Department
Q  Queenslandlander
QTCU  Queensland Teachers’ Credit Union
QER  Queensland electoral roll
Qld  Queensland
QPD  Queensland Parliamentary Debates
QPOD  Queensland Post Office Directory
QPP  Queensland Parliamentary Papers
QSA  Queensland State Archives
QTJ  Queensland Teachers’ Journal
QTU  Queensland Teachers’ Union
QUT  Queensland University of Technology
QWHA  Queensland Women’s Historical Association
RAAF  Royal Australian Air Force
RAF  Royal Air Force
RGGS  Rockhampton Girls’ Grammar School
RGS  Rockhampton Grammar School
RHSQJ  Royal Historical Society of Queensland Journal
RMB  Rockhampton Morning Bulletin
RSL  Returned and Services League
RTF  Register of teachers, females
RTM  Register of teachers, males
R’ton  Rockhampton
s.  son
SA  South Australia
SBP  Stanthorpe Border Post
SHS  State High School
SM  Sunday Mail (Brisbane)
SMH  Sydney Morning Herald
Sr  Sister
SS  State School
SUP  Sydney University Press
T  teacher
TAFE  Technical and Further Education
TC  Toowoomba Chronicle
TGS  Toowoomba Grammar School
TvGS  Townsville Grammar School
UNE  University of New England
UQ  University of Queensland
UQA  University of Queensland Archives
UQC  University of Queensland Calendar
UQP  University of Queensland Press
USC  University of Sydney Calendar
USQ  University of Southern Queensland
VAD  Voluntary Aid Detachment
VDC  Volunteer Defence Corps
Vic.  Victoria
VPLAQ  Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of Queensland
VPOD  Victorian Post Office Directory
WA  Western Australia
WCTU  Women’s Christian Temperance Union
WDN  Warwick Daily News
WWA  Who’s Who in Australia
WWI  World War I
WWII  World War II
YWCA  Young Women’s Christian Association
Conversion Table

All currency mentioned in the text has been retained in its original notation. Because currency values vary over time, simple conversions are inaccurate when pounds are compared with dollars.

£1 (pound) = 20 shillings
1 guinea =£1/1/- or 21 shillings; 2 guineas =£2/2/- and so forth.
£1 (pound) = $2 (dollars) at the time of conversion to decimal currency in 1966.
Introduction

Barbara Finkelstein challenged her fellow historians to ‘study education as a complete cycle, focusing on the results as well as the possibilities of educational arrangements and practices and modes of cultural transmission’. She urged them to undertake ‘systematic analysis, case study by case study, of the uses of literacy, the processes of schooling, and the consequences of deliberate education as they might be revealed in particular settings, communities and nations over time, and the lives of learners’.¹

This thesis takes up Finkelstein’s challenge by examining the lives of learners in Queensland. It uses a case study approach to trace the lives of the 186 children who were placed first in the State Scholarship examination conducted at the end of primary school over a ninety year period. While the time-span under consideration is large, it is justified by regarding the Scholarship years as an encapsulated period in Queensland education. Because the first placegetters participated in secondary and tertiary education, unlike most of their contemporaries, the length of time provides a suitable canvas on which their experiences can be portrayed. By following their lives it is possible to trace the slow emergence of patterns of change not evident in a shorter interval.

The motivation for this thesis came from the author’s previous advocacy role on behalf of children of high ability, arising from a concern about the way in which educational authorities responded to their needs. This concern stemmed more from an interest in the outcomes for the children themselves than a desire to justify any particular educational theory or type of provision. A search of the literature revealed very few historical case studies of learners in Queensland, particularly of high achievers. The opportunity to conduct the research as a group biography, naming and tracing the Scholarship winners, firmly placed the thesis not only into the history of education, but also into the history of Queenslanders and Queensland institutions.

The choice of a case study approach was determined by a decision to adopt the historical narrative tradition rather than to take a theoretical stance. While informed

by the literature on feminism, masculinity, class and meritocracy, anti-elitism and postmodernism, none of these viewpoints formed the framework of the project. The nature of the research was predominantly qualitative, assisted by basic statistical analysis, allowing themes to emerge from the collected data. Other researchers may find evidence to further their own theoretical arguments in future studies.

Analysis of data gathered from a wide range of sources answered questions as to who the children were, what sort of family backgrounds they had, how they experienced their schooling and who taught them. Further investigations revealed how their early success was translated into their later lives, what barriers and opportunities they encountered, to what extent they shaped their own outcomes, whether the females and males had different experiences and how they differed from their peers.

Historical case studies are more than chronological accounts of events. They investigate context and surrounding attitudes, as well as the impact of an event or events on an institution and on the participants. This approach leads to the development of explanations about the choices, contingencies and options available to individuals through the mediating influences of parents, peer groups, schools and churches, as well as local and world events. These influences can be traced over time through longitudinal research that examines the continuities of the meanings and values which informants attach to events, behaviours and attitudes. This approach allows the recognition and analysis of patterns. By tracing a number of lives in a group biography, it is possible to recognise not only commonalities, but also patterns of resistance and accommodation to community expectations.2

This thesis reviews the life experiences of the Scholarship winners in the context of the Queensland education system and wider community attitudes to education. In turn, it looks at the impact that these particular individuals made on the community life of Queensland and beyond. It argues that despite the opportunities accorded to highly achieving children, a range of social, economic and political factors influenced their

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life directions. These factors reflected changes in attitudes to education, in particular to secondary and tertiary education, to career development and to family formation.

The methodological process used in the thesis revolved around the three tasks of identification, tracing and contact, each based on particular sources. Identification of the first place-getters was achieved by consulting the Scholarships file at the Education Queensland history collection, cross-referenced with results files at the Queensland State Archives until 1935, the *Education Office Gazette* until 1930 and newspaper reports each year.

A second identification task involved locating the names of those who taught the Scholarship winners. This was achieved through a search of the annual returns, which record the staff of each school, available in the *Queensland Parliamentary Papers* until 1930, but also as a separate publication available at Queensland State Archives for all years to 1975. These sources allowed the inclusion of the names of all head teachers; but class teachers were included only when known through newspaper accounts, school histories or personal communications. Justification for the inclusion of all head teachers is given in the appropriate chapter.

Tracing the lives of students after they left primary school involved first finding the secondary school attended. This information was gleaned from the Register of Grammar School Scholarships at Queensland State Archives, the Junior or Senior Public Examination results in the Manuals of Public Examinations conducted by the Universities of Sydney and Queensland, or as published in newspapers. The records of Brisbane Grammar School and Brisbane Girls’ Grammar School, attended by half of the first place-getters, were invaluable, with similar information available from Ipswich Grammar School, Ipswich Girls’ Grammar School, Toowoomba Grammar School and Somerville House. School admission registers, where available for other schools, confirmed school careers.

If students progressed to university, the *Calendar of the University of Sydney*, which listed all graduates, proved a useful source until 1965. Similarly, the *Calendar of the University of Queensland* was a valuable resource until 1933. These sources included years which were not available in the *Queensland Parliamentary Papers*. The Statesman also contained material that was not available in the *Education Office Gazette*.

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1 QSA: Annual returns of teachers employed in state schools 1878-1950, SRS 5136; QSA: Returns of teachers employed in state schools 1949-75, SRS 5140.
University of Queensland in 1965 recorded all graduates to that date, including married names. Subsequent calendars published annual lists. An earlier publication marking the twenty-fifth anniversary of the university in 1935 provided addresses of graduates, where known at that time.\textsuperscript{4} The University of Queensland Archives provided information regarding Rhodes Scholarship applications, accessible with the permission of the applicant.

Family background information was compiled from a range of sources: newspaper accounts; registers of births, deaths and marriages; school admission registers; post office directories; electoral rolls; wills and intestacies; information from family members and personal communications. Where a parent was a teacher, and for other teachers being traced, the Register of Teachers 1860-1904 at Queensland State Archives was a rich source, providing place and date of birth, names of spouses and career details.

Some of these sources were missing or searches proved unfruitful. Queensland State Archives does not hold a complete set of state school admission registers; teachers’ registers ceased in 1904, replaced by a complex system of card records; births, marriages and deaths registers were open only to 1919, 1939 and 1964 respectively. As the Registrar-General in Queensland requires familial connections for access, and because of the considerable expense involved, no details were derived from certificates of birth, death or marriage. Interstate registers provided less information than those in Queensland, making it more difficult to confirm the identity of an individual. Death and funeral notices in newspapers were a useful cross-reference.

Published histories of both primary and secondary schools frequently note the background and career paths of their successful students. The Fryer Library, John Oxley Library and the education history collection of the Department of Education, Training and the Arts hold a wide selection of such publications. School magazines were another rich source, particularly those of Brisbane Grammar School and Brisbane Girls’ Grammar School, which have been indexed by the school archivists.

\textsuperscript{4} ‘Appendix D. Graduates of the University 1913-1934’, in \textit{An account of the University of Queensland during its first twenty-five years 1910-35} (St Lucia: University of Queensland, 1935).
Magazines frequently publish career highlights, marriages and obituaries of past students.

For details of teachers’ careers subsequent to the registers of 1904, the Education Office Gazette published notices of all admissions, transfers and promotions until 1930, with reduced coverage in subsequent years. These have been indexed by the Queensland Family History Society from 1907 to 1920. Further details were found in a labyrinth of pay cards, staff cards and ledgers of salaries and personnel files at Queensland State Archives. Some of these are not on open access to researchers. Careers of prominent teachers were found in entries in the Australian Dictionary of Biography, in personalities files of the Education Queensland history collection and in published school histories. A secondary source, The History of the Queensland Teachers Union, provided information regarding the activism of teachers in their union.5

For other professions, career details were found in the Queensland Blue Book to 1916, followed by the Queensland Public Service Directory to 1951, a subsequent Index and Queensland Government Directory. Women in lower-ranked positions were not always listed in the directories. Addresses, discovered through admission registers, newspaper accounts or post office directories, made it possible to consult electoral rolls to obtain information on occupations. Annotations on official rolls held in Queensland State Archives indicated changes of location, marriages and deaths. Further searches in professional directories, Who’s Who in Australia, Australian Dictionary of Biography, and other registers proved useful. War service records on public access were obtained through the websites of the Australian War Memorial and National Archives of Australia Recordsearch database.6

The third task, contact with family members and Scholarship winners themselves, was made, often fortuitously, through personal networks of the author, but also through research in a range of directories. An introductory telephone call was followed by a

5 Andrew Spaull and Martin Sullivan, A history of the Queensland Teachers’ Union (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1989).
letter and questionnaire. The open questionnaire was selected as a more practical tool than an oral history interview, which would have involved time spent in travel, holding a preliminary discussion, recording an interview, transcription and follow-up. The greatest advantage of a questionnaire was that more individuals could be included, from any part of the world.

The questionnaire was derived from a similar instrument used by Janet McCalman and Mark Peel in *Journeyings*, but adapted to elicit the information required for this work. It sought information about family background, school experience, higher education, career and community participation, as well as an optional personal statement for respondents to reflect on their early success. Information was obtained directly from thirty-five Scholarship winners who were candidates for the examination between 1923 and 1962. A shortened form was sent to family members of thirty-six deceased winners.

The questionnaire enabled respondents to reflect before replying, usually with thoughtful statements pertinent to the study and suitable for quotation. There was also the opportunity to supplement the questionnaires with expanded descriptions. Many respondents reported that they appreciated the opportunity to reflect on their own life experiences, their small part in Queensland history, and the changing nature of attitudes to education. Privacy was respected, as respondents had the choice not to participate, to participate anonymously, or to have their responses acknowledged and selected quotations attributed to them. The choice of anonymity posed a challenge when valuable insights could not be quoted without identifying the writer. Ethical considerations were based on those of the Oral History Association of Australia.

Throughout the thesis various terms are used which require explanation. ‘The Scholarship’ is commonly used in Queensland to refer to the examination which was known as the Grammar School Scholarship examination from 1873 to 1900 and the State Scholarship examination from then until 1962.

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8 A further twenty Scholarship winners, believed to be still alive, were not contacted.
In an effort to avoid the term ‘subject’, as might be used in a sociological study, the individuals under discussion are referred to throughout the thesis as ‘first placegetters’, ‘Scholarship winners’, or occasionally as ‘Lilley medallists’ or ‘medallists’, although this term does not apply to all those included. The Lilley Memorial medal was awarded after 1904, only to first-placed students attending state schools. Before 1922 it was allocated to the first-placed candidate; after that year it went to both the first male and the first female. The case study includes the first-placed boy and girl from each year, notwithstanding which school they attended. In addition, because on five occasions a student placed first was not eligible for the Lilley medal, the medallist is also included.\(^{10}\)

The term ‘scholarship holder’ refers to all those students, not just first placegetters, who were awarded a scholarship to proceed to secondary school, under a quota in the early years, or as a result of passing the examination.

Terminology employed for teachers reflects that of the time: pupil teacher, assistant teacher or teacher, head teacher (primary), principal (secondary), District Inspector, Senior Inspector, Under-Secretary, Director-General. The ‘Department’ refers to the government body administering education in Queensland: the Board of General Education from 1860 to 1875; the Department of Public Instruction until 1957; the Department of Education to 1996; Education Queensland to 2004, the Department of Education and the Arts; or Education, Training and the Arts since then.

The thesis is organised into eight chapters that reflect the research questions and the nature of the case study. Initially, a brief methodological discussion and literature review places the work in context with earlier studies. This is followed by an overview which locates the Scholarship examination in Queensland educational history, providing the contextual background and tracing changes in attitudes towards achievement in Queensland. The third chapter identifies and analyses those factors of family background that influenced the lives of the young achievers; while the fourth investigates the way these students engaged with their education, reviewing how they

\(^{10}\) See chronological list in Appendix B and biographical register in Appendix C.
perceived the teaching methods, curriculum and school conditions. Chapter five discusses the role of the Scholarship class teacher and school head teacher, their influence on the academic success of their students, and the greater impact of those particular teachers on the Queensland education system. The outcomes for female and male Scholarship winners are examined separately, before chapter eight draws conclusions about differences in outcomes, considers the extent to which early success was reflected in the later lives of the young achievers and contrasts the experiences of the winners with those of their contemporaries. The conclusion summarises the study, places the findings in the context of prevailing community attitudes in Queensland and discusses the patterns of change which emerge from the research. Five appendices provide more details of the historical context and biographical details of all those included in the research.

The focus of this thesis is the early promise displayed by 186 young Queenslanders in an academic test when they were aged thirteen or fourteen. Their life experiences provide a portrait of the Queensland education system from the point of view of its participants, through its primary, secondary and tertiary layers and beyond into the formation and growth of the professions. The way in which promise was realised was determined by a range of social, economic and political factors reflecting changing community attitudes to education, career development and family formation.
Chapter 1

Setting the scene: Methodology and literature

The Scholarship examination was a milestone in the lives of young Queenslanders. For many, failure precluded them from secondary education; while for others, passing the test provided a pathway to further opportunities. For just a few, the experience of very high achievement accorded them brief public acclaim and the possibility of continued success. In order to uncover the educational experiences of the Scholarship winners and to answer questions about the influence of education on their lives, it is necessary not only to develop techniques for tracing individuals over time, but also to adopt methods of analysis and presentation that take account of previous studies in related fields.

This chapter surveys a range of methodologies and published research which determined the eventual framework of the thesis. The first section focuses attention on the qualitative case study approach, particularly the use of oral history and survey techniques; and, within biographical research, life history and collective or group biography. Each of these is discussed to clarify definitions, to acknowledge difficulties inherent within them and to establish their usefulness to this thesis. The second part of the chapter draws on two bodies of literature: educational history and longitudinal studies of academic achievers. Examples from each of these directions are critically evaluated for their relevance to this work.

The objective of qualitative research methods is to gain in-depth understanding of a situation and its meaning to those involved, or to find ‘how people make sense of their lives, what they experience, how they interpret those experiences, how they structure their social worlds’. This explanation was provided by Sharan Merriam in a guide to the case study as a research method. She claimed that it was appropriate to use the method when examining a unique situation or where it was important to record a phenomenon for historical significance. She also acknowledged that a case study was

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1 Merriam, Case study research, p. 19.
2 Ibid., p. 30.
more likely to include interviews and direct observations of a contemporary situation, 
but that ‘elements of historical research and case study often merge’.³

Merriam defined the method as an examination of a specific phenomenon such as a 
program, an event, a person, a process or a social group. She described case studies as 
particularistic (focusing on a specific event or phenomenon), descriptive (offering 
‘thick’ or complete description and interpretation of meaning), heuristic (providing 
new meaning or insights) and inductive (allowing concepts to emerge from the data).⁴
Merriam considered that in case study research there is no one method of data 
collection, as researchers are interested in insight, discovery and interpretation.⁵ She 
endorsed the use of triangulation, or using multiple methods such as interviews, 
observations and documentary evidence.⁶

While interviewing and oral history were not directly employed in this thesis, some of 
the writing on these topics was relevant to the approach that was chosen. Victor 
Minichiello, Rosalie Aroni, Eric Timewell and Loris Alexander produced an 
Australian-based guide to in-depth interviewing as one way of undertaking qualitative 
research.⁷ This work crossed interdisciplinary boundaries, deriving mostly from 
sociology, but also encompassing history. The writers considered that oral history and 
life history approaches were appropriate when the focus was on an informant’s 
perception of self, life and experience, expressed in their own words. They said that 
the use of these approaches ‘enables us to see an individual in relation to the history 
of their time, and how he or she is influenced by the religious, social, psychological, 
political and economic ideas available to them’.⁸ They went on to point out that this 
perspective could lead to an understanding of the choices and options open to 
individuals and the ‘ambiguities and inconsistencies which are part of everyday life’.⁹

The authors also claimed that longitudinal research might examine not only social 
change but also ‘the continuity of the meanings and values informants attach to

³ Ibid., p. 8.
⁴ Ibid., p. 11.
⁵ Ibid., p. 10.
⁶ Ibid., p. 69.
⁷ Victor Minichiello, Rosalie Aroni, Eric Timewell and Loris Alexander, In-depth interviewing: 
⁸ Ibid., p. 120.
⁹ Ibid., p. 121.
events, behaviours and attitudes. It allows the recognition and examination of
patterns’.10

In another guide, Valerie Yow recommended oral history as an effective method of
finding out about the feelings, motivations and interpretations of an individual. As
well, she claimed that oral history enables the researcher to investigate the
individual’s reactions to historical events of the times:

Find out how the person fit[ted] into his or her community or movement, how the
values of the group affected him or her, and how he or she fulfilled expectations
based on gender, race, class and social status. The individual biography or life
story has much to say to the reader beyond the unique aspects of the person.11

Oral history methods have not always been well-accepted in traditional historical
writing, principally because testimony based on memory was considered unreliable.
Yet, as Bernard Hyams claimed, they have had an almost explosive effect on the
development of general community histories, and have given rise to new areas of
historical inquiry:

Information gleaned from the oral narratives and interview may be used to
supplement and confirm documentary sources, even at times to contradict or
correct them. But it may also stand alone as a single source of some historical
phenomenon.12

The oral interview puts flesh on the bare bones of written documentation in
helping to reveal the more subtle aspects of tensions and competing vested
interests in the process of public policy development.13

According to Hyams, the implications of using oral history for education studies may
be far-reaching for the investigation of policy-making or institutional history and for
studies of learners and families:

Informal learning, childhood as a whole, and continuing adult learning are all
functions of the cultural context of education to which oral history has direct
access. It can probe the nature of interaction between parents, children and
siblings in not only what attitudes and values are developed but in how this
proceeds.14

10 Ibid., p. 170.
11 Valerie Yow, Recording oral history: A practical guide for social scientists (Thousand Oaks,
12 Bernard K. Hyams, ‘Oral history’, in Educational research, methodology, and measurement: An
13 Ibid., p. 93.
14 Ibid.
Historians using oral history methods have grappled with the difficulties of dealing with the memory of respondents, in particular the way in which memory is structured to incorporate past, present and future, and is in turn structured by the public memory. Kate Darian-Smith said of this struggle:

Through the investigation of memory [it is possible] to extend the boundaries of the ways that we think about the past and what constitutes the ‘historical’ in our society. Memories link us to place, to time and to nation: they enable us to place value on our individual and social experiences, and they enable us to inhabit our own country. Such memories can provide a social cohesion – but they are also a source of great conflict.\(^{15}\)

In his examination of the Anzac legend in Australia, Alistair Thomson wrote about exploring the layers of memory and meaning that surround events and relationships, and the intertwining of personal and public memory.\(^{16}\) To explore these layers of meaning, Allyson Holbrook developed a working model of analysis for the examination of oral history data, analysing the layers of accounts for content, performance and background, testing for mythic or symbolic elements within culture and time.\(^{17}\) She said that historians could use oral history to provide ‘an opportunity to explore the tensions between, and the convergence of, myth at the public and private levels, and open up possibilities for new, possibly better, explanations of past events, which also have salience for the present’.\(^{18}\)

The use of the interview puts practical and ethical constraints on the researcher. The process restricts the numbers who can participate, especially if possible respondents are geographically widespread. The principal difficulty is the considerable time involved in preparation, travel, recording, transcribing and checking with participants. Other issues are the need for technical equipment and the complex process of analysing responses which may not have been to a set of uniform questions.

The use of surveys or questionnaires can overcome some of these problems, while generating others. Respondents, whatever their location, can provide biographical


\(^{18}\) Ibid., p. 35.
details as required and answer questions in a reflective, concise manner. If questions are specific to the topic and sufficiently open-ended, they can enable free expression of the respondent’s perspectives of people and events in their lives. On the other hand, the questionnaire lacks flexibility, can be open to misunderstanding and limits the researcher to the information supplied.¹⁹

The collection of personal testimony has been the basis of the life history method of biographical research. In a survey of biographical research methods, Norman Denzin said that ‘the subject matter of the biographical method is the life experiences of a person, and biographical methods provide the very foundations for the study of educative processes’.²⁰ Denzin provided useful definitions that made distinctions between varieties of the biographical method. *Case study* is an analysis of a single case or multiple instances of the same process, as it is embodied in the life experiences of a community, a group, or a person; a *biography* is an account of a life written by a third party; a *life history* is a written account of a person’s life based on spoken conversations and interviews, and may pertain to the collective life of a group, organisation or community; an *oral history* focuses chiefly on events, processes, causes and effects; and *life story* examines a life or a segment of a life as reported by the individual in question.²¹

When he addressed the issue of searching for meaning, Denzin set the biographer what seems an insurmountable task:

Biographical studies should attempt to articulate how each subject deals with the problems of coherence, illusion, consubstantiality, presence, deep, inner selves, others, gender, class, starting and ending points, epiphanies, fictions, truths and final causes.²²

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²² Ibid., p. 60.
In general, the writing of biography has received considerable academic attention. It is, after all, an exercise indulged in by writers in a number of disciplines. Historians as biographers have been often criticised, but, as Richard Broome pointed out, ‘we need the history of individuals as well as the history of social forces and structures to understand the past.’ Walter Phillips considered that one of the problems for the historian biographer is finding the right balance in depicting the person in relation to the times.

Capturing the collective memory of a group of people who shared a similar experience belongs to an area of biographical research that is largely neglected in the literature, that of collective or group biography. Catherine Parke made a distinction between collective biography, which she confined to that of dictionaries and registers, and group biography which she described as follows:

[It] depicts the social, personal and professional interaction of a definable association of individuals, sometimes obscure or lesser known, presented as being interesting in their own right and, perhaps more importantly, to be metaphorically or metonymically revealing of a historical period which they influenced or epitomised.

Paul Sturges gave an overview of both approaches, which he regarded as a worthwhile method of discriminating relationships within a group as well as effectively exhibiting traces of change over time. Sturges also distinguished between prosopography and the life history method.

Prosopography was first used by historians of the Roman Empire to analyse data on the ruling classes. The method was also used to trace the biographical history of politicians and members of legal and scientific academies, but moved in more recent times away from the study of social elites to that of ordinary citizens and formerly under-represented groups. Lawrence Stone, in an analysis of prosopography, offered the following explanation:

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23 Ian Donaldson, Peter Read and James Walter, eds., Shaping lives: Reflections on biography (Canberra: ANU Humanities Research Centre, 1992). Contributors to this work include historians, literary biographers, psychologists and political analysts.
The method employed is to establish a universe to be studied, and then to ask a set of uniform questions—about birth and death, marriage and family, social origins and inherited economic position, place of residence, education, amount and source of personal wealth, occupation, religion, experience of office, and so on. The various types of information about the individuals in the universe are then juxtaposed and combined, and are examined for significant variables. They are tested both for internal correlations and for correlations with other forms of behaviour or action.\(^28\)

Stone alerted researchers to the limitations inherent in the method, including the danger of developing generalisations from limited data, or that evidence might be abundant in some areas of life but nonexistent in others, distorting the analysis and possibly missing significant factors. However, if these limitations were taken into account, he advocated the method as a powerful means of combining institutional history and personal biography.\(^29\) While prosopography was formerly confined to analysing details of the lives of the dead, the use of computer databases gave new impetus to the method, including studies of living respondents. Within education history, Peter Cunningham proposed the method as a means of focusing more attention on anonymous practitioners, on the everyday work of teachers as distinct from pioneers and policy makers. He claimed it was particularly appropriate to identify networks of teachers and the dissemination of new ideas.\(^30\) Gaby Weiner used prosopography to establish British women’s networks before and during first-wave feminism, while Kay Morris Mathews adopted it for establishing a database from which to analyse women graduate teachers in New Zealand.\(^31\)

Though similar in approach to prosopography, life history is confined to living informants. Historians engaged in this method generally use oral history techniques. On occasions the terms life history and oral history are merged or used interchangeably, the confusion reflecting their antecedents in the disciplines of sociology and history respectively. However, Minichiello and colleagues made the following fine distinction:

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\(^{28}\) Lawrence Stone, 'Prosopography', *Daedalus* 100, 1 (1971), p. 46.
\(^{29}\) Ibid., p. 73.
The aim of oral history is to gain information about the past whereas the central concern of the biographical life history is to elicit information detailing the individual’s development ...[it] aims to understand the ways in which a particular individual creates, makes sense of and interprets his or her life.32

That these two aims are frequently intertwined was reflected by Paul Thompson in the 1980s and by Prue Chamberlayne, Joanna Bornat and Tom Wengraf in the 1990s.33 They traced the growing awareness of the need for historical understanding by social researchers to ‘describe people as historically formed actors whose biographies are necessary to render fully intelligible their historical action in context – its conditions, meanings and outcomes, whether such conditions, meanings and outcomes be conscious or unconscious’.34

Within education history the life history method has been used extensively by Ivor Goodson, who considered that the study of teachers’ lives was central to the study of curriculum and schooling.35 He advocated the method because it acknowledges ‘a crucial interactive relationship between individuals’ lives, their perceptions and experiences, and historical and social contexts and events’.36 Importantly, life history methods give scope not only to document the continuous process of change in the lives of individuals, but also to analyse patterns of change at a group or collective level, of networks, professions or disciplines.37

The practical difficulties of researching and writing a group biography multiply the complexities of tackling a biography of a single person, such as finding embargoes

32 Minichiello, Aroni, Timewell and Alexander, In-depth interviewing, p. 106.
34 Chamberlayne, Bornat and Wengraf, 'Introduction', p. 8.
36 Ivor Goodson and Pat Sikes, Life history research in educational settings: Learning from lives (Buckingham: Open University, 2001), p. 2.
37 Goodson, 'History, context and qualitative methods', p. 117.
placed on access to sources, or when families or subjects object to the research or publication. Several writers have discussed the problems they faced.

Alison Mackinnon used the method when writing a series of studies on early women graduates in South Australia.\(^{38}\) In a paper on collective biography, she discussed the ‘usefulness of biographical and autobiographical writing in trying to recapture the attitudes, values and conceptual framework of a particular group … searching among people’s life histories for clues to a sense of what it felt to be a part of a certain group or cohort of women’.\(^{39}\) She said she wanted to ‘capture the experience’ – did it set them apart, transform their lives, lead to commitments to certain values and standards, and was it possible to detect any common threads from the multiple voices of many women?\(^{40}\)

Mackinnon outlined some of the difficulties in the approach, beyond those common to oral history: that women view their lives as unimportant; they do not see the private as relevant to history; and they may ‘reconstruct’ their histories by editing out the uncomfortable to present the harmonious and impose coherence.\(^{41}\) She wanted simultaneously to depict complex individuals and evoke a sense of a group with common themes and concerns. She concluded that collective biography was ‘overwhelmingly worthwhile’\(^{42}\) and encouraged others to use the method to reconstitute the experience of groups:

> While the collective impression enables us to see to what extent narratives are ‘shaped according to dominant discourses’ the individual responses reveal a range of diverse strategies adopted in relation to those discourses – strategies of accommodation, of resistance or of active shaping.\(^{43}\)

Like Mackinnon, Margot Peters wrote about the challenges of group biography. She defined it as the interweaving of a number of lives, exploring interrelationships, but she did not suggest that group biography had a common form. It could also be a chronicle of separate lives in separate places, with a common experience or

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\(^{39}\) Alison Mackinnon, ‘Collective biography: Reading early university women from their own texts’, *Australian Feminist Studies* 16 (1992), p. 95.

\(^{40}\) Ibid., p. 96.

\(^{41}\) Ibid., p. 97.

\(^{42}\) Ibid., p. 101.

\(^{43}\) Ibid., p. 102.
connection.\textsuperscript{44} Whatever the form, Peters claimed that ‘implicit in a group biography will be the notion that the individual is less than the whole, that the sum is greater than any of its parts’.

However, she found management of the material a daunting task. ‘The sheer numbers make the group difficult to control’; it can easily become a matter of ‘the material ruling the biographer’, rather than the reverse.\textsuperscript{46} She felt that it was not only the mass of the material that was daunting—it was a challenge ‘to impose some kind of pattern’ upon the material to achieve focus and proportion.\textsuperscript{47}

These difficulties were also expressed by Diane Langmore in her reflections on writing a group biography. She acknowledged that the difficulty of maintaining the balance between the group and the individuals becomes a ‘tight-rope act’.\textsuperscript{48} She was particularly conscious of having to resist the ‘tantalizing by-ways of behaviour and personality’, which could be fruitful for the individual biographer, but could not be explored in any depth in a collective work.\textsuperscript{49}

Langmore’s work provided a useful model for this thesis She wrote a loosely chronological study from birth to death of 327 missionaries in Papua from 1874 to 1914.\textsuperscript{50} The missionaries were not all members of one group, at one time; very few of them were of such status that there was extensive data available; and only some aspects of their lives had been recorded. The influence of family background and education cut across other factors such as religion. Langmore succeeded in piecing together a picture of individuals with a common experience, yet having diverse outlooks, motivations and reactions. She maintained that her model remained the biography or group portrait. Finding that her greatest danger was submerging the individual in the text, she used brief case studies, quotations and individual examples to illustrate her conclusions – ‘flesh on the skeleton’ of generalisation.\textsuperscript{51} The text was


\textsuperscript{45} Ibid., p. 41.

\textsuperscript{46} Ibid., p. 49.

\textsuperscript{47} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{48} Diane Langmore, 'The problems and pleasures of prosopography: Writing a group biography', in \textit{Biographers at work}, James Walter and Ratja Nugent, eds. (Brisbane: Institute for Modern Biography, Griffith University, 1984), p. 68.

\textsuperscript{49} Ibid., p. 69.


\textsuperscript{51} Langmore, 'Problems and pleasures of prosopography', p. 102.
supplemented with a biographical register of all 327 missionaries, plus a less detailed register of their wives.

The above review of qualitative research methodology, particularly case history and group biography, with contributions from interviewing, oral history, life history, questionnaire and prosopography, has provided the background to the research process adopted in this study. As explained in the Introduction, it employs a synthesis of a number of approaches and draws on the work of previous writers in related fields.

Two bodies of relevant research that have used the above methods are reviewed here in some detail. Firstly, an overview is provided from the history of education, particularly of those writers who have looked at the lives of learners. The second survey moves out of history into the field of the education of gifted and talented children, where numerous longitudinal studies have followed-up, or traced in retrospect, cohorts of high achievers.

In the late twentieth century researchers in the field of educational history moved from traditional institutional approaches towards those striving to understand the people who participated in education as both teachers and students. In this field a number of different methods were attempted with varying degrees of success. Each adopted techniques that emerged from sociology, oral history, community history, biography, psychology, anthropology and ethnography.

In a 1992 review of educational historiography in the United States throughout the twentieth century, Barbara Finkelstein traced changes through three periods. Firstly, the traditional approaches, from 1900 to 1960, centred on institutions, policy-making, benevolence and professional advocacy. In the second period, the 1960s and 1970s, historians sought new ways to reveal the limitations of schools and the inequalities and injustices that existed. More recently, through various approaches including case studies, women’s history, biography and community history, writers moved towards retrieving history as it was lived, revealing contradictions and tensions, constraints and opportunities. Finkelstein described the changing perspective:

Focusing on the analysis of structure rather than process, prescription rather than practice, and ideology rather than consciousness, historians of education had
unknowingly concealed private processes from view (e.g. the formation and evolution of community, the acquisition of identity, the cultivation of intellect, sensibility, and aspirations).\textsuperscript{52}

In concluding her overview Finkelstein called for future historians to focus on the history of human relationships, including the history of learners:

> We have little systematically documented understanding of how economic, political, or ideological realities become transformed through human agency. Nor have we the means to understand the conditions under which school achievement, human dignity, and commitments to freedom and pluralism flourish, or to discover educational arrangements favouring the cultivation of human sensibility, intelligence, and diversity.\textsuperscript{53}

Finkelstein acknowledged that the integration of learners and learning into education history is a challenge, for ‘children themselves leave few written records’, but she encouraged other historians to undertake studies which analysed the lives of learners, the processes of schooling and the outcomes of education in a wide range of settings and time periods. To do this she said historians would need a range of methodological skills, including collective biography.\textsuperscript{54}

Finkelstein’s challenge to ‘analyse education as something experienced as well as planned’\textsuperscript{55} was transported to an Australian context by Christine Trimingham Jack in her review of the work of local educational historians.\textsuperscript{56} She found that feminist research and oral history led a move away from traditionalist approaches relying only on written records, towards a life history approach, focusing on the ‘lived experience’ of teachers and students. This has resulted in greater understanding of the impact of education in a complex climate of contradictions, restrictions and opportunities.

In her review, Trimingham Jack examined the works of Marjorie Theobald, Allison Prentice, Alison Mackinnon, Ailsa Zanu’ddin, Janet McCalman and Lesley Johnson. Each employed a variety of methods to explore the social contexts of schooling, students’ expectations and their subsequent lives. She considered that these writers, while they had been variously successful, had not yet discovered the most appropriate

\textsuperscript{52} Finkelstein, ‘Education historians as mythmakers’, p. 284.

\textsuperscript{53} Ibid., p. 286.

\textsuperscript{54} Ibid., p. 287.

\textsuperscript{55} Ibid., p. 288.

methodology. While Trimingham Jack advocated post-structuralist theory as offering a suitable framework, she admitted that there were ‘no ready answers to the style or styles of constructing such a history’.  

In an earlier survey, Kerry Wimhurst and Ian Davey, writing on the history of urban education in Australia, reflected the strong emphasis on biographical studies in educational research at the end of the twentieth century. They considered that the major recent change of direction had followed the lead of social historians, in that much more emphasis had been placed on the recipients of mass education. Educational historians had moved to incorporate much wider concerns, encompassing family, work, childhood, gender construction and reproduction.

The call to borrow and develop new understanding from other disciplines was expressed by a number of writers. In a survey of historical methods in educational research, Carl Kaestle noted the new emphasis on parents and children, the school experiences of various social groups and the impact of schooling on later life:

*Education is a process, and many important questions about educational careers, or the influence of education on people’s lives, can be answered only by data that trace individuals over time.*

Kaestle also recognised that historians of education had reached out to become involved in the history of the family and childhood, and had explored other disciplines for new ideas and techniques, resulting in ‘a diverse, eclectic methodology, because no new methodological or ideological consensus has emerged’.

Educational historian Noeline Kyle examined the interdisciplinary approach in an address that looked at presenting the self in history through biography, psychology and fiction. Speaking on the emerging biographical tradition in the history of Australian education, she said that whereas biography provided the historical,

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57 Ibid., p. 53.
58 Kerry Wimhurst and Ian Davey, 'The 'State' of the history of urban education in Australia', in *The city and education in four nations*, Ronald K. Goodenow and William E. Marsden, eds. (Cambridge: CUP, 1992), pp. 73-86.
60 Ibid.
narrative, humanist contextual framework and theoretical insights into lives, psychology provided ‘additional conceptual tools to understand our subjects and their relationships to their experiences and their historical time’. Kyle also raised the difficulty of dealing with notions of achievement or success, a construct ‘particularly problematic for women’, whose lives were fractured and impacted by the tensions and patterns of domestic and family matters.

Several Australian writers have set out to capture the experience of those engaged in the educational process. Three of Alison Mackinnon’s works integrated many of the techniques and methods referred to above. In 1984 she published *One foot on the ladder*, a case study, which used school records in a prosopographical manner to investigate the social backgrounds of students attending the Advanced School for Girls in Adelaide during the late nineteenth century. She then sought the outcomes for those students, particularly tracing any who entered university and teaching careers. *One foot on the ladder* revealed the tenuous beginnings of women’s higher education and careers in the face of strong social mores that resisted changes in status and independence.

In the following year Mackinnon published *The new women*. This book, based on a collection of letters, diaries, reminiscences and interviews, gained insight into the personal lives of a group of women who shared the experience of being the first graduates of the University of Adelaide. While this opened their lives to new opportunities, many made the choice of marriage, motherhood and commitment to others, rather than a career. The book began with an historical overview of the introduction of degrees for women, followed by a series of self-standing biographies. Three or four of these were linked by their common experience, described as the foremothers, the medicals, the teachers and those whose choice of marriage obviated further career aspirations. Extensive quotation of their own words gave the early graduates a powerful voice, leading to a new understanding of the choices they made and the cultural changes in which they were participants. Mackinnon, in a note on

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62 Ibid., p. 7.
63 Ibid., p. 4.
65 Mackinnon, *New women.*
method, explained that selection of subjects was largely determined by availability of material, but she believed that the diversity of the material resulted in a worthwhile outcome:

The agreement and disagreements of multiple voices, the difference of tone – from melodramatic to irreverent and tongue in cheek to deeply reflective – create a texture which reflects the complexity of human nature. Yet behind that diversity can be detected a sense of shared values and assumptions.66

In a third work, Love and freedom, published in 1996, Mackinnon explored the personal lives of the first generation of women who entered professional life.67 While expanding on The new women, Mackinnon employed a different presentation. The biographies did not stand alone, but quotations were interspersed according to the thematic content and historical interpretation within each chapter. Individuals could be identified only by consulting the index. This book was largely chronological, charting the years between the 1890s and the 1920s with insights from the 1990s in the final chapter. The themes in chapter headings reflected the influence of marriage, reproduction, family, male-female relationships and the conflict between the life of the mind and love. The writer quoted extensively from letters and diaries and used primary contemporary sources rather than retrospective memories. Mackinnon said that her approach had been sometimes as a feminist or cultural historian, and sometimes as a social scientist – that blurring the boundaries generated insights into the ways women gained greater freedom, more bargaining power and greater reproductive capacity.68

A fourth Australian work, Janet McCalman’s Journeyings: The biography of a middle-class generation 1920-1990, published in 1993, was a group biography of a whole generation of students who attended four private schools in Melbourne in 1934, following them from childhood to old age.69 McCalman used conventional archival research, oral history with eighty men and women and a detailed survey of 663 people, which was subject to statistical analysis. Some respondents used their own names while others were assigned pseudonyms.

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66 Ibid., p. 54.
67 Mackinnon, Love and freedom.
68 Ibid., p. xi.
69 McCalman, Journeyings.
The book followed a developmental life-span approach, each chapter referring to a stage in that life-span. Long quotations from interviews were inserted into the historical narrative, allowing the voices to speak of the experiences and meanings in their lives. For these students, the Depression and World War II coincided with their adolescence and coming of age, turbulent times that marked the rest of their lives. The importance or otherwise of religion and moral values was explored in some detail in this mixed Catholic-Protestant group, reflecting changes in the wider community throughout the twentieth century.

The work was an ambitious project that placed the mirror not only up to Melbourne but the whole of Australian middle-class society. By allowing the voices to be heard, McCalman was able to chronicle the personal and societal changes in attitudes, beliefs and relationships for a significant number of Australians. Her work was valuable to this study because of its parallel time-frame for many of the group under investigation and because it illuminated insights into their similar experiences. It also provided a method for the use of open questionnaires to gather information.

A number of other Australian works emanating from the field of the history of education have dealt with biographical subject matter. Some have been published as edited collections of biographies and autobiographies. Others have used biographical information to illustrate interpretive writing. Each approach has its own value, determined by the intention of the writer or editor, and each is equally valuable. It could be said that the raw information contained in a stand-alone discrete biography can sometimes give more insight into the lives of individuals than a topic-by-topic cross-sectional presentation. On the other hand, short examples of biographical

70 Patricia Grimshaw and Lynne Strahan, eds., The half-open door: Sixteen modern Australian women look at professional life and achievement (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1982); Madge Dawson and Heather Radi, eds., Against the odds: Fifteen professional women reflect on their lives and careers (Sydney: Hall & Iremonger, 1984); Richard J. W. Selleck and Martin Sullivan, eds., Not so eminent Victorians (Melbourne: MUP, 1984); Farley Kelly, Degrees of liberation: A short history of women in the University of Melbourne (Melbourne: Women graduates centenary committee of the University of Melbourne, 1985); Marilyn Lake and Farley Kelly, eds., Double time: Women in Victoria - 150 years (Ringwood, Vic: Penguin, 1985); Roberta Bonnin, ed. "Dazzling prospects": Women in the Queensland Teacher’s Union since 1945 (Brisbane: QTU, 1988).

material can illustrate a point in analysis very effectively. For the purposes of a research study, the latter approach is the more appropriate.

The above works are examples of the contemporary desire to record educational experience from the point of view of participants rather than simply to chronicle the history of institutions. They reflect the range of methods employed by historians in their efforts to understand this experience, how it affects the individual, and the impact of education on later life.

A second body of relevant literature is the research into academic achievement within the field of the education of gifted and talented children. Here there have also been cross-overs with historical and biographical writing. A number of longitudinal and retrospective case studies are reviewed, focusing on three American works and one Australian study.

The case study method has been widely used in this field in an effort to understand the complex intellectual, emotional and social needs of gifted children and to analyse the worth of various kinds of educational intervention. Some have concentrated on successful adults, reaching back from adulthood to discover features of childhood, family background and educational experience. Robert Albert justified his study of eminent individuals in the following way:

There still remain unanswered questions about achievement, exceptional and otherwise, which have long histories and lasting importance to the social sciences, and by implication to education, to how we live and wish to live, to how we raise children, and, at bottom, whether or not we can survive. … The purpose is to understand those who succeed extraordinarily well in their careers and those who don’t. … The loss of talented aspirants is great and the number of social and environmental reasons intervening in the selective processes are nearly beyond count and control.72

Other researchers have begun with selected children and studied them at intervals throughout their lives. The most well-known longitudinal studies have been those of psychologist Lewis Terman and his associates, who from the early 1920s evaluated 1528 highly able Californian eleven-year-olds and subsequently re-evaluated them six times thereafter. This work was reported in five volumes under the general title of

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Genetic studies of genius.\textsuperscript{73} The children were originally nominated by teachers, followed by an extensive psychometric and physical testing programme, as well as a survey of family background. Over the years of the studies there were marked differences in the development of boys and girls, particularly after college. Although Terman’s studies have been much scrutinised and criticised on a number of counts, including the selection process, the research demonstrated a clear relationship between early intellectual promise and life attainment. The later studies stressed the importance of personality, family background and motivation factors more than measured ability.

In 1994, Rena Subotnik and Karen Arnold edited Beyond Terman: Contemporary longitudinal studies of giftedness and talent, presenting fourteen studies. The editors claimed that ‘longitudinal research offers the opportunity for critical examination of the way gifted children and adolescents are identified and illuminates the characteristics and experiences that affect sustained achievement’.\textsuperscript{74} They maintained that drawing on a developmental life-span approach is ‘essential in disentangling effects of maturation, personal and sociocultural experience, and aging. Longitudinal studies can demonstrate individual change over time and document the consequences of earlier experiences’.\textsuperscript{75} One aspect of particular value is that ‘participants can reflect back on their own experiences from different vantage points and assist in the interpretation of their own data profiles’.\textsuperscript{76} A number of researchers have remarked that intellectually talented individuals are worthwhile interview subjects because they tend to have good memories, to be highly verbal, and to enjoy thinking deeply about their experiences.\textsuperscript{77}

Subotnik and Arnold distinguished between retrospective and longitudinal studies, although they used the latter term inclusively. Retrospective studies have either focused on eminent adult achievers and traced their life stories, usually seeking

\textsuperscript{73} Joel N Shurkin, Terman’s Kids: The groundbreaking study of how the gifted grow up (Boston: Little, Brown & Co, 1992). This work provides an overview of the Terman studies.
\textsuperscript{76} Subotnik and Arnold, Beyond Terman, p. 11.
information about family background and educational experiences; or they have
followed-up a group of students in a single class or year cohort after a period of time,
such as ten or twenty years. Longitudinal studies have traced a group of individuals in
current time at intervals during their development. These studies are planned ahead of
time.\textsuperscript{78}

In their review of fourteen studies, Subotnik and Arnold concluded that, while
personality, gender and family context were all important, gender emerged as the
single most salient variable, and that mentors played an important role in the lives of
successful people.\textsuperscript{79} They acknowledged that operationalising ‘success’ posed a
challenge to their work.\textsuperscript{80} In a later article with Kathleen Noble, the same authors
found that ‘eminence’ models of success were tied into meritocratic systems of
rewards and ignored many individual achievers and fields of achievement, but that
equally, any attempt to develop a ‘relative context’ model for measuring success had
been unwieldy and flawed.\textsuperscript{81}

In a quest to understand why there were so few eminent women, Linda Silverman
examined historical attitudes resisting women’s education and barriers to
achievement. She also considered that for many gifted individuals the drive to gain
special recognition was not as important as the emotional and relational areas of life.\textsuperscript{82}

Neither Subotnik and her colleagues nor Silverman came up with a satisfactory model
which was inclusive, not only of recognised achievement but of self-actualisation and
fulfilment. This is an issue common to all those conducting longitudinal case studies
with talented people, as well as those educational historians and biographers dealing
with life experiences.

Two examples of retrospective or longitudinal studies from the United States are
relevant because they dealt with school students who were academic achievers. Felice
Kaufmann performed a retrospective follow-up study of Presidential Scholars of 1964

\textsuperscript{78} Subotnik and Arnold, \textit{Beyond Terman}, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{79} Ibid., p. 441.
\textsuperscript{80} Albert, ‘The achievement of eminence’, p. 445.
\textsuperscript{81} Rena F. Subotnik, Karen D. Arnold and Kathleen D. Noble, ‘Gifted is as gifted does but what does
\textsuperscript{82} Linda Kreger Silverman, ‘Why are there so few eminent women?’ Ibid., pp. 5-13.
to 1968. These secondary students were considered to be top-ranking in academic achievement. After painstakingly tracing almost all the scholars, Kaufmann sent them a detailed open-ended questionnaire. She found that while the career development of the Presidential Scholars reflected the turbulence of American society during the late 1960s and early 1970s, the educational and professional attainment of the group was extremely high. Marriage and childbirth rates for the gifted women in the group were low compared to that of the general population; they had achieved more than the women in the Terman study a generation beforehand, but were still poorly paid compared to gifted men. A follow-up study in 1986 focused on mentoring. Kaufman found that women who had mentors earned salaries equal to those of men.83

As her study was primarily concerned to determine whether the Scholars continued to exhibit outstanding performance, Kaufmann was interested to observe how this group of people, when in midlife, regarded achievement and success:

Another theme was the subjects’ continued search for understanding and meaning in their extraordinary abilities. Many expected that their success in high school would necessarily foretell continued, almost effortless achievement and were disappointed when their assumption and reality did not match.84

A trend exists among gifted young adults to devalue the legitimacy of awards for intellectual and educational attainment and to emphasize self-actualisation instead.85

A final explanation of the movement away from external rewards could be a negative reaction to the excess of recognition given the subjects in their youth.86

These themes were picked up in Barbara Kerr’s *Smart girls two: A new psychology for girls, women and giftedness*, another example of a retrospective study. She traced participants in an accelerated learning program of the late 1960s after ten and then twenty years.87 Kerr strove to understand the reasons for the different career developments of girls, recording that ‘many gifted women continue to struggle with waning belief in their abilities, with the need to submerge intellectual goals in the

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84 Kaufmann, 'Presidential Scholars', p. 10.
86 Ibid., p. 168.
“culture of romance”, and most alarmingly, with a lack of a sense of purpose’.88 Kerr, in asking ‘is self-actualisation optional?’ concluded that women bear the responsibility for actualising their talents. In response to the feedback from the women she studied, she revised her earlier concept of ‘success’ or achievement by reactivating the notion of vocation:

Achievement means being all that one can be, according to her deeply-held values. Achievement then is not tied to grades or salary, but to a woman’s fulfilment of her own dreams; not to a particular environment, because women can operate at peak capacity in many settings; not to academic honors, titles and offices, since these by-products or signs of achievement are not the equivalent of achievement.

A career is a vocation. A mission in life. A belief in the fulfilment of and the urge to exercise one’s energies and talents … a career is the passionate, energetic pursuit of a goal that persistently calls to you.89

In Kerr’s first survey, ten years after leaving school, all the men were in professional or semi-professional occupations, whereas this was so for only a few women.90 While the second follow-up revealed that more women had entered fulfilling occupations, there remained a group of the ‘overwhelmed’, who seemed trapped by their limited education and early choices. Kerr concluded that the impact of giftedness on these women’s lives was complex and ambiguous.91

An Australian landmark study, while differing from the three retrospective studies reviewed above, also has resonance for the current work. Miraca Gross undertook a comprehensive psychosocial case study of fifteen exceptionally gifted children in 1988 and 1989. The work, published as Exceptionally gifted children, was part of a continuing longitudinal study, tracing the educational, social and emotional histories of the children.92 It was the first such work in Australia, providing an in-depth survey of early development, family characteristics and family history, academic achievement, recreational interests, school history and psychosocial development. Pseudonyms were used throughout. In an attempt to explain the Australian setting to international audiences, Gross acknowledged Australian attitudes towards ‘elitism’ and the influence of egalitarianism:

88 Ibid., p. xiii.
89 Ibid., p. xi.
90 Ibid., p. 18.
91 Ibid., p. 44.
This resentment of inherited wealth and inherited power has carried over into a very real hostility toward high intellectual ability, which is covertly viewed by many Australians as an inherited, and therefore unmerited, passport to wealth and status through success in school and access to higher-level employment.\textsuperscript{93}

‘Elitism’, in Australia, is a strongly pejorative term, especially when used in connection with the fostering of intellectual talent. Recently, however, the terms ‘elite’ and ‘elitist’ take on radically different connotations when used in reference to the fostering of sporting talent.\textsuperscript{94}

Gross maintained that ‘the social and political attitudes which have influenced the education of gifted and talented children in the 1980s had a direct and deleterious effect on the educational provisions offered to the majority of the children’ in her study.\textsuperscript{95} Although the period under review for this thesis pre-dates Gross’s work, those same negative attitudes have prevailed in Queensland throughout its history and have had an impact on the lives of children in this state.

The preceding review of research in the field of education for gifted and talented children provided insights into the experience of academic achievers. Echoes from the work of educational historians were found in the recognition of the importance to individuals of historical context, family background and the nature of their educational experiences. A number of these writers were also searching for an understanding of the notions of success and life fulfilment.

Throughout both fields of educational history and studies of academic achievers the question of gender emerged as a key factor in the eventual outcomes of students. Various works cited referred to different outcomes for men and women. While most contemporary research has taken place in the broader field of women’s studies, there are increasing numbers of studies in masculinity. Consequently this thesis, which has a major focus on tracing the different experiences of males and females through a life-span approach, has been informed by writers in the broad field of gender studies.

In her publication, \textit{Knowing women: Origins of women’s education in nineteenth century Australia}, Marjorie Theobald drew on the work of a number of feminist writers who influenced contemporary historical research. She isolated three
conceptual advances emerging from their work: the contention that gender is a central category of historical analysis; that the male-female split of public and private spheres is illusory; and that gender is historically contingent and intimately connected to the dynamic of power between men and women.\textsuperscript{96} This changing dynamic was reflected in the shifting of social boundaries that occurred as a result of higher education for women and the acceptance of paid work outside the home. At the same time as these changes were occurring, there was remarkable durability of gender-based activities and resistance to change.\textsuperscript{97} As the period covered by this thesis extended across a century of change, these dynamics of shifting boundaries form a backdrop to the stories of individuals, how they made their choices, and how social and cultural processes impinged on them.

The changing concepts of power, particularly in relation to class, race and gender, were the focus of a number of writers who contributed to \textit{Gender relations in Australia: Domination and negotiation}.\textsuperscript{98} To make men as visible as women as gendered beings, other works by Clive Moore,\textsuperscript{99} Martin Crotty,\textsuperscript{100} Stephen Garton,\textsuperscript{101} Paul Deslandes \textsuperscript{102} and Daryl Adair with others\textsuperscript{103} have provided fresh insights into socially constructed aspects of masculinity and how they affected individuals, relationships and society. Of particular relevance to this thesis are their accounts of the changing dominant moral ideals that permeated education and sport and the impact of military experience.


\textsuperscript{97} Jill Ker Conway, Susan C. Bourque and Joan Scott, eds., \textit{Learning about women: Gender, politics and power} (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1987), pp. xxiii-xxviii.


\textsuperscript{100} Martin Crotty, \textit{Making the Australian male: Middle-class masculinity 1870-1920} (Melbourne: MUP, 2001).


This study of Queensland Scholarship winners, while informed by the foregoing works, differs from them all. It is a retrospective case study that does not set out to analyse those known to have achieved eminence, although a number of them did so; nor is it a study of a single cohort from one year followed at intervals. Instead, it reviews the life-spans of two identified individuals from each of ninety years. Every individual is treated from a biographical or life history viewpoint, traced from documentary sources but also, in the case of those still living who could be contacted, using open questionnaire methods. Employing techniques common to prosopography, information is compiled on the lives of all 186 individuals concerning place of birth, family background, the educational level they achieved and the career they followed. Common themes pertaining to a group of young academic achievers which emerge from the accumulated data are subjected to analysis. Research charts the different expectations and experiences of the females and males, and examines the complexity of determining whether early success was reflected in later life.

The data is appended in a biographical register, but quotations and individual examples illustrate the analytical text. As research indicated the significant influence of Scholarship teachers on individuals and in the education system, an additional less-detailed register of teachers complements that of the students.

Through such a diverse range of methodologies, the lived experience of specific Queenslanders is uncovered for the first time. As learners they were subject to a process of education that sifted those with ability through a series of examinations. Collectively, their lives reveal a diverse response to the experience, but clearly indicate that the slow changes that took place over the course of a century enabled increasingly more of them to participate in higher levels of education and professional life.

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104 From 1873 to 1875, when girls were not nominated, only one student was included in the study each year. In some years, more than two students were represented. In 1929 two examinations were conducted, in one of which the position of first female place was shared by two students. In 1947, 1955, 1958, 1961 and 1962, when a student from a Catholic school was ranked first, the Lilley medallist attending a state school was also included.
Chapter 2
Grudging rewards: Attitudes to achievement in the Scholarship examination

Acknowledgement of those who have achieved has had a mixed history in Queensland. On the one hand it has been marked by policies that provided opportunity and rewarded success, on the other hand by practices that reflected resistance and meanness. While equality of opportunity was the official rhetoric, other social, economic and political forces were responsible for denying opportunity to many who were otherwise capable of participating in higher education or employment.

This chapter provides an overview of the conflicting attitudes held towards the Scholarship and those who were successful in it. It does not take a stance either in support of or against the examination, but provides evidence of the contradictions inherent in the viewpoints of politicians, officials and teacher organisations both at the time of its introduction and during the course of its existence.

The young colony was in need of those who could contribute practical skills and knowledge to establish professions and industries. While education was high on the agenda of the first government after separation from New South Wales, economic matters soon became the major concern. The education of young children presented many difficulties: great distances, no facilities and very few trained teachers. Parents resisted schooling when children were needed at home to work the farms, or to seek income elsewhere. The rapid spread of primary schools did not necessarily mean that attendances were regular or that the standards were of a high quality. An attitude of political expediency and limited ambition became widely entrenched.¹

There were Queenslanders who recognised the need to provide secondary and university education. Moves came mainly from professionals who were seeking opportunities for their own children as well as seeing the need for local expertise. The small middle-class sought chances for their children to improve their status. In addition, some of those who had moved to the colony to make a new future desired more for their children than clearing land and coping with the climate, which was regarded as the enemy along with plant diseases and Aborigines.\(^2\)

This need for more educational opportunity was met by the Grammar Schools Act of 1860, which made provision for the establishment of nondenominational, fee-paying secondary schools in local centres. Over the next thirty-two years, ten such grammar schools were established for boys and girls in Ipswich, Brisbane, Toowoomba, Rockhampton, Townsville and Maryborough.\(^3\) All of them struggled to exist in the early years and Maryborough did not survive. They were the province of those who could afford to pay fees, which effectively excluded the children of many workers. Sir Charles Lilley, who as Premier introduced free primary education in 1870, advocated an articulated free primary, secondary and university education. He did not achieve this aim, but was a strong supporter of the grammar schools, serving as Trustee of Brisbane Boys’ Grammar from 1868 until 1887.\(^4\)

While the grammar schools received much support from those who appreciated the opportunities they provided in the professions, commerce and the public service, opposition came from some politicians and administrators who were critical of ‘over-education’. Another perception was that the schools fostered social elitism, which was disliked by large sections of the public.\(^5\)


\(^3\) Goodman, *Secondary education in Queensland*, p. 34. Ipswich Grammar School (1863), Brisbane Grammar School (1869), Toowoomba Grammar School (1875), Brisbane Girls’ Grammar School (1875), Maryborough Grammar School (1881), Rockhampton Grammar School (1881), Maryborough Girls’ Grammar School (1883), Townsville Grammar School (1888) and both Ipswich and Rockhampton Girls’ Grammar Schools (1892).

\(^4\) Denis Murphy and Roger Joyce, eds., *Queensland political portraits 1859-1952* (St Lucia: UQP, 1978), p. 82.

To make it possible for more able students to attend, provision was made for scholarships in the 1860 Act. Some were provided in an ad hoc way until an examination was formally established in 1873. Two examinations were held that year; one within Brisbane and Ipswich primary schools in July; and another in December for schools across the colony. Twenty-three candidates sat for the latter examination, nineteen of whom were awarded a scholarship to a grammar school for two years to undertake secondary education. Candidates were required to be no more than fourteen years of age, eighteen months resident in the colony and in regular attendance at a primary school.6 Girls were not nominated for another three years.

For the next ninety years the examination was regarded as the measure of success and failure; it opened doors to many and slammed them on others. It was regarded in some circles as a hallmark of achievement and accorded reverence and respect. It was also seen as a shameful divisive practice and a scourge for teachers whose professional life was ruled by its requirements. Its opponents considered that the examination was the cause of unhealthy competition, cramming and cruel coaching, subjecting pupils to meaningless rote learning of facts, limited freedom of choice and a general lack of creativity and critical thinking.

At first, scholarships could be taken up only at grammar schools. In time the eight non-metropolitan schools complained bitterly about the ‘cream’ going only to Brisbane Boys’ and Girls’ Grammar Schools. Attempts were made to curb this practice by introducing district scholarships in 1906, but parents, no doubt seeing the benefits of an education at the Brisbane schools, continued to send their children there. After 1899, scholarships could be taken at any approved school, which meant that Catholic and Protestant church schools, as well as some private secondary colleges, could attract students. From 1912 the few new state high schools provided for their local students.7 The grammar schools that had benefited from the early

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7 See Chronology, Appendix A.
scholarship holders no longer had a strangle-hold on academic achievement, although they were still regarded as the province of the social and academic elite. However, the grammar schools continued to rely on scholarship holders, especially in less affluent times. In 1934, eighty per cent of students at Brisbane Grammar School held scholarships.

The histories of both the grammar schools and the Scholarship examination have been well documented. However, nowhere in these accounts is there a detailed analysis of what the Scholarship meant to those who achieved, nor of their experience both before and after the examination. Some small biographies of individual achievers have been published, but little attempt has been made to see whether success in the Scholarship was a predictor of later success for the individuals concerned, or what other factors affected the life decisions they made. Neither has there been an analysis of the impact on the Queensland community of the experience of those who had the opportunity to pursue an education through primary, secondary and tertiary levels.

Anti-intellectual and anti-elitist attitudes are firmly entrenched in Australia. In Queensland they have been both reinforced and reflected by government neglect of education over a very long period. It is these attitudes towards academic success, higher education and quality of education which form the context of this study. In this chapter a range of views has been identified for closer scrutiny: benevolence and reward; resistance and parsimony; opposition and division; equality and difference; and success and opportunity.

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9 BC, 24 August 1934, BGIS cuttings collection.
The initial motivation for establishing scholarships to the new grammar schools was to provide a ‘gift of the benevolent state to a few’.\textsuperscript{12} It was an acknowledgement of the need to provide opportunities for those of recognised ability to gain further education, particularly those whose parents were unable to afford fees. While there was opposition from some members of parliament and a belief by some that the awards were for the benefit of the grammar schools more than the students, enough support for the scheme prevailed to maintain it, with various minor changes, as a competitive examination for a limited number of places until 1912.\textsuperscript{13}

From that time, with the exception of six years in the 1930s, this benevolence was extended to more candidates when it became a qualifying examination. All those who passed were eligible to proceed to secondary schools. Rules varied from time to time as to whether an overall pass in all subjects was a requisite, whether a pass in English was compulsory, or whether students in small country schools needed to sit for all subjects. The examinable subjects also varied.\textsuperscript{14} The numbers of scholarship holders increased each year, particularly after World War II. In 1957, from a pool of 17 703 candidates, 12 375 or 70 per cent passed. For the final examination in 1962, there were 27 983 candidates, 87.5 per cent of whom passed. By then, the idea of reward to the ‘few’ high academic achievers had definitely broadened, with acceptance of secondary education for all children a widely-held view.\textsuperscript{15}

A lasting remnant of acknowledgement of the ‘few’ was an annual award of the Lilley Memorial medal to the ‘top’ boy and girl student from state schools and a number of other awards and bursaries. The Lilley Memorial medal was established by a trust following the death of Sir Charles in 1897.\textsuperscript{16} It was first awarded to the Queensland student who achieved the highest marks in the Sydney Junior examination, but from

\textsuperscript{13} Mackenzie-Smith and Watson, "Labor omnia vincit", p. 111.
\textsuperscript{14} See Appendix A.
1904 it went to the boy or girl with the highest aggregate marks in the State Scholarship examination. In 1922, the Trustees, Reginald Roe and Peter McGregor, requested that the Public Trustee administer the awards, granting two medals annually, to the boy and girl from state schools who were ranked first. The publication of results accompanied by photographs of Lilley medal winners and a list of the first ten place-getters was an annual January event. To win the medal was an ambition held by bright students throughout Queensland. Winners were accorded public acclaim, respect for achievement and expectation of future success. The public also conferred considerable prestige on schools attended by the winners. Teachers, despite adamant disapproval of their Union, regarded the schools and teachers of the medallists as being worthy of respect.

Other awards were also prestigious. From 1936 onwards, a T.J. Ryan Medal was awarded in alternate years to the first boy or girl placegetter and after 1959 to the student with the highest pass in mathematics. This medal was named after Thomas Joseph Ryan, Labor Premier, Chief Secretary and Attorney-General from 1915 to 1919. Both the Lilley medal and the T.J. Ryan medal were awarded to students from state schools only. After 1937 the Frank McDonnell Memorial prizes were awarded to the first boy and girl attending Catholic schools. This prize was in recognition of Frank McDonnell who had moved the legislation ensuring that Scholarship holders could attend Catholic and other approved schools from 1899.

During World War II a Jack French Memorial Prize was established to honour Corporal John French, who won the Victoria Cross posthumously at Milne Bay in 1942. This prize was given for the highest English pass. The E.M. Hanlon Bursary was awarded from 1954 to the first boy or girl, irrespective of school, in memory of Edward Michael (‘Ned’) Hanlon, Premier of Queensland from 1946 to 1952. A Halse medal was awarded to successful students attending Anglican schools from

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17 Letter from Roe and McGregor to the Public Curator, 6 December 1922, in Scholarships and Bursaries file, Education Queensland History Collection.
18 Except in the years 1915-29, when the examination was held in April, the results were announced in June.
20 Ibid., 4 December 1937, p. 15.
21 Ibid., 12 January 1944, p. 3.
22 Ibid., 14 January 1955, p. 3.
1957. This medal was named in honour of Reginald Halse, Archbishop of Brisbane from 1943 to 1962. Numerous organisations presented prizes and bursaries, notably to children of ex-servicemen and railway workers, to Courier-Mail or Telegraph newsboys, and to those who had achieved in local districts. As will be discussed later, these awards were not regarded favourably by the Queensland Teachers Union and others who saw such awards as elitist.

Any benevolence or reward extended to Scholarship winners was not indicative of the generally negative attitude of politicians and the general public towards higher education. Resistance and parsimony were evident in the actual amounts paid to Scholarship holders and in the restrictions placed upon teachers and students in a highly regulated organisation.

The monetary value of awards offered to Scholarship holders was scarcely generous. No doubt they provided the means by which children could progress to higher education, but very few children from low income families took up that opportunity. Two years after the inception of the scheme, in 1875, the fifty pounds first awarded was removed, restricting the scholarship to tuition fees alone. This made it very difficult for poor-income and distant families to take advantage of the opportunity offered at the grammar schools. Allowances, which were restricted according to a family’s income after 1908, reduced in value over time. By 1937, holders received five pounds if living at home and twenty-five pounds if living elsewhere, subject to a means test, plus tuition costs. By the end of the Scholarship scheme, the small grants and transport allowances were no longer worth enough to be an incentive. Although payment of tuition fees had been regarded by many as a form of indirect subsidy to grammar schools and denominational schools, their worth to those schools diminished over time.

Paternalistic provision was infused with restrictions, regulations and tight-fistedness, largely generated by government expediency and difficult economic times. It was also beset by a severely centralised administration wherein some administrators had little

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26 See Appendix A.
belief in secondary education. David Ewart, Director of Education from 1906 to 1909, expressed his opposition to ‘over-education’ and regarded secondary schooling as being for the ‘pick of the pick’ who demonstrated they had ability. 27 The inspectorial system, poor teacher training, inadequate facilities and crowded accommodation all contributed to rigid teaching methodology and poor standards. Many teachers who had emerged through the pupil teacher program were not much older and scarcely more educated than the children they taught. The majority of schools in the state were one-teacher schools where teachers taught up to eight grades in large classes. 28 This system was later referred to as ‘white slavery’. 29

Under these conditions it is not surprising that teachers in many schools did not nominate any students for the examination. In 1876, when 1500 children were in the appropriate class (Class IV), only 89 students sat and 26 were awarded scholarships. By 1884 there were 125 candidates from a pool of 2680, with 52 successful. 30 If nominations were only of the most able students, the range of results and the numbers actually passing the examination indicated that standards in some schools were not high. 31 After 1913, when it was a qualifying examination, only half the candidates achieved the fifty per cent aggregate of marks required to pass. This was a mere eight per cent of the age group. 32

While in many schools there were few candidates, in others much focus was placed on the Scholarship. Teachers were urged to direct their instruction towards success. They frequently felt they were under pressure from inspectors, head teachers and parents who judged them according to the number of students who qualified.

It was this pressure that was the flashpoint for the vehement opposition expressed by the Queensland Teachers Union. For more than thirty years the Union called for abolition of the Scholarship. Initially their chief objection was to a perceived

27 Annual report of the Secretary for Public Instruction for 1897, VPLAQ 1 (1898), p. 957.
29 Spaull and Sullivan, History of the QTU, p. 77. This reference quotes Anthony St Ledger, BC, n.d. 1902.
30 Hall, Factors shaping policy, (thesis), p. 211.
31 QSA: Results of State Scholarship examinations 1876-1889, SRS4022-1-1.
expectation that teachers would work overtime in order to cram or coach their students. Once the Department introduced regulations to stop this practice, the Union published regular articles and editorials in the *Queensland Teachers Journal*, turning their vitriol towards their own members who continued to flout the rules and hold special classes before and after school or on Saturday mornings. A report in the *Journal* of September 1935 included the following description:

This obnoxious method of ‘cramming’ has been forced upon teachers by the requirements and the high standard of the scholarship examination … the soul-destroying spirit of competition which has developed to such an alarming extent has been brought about by the Inspectors and the Department placing a very high value on results obtained in the Scholarship Examination.33

Conditions had not changed much five years later, when an editorial in February 1940 stated:

With regret we record the hearing of tales of promotion-at-any-price teachers who ‘sweat’ their pupils in the hope of obtaining Scholarship results excelling those of their fellows.34

‘Vigilate’, or Andrew Thomson, a former pupil teacher who became Professor of English at the University of Queensland, conducted a scathing campaign against the Scholarship as associate editor of the *Journal*:35

The working of children ‘overtime’ … a practice regarded as pernicious… steps must be taken to end a practice which we know has been flagrantly employed … For those who airily and contemptuously flick their fingers in disdain of what they must and must not do and go on doing it, well, – some way must be found to set them to rights, and that way relentlessly pursued without fear or favour.36

At times concern was expressed for the welfare of children who were subjected to such conditions, with doctors stating that health was at risk from this ‘objectionable’ examination. In 1936, under the title ‘Doctors, Scholarships and Homework’, Dr Truby King, the mothercraft and child-care advocate from New Zealand, was quoted as follows:

It is a sad fact that many cases of insanity in young men and women are traced to overstudy at school and college.37

A Brisbane doctor also proffered his opinion:

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34 *QTJ* 45, 1 (1940), p. 1.
36 *QTJ* 55, 3 (1950), p. 4.
37 *QTJ* 41, 9 (1935-6), p. 4.
Admittedly a certain amount of homework is essential, but (especially in the case of girls) surely it need not run longer than an hour for younger children and two hours for older ones! At present the educational system is hypnotised by the false importance of examinations.38

The main opprobrium was directed at fellow teachers and the examination itself. ‘Vigilate’ added to his relentless campaign. In 1935 he declared:

Special condemnation would be made of the iniquitous and antiquated scholarship system. Immature minds are driven to read, learn and inwardly digest facts that are in many cases mere mental lumber … we cannot but condemn the slave-driving methods of some successful(?) scholarship teachers who lengthen the daily school periods of their teams, overload them with homework which robs them of their natural sleep, curtail their periods of freedom and natural play, and even to resort to methods, now happily almost disappeared, of wielding a brutal stick to get the work done to the standard set by them.39

Sixteen years later, he was still appealing for an end to the system:

…ridding education of an harassing practice, and of liberating to some degree both child and teacher from the enshackling, destructive, and highly injurious effects of an overburden of examinations.40

Antagonism was also aimed at the publication of examination results, for this practice was seen to perpetuate the glory of winning. Frequent concern was expressed about the effect of failure on those whose names did not appear in the newspaper, who no longer had any opportunity for education and who would be branded as failures for life. At the same time there was little or no willingness to recognise the achievements of individuals, nor to acknowledge success. During Union conference debates an occasional voice was heard to say that ‘we should give credit where credit is due’,41 but motions calling for an end to the Lilley medal and the publication of the ‘top ten’ were passed year after year:

The abolition of prize-giving on the results of the Scholarship and the discontinuance of the practice of giving the percentages obtained in each subject would be definite steps towards ‘deglamorising’ that examination.42

The Press plays it up, naturally: it publishes results, headed by that special list of ten which brings so much joy, and possible advantage (Fie!) to those of us associated with it. And of course it interviews those child prodigies who top the list, and who graciously throw a crumb from the table of fame to their erstwhile
mentor ‘who has been teaching the Scholarship class in the Query State School for the past umpteen years’. 43

Consideration of what failure to secure a Scholarship means to a Queensland child. … Queensland children who leave school – as at least 75 per cent of them do – without the Scholarship qualification are forced into a false and harmful position of inferiority among their fellows. 44

What is the end in view? Ten per cent the welfare of the child, the other ninety honour and glory for the teacher, a pat on the back from the public, and an ascendancy over his fellow-teachers, any of whom would be capable of achieving similar results. 45

During the 1940s this opposition continued unabated, but the nature of the argument changed. The experience of living through World War II raised community hopes of a brighter future and engendered an appreciation of gaining more scientific knowledge. There were calls for secondary education to be a right more than a privilege. The Queensland Teachers’ Union argued that the abolition of the hated Scholarship was the first step in that direction.

In their history of the Union, Martin Sullivan and Andrew Spaull pointed out that the members had little understanding of the issues involved in secondary education. The majority were primary teachers and calls for change were more to remove an impediment than to improve the opportunities for students. 46 In the postwar period there developed a growing awareness of the implications of their demand for the abolition of the qualifying examination and raising the school leaving age to fifteen. Not only were there very few schools to accommodate any increase of numbers in secondary schools, there were also very few teachers. As well, the nature of secondary schooling needed to change, for it currently continued in the pattern of the Scholarship, preparing academically inclined students for the Junior Public and Senior Public examinations.

No government had been prepared to meet these expensive challenges. The Labor government, in power for twenty-five years from 1932, showed scant interest in

45 QTJ 42, 8 (1936-37), p. 21.
education and the public demanded little change prior to the war. The Scholarship remained one way of limiting the numbers entering secondary schools. It was even suggested that in some years examiners had deliberately set difficult papers to achieve this end.

Yet change was afoot. The postwar desire for a better future resulted in more parents being willing to encourage their children to stay on at school, and a number of children who had failed the Scholarship continued their education, despite having to pay a fee. A voluntary revolution was occurring. This demand, coupled with a rising birth rate, led the new Country Party government to respond. Jack Pizzey, a former teacher who became Minister for Education in 1958, instigated a program of building new state high schools. In 1961 an inquiry he had set up recommended radical changes, particularly the abolition of the Scholarship, the institution of a five year secondary course, and a modified choice of subjects and courses to suit the range of abilities of students. Queensland ‘had compressed into the years 1962 to 1964 an educational evolution which in New South Wales had occupied the twenty years from 1941 to 1962’. The system was ill-prepared for this rapid change, particularly as teacher training was insufficient and fast-track programs could not meet the needs. In 1964, only twenty per cent of secondary teachers had tertiary qualifications, and some had been recruited after only six months training.

The opposition of the Queensland Teachers’ Union was the principal evidence produced by Daphne Meadmore in her analysis of the Scholarship examination in the postwar years, 1945-64. She took a Foucauldian approach to document it as an instrument of power/knowledge:

The history of the examination was traced from its emergence as a limited technique of government to allow for a minority of its children to have free secondary education, to a disciplinary technology applied to the entire school population which at different times punished and rewarded in a flexible operation.

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47 Goodman, Secondary education in Queensland, pp. 229-34.
Effectively, as a dividing practice, it kept secondary education as the province of those who meritoriously gained a place or those who could afford to pay for one.\(^{52}\)

Meadmore also claimed that the Scholarship ‘demonstrates how a limited practice of government became a fully-blown political technology to manage an entire school population and individuals within it. It also controlled pedagogy and curricula’.\(^{53}\)

At times it was used to expand the system and so facilitate equality of educational opportunity as a political objective, whilst at other times, it seriously impeded this goal.\(^{54}\)

Focusing on the effects on individuals, Meadmore claimed that the Scholarship, ‘as a normalization technique, effectively differentiated and judged. As a dividing practice, it produced individuality which could be calculated as scholastic identity’. An individual’s personal worth was ‘inextricably linked’ with their success in the Scholarship listings.\(^{55}\)

The effect of Scholarship failure on the child and his/her family could well be devastating.\(^{56}\)

The Scholarship was a determinant of life chances since it was the point of exit from education for the majority of Queenslanders until the ‘fifties, giving a social and economic headstart to those who passed the examination and also continued on to secondary and tertiary education.\(^{57}\)

The abolition of the Scholarship in 1962 was greeted by the Teachers’ Union in an editorial written by the tireless opponent, Professor Andrew Thomson, as ‘the successful culmination of a campaign waged by our Union over many years. We hail its passing with delight’.\(^{58}\) The Union’s long-held antipathy towards the examination was deftly summed up a year later in a satirical article, ‘The Old Separator’, under the by-line ‘O.R. Leandog’:

Once upon a time, long long, ago in a place called Lilleyia, a small but remarkable separator was installed. Not only was it able to sort out the good from the bad with ruthless efficiency, but it also acquired the uncanny ability to live on itself. The citizens of Lilleyia, young and old watched its growth with a reverence usually reserved for a deity. It was worshipped to such an ever-increasing extent

\(^{52}\) Meadmore, For reasons of governmentality, (thesis), pp. 140-1.
\(^{54}\) Ibid.(thesis), p. 128.
\(^{55}\) Ibid.(thesis), pp. 98, 123.
\(^{58}\) QTJ 68, 5 (1963), p. 130.
that it was eventually credited with infallibility as a separator of the useless from the useful.\(^5^9\)

The capacity of the Scholarship to separate, to compare and to exclude had an impact not only on those who were destined to be failures but also on those who achieved. Equality of opportunity was distorted by matters of family background, location, gender, religion and community attitudes towards education. An individual’s expectations and life experiences were not necessarily commensurate with their demonstrated ability.

In an address to the Queensland chapter of the Australian College of Education in 1974, Archibald Guymer, Director-General of Education, presented an analysis of education in Queensland in the century since the establishment of free, compulsory and secular primary schooling. Called ‘Towards equality in education’, the address provided three interpretations of the term equality, as applied to Queensland in a chronological, evolutionary way. The first was equality of provision, where the same conditions applied for all and excellence would be rewarded. The second arose from the recognition that to achieve equality of outcomes, compensating experiences would have to be given to children from deprived backgrounds. The third approach was a recognition that education should focus on helping individuals realise their potential. The second and third approaches will not be discussed here as they were prominent after the period of the Scholarship.\(^6^0\)

It was the first ideal, equality of provision, which motivated those that made provision for primary education. Guymer claimed that the price paid for this equality was ‘a highly centralised system, a less-than-professional teaching service, and a less-than-democratic conviction among the public that the Department, rather then the public itself, was responsible for education of children and teachers from the cradle to the grave’. The consequences, rather than a ‘levelling up society’, were that education was a force for ‘levelling down’:

If we honestly look back over the inflexible examination system, and the pattern of state uniformity, we find that the skills valued in the child were memory, recall

\(^5^9\) QTJ 68, 10 (1963), p. 289.

\(^6^0\) Archibald E. Guymer, 'Towards equality in education', Unicorn 1, 1 (1975), pp. 28-41.
and neatness … excellence and creativity were not valued highly, either in teachers or pupils.\textsuperscript{61}

Guymer concluded that the state schools failed to provide equality of education, and that equality of provision actually legitimised inequality of outcomes. It was the grammar schools which provided a ‘self-perpetuating elite’,\textsuperscript{62} the cradle of the professions and leaders of the community. Apart from a few state scholars, it was only those who could afford fees who had opportunities. Later the non-government secondary schools and eventually the state high schools were able to emulate this provision.

When Guymer pointed to the inequality of outcomes, he might also have identified those children for whom equality was not readily achievable because of differences in the income and social class of their parents, their gender, race, geographical location or religious denomination. Many children did not even make it to the starting blocks in the competition.

Founders of the Scholarship proclaimed that it would permit children of the poor to have higher education, but their vision was rarely achieved. In a study of the early years of the examination, Eric Hall said:

The government turned its back upon bright children in lower social classes and upon children of middle class parents of moderate income particularly in remote country schools.\textsuperscript{63}

During the 1888 Civil Service Commission, James Kerr, head teacher of the Brisbane Normal School, expressed his concern:

Scholarships have not met the need they were intended to supply … that is, to help those who cannot afford to educate their children. They help those who can do so.\textsuperscript{64}

As Frederick Erickson has pointed out in a review of the grammar school movement:

Even the winning of a scholarship did not guarantee a secondary education for the candidate. Over the period 1893 to 1897, of 496 scholarships offered, 68 were not taken up. … Financial difficulties were responsible in a number of cases.\textsuperscript{65}

\textsuperscript{61} Ibid., p. 34.
\textsuperscript{62} Ibid., p. 38.
\textsuperscript{63} Hall, Factors shaping policy, (thesis), p. 101.
\textsuperscript{65} Erickson, Queensland grammar school movement, (thesis), p. 376.
For the entire duration of the examination, it was highly unusual for children of unskilled workers to proceed through to university. A study by Professor Fred Schonell, Ernest Roe and Ivor Meddleton in 1962 found that only 3.5 per cent of students entering full-time university studies in 1955 were children of the 35.3 per cent of working males in semi-skilled or unskilled jobs; whereas 42 per cent of students had fathers in professional, semi-professional or administrative occupations, a group representing just 8 per cent of Queensland working males.66 This was despite the fact that Commonwealth Scholarships were available from 1951, providing free tuition and living allowances. Schonell pointed out:

It is not lack of scholastic aptitude alone which keeps many children of lower status families out of University. … Most influential of all are the attitudes of parents towards further education. If their level of aspiration for themselves and their children is low, if they place little or no value upon education beyond the statutory school leaving age and want their children to go to work and earn money as soon as possible, they put up effective barriers against even a highly gifted child.67

In the postwar climate of desire for scientific advancement, space-age technology and increased knowledge, concern was expressed nationally about the ‘wastage’ of highly able students. Four other local studies were concerned with the ‘wastage of the gifted’.

The Research and Guidance Branch of the Department of Education undertook several follow-up studies of successful students. The first traced those who received 85 per cent or higher in the 1951 Scholarship examination. They were classified as academically gifted on the basis of those results. More than a third did not complete schooling to Senior standard. Only 37 per cent of boys in this group and 11 per cent of girls continued to university. Many reasons were put forward, largely economic, as parents considered they were not able to afford to keep children at school.68

This was largely borne out in a second study conducted in 1960, when the researchers traced sixty-three candidates who secured high marks in the 1956 Junior Public Examinations. These were children who had stayed on at school for two years beyond

67 Ibid., p. 35.
68 Department of Public Instruction, 'Reducing wastage among the gifted', Research and Guidance Branch Bulletin 13 (1957).
the Scholarship. The study found a high rate proceeding to tertiary education. A rank order arrangement of results based on both Junior 1956 and Senior 1958 showed the first three students in Junior were also ranked in the first three in Senior. Otherwise there was considerable variation in rankings. Of the cohort, all but three continued to Senior and forty-eight were undertaking tertiary studies. Those students who were in tertiary education had maintained their high academic achievement. This study performed no breakdown of parents’ income, but the fact that students had stayed on at school probably implied parental willingness or ability to support them. Attendance at state and non-state schools was equally distributed.69

The third study was similar to the first, and was a follow-up of students who obtained 80 per cent or more in the 1956 Scholarship. Of the males, 41 per cent went on to university and 9 per cent to teachers’ training college; of the females, 24 per cent continued to university and 20 per cent to teachers’ training college. One-third were not engaged in education at tertiary level in 1961, 40 per cent did not complete Senior and 10 per cent did not complete Junior.70

The researchers considered that the parents’ standard of education, occupational status and income were important factors. They referred to the fact that the students’ and parents’ aspirational levels were not commensurate with their ability. The predictive nature of the Scholarship was reflected in that ‘students who obtained more than 80 per cent in the examination had almost twice the chance of continuing to Senior as those who obtained 72-79 per cent’.71

The Australian Council of Educational Research investigated school leavers in Australia in 1959 and 1960.72 This research found a definite relationship between the occupation of a boy or girl upon leaving school and the occupation of the father:

One-fifth of boys from unskilled or semi-skilled homes entered similar occupations, two-fifths of the sons of fathers from skilled manual trades entered

71 Ibid., p. 270.
skilled trades; and slightly more than one-third whose fathers were university graduates in professional positions became university students. The fact that less than two per cent of sons and less than one per cent of daughters of unskilled or semi-skilled fathers undertook university work provides evidence of wastage of talent among children of lower occupational levels.73

Part of the investigation was an attempt to trace the more able students. Generally there was found to be greater ‘wastage’ among girls. Of those who left school before matriculation, ‘an appreciable percentage’ entered the public service at Junior level. More able girls than boys went into clerical and sales work, and more boys than girls took up skilled trades and agricultural work.74

As all these studies showed, gender was a major factor affecting a child’s future choices. Girls were largely discouraged from continuing their education, or expected to aspire no further than the Junior examination across the whole Scholarship period to 1962. In the early days their subject choices were limited; later they were channelled into the domestic arts. Should they be successful in passing the Scholarship, they were expected to follow a commercial course which would lead them into office work. Of the two professions that attracted girls, nursing required a Junior result, as did teaching until 1944.75 In many families, girls were expected to leave school as early as possible to care for younger children, to help on the farm or in the family business, and to look after elderly parents or grandparents. Marriage was the ambition of most girls, and as it was customary, or compulsory, to leave a job on marriage, their careers in business, nursing or teaching were often short-lived. An academic or professional career was rarely an option.

In a study comparing the education of girls in Queensland and South Australia, Pamela Cameron traced how ‘girls have emerged from a discriminatory and neglectful schooling system at a younger age and with lower aspirations, less self-confidence, and fewer post-school options than boys’. She claimed there had been a ‘powerful and lingering emphasis … on the Victorian concept of women’s role as wife and mother’. Despite a trend that began in the 1870s to offer an academic curriculum to girls similar to that offered to boys, only a small number of girls were

73 Ibid., p. 270.
74 Ibid.
able to benefit. By the 1880s, females could gain admission to the University of Sydney, although ‘there was no suggestion that girls should inhabit men’s sphere.’ 76 While a few women were considering professions by the end of the 1890s, it remained generally unacceptable. After World War II, by when it was expected that girls might seek a career before marriage, an equal emphasis was placed on their role in rebuilding the nation in the home and the family. 77

Although the first girls sat for the Scholarship examination in 1876, there were fewer female than male candidates for many years. This was despite the fact that more girls than boys were attending schools. 78 If a girl received a scholarship she might not always accept it, as a 1903 letter from the head teacher at Irvinebank State School, declining a scholarship for Annie Allan, shows:

Mother cannot remove further South … and that she, having a number of small children, does not care to face the resultant work and care for the next three years without the help of her eldest girl. 79

This letter also reflects the significant impact of the city/country divide on Queensland history. Despite a method of administration in the Department of Public Instruction, later Education, which insisted on uniformity of teaching, building styles and curricula, the differences between large city schools and small country schools were enormous. During decades of neglect, many country schools barely met the standards. They were staffed by young inexperienced teachers who were subject to transfer, plagued by lack of resources and a punitive inspectorial system, isolated from peers, and forced to live in inhospitable conditions. Many rural families had very limited expectations of education beyond the acquisition of practical skills. Absenteeism was high and classes were large. It is not surprising that there was a high rate of resignation in teaching ranks. 80

Although overcrowding also existed in metropolitan schools, they were regarded by some as ‘cramming factories’, more likely to achieve successful Scholarship results.

78 Hall, Factors shaping policy, p. 6.
79 QSA: Results of State Scholarship examinations 1900-1912, SRS4022-1-2.
They gained a reputation which enticed parents to send their children to them, bypassing local schools. This is not to say that country children, or at least children from larger country centres, did not appear on the list of the most successful. Thomas Joseph Byrnes from Bowen State School, later Premier of the state, was ranked at first place in the initial colony-wide examination in 1873. Students from Gympie, Maryborough, Bundaberg, Mount Morgan, Warwick, Toowoomba, Rockhampton, Charters Towers and Ipswich were frequently in the top ranks. A few small country schools, usually with one or two teachers, such as Biggenden, Stannary Hills, Meringandan, Yarraman, Toogoolawah and Pechey, could claim a Scholarship winner. In the latter years this urban-rural division was not so marked since most schools were nominating students, teaching methods had improved and aspirations of families were changing. The study of school leavers in 1959 and 1960 referred to above indicated very little difference in outcomes between rural and urban-based children in Queensland entering the university. This finding contrasted with Victoria where there was a strong bias towards metropolitan-based children.81

Religion was another factor that affected outcomes. Catholic or other denominational schools could nominate students for the Scholarship after 1884, but very few did so. In 1907 for instance, of 377 students nominated, only twenty were from Christian Brothers schools, ten from convents and five from private schools. Of these, two students at Christian Brothers schools and two from convents passed the examination.82 The Catholic tradition was not one that valued higher education. The majority of members were working class and slow to accept the challenges offered, despite efforts of church leaders to promote secondary education in church schools.83

While it was possible to analyse differences in income, class, gender, geographical location and religion in the experiences of those who succeeded in the examination, the number of Aboriginal children, migrants and the disabled who were candidates for the Scholarship are, as Meadmore said, ‘encased in silences’.84 An investigation of correspondence files at Queensland State Archives might reveal evidence of

81 EOG, 7(1962), p. 270
82 Results of Scholarship 1900-12.
84 Meadmore, For reasons of governmentality, (thesis), p. 137.
scholarship allowances paid to state wards, including Aboriginal students, but none were listed as top scholars.  

Attitudes towards achievement ranged from generous to hostile and from egalitarian to discriminatory. As the research studies of that period showed, children from certain backgrounds had much more chance of achieving than others. Even after the achievement of certain goals – passing Scholarship, Junior and Senior examinations – the expectations of students and families were barriers to further education. In spite of this, there were girls, children of unskilled workers, rural-based children and those from all religious backgrounds who took advantage of the opportunities offered. Many of them went on to succeed in academic and professional fields. Some appear among those who were ranked first in the Scholarship, whose life experiences are surveyed in subsequent chapters.

Against this background of praise and criticism, generosity and mean-spiritedness, encouragement and opposition, equality of provision and restricted opportunity, the children who were placed first in the examination could then enter the province of secondary education. A pathway to a wide range of future possibilities opened up before them. How they travelled that path, how they took advantage of those possibilities, or how other factors impinged on the decisions they made, can only be discovered by gaining a clearer picture of where they had come from.

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85 QSA: Scholarships various, correspondence 1959-64, RSI 15191-1-715.
Chapter 3

Nurturing promise: Formative influences on the Scholarship winners

The death of Thomas Joseph Byrnes, Premier of Queensland, at the age of thirty-eight in September 1898, generated a great outpouring of grief. Citizens wrote extensive eulogies, published poetic tributes and erected statues in his honour. Children born in that month were named after him. The most frequent tribute was that the native-born son had not only succeeded but had risen to the highest position in the state. His life was the epitome of the good life in Queensland, where a son of a poor widow with ten other children could benefit from the best education commensurate with his undoubted abilities through the opportunities offered by the state.¹

That Byrnes was the exception rather than the rule was not important; his example was held up to many who were candidates for the Scholarship examination. For those who succeeded as he had done, the way was open for secondary and university education through extension scholarships and exhibitions. Some were able to follow in his footsteps, but others found it more difficult and were constrained from emulating his success by limited family expectations, restricted ambition, poor health and inadequate economic and social circumstances.

Byrnes was born in 1860, the eighth of eleven children of Patrick Byrnes, a farm labourer who died when Thomas was only seven, and Anna, born Tighe. He attended school at Bowen in north Queensland, where his precocious talent was recognised by local teachers, the priest who taught him Latin and a visiting school inspector.² It may be speculated that the Board of General Education expanded the grammar school scholarship examination in order for this bright student to avail himself of its opportunities, since in late 1876 it changed from a test catering only for students in

Brisbane and Ipswich, to one attracting candidates across the colony. Byrnes’s later academic success at Brisbane Grammar School and the University of Melbourne were stepping-stones on his rapid rise through the legal and political culture of Queensland. His success was further remarkable because he was from remote rural north Queensland as well as being a staunch Catholic who benefited from the state education system. Yet it was his native-born status that attracted most attention.

Although Byrnes himself tried to minimize the importance of his place of birth he was aware of the public perception that ‘with the native-born population of Australia rests in a great degree the shape which the destinies of Australia are to assume’. Being ‘native-born’ had acquired some social élan in the Queensland community by the 1890s, when over half the population was Australian, even Queensland-born. Immigration had diminished both from overseas and from other Australian colonies. The rise of nationalism and the debate about Federation fuelled a burgeoning pride in a national identity, expressed in optimistic terms and faith in the future. Of Byrnes it was said: ‘The nation that produced such a man has in itself the elements and materials of greatness’.

The 185 Scholarship winners after Thomas Byrnes (1873) who feature in this study came from a wide diversity of backgrounds. What follows is a close analysis of the schooling record, family origin, religious tradition and geographical location of a group of children whose only commonality was that two or three of them each year over ninety years achieved an academic honour. Analysis of the diversity of their experiences reveals patterns which reflected social, cultural and economic events and developments in Queensland. In addition, there are indications of the strategies used by families to transfer cultural knowledge and to develop academic potential.

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3 Knight, 'Byrnes' last tour', pp. 72-3.
5 Knight, 'Byrnes' last tour', p. 1.
6 All dates in brackets following names refer to the date of candidature in the examination for grammar school scholarships, later called the State Scholarship.
Like Byrnes, the majority were also native-born. Those who were not born in Queensland arrived with their families as young children. Table 1 gives an indication of the preponderance of Queensland-born children in the group.

**Table 1: Country of birth of Scholarship winners 1873-1962**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Queensland</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Other Australia</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Britain</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Other Europe</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>159*</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Includes 16 unverified whose parents married in Queensland

In the years before 1900, eight of the fifty-one winners were born outside Australia, all from England, Ireland and Wales. John Woolcock (1874), later Supreme Court Judge, was born in Cornwall and arrived in Brisbane with his family in 1866 at the age of five. Charlotte England (1887) was born in England, as were Arthur Brookes (1877) and George Stanton Crouch (1891). Emily Scott (1879) came from Scotland. Thomas Jones (1885), later businessman, politician and university senator, was born in Wales and migrated with his family in 1883 at the age of eleven. His sister, Edith Jones (1888) was also born in Wales, but a brother, John (1901), was sixteen years younger and born in Queensland. Annie Cornwall (1898) migrated with her family from Ireland, arriving in 1891.7

Between 1901 and 1947, a mere three first place-getters were born out of Australia. Jemima Chapman (1902) and Donald MacColl (1919) were from Scotland and Alexander Vereschagin (1946), from Russia. Only one of the sixteen winners between 1948 and 1962 represented the intake of migrants following World War II. Aiya Ekis (1957) arrived from Latvia with her refugee family at the age of five.

This overall pattern reflected that of the Queensland population. According to 1891 census figures, only 45 per cent per cent of the population were Queensland-born, 51 per cent being born in Australasia. The flow of immigration caused by the mining activities of the 1870s and 1880s had diminished by then. The population increased by 84.4 per cent in the 1890s, largely through natural increase. By 1901, 65.6 per cent were Australasian-born. Little changed in this pattern until an influx of migration

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7 Biographical details and sources can be found in Appendix C. Married names are not used, but details of marriages where known are recorded in the biographical register in Appendix C.
from Europe after World War II, although this occurred to a lesser extent in Queensland than in other states. By 1961, 91 per cent were Australasian born. Table 2 demonstrates population changes during the time period.8

Table 2: Country of birth of Queensland population, 1891-1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>New Zealand</th>
<th>UK &amp; Ireland</th>
<th>Other Europe</th>
<th>Asia</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>204 000</td>
<td>1 100</td>
<td>142 623</td>
<td>15 300</td>
<td>30 600</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>328 573</td>
<td>1 571</td>
<td>126 159</td>
<td>22 114</td>
<td>13 499</td>
<td>11 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>787 718</td>
<td>4 033</td>
<td>120 482</td>
<td>26 383</td>
<td>4 883</td>
<td>4 035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>992 178</td>
<td>3 905</td>
<td>82 463</td>
<td>21 557</td>
<td>2 925</td>
<td>3 387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>1 161 595</td>
<td>4 612</td>
<td>92 951</td>
<td>50 774</td>
<td>4 963</td>
<td>4 364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>1 341 069</td>
<td>5 770</td>
<td>93 329</td>
<td>64 921</td>
<td>7 412</td>
<td>6 327</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While most of the children were born in Queensland, an examination of their parents’ country of origin revealed a clearer picture of changes in the migration patterns during the period. Unfortunately it was not possible to determine the country of origin of all the parents of the Scholarship winners, but Tables 3 and 4 give some indication of those known. This information has been gleaned from birth registers, newspaper reports and personal contributions.

Table 3: Country of origin of fathers of Scholarship winners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>England</th>
<th>Ireland</th>
<th>Scotland</th>
<th>Wales</th>
<th>Germany</th>
<th>Other Europe</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Country of origin of mothers of Scholarship winners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>England</th>
<th>Ireland</th>
<th>Scotland</th>
<th>Wales</th>
<th>Germany</th>
<th>Other Europe</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Girls were not candidates for the Scholarship until 1876, when Mathilde Burdorff was the girl placed first. She was the daughter of German immigrants Caspar Burdorff and Margaretha Sophia Zahn, who migrated separately and married in Brisbane in 1859. Also from Germany were Frederick Otto Sachse, the father of Romindo Sachse (1883), and Arno Rinaldo Kindervater the father of Oscar Kindervater (1935). Arno had migrated in 1912 while his wife, Emma Schlegel, came from Switzerland a year later. Mary Canny’s (1885) parents, Joseph Aloysius Canny and Mary Condren, were both from Ireland, as was James, the father of Leonard MacDonnell (1909). The father of Bernard Backstrom (1940), Samuel Ivar Backstrom, was from Sweden. Valda Pontson (1946) was the daughter of Estonian migrants, Michael and Martha,

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who had arrived in Australia in the 1920s. No parents were located of Asian or Aboriginal origin.

One notable exception to this pattern was George Hall (1904). He was born in Charters Towers in 1891, when it was a thriving mining city. His father George was a black man from the Caribbean, one of a number attracted to the gold mining centres in north Queensland at this time. His mother, Annie Collett, was English.9

If most winners were similar to other children in the matter of their place of birth, they were very different in a number of other ways. The principal difference for most of the history of the examination was that they remained enrolled at school until the age of thirteen or fourteen. At the time of the establishment of the Scholarship, this was highly unusual. By the end of World War I it became accepted that almost all children would complete primary schooling. Although schooling was compulsory after 1875 it was not enforced until 1900. For the first forty years of the examination, until 1912, the school leaving age was twelve, and it was commonplace for children to leave earlier than that age if they had reached fourth class. They were regarded as educated ‘up to a standard of education’ and exempt from the compulsory clauses of the Act.10 Before the turn of the twentieth century children were not grouped in classes according to their age. They spent three years in first class, two years in second class, two in third, reaching fourth class at age twelve. Candidates for the Scholarship frequently spent two years in fourth class. Gradually it became more common for one year to be spent at each age level, with the formation of fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth classes. A pattern was established so that for the last eleven years of the scheme the Scholarship class was the eighth grade. It was still the case that candidates for the Scholarship were generally aged thirteen or fourteen.11

Enrolment at school did not always equate with regular attendance. Inspectors’ reports revealed discrepancies between the numbers enrolled and the number actually

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10 Goodman, Secondary education in Queensland, p. 177.
11 See Chronology Appendix A for rule changes regarding the Scholarship. In 1892 Class VI was added to the primary school. In 1930, a preparatory class of one and a half years was introduced, before grades 1 to 7. In 1952 the preparatory class was reduced to one year and grades 1-8 established. The following year the preparatory year was abolished.
attending school regularly. In the years 1882 to 1901 the average daily attendance as a percentage of annual enrolment across all ages in the colony rose from 52 per cent to 64 per cent. After 1901, when compulsory attendance was more rigidly enforced, the percentage increased until in 1910 it was 79 per cent, increasing to 89 per cent by 1960.\textsuperscript{12} Studies of retention rates in other Australian colonies by Ann Larson as well as Ian Davey and Pavla Miller, demonstrated similar patterns.\textsuperscript{13} Reasons for poor attendance have been outlined in Chapter 2.

The Scholarship winners were more likely than other children to have had regular attendance during their primary schooling. In a work examining the early years of the Scholarship examination, Eric Hall observed that a study of school admissions registers revealed that ‘the school careers of the Scholarship winners differ quite markedly from the careers of hundreds of their contemporaries by virtue of their being so complete. Every year of class work has been worked through’.\textsuperscript{14} Similar observations have been made in the current work. Reasons for this pattern emerge through closer examination of family background, economic circumstances and teacher expectations; but there is good reason to reflect on the number of children with the necessary ability who did not have the opportunity to reach the required standard through lack of attendance and by leaving school at an early age. That these were most likely children from working class and rural populations further differentiates the children in the study from their peers.

Another difference was that those students who were placed first in the state represented a very small number of children of their age group who were candidates for the examination. Nominations increased from 4 per cent in 1873, to 50 per cent in 1941 and to 90 per cent in 1961. Wide variation existed across Queensland schools in the number of candidates, as the larger schools were more likely to nominate students than the one-teacher schools. These discrepancies continued throughout the period.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{12} Queensland Government, \textit{Past and present}, p. 216.
\textsuperscript{14} Hall, Factors shaping policy, (thesis), p. 197.
\textsuperscript{15} Department of Education, 'An investigation of the 1957 Scholarship examination', (Brisbane: Research and Guidance Branch, Department of Education Queensland, 1958).
Teachers at first would enter only those likely to achieve. **Table 5** indicates the numbers of students who were candidates as a percentage of the age group.

**Table 5: Candidates for Scholarship examination as percentage of age-group**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1880</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1941</th>
<th>1951</th>
<th>1957</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Until 1951, 13 year olds used as age group; in later years, 13½-14½ year olds.

Passing the examination further distinguished the Scholarship winners from their contemporaries. **Table 6** reveals the low numbers who passed the examination, until in the last twenty years they rose above 50 per cent, with 88 per cent of candidates passing in the final year. A chronology in Appendix A provides details of changing criteria for a pass.

**Table 6: Number of successful candidates for the Scholarship examination**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of candidates</th>
<th>Number passing</th>
<th>Percentage passing</th>
<th>No of scholarships available</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>741</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>qualifying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>2 843</td>
<td>1 463</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>qualifying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>5 653</td>
<td>2 802</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>8 073</td>
<td>5 668</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>qualifying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>13 097</td>
<td>10 586</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>qualifying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>27 328</td>
<td>24 019</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>qualifying</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the whole, the winners were unusual, firstly in respect of their enrolment and attendance at school, and secondly in their candidature and subsequent passing of the examination. Beyond these factors, their high academic achievement was no doubt a product of their own ability, the conditions under which they were taught and their family background. A closer analysis of family background reveals more about these differences.

As described in Chapter 2, the establishment of the grammar schools had enabled the children of those who could afford fees the opportunity of secondary education. The intention of the Scholarship was to allow those children with ability who could not otherwise afford it to have the chances otherwise denied them. During the years from

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16 Ibid.
17 Compiled from Annual Reports of the Department; John H.G. Smith, Study of the history of the Scholarship 1860-1962, 1965, Appendix. Table used with permission of the author.
1873 to 1912, when only a limited number of scholarships were offered, those nominated possibly were from families of limited income. However, it was not long before all students of ability were nominated, regardless of family income, and the examination was regarded as the gateway between primary and secondary education.

It has been possible to trace the occupations of the fathers of Scholarship winners through searches of school admission registers, electoral rolls, post office directories, wills and intestacies, biographical registers and information supplied by Scholarship winners and family members. This could be done only when the name of the father was known, largely through birth and school admission registers. As these sources did not always exist, or the information could not be verified, it has not been possible to establish the occupation of the fathers of all Scholarship winners. As some of the fathers changed occupation or were promoted after their child had been a Scholarship candidate, the occupation where known was taken to be that at the time of the candidature. As there was no way of knowing if those engaged in trades were self-employed or employees, there has been no distinction made. **Table 7** indicates the occupations of the fathers where known. The categorization of occupations is intended to be descriptive of occupational groupings rather than a class analysis. It is adapted from several sources, and is designed to correspond to categories used in population studies based on census material.

**Table 7: Occupation of fathers of Scholarship winners**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>High government officials, ministers of government, doctors, lawyers</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Government officials, teachers, departmental managers, bank managers, clergy</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Large employers, merchants, wholesalers, manufacturers</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Storekeepers, clerks, book-keepers, bank officers</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>Carpenters, plumbers, butchers, miners, police, jewellers, engineers, engine drivers</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary producers</td>
<td>Large property owners, mine managers</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Small farmers</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled labour</td>
<td>Farm hands, drovers, railway workers</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The most frequently represented occupation of fathers over the ninety year period was that of teacher, followed by storekeepers and merchants, bank managers and other business managers and labourers, tradesmen and engineers. Table 8 lists the most frequent occupations.

Table 8: Frequency of occupation of fathers of Scholarship winners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Storekeeper/merchant</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager/bank manager</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourer/carter/packer/mine worker</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter/cabinet maker</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plumber, electrician, mechanic, fitter</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clergy</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bank officer/book-keeper</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officer of government department</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politician</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other Australian studies have revealed similar patterns. In Alison Mackinnon’s study of the Advanced School for Girls in turn-of-century Adelaide, the students were of a similar age, had achieved a required standard of primary education and passed an entrance test somewhat similar to the Queensland State Scholarship. Teachers and clergy were the most represented occupations of the parents followed by storekeepers, graziers and officers of government departments.\(^{18}\)

A further South Australian study by Craig Campbell examined family strategies used by farmers and clergy towards secondary schooling. He outlined strategies involving the transfer of real and cultural property to succeeding generations. Whereas farmers had an investment in the future work of their children and frequently saw education as an interruption, ‘clergy had a totally unambiguous relationship with higher education, secondary or tertiary. Its provision was an essential part of the patrimonial relations within families’.\(^{19}\) Income was not always a determinant of decisions. It was often in periods of prosperity that farmers removed their children from school, while the

\(^{18}\) Mackinnon, *One foot on the ladder*, pp. 96, 186.

relative poverty of the clergy ‘was not necessarily a barrier to the expensive business of supporting children who made no contribution to the family economy for years, if ever, after the minimum school leaving age’. Campbell supported the view that the formation and consolidation of class identity was dependent on the transfer and acquisition of cultural property as much as other forms of property.

The transfer of cultural capital was a theme of Richard Teese’s study of secondary education in Victoria following World War II. His observations are as relevant for earlier times as they are disturbing for current educational practice. Teese claimed that the family was more influential than the curriculum or teachers in shaping scholastic identity. He argued that it was the transfer of cultural capital to academic capital that gave children from educated families an advantage:

Language facility, attentiveness, achievement motivation, self-confidence in learning, personal organization and self-direction, capacity to learn for intrinsic motivation rather than extrinsic interest – these elements of the scholarly disposition are fundamental to success in the more academic areas of the curriculum. But they are linked closely to an educated lifestyle and arise from continuous and informal training given by families rather than explicit and methodical instruction in school.21

The families of professionals, teachers and clergy were those that valued discussion, encouraged independent reading and developed models of lexical and syntactic complexity of language training at home. In addition, with frequent church attendance children were exposed to serious use of language in prayer, oratory and debate. In their writing they could appear ‘as mature and perceptive thinkers because they were raised in a culture of ideas’. This ‘pedagogy of cultural immersion’22 was perhaps most intimately experienced in the families of teachers, those most familiar with the demands of the curriculum.

If it is not surprising that teaching was the most frequent occupation of fathers of Scholarship winners, it is significant that the parents who were teachers frequently had remarkable careers within the Queensland teaching service. As seen in Table 9, at least twenty-two of the teacher-fathers were promoted to head teacher, seven of those

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20 Ibid., p. 38.
22 Ibid., p. 30.
were appointed District Inspector and two became Under-Secretary for Education. Their influence, not only on their own children, on other children in this study whom they taught, and on education in Queensland, was considerable, and will be more closely examined in Chapter 5. Where they were the teachers of their own children, their details may be found in the teacher register in Appendix D.

Table 9: Scholarship winners whose fathers were teachers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of student</th>
<th>Year of Scholarship</th>
<th>Name of father</th>
<th>Later career of father</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scott, Emily</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>Scott, Walter</td>
<td>HT, Inspector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stewart, Elizabeth</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Stewart, John</td>
<td>HT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fowles, Edwin</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>Fowles, William</td>
<td>HT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canny, Mary</td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Canny, Joseph</td>
<td>HT, Inspector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swanwick, Kenneth &amp; Ronald</td>
<td>1887&amp;1889</td>
<td>Swanwick, Frederick</td>
<td>HT, Politician, Lawyer, Tutor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walker, Frank</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Walker, Francis</td>
<td>HT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond, Agnes</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>Richmond, Walter</td>
<td>HT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackson, John</td>
<td>1897</td>
<td>Jackson, Samuel</td>
<td>HT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, Clara</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>Smith, William</td>
<td>HT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennedy, Evelyn</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Kennedy, Andrew</td>
<td>HT, Inspector, Under-Secretary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyons, Newman</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td>Lyons, Denis Tracy</td>
<td>HT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McKenna, Warwick</td>
<td>1908</td>
<td>McKenna, Bernard</td>
<td>HT, Inspector, Under Secretary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freeman, Eric</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Freeman, Jesse</td>
<td>HT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferricks, Ellen</td>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Ferricks, Myles</td>
<td>HT, Jounalist, MLA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morrison, Alan</td>
<td>1925</td>
<td>Morrison, Alexander</td>
<td>HT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunlop, Olive</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Dunlop, Edward</td>
<td>HT, Inspector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnson, George</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Johnson, Allen</td>
<td>HT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chadwick, Joan</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Chadwick, George</td>
<td>HT, Inspector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copeman, George</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>Copeman, Arthur</td>
<td>HT, Inspector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baird, Betty</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Baird, John</td>
<td>T secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee, John</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Horace</td>
<td>T primary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hosking, Ross</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>Hosking, Samuel</td>
<td>HT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James, Thelma</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>James, Claude</td>
<td>HT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de Jersey, Peter &amp; John</td>
<td>1955 &amp; 1957</td>
<td>de Jersey, Ronald</td>
<td>HT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the six fathers who were members of the clergy, three were Methodists. The father of John Woolcock (1874), Rev. William Woolcock, was a Bible Christian whose reason for migration was to establish that church in Brisbane. He was responsible for building numerous churches.\(^\text{23}\) Rev. Thomas Thatcher, father of Thomas (1899) was a Primitive Methodist. He had been apprenticed to an architect before joining the church. As one of the first ministers of his church in Queensland, he moved to several towns in Queensland and served in local government. Both Woolcock and Thatcher

were later to be part of a united Methodist church after 1898. Arnold Little (1903) was the son of Rev. William Little, also a Methodist. Two other offspring of clergy were Walter Voller (1903), whose father James was a pastor in the Baptist church; and Jemima Chapman (1902), the daughter of Rev. Andrew Chapman of the Presbyterian church.  

Of higher ranked civil servants, George Leonard, known as Leonard George Board, father of Constance (1893), was a Commissioner and later Under-Secretary of the Department of Public Lands, afterwards Inspector of Forestry; John Sumners Pears Bourne, father of Eleanor (1891), was also a Commissioner for Lands; and William Edward Burrell, father of Winifred (1882), was an Inspector of Distilleries.

In the medical field, Frederick Otto Sachse, father of Romido (1883) was a surgeon who was responsible for founding the Toowoomba hospital; Alfred Gervase Penny, father of Marguerite (1922) served as a general practitioner in Nambour; and Benjamin Gilmore Wilson, father of Harry Wilson (1930), was a general practitioner in Ipswich and superintendent of the Ipswich General Hospital.

A range of other professions were represented. Hugh Morton (1893) later joined his father Thomas as a solicitor in Maryborough. Philip Day’s (1937) father Philip Lewis was a civil engineer, and Lois Freeman’s (1941) father Eric Bernard, himself placed first in Scholarship in 1910, was an electrical engineer for the City Electric Light Company in Brisbane. Samuel Ivar Backstrom, father of Bernard (1940), was employed as an engineer in the tramways department of the Brisbane City Council. Llewellyn Howie Isles, father of John (1918) was an architect, and John Egerton Cary, father of Ian (1944), a lecturer in dentistry at the University of Queensland. James Wilkinson, who was a pharmacist in Charters Towers, moved to Toowoomba after his daughter Eleanor (1901) took up her scholarship at Ipswich Girls Grammar School. The father of Alan Baker (1953), Samuel Frodsham Baker, was also a pharmacist in Toowoomba.

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24 Ibid., pp. 71-2; Isabelle Thatcher, *Olive Thatcher, née Adam: Was she a typical woman of her time?* (Gold Coast: Isabelle Thatcher, 1994), pp. 34-5.
Several fathers were involved in journalism: William Dick, father of Mary (1894) was the editor of the Rockhampton *Daily Northern Argus* and later the *Toowong and Ithaca Times*. Charles Briggs, father of John (1905) had moved from being a Primitive Methodist minister and an immigration officer, to being an auctioneer and commission agent. He also owned the *Mount Morgan Argus*. Andrew Scott Gerrand, father of Elsa (1925) was a journalist on the *Daily Mail* at the time of her success. When Ellen Ferricks won the Lilley medal in 1924 her father Myles Aloysious was a Member of Parliament, but earlier he had been a teacher and the editor of the *Ravenswood Mining Journal* and the *Bowen Independent*.

Myles Ferricks was not the only politician, but he was the only parent to serve in both the state and national parliaments. He served as Member of the Legislative Assembly for Bowen 1909-11, and in the Commonwealth Senate from 1913 to 1920, after which he returned to the state government as the Member for South Brisbane from 1920 until 1929. John Archibald, father of Frances (1892), started his career as a teacher, but moved into business, becoming a flour miller and merchant before entering parliament to serve as a Member of the Legislative Council from 1892 until his death in 1907. He bequeathed money to the establishment of the University of Queensland.

Frederick ffoulkes Swanwick, father of Kenneth (1887) and Ronald (1889) had a mixed career. He started as a teacher, then became a barrister and entered parliament in 1878. He resigned in 1882 after he was struck off the list as a barrister due to insolvency. Swanwick set up a legal coaching school, and remained involved in educational issues, advocating amongst other things, the education of girls and that scholarships should be taken up in schools other than grammar schools.26

Those children whose fathers were bankers included Donald Wearne (1939), Spencer Routh (1949) and Robin Greeves (1956). John Joseph Wearne was at Aramac, William James Routh was at Townsville, and John Robertson Greeves at Mount Larcom when their respective children were Scholarship candidates; but they were subject to frequent transfer throughout the state. William Jarrott, father of Lillian (1886) was a book-keeper at the Toowoomba foundry, but had previously been a

farmer and music teacher; William Cornwall, father of Annie (1898) was an accountant at the mines in Mount Morgan, and Erwin Gibson, father of Betty (1943), was a paymaster at Toowoomba foundry.

Tracing the children of farmers reveals the complex interrelationships of schools and local communities during the nineteenth century. Malcolm Vick investigated these connections in South Australia, Victoria and New South Wales. He cautioned against the received understanding that working class and farming families were not interested in the education of their children. Vick drew on documentary evidence to reveal the positive efforts made by parents in establishing schools, in serving on committees, and in exercising their power over attendance of their children, as well as the nature of the curriculum, the choice of teachers, and their moral character.27

Two of the farming families in this study were not necessarily typical, but represented those farmers who valued their children’s education and worked in the community to ensure they had opportunities. The efforts of James Lipsett, father of Lewis (1881), to procure the establishment of a school in the Mary River district at Miva, are documented in a flurry of correspondence to and from the Department of Public Instruction between 1875 and 1879. Along with his brother-in-law Moses Jenkins, Lipsett was determined that a school should be built to accommodate the children of the extended family at Slaty Creek. Parents of children at Gootchie, only one and a half miles away but across the Mary River, had different ideas. Despite the best efforts of departmental inspectors to resolve the issue through compromises such as half-day or half-week schools, the conflict was protracted. In the end, James removed his children to Gympie although members of the family remained in the district. When John Lipsett (1942), great-grandson of James and great-nephew of Lewis, grew up nearby on a farm run by his father, Edgar James, he completed most of his primary schooling through the Correspondence School, tutored by his mother Frances, who had herself been placed third in the Scholarship examination of 1919.28

28 Personal communication with Jenny Nahrung, Lipsett family, October 2000; Information from History Collection, Education Queensland.
Another farming family with a long tradition of educational opportunities was that of Ann Pechey (1959). She was the grand-daughter of Edward Wilmot Pechey, whose name had been on the application for the establishment of a school at Pechey, near Crow’s Nest. Edward was a surveyor, widely versed in the classics and possessor of a large library. He served in the Queensland parliament from 1873 to 1880. Ann’s father Ronald was an Arts graduate whose Law studies were interrupted by World War II. After the war he returned to the family farm Listening Ridge at Pechey and became active in community, rural and educational affairs, including supporting the University of Queensland and the establishment of a university on the Darling Downs. Ann herself was to follow his example by returning to the family property following her tertiary education.29

A number of parents were prominent in the business world. The fathers of Helena Johnson (1877) and Emily Wild (1890) have been mentioned previously as merchants in Warwick. Alfred Taylor, father of Roy (1890), owned a large wholesale and retail firm in Cairns, catering for the building and plumbing trades.30 Similarly, Benjamin Brookes, father of Arthur (1877), established an ironmongery business in Brisbane in conjunction with his brother Samuel in 1858. Although the partnership was later dissolved, Benjamin remained involved in farming and commercial enterprises.31 In addition to his Queen Street saddlery business, Caspar Rudolph Burdorff, father of Mathilde (1876), had interests in an inn at Spicer’s Gap.32

The nature and size of the firms owned by several others is not known, but Robert Hamilton, John England, Robert Skelton and John Pickup, fathers of James (1875), John (1902), Dorothea (1938) and Marceline (1944) are among those identified as storekeepers. Francis Lister Hopkins, father of Lister (1923), was a jeweller by trade, with his own business in Toowoomba.

30 QPOD, 1893, p. 32A.
31 The Week, 6 May 1876, p. 448.
Tradesmen included John Jones, a master plumber in Brisbane, who was the father of three first place-getters, Thomas (1885), Edith (1888) and John (1901). John Maccoll, father of Donald (1919); Leslie Watt, father of Trevor (1952); and Arno Rinaldo Kindervater, father of Oscar (1935), were all carpenters. William Moore and Robert Aitken McCulloch, fathers of Agnes (1909) and Robert (1956), were cabinet makers. Ross Diplock’s (1960) father, Sydney Wallace Diplock, was a butcher; and Francis Joseph Cartwright, father of Judith (1958), a mechanic.

Several fathers did not have the benefit of an education or a trade. Like Thomas Byrnes (1873), whose father was a farmhand, a number of children came from families where the breadwinner had numerous labouring occupations. Derwent Fortescue Forster, father of Marcia (1884), was a drover, overseer, farmer and fencer at different times. Michael ‘Mick’ Gallogly, father of Eliza (1911) was a clearing contractor, railway navvy, road builder and mining worker. Victor Grenning (1912) was the son of Jens Peter, a carter at Huttons meatworks at Zillmere. Three boys had fathers who were mine workers: George Hall, father of George Frederick Emanuel Hall (1904); William Owens, father of Arthur (1920); and Thomas William Thorne, father of Brian (1954). Brian Thorne recalled that his father was determined that he should have any occupation ‘as long as it was not down the mines’.33

This latter group of children overcame the odds to achieve their place in the academic records. As Richard Teese pointed out:

In the past, popular access to secondary education was blocked by lack of provision and lack of means. Children from poor families could climb the narrow ladder of opportunity offered by a handful of scholarships, but they could win these only by displaying academic qualities that were uncharacteristic of their origins and more typical of the social ranks they would enter through education. They had to pass a cultural test to compensate for their lack of income and modest social position. Imposing cultural tests on children was a way of preserving the integrity of the dominant social strata whose ranks were fed from different streams (landed wealth, mercantile wealth, the liberal professions), which were unified and distinguished by their shared cultural life.34

33 Personal communication with Brian Thorne, 16 December 1999.
34 Teese, Academic success, p. 8.
While the occupations of fathers may have been the major influence on family circumstances, the occupations, educational background and personal involvement of mothers were often just as influential. These were more difficult to determine, as they were not documented on school registers unless the mother was widowed at the time of enrolment. Women were poorly represented in the labour force, as can be seen in Table 10.

**Table 10: Females as a percentage of the labour force in Queensland**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1933</th>
<th>1947</th>
<th>1961</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>20.35</td>
<td>19.47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Custom and public service regulations restricted the employment of married women for the entire period of this study, so it is not likely that many mothers were employed while still having children at school. Respondents to the questionnaire have provided information regarding their mother’s occupation both before and after marriage. The majority indicated that their mothers were not in the workforce after they married, unless as partners or assistants in the family business or farm, or after being widowed. Teaching was the most frequently mentioned occupation before marriage, whilst other occupations were tailoress, dressmaker, sales assistant, book-keeper, typist, midwife, and clerk. Those who were teachers are listed in Table 11.

Fourteen of the twenty-six in the table below were children whose parents were both teachers. Before 1902 married women teachers faced no restrictions. Mary Canny, mother of Mary Frances Canny (1885), had seven children whilst remaining a head teacher in girls’ schools in Warwick and Townsville until 1889. Others, like Annie Stewart, mother of Elizabeth (1885), were assistant teachers in their husband’s schools. In other cases the wives of male head teachers were expected to be the unpaid sewing teacher for girls in the school. After 1902 the regulations requiring women to resign on marriage were strictly enforced, with some relaxation during war years when teacher shortages were common. These regulations were finally lifted in 1969.36

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Table 11: Scholarship winners whose mothers were teachers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student</th>
<th>Year of Scholarship</th>
<th>Mother’s maiden name</th>
<th>Before/after marriage</th>
<th>Primary/Secondary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scott, Emily</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>McRannel, Violet</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stewart, Elizabeth</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>O’Rourke, Annie</td>
<td>both</td>
<td>Primary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canny, Mary</td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Condren, Mary</td>
<td>both</td>
<td>Primary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rowland, Norman</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Davis, Annie</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond, Agnes</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>Hirst, Frances</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dowling, Margaret</td>
<td>1897</td>
<td>Morison, Clara</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, Clara</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>Conner, Clara</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennedy, Evelyn</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Gripp, Anna</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyons, Newman</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td>Long, Mary</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freeman, Eric</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Lloyd, Sarah</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones, Idrisyn</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Negus, Edith</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fenwick, Marjorie</td>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Melrose, Margaret</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MacColl, Donald</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>…, Mary Anne</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McCreedy, Alfred</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Allen, Ella</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sivell, Joyce</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>Lawless, Annie</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copeman, George</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>Briggs, Ellen</td>
<td>Home science</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baird, Betty</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Price, Madge</td>
<td>Kindergarten</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freeman, Lois</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td>Oxnard, Winifred</td>
<td>both</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windrum, Graham</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td>Grice, Alice</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee, John</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Foley, Kathleen</td>
<td>both</td>
<td>Primary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Routh, Spencer</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>Spencer, Mary</td>
<td>both</td>
<td>Home science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James, Thelma</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>Skinner, Thelma</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de Jersey, Peter &amp; John</td>
<td>1955 &amp;1957</td>
<td>Riddell, Moya</td>
<td>both</td>
<td>Primary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robin, Phillip</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>McGregor, Jean</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wright, Gillian</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>Hobson, Mabel</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of those thirty-eight Scholarship winners represented in Tables 9 and 11 who were children of teachers, fourteen became teachers themselves in schools or universities, revealing clear evidence in Queensland of the pattern of teaching families outlined by Marjorie Theobald in Victoria. This would be even more evident if the siblings of those in this study were included. Theobald claimed that early state education systems in Australia ‘were built upon a bedrock of family teaching labour’. Further research would most likely reveal that, in Queensland, teaching families were influential in leading the extension of public education into secondary and tertiary spheres, with their children taking up scholarships and entering not only teaching but also a range of other professions.

To discuss employment alone masks the fact that many mothers were active in community life, in particular in activities surrounding their children’s education. Jane Elizabeth Bourne, mother of Eleanor (1891) was most influential in her daughter’s

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37 Miller and Davey, 'Family formation', p. 28; Theobald, Knowing women, p. 205.
progress. She guided her to withdraw from school when she considered that, at eleven years of age, Eleanor was too young to proceed to secondary school. For a year she provided travel experiences and music studies instead. It was also Jane Bourne who persuaded Sir Samuel Griffith that university exhibitions should be available to girls. Eleanor was the first girl to receive such an exhibition in 1896, opening the way for any Queensland girl to have that opportunity. This had the effect of forcing the girls’ grammar schools to offer the necessary subjects. Jane Bourne also took an active part in the formation of the Creche and Kindergarten Association and the establishment of a residential college for women at the University of Queensland. She was president of the National Council of Women in 1905.38

Another mother who served in that position was Winifred Alice Freeman, born Oxnam, mother of Lois (1941) and wife of Eric (1910). She was a graduate of the University of Queensland in 1925 and, while not teaching when her children were young, joined the staff of Brisbane Girls’ Grammar School from 1944 to 1945. After her husband’s death she taught at Cavendish Road State High School, from 1962 to 1970. Freeman followed her husband in holding a seat on the University Senate between 1960 and 1968, as well as being active in the Australian Federation of University Women and the University Alumni Association. She also served as a member of the Parole Board for twenty years.39

Ada Laurie Wendorf, mother of Queenie (1919) was a further member of the National Council of Women. She was active in the Church of Christ, serving as president of the women’s state conference for fourteen years. Wendorf was represented in A biographical record of Queensland women published in 1939. Another mother featured there was Nancy Florence Day, mother of Philip (1937). She was very active in Yeronga community activities, serving as president of the Social Services League and the women’s auxiliary of the Boy Scouts.40 Others whose activities have not been recorded in such a public manner no doubt mirrored the involvement of these women. One such was Mary Teresa MacDonnell, mother of Leonard Francis (1909), who was

president of the Gympie branch of the Queensland Women’s Electoral League and raised funds for the Gympie Hospital. She also ‘lent her talents and wide influence in the movement associated with the establishment of the convent and Christian Brothers schools’.41

Mary MacDonnell’s exertion to establish Catholic schools illustrates the strong motivation of Catholics throughout Queensland to provide schools where their children could learn within the context of their faith. Religion was the backdrop to social, political and educational divides in Queensland cultural history over much of the period of this study. As previously outlined in Chapter 2, the Scholarship examination itself was both a divisive and unifying instrument in this sometimes heated battle.42 If parental occupation and educational background were the more obvious influences on children’s academic achievement, religion could be said to be a hidden but nonetheless important factor in the likelihood of success at the Scholarship level.

The religion of students in this study is another aspect of family background that has been difficult to determine unless stated on school admission registers or death certificates, or obtained from personal and family communications. Table 12 indicates the information known concerning the stated denomination of the Scholarship winners while the distribution of the population by religion appears in Table 13.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious denomination of Scholarship winners</th>
<th>Anglican</th>
<th>Catholic</th>
<th>Other Christian</th>
<th>Non-Christian</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The small figures collected in Table 12 cannot be taken as a true indication, but it seems likely that the percentage of Catholic children was lower than the average in the population of this period, which was almost 24 per cent. Many factors contribute to this under-representation. The Catholic population was largely working class and not always responsive to the call for higher education. Catholics were frequently

discouraged from sending their children to state schools and the number of Catholic schools was limited. On the other hand, bishops strongly encouraged parents to educate their children. The church also advocated the use of public examinations for their children to assimilate into the occupational structure, particularly into the civil service and the professions. The use of a uniform curriculum and external assessment provided an equal and unbiased platform to launch future careers. However, children in Catholic schools could not nominate for the Scholarship until 1884, from when they were nominated in small numbers. Table 14 gives an indication of the small numbers of candidates in Catholic schools.

Table 13: Population by religion, Queensland, 1891-1961, per 1 000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Anglican per cent of total</th>
<th>Catholic per cent of total</th>
<th>Other Christian per cent of total</th>
<th>Total population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>606</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>389</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>1106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>1318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>486</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>474</td>
<td>1519</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14: Number of schools nominating Scholarship candidates 1925-1935

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>State schools</th>
<th>Christian Brothers schools</th>
<th>Convents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>619</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>673</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whilst small numbers were nominating from Catholic schools, the result files reveal that students from these schools acquitted themselves well. Their names frequently appeared in the published first ten placings. However, it was not until 1947 that John Lee of St Joseph’s Ipswich Road was the boy placed first, followed by John Mills from Christian Brothers College Rockhampton in 1955 and Judith Cartwright from St Patrick’s Gympie, who was first girl in 1959. They were followed by Douglas Sweet.

44 Queensland Government, Past and present, p. 88.
45 Extracted from QSA: Results of State Scholarship examination, SRS 4011-1-6; SRS 4022-1-12 & 13; SRS 4022-1-22 & 23.
from Bowen Convent in 1961 and Anne Holmes from Our Lady of the Sacred Heart at Corinda in 1962. The McDonnell medal for highest pass in Catholic schools was awarded from 1936. It has been beyond the scope of this thesis to record a list of the awardees apart from the five mentioned here; but many of those who received that award were also highly successful in later public examinations.

Table 15: Number of candidates who passed Scholarship examination in selected years, 1907-1935, from state and Catholic schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>State schools candidates</th>
<th>State schools passed</th>
<th>CBC schools candidates</th>
<th>CBC schools passed</th>
<th>Convents candidates</th>
<th>Convents passed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>939</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>1026</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>2109</td>
<td>1231</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929 (Dec)</td>
<td>4371</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>443</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>538</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>5384</td>
<td>2997</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>680</td>
<td>408</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to Thomas Byrnes (1873) a number of Catholic children attended state schools. The Lilley Memorial medal, first awarded in 1905, only available to children from state schools, was won by Newman Lyons (1906), James Baxter (1907), Leonard MacDonnell (1909) and Clarence Cronin (1926) who all moved on to St Joseph’s College Nudgee for their secondary schooling. They benefited from legislation passed in 1899, through the efforts of Frank McDonnell, to enable scholarships to be taken out in schools other than grammar schools. Much later, Robin Greeves (1956) completed her secondary schooling at Loreto Convent in Brisbane. Ellen Ferricks (1924), also a Catholic, received her secondary education at Brisbane Girls’ Grammar School, while Brian Thorne (1954) attended Mackay and Herberton State High Schools.

Intertwined with parents’ occupation and religion, location was another influence on academic achievement. As already stated, not all schools across the state nominated students for the examination. Table 16 gives the distribution of winners throughout Queensland.

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46 Ibid.
Table 16: Distribution throughout Queensland of Scholarship winners, 1873-1962

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Normal*</th>
<th>Other Brisbane</th>
<th>Provincial*</th>
<th>Rural towns</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1873-1893</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894-1914</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915-1935</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936-1962</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Includes Ipswich, Toowoomba, Townsville, Rockhampton, Warwick, Gympie, Charters Towers, Mount Morgan, Mackay, Maryborough and Bundaberg, various schools in each centre
# The Normal/Brisbane Central State School closed in 1921

One school dominated the period prior to World War I. Over a third of Scholarship winners in that period attended the Brisbane Normal School, otherwise called the Brisbane Central Boys’ or Girls’ State Schools. These schools were established in 1860 and were two of the four National schools acquired by Queensland after separation from New South Wales. From 1862 a new building in the grounds was designated the Normal School, a training centre for pupil teachers. The schools were generally called by that name, which was adopted from England where it applied to training schools. The separate training centre did not operate after 1872, but pupil teachers practised in classrooms supervised by head teachers.

Four head teachers administered the boys’ school until its closure in 1921. John Rendall, who opened the school in 1860, was followed by James Semple Kerr from 1873 until 1907. Kerr had a reputation as a hard taskmaster. David Bell succeeded him until 1912, followed by Arthur Exley from 1913 until 1920. Margaret Berry was headmistress of the Girls’ School for forty-five years from 1860 to 1905, succeeded by Elizabeth Large until the schools closed in 1921.47

The importance of the Normal School for this study is two-fold. Firstly, thirty-three achievers of the 186 were students there. Secondly, the pupil teachers who trained there were in their turn transferred throughout the state, frequently appearing several years later in other schools as teachers of Scholarship winners. This far-reaching influence will be more closely examined Chapter 5.

During this period the Normal School had increasing enrolments. The boys’ school grew from 436 students in 1876 to 1108 by 1901. The girls’ school increased from 445 students in 1878 to 655 by 1900. Other large schools in the state attended by winners were Richmond Hill in Charters Towers with 870 students in 1904, Eagle Junction with 860 students in 1915 and Townsville West with 727 in 1914. In sharp contrast were the schools in the Brisbane area such as German Station (later Nundah) in 1883 with 43 students and Enoggera with 67 students in 1876. Scholarship winners emerged from small country schools like Meringandan on the Darling Downs with 47 students in 1896 and Crow’s Nest with 41 students in 1897. In 1959, when Departmental policy was to discontinue small schools and have children travel by bus to larger centres, the Pechey State School closed a fortnight before the examination. Twenty or so students were transferred to Crow’s Nest, but a defiant Scholarship class of half a dozen remained behind.48

Location is somewhat deceptive as an indicator for likely success or otherwise. When the background of the successful children is more closely examined, their location at the time of candidature was almost a matter of chance. Of the fifteen children from rural schools whose father’s occupation is known, ten were itinerant professionals such as teachers, bank managers and doctors. These children had attended several schools during their primary education, as their parent’s transfer was a regular interruption in their lives. Before going to Townsville Central State School, Spencer Routh (1949), son of a bank officer, went to six primary schools, and spent the first half of his Scholarship year at a three-teacher school at Glasshouse Mountains where his uncle was head teacher. Robin Greeves (1956), whose father was also a bank manager, was at Gladstone Central State School before moving to a two-teacher school at Mount Larcom. George Copeman (1934), son of a teacher, had been at Clifton State School before his father was transferred to Toogoolawah in his Scholarship year. Peter (1955) and John de Jersey (1957), also sons of a teacher, were subject to frequent moves. John sat for his Scholarship in Longreach, his father having been transferred there from Maryborough only six months before. The

48 Annual returns of schools, various years; Pechey family collection: Ann Pechey, Address to the Crow's Nest State School, on the occasion of the annual graduation, 1992.
academic achievements of these two brothers did not appear to have been affected by mobility.

Peter and John de Jersey were not the only siblings in this study. They followed Kenneth (1887) and Ronald Swanwick (1889), as well as Thomas Jones (1885), his sister Edith (1888) and brother John (1901). Further family connections became apparent as the study progressed. Eric Freeman (1910) saw his daughter Lois (1941) also win the Lilley medal. Betty Baird (1936) followed in the footsteps of her aunt, Henriette Baird (1905). John (Bill) Briggs (1905) was the uncle of George Copeman (1934), while Lewis Lipsett (1881) was the great-uncle of John Lipsett (1942). In addition to these relationships, a union of two Scholarship winners took place when Alfred Glen McCready (1929) and Irene Catherine Myles (1940) married in 1950. Numerous marriages of family members also occurred, such as that of Edwin Fowles (1884) to the sister of Frances Archibald (1892); or that of Minnie Chapman (1902) to the brother of Eleanor Wilkinson (1901). A son of Harry Wilson (1930) married a daughter of John Isles (1931). Other connections are a little removed from the family. When Philip Day was awarded his Lilley Memorial medal in 1937, the first person he contacted was his godmother, Madge Lilley, who was the granddaughter of Sir Charles Lilley, in whose name the medal was given.49 A similar experience was that of Ann Pechey when she won the Corporal French prize for the highest pass in English in 1959. Corporal French VC had grown up in nearby Crow’s Nest and was a friend of her father.50 What had at first appeared a simple list of successful candidates came to reveal a network of linked family relationships, friendships and shared experiences.

To reflect on these close connections means to acknowledge the small population in Queensland in the nineteenth to early twentieth century; and to recognise the small proportion of well-educated Queenslanders at that time. If the study were widened to include those placed second and third in the examination, the coincidence of family members would be even more noticeable. No doubt in some families a hope formed that a child would follow in family tradition, setting up an air of expectation. Most respondents did not report that this expectation was in any way oppressive, but rather

50 Personal communication with Sue Pechey, 14 May 2000.
an acknowledgement of their ability.\textsuperscript{51} As the likelihood of being placed first in the state was remote, and only the slightest differences in results separated a student placed first from those following, a strong element of chance pervaded the final outcome. That so many close relationships emerged in the case study was unexpected, but it suggests further examination of the influence of the extended family on academic achievement.

In an overview of family history of Australia, Ellen McEwen challenged the assumption that kinship was a weak element in Australian life. She maintained that many families migrated together or serially, helped each other to establish themselves through accommodation, employment and loans, and were present in times of crisis. Farming families worked adjacent selections, while in towns many people acquired double blocks of land and built homes for relatives. Those who did not live nearby frequently supported extended family members with loans or by paying school fees for nephews and nieces. Where the breadwinner was dead or incapacitated, a wider family supported their children. McEwen suggested that \textquote{the demographic peculiarities of Australia prompt a thorough reassessment of many of the assumptions behind the recent wave of family history}.\textsuperscript{52}

Within this study, it was not possible to explore wider kinship patterns thoroughly. However, in several families this support mechanism was clearly apparent. An anonymous contributor from the 1930s said that her \textquote{paternal grandmother paid my sister’s and my school fees}. The extended family of Lewis Lipsett (1881) at Slaty Creek was referred to earlier. Ten cousins lived on adjoining farms and formed more than half the population of the school. Spencer Routh (1949) described his family and the influence and example they afforded him:

Mum had three sisters and that side of the family were enormous letter-writers, sometimes still keeping in touch with relatives of three-quarters of a century ago in England. Dad had three brothers, and two of them married two sisters from a family of five. So that turned into a big \textquote{double family}, the vast majority of whom long stayed in good contact and friendship with each other.\textsuperscript{53}

\textsuperscript{51} See Chapters 4 and 8 for personal statements regarding expectations and reactions to success.
\textsuperscript{52} Ellen McEwen, \textquote{Family history in Australia: Some observations on a new field}, in \textit{Families in colonial Australia}, Patricia Grimshaw, Chris McConville and Ellen McEwen, eds. (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1985), pp. 192-5.
\textsuperscript{53} Personal communication with Spencer Routh, 1 November 1999.
From all these strands of analysis, it is possible to construct a profile of typical Scholarship winners. They were most likely Queensland-born, the offspring of a professional father, in all likelihood a primary school head teacher. As a fourteen-year-old they attended a large state school in a metropolitan or provincial centre. Their families had high expectations for their further education and they were supported by a wide family network. A number differed from this profile, including some who succeeded despite the lack of a cultured family background, ample educational resources or metropolitan advantages.

In the majority of cases, families were clearly the most important influences on academic and social development. Strategies used to shape this scholastic identity were not necessarily deliberate, as much as a product of an educated life-style, where cultural capital was transferred informally through language, reading and the discussion of ideas. While the home environment may have been the most significant factor in shaping the future outcomes for the Scholarship winners, this is not to say that school was unimportant, as later chapters on the influence of teachers and the encouragement of mentors will show.
Following his election as Premier in 1898, Thomas Joseph Byrnes (1873) embarked on a tour of northern centres. The first port of call was Bowen, where Byrnes visited his old school. He was presented with an illuminated address by one of the current pupils, speeches were made in his honour, and reference was made to his scholastic success while a student in Bowen and subsequently.¹ Later in the tour he went to Gympie, where he met Daniel McGroarty, his first teacher at Bowen. The two reminisced about those past school days. When Byrnes died only a few months later, McGroarty recalled their conversations in some detail, providing a rare portrait of a talented child and his school experience:

Tom Byrnes, a thick-set, chubby, bright-eyed and intelligent-looking lad, was admitted to the Bowen Primary School on the 3rd July, 1866, and was then about 5½ years old. From the very first, his progress at his lessons was very marked and rapid, he outdoing all his compeers in the race for first place in class, though many of them were much his seniors, the school being a new one, and not a few of the pupils had their early education neglected. In those good old days teachers were not hedged in by regulations and schedules, so that they had plenty of latitude and liberty to give their teaching the direction that to them seemed most likely to develop the tastes and leanings of their pupils. Byrnes, even early in his primary school life, showed a very decided bent for literature, history and biography, and took in with evident gusto any incidents in history, travel, or the lives of great men related to him; and one could not help noticing, even at this early stage, that, should the opportunity offer itself to him, his great forte would be languages, and in a less degree mathematics. … Even at mechanical work Byrnes was not far behind, as I well remember, during my first year in Gympie, after leaving Bowen, Mr. Anderson, who was then our only District Inspector, showing me a map of Ireland drawn by Byrnes, and which he was exhibiting in all the southern schools.

Another incident he put me in mind of was that I occasionally called on him to show some of the big boys how to do their work, and for him, this sometimes turned out a bit awkward, as those big boys, among whom were two or three of his own brothers, used to turn a bit ‘rusty’ on him after school.²

¹ Port Denison Times, 21 May 1898, p. 2.
² Knight, 'Byrnes' last tour', pp. 12-14.
After Daniel McGroarty left Bowen, Byrnes’ education was in the care of the teacher Alfred Wall and the Catholic priest Father McGinty, who taught him Latin. Wall described his pupil:

As I remember him he was a bright-faced, earnest-looking boy, slim and tall for his age, nothing of the sneak or prig about him, fond of all kinds of games – entering into them heartily. Participating also in the usual boyish scrapes of a harmless sort, but always owned up promptly, truthfully and fully. In all things he was honourable and straightforward. He was a splendid worker, and at twelve years of age was top of the school. Extra lessons – beyond school hours – were given to willing pupils; Byrnes was always eager for them. His attention while lessons were proceeding was evidenced by the searching questions which he put to me about anything which he did not thoroughly understand. He was much liked by his fellow scholars, and constantly gave assistance to the more backward of them in his spare moments, especially to the girls.³

Three points emerge from these accounts, notwithstanding their eulogistic nature. Firstly, Byrnes benefited from the absence of restrictions subsequently imposed on teachers and pupils as a result of the 1875 Act, a new curriculum and the requirements of the very examination in which he achieved success. Secondly, he was fortunate to have had the positive influence of two teachers, a priest and the inspector, all of whom recognised the precociousness of the young child and nurtured it through special provisions. Thirdly, although relations with his peers and older students could sometimes be ‘rusty’,⁴ Byrnes was still able to gain the respect of pupils and teachers alike.

In a closer examination of the school experience of the scholars who followed Byrnes, these three themes, the curriculum, teaching methods and peer relationships, stand out. In this chapter the primary school experience is analysed separately from that of secondary school. The aim is to develop some insights into how education in Queensland was experienced by a sample of high achieving students over the course of a century.

In the preceding chapter, it was demonstrated that in many respects related to their background and their attendance at school, these students differed from their contemporaries. While they had much in common with other children attending school, their experience of the learning process was also markedly unlike that of their

³ Ibid., p. 17.
⁴ 19th century colloquial: bad-tempered, cross, nasty.
peers. Through a life history approach, it has been possible to gain further understanding of those experiences. By exploring the meanings and values individuals attached to schooling, as well as how they responded to the expectations of others, patterns have emerged which elucidate the impact of the educational experience on individuals and on Queensland society.

When Christine Trimingham Jack advocated that educational historians should examine the lived experience of individuals engaged in the educational process, she claimed that students and teachers should not be regarded as passive recipients but as active participants in shaping what actually happened, ‘as active as those who sought to determine the public structure’.5 Borrowing from Teresa de Lauretis, Trimingham Jack used the term experience to mean a process ‘produced not by external values, or material causes, but by one’s personal, subjective, engagement in the practices, discourses, and institutions that lend significance (value, meaning, and affect) to the events of the world’.6 It is the engagement of individuals which is the focus here, with the intention that through the collective experiences are revealed a range of diverse strategies of accommodation, resistance or active shaping of the educational process.7

Discovering and then disentangling the elements of school experience in the lives of Scholarship winners was a complex exercise, exacerbated by issues to do with the informants’ memories and the lack of sources. That a number of respondents requested anonymity was also problematic in an account where names were used or identities could be recognised.

Historians of education have been somewhat mesmerised by strict reliance on official documentation in which few personal accounts are embedded. Mary de Jabrun, writing of the environmental factors affecting teaching and learning in north Queensland, was able to tease out some of the lived social realities for teachers, families and pupils from correspondence files, inspectors’ reports and school

5 Trimingham Jack, 'School history', p. 46.
6 Teresa de Lauretis, Alice doesn't: Feminism, semiotics, cinema (Bloomington, Illinois: Indiana University, 1984), p. 159.
7 Mackinnon, 'Collective biography', p. 102.
histories; but contemporary accounts from children were elusive or nonexistent. The search for diaries and personal recollections of Scholarship winners no longer living was not especially fruitful, so that the key source of material was the open questionnaire distributed to thirty-seven of those still alive who could be contacted. Thirty-five responded, ten of whom agreed that their responses be used for the purposes of research but requested that they be not attributed to their name. The quality of responses varied from brief evaluative comments to lengthy multi-faceted descriptions and considered statements.

Allyson Holbrook highlighted the complexities of dealing with the memory of childhood in a large study of the transition from school to work that she conducted in the Hunter Valley in New South Wales. She demonstrated the multi-layered nature of memory and experience. Some of the difficulties have been discussed in Chapter 1, but several of them are relevant here, for it is only by understanding the obstacles that historians can mine the rich vein of oral history and life history writing to answer the critics of such methodologies.

The first of four major issues concerning memories of childhood is that such recollections may appear simplistic. Holbrook acknowledged that ‘memory can “collapse” events, but it is also important to be aware that children process information differently at different ages and memory reflects this. What may seem over-simplified recall may actually approximate a child’s perspective’. The second issue is that memories are ‘shaped by the institutions in which they arise and are infused with dominant cultural values and political ideologies’. Thirdly, shifts in personal attitudes and changing external circumstances affect the process of selection of memories and their meanings. This was most apparent among those respondents who had themselves become teachers, whose reflections on past practices were filtered through their more recent experiences and current attitudes. Rather than being

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10 Ibid., p. 9.
12 Ibid.
a negative aspect of oral history or personal accounts, Lucy Taksa claimed that the process of selection by cross-referencing experiences is important in the construction of individual memories. She said that for the historian ‘such a reading provides insight into the way collective memory and myth formation help people make sense of their lived experience’.13

A fourth difficulty lies in the process of disentangling meaning. When concepts are intertwined in childhood, this tangle of ideas is frequently carried through into adulthood. Holbrook found that for many of her respondents, ‘teachers were discipline’: good teachers were fair teachers, bad teachers were brutal or weak.14 Similarly, positive and negative meanings can be attached to a single event.

As an example, Edwin Fowles (1884), when speaking in tribute to the Brisbane Normal School at its closing in 1927, regarded as a worthwhile, if painful, experience, an act of discipline administered by the teachers he greatly admired:

With hundreds of other young Queenslanders I went there where we learned thoroughness, industry and discipline. ‘Cave canem’ was a good password. Anyhow, no boy wants to be brought up a molly-coddle. We were the jolliest sandpipers on earth. Off with our hats to the excellent teachers of those days – W.L. Gripp, A.S. Kennedy, W.B. Harcastle, Fred Bennett, A.Mutch, A. St Ledger, D. Baldwin, and a dozen others who won the undying regard of their pupils and yet had a stick in the cupboard when it was necessary! But they used it seldom, and with sublime discretion.

James Semple Kerr – the daddy of them all! With his tall figure, long flowing silk frock coat, red face, patriarchal whiskers, and shrewd kindly eye – how he whacked the Special Class once, and we all knew we deserved it! Perhaps we didn’t get enough. Anyhow, I wouldn’t miss his ‘laying on of hands’ for the worlds! It’s one of my tenderest memories left behind! Here’s to you, good old Normal!15

Jan Kociumbas, an historian of Australian childhood, writing about the late nineteenth century, said that ‘for most children, attendance at a state school was a punitive experience’.16 Perhaps because historians have relied on punishment records, or because the memories of harsh punishment in childhood are easily recalled and have a larger-than-life quality, it is only recently that a more balanced account of schooling

13 Ibid., p. 79.
15 Unsourced, quoted in Watson, ‘There is a spirit’, p. 70.
has been attempted. Holbrook warned historians not to ‘mistakenly identify memories of extreme discipline as the norm’ and to acknowledge positive, rewarding, even inspiring experiences as common.  

She also cautioned against regarding children’s compliance with control as powerlessness but rather to recognise that children had a stake in control, by resisting brutality or responding to those considered strict but fair.

If children were able to accommodate or resist physical discipline, they were also active in their adoption and adaptation of the curriculum, which has been regarded as another aspect of control. The curriculum was a vehicle for exhortations to duty, obligation and obeissance to the current ideology, whether it be empire worship, racism, the Anzac legend, or anti-communism. Whatever the dominant doctrine, the classroom climate changed very little over the ninety years. Children of the 1950s lived in a moral climate of censoriousness not very different to that of the 1870s.

This lack of change is revealed in an overview of the curriculum offered to Queensland primary school students over ninety years, from 1873 to 1962, despite several government inquiries and the introduction of syllabus changes in 1876, 1905, 1914, 1930 and 1952. Writers who have analysed each of these change-points have concluded that very little variation occurred in classrooms. The emphasis on British history, grammar, handwriting, and repetitive arithmetical procedures that dominated the curriculum in the 1870s permeated through all the consequent changes, despite the

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17 Holbrook, ‘Rewards and punishments’, p. 11.
18 Ibid., p. 28.
introduction of more Australian content. Changes in philosophical approaches to education also had little effect. The strong focus on the moral development of dutiful citizens that underlined the early curriculum remained strong, despite efforts to develop a more child-centred approach and the notion of a more democratic citizen, particularly after World War II. Students in the 1960s recalled similar strict discipline and rigid control, lack of variation and limited scope for creativity, as had those in their parents’ and grandparents’ generations. Rote learning of facts continued throughout the period, textbooks being brought in to assist this process. In 1952 the introduction of the project method, with the intention of encouraging individual research and initiative, did something to shake the settled patterns, but resulted in not more than the copying of facts from restricted sources, accompanied by a great deal of pasting and colouring. Neatness was considered to be paramount over content, and success lay in the presentation of neatly printed maps, handwriting copybooks, projects and exercises, sometimes decorated with elaborate headings. The era of the inkwell and the metal nib pen, so prone to blots and disasters, was hastening to a close with the introduction of the ballpoint pen, but endured to the end of the Scholarship era.

Two influences contributed to the resistance to change. Firstly, pupil teachers continued to be trained in a closed system by teachers or instructors imbued with the old methods, closely supervised by inspectors who had also graduated through the system. Following the establishment of the Teachers Training College in 1914, its staff was largely drawn from the teaching service, perpetuating the same practices. Once teachers were in schools, the expectations of head teachers and inspectors were that they taught as they had been taught themselves. There was little opportunity for professional development, apart from study for the examinations to gain promotion, which were fashioned in much the same way as the one set for their students, the Scholarship examination.

This examination, considered by many to be the ultimate arbiter of primary education in Queensland, was the second influence inhibiting change. Despite minor changes in

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21 Ustinoff, From history to social studies, (thesis), pp. 96-7.
the syllabus, the format of the examination papers changed little. As the past papers were used as practice tests, the expectation was that there would be little variation. Preparation for success in the examination required the learning of history and geography facts, rules of grammar and sentence analysis, and mathematics procedures. Teachers resisted change and were held in what Peter Putnis called ‘an ideological and pedagogic straitjacket’.  

One constant presence in every classroom was a series of books known as the School Readers. The first series of Irish National Readers was adopted in the 1860s, but after criticism at the 1875 Royal Commission, new Australian Readers were introduced. In 1891 the Royal or ‘blue’ Readers, prepared for Victorian schools, were used in Queensland. These were replaced in 1914 by the Queensland or ‘red’ Readers I-VI, which remained in use until the 1970s. Several changes were made in the 1930s, but some of the ‘new’ material at that time was actually taken from the older Royal Readers, and many of the changes were cosmetic. While it may have been the intention of the compilers that children would be imbued with a love of reading, the Readers were mostly used to teach children word derivation, grammar and spelling. The nature of the poems and stories expressed the values of obedience and duty and the virtues of hard work.

For some children, hungry for reading material, the books were a valued resource. Oscar Kindervater (1935) was one such child. He said:

I am greatly indebted to the old red School Readers numbers 1 to 6. To their contents I owe my moral sensitiveness (even at age 12), love of good poetry and good English. (All printed in plain black on white – no coloured pictures!).

Charles Miller (1938) also valued the grounding he received, not only in literature:

I enjoyed primary school: thought highly (and still do) of the curriculum, which was a good mix of social studies, mathematics, history, geography and literature and gave me a sound knowledge base, which I still use.

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23 Putnis, 'Compulsory Shakespeare', p. 58.
25 Personal communication with Oscar Kindervater, 16 December 1999.
26 Personal communication with Charles Miller, 15 March 2000.
Kindervater and Miller were not the only ones to value their exposure to people, language and cultures beyond the experience of the average young Queenslander. Among the respondents there was a diversity of experience. While several valued the literature, the sound basis of knowledge, the mental discipline and self-discipline gained through that experience, there were others who dismissed the curriculum as a slab of facts to be remembered, along with constant practice of arithmetical procedures and sentence analysis.

Brian Thorne’s (1954) account of primary schooling provided a vivid picture of school conditions:

The learning environment was rigid – rows and columns – and ruled with an iron rod so there was very little disruption. Resources were as scarce as hens’ teeth - there was no library from which to borrow reading books or to go to for reference material and we had no text books or photocopiers so everything we needed to know or do had to be copied down. We had a novel, Sea Change, and an Education Department Reader, notebooks, pencils, fountain pen, coloured pencils. Yet I consider that the quality of teaching – all done with chalk and blackboard – was second to none. Our teachers …were dedicated and skilled and worked miracles under trying conditions.

We dictated, transcribed, analysed and parsed, wrote compositions, had them corrected, then rewrote them and committed them to memory, read round the class and in groups. We drew illustrated maps, wrote copybooks, and did endless weekly projects – one page – with illustrated headings and some school exercise to fill the body.27

The lack of libraries and resources mentioned by Thorne was generally accepted as the norm. Although attempts had been made to establish libraries in schools, many Queensland school children were denied these facilities until the 1970s when teacher librarians were employed and Commonwealth government funding allowed the establishment of adequate library facilities.28 The lack of resources was a constant issue in schools. There were some years in the 1950s when no supplies, including chalk and textbooks, were delivered to schools for two years.29

27 Personal communication with Brian Thorne, 16 December 1999.
28 Logan and Clarke, State education, p. 4.
Large class sizes were also taken for granted. Heather Thomsen (1955) recalled large classes of about 50 students. John Mills (1955), at a Catholic school, remembered the fun, despite the class sizes and the weather:

Big classes; lots of kids having lots of fun; teachers under pressure in big classes in hot and sweaty weather; my own participation in just about everything going; very busy at altar serving; avoiding the ‘strap’, there being plenty of discipline at school. Learning environment strict, conformist, oriented to results. Resources were adequate for the times. All the teachers were of good or excellent quality.

The curriculum was set by State Government Department of Public Instruction: good in English and maths, poor in social studies because of the emphasis on history of England and Europe, and teaching the then-prevalent racist views of Aboriginal people and ignoring Aboriginal history in Australia.

Children who attended one or two-teacher schools had a somewhat different experience, as Robin Greeves (1956) at Mount Larcom, a two-teacher school, described:

There were few resources other than those supplied by the Education Department. Extracurricular reading was from books in the home or the CWA book cupboard. There were five or six in the class. Discipline was firm, but no physical punishment except on one or two occasions. Most focus was on examinable facts with occasional art, craft, sewing lessons or sport, usually gender based. Teachers used the ‘threat’ of the Inspector.

I remember much rote learning, word lists to enhance vocabulary, and exercises based on past scholarship papers. No reading outside set texts. The teacher encouraged competition among students, but no debate or discussion. Most learning was based on facts determined as important by analysis of past papers.

Ann Pechey (1959) valued her small-school experience, in particular the very last weeks. Speaking to students in 1992 at a function at Crow’s Nest State School, she recalled:

In late 1959, when I was finishing year 8 at Pechey State School – the last year of primary school in those days – the Education Department decided to build a combined primary and secondary school in the district and close down Pechey, … and bus everyone into a central school in the township.

Don’t underestimate it – this was a major lifestyle change. I mean Pechey counted it a big year if we had over 20 students. It was the end of an era of riding your horse to school, and all the action that took place in the horse paddock after school. …

30 Personal communication with Heather Simpson, 1 May 2003.
32 Personal communication with Robin Sullivan, 4 December 1999.
Anyway, centralisation was a dirty word in the Pechey family. … My parents and a few others, abetted by the most extraordinary primary school teacher I’ve ever met, decided not to comply with the Education Department’s directive on the grounds that it was thoughtless to move children so close to the final examination.

So while the new bus dutifully went round picking up everyone else, I and a handful of others stayed on at Pechey and had a glorious fortnight of picnics, excursions, games and generally goofing-off.³³

The special experience of small schools was not confined to country areas. Many outer suburban schools also had low enrolments. Although Judith Payne (1950) attended the large Ascot State School, she felt she benefited from an unusual arrangement, for in the grounds of Ascot State School was a one-teacher school:

… Then I attended the Ascot One Teacher School all the way through [to] sixth grade. William Gordon was the principal and sole teacher. It was a one-room, model school designed for observations by teacher trainees who were destined for one- or two-teacher schools in the country. There were about 30-35 students in six grades. It was a great learning environment, though old-fashioned in many ways. We learned to write first on slates, and then with straight pens, ink, and copybooks. There was a big emphasis on high achievement and competitiveness, which was OK for most of the students, who throve in that learning environment. There was an element of ‘showing-off’, in the sense that we were expected to behave well and to be responsive and friendly toward the teacher trainees observing from the elevated desks at the back of the room. We constantly overheard the lessons given to the other age groups in the room, so that learning seemed to have great continuity, not being limited by our present ages or grade levels. We also kept chickens, grew vegetables and dahlias, folk-danced, played cricket and basketball and swam, and played furious games of keep-away at recess (boys and girls, large and small). In Scholarship year the small number of us in sixth grade went on to Ascot State School.³⁴

Two of the Scholarship winners are known to have had most of their primary education through the Primary Correspondence School, established in 1922 to meet the needs of isolated children. Each moved to a state school in the final one or two years, but one regarded the years spent learning at home on the dairy farm as perhaps his most formative learning experience:

On reflexion, I wonder whether the individual circumstances of correspondence, and mother-as-supervisor learning (on the job as the courses unfolded), usually audibly, were the main influences on me.³⁵

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³³ Ann Pechey. 'Address to the Crow's Nest State School, on the occasion of the annual graduation, 1992'. Pechey family papers.


³⁵ Personal communication, 23 July 2000. Quoted anonymously by request.
Several of the above accounts refer to discipline, more specifically to the practice of caning as a means of punishment. This practice was widespread in Queensland schools, not banned until 1995. Holbrook’s study of adults who started school in New South Wales between 1905 and 1948 drew attention to the ‘interconnectedness of disciplinary practice and teaching personality’. She found that ‘what teachers taught and the way they taught were linked in the informants’ memories with their personality, which essentially boiled down to the way the teacher controlled either the class or the individual informant’. This control was ‘mostly perceived in terms of strictness, goodness and niceness, with extremes of madness and weakness’. Children developed expectations about teachers’ behaviour and responded accordingly, by cooperation, resistance or accommodation. They had a strong sense of fairness and resented unjust discipline, whether it was directed towards them or others, particularly punishment for mistakes or inability in schoolwork. While discipline was not the major focus of this study, statements made by respondents were similar to those in Holbrook’s work.

For instance, Hazel Baynes (1929) said of her Scholarship teacher’s methods:

I found some of them almost brutal. He was a World War I ‘digger’ who often had outbursts of extreme anger and caned children who could not do the work. I was once thumped in the back for making a mistake.

Bernard Backstrom (1940) had a similar experience, but with a change of school, he found a different atmosphere:

The Buranda experience – hellish. Brutal and brutalising discipline – cane for underachievers. Teachers utilised methods which ignored differences between child and adult learning. I was fairly isolated from fellows by achievement levels.


Sighted 5 December 2006
38 Ibid., p. 28.
39 Personal communication with Hazel Campbell, 3 February 2000.
40 Personal communication with Bernard Backstrom, 10 December 1999.
Girls were not always subject to the same methods of discipline as the boys. Marceline Pickup (1944) remembered:

Punishment was standard for the 1940s - for boys, the cane; for girls, a map with 40 names. Girls at least learnt something.  

In contrast to the punitive practices, many respondents related more rewarding experiences. Just as Holbrook’s work recorded as many instances of positive motivation as negative or punishing ones, so it was in this study. She reported that children were positively motivated to learn and behave through formal prizes, books, and stamps on good work. Rewards also came in the form of treats, privileges or indulgences. Positive comments, gestures or words of praise or encouragement were valued, particularly if the teacher had engaged with the individual student and demonstrated belief in their ability. 

Acts of individual encouragement from teachers were long remembered. Thomas Byrnes (1873) kept the Latin book of Virgil given to him by his mentor, Father McGinty. Oscar Kindervater (1935) recalled a geography book given to him by his teacher Cyril Ernst, and Anne Holmes (1962) remembered ‘with huge affection Sister John Mary, who gave me a real book to read in Grade 2 because I could read more than the other kids’. 

Teachers took account of advanced ability by selecting the brighter students to give assistance to those who were struggling. Some achievers enjoyed this activity, whilst some, like Thomas Byrnes, found it created difficulties for them with other students. Those hungry for information and seeking challenge generally had to find it themselves, either through working ahead, reading beyond the set texts, or finding material at home or elsewhere. George Johnston (1928) was one who spent a deal of his time on the veranda teaching younger students, while his father, the teacher, taught others in the one-teacher school. As George was the only student in the Scholarship class, he was also able to work ahead on his own, seeking help only when needed.

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41 Personal communication with Marceline Luck, 3 March 2000.  
42 Holbrook, ‘Rewards and punishments’, p. 16.  
44 Personal communication with Oscar Kindervater, 16 December 1999.  
45 Personal communication with Anne Holmes, 21 October 2001.  
46 Telephone conversation with Gerry Johnston, 10 November 1999.
Brian Thorne (1954) also found himself the substitute teacher:

Harold Armstrong, as the head teacher, took the scholarship class. Harold had everything written in Department of Education exercise books, covered with brown paper with a loop of red tape through the top left corner of each. These were suspended from a row of small nails below the blackboard. He would open a book at a page, pass it to me with ‘Thorne, write this on the board’, whereupon he would retire to his office to do the administration work he needed to do. We didn’t dare misbehave as the little man had us terrified, and when I was finished, he would say, ‘take the book home and write yours out tonight,’ – so I got to double dip.47

The experience of one girl (1930s) was an enriched one:

Because both my parents were school teachers, I was brought up in a learning environment. The headmasters of West and High School were personal friends of my parents and lived close to us. Discipline, especially self-discipline, was a way of life. I was always encouraged in my schoolwork – at home and at school. There were always plenty of books, including dictionaries and encyclopaedias, to read – and I loved to read. Emphasis was placed on reading, writing and maths. We were not allowed to waste time in school. Maths cards were produced if one finished work before the allotted time. In Grade 5, the highest achievers sometimes acted as ‘teacher’s aides’ in the kindergarten classes.48

Spencer Routh (1949) also had more than a passing acquaintance with the arithmetic cards mentioned above:

Roughly the first half of the year I attended a three-teacher school, Glass House Mountains, with my uncle as head-teacher. There was lots of semi-independent work, which suited me. I didn’t know at the time, but my father was much more conscious of the Lilley medal than I was. He asked my uncle to ensure I did very well at arithmetic. There were sets of cards with arithmetic problems and answers, very appropriate for independent work, and I probably did more of those than almost anyone else in the history of Queensland education.49

In several of the above accounts, mention was made of special provisions made for the Scholarship class. Thomas Byrnes was in receipt of extra lessons, Edwin Fowles (1884) referred to the special class at the Normal School. Saturday classes were regularly held for this class.50 A number reported that while school hours were officially from 9.30 a.m. to 3.30 p.m., the Scholarship class usually started an hour earlier, when homework was heard.

47 Personal communication with Brian Thorne, 16 December 1999.
48 Personal communication, 13 October 1999. Quoted anonymously by request.
49 Personal communication with Spencer Routh, 1 November 1999.
50 Watson, 'There is a spirit', pp. 65, 70.
Spencer Routh (1949) also recalled:

The second half of the year was at Townsville Central State School. The headmaster took the Scholarship class for extra time each week, for English grammar.\textsuperscript{51}

The experience of Brian Thorne (1954) was similar:

The day started earlier for the scholarship class, who had to be in and have had homework corrected before the official starting time. After school, we were kept up to an hour doing the time-consuming things such as writing compositions, doing trial papers (and correcting them) etc. But we never had Saturday school as a lot of other schools had.\textsuperscript{52}

As explained in Chapter 2, the Queensland Teachers’ Union waged a vigorous opposition to the practice of providing extra classes, largely because of the increased burden on teachers. They used arguments in which medical experts warned of the damage of over-stimulation to the minds of young children. In 1936 the Department of Public Instruction brought in regulations to discourage the extension of school hours for Scholarship classes, but this study reveals that the practice was still widespread throughout the Scholarship era.\textsuperscript{53}

In some schools it was common for the final two years of primary school to be taught by the same teacher, partly to consolidate the learning. Bernard Backstrom (1940) claimed that ‘the practice of the same teacher for the last two years of school avoided the settling in period. On occasions we ‘at the top’ were paired with the ‘other end’ – a mutual benefit.’\textsuperscript{54} His teacher at Yeronga was Donald Maccoll (1919), himself a Lilley medallist.

John Mills (1955) remembered the teacher he had for two years very well.

Brother J.M. Murphy was my teacher in both sub-scholarship and scholarship years, and that was a big bonus for me. He was most supportive and encouraging of the kids near the top of the class, with extra work to stretch us and improve our thinking and experience. He also worked to give extra attention to the kids with learning difficulties. A remarkable teacher!\textsuperscript{55}

\textsuperscript{51} Personal communication with Spencer Routh, 1 November 1999.
\textsuperscript{52} Personal communication with Brian Thorne, 16 December 1999.
\textsuperscript{53} Education Office Gazette, 3 May (1936); Goodman, Secondary education in Queensland, p. 274.
\textsuperscript{54} Personal communication with Bernard Backstrom, 10 December 1999.
\textsuperscript{55} Personal communication with John Mills, 19 January 2001.
Aiya Ekis (1957) formed the impression that her teacher was intent on his students achieving success:

Mr Hempenstall, who I had for grade seven and eight, had already made a name for himself by rescuing a little girl … So he was in a way a hero, and therefore I was quite pleased to be in his class. However, it seemed that, in many ways, he was using this class as a training ground for the Scholarship examination. He had set his sights on getting at least a couple of us in the top six or so, or maybe even winning the Lilley medal. …I don’t think any of us took his threats of what we should do in the Scholarship exam too seriously. 56

The expectation of success was usually more in the mind of teachers or parents than the children themselves, most of whom had no idea of their level of ability beyond that of the other local candidates.

Preparation and practice were the abiding memories of Anne Holmes (1962):

We worked very hard: I probably did three or four hours’ homework every night. My recollection, which can’t be entirely accurate, is of spending about half my time doing every Scholarship maths paper since 1947. Certainly we believed in practice. 57

The preoccupation with examination preparation was not officially condoned. In the Education Office Gazette, teachers were enjoined not to sacrifice outlets such as physical education or cultural subjects like singing and drawing in the effort to gain good results, but it seems that these warnings were not always heeded. 58 When asked about outlets for creativity, respondents frequently replied with some incredulity, regarding it as absent from the school experience. Marceline Pickup (1944) said ‘creativity is not something I recall ever being mentioned’, and John Mills (1955) replied ‘creativity – it is difficult to recall the word being used’. 59 Yet, there were occasional recollections of activities such as singing lessons, drama presentations and ‘penny’ concerts performed for parents on Friday afternoons.

Ekis (1957) also remembered a particular choir:

Perhaps amongst the more fun memories that I have is that of being in a self-conducted choir in grade seven and eight. There were twenty of us with Helen Bagley and myself playing the piano and singing alternately. The practices were

57 Personal communication with Anne Holmes, 21 October 2001.
held before school on Friday mornings and the first part was spent re-enacting the Goon Show which had been on the radio the night before. We had a few budding comics amongst us.60

The latter accounts contrast with the overall impression of an unimaginative curriculum with very little outlet for creative expression within the daily classroom routine, and only occasional opportunities for extracurricular stimulation. However, some found that their reading opened them to the world of ideas. School compositions or essays gave a little scope for self-expression, although topics set for these compositions were not always conducive to creativity. For example, in the 1900 English examination, candidates were asked to ‘write an account of one striking incident of the war in South Africa’. After the 1930s candidates could choose from a range of topics. In 1959 they could select one of the following:

(a) My ambition; (b) Australian birds; (c) The conquest of space; (d) Our pioneers; (e) Road safety; (f) A courageous act; (g) Pen friends.61

Art was remembered as ‘in drawing you had to draw lines and colours exactly how you were told’.62 As specialist art, music and drama teachers were not yet employed, any ventures into these areas normally depended on the personal interest of the class teachers. Radio broadcasts of lessons began in the 1930s, enabling children across the state to have regular instruction, especially in music and singing.63

The area for greatest self-expression was probably the playground, for it was there that children largely determined their own activities or were engaged in sport. Spencer Routh (1949) certainly found it enjoyable:

I really think my greatest happiness was playing ‘Red Rover’ at 11a.m. break: any break when we didn’t play it was an inferior break.64

Some respondents recalled no organised sport, with the only physical activity being the games children played themselves at lunch time. On the other hand, James Baker (1950) found sport was a major preoccupation:

I was active in sport and played tennis and cricket for the school and represented Townsville in a representative cricket team. I also captained my school team.65

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60 Brown, Reif and Tyler, Memories, p. 52.
61 CM, 27 November 1959, p.10.
62 Personal communication with Lois Freeman, 1 November 1999.
63 Holthouse, Looking back, p. 170.
64 Personal communication with Spencer Routh, 1 November 1999.
For the high achievers success at sport was sometimes a godsend. John Mills (1955) recalled that ‘other kids liked to take high achievers in schoolwork down a peg; success in sport brought respect’, 66 while Spencer Routh (1949) saw that despite his lack of athletic prowess he did serve some purpose:

I don’t think I was noticeably popular or unpopular among fellow-students. People who led in the playground were the good athletes, and I was only a bit better than average. But I think that I was expected to raise the satisfaction levels of teacher/head-teacher/inspector, and so filled a useful role in class as far as my classmates were concerned. 67

Peer relationships were not always so good. Just as the peers of Thomas Byrnes (1873) were sometimes ‘rusty’ with him, so did the classmates of other achievers make life difficult. Hazel Baynes (1929) recalled:

As a quiet child who had no difficulties with the tasks set, I enjoyed my primary schooling. The attitude of other children often distressed me. I remember many snide remarks if I did well. On one occasion I was stoned on my way home by a group of boys because I had come ‘top’. 68

Anne Holmes (1962) also found herself on the outside:

I mostly remember not fitting in, having no friends, being picked on for being scruffy. I was no good at anything except the core schoolwork – very untidy, couldn’t draw or sing or play games. 69

While one male felt that his peers were ‘mystified’ by him, most respondents did not register any difficulties with peers. Graham Windrum (1941) summed up the experience:

The attitude of other children to high achievers was maybe a little envious, certainly not derogatory or aggressive. 70

Those children of parents who moved frequently, such as teachers and bank officers, were subject to all the difficulties associated with changing schools, leaving old friends and making new ones. There were other disrupting influences as well, largely the impacts of major world events like wars and depressions, as well as sickness and loss of family members. The experience of World War I was felt differently in the lives of students, as the following descriptions illustrate.

67 Personal communication with Spencer Routh, 1 November 1999.
68 Personal communication with Hazel Campbell, 3 February 2000.
69 Personal communication with Anne Holmes, 21 October 2001.
70 Personal communication with Graham Windrum, 20 May 2000.
Lister Hopkins (1923) was the son of Quaker parents. During World War I his father, Francis, was a member of a delegation to the Minster for Education complaining of the jingoistic nature of teaching. Representing the Toowoomba Anti-Conscription League, he told the Minister of his concerns that his children came home singing ‘we have a navy, a fighting navy, to keep our foes at bay’. He maintained that war was a social curse and that teaching children the glory of war and hero worship of generals and admirals was setting the seeds of that curse.  

The war left other legacies. Graham Windrum (1941) described his experience:

My father was wounded and gassed in France in 1918, and was never a really fit man thereafter. My mother was unable to continue teaching after she married but I believe they had both saved to buy a small house at Wilston, and so we had a roof over our heads during the Depression. I had a very happy childhood. No one ever told me we were poor, till much later in life.

My father took my sister and me away from Wilston, two blocks away, and sent us to Windsor, miles away, when the headmaster at Wilston School refused to fly the flag on Anzac Day!  

War was not the only adverse event to impact on school experience. Charles Miller (1938) recalled that in the Great Depression, ‘resources were very simple but we accepted them as quite adequate’. However, it was not long before the effects of war were felt again. The restrictions of World War II affected Enid Andrews (1942) who was evacuated from north Queensland to finish her Scholarship year, firstly in Maryborough and then at Sandgate. With the threat of invasion, particularly in the north, ‘within the space of a few weeks the attendance at the Tully school dropped from 265 to 70, and most of the school’s teachers were also transferred’.

Marceline Pickup (1944) had her schooling temporarily interrupted by the regulations brought in in 1942 requiring that schools be worked in two shifts so that only half the enrolment would be present at one time:

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71 QSA: Deputation from the women's peace army in regard to the elimination of jingoistic teaching from school books, 1917, PRV7869 1-6.
72 Personal communication with Graham Windrum, 20 May 2000.
73 Personal communication with Charles Miller, 15 March 2000.
74 Personal communication with Enid Wildsoet, 20 January 2003.
75 Greg Logan and Rosemary Mammino, Schools at war: Memories of school days during World War II (Brisbane: Department of Education, 1995), p. 18.
World War II impacted significantly, i.e. half-day schooling for 1-2 years. But a schoolteacher aunt enforced extra lessons at home – obviously to advantage, but not seen that way at the time! We had slit trenches for air raid warning drills.76

The father of Gwladys (Hilary) Davies (1948) served in the Royal Australian Air Force during the war. The family followed him to various parts of Australia during his time in service. Hilary attended eight schools in three states during her primary years.77

Some balance in the accounts of wartime adversity in Queensland appeared in a publication based on the memories of former students of those years, written by Greg Logan and Rosemary Mammino. They pointed out that ‘terrible as adults knew the war to be, it often aroused different emotions in children … for most … the war was a time of sheer excitement. There was so much going on!’78

Aiya Ekis (1957) represented the post-war flow of migrant children from Europe. Her sister’s account revealed some of the difficulties this caused them.

My first memory of school is making the big decision to change my name… My sister Aija had similar problems with all sorts of variations of pronunciation. She simply changed the spelling to Aiya, as this was how it was pronounced. To be accepted by ones peers was everything. We never quite succeeded in primary school. To be accepted by teachers was much easier, and there were rewards. Teachers were always pleased when you got good marks.79

Overall, the primary school experiences were diverse, as diverse as the children themselves, their backgrounds, inclinations, locations and the circumstances. Yet there are surprising elements of sameness about them throughout the entire period. The school conditions, the curriculum, teaching methods and resources remained largely unchanged. Perhaps most significantly, the highly achieving students had a sense of differentness from their peers, not always understood from a child’s perspective but brought into focus as adults. Many of the difficulties faced in primary school were not as pronounced when the high achievers moved on to secondary schools where they were more likely to find acceptance.

76 Personal communication with Marceline Luck, 3 March 2000.
77 CP, 12 June 1949, p. 5.
78 Logan and Mammino, Schools at war, p. 40.
79 Brown, Reif and Tyler, Memories, p. 52.
Success in the Scholarship examination entitled young people to two years of secondary education. Following a further public examination this could be extended so that students could complete four or five years at secondary school. Despite their demonstrated ability, not all the Scholarship winners in this study were able to take advantage of these opportunities, but the majority did so. Their attendance at secondary school set them apart, at least until the final ten years covered by this study. The longer they remained at school, the more atypical they were. Table 17 shows that despite gradually increasing attendance, completion of secondary schooling was not common for young Queenslanders of the Scholarship era. It was even more uncommon for girls than for boys, more details of which will be revealed in Chapter 6.

Table 17: Percentages of age groups sitting for public examinations, 1911-54

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Scholarship</th>
<th>Junior</th>
<th>Senior</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18 indicates that almost a third of the winners did not complete four more years of education. For four girls who were Scholarship candidates in the period 1877-96 there is no record of attendance at grammar schools: Helena Johnson (1877), Lillian Jarrott (1886), Emily Wild (1890), and Agnes Richmond (1896). It is possible that their families decided that their services were needed at home, rather than have them leave to go away to boarding school. Agnes Richmond became a pupil teacher in 1899. Two boys, Lewis Lipsett (1881) and Donald MacColl (1919), became pupil teachers immediately from the classroom, but all other boys attended a secondary school.

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80 When examinations were held in April between 1917 and 1929, the period was two and a half years.
81 Smith, History of the Scholarship. Appendix 3. Table used with permission of the author.
82 QSA: Register of pupil teachers, females, 1875-1886, PRV8004.
Table 18: Participation of scholarship winners in secondary education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Completed 4 years</th>
<th>Completed 2 years or fewer</th>
<th>No secondary education</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 19: Type of school attended by scholarship winners during first two years of secondary education+

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Grammar schools</th>
<th>Catholic schools</th>
<th>Other church</th>
<th>State high schools</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1874-1911</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912-1946</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947-1963</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20#</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*After 1901 scholarships could be taken at approved schools other than grammar schools
* Opening of first 6 state high schools in 1912
# Expansion of state high schools, particularly after 1958

Note: Ten students moved from state high schools to other schools for the final two years of schooling and two left grammar schools to attend state high schools.

That almost two-thirds of those who achieved first place in the Scholarship examination were able to complete four years of secondary schooling at a time when so few of their contemporaries did so, is testament firstly to their own ability, and secondly to their families and schools, who were able to support them through their education. For some families, as will be shown later, this was not an easy task.

It has been possible to trace the progress of state scholars at the grammar schools between 1874 and 1926, as their payments were recorded in a scholarship register. In addition, the schools furnished regular reports to the Minister.83 If their report was unsatisfactory in terms of attendance, behaviour or achievement, the scholars received a letter of admonition requesting an explanation and an improvement, reminding them

83 QSA: Registers of grammar/secondary school scholarships 1874-1926, PRV7931-1-2, PRV7931-1-1-5; Goodman, Secondary education in Queensland, p. 91.
of the privilege they had been afforded by the state. Almost without exception, the scholars in this study had satisfactory reports.

For some, the stay at grammar school was very short. Mary Canny’s (1885) father wrote from Warwick to the Under Secretary for Education informing him that his daughter had not found the transition to Brisbane Girls’ Grammar easy, and for the sake of her health he was withdrawing her:

I thought it necessary to bring my daughter home at the end of February. … Circumstances prevent me from sending her back at present, but she is in the meantime receiving instructions at home in most of the branches specified in the Grammar School curriculum. I trust that the Minister will be pleased to continue the Scholarship, as I respectfully submit that no wilful infringement of the Regulations is shown. My daughter is young, and will be better fitted in the course of some months to understand the works of the Grammar school.84

Unfortunately the Scholarship was removed, but Mary became a pupil teacher under the tutelage of her mother in 1888.85

Canny was not the only one who had difficulty adjusting to new conditions. The father of Winifred Burrell (1882) wrote to the Under Secretary complaining about the burden of home study expected of a young girl:

I hardly know the amount of work expected from a Grammar school pupil but the enclosed which I have taken from her note book appears to be a most formidable paper for a girl of thirteen to get through in an evening.86

He listed lessons that he calculated to take four hours and fifty minutes at a low estimate to complete and ‘with unremitting mental strain’. These included translations and an exercise in French, a Latin exercise, learning Latin, five sums, and a Euclid exercise. Miss Beanland, headmistress of Brisbane Girls’ Grammar school, considered his claim exaggerated, and that the tasks could be completed in three hours. Winifred returned to school and completed the Sydney Junior examination.

The details of Mr Burrell’s letter indicate the nature of the curriculum offered at grammar schools. Compulsory Latin reflected the strength of proponents of the

85 QSA: Register of teachers, females, 1860-1903, PRV 7995. EDU/V20, VIII, 259.
86 Letter dated 4 May 1886 from Edward Burrell to Under-Secretary in Reports on Brisbane Girls Grammar School scholarship holders.
classical education tradition who dominated debate throughout most of the period of this study. Tom Watson, writing about this struggle between ‘the school of culture and the school of utility’ claimed that the emphasis shifted from time to time according to the current political and bureaucratic views held by various Ministers, Under-Secretaries or Chief Inspectors, as well as the heads of the grammar schools.87

It was not only the attitudes of Queensland educators and politicians that governed the nature of the curriculum. From 1876 the demands of the external examinations set by Melbourne and Sydney universities were to determine the subjects offered to Queensland students. Those who had already achieved some success in examinations were steered towards those subjects likely to gain them success and entry to southern universities where Latin and Greek were compulsory.

After 1909 the struggle between culture and utility moved back to Queensland as the new University of Queensland set the external examinations. The examiners followed the Sydney pattern, and their decisions were to determine the nature of courses, textbooks and teaching methods for the next fifty years or more. The founders of the University were caught in a heated debate about the value of a classical education, particularly the need for Latin as a compulsory subject for acceptance into courses.88 Requirements changed eventually, but, although Latin had lost its hold by 1939, a foreign language was required for Arts until 1975.89 The University also implemented a weighting scale for certain subjects, which influenced the choices of students interested in gaining an open scholarship based on the results of the Senior examination. Thus mathematics, English, French, German, physics and chemistry carried more weight than history or geography.90 Subjects such as music, bookkeeping and art were not credited at all.

For these reasons, high-achieving children were shepherded into an academic stream from the moment of their entry to secondary school. Many were content with the

subjects chosen for them, but others felt uncomfortable and would have preferred to go in a different direction. Most felt that they had no choice but to accept what their school offered, some were able to choose extra subjects that they valued, and a few could negotiate arrangements to meet their needs.

A few of these negotiations led to arrangements outside the school. Eleanor Bourne (1891) was able to complete the subjects required for the Sydney Senior only by attending classes at Brisbane Boys’ Grammar.91 Lois Freeman (1941), at Brisbane Girls’ Grammar, studied physics at the Brisbane Technical College; and Gwényth Ingram (1947), a student at Ipswich Girls’ Grammar, did the same at Ipswich Technical College.92 Judith Cartwright (1958) at a small Catholic girls’ college in Gympie ‘did chemistry at the Brothers’ School, physics at the State High School and maths II by correspondence. This made life fairly difficult!’93 Anne Holmes (1962) also completed her studies in physics by correspondence.94 Those seeking to study music or art of speech95 were usually catered for in the grammar schools, but some state high school students took private lessons outside school. One of these was Betty Baird (1936), who was able to include both subjects in her Senior results.96

Spencer Routh (1949) developed his love of modern history through the special arrangements made for him at Townsville Grammar School:

I had one extraordinary example of trust. Without debate, all accepted my decision that I would prefer to study modern history in Year 11 rather than physics, and this by private study. The principal offered me the freedom of his own library; more importantly recommended the local public library and the school library; asked me to see the senior English master a couple of weeks before each term examination, to tell him my areas of study, and I would be set a paper to monitor my progress. As a result I didn’t know how little to do, read much closer to early year university levels, and a good time was had by all.97

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92 Personal communication with Lois Perry, 1 November 1999; and Gwényth Beecham, 20 October 1999.
93 Personal communication with Judith Hefferan, 29 May, 2005.
94 Personal communication with Anne Holmes, 21 October 2001.
95 Later called speech and drama.
96 Personal communication with Betty McLean, 13 October 1999.
97 Personal communication with Spencer Routh, 1 November 1999.
Others felt restricted by the requirements, unable to follow their own particular predilections. Beth James (1942) had an interest in zoology, but was unable to study biology, as it was not available to those in the ‘academic’ stream, whose science was confined to physics and chemistry.98

Brian Thorne (1954) also considered that there was no flexibility in the system:

I had no choice – I was told at my three minute interview that I would be doing English, French, Latin, geography, mathematics A, mathematics B, physics and chemistry. For Senior, I was told that I would do English, French, maths I, maths II, physics and chemistry even though I had decided that I was going to do Engineering and wanted to do trade drawing. There was no boundary hopping – trade drawing was not an academic subject.99

The strong influence of the university on secondary education was not necessarily an innovative one. Despite defending its role in controlling the examinations by claiming its staff to be at the forefront of new knowledge, there was little change in the requirements in the period to 1941, when the Junior examination control passed to the Board of Post-primary Studies in the Department of Public Instruction.100 The university maintained its dominance by means of its representation on the Board. Rupert Goodman’s overview of the various subjects revealed unaltered courses and the retention of the same textbooks, in one case for twenty-five years. Each year the papers showed little change, with questions being repeated, forcing teachers into the same teaching methods found in earlier Scholarship classes, the rote learning of slabs of facts, copious note-taking of prepared answers from blackboards, and frequent use of past papers for practice.101 In a review of the history syllabuses, Graham Shipstone concluded that the aim had not been ‘to engender any spirit of enquiry and challenge, but rather to instil an attitude of acceptance’.102 This attitude was prevalent across all areas.

Admittedly, schools were restricted by the small numbers in classes and the availability of qualified teachers. The numbers of students in grammar schools

98 Personal communication with Beth Heyde, 30 November 2003.
99 Personal communication with Brian Thorne, 16 December 1999.
101 Ibid., pp. 263, 312, 320-22.
remained very low, with only a few candidates nominated for the public examinations. For example, at Brisbane Grammar School in 1901, there were 220 students, thirty-two of whom were Junior candidates, and five sat for the Senior examinations.\textsuperscript{103} At Rockhampton Girls’ Grammar School that year there were eight candidates for Junior and six for Senior.\textsuperscript{104} As overall numbers increased during the century it was still the case that classes were very small in many schools. Oscar Kindervater (1935) was the only student in his class for the two Senior years at Maryborough State High School.\textsuperscript{105} Gwenyth Ingram (1947) was one of four at Ipswich Girls’ Grammar School, and Spencer Routh (1949) was one of six at Townsville Grammar.\textsuperscript{106} After the increased numbers of the postwar baby boom, John Mills (1955) was in a class of fewer than twelve at Christian Brothers’ College, Rockhampton; and Anne Holmes (1962), the last of the cohort, completed her Senior in 1966 at Our Lady of the Sacred Heart at Corinda as one in a class of six.\textsuperscript{107}

In the light of such small classes, it is not surprising that schools found it difficult to find qualified staff, and in the case of private schools, to pay them. The larger grammar schools were in the main staffed by graduates but, at the end of this period in the 1960s, no more than 26 per cent of teachers in Queensland state high schools had degrees. Of these, just 10 per cent had a teaching diploma.\textsuperscript{108} Many schools ‘made do’, requesting staff to teach subjects they were not always qualified to handle.

The effect of these policies on students was not surprising. For instance, Judith Cartwright (1954) faced some hurdles in her introduction to science:

I was very lucky that chemistry and physics were introduced the year I started sub-Junior. I knew immediately that science was what I wanted to do. The subjects were not well taught. The poor nun who taught shorthand, typing and bookkeeping was given the short straw and she obviously knew nothing about chemistry and physics.\textsuperscript{109}

Anne Holmes (1962) had a similar experience:

\textsuperscript{103} ‘Annual report of the Secretary of Public Instruction for 1901’, \textit{QPP} 1 (1902), p. 687.
\textsuperscript{104} Ibid., p. 691.
\textsuperscript{105} Personal communication with Oscar Kindervater, 16 December 1999.
\textsuperscript{106} Personal communication with Gwenyth Beecham, 20 October 1999; and Spencer Routh, 1 November 1999.
\textsuperscript{107} Personal communication with John Mills, 19 January 2001; and Anne Holmes, 21 October 2001.
\textsuperscript{109} Personal communication with Judith Hefferan, 29 May 2005.
Some of the teaching was appalling, especially in maths II and physics in the last two years. There were only two of us doing physics. We struggled on with a series of retirees and misfits teaching us until eventually we dug in our toes and said we would do it by correspondence.'

On the other hand, both of these students found much to admire in other teachers, and for the most part the collected responses indicate that, while a few teachers were ‘appalling’ and some were regarded as adequate, there were a number who were truly inspiring and were lasting influences on the lives of their young students.

Alan Morrison (1925), describing teachers at Ipswich Grammar School, portrayed men and women who left lasting impressions:

At the top was R.A. Kerr – Aleck to us – who was so essentially human. Admittedly he worried us a little by announcing that at last he had a class good enough to attempt all the hard examples he had been saving for years, but at least we won five open scholarships, including first, third and fourth places. A good churchman himself, he was yet tolerant…. Next came Bill ("Pop") Henderson, also a strongly religious man, but one held in the highest respect by all. I think we took more pride in the fact that he held the tennis championship of Ipswich than he did, and in the prodigies he performed in the little science club. Bluff Ted Ringrose with his hearty ways, and little Johnny Hunt, with his proud football record of Queensland and Australian Rugby League representative, were both sources of inspiration…. Andy Thomson came back in 1929, and amazed us at first by occasionally converting Shakespeare lessons into gramophone recitals. Ben Patterson from Mount Morgan introduced boxing as a sport, and also scouting. Nor can we forget our short experience of women teachers, first Catherine Cameron and then Ethel Campbell – sometimes I wonder who had to concede more, we or they.'

Judith Payne (1950) was equally inspired by her teachers at Brisbane Girls’ Grammar School:

I absolutely loved Brisbane Girls’ Grammar School. All but one of my teachers were superb, bringing dedication, scholarship, and enthusiasm to the classroom. It was the first time it had occurred to me that some of them could have done anything, and that their own career opportunities had been painfully constrained.'

When Brian Thorne (1954) was at Mackay State High School he had older teachers who did not seem to care; but he then moved to Herberton State High and came under the influence of a younger group who ‘even if they were just out of College in some

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110 Personal communication with Anne Holmes, 21 October 2001.
112 Personal communication with Judith Grassle, 23 July 2001.
cases, did an excellent job with the few resources at their disposal’. Similarly, Robin Greeves (1956) at Gayndah State High School regarded her teachers as ‘inspiring and intellectually stimulating. Although the community was fairly conservative and parochial, the teachers opened windows on a wider world’. Others attested to the value of widened visions that came through the scope of the curriculum, the influence of particular teachers, or the company of intellectual peers. Charles Miller (1938) named several teachers at Brisbane Boys’ College as outstanding, including Harold Middleton, himself a Scholarship winner of 1896. Bernard Backstrom (1940) especially valued the fact that his classmates were intellectually closer than those at primary school, and that despite the war-time shortage of teachers, his classes of the more academically able students were given the best teachers at Brisbane Grammar. Others, like John de Jersey (1957), mentioned the value of being in ‘streamed’ classes where the students were competitive and enthusiastic, not at all anti-intellectual. When he moved to the Church of England Grammar School he found ‘respect for academic performance, especially within the selected class’. On the other hand, the competitive nature of such classes was not always conducive to happiness. Hazel Baynes (1929) was a Scholarship candidate in a year when two examinations were held, six months apart. She was still expected to sit for the Junior examination at the same time as those who had had longer preparation. There were a number of girls in her class at Brisbane Girls’ Grammar who had achieved highly in the Scholarship and she felt undue pressure from this, as well as from older students who had been held back:

Many (of wealthy parents) had been held back. Some were three or four years older than Joan [Chadwick (1929)] and I and developmentally much more mature. I found life at Grammar very hard and competitive and was unhappy.

The learning environment and its underlying educational theory was psychologically unsound, I felt. Exams were made extremely difficult, the idea

113 Personal communication with Brian Thorne, 16 December 1999.
114 Personal communication with Robin Sullivan, 4 December 1999.
115 Personal communication with Charles Miller, 13 October 1999, 15 March 2000.
116 Personal communication with Bernard Backstrom, 10 December 1999.
117 Personal communication with John de Jersey, 12 May 2005.
being that public exams we faced would then seem easier, which created failure for many average or even above average students.\textsuperscript{118}

Apart from streaming and extra classes for examination candidates, some teachers acknowledged the ability of their students by allowing them to be more independent. Spencer Routh (1949) found his secondary teachers’ methods a sharp contrast to the more rigid approach in primary school:

The principal, M.W. Blank, taught the advanced science and mathematics classes. At times he could be exasperated that we hadn’t gone on independently to do extra exploration in a subject – a great contrast to my primary school examination world.\textsuperscript{119}

Anne Holmes (1962) had a French teacher who allowed her great leniency:

Mrs Mitchell used to let me do the work in the first ten minutes and then have a nap in preparation for physics class. I repaid her by getting 100 per cent for French in Senior.\textsuperscript{120}

One of the advantages of being in classes with students closer in intellectual ability was that good friendships were formed, some to last into later life. For those who had not been happy in primary school, this aspect of their secondary school life was the most rewarding. Not that it was always smooth sailing. In some private schools, being a Scholarship winner was a mixed blessing, as there was a culture of separateness between the government-funded students and those paying fees. Even if the school authorities did not encourage such attitudes, differences in the economic background of their families could not be ignored. Graham Windrum (1941) wrote of his time at the Church of England Grammar School:

This was the first time I realized we were poor – and I was intimidated by the apparent wealth and ‘social standing’ of many of the families of other boys. I did feel ‘on the outer’ as a Scholarship boy from Wilston, then on the lower-middle rung, as opposed to those from the ‘better’ suburbs of Clayfield, Hamilton, etc, or from country properties.\textsuperscript{121}

The sense of being ‘different’ extended to special interests. Thomas Byrnes (1873) was reported by his headmaster at Brisbane Grammar to be constantly reading:

I remember him at first as a quiet boy, with no inclination for play, but much for reading; he was generally to be seen with a book in his hand, and at first was

\textsuperscript{118} Personal communication with Hazel Campbell, 3 February 2000.
\textsuperscript{119} Personal communication with Spencer Routh, 1 November 1999.
\textsuperscript{120} Personal communication with Anne Holmes, 21 October 2001.
\textsuperscript{121} Personal communication with Graham Windrum, 20 May 2000.
reserved, and confined his intercourse to a few, but as he gradually mixed more freely with others, he made many friends.122

Byrnes’s disinclination to play sport continued through his time at Brisbane Grammar. His headmaster, Reginald Roe, also commented that it was unusual for one of such a nature to be so well accepted by others. Success in sport was frequently the most valued attribute among schoolfellows and the dominant culture of the school. This was not only in boys’ schools, for a student at Ipswich Girls’ Grammar recalled that ‘sport had precedence over study’.123

Competitive sport was very important in the life of Lois Freeman (1941) at Brisbane Girls’ Grammar. Her father Eric (1910) was a top sportsman in cricket, football and rowing at Brisbane Grammar. At the same school, Victor Grenning (1912) excelled at football, cricket and rifle shooting. James Baker (1950) was disappointed he had to give up sport to concentrate on studies for Senior, and Brian Thorne (1954) reported:

I had no problems with my peers. I was captain of the cricket team, played hockey and basketball, was an Under-officer in the cadet unit for 2 years and we all got on well.124

World events, illness and family circumstances were other factors affecting progress through schooling. Sydney Mellick (1933) left school before completing Senior studies, when, at the tail-end of the Depression, he decided to relieve the financial burden on his parents and accept a position in the public service. He was able to continue his studies through night classes.125 The upheavals of World War II, previously mentioned as disrupting primary education, were felt as much in secondary schools. Enrolments went down, teachers were scarce and many schools were forced to evacuate from coastal centres. Irene Myles (1940) was one of ninety-four boarders at St Faith’s, Yeppoon, who were evacuated to Barcaldine for two years.126

Illness was sometimes an impediment to learning, at other times a hurdle to be overcome. John Macfie (1880), although considered an ‘earnest and brilliant’ student

123 Personal communication with anonymous respondent, 20 October 1999.
124 Personal communication with Brian Thorne, 16 December 1999.
125 Personal communication with Sydney Mellick, 8 December 2005.
126 John Mackenzie-Smith, St Faith’s School: Gone but not forgotten (Rockhampton: City Printing Works, 2003), p. 110.
at Brisbane Grammar School, withdrew from further study in 1883 because of failing eyesight. Frank Walker (1892) suffered from typhoid in his last year of school and consequently missed out on a much desired university exhibition. Hazel Baynes (1929) suffered prolonged illness causing her to lose weeks of schooling, and Gwényth Ingram (1949) was sick in Senior year and stayed home the last term. This did not affect her results adversely for she was the first-placed girl in the state that year.

Individual family circumstances influenced choices and opportunities. When the father of Spencer Routh (1949) died while he was at Townsville Grammar, he valued the support offered at that time:

After my father’s death, the Townsville Grammar School principal, the State Department of Education, my father’s bank, all were attentive to see that the family didn’t crash.129

John Jones, master plumber, the father of Thomas (1885), Edith (1888) and John (1901), died in 1888, necessitating the end of Thomas’ schooling. Edith completed four years at Brisbane Girls’ Grammar before joining the teaching service, while John also left early to become a pupil teacher. He was able to resume his education later to attend Sydney University. The Jones brothers remained passionate supporters of higher education.

The death of a parent also affected Lister Hopkins (1923). When his father died, Lister, aged fifteen, continued his education while assisting his mother in the family business after school hours. Norah Booth, who was the first-placed girl in the same year as Hopkins, left school before Junior to enter the workforce when her mother died, as her father was unable to support the family. Mabel Terry (1915) was another who left school when her mother became ill.

The impact of world events, illness or family circumstances on the school experiences of individual scholarship winners curtailed the progression of a few, placed

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127 BGS Register.
128 BGSM, June 1950, pp. 20-1.
129 Personal communication with Spencer Routh, 1 November 1999.
130 Personal communication with Lister Hopkins, 21 August 2004.
131 Personal communication with Susan Myring, 16 December 2002.
132 BGGM, December 1918, p. 4.
surmountable hurdles in front of some and was insignificant to others. Yet 90 per cent of them had the advantage of secondary education in some form, unlike the majority of their contemporaries.

Goodman chronicled the lamentable state of secondary education in Queensland in the period 1919-1945, when little progress was made. He saw the causes as being the political complacency of rural-led governments that gave scant attention to education, a conservative bureaucracy in a closed system, poor leadership and lack of innovation from university educators, and slow acceptance by the population of the need for higher education. He regarded the young Queenslanders of this time as ‘a lost generation’ who missed out on a secondary education.  

The Scholarship winners were fortunate not to be lost. Their secondary school experience further differentiated them from their contemporaries. Almost all of those who were placed first in the Scholarship proceeded with secondary education, and many of those who left before they completed it then entered the teaching service, the public service or firms of solicitors or accountants. From there they were able to continue their education in another form.

For many of those placed first in the Scholarship examination the remarkable level of academic success continued. Eleven were ranked first in Queensland in the Junior public examination, being awarded the Byrnes Memorial medal, named in honour of the former Premier. Eight were also first place-getters in the state in the Senior public examination. Four achieved the three honours. Ten were awarded one of the three annual government exhibitions offered for university study in Sydney, Melbourne or overseas between 1879 and 1909. After the establishment of the University of Queensland, forty-seven were awarded open scholarships, indicating they were placed in the first twenty or twenty-five in the State in the Senior examination.  

Details of these awards can be found in Appendix E.

134 University scholarships were awarded to the candidates whose Senior results ranked in the first twenty from 1911. The number awarded each year varied from 18 to 25. From 1928, this total included two, sometimes three, scholarships to study Agriculture. QSA: Register of payments made on account of exhibitions to universities 1902-38; Register of allowances paid as scholarships to the Queensland university 1914-38, PRV 7880-1-2; QSA: General correspondence, University Scholarships, 1910-67,
The ladder of opportunity put in place by the government was undeniably instrumental in allowing some students of outstanding ability to progress. There were of course those who ‘fell off the ladder’, some who struggled, and a few who did not even set foot on the first rung, but for those who did achieve, the way was opened to further opportunities.

The aim of this chapter was to extract from the personal school experiences of individual Scholarship winners an understanding of their engagement with the educational processes that had been set up to benefit them. From the diversity of those experiences, it has been possible to see patterns of behaviour, occasionally of resistance, but largely of accommodation with the type of education offered to them, despite its shortcomings. There were also isolated examples of students shaping their own outcomes. The Scholarship winners were unusual in Queensland society, in that they were part of a small coterie who took advantage of opportunities to continue their education. That they did so was later to have a significant impact on that society as their careers in a range of occupations and professions contributed to the future direction of the state. Not to be forgotten were the contributions of hundreds of teachers in classrooms across Queensland, who to a greater or lesser extent, were their guides on the educational journey.

SRS 6477-2-1210-22, 1710. Further information collected from EOG and annual announcements in newspaper accounts.
Chapter 5

Ambitious and dedicated or slaves of the system?: Scholarship teachers

When Alfred Wall was the teacher of Thomas Byrnes in Bowen in 1873 he was twenty-seven years old, his career to that date having been a steady rise from that of pupil teacher in England. At the age of twenty he had migrated to Queensland, recruited in a campaign of the new government. For a year he was a pupil teacher in Ipswich before becoming an assistant teacher at the Normal School in Brisbane, where he served for two years under John Rendall. Bowen, in north Queensland, was his first appointment as head teacher in 1869. As the school had only sixty-three pupils, Wall was expected to instruct all classes with the assistance of a pupil teacher. After eight years he was transferred to Stanthorpe, then to Milton in Brisbane, where he was head teacher for twenty-eight years, retiring at the age of seventy-one. While he was at Milton, Mary Dick was placed first in the Scholarship in 1894.¹

Just as Byrnes is an exemplar for the students in this study, so Wall can be seen as a representative of the teachers. His selection as a teacher migrant, his connection with the Normal School, his career rise to a be a head teacher of a metropolitan school, and his influence on more than one Scholarship winner, are all features marking the careers of a large number of teachers in this study. Among his contemporaries and the thousands of teachers who succeeded him in the Queensland teaching service, there was a wide diversity of experience; but a review of specific aspects of the careers of Scholarship teachers reveals some distinctive traits among those whose students were highly successful over the ninety year period.

The ‘Scholarship teacher’ had a certain legendary status in Queensland education, although the legend varied from that of a figure of importance and respect to one having more negative connotations. As with all legends, while this one contained accurate elements, the truth was frequently far-removed. In the battle waged by the Queensland Teachers’ Union against the examination through the pages of their

Journal, the Scholarship teacher loomed large, usually depicted as a cane-wielding sinister figure who subjected students to long hours of meaningless work at school and at home, denying them a happy carefree life and the chance to indulge in physical activities or enriching cultural pursuits. This fiend was also accused of boastfulness, altering marks, deceiving the inspectors, claiming as their own the work of other teachers and using the students in order to gain promotion; all of these actions to the detriment of their colleagues. Another version described the teacher as a virtual ‘slave’ to the system, the ‘cog in the machine’, subject to a ‘subtle species of tyranny’, when they ‘surrender[ed] to the drive and grind the Scholarship demand[ed]’ to ensure their students passed the examination. Occasionally through the tirades a response emerged in the Scholarship teacher’s defence, extolling their efforts in doing their best to assist pupils and parents, accepting the reality of the requirements and working diligently for the benefit of all.

This chapter traces the careers of the teachers of students placed first in the Scholarship. A number of them may well have been the cane-yielding tyrants or the slaves of the system, as claimed by the Teachers’ Union. For that matter they may have been conscientious and diligent, or even unexceptional; but those qualities are difficult to identify. It is not argued that these were necessarily better teachers than their colleagues; or that producing a ‘successful’ scholar was a benchmark of teaching competence. Rather it is suggested that most of the teachers in this case-study were unusual amongst their peers in terms of their personal ambition, dedication, activism and willingness to initiate or adopt innovatory practices.

The register of 166 teachers in Appendix D records all the head teachers of schools attended by the Scholarship winners and all the known teachers of their Scholarship classes. It was not possible to identify all the class teachers from archival sources. While the Annual Return from each school recorded all teachers on staff, it did not specify the class taught by each teacher. Teachers known to have taught the Scholarship classes were identified from personal accounts, newspaper reports and

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3 QTJ, 22 May 1935, p. 1; 18 July 1935, p. 18; 15 October, 1940, p. 7; October 1952, p. 11.
5 Annual returns of teachers 1878-1950; Returns of teachers 1949-75.
school histories. The inclusion of both head teachers and class teachers is justified by evidence that in small schools the head teacher taught Scholarship classes and in larger schools was known to provide extra tuition. The influence of the head teacher over other teachers was often considerable, from the setting of weekly tests to exerting pressure within the Department over transfers of staff to and from the school. A number of teachers on the register fell into two camps: they taught Scholarship classes when one or more students were first in the state; and subsequently in their careers were head teachers in schools where other students were successful.

Career details were discovered in a variety of ways. The registers of teachers 1860-1903 at Queensland State Archives provide information of teachers’ backgrounds, promotions and regular inspector’s assessments, but beyond 1904 the records are less informative and more difficult to investigate. A search of records beyond that date was not undertaken, except for selected cases. The *Education Office Gazette* details all admissions, transfers, promotions and resignations until 1930. In subsequent years the list is less comprehensive. An index of the *Gazette* prepared by the Queensland Family History Association 1907-20 was especially useful. The research was confined to teachers in state schools. As the focus here is the career of each teacher, the full details of each transfer or promotion are not recorded in the register in Appendix D, but rather the particulars of their recruitment, training and status on resignation or retirement.

Archival sources were supplemented by the resources of the Education History Collection of the Department of Education and the Arts, published obituaries and school histories, as well as birth and death registers available until 1919 and 1964 respectively. Very few teachers published memoirs beyond nostalgic accounts for school histories. In a small number of cases, information was obtained from family

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6 RTM; RTF. All subsequent references regarding these registers are given the earlier notations as RTM, EDU/vols 1-12; RTF, EDU/vols 13-27, as well as the Index for males EDB/01, and for females, EDB/02.

7 One notable exception was Thomas Hanger, *Sixty years in Queensland schools* (Sydney: Wentworth Books, 1963). Hanger is not included in this case-study, but his career had similarities to many of those included. Other glimpses of teaching philosophy can be gleaned from witnesses at three Royal Commissions in 1874, 1888 and 1891, as well as in Inspectors’ Reports published annually in *VPLAQ* and *QPP*. 117
members. It was beyond the scope of this thesis to seek more detailed evidence of teachers’ lives, as exemplified in the work of Marjorie Theobald, who used the school correspondence files to extract ‘detailed autobiographic reconstruction’ of the difficulties of women teachers in Victoria.\(^8\) A closer parallel would be the work of Kay Morris Matthews who conducted a prosopographical study tracing the educational and career profiles of 567 New Zealand women teachers who graduated between 1878 and 1920.\(^9\)

The search resulted in an unevenness of sources regarding individual teachers, ranging from very little to an overwhelming amount. When writing a group biography it is possible to be overwhelmed by the detail, but the detail provides the evidence from which to draw conclusions. Diane Langmore, in a study of the lives of missionaries in New Guinea, found that from the mass of detail ‘individuals emerge with distinctive and recognisable features’:

> Much of what makes up a person cannot be quantified. ...[while it is] possible to tabulate and draw statistical conclusions from such data as ethnicity, occupational and marital status ... and even with caution class origin, it is not so easy to do so for ideas, prejudice, passions, beliefs, ideologies, ideals and principles.\(^10\)

Nevertheless, Langmore found that, aided by the data, it was possible to discern ‘ideal types’ of missionaries, referring not to personality types but to types of orientation to their mission work.\(^11\)

In seeking the ‘distinctive and recognisable features’ and to discern ‘types’ of teachers in this study, four fields of enquiry were undertaken. The first analysis examined the recruitment, training and promotion of teachers in Queensland and established whether the experiences of those in the case-study differed from the average. Secondly, an investigation of the experience of female teachers sought reasons for their under-representation in the sample. A third enquiry ascertained whether the identified teachers were responsible for particularly innovative practices. The final investigation surveyed the degree of activism of teachers within the Queensland

\(^11\) Ibid., p. 262.
Teachers’ Union. From these four areas some distinct features emerged, illuminating the experience of the Scholarship teachers.

Recruitment into the Queensland education system relied on the pupil teacher system established by the Board of General Education in the 1860s. This was by and large an apprenticeship system, where promising young school students were plucked from the classroom and appointed as pupil teachers under the tutelage of the head teacher. After four years they were regarded as classified teachers.\(^{12}\) Variations on this arrangement continued until 1935, by which time only two pupil teachers remained in the state.\(^{13}\) Some variations allowed the recruitment of students who had completed two, three or four years of secondary schooling to enter the service at a higher ranking.\(^{14}\) Between 1872 and 1876 the Normal School at Brisbane Central State School was an embryonic teacher’s college, but the first college offering pre-entry training opened in 1914. The initial trainees were those intended for secondary schools and a few who would go to isolated schools with the minimum of training. The Queensland Junior examination was the entry requirement for primary teacher trainees from 1921, Senior results being needed after 1944. The two-year length of the training period was frequently reduced because of teacher shortages. Trainees on scholarships were required to fulfil a bond with the Department by serving in schools for a reciprocal number of years.\(^ {15}\)

The burgeoning number of schools after separation from New South Wales led the government to consider the active recruitment of qualified teachers from Great Britain. These newcomers, after a period of probation at the Normal School, were to be appointed as head teachers of schools throughout the colony. The Queensland Agent-General from 1861 to 1866 recruited a number of teachers, while others travelled at their own expense. The extent of their training varied from none at all to


\(^{13}\) The pupil teacher system was briefly reinstated under the Gair Labor Government in the 1950s.

\(^{14}\) ‘Annual report of the Secretary of Public Instruction for 1898’, VPLAQ 1 (1899), p. 144.

training college qualifications or university degrees. Their length of experience was similarly varied. In the main, the government sought single men, but also recruited unmarried women and men with families. The first rush of such recruits ended abruptly when an economic downturn occurred in 1866.\textsuperscript{16} A further 161 arrived between 1876 and 1889, but beyond that time almost all teachers were born locally and trained within the Queensland system.\textsuperscript{17}

Once classified, teachers could take advantage of promotional opportunities by passing an annual examination, as well as receiving favourable reports from inspectors and head teachers. They could also undertake tertiary studies in their own time. As their ranking within the Department increased, they were more likely to be transferred to the larger Class I schools. This progression was a slow process. Even without interruptions it would take over fifteen years to progress from a classification of III.111 to I.1.\textsuperscript{18} The foremost classification was as the head teacher of a Class I school. Beyond that, the only avenues for promotion were to join the inspectorate, usually by invitation rather than application; or having gained a university degree, to move into secondary schools as a principal. An exception would be an appointment as Senior Inspector, Chief Inspector or as Under-Secretary of Education, later called the Director-General of Education.

Seven teachers who were among those recruited from New South Wales and from overseas in the early 1860s feature largely in this study, as they were the pioneers of the new colony’s education system. Two of them figure more prominently than others. Margaret Berry and James Semple Kerr, the head teachers of the Brisbane Central (the Normal) Girls’ and Boys’ Schools respectively, were the doyens of Queensland education. Under Miss Berry’s supervision, eight students were to achieve the highest female results in the Scholarship between 1878 and 1900; whereas twenty-one boys received that award between 1874 and 1906 under Kerr’s administration. Both Berry and Kerr were directly responsible for teaching candidates

\begin{footnotes}
\item[16] Johnston, \textit{The call of the land}, p. 89.
\item[18] From 1860-1918, each of the 3 classification had 3 levels; following 1918, there were 8 levels in each.
\end{footnotes}
for grammar school scholarships, at least in the years before the schools became very large.\textsuperscript{19} As well as student success, their supervision of pupil teachers and influence over assistant teachers was renowned, an influence felt well beyond the Normal when those teachers were transferred throughout Queensland.

Margaret Berry (1832-1918) was recruited from New South Wales by the Board of General Education in 1860. She had gone there in 1856 from Ireland, having trained at the Dublin Normal School. On her arrival in Brisbane Berry was appointed to the Brisbane National School (Girls’), which was later re-named the Brisbane Normal School for Girls or Brisbane Central Girls’ and Infants School where she was head teacher until her retirement in 1905. One of her aims was to enable girls to remain at school as long as possible, creating special classes for those up to seventeen years old. Berry was known to be ‘an excellent disciplinarian’ and to exercise ‘complete control and thorough supervision over her subordinates’.\textsuperscript{20} At times she was responsible for the supervision of fourteen assistant teachers, four pupil teachers and 590 students.\textsuperscript{21} When the grammar school scholarships were introduced for girls in 1876, Berry instituted special classes for candidates out of school hours, but abandoned that practice after 1897 when the workload of teachers was considered to be excessive.\textsuperscript{22}

James Semple Kerr (1836-1915) was from Scotland, where he trained at the Glasgow Free Normal School, attended Glasgow University and taught for six years. Following his arrival in Brisbane in 1863 he was appointed to Warwick for five years and Fortitude Valley for just over a year. In 1872 he became Training Master at the Normal, in charge of pupil teachers. On John Rendall’s resignation in 1874, Kerr succeeded him as head teacher, remaining in charge until 1906. Despite overcrowded and unhealthy conditions in the inner city, he directed a school known for its high academic standards and rigorous training of pupil teachers. Although he had a reputation for strict discipline, Kerr won the respect of students and teachers alike. He

\textsuperscript{19} QSA: Inspectors’ Reports, Normal Girls’ School, 1872-73, PRV 5868; ‘Royal commission appointed to inquire into the working of the educational institutions of the colony’, in \textit{VPLAQ}, vol. 2 (1875), pp. 211-7.


\textsuperscript{21} Annual Return of teachers, 1897.

\textsuperscript{22} Spaull and Sullivan, \textit{History of the QTU}, p. 76.
spoke openly of the need for free secondary education for all, promoted the establishment of a training college and supported equal pay for women.23

The other five early teachers were Eliza Berry, Mary Canny, James Alexander McLeod, Thomas Campbell and Alfred Wall. Berry finished her training in Sydney and taught at Bathurst for four years before moving to assist her sister Margaret at the Normal in 1863. She was appointed head teacher of Kangaroo Point Girls’ School in 1876, staying there until 1919.24 Like the Berry sisters, Mary Canny (born Condren) came from Ireland. She was one of sixty-seven Irish teachers to come to Queensland in the 1860s, another being her future husband, Joseph Aloysius Canny. They married in Warwick when both were the head teachers of schools there.25 Thomas Campbell was also from Ireland, arriving in 1864, but unlike the others, he had no official training. He resigned in 1882 to take up a legal career.26 James Alexander McLeod, who trained in Scotland at Edinburgh Teachers’ College, migrated in 1864 to be a private tutor for two years, before being admitted to the service. He had a long career as head teacher of the school at Gympie One Mile from 1869 to 1914.27 The seventh of these early migrant teachers was Alfred Wall from England, as mentioned earlier.

Three teachers in the case-study arrived in Brisbane in the interim period prior to the next wave of recruitment in the United Kingdom. John Wotley and Thomas Spenceley, both from England, became head teachers of large schools.28 Fernando Cantu Papi was outstanding in a number of ways. He was the most highly qualified teacher in the Queensland service, having obtained a PhD in mathematics from the University of Rome. He was studying in Dublin when enticed to Queensland in 1872 by the efforts of Bishop James Quinn, who was intent on recruiting teachers to Catholic schools. Papi stayed in the Catholic school at Ipswich for a year before joining the state system. His progress as head teacher of small to large schools was interrupted by brief periods as District Inspector, but he preferred to be school-based.

23 Tom Watson, 'James Semple Kerr', in ADB, vol. 9, pp. 576-7; Watson, 'There is a spirit', pp. 64-5.; RTM, EDB/01, 250; EDU/vol. 1, 19.
24 RTF, EDU/vol. 13, 19; EDB/01, 2. Watson, 'Berry, Margaret', pp. 27-8.
25 RTF, EDU/vol. 13, I, 11; EDB/01, 67.
26 RTM, EDU/vol.1, 101; EDB/01, 64.
28 RTM, EDB/02, 227; EDU/vol. 2, 1; EDU/vol. 1, 119; EDB/02, 176.
His career ended at Windsor, from where he retired in 1921 after nine years. Papi’s influence spread beyond schools. An artist himself, he served as advisor to the government regarding the Queensland Art Gallery.\textsuperscript{29}

The Queensland Agent-General in the United Kingdom was responsible for an aggressive recruiting program for teachers after 1876. Of the 161 teachers who migrated before 1889, fifteen are included in this study. They arrived with testimonials from former employers and people of good standing in their home communities. Their fare of forty pounds was paid in exchange for three years service.\textsuperscript{30} They had almost all undergone some form of training, either as pupil teachers, or in training colleges, and had had some teaching experience. Although it was expected that they would be teachers on probation at the Normal School, some were immediately appointed to be the head teachers of country schools. Despite the difficulties faced by newcomers in harsh environments, all fifteen remained in the teaching service. This in itself made them different from others who came with them, as there was a high rate of resignation.\textsuperscript{31} Not only did they stay, they took advantage of promotional opportunities to the extent that nine of them were classified head teacher I.1 or Inspector at the end of their careers. The other six held senior positions as head teachers.

Francis Walker and Walter Richmond were recruited from England. Walker had taught in Penang, while Richmond served in the British army in England as a schoolmaster sergeant. Also from England were William Halstead, George James, Samuel Harwood, James Baylis, Richard Skelton, John Watkins, Mary Carraway, John Fewtrell, William Smith and Arthur Exley. John Cunningham and George Smith were Scots and Edward Cafferky came from Ireland. All of them were to become prominent head teachers of large schools. In that capacity they were responsible for the supervision of numerous pupil teachers.\textsuperscript{32}

\textsuperscript{30} Holthouse, Looking back, p. 37.
\textsuperscript{31} Clarke, Female teachers, p. 43.
\textsuperscript{32} RTM, EDU/vol. 3, 63; EDU/vol. 3, 159; EDU/vol. 5, 4; EDU/vol. 5, 261; EDU/vol. 7, 121; EDU/vol. 5, 135; EDU/vol. 7, 213; EDU/vol. 6, 207;.; EDU/vol. 6, 103; EDU/vol. 5, 253; EDU/vol. 5, 291; EDU/vol. 5, 117; EDU/vol. 6, 151; RTF, EDU/vol. 18-6, 201.
The number of pupil teachers in Queensland increased from three in 1860 to 248 in 1875. One of the earliest of these was George Vowles who was born in Ipswich in 1846. At the age of seventeen he had enlisted as a member of the Queensland Volunteers, a military detachment that served in the New Zealand Maori Wars. Vowles was admitted as a teacher on probation at the age of twenty-three. Quite early in his career he was head teacher at Enoggera in 1876 when future architect Walter Carey Voller was a successful student. The next year he established a school at Allenstown in Rockhampton, then moved to several other centres before spending twenty years prior to retirement at Petrie Terrace State School.

Four young girls began their careers in similar ways. Wilhelmina Lang Bulcock was fifteen when she began as a pupil teacher at Eagle Farm in 1870; Emily Lucy Meyers was fourteen at Kangaroo Point in 1874; as was Lucy Tighe at Drayton in 1875. Anna Maria Pingel began in 1879, firstly at a Catholic school in Toowoomba, before moving to a state school. Each of them was born in Queensland and rose to be the head teacher of large girls’ and infants’ schools. Considering that girls and young women frequently left teaching, with small numbers passing through the promotion system, their careers were noteworthy. In the period from 1870 until 1890 less than 1 per cent of female teachers were Class I teachers, while 3 per cent of male teachers reached that classification. The career differences between male and female teachers will be discussed later.

Because there was very little overseas recruitment after 1879, the pupil system was the mainstay of the education system for the next fifty-six years. In 1878, pupil teachers made up 43 per cent of all teachers, a percentage that fell gradually until 1922 when it was 13 per cent, petering out to single figures until 1935 when the system ceased. Most of the teachers in this study were recruited before 1935, some

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35 RTF, EDU/Vol. 13, I, 191; EDB/01, 54; EDU/vol. 15, III, 35; EDU/vol. 15, III, 217; EDU/vol. 16, IV, 119.
36 Clarke, *Female teachers*, p. 77.
37 Ibid., pp. 63-4.
still teaching in the early 1960s for the final Scholarship examinations, having begun their careers as pupil teachers in the early part of the century.

While it was not possible to trace the entire careers of all 167 teachers in this study, the collected evidence demonstrates that over 60 per cent of them were Class 1 teachers before they retired, indicating that the group was not representative of most teachers throughout the state. In some respects the finding is not surprising, as many included in the case-study were already head teachers of large schools or, being Scholarship teachers, were regarded as head teachers-in-training within such schools. However, a number of those included were at the beginning of their careers in small country schools, some at one-teacher or two-teacher schools, when their student was successful in the Scholarship.

Isaac Waddle was one such teacher. He was at Biggenden State School in 1907 when James Baxter won the Lilley medal. Two other students in that class were placed sixth and seventh in the state. Biggenden was a school of fifty-two students with two teachers. Waddle, aged thirty-two, was considered by his inspector to be one who was ‘very earnest, energetic, and produ[ing] very creditable results’. His energy was to be channeled into an almost unparalleled rise through the ranks. He began as a pupil teacher at Maryborough and achieved excellent results in his annual examinations. During his appointment at Biggenden he had started studies with a view to progressing to university. Since the establishment of the University of Queensland coincided with this ambition, he sought a transfer to Brisbane to take evening classes, eventually graduating with first class Honours in Science in 1914.

This qualification meant Waddle was eligible for promotion as a secondary principal, and a position was offered to him at Charters Towers State High School. As this school was one of the first six high schools opened in 1912, Waddle was a pioneer of state secondary education. He continued to teach and to study externally, being awarded a Master of Science degree in 1917. His next challenging position was as a principal of the secondary school department of the Central Technical College in
Brisbane. From there he worked to establish Brisbane State High School in 1921, remaining its influential principal until 1945.38

Waddle was not the only former pupil teacher to seek advancement through tertiary qualifications. Well before the establishment of the University of Queensland, William Henry Smith, while head teacher of the school at Monkland, outside Gympie, had undertaken courses offered by the University of London, from which he was awarded an Arts degree. He had been one of the teachers recruited from England by the Agent-General, arriving in Queensland in 1885. In 1909 he was appointed District Inspector of Schools, serving in that capacity for sixteen years.39

Arthur Bradby Copeman was another who made the transition to Inspector. While head teacher at Clifton and Toogoolawah in the 1930s, he completed an Arts degree and later a Bachelor of Education. He was appointed District Inspector in 1941. Subsequently he was principal of Brisbane State High School prior to his death in 1957.40

Others promoted to secondary schools were: Cyril Beresford Ernst BA AEd, who taught at Maryborough Central School in the 1930s and also at Brisbane State High School in the 1950s; Raymond Francis Fitzgerald BA AEd, who moved from Ascot State School to teach at Bundaberg State High, later becoming the first principal of Toowong State High; Albert Victor Hendy BA, appointed principal of Gympie State High School in 1943, before his appointment as District Inspector in 1947; and Fitzroy Thomas Milne BA AEd, who left Toowoomba State High School to become Inspector of Secondary Schools in 1957.41

Francis Cecil Thompson BA MA DipEd MEd, and Blanche Ludgate BA were two graduates who remained in the primary system. Thompson was at various times an

41 Compiled from sources in Education History Collection, Department of Education and Arts. AEd was a qualification awarded by the University of Queensland to those who completed a Certificate in Education, 1938-58.
Acting Inspector, a lecturer and vice-principal at the Teachers’ Training College. Blanche Ludgate, the only female teacher in the case-study known to have graduated, had entered teaching at a provisional school in 1899 having some education ‘at private schools for drawing, music and German’. Later she gained an Arts degree, taught Scholarship classes at East Brisbane State School and was head teacher of a number of schools, completing her career at Buranda Girls’ School in the 1940s.

The educational achievements of these graduate teachers did not fit the usual pattern, as the number of graduates in the service remained very low throughout this period, even after the spread of secondary schools began in 1958. In 1970, only 7 per cent of female teachers and 14 per cent of male teachers in both primary and secondary schools had degrees.

A number of teachers were appointed District Inspector without the benefit of a degree. Their qualities as experienced educators were recognised by the Department as worthy of the appointment. The role of District Inspector was a complex one. While seen by the Department, and sometimes the inspectors themselves, as providing moral guidance and friendly criticism to the teachers on their annual or twice-yearly visits, many teachers regarded them as judges and even executioners. A work based on interviews with teachers of the 1930s described these visits as ‘torturous’ and the inspectors as ‘fault-finding’, ‘suspicious’ and ‘intimidatory’. As the inspector’s report was pivotal in the promotion and transfer aspirations of teachers, their futures were dependent on making a good impression.

For a long time the perspective of the inspectors was ignored. Mary de Jabrun, looking at north Queensland in the late nineteenth century, extracted their experience from diaries, reports and correspondence. These revealed the difficult conditions of their travels, the unrealistic expectations of them by the Department and the meagre allowances paid to cover their expenses. They often felt stifled by the regulations regarding their inspections. Each of them had been a successful teacher and understood the exigencies of classroom work. While restricted in what they could say,

42 RTF, EDU/vol. 24, XII, 265.
43 Clarke, Female teachers, p. 77.
their reports frequently reflected both their high expectations and their disappointment at the standards they observed in the classrooms they visited.\(^{45}\) Perhaps the inspector has been described best by John Cleverley as a ‘middle manager in a hierarchical authoritarian organisation, … at worst [he] cut the figure of a petty despot; at best he personified a fine spirit of cooperation between Department, teacher, parent, and child’.\(^ {46}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inspectors</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kennedy, Andrew Samuel</td>
<td>1885-1922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papi, Fernando Cantu Ph.D</td>
<td>1889, 1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gripp, William Lutheri</td>
<td>1890-1922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fewtrell, John</td>
<td>1909-22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, William Henry BA</td>
<td>1909-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earnshaw, William</td>
<td>1910-33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skelton, Richard George</td>
<td>1912-15, 1917-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McKenna, Bernard Joseph</td>
<td>1914-23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fowler, Joseph Longton</td>
<td>1918-32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inglis, Thomas</td>
<td>1923-37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lynam, Joseph Cyril</td>
<td>1937-42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copeman, Arthur Bradby BA, BEd</td>
<td>1941-47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McCahon, Alfred Edward A</td>
<td>1945-49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hendy, Albert Victor BA, AEd</td>
<td>1947-65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McGrath, John Fassifern</td>
<td>1950-53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schildt, Archibald Martin</td>
<td>1953-72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Searle, Clifford Leslie</td>
<td>1954-70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milne, Fitzroy Thomas</td>
<td>1957-62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O’Brien, Cyril William</td>
<td>1959-72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackson, Arthur William</td>
<td>1962-77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golding, James Alwyn</td>
<td>1966-73</td>
</tr>
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</table>


\(^{47}\) Compiled from sources in Education History Collection.
Table 21: Temporary Inspectors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temporary inspectors</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kerr, James Semple</td>
<td>1870-73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exley, Arthur</td>
<td>1917-19, 1921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bell, David John</td>
<td>1918-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, George</td>
<td>1918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loney, Joseph Robert</td>
<td>1920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henderson, Thomas</td>
<td>1924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whiting, Francis Charles</td>
<td>1924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenyon, Thomas Ernest</td>
<td>1934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diplock, Leslie Frank</td>
<td>1949, 1952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cutler, Leslie Thornton</td>
<td>1952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deller, Cecil Joseph</td>
<td>1958, 1965</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tables 20 and 21 list the thirty-two teachers who were appointed inspectors or to temporary inspector positions through their careers. Most of those in permanent positions remained in the inspectorate, with three notable exceptions. Fernando Papi requested that he be returned to a school after one year’s service; Arthur Exley was relieved of his position after being publicly critical of the Department; and Arthur Copeman returned to school administration when ill-health made travelling difficult.

Three of these men were to become Senior Inspector, a rank of importance in the hierarchy close to the highest, that of Under-Secretary, later titled Director or Director-General. Andrew Samuel Kennedy (1857-1930), William Lutheri Gripp (1855-1926) and Bernard Joseph McKenna (1870-1937) had careers following the same trajectory. Each had been a pupil teacher, taught at the Normal School under James Kerr, served in small and large schools as head teacher, before promotion to the inspectorate. Kennedy was serving as acting Under-Secretary at his retirement in 1922, replaced by ‘Barney’ McKenna, who remained in that position until 1936. All three left indelible marks on Queensland education.

Kennedy and Gripp were not only colleagues but friends and brothers-in-law. In 1880 Kennedy married Gripp’s sister, Anna Katharina, a fellow teacher, thus linking the two families and setting up a teaching dynasty. Five of their six daughters were to
become teachers.\textsuperscript{48} Kennedy was appointed District Inspector in 1885, spending time in most areas of Queensland. His reports were thoughtful reflections on the conditions for teachers in harsh environments, as well as his frequent disappointment at the standards of teaching. He served as Chief Inspector for six years after 1914, but was unable through age and ill-health to take on the permanent position of Under-Secretary.\textsuperscript{49}

Gripp, while born in Danish Schleswig-Holstein, had migrated to Queensland with his family at the age of ten. After his pupil teacher tutelage at the Normal he remained as assistant teacher before moving to Leichhardt Street in Brisbane, Bowen, Toowoomba South and Wooloongabba schools. At thirty-seven in 1890, Gripp was young to be appointed District Inspector in north Queensland. He stayed for five years, moving his family to Townsville. He was Senior Inspector from 1917 until his retirement in 1922. Gripp’s reputation was based on his friendliness and his exacting standards. Two of his sons also had successful teaching careers.\textsuperscript{50}

McKenna’s primary education was in Warwick where he was taught by Joseph Canny. His pupil teacher experience was spent in Allora, after which he taught in several schools, including the Normal, where he was in charge of Scholarship classes, before serving as head teacher at Enoggera and Sandgate. His appointment as District Inspector in 1914 took him to north and central Queensland where ‘his sympathy for the isolated deepened his conviction of the need for a utilitarian, especially rural, orientation in education’.\textsuperscript{51} He was appointed acting Chief Inspector in 1922 and Under-Secretary in 1923. In this position he extended his interest in isolated children by introducing the Primary Correspondence School and health services for bush children. After his retirement in 1936 he wrote textbooks and assisted in the revision of the syllabus.\textsuperscript{52}

\textsuperscript{48} The one exception, Evelyn Maud, was placed first in the Scholarship in 1900. Her sister, Doris Vivian, was placed second female in 1911. Doris graduated with a BA in 1920 and taught at Brisbane Girls’ Grammar School for 42 years.

\textsuperscript{49} RTM, EDU/vol. 2, 35; EDB/01, 242. Compiled from information from Ian Kennedy and the Education History Collection.

\textsuperscript{50} RTF, EDU/vol. 13, 1, 239; RTM, EDU/vol. 1, 217.


\textsuperscript{52} Ibid., pp. 300-1; Spaull and Sullivan, \textit{History of the QTU}, pp. 197-8. RTM, EDU/vol. 2, 213; EDU/vol. 7, 169.
One more District Inspector moved into a senior position, while yet another entered politics and held the Education portfolio in Cabinet. James Golding was appointed the Director of Secondary Education in 1974. Leslie Diplock was admitted as a pupil teacher in 1914. He taught at Toowoomba North State School in 1923 when his student Lister Hopkins won the Lilley medal. While serving as head teacher in Dalby from 1946 until 1952 he was appointed Acting District Inspector for periods in 1949 and 1952, but resigned in 1953 to stand as an Australian Labor Party candidate for the seat of Condamine. During the troubled Gair government, Diplock served as Minister for Public Instruction for eleven months from June 1956 to May 1957.53

None of the female teachers in this study was appointed as an inspector. This avenue of promotion was not available to them.54 Opportunities existed only in schools designated as girls’ and infants’ schools, where the female head teacher frequently had charge of a larger school than her male counterpart.55 Between 1902 and 1940 the number of girls’ and infants’ schools decreased, while at the same time more women were employed in boys’ and mixed schools. Within these schools there was no chance of promotion to a headship for women, who were frequently confined to teach the lower, often very large, classes.56 It was unusual that they be asked to teach Scholarship classes until the absence of men during World War II made it necessary. Some women who ‘made their reputation’ during wartime later retained those classes.

Most of the opposition to promoting women to head teacher positions came from their male colleagues, evident in discussions within the Queensland Teachers’ Union as well as in statements by Departmental officers. While women were considered competent to manage small schools, there appeared to be a fear of ‘petticoat government’ in large schools.57

The other major obstacle to promotion, or even employment, was the marriage ban. Until 1902, married women kept their positions. After that time only single women

54 An exception was the inspector of women’s work, first appointed in 1919.
55 Clarke, Female teachers, p. 13.
56 Ibid., p. 29.
57 Ibid., pp. 30-1.
remained in the service. Marjorie Theobald, in her analysis of women teachers in Australia, regarded them as members of a three-caste system: the transients, the temporaries and the spinsters. All of them had in common that they were high-achieving girls who were chosen to be pupil teachers. Of the spinsters she said that ‘from the 1880s to the 1970s, generations of a potential female intelligentsia were gathered into the teaching profession’. Theobald claimed that being a spinster put certain restrictions on the public behaviour of teachers. An ‘aesthetic of the teaching life’ requiring celibacy and self-censure in dress and demeanour ran counter to the greater freedoms won by women. The spinsters were both admired by their students for their independence, and pitied or ridiculed for their unmarried status.

Two of the spinster teachers in this study not previously mentioned were Sarah Jane Porter (1849-1937) and Constance Gooch (1884-1962). Porter, admitted in 1862, remained at the Normal Girls’ as pupil teacher and assistant teacher before her promotion in 1876 to head teacher at Brisbane South Girls’, where she remained until 1917. In 1901 Inspector Kennedy regarded her administration as ‘creditable and successful’. Constance Gooch was head teacher of Ipswich Central Girls’ School from 1938 until 1947. Her tenure there was unusual, as most of the separate girls’ schools had closed by then.

The marriage ban remained in force until 1940. Females then returning to the service were required to accept a lower classification and were considered as temporary staff, discharged at the end of each school year, to be reinstated after the summer holidays. Permanent status for married women was not instituted until 1973.

Another circumstance affecting the employment of women was the policy of recruiting a lower number of females into the service. Generally more female than male pupil teachers were in the system prior to 1932. Once scholarships to the

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59 Ibid., p. 27.
60 Ibid., p. 37.
62 RTF, EDU/vol. 13, I, 7; EDB/02, 116; EDU/vol. 27, XV, 41; CM, 30 June 1937, p. 5.
64 Clarke, *Female teachers*, pp. 40, 46.
Teachers’ Training College were available, more were allocated to males than to females. However, if males did not take up the allocated places, as frequently happened, they were passed to females, so that the percentages of women gradually increased. After 1972 student teachers were admitted on merit, by which time the percentage of women students had risen to 70 per cent. During the 1960s a limited number of special scholarships were offered which gave the opportunity of attendance at university for one year and a second year at the Teachers’ Training College. Secondary teaching fellowships to the University of Queensland, offering a full degree plus one year of professional training through a Diploma of Education were available only to men until 1963, closing other opportunities for aspiring women to seek further education by that means.65

These conditions for women were reflected in the careers of the few women who taught talented Scholarship winners: discriminatory recruitment, low numbers retained in service, and the marriage ban. Only twenty-eight female teachers were included in the case-study, or 17 per cent of the total. Of these, nine females entered teaching between 1860 and 1880, only one of whom, Mary Canny, married. No other married females were included until after 1948 when four taught Scholarship classes. Prior to the postwar period only two women in the study are known to have taught such classes in large mixed schools. One was Blanche Ludgate, referred to above; the other was Clarice Warner Corr, whose reputation as a Scholarship teacher was widely known. She taught five of the first place-getters, one at Ascot in 1934 and the others at Toowoomba East. In 1943 both the first places went to her students, when Betty Gibson and Peter Hawse took the girl’s and boy’s awards. Corr had begun teaching at Toowoomba East in 1914 and retired at that school in 1963, having been there for over half her career.66

Clarice Corr achieved the highest promotion classification I.1, as did half of the women in this study. That ranking set them apart from their female colleagues, for prior to World War II only 3 per cent of female teachers had gained the top classification. This rose to 6 per cent in 1940, reaching 24 per cent in 1950 and falling

to 15 per cent in 1960.\textsuperscript{67} As well as indicating the high status of female teachers in this sample, the significant proportion of teachers reaching the upper ranks is indicative of the fact that most of them remained unmarried and stayed in the service, whereas 10 to 20 per cent of their female colleagues left the service each year, in most cases to marry.\textsuperscript{68}

The recruitment, training and promotion patterns which emerged in the teachers represented in the case-study provided a picture of ambition and dedication. The early recruits from the United Kingdom remained in Queensland schools, providing stability and example to young ambitious pupil teachers for whom advancement through the system was the only chance of further education. Dedication was revealed in that very few of those teachers left the service, some remaining after their retirement date until age seventy. Following retirement, a number of them maintained their involvement by contributing articles for the School Paper, a magazine distributed to children, by advising on curriculum matters or by setting Scholarship examination papers.

Further indications of dedication came from an investigation of their capacity for innovative practices. In an education system frequently charged with dulling uniformity and didactic methods that stifled creativity, these innovations serve as reminders that teachers were often able to introduce new ideas, technologies and methods, inspiring their colleagues and students alike.

One of these was George James, who was an innovator in the 1890s at Albert school in Maryborough. He became interested in pre-school teaching and introduced Montessori methods in the infants’ school. He was also remembered for establishing a fife and drum band and for showing lantern slides.\textsuperscript{69} Other teachers who saw the benefits of newer technology included Isaac Waddle, who regarded the wireless as having ‘high inspirational value’,\textsuperscript{70} and Bernard McKenna who was instrumental in introducing radio broadcasts in 1935.\textsuperscript{71} Henry Charles Rich, while at Silkstone in

\textsuperscript{67} Clarke, \textit{Female teachers}, p. 77.
\textsuperscript{68} Ibid., pp. 81-5.
\textsuperscript{69} Personality files, Education History Collection.
\textsuperscript{71} Holthouse, \textit{Looking back}, p. 170.
1933, purchased a Kodascope to show moving pictures. The Minister for Public Instruction performed the opening ceremony as it was the first of its kind, and the children were granted a holiday to celebrate. Later, when Rich was at Sandgate during the difficult war years, the school purchased an epidiascope. Rich was also very enthusiastic about project clubs, particularly those involving reforestation and gardening.

Two teachers at the forefront of project clubs and rural education were Alfred McCahon and Arthur Copeman. McCahon established Boonah as a rural school in 1919 and remained proud of his achievements there, long after his move to city schools. Copeman’s years in Clifton (1924-33), Toogoolawah (1934-36) and Boonah (1937) gave him scope for encouraging his students’ interests in project clubs, including calf-rearing and cattle judging. His own interests in music and art were also pursued in the schools, particularly when he promoted art classes for teachers. Art was also encouraged by Fernando Papi at Windsor (1912-21), Thomas Henderson at Ascot (1920-39) and Herbert Hopkins, who established an art gallery at Wooloowin School in the 1940s.

While science was not a strong element in the primary curriculum, teachers with passionate interests, particularly in natural science, imparted their enthusiasm to students. Isaac Waddle was remembered for the bushwalks he led in the Biggenden district, as well as the elementary physics lessons he taught his primary classes. Frederick Bennett, who ‘was devoted to science and botany’, collected botanical specimens wherever he was stationed throughout Queensland. John Watkins, while teaching at Rosewood State School, also lectured in Botany at the Ipswich Technical 

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72 An epidiascope was an enlarging projector.
74 Personality files, Education History Collection.
76 ‘Tardent, ‘Papi’.
79 Education History Collection: Reminiscences of Grace Ball.
College. Edward Dumigan had an extensive collection of butterflies and moths which extended to more than 15,000 specimens by the time he was eighty. A further example was Clifford Searle, who was responsible for prize-winning rose gardens in Clermont in the 1930s, but also propagated a new grass variety, later used extensively in the district, in the school’s nursery.

A third expression of dedication lay in the careers of those teachers who spent many years teaching Scholarship classes, either not seeking or not gaining promotion beyond that status. Of the teachers in this study, three demonstrated this long-term commitment. Clarice Corr has already been mentioned. John Woodyard taught Scholarship classes at Sherwood from 1922 to 1956, in which time two students were awarded a Lilley medal. Donald MacColl, himself a medallist in 1919, taught at Yeronga for thirty-two years to 1960, during which time he taught many Scholarship classes. Although he served as acting head teacher at times, he did not take that promotion. Following some ill health he ended his career at the Primary Correspondence School.

Two schools in north Brisbane had dedicated Scholarship teachers who were regarded as being in competition for results. When Thomas Henderson was first at the helm of Ascot State School in 1920, he was determined to ensure the school’s reputation as ‘a first-rate Scholarship school to compete with Eagle Junction’. David Bell, who had taught at least four first-placegetters at the Normal School, was head teacher at Eagle Junction from 1912 to 1937. Between 1913 and 1924, when nine Lilley Medallists emerged from Eagle Junction, Daniel Joyce, John Scanlan and George Thompson were the Scholarship teachers. At Ascot, Charles Irish, Clarice Corr and Ray Fitzgerald taught four Lilley medallists between 1927 and 1950. This element of competition between schools was the source of much condemnation by the

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82 Clements, *Toowoomba East SS*, p. 33.
85 Personal communication with Eileen MacColl, January 2000.
Queensland Teachers’ Union. Henderson came under attack for asking teachers to work overtime ‘cramming for a Lilley medal’. The male staff of Ascot responded, vigorously refuting such suggestions, and claiming that the children of Ascot were ‘as carefree and enjoy life as fully as any in the state’. 

Very few teachers left records of their teaching philosophy. An exception was Isaac Waddle who, writing in the *Queensland Teachers’ Journal* in 1924, said that he felt the state laid certain obligations on the teacher:

> With the organisation provided he is to promote the growth of the child’s individuality, the growth of his social sense, the growth of his faculty of straight thinking, the growth of a taste for the abundant good there is in the world. 

He went on to point out the obligations the state owed to the profession:

> … adequate equipment, adequate training, a full measure of insurance against old age poverty, and payment commensurate with the importance of our service to the community.

> It is desperately necessary that the training of teachers should be both deeper and more widespread, and it is equally necessary that the poorly-lit, ill-ventilated, ill-furnished building should be replaced by schools of fitting architectural design set in spacious grounds, for school is as much an outdoor business as it is an indoor business.

These issues regarding the conditions of work were taken up by the Queensland Teachers’ Union. A large number of the teachers discussed in this chapter played prominent parts in the formation of the Union and in various campaigns it conducted to improve conditions and to reform education in Queensland. When Andrew Spaull and Martin Sullivan chronicled the history of the Union, they claimed that teachers were not only concerned with industrial issues such as salaries, transfers and living conditions, but also with matters arising from their professional skills and practices:

> Indeed, teachers were first and foremost among those arguing for the abolition of pupil teacher training, for the introduction of equal pay for women in all occupations, for an Australian content in areas of curriculum like literature and history, for the abolition of the state scholarship – all so readily recognised today as part of the scheme of things that the struggles to effect the reforms have been forgotten.

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91 Ibid., p. 25.  
During the 1880s, teachers met at various times to express their dissatisfactions. James Kerr was foremost in the moves to establish teachers’ associations. Meetings were often held at the Normal School, with Kerr encouraging his younger assistant teachers like Frederick Bennett to become active. Fernando Papi provided some leadership in Maryborough, and James McLeod did the same in Gympie. Spaull and Sullivan estimated that of those trained teachers who arrived from overseas between 1876 and 1888, ‘about 70 per cent of them joined the associations that would eventually form a central union’. Among them were Arthur Exley, John Cunningham, George James, James Baylis, George Smith and William Hendy. The Union was formed in 1899, with Kerr as the founding president. Exley and McLeod were elected president in 1902 and 1913 respectively, while later presidents included Thomas Fielding in 1915, George Martin in 1919, James Mahoney in 1927 and Arthur Alphen in 1940.

One of the first campaigns of the Queensland Teachers’ Union was to advocate the establishment of a teachers’ training college, and the end of the ‘child slavery’ of the pupil teacher system. Teachers who had themselves experienced that form of training believed that they had been successful ‘in spite of the want of training’. It took until 1914 for a college to be established, but another twenty years for the old system to be phased out.

The issue of equal pay for women teachers was another protracted battle, one begun by Margaret Berry at the Royal Commission on Education in 1874. The Teachers’ Union, led by men, did not speak with a unanimous voice on this issue. Women were ‘rendered invisible by the Union’s hierarchy’, but through their perseverance an equal pay policy was adopted in 1919 and the matter taken to the Court of Industrial Arbitration. One of the leading advocates at the hearing was Blanche Ludgate, who spoke vehemently for the cause, but her arguments failed to convince the court. It was

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93 Ibid., p. 43.
94 Ibid., p. 334.
95 Ibid., p. 79.
96 Ibid., p. 109.
97 ‘Royal Commission 1874’, p. 216.
not until 1967 that there was a successful decision, and until 1971 for it to be fully implemented.98

Francis Cecil Thompson, head teacher at the Brisbane Central School in the 1920s and later vice-principal of the Teachers’ Training College, was another who was active in the Union. He was involved in Union proposals for changes to the primary syllabus, especially the introduction of more Australian history. Frederick Bennett also called for more Australian content. In 1916 he delivered visionary and cautionary advice about changes in society to be expected after World War I and the corresponding changes needed to educate the next generation.99 Isaac Waddle, who had begun his Union involvement as a pupil teacher in Maryborough, was the Secondary Schools Association delegate for eighteen years.100

One of Waddle’s concerns was the nature of the Scholarship examination, particularly as it affected students in state high schools. He regarded it as an injustice that these scholarship holders received no allowance, while those attending grammar and denominational schools were subsidised. Particularly in country areas where students lived away from home, parents with low incomes found it difficult to educate their children. As has been outlined in a previous chapter, the Union developed strong opposition to the Scholarship itself. Some of its leading opponents were the very teachers who were reputed to cram and coach students for the examination, and whose students had achieved considerable success.

This seemingly ambivalent attitude can be explained in a number of ways. Firstly, these teachers had a very strong commitment to education. They believed that all children would benefit from a secondary education, in particular those with the capacity to take up professions. For many children the only access to secondary education was by passing the Scholarship. Even if teachers disliked what the Scholarship meant in terms of restricted curriculum and undesirable practices, they

99 Spaull and Sullivan, History of the QTU, p. 121.
were prepared to give their students the opportunity to move beyond a primary education.\textsuperscript{101}

Secondly, they were teachers who had exacting standards, who regarded the basics of grammar, spelling and arithmetic, as well as elementary world geography and history as essential elements to a quality education, to be mastered before a student could launch into any advanced learning. Whatever its limitations, the requirements of the examination provided a means by which these standards could be taught and measured.

Thirdly, they were themselves the products of a system that had offered them opportunities for personal advancement. Most had never left Queensland or gained much knowledge of other systems. They were also expected, as senior head teachers and inspectors, to support the system, although within the Union meetings and conferences they were free to express dissatisfaction. Strident calls by conference delegates for terminating the examination were occasionally tempered by those such as Thomas Henderson, who defended the acknowledgement of successful candidates through the publication of results. Henderson also cautioned that change could only occur if the secondary system was altered to accommodate the increased numbers and mixed abilities of those who would progress there automatically if the Scholarship were abolished.\textsuperscript{102}

By the early 1960s the ‘educational ladder’ was replaced by the ‘conveyor belt’, as the Queensland government started to heed these concerns.\textsuperscript{103} It opened more high schools, recognised the need for more secondary teachers and responded to the demands of the community for all children to have access to secondary education. The change was belated and not altogether smooth; but at last the demands for free access to state secondary education, first voiced a century earlier by Sir Charles Lilley, James Semple Kerr and Margaret Berry were heeded. The last Scholarship examination was held in 1962.

\textsuperscript{101} Hanger, \textit{Sixty years}, p. 43.
\textsuperscript{102} \textit{QTJ}, 16 September 1935, p. 39; 15 February 1936, pp. 17-8.
This overview of the careers of teachers sought to discover any recognisable and distinctive features of the Scholarship teachers in this study. Although it was evident that there were overlapping characteristics and that the direction of teachers changed throughout their careers, five ‘types’ emerged from the analysis. The first were the personally ambitious teachers such as Waddle, Copeman and Thompson, who sought further education for their own satisfaction as much as for promotional aspirations. The second were the innovators like James, Henderson and Rich, who introduced new technologies and inspired others to engage in modern practices. Thirdly, the dedicated teachers, exemplified by Corr, Woodyard and MacColl, taught Scholarship classes over a long period and earned respect for the results of their students. The fourth type were the activists, like Bennett, Ludgate and Exley, who served the Union to bring about better conditions for teachers and improved learning opportunities for students. The last type were perhaps the ‘slaves’ of the system, or the ‘sloggers’,¹⁰⁴ as the Union described those teachers who fulfilled the minimum requirements of the syllabus and taught to the best of their ability, sometimes only by chance teaching students whose results placed them first in the state. They remain unidentified.

¹⁰⁴ A term used by a QTU conference delegate to describe the rank and file members, quoted in Spaull and Sullivan, *History of the QTU*, p. 221.
Chapter 6

Swimming against the current: Girls and women.

In 1876, three years after Thomas Byrnes successfully passed the examination for grammar school entry, a young girl in Warwick achieved similar success. Mathilde Frederica Burdorff was the daughter of German immigrants, Caspar Burdorff and Margaret Sophia Zahn.¹ Her parents had married in the colony, Caspar having arrived in 1854. He was a saddler, who established a business in Brisbane, but the family also lived in Warwick and at Spicer’s Gap at various times. Mathilde was a student at Warwick West State School where Mary Canny was head teacher. Her older sister Bertha, a student at Brisbane Girls Grammar School in 1876, did not benefit from government assistance; but when the regulations changed to permit girls to be candidates for scholarships, Mathilde was placed first in a field of fifteen girls, three of whom were awarded scholarships.²

Both Bertha and Mathilde completed three years at Brisbane Girls’ Grammar School, then sat for the Sydney Senior examination. Bertha won the Fairfax prize for the first-placed female candidate in that examination in 1878, and Mathilde was awarded the German prize the following year. The subsequent careers of the two sisters were to be linked in that they both became teachers. Bertha returned to teach at Brisbane Girls’ Grammar School from 1880 until early 1883, and Mathilde became a governess for the Allan family at Braeside near Warwick and the Harris family at Newstead House. She married Stanley Harris, who was no relation of her employers, in 1888. Both sisters were on the staff of the Misses Jardine’s School at North Quay, Brisbane in 1888 before they jointly opened Miss Burdorff’s School, a secondary school for girls in 1893. Their school, initially at All Saints Hall on Wickham Terrace and later at the Albert Hall in Ann Street, developed a reputation for both academic and musical achievement. Mathilde and Bertha were both heavily involved in the cultural life of Brisbane, being members of the School of Arts, literary associations and scientific groups. Each of them made at least one trip to Germany and travelled interstate on numerous occasions. As Mathilde and Stanley Harris had no children, and seem to

¹ Mathilde’s name is spelt in various ways on official documents. This spelling is in accordance with her will.
² BC, 22 January 1877, p. 3; Warwick Examiner and Times, 27 January 1877, p. 2.
have lived separately for many years, she continued to teach until the school was sold in 1912. Bertha died in 1925, but Mathilde lived until 1937.3

Mathilde’s life experience was not typical of Queensland girls her age in the 1870s. To finish primary schooling was unusual and to complete secondary school was even more uncommon. That she not only took up secondary teaching in a private business, but also had an independent career as a married woman, set her more apart from her contemporaries. Being an active member of community organisations at a time of arch conservatism was another indicator of a cultivated woman acting contrary to contemporary thought and practice.

Clear examples of this capacity to swim upstream were evident among the women whose life stories have been pursued in this study. Some were able to overcome the snags, obstacles and eddies they were to meet along the way; whereas others, despite their demonstrated abilities, chose or were forced by circumstance to join the mainstream.

Although gradual changes affected the lives of girls and women over the next century, the patterns of the 1870s persisted with little variation until the 1970s. Improvements occurred slowly in school retention rates, access to higher education for women, entry into professions and acceptance of women’s rights. Girls may have stayed at school longer in the 1960s, but they generally left at age fifteen after the Junior Public Examination. Very few pursued an academic, as distinct from a vocational, course. The percentage of young women entering universities was low, and in some professions there were few or no women entrants. Married women were discouraged by social convention and prohibited by government regulations from working. Equal pay for women did not apply until the 1970s, while childcare provisions enabling mothers to maintain jobs and careers did not occur until the 1980s.

3 Compiled largely from information supplied by family historian Peter Gasteen. Additional sources at Queensland Women’s Historical Association and JOL TR 2089, Muller family. In some sources the achievements of Bertha and Mathilde have been confused and dates recorded erroneously. Further information from BGGS Archives, Pugh’s Almanac (1893-9), QPOD (1906-14), BC, 7 January 1882, p. 1; 16 January 1893, p. 8; 26 January 1895, p. 3; 25 January 1913, p. 2; Gill, Spicer’s Peak Road, pp. 48-9, 56; Peter Prideaux, Brisbane Girls’ Grammar School: The first sixty years 1875-1935 (Brisbane: Boolarong, 1985), pp. 22-3. Stanley Harris died at Coonamble in New South Wales in 1916.
While these creeping changes were reflected through the lives of all the women who were first place-getters in the Scholarship examination between 1876 and 1962, they would not be so evident if a short slice of the period had been investigated. It is appropriate that the whole Scholarship period is the focus for investigation, for its onset coincided with the beginning of higher education for girls and women and, by the time of its abandonment in 1962, women were on the threshold of benefiting from social and legislative changes which lifted many restrictions.

This chapter illustrates how educated women in Queensland were able to negotiate prevailing attitudes that conspired against their taking advantage of opportunities. Against a backdrop of constraints they made choices that ‘cracked and re-shaped the mould’ of what it meant to be a woman in Queensland across five generations. By referring to the life histories of the scholarship winners it has been possible to identify those opportunities, constraints and choices, to discern patterns in behaviour and to highlight changes. No attempt has been made to evaluate the choices they made nor to rate one experience as more worthwhile or successful than another, but rather to use the experiences of individuals to demonstrate the effects of social and political changes taking place in Queensland.

Several themes emerged from their experiences: school education for girls; higher education for women; acceptance of women in previously male professions; the impact of marriage on careers; the management of family responsibilities; and participation in public life. On close inspection, each theme contains illustrations of how women employed ‘strategies of accommodation, resistance, or of active shaping to meet the obstacles they encountered’.

On the surface it might appear that when girls were eligible for scholarships in 1876 they were at the same starting point as boys, but this seeming equal opportunity was deceptive. Of sixty scholarships offered in 1876, only ten were available to girls, three of whom were successful. While the number of scholarships offered increased to 120

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4 Girls were first eligible in 1876.


in 1885, the disparity continued, as girls were offered only thirty of them. In 1893 the number of scholarships offered was cut. These were reinstated in 1894, only to be drastically reduced in 1897. In that year a mere nine girls were able to take up an award. Table 22 traces some of the changes in selected years. In 1913, when the quota was removed, the number of girls receiving the scholarship jumped from twelve to 119, giving an indication of the numbers who had missed out prior to that decision.7

Table 22: Girls, candidates for examination, scholarships available, numbers awarded in selected years, 1876-19128

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Candidates Girls</th>
<th>Candidates Total</th>
<th>Scholarships available to Girls</th>
<th>Scholarships available Total</th>
<th>Girls awarded scholarships</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>533</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As scholarships could only be taken out at a grammar school until 1890, girls were at first limited to a single school. The Brisbane Girls’ Grammar School was established in 1875, followed eight years later by Maryborough Girls’ Grammar School and in 1892 by Ipswich and Rockhampton. Townsville offered co-education in 1893. The expansion into girls’ secondary education was not achieved without some difficulty.

At the time Mathilde Burdorff was at Warwick West State School in 1875, a paper circulated expressing some more enlightened attitudes to secondary education for girls. The Trustees of the Brisbane Grammar School had distributed a pamphlet calling for comment on their proposals to establish a girls’ school.9 The response of Frederick ffoulkes Swanwick, at that time a teacher at Eagle Farm, was published in

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7 See Chronology in Appendix A.
8 QSA: Miscellaneous Correspondence, including History of the State Scholarship System in Queensland 1873-1927, PRV 7942-1-65.
the form of two letters written to Charles Lilley, Chairman of Trustees. Swanwick, then a father of three infant sons and a daughter, strongly supported education for girls. He was no doubt inspired by his father’s cousin Anna Swanwick (1813-1899) who was an accomplished author and translator, as well as a social activist for suffragette and anti-slavery causes. Educated in Europe herself, she was involved in the foundation of Girton College, the first college for women at Cambridge, in the 1860s.

Swanwick was not very impressed by the standard of education for girls in primary schools and in the few establishments for young ladies currently operating in Brisbane. He claimed that poor teaching, lack of exercise and inadequate instruction in the accomplishments, such as music or languages, resulted in very unhealthy, shallow and ill-informed young women. Swanwick intently scrutinised the proposal for the Brisbane Girls’ Grammar School curriculum. Despite his dismay that Latin would not be a compulsory subject, he was encouraged by what was offered. In particular he was pleased to see an emphasis on exercise without the trammels of ‘hysterical, death-dealing, lung-and-heart compressing, crooked-spine compelling, tightly-laced stays’. While he acknowledged the necessity for a ‘Lady Principal’ he suggested that male teachers were necessary for girls, particularly in the sciences: ‘the contact with masculine energy and scholarship, must, properly guarded, produce a telling effect’. Although Swanwick argued that girls should have instruction in mathematics and science, he also demanded that the ‘accomplishments’ of art and music be taught at a very high standard. Rather than regard education of girls as a waste of time, he considered it important for mothers of future generations to have the capacity to pass on knowledge, understanding and appreciation of the world:

In the after-time when little feet are racing around the room, when children’s voices are asking for information about everything they see, how glad our girls, then gracing mother-hood, will be that they can answer most of the questions put to them about this material world, teaching their own children the lessons of the

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10 Swanwick, Our girls, and their secondary education.
11 Two of his sons, Kenneth ffoulkes and Ronald Fox, were placed first in the Scholarship examinations of 1887 and 1889. His daughter, Edith Theodara Swanwick (1873-1928), attended Mrs O’Connor’s Duporth School at Oxley and the London School of Economics. She was an accomplished linguist, translator and tutor. See her obituary, BC, 4 August 1928, p. 30.
12 Information compiled from sources of family historian, Ken Swanwick, April 2004. Additional information obtained from RTM. EDU/VI, p. 27.
Secondary school, and preparing them for higher teaching when their school-days shall come.13

This argument advocating education for girls as the future mothers of the colony was commonly held. It expressed the prevailing domestic ideology, which regarded education as valuable, not for the sake of learning and intellectual satisfaction, nor for possible professional advancement of the girls concerned, but for the sake of the future generation, especially males. This view was widely held by both men and women. Another example was expressed in a letter to the Brisbane Courier in 1899, when May McConnel made the point that ‘we look to it [Brisbane Girls’ Grammar School] to train us gentlewomen and mothers of the nation who will extend to their sons the right hand of knowledge’.14 The educated mother viewpoint can be seen as a way of negotiating the domestic ideology while still recognising the value of intellectual satisfaction to be derived from education.

Charles Lilley, a father of twelve children, was a prominent advocate of women’s education who also espoused this argument in an education debate in parliament in 1873:

Up to a recent time in the history of the world, for all purposes of useful education, for all purposes of real educational advancement, the female intellect was actually left thoroughly, utterly, uncultivated: and so one-half of the human intellect was untrained. That should be no longer, because boys were influenced by the mother’s mind; and this was the most powerful argument for, if possible, the highest class of education for the girls. Their claims should not, at all events, be neglected.15

During 1874, when Lilley was Attorney-General, he chaired a Royal Commission on Education, affording him the opportunity to address all the issues he passionately advocated, including that of secondary education for girls.16 In his capacity as Chairman of Trustees of the Brisbane Grammar School, he decided to put his beliefs into practice. Following a flurry of meetings between October and December, many of them in his chambers, plans were put into effect to open a branch of the Brisbane Grammar School catering for girls in 1875. This was achieved when the newly

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13 Swanwick, *Our girls, and their secondary education*.
14 *BC*, 20 September 1899, p. 5.
15 *OPD* Vol. 15, 1873, p. 223.
16 'Royal Commission 1874', pp. 83-441.
appointed Lady Principal, Janet O’Connor, opened the school in the following March.  

On the other hand, there were equally strongly-held views opposing secondary education for girls as a waste of government spending. It was as though opening the door to women in education was achieved only in very small stages, for fear of dire consequences. As that door creaked slowly open, at each point the same arguments were faced. These were based on beliefs that women’s place was in the home, that female constitutions were not capable of concentrated study and that their higher education would be wasted. It was also held that women were not capable of the same work or the same responsibility as men, that they should be educated separately and that their female delicacy would be sullied by studying subjects such as biology. Because they could not perform the same work they therefore should not be paid the same amount as men, who had responsibility for families. Each of these arguments proved to be illusory and each was eventually overcome, although traces of most of them lingered beyond the twentieth century.  

Of the ninety-one females in this study, all but four took advantage of the scholarship offered and enrolled in a secondary school. One of those four, Agnes Richmond (1896), became a pupil teacher; but of the other three – Helena Johnson (1877), Lilian Jarrott (1886) and Emily Wild (1890) – there is no record of their continuing their formal education. Johnson emulated Mathilde Burdorff’s success at Warwick West State School the following year, but unlike the Burdorff sisters she did not proceed to secondary school. She was the daughter of Thomas Alexander Johnson, a prominent merchant in Warwick. Possibly both Johnson and Wild, also from Warwick and the daughter of a rival merchant, James Winterbottom Wild, may have attended one of the private girls’ schools in Warwick, but no records remain.  

20 Information regarding enrolments in secondary schools has been collected from a variety of sources. These include enrolment registers at grammar schools; published examination results; Reports on Brisbane Girls Grammar School scholarship holders; QSA: Registers of Grammar School Scholarships 1871-94, PRV 7931-1-2; Register of scholarships.
Lilian Jarrott left records which provided a description of the typical life of a daughter who stayed in the family home, engaged in cultural and community activities. She was a student at Toowoomba South State School in 1886. As there was no local grammar school for girls, rather than board in Brisbane, she stayed at home, unlike two of her brothers who attended Toowoomba Grammar School. With three younger children in her family, one an infant, she would have been involved in their care. Lilian’s father William was an enterprising farmer who had arranged his appointment in the state school system as a music teacher in 1878, but later resigned to be bookkeeper of Toowoomba Foundry, retiring from there as its secretary. Having left school at thirteen, Lilian’s informal education continued in the family circle, particularly through musical activities, as she joined her father in choirs and concert parties, in church life and fund-raising community activities. Lilian remained unmarried and, like many single women of her time, became the carer of her mother and father in their old age. She wrote a memoir, tantalisingly elusive, but quoted frequently in a family history written by a relative after she died in 1963. In it she outlined her involvement in Methodist church activities, Sunday school teaching, the Women’s Christian Temperance Union, the Radiant Health Club and the Garden Settlement aged care centre in Toowoomba.21

After 1890 all girls in the study took up the offer of a scholarship. Legislation in December 1899, led by Frank McDonnell, made it possible for scholarship holders to attend schools other than grammar schools. Girls could then attend All Hallows or private schools like Miss Burdorff’s. In fact, no girls in this study enrolled in such schools for another twenty years. Gwendoline Wetherell (1920) went to St Anne’s at Townsville, Marguerite Penny (1922) attended the Glennie Memorial School at Toowoomba and Norah Booth (1923) chose to go to Brisbane High School for Girls – Somerville House.22 Meanwhile, after the establishment of six state high schools in 1912, secondary education was more accessible. In that year, Eliza Gallogly (1911) was a foundation student of Charters Towers State High School She later transferred to Herberton State High and finished her education at Ipswich Girls’ Grammar

22 The school opened as the Brisbane High School for Girls in 1899. In 1921 the name Somerville House was added to that title and the school eventually became known as Somerville House. Noeline Hall, *A legacy of honour: The centenary history of Somerville House* (Moorooka: Boolarong, 1999), pp. 1, 4.
School. It was not until 1937 that another first-placed girl attended a state high school when Betty Baird (1936) enrolled at Bundaberg State High where her father was on the staff. After 1940, twelve of twenty-five girls attended a state high school, while seven were enrolled at an independent school and six at grammar schools. This pattern reflected the post-war expansion of state secondary schools.

For some girls, their secondary education was short-lived. Two more Warwick girls, Mary Canny (1885) and Frances Archibald (1892), spent only a few months at Brisbane Girls’ Grammar School and Ipswich Girls’ Grammar School respectively. In correspondence to the Under-Secretary of the Department of Public Instruction, Mary Canny’s father claimed that she had difficulty in adjusting to life in Brisbane and that he could provide a suitable education at home.\(^{23}\) Mary became a pupil teacher two years later, under her mother’s supervision.\(^{24}\) Mary Dick (1894) spent only a short time at Brisbane Girls’ Grammar School before also becoming a pupil teacher.\(^{25}\)

Other than teaching, nursing was a major career choice for many females, but only one girl among the first place-getters, Jemima Chapman (1902), is known to have followed that path. Having left Ipswich Girls’ Grammar School after one year, Jemima, known as Minnie, entered nursing training at the Brisbane General Hospital several years later, in 1911. In that year the nursing course was extended to three years. She remained as a nursing sister at the hospital until the outbreak of World War I, when she enlisted. Like a number of her nursing colleagues she responded to a call from England to join the Queen Alexandra’s Imperial Nursing Service, with whom she served in England, France and Belgium.\(^{26}\)

Prior to 1910, all Scholarship winners in the case study, with the exceptions noted above, were candidates for the Junior examination, administered from the University

\(^{23}\) Reports on Brisbane Girls Grammar School scholarship holders, p. 322.
\(^{24}\) Register of pupil teachers, females, 1875-1886.
\(^{25}\) RTF, EDU/v21, 12, p.243.
of Sydney. From 1910 all but four girls were candidates for the Junior Public Examination, conducted by the University of Queensland. One of these four, Marguerite Penny (1922) returned to her family in Nambour from boarding school in Toowoomba to be taught by her father.\textsuperscript{27} Marjorie Bryant (1913) left Queensland for Victoria, possibly to continue her education elsewhere.

One of the other two, Norah Booth (1923), left Somerville House after only a few months. She related the reasons for her departure, her thwarted ambitions, and the direction her life took as a consequence of leaving school:

My mother died suddenly of heart failure caused by an influenza virus, leaving five children aged from 8 to 17. My father, then in his sixties, decided that we should all be able to earn our own living as soon as possible. … I had to give up my ambition to go to University and left Somerville House Girls’ High School to help my father in his office while studying commercial subjects at business college. I eventually passed the required examination and entered the Commonwealth Public Service as a shorthand typist at the General Post Office, Brisbane. [During World War II] I was posted to a position in the Commonwealth Investigation Branch, which was the forerunner of ASIO [Australian Intelligence and Security Organisation].\textsuperscript{28}

The fourth girl was Olive Dunlop (1926) who, despite her School Inspector father’s entreaties to continue, also left school to enter the workforce. After secretarial studies she worked at the Brisbane Clinic on Wickham Terrace. Her brother Allan remembered her decision to leave school as one of asserting her independence from the family.\textsuperscript{29} Opportunities for girls to undertake clerical work were just becoming available, and in some respects both Norah and Olive were forerunners of the waves of girls who entered offices as steno-typists in the years that followed. Their newfound independence was limited by lowly paid positions and poor promotional prospects, whereas boys entering banks and offices were assigned clerical jobs with a view to later managerial positions.

Passing the Junior examination was another milestone in educational life, which for the majority of secondary students marked the end of their schooldays. This was particularly the case for girls, whose families frequently saw little merit in continuing academic studies. Rupert Goodman considered those reaching secondary age between

\textsuperscript{27} Personal communication with Robert Johnston, 15 July 2005.
\textsuperscript{28} Myring family collection: Norah Campbell, Memoir. In the possession of her daughter, Susan Myring.
\textsuperscript{29} Personal communication, Allan Dunlop, March 2003.
the wars to be a ‘lost generation’ of Queenslanders, deprived of secondary education, but the loss of talent among girls in the next generation should be as readily deplored, for three times as many boys as girls completed four years of secondary education in the 1950s.\textsuperscript{30} As late as 1957 ‘for ninety-four per cent of the girls, the Junior examination was the end-point’ of their education.\textsuperscript{31}

Girls with some ability had an incentive to stay at school. From 1915, if those who were already scholarship holders achieved well in the Junior examination, they were eligible for extension scholarships of two or even three years. These awards continued to provide free tuition and an allowance, subject to a means test.\textsuperscript{32} Prior to 1915, half the girls in this study who were candidates for Junior left school after the examination. Between 1915 and 1943, a third of the candidates left, but subsequently all such candidates proceeded to further education.\textsuperscript{33}

This last finding was unexpected, in the light of two Queensland studies in the 1950s which found a strong dropout at Junior level even among academic achievers. In 1956, the Research and Guidance unit within the Department of Education traced those who had achieved more than 85 per cent in the 1951 Scholarship examination. Whereas 93 per cent of males in this cohort had completed Junior, only 69 per cent of females had done so. Two years later, 58 per cent of males and 43 per cent of females completed Senior studies. A further study was conducted in 1962, tracing achievers in the 1956 Scholarship. By then 91 per cent of high-achieving males and 89 per cent of females were Junior candidates; but only 67 per cent of males and 53 per cent of females continued to Senior.\textsuperscript{34}

A decision to leave school after Junior was not always taken willingly. Various writers have recorded the bitterness, disappointment, even grief, felt by those whose

\textsuperscript{32} Information regarding the candidates for the Junior examination has been collected from a variety of sources. These include: \textit{Manual of public examinations} (Brisbane: University of Queensland); \textit{Manual of public examinations held by the Sydney University} (Sydney: Angus & Robertson). Following 1940, results have been obtained from the \textit{Courier-Mail} in the January after the examination.
\textsuperscript{33} Dates refer to the date of candidature in the Scholarship examination.
\textsuperscript{34} Department of Public Instruction, 'Reducing wastage'; 'Research report', \textit{Education Office Gazette} 64, 10 (1962), pp. 381-4; Department of Education, 'Wastage of talent'.

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ambitions were curtailed for reasons sometimes beyond their control. Similar responses were recorded here. One woman retrospectively regarded her decision to leave as ‘stupid’, but circumstances of the Depression and family break-up made it inevitable. Another attributed her decision to family circumstances and world events:

When I finished at Junior, I would have loved to have gone on to Senior. I just wanted to learn. However, I had two brothers, one of whom had to be at boarding school to finish Junior and Dad was still overseas in the Army. I didn’t think my parents could afford for me to board as well, so I did not ask. I’m sure they would have tried as they were certainly interested in our education.

While it was not feasible to find out the feelings of others who were young women in the same position, it was possible to discover what career choices most of them made after the Junior examination.

The most common direction for girls to take was to join the teaching service. Those girls wishing to be primary teachers could enter at a higher level after the Department of Public Instruction considered that a Junior pass entitled them to credit. Elizabeth Stewart (1883), Margaret Dowling (1897), Ruby Butterfield (1906), Teresa O’Rourke (1907) and Eliza Gallogly (1911) were aspiring teachers. After 1914 there was the possibility of attending the Teachers’ Training College, although initially its short courses were designed for teachers being sent to provisional schools or to short courses at the university. In 1921 teachers’ scholarships were introduced, enabling those with a Junior pass to attend the College. After two years of study they were appointed to primary schools as a teacher scholar for a year, before they received a classification. From 1924, junior scholarships were awarded according to a quota, twenty-five to men and fifteen to women. This imbalance was not removed until 1972.

Among the first to take up a junior scholarship was Queenie Wendorf (1919) who attended the new Brisbane State High School for two years. She left in 1921, having

36 Anonymous personal account 1930s.
37 Anonymous personal account 1940s.
38 '23rd report SPI', p. 144.
39 Register of pupil teachers, females, 1875-1886.
40 Clarke, Female teachers, pp. 27, 42.
followed her earlier Scholarship success with a Byrnes medal for first place in the Junior examination. Considered ‘an asset to the Education Department’, Wendorf spent two years at the Training College, after which she was a teacher scholar at Windsor State School in 1924, becoming an assistant teacher there a year later. She sat for Senior in 1928, having studied at night at the City Coaching College. Wendorf then undertook university studies, probably also at night, graduating with an Arts degree in 1934. She continued teaching at Mackay in 1935, but later moved into teaching secondary subjects at Nambour State High School. Ultimately she joined the staff of Kelvin Grove Teachers’ College in 1946, remaining there until the year of her death in 1959.

Joyce Lowndes (1930), Enid Fairlie (1934) and Joyce Sivell (1935) also took up junior teachers’ scholarships. Like Wendorf’s, Sivell’s education did not end with her departure from Brisbane Girls’ Grammar School. She undertook Senior studies while at the Teachers’ Training College and taught in several country schools before her marriage. In 1962 she returned to teaching, undertook further studies in special education, and after retirement studied for a Masters degree in primary mathematics teaching.

Edith Jones (1888) completed a fourth year at Brisbane Girls’ Grammar before becoming a pupil teacher, whereas Charlotte England (1887), who had a third year at the same school, was appointed the head teacher of a provisional school without any training. She was the first secondary school student to be offered such an appointment. At the age of seventeen she travelled from Brisbane to the remote school, Mount Shamrock, west of Maryborough, involving a journey by ship, rail and coach. After several transfers to other small provisional schools and successfully passing pupil teacher examinations, she joined the staff of the Normal Girls’ School from 1910 to 1921, and Fortitude Valley Boys’ School from 1922 until her retirement in 1939, having reached Class I.1 status in 1919.

41 QSA: Training college scholarships, 1922, RSI 15191/1/2692.
43 Guy and Sutcliffe, Ascot, pp. 116-7.
44 Holthouse, Looking back, pp. 42-4.
45 EOGs various; Annual returns 1914-39; RTF; Holthouse, Looking back, pp. 42-4.
Other destinations for girls who left school after Junior were harder to discover. One student took up a pharmacy apprenticeship although, after four years study, she had not completed the course when she married. This choice of career appealed to country girls who could undertake studies under the supervision of a local pharmacist and undergo annual examinations set by the Pharmacy Board.46 Acceptance of girls into the profession had begun in 1894, but was not always assured.47

The Public Service was another destination. Annual examinations were held in conjunction with the Junior, but limited places were available to girls. Marjorie Fenwick (1914) and Violet Pryke (1918) entered the Public Service. There they faced limitations to promotion and a marriage bar. Fenwick remained in the accounts section of the Home Secretary’s Department until her early death at the age of thirty-four.48 Pryke, who had attended Wadley’s Commercial College, first applied for a position as typist, then sat the Public Service Examination in 1923 and was appointed a clerk in the Public Service Commissioner’s Office, where she worked until her marriage in 1927.49 After 1932, female applicants were unable to seek such clerical positions, but restricted to work as typists.50 This was the ‘death-knell of the female clerical “career”…They were no longer able to compete for promotion against male officers’.51

Once the Junior examination drafted out the majority of girls in secondary schools, those who continued at school were indeed a small select group. Some moved schools because not all high schools offered the final years, or choice of subjects was limited. At the end of two years they sat for the Sydney Senior examination until 1909, or the Queensland Senior Public Examination after that year. Of the ninety-one female students in this study, fifty-four completed secondary education. All those who were

49 Staff files 1922-27, SRS 6219-1-554, Batch 6003 re Violet Pryke, QSA.
Scholarship winners after 1943 continued to the final year. After completing secondary education, they were again faced with a choice of continuing education or seeking employment.

One whose choice was tragically curtailed was Marcia Forster (1884), a student of Maryborough Girls’ Grammar School, who drowned in an accident on a friend’s property on 29 October 1889, having passed the examination earlier that month. 52

Several young women with a Senior pass moved into clerical positions. Evelyn Kennedy (1900) decided not to follow her parents and sisters into a teaching career. She chose instead to join the State Savings Bank, entering in 1907 as a clerk. By 1915 Kennedy had been promoted to a savings bank officer. A year or so later she joined the Commonwealth Savings Bank, and stayed there until her retirement. 53 Another girl from an educated family chose a position in business. Gwen Wetherell (1920) left St Anne’s at Townsville to become secretary to her father, who was a manager in Burns Philp trading company. 54

While secretarial work opened up possibilities for these bright young women, teaching was still the principal choice of occupation. Several entered the profession with no further education. Mathilde Burdorff (1876), who became a governess, later taught in her own secondary school. Annie Mackay (1880), took on a student-teaching position back at her own school, Brisbane Girls’ Grammar, where she was later to become the first past student to be headmistress, from 1915 to 1924. Annie Cornwall (1898) found that her Sydney Senior was sufficient for her to find a place on the teaching staff of Rockhampton Girls’ Grammar School. Mary Douglas Armour (1878) became a private music teacher.

Discrepancies persisted in the number of opportunities available to women seeking teaching qualifications. Senior teaching scholarships were introduced in 1924, ten for males and five for females. Following one year at the Training College, such scholarship holders taught in primary schools. Hazel Baynes (1929) was able to

52 BC, 3 October 1889, p. 5; QSA: Inquest file, Forster, 1889, SRS36-526/1889.
54 Personal communication with Helen Gregory, 6 September 1999.
complete one university subject during her time at training college on a senior teaching scholarship for one year. She taught at several country schools, left in 1945 when she married, but returned to teaching and further study after her husband died in 1958. She became a guidance officer in schools, an adviser on disabled and gifted children and a university lecturer.

Entry to the pharmacy profession required a Senior pass after 1948. Betty Gibson (1943), who had been a student at the Glennie Memorial School in Toowoomba, completed the correspondence section of the course, but could not afford to attend the final year of study in Brisbane. After completing Senior studies at Cavendish Road State High School, Kay Beris Wright (1958) was one of the last participants in the apprenticeship program, which was phased out when a degree course was instituted at the University of Queensland in 1960.

The Public Service attracted only one young woman after Senior. Mary Moor (1904) was admitted in 1911. She was one of only two draftswomen, among thirteen males, in the Survey Office of the Department of Lands. Moor remained unmarried. The chance of advancement from this position was remote, as a female officer would be considered junior to a male officer performing similar work.

The Sydney Senior examination was a gateway to tertiary education, but only a few eligible young Queensland women could enter it. They were more handicapped than their sisters in southern states who made the first tentative steps into higher education. Those who did so entered a territory where their lives ‘defined the pathways for subsequent generations – to follow in less glorious ways’.

In a review of early tertiary education for Australian women, Marjorie Theobald claimed that ‘local circumstances ensured that Australian women had an easier path into the universities than women in Britain’, as the local institutions were state-funded, secular and unencumbered by the traditions of centuries. However, this

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55 Personal Communication with William Harvey, 10 August 2000.
57 *Queensland Public Service Board Blue Book*, 1913; *Queensland Public Service List 1929*, p. 153.
59 Mackinnon, *One foot on the ladder*, pp. 175-76.
‘easier path’ was not without its hurdles. Theobald went on to describe the ten-year ‘wrangle’ to admit women to the University of Melbourne, the resistance to women in the faculty of Medicine at the University of Sydney and the slow acceptance of women at Adelaide.60 Meanwhile, for Queensland girls who had acquitted themselves well in the Sydney Senior, the prospect of a university degree must have seemed quite out of reach.

While encouraged by teaching staff of the grammar schools, most of whom were graduates of British universities, there were contrary if not hostile messages to the girls from other quarters. A juxtaposition of these attitudes was apparent at the joint prize-giving presentation of Brisbane Grammar School and Girls’ Grammar School in December 1887. The speeches given by Miss Sophia Beanland BA, headmistress, and Sir Arthur Palmer, the Chairman of Trustees for both schools, illustrated the mixed messages available to young women deciding their futures. Miss Beanland expressed her enthusiasm for higher education:

Here it may be not inappropriate to express a sense of great satisfaction arising from the effort begun, and still going on, during the present year by the women and girls of Queensland, to further the cause of higher education of women, by raising funds to found bursaries or scholarships to enable Queensland girls to pursue their studies beyond a grammar school course, at some university. Our girls are ready and desirous of obtaining university training. The day has surely passed when the question, whether a woman should be encouraged to develop all the faculties with which she is endowed is debatable, and since we are assured that, other things being equal, a woman whose whole nature is well trained and disciplined, whose horizon has been enlarged by the breadth which education gives, will play her part in life better than one not so furnished; we welcome the beginning of hope held out to those who otherwise might not find the advantages of university training within their reach.61

Sir Arthur Palmer was not impressed:

There are many matters brought up in Miss Beanland’s report which I shall not go into, but there is one part of it I don’t agree with at all. I am one of the very old style. (Laughter.) I do not believe in young ladies being educated up to the top of their bent in physiology and chemistry and all the other sciences. I would rather that the young girls were taught how they could best become good wives for young Queenslanders – (laughter) – than that they should be made double first-class scholars in all the ologies of the university.62

60 Theobald, Knowing women, pp. 56-63.
61 BC, 17 December 1887, p. 6.
62 Ibid.
It is worth noting that the potential husbands, the ‘young Queenslanders’, were sitting in the audience at the prize-giving presentation, which may account for the laughter.

Just how young women received these conflicting messages cannot really be known, but there were some girls who would have responded to the message from their headmistress with alacrity, and in no way have seen themselves as excluded from the world of higher education. As Joy Hooton described it, ‘women were sensitive to the hidden agenda transmitted by both peers and authority figures’ and were not necessarily prepared to follow the official line when there was the offer of a ‘new enlarging life’.

Frequently the example of peers and teachers was important in negotiating the pressures around them. Another strategy was for women to gather together to support the aspirations of young women seeking tertiary education.

The fund-raising referred to above by Miss Beanland was such a strategy. A group of Queensland women collected money to redress the discrimination in the award of university exhibitions by the Queensland government. These were established when Thomas Byrnes was seeking a degree in 1879 but were not available to women, so that any woman wanting higher education did so at the cost to her family. In 1887 a group of women set up a Queen’s Scholarship fund ‘to the furtherance of the education of Queensland girls at a university’. Contributions did not flood into this fund, so that the first Queen’s Scholarship was not awarded until 1902 and thence only every three years. Alice Lavarack (1895) was the first beneficiary. She commenced study in Medicine at the University of Melbourne.

Meanwhile, government exhibitions were eventually extended to women in 1897, when Eleanor Bourne (1891), through her mother’s influence on Sir Samuel Griffith, attended classes at Brisbane Grammar School in order to qualify. Between 1897 and 1910, fifteen such exhibitions were awarded to women, exactly half as many as to men. The exhibitions ceased in 1910, meaning that those who chose courses not

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65 Other women included in this study to receive this award were Beth Beeston (1929), Lois Freeman (1941) and Marceline Pickup (1944). *Manual of public examinations* (Brisbane: UQP, 1959-60), p. 46.
66 Bourne papers. Re Jane Elizabeth Bourne: Notes for broadcast on mother’s life.
67 QSA: Registers of payments made on account of Exhibitions to Universities, PRV7880-1-1.
offered at the University of Queensland had to travel and study at their own expense at another university.

Prior to the foundation of the University in 1911, there had been twenty-nine female first place-getters in the Scholarship examination, eleven of whom passed the Sydney Senior. Three of the eleven undertook tertiary education. They were all to be among the first female medical graduates: Eleanor Bourne (1891) and Clara Smith (1899) at the University of Sydney, and Alice Lavarack (1895) at Melbourne. Details of their respective careers will be discussed later.

Secondary schools took great pride in the achievements of their past students, recording their progress through university studies in each year’s official reports and in school magazines. In their annual reports headmistresses also made regular mention of the urgent need for a local university.

Agitation for a Queensland university had begun in the 1870s, chiefly led by Charles Lilley, but governments interested in other matters like building railways were able to resist such calls. Despite two Royal Commissions in 1875 and 1891, as well as deputations, petitions, and passionate calls by a group of citizens largely made up of lawyers and heads of grammar schools, a government beset by depressions and droughts remained impassive. In 1893 the University Extension Movement was established, largely through the efforts of lawyer John Woolcock (1874). The success of this movement was mixed, but by means of a series of public lectures and arrangements with southern universities to administer examinations, a small number of people stepped into the tertiary field. Whether any of those included in this study participated is not known.

While the University Extension committee was dominated by men, the voices of women were certainly heard, as Bertha Burdorff, sister of Mathilde (1876), Eliza Fewings and Fanny Hunt were members. The most significant achievement of the

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69 University of Queensland Archives: Queensland University Extension: Minutes and records of the Standing Committee and Council, Brisbane, 1893-97, S759-1.
70 Ibid. Eliza Fewings was headmistress of BGGS from 1896 to 1899. She then established the Brisbane High School for Girls, later Somerville House. Fanny Hunt was the headmistress of IGGS from 1892 to 1901, before moving to Girton School, Toowoomba.
Extension Movement was the University Congress, held in December 1906, to which 149 delegates from many walks of life contributed their ideas on a future university. Among the delegates were fifteen women, representing the girls’ grammar schools, some private secondary schools and organisations such as the National Council of Women. Fanny Hunt, headmistress of Girton School in Toowoomba, and Helen White, head of Ipswich Girls’ Grammar School, presented papers on ‘a university from a woman’s point of view’. At the end of the congress a draft university bill was drawn up. The final clause of this bill stated that ‘the provisions of this Act, and all the benefits, advantages and privileges of the University shall extend to women equally with men’.

None of the women delegates at the Congress was a member of the four planning committees and no women were included in the first Senate of the new university. The official history of the University of Queensland paid scant attention to the acceptance of women. Perhaps it was a battle already won in that the early administrators and policy-makers saw no need to mention it, but it was not a battle won in the community. Of the seventy-eight undergraduates who enrolled in March 1911, nineteen were women. Low numbers of women students were a feature of the university for the next sixty years. In 1960 they made up only 23 per cent of enrolments. It was not until the 1980s that women had close to equal representation in the student body.

The University of Queensland opened with three faculties of Arts, Science and Engineering. As it was to be another twenty-five years before Medicine and Law were offered, undergraduates were restricted in their choice of course. For women, the restriction may have already been imposed by the subjects they were offered at secondary school. As science and advanced mathematics subjects were not available

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71 Annie Mackay (1880), Bertha Burdorff, sister of Mathilde (1876), and Jane Bourne, mother of Eleanor Bourne (1891) were also present. BT, 13 November 1906, p. 2.
72 Telegraph, 15 November 1906, p. 5; 16 November 1906, p. 7.
74 Freda Bage was the first woman Senator in 1928.
75 Thomis, Light and learning, pp. 47-50, 61.
77 Thomis, Light and learning, pp. 300, 363.
at all girls’ schools, those seeking a university education were perforce largely funnelled into Arts courses.

Two early University of Queensland students were Eleanor Wilkinson (1901) and Henriette Baird (1905). Wilkinson had completed her Sydney Senior studies at Ipswich Girls' Grammar School some years before, but took quick advantage of the new university to enrol in an Arts course. Baird achieved Honours in Greek. She proceeded to teach at several girls’ schools, notably the New England Girls’ School at Armidale from 1922 to 1958. Wilkinson married soon after graduating and had no known career.

Table 23 outlines the courses undertaken and the careers of those females in this study who were graduates in the next twenty-five years, while Table 24 records the courses taken by two other women who graduated from the University of Sydney, after moving south with their families.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scholarship year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Degree*</th>
<th>Career</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Eleanor May Wilkinson</td>
<td>BA 1914</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>Henriette Elfriede Baird</td>
<td>BA 1914</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>Caroline Ruddell</td>
<td>BA 1917</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Agnes Jane Moore</td>
<td>BA 1918</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>Doris Howlett</td>
<td>BSc ~</td>
<td>Teacher/religious order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Ellen Mary Ferricks</td>
<td>BSc1933</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>Queenie Doreen J Wendorf</td>
<td>BA 1934</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*First degree — incomplete

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scholarship year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Degree*</th>
<th>Career#</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>Elsa Daisy Gerrand</td>
<td>BSc 1935</td>
<td>Laboratory technician.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Nina Alice Macdonald</td>
<td>BSc 1934</td>
<td>Teacher/missionary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* First degree # First career after graduating

Forty years later, in 1976, 60 per cent of Arts students and 30 per cent of Science students at the University of Queensland were females. Arts students comprised 40 per cent of the female student population, whereas Science students made up only 7
per cent.\(^78\) Within the case study, half of the graduates after 1935 were in the Arts faculty and one third were to graduate in Science. There were also medical graduates after the establishment of the Medical School in 1936. Despite the introduction of the Law School in the same year, no women in this study entered that faculty, nor were they attracted in the first instance to Engineering, Agriculture, Veterinary Science, Dentistry, Commerce or Economics. One received a degree in Physiotherapy, but proceeded to graduate in Medicine. **Table 25** indicates the courses and career outcomes for those who graduated in Queensland between 1936 and 1974, while **Table 26** records those from elsewhere.

**Table 25: Female scholarship winners who were graduates of the University of Queensland 1936-1974**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scholarship Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Degree*</th>
<th>Career#</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Beryl Jean Noad</td>
<td>BA 1936</td>
<td>Public servant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Hazel Ailsa Baynes*†~</td>
<td>BA …</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Beth Amy Beeston</td>
<td>BA 1937</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Joan Constance Chadwick</td>
<td>BA 1938</td>
<td>Social work/missionary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>Dorothy Isobel Arthur</td>
<td>BSc 1943</td>
<td>…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Betty Baird</td>
<td>BSc 1947</td>
<td>Librarian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>Dorothea Skelton</td>
<td>BA 1946</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>Irene Catherine Myles</td>
<td>BA 1948</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>Lois Jean Freeman</td>
<td>BSc 1949</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>Marciline Dorothy Pickup</td>
<td>MBBS 1954</td>
<td>Medical practitioner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>Edith Ruth Parfitt</td>
<td>BA 1955</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Gwenyth Dulcie Ingram*†</td>
<td>BA 1977</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>Gwaldys Hilary Davies</td>
<td>BSc 1956</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>Claire Clark</td>
<td>BA 1958</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>Judith Payne</td>
<td>BSc 1958</td>
<td>Scientist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>Thelma Elizabeth James</td>
<td>BSc 1961</td>
<td>Scientist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>Heather Vivian Thomsen</td>
<td>BSc 1953</td>
<td>Scientist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Robin Ann Greeves~</td>
<td>BA 1965</td>
<td>Teacher/Administrator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Aiya Ekis</td>
<td>MBBS 1969</td>
<td>Medical practitioner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>Judith Cartwright</td>
<td>BSc 1965</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>Gillian Wright</td>
<td>MBBS 1969</td>
<td>Medical practitioner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>Ann Pechey</td>
<td>BA 1967</td>
<td>Writer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Yvonne Burke~</td>
<td>BA 1974</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Carolyn Margaret Whish</td>
<td>BPhysio1969*</td>
<td>Medical practitioner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Vicki Tyrell</td>
<td>BA 1970</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^*\) First degree. \(^#\) First career after graduating \(^+\) Mature age entry \(^\wedge\) Graduated MBBS 1973
\(^\sim\) Initially at Teachers Training College

Two women graduated from other institutions:

**Table 26: Female Scholarship winners who were graduates other than at the University of Queensland, 1936-74**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scholarship year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Career</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Anne Elizabeth Holmes</td>
<td>BA (ANU)</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>Joyce Sivell + ~</td>
<td>BEd (BCAE)</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall, 44 per cent of women in this study were graduates. Over half of them were Scholarship candidates in the post World War II period when all but four of those females placed first in the Scholarship examination were to graduate. That they were exceptional among not only their age peers but their intellectual peers is made clear by the two research studies referred to earlier, tracing highly achieving students in the 1951 and 1956 examinations. The findings in these respective studies were that only 11 per cent and 24 per cent of the females attended university. A further study conducted by Fred Schonell and others in 1962 had similar findings and deplored the serious wastage of women’s talents.

What followed for graduates was a plethora of different outcomes, dependent on personal choices, government regulations, professional conditions, world events and community attitudes. Their stories reflect how these factors impinged on the personal lives of individuals as well as on the fabric of community life in Queensland. The career choices of the entire group of female graduates fell into three clusters: medical practitioners, scientists and teachers, each of which will be considered in turn. The careers of several women in each category will be profiled in some detail, to bring into sharper focus some of the changing personal and social circumstances.

Of nine medical graduates, three were pioneers of medical education for women. The first was Eleanor Bourne (1891), who was called a ‘phenomenal girl scholar’ when she accepted the first exhibition offered to females in 1897 to undertake medical

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79 One of these four, Kay Wright (1958), completed pharmacy studies prior to the abandonment of the apprenticeship course in 1965, a degree course having been established in 1960; Valda Pontson (1946), was engaged in clerical work; and the outcomes of two, Beverley Brownhall (1951) and Heather Hooper (1952), are unknown. See Chapter 8, Table 31 for statistics.

studies at the University of Sydney. In doing so she joined a select group, as women had been admitted to the faculty only in 1890, not without a struggle. Following her graduation in 1903, Bourne spent four years at the Women’s Hospital in Sydney, before returning to Brisbane to work at the General Hospital and Hospital for Sick Children.

After a period in private practice, Bourne was appointed the first medical officer to Department of Public Instruction in 1911. In this role, she visited schools throughout the state, examining children for conditions that affected their learning. Travelling by car, Cobb & Co coach and train, she undertook a visit to western Queensland, where she examined over 1000 children, finding visual defects five times greater than on the coast, largely due to flies and dust. In north Queensland she investigated hookworm and malaria. In addition, she was called to investigate epidemics of diphtheria and smallpox. With the outbreak of World War I, Bourne sought leave and travelled at her own expense to England, where she served as a Lieutenant, later Major, in the Army Medical Corps. After the war she served for seventeen years as medical officer to the city of Carlisle, and returned to Brisbane in retirement. She continued her interest in medical matters, and was honorary medical officer to the Creche and Kindergarten Association. Bourne died in 1957. Writing of her achievements, Tracey and Peter Griggs said of her:

Through the pioneering medical work of Eleanor Bourne … many children were able to realise their potential, parents and teachers were made aware of the many health risks and dangers which faced their children and the fears about the tropics and climate of Queensland were turned into a benefit for children’s health. The tenacious efforts of this confident, self-reliant woman enabled health care for school children to become a lasting reality.

Alice Lavarack (1895) was awarded a Queen’s Scholarship in 1901 enabling her to pursue her medical studies at the University of Melbourne. There she gained third place in the final examination in 1909 and became the first female resident doctor at

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81 Q, 2 January 1897, p. 2.
82 M. Hutton Neve, This mad folly: The history of Australia’s pioneer women doctors (Sydney: Library of Australian History, 1980), p. 133.
Royal Melbourne Hospital, serving there for eleven months. Female medical graduates who found difficulties in obtaining appointments at metropolitan hospitals were commonly appointed to small country towns in Queensland. In 1911, twelve women held such positions. Lavarack was posted to serve at remote Muttaburra Hospital in central Queensland. There she was reported to have ridden side-saddle to medical cases while carrying a .45 Colt revolver and stockwhip for protection. In 1912, after she married Frank Robert Jones, a grazier, they went to live at Julia Creek. Her career continued in that she administered medical attention to neighbours. The family moved to Stanthorpe in 1923. Soon after the birth of her seventh child in 1930 her husband died. Lavarack resumed medical practice, at the Mater Children’s Hospital in Brisbane, at the country towns of Cracow and Texas, and once again in Brisbane. She died in 1955, aged 72.

Clara Smith (1899) was awarded a Queensland government exhibition following the Sydney Senior of 1904. After graduating from the University of Sydney in 1909 she returned to Brisbane as a resident medical officer at the Brisbane General Hospital. She also served as a government commissioner investigating an outbreak of diphtheria in Clermont. In 1913 Smith married John Fortescue Grantley Fitzhardinge, a fellow medical graduate. After he enlisted as a member of the Medical Corps in 1915 Clara maintained his medical practice at Pambula in New South Wales during the war. Details of her later career are uncertain.

It was to be another forty-six years before another female in this study was to graduate in Medicine. By this time, women had become more accepted in the profession. It was a period when they began to enter specialties and set up practices on their own account. Marceline Dorothy Pickup (1944) undertook her studies at the University of Queensland, graduating in 1954. She was a registrar at the Children’s Hospital in Brisbane before joining her husband in general practice at Cooroy on the

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85 Neve, This mad folly, p. 154.
87 Calendar: University of Sydney (1911); Newsletter of the Women's College within the University of Sydney 1942; Ursula Bygott and Kenneth John Cable, Pioneer women graduates of the University of Sydney 1881-1921 (Sydney: University of Sydney, 1985), pp. 36-7; Rosemary Annable, ed. Biographical register: The Women's College within the University of Sydney. Vol. I: 1892-1939 (Sydney: The Council of the Women's College, 1995), p. 43.
Sunshine Coast, after deciding not to continue with her ambitions to specialise in paediatrics. 88 Aiya Ekis (1957) graduated in 1969 and later specialised in psychiatry. Gillian Wright (1958) also graduated in 1969 and Carolyn Margaret Whish (1961), who had earlier completed a Bachelor of Physiotherapy, graduated in Medicine in 1973. 89

Only hinted at in these accounts are some of the hurdles faced by women medical graduates. Various writers have examined the obstacles, both blatant and subtle, within the profession. These ranged from barriers against certain appointments, to colleague boycotts, marginalisation in rural outposts or low-ranking positions in the Public Service, ‘bigoted vindictiveness’ and silent antagonism. 90 On the other hand, women developed their own version of female professionalism, moving into work in the field of preventive medicine and the treatment of women and children. 91

Some of the same difficulties experienced by women doctors were faced by early science graduates. Their career opportunities remained largely limited to teaching. Universities rarely promoted female staff beyond demonstrator level, and private laboratories were almost non-existent. However, a few women in this study were able to maintain research careers. Elsa Gerrand (1925) worked in hospital laboratories after graduating from the University of Sydney. 92 Following World War II, three science graduates undertook postgraduate studies that enabled them to continue in academic research. These three represent another wave of women who were the first to seek higher degrees and maintain a research career. For each of them it meant leaving Queensland and seeking opportunities elsewhere.

After an Honours degree in zoology and physiology researching poisonous sea stingers at the University of Queensland, Judith Payne (1950) completed doctoral studies at Duke University in the United States. Her subsequent career involved research in marine biology at several American laboratories and she was appointed

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88 Personal communication with Marceline Luck, 3 March 2000.
89 Information from University of Queensland Calendars and Medical Practitioners Register.
91 Neve, This mad folly, p. 135; Riska and Wegar, eds., Gender, work and medicine, pp. 10, 177.
92 Somerville House sources.
Professor in Marine Biology and Coastal Sciences at Rutgers University, New Jersey. She said of her own career:

These interests [in the natural world] were reinforced during my education so that a career directed at understanding the environment seemed inevitable. My father and my aunt were the ones who conveyed that being a woman was not a barrier to high achievement. Like Jill Ker Conway, I soon decided that this might be a little more feasible outside of Australia, so I set off to find out if that were true.93

Thelma Elizabeth (Beth) James (1953) followed an honours degree in biochemistry at the University of Queensland with doctoral studies at the John Curtin School of Medical Research in Canberra. After postdoctoral research at Sheffield in the United Kingdom and at Stanford University in the United States, she returned to the John Curtin School at the Australian National University, working there as a researcher until 1980. A move into policy areas in the Commonwealth Department of Health was followed by several years as a Principal Project Officer at the Australian Science and Technology Council and a role advising on cabinet decisions related to science and technology. In 1988 she joined the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation as a senior executive, remaining there until her retirement in 2002.94

Heather Thomsen (1955) completed her Honours degree at the University of Queensland and Doctoral studies in physiology at Massey University, Palmerston North in New Zealand. After lecturing part-time while raising her family, she was appointed Associate Professor of Physiology in the Institute of Food, Nutrition and Human Health at that University, engaged in research in parasitology.95

The most likely employment for science graduates was secondary teaching. Whereas Betty Baird (1936) became a librarian at Queensland Museum, the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research and later in a Technical and Further Education College, all the other Science graduates became secondary teachers. One was Lois Freeman (1941), who taught in Queensland for a year before marrying and moving to Canberra in 1950. For eighteen years, while her children were young, she chose not to

93 Personal communication with Judith Grassle, 23 July 2001.
94 Personal communication with Beth Heyde, 30 November 2003.
95 Personal communication with Heather Simpson, 1 May 2003.
work, but returned to teach at Narrabundah High School from 1970 to 1989. There she was head of the science department for eleven years before retirement.96

Farley Kelly’s study of early women science graduates from the University of Melbourne found the same movement into teaching. She claimed that early graduates who taught in secondary schools enabled and inspired the next generation of girls, despite the fact that ‘the story of science teaching in schools is no swift and glorious progression, especially in the physical sciences’. Teachers frequently taught with ‘pathetic, meagre equipment’ in atrocious conditions and were required to serve for very low rates of pay in private girls’ schools, where ‘to work there was deemed a vocation and a privilege’.97 It was not until 1964 that federal government funding of school science laboratories included girls’ schools; and 1955 before teachers in Queensland private schools received award salaries.98

As in science, career openings for Arts graduates were limited to teaching, although a few moved into journalism or secretarial work. Teaching was already accepted as a respectable occupation for women. However, those young women seeking secondary-teaching qualifications in Queensland were thwarted by a lack of available scholarships. Three years after the establishment of the University of Queensland, in 1914, twenty senior teaching scholarships were awarded to students wishing to become secondary teachers after a degree. In 1919, the number of scholarships was reduced to fifteen, with only five available to women. The scholarships were abandoned between 1924 and 1947, but re-introduced then as teacher fellowships in Science and Arts. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, only male candidates could apply for these fellowships, but females were once more eligible in 1963.99 Young women choosing a university course did so at their own or their family’s expense, unless they had been granted one of an initial twenty, later twenty-three, general government or ‘open’ scholarships,100 or after 1951, a Commonwealth Scholarship

96 Personal communications with Betty McLean, 13 October 1999; and Lois Perry, 1 November 1999.
100 Clarke, Female teachers, p. 55.
that assisted with fees and paid a living allowance. appendix E lists those who were awarded open scholarships.

As evident from tables 23 to 26, all but four of nineteen Arts graduates in this study moved into the teaching profession. The four exceptions were eleanor wilkinson (1901), whose career is unknown; beryl noad (1926), who became a public servant, serving as private secretary to dr raphael cilento; Joan Chadwick (1938) who completed social work qualifications at Sydney University before embarking on missionary work in malaya; and Ann Pechey (1961) who undertook postgraduate studies in history at the University of Queensland and the University of British Columbia, Canada. She served briefly in the Department of Foreign Affairs in Canberra and, although she did not pursue a career after the birth of her children, she continued to research and write.

Some graduate teachers have already been profiled, but a closer look at others illustrates the changes that occurred for women in the profession; in particular how they grasped at opportunities that opened up whenever restrictions were removed. Henriette Baird (1905) and Queenie Wendorf (1919), already mentioned, remained unmarried and had long teaching careers. Caroline Ruddell (1908) graduated in first class honours in classics in 1917. She also never married and taught in state high schools for many years, before joining the staff of the Department of External Studies at the University of Queensland for twenty years until her retirement in 1962. Agnes Moore (1909) also gained an Arts degree with Honours in Classics in 1917, then joined the Department of Education as a secondary teacher at Warwick State High School for two years. After her marriage, she resigned as required under the regulations and, despite an active life in community organisations, she did not return to teaching.

Dorothea Skelton (1938) and Irene Myles (1940) graduated in 1946 and 1948 respectively. Each of them married. Dorothea was able to return to teaching in private

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101 Ibid., p. 144.
102 Guy and Sutcliffe, Ascot, p. 115.
103 BGSOM, December 1952, p. 43; Calendar: University of Sydney (1954), p. 599.
104 Personal communication with Sue Pechey, 14 May 2000.
106 Personal communication with Anthony Skoien, 15 February 2000.
girls’ schools in Toowoomba after raising her children. Irene and her husband Alfred McCready (1929), another Lilley medallist, had no children. She taught at Blackheath College and the State High School in Charters Towers and, after moving to Armidale in New South Wales, at New England Girls’ School from 1959 to 1972.

Following Senior studies at Loreto Convent in Brisbane, Robin Greeves (1956) proceeded on a teachers’ scholarship to Kelvin Grove Teachers’ College where she was awarded a Diploma in Teaching. Her later academic studies resulted in Arts and Education degrees from the University of Queensland and a Masters in Education from James Cook University in Townsville. Within the Department of Education she finished her teaching career as a secondary principal, then moved into administration, serving as a Regional Director, Director of Studies and Deputy Director-General of Education. In 1999 she was appointed to be the second Children’s Commissioner of Queensland, before transferring to become the first Director-General of a newly-formed Department of Child Safety in 2004. Greeves was able to combine her career with marriage and children. Her teaching career straddled the period when married women teachers moved from temporary to permanent positions, were awarded equal pay and were eligible for promotion. Her appointment as secondary principal was the first such appointment for a married woman in Queensland.

The impact of marriage on careers is woven throughout these accounts. Much of the literature concerning women graduates of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries regarded their lives after graduation as being dominated by a clear-cut choice between a career and marriage. Some writers described this choice as one between drudgery and independence, depicting the tasks of child-rearing and home-making in negative terms, whilst the career life untrammelled by such domestic

107 Personal communication with Max Brightman, 20 November 2002.
108 Personal communication with Irene McCready, 14 October 2002.
109 Personal communication with Robin Sullivan, 4 December 1999; CM, 20 December 2003, p. 6; 3 July 2004, p. 7. The first appointment of a female principal of a mixed state high school was made in 1976. In Clarke, Female teachers, p. 44.
110 Personal communication with Robin Sullivan, 4 December 1999.
concerns was viewed as emancipating and intellectually challenging. Others expressed the dichotomy as one of love or freedom, where the joys of home life were still regarded as restricted, while those who chose not to marry had the independence to travel and enjoy professional and cultural experiences unavailable to their married sisters. One of these writers was Alison Mackinnon who, in her work *Love and freedom*, considered the discourse of binary oppositions as a ‘linguistic straitjacket’, but was herself confined by it.

As Mackinnon found, it is difficult to examine the lives of graduate women, or any women, and to see them as falling into such distinct categories. One of the values of biography, and group biography in particular, is that it can set the lives of individuals against such analytical constructs to test their validity or to demonstrate that exceptions to the stereotype may be more significant than those who conform to them. This study takes a pluralist rather than a dualist approach to reflect the diversity of lived experiences. Freya Mathews in describing this approach, said that pluralists ‘explode dualism as an ideological fiction’, claiming that ‘there is a potentially unlimited number of merely different, but not opposed, ways of knowing, each of them contributing to a form of knowledge that must be understood as a collective rather than an individual endeavour’. This approach also claims that ‘all perspectives are partial, forever changing in response to historical forces’, thus accommodating the shifting circumstances of lives responding to the demands of families, communities and personal needs.

Without any evidence of personal testimony it is impossible to say whether single women actually chose not to marry, or how those who married or remained single regarded the consequences of their status over time. In the face of community attitudes that strongly proscribed combining career and marriage, regarded spinsters in unfavourable terms, and placed marriage and motherhood as the ultimate feminine

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112 Mackinnon, *Love and freedom*, pp. 221-5, 228.
goals, it is not surprising that many women willingly chose to curtail their careers. Again, without personal evidence, it is impossible to say whether they later felt deprived or whether they adapted successfully to the circumstances of their private lives.

A questionnaire was sent to fourteen surviving women in the case study who were Scholarship candidates between 1929 and 1962. In response to a question about the impact of marriage on their career, they gave little information apart from factual details included in the profiles above. Some asked to be quoted anonymously. One woman who did not resume her teaching career said that ‘being married and raising a family has provided the positive part of my life; nevertheless I feel unfulfilled. If I were young now I could hopefully plan on having both an academic life and a family one’. Another who returned to study and to teaching after her children were older said ‘I still believe it is pointless to delegate childcare to someone who is an underachiever. I think that I contributed to the development of my children’s intelligence. I always put them first – and that does not contribute to a successful career’. A doctor who maintained a medical practice pointed out that while marriage had both positive and negative impacts on the career, a career also affects marriage and children, but she did not elaborate.

For most graduate women, marriage may have meant the end of professional expectations, but their life experiences beyond marriage varied considerably. At one end of the spectrum home and family responsibilities were regarded as a litany of childbirth, drudgery, routine, subservience and the curtailment of any intellectual life. At the other extreme these same circumstances were seen as incorporating a great deal of autonomy through child-rearing, home management, care of extended family, creative and cultural outlets, partnerships in family businesses and properties, and leadership in community organisations. Between these two extremes lay a multitude of experiences, changing over time according to personal and social circumstances.

For some single women a lifetime career, with no family responsibilities, meant freedom to travel, to engage in cultural pursuits and political activism, to own property and to fulfil intellectual needs; others found it to be a life of entrapment,
restricted within the confines of schools and hospitals, experiencing poor living conditions, a circumscribed social life, loneliness and isolation. Marjorie Theobald has described the ‘aesthetic of the teaching life’ as one difficult to achieve. ‘The requirement of celibacy and the demand for self-censure in behaviour, dress and demeanor’ for the spinster teacher, ‘were increasingly at odds with the greater freedoms won by women after World War I’. Alongside these two sets of circumstances there were single women whose lives and relationships were not so circumscribed, or who found ways of negotiating or overcoming the restrictions placed upon them.

There is evidence that early female graduates in Queensland, as in other states, were less likely to marry than women in the general community. Alison Mackinnon’s study of women graduates in South Australia before 1922 found that 47 per cent remained single, far exceeding the incidence in the wider population. She also estimated that half the women graduating from the University of Queensland by 1920 remained single. In any case, the marital map soon changed. By the end of the 1920s the marriage pattern among graduates was similar to that in the wider community. Of the nine graduate women in this case study prior to 1930, five were unmarried, following closely the figures above. After that date only three of thirty-three were unmarried. One of those chose not to marry, but she had several children from two long-term relationships.

Mackinnon’s research also focused on the declining birth rate among graduates. She claimed that the higher education of women and the granting of certain rights, both in the workplace and in civil society, altered the bargaining power among certain groups of men and women in subtle ways, enabling some women to significantly alter their

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118 Ibid., p. 131. This information was based on data collected from ‘Appendix D. UQ graduates 1935’.
reproductive futures.\textsuperscript{120} The lower fertility rate made it more possible to combine family commitments and a career, especially as various barriers to employment were stripped away.\textsuperscript{121} It was not possible to collect sufficient information about family size from women in this case study to comment on whether similar patterns of family formation occurred among them.

So far this discussion on the impact of marriage on careers has concentrated on the careers of the graduate women, who were only half those in the case study. The same conditions applied to those who had entered the workforce at an earlier time of their lives. Of eleven non-graduate primary teachers, the next biggest occupational group, five were unmarried and had long teaching careers, all of them prior to 1930, while the others concluded or interrupted their careers when they married. In the entire case study of ninety-one women, twenty-two remained unmarried, while the status of only one is unknown.

While it has been established that married women were unlikely to have continued their careers unless widowed or able to resume work later, many of them pursued an ‘invisible career’ through associational networks, activism in organisations, cultural pursuits and voluntary work. Discovering evidence of these activities has been a painstaking task, as few records remain, family members do not record such details and women have devalued their own contributions. Some traces exist in membership lists of organisations and in obituaries.

Alison Mackinnon pointed to the growth of strong informal networks amongst educated women in the late nineteenth century in Adelaide. She regarded these as the ‘mediator between women’s educational achievements and their life choices’, a source of sustaining friendships and intellectual stimulation through reading circles, lectures and debates.\textsuperscript{122}

\textsuperscript{120} Mackinnon, \textit{Love and freedom}, pp. 12-13; Alison Mackinnon and Penny Gregory, ”A study corner in the kitchen’: Australian graduate women negotiate family, nation and work in the 1950s and early 1960s', \textit{Australian Historical Studies} 37, 127 (2006), pp. 70-3.
\textsuperscript{121} Carmichael, 'So many children', pp. 128-29.
\textsuperscript{122} Mackinnon, \textit{One foot on the ladder}, p. 161.
Mathilde Burdorff (1876) was a member of one such network in Brisbane, largely made up of teachers. An article in the *Brisbane Courier* in 1895 reported on a ‘social dinner’ at which a number of ladies ‘interested in literary and educational matters’ met in a restaurant, where the ‘menu was carefully chosen’ and ‘a flow of wit was not absent’. Topics for ‘several happy little speeches’ included ‘modern education versus the old school, the establishment of a Queensland University, the benefit to be derived in after-life from college friendships and associations, and upon literature and education in general’. The women listed as attending this function included several who were active in the woman’s suffrage movement, the University Extension movement, the School of Arts, the Hospital for Sick Children committee and other welfare groups. Although it cannot be said for certain that Mathilde was a member of associations other than the School of Arts, it is more than likely that she supported her friends in their various activities.

In a review of late nineteenth century girls’ education, Coral Chambers said that ‘the children of the 1870s as adults thought and fought out the issues of women’s suffrage, welfare reform, and nationalism, to name only a few outstanding topics of the 1890s and the turn of the century’. Winifred Burrell (1882) was a child of the next decade. As adults, this generation was engrossed in the growth of unions and industrial matters, the spread of motor transport and the acceptance of a wave of new, mostly British, immigrants. Burrell became an active worker for the New Settlers League, representing that association in the Brisbane Women’s Club in the 1920s. She is reported to have learnt Italian to assist migrants adapt to their new home. The Brisbane Women’s Club was in turn represented on the National Council of Women, Queensland Branch. The Council affiliated a wide range of groups, evidence of what Mackenzie called the ‘interlocking’ nature of participation in women’s organisations. He found that a small core of people had a high level of participation in a variety of

123 *BC*, 5 September 1895, p. 3.
organisations. The talents within the leadership were, he said, equivalent to those
needed to run a business.\footnote{Anne Wood, 'The evolution and growth of women's organisations in Queensland 1859-1958', 
Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland 6, 1 (1959), pp. 193-96; Norman Mackenzie, 

The experience of the children of the 1890s was drastically different, because as
adults they were drawn into, sometimes engulfed, by the events of World War I. The
sense of women’s voluntarism during the war was heightened by the need for
practical help for the troops, for raising funds and joining nursing services. As well,
many women found that earning a living was acceptable and respectable, at least for a
time.\footnote{Carmel Mary Shute, Australian women in the Great War: Aspects of ideological change, with
particular emphasis on Queensland, (BA Hons thesis, History, University of Queensland, 1973), pp. 61,
63, 71, 101, 130-3; Beverley Kingston, 'The lady and the Australian girl: Some thoughts on nationalism
and class', in Australian women: New feminist perspectives, Norma Grieve and Ailsa Burns, eds. 
(Melbourne: OUP, 1986), p. 132.}

This period marked the beginning of change, in that after the war more and
more paid positions became available in service professions and occupations
previously held by volunteers. The change frequently led to tensions and altered voluntary contributions.\footnote{Barbara Miller Solomon, In the company of educated women: A history of higher education in America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), p. 12; Mackinnon, Love and freedom, p. 194; Melanie Oppenheimer, All work no pay: Australian civilian volunteers in war (Sydney: Ohio Productions, 2002), pp. 6-10.}

Women continued to find a voice, not only in traditional fields, but also in sophisticated advocacy groups and the management of welfare institutions. They also moved out of exclusively women’s groups and became members and leaders in professional and community organisations alongside men.\footnote{Joanne Scott, 'Generic resemblances'? Women and work in Queensland, 1919-1939, (PhD thesis, History, Queensland, 1995), pp. 119-20.}

These changes were accelerated by the experiences of World War II, as many more
women were involved in the services or engaged in the workforce. While women
moved back into domestic roles after the war, further changes occurred in the late
1960s as increasingly more remained in the workforce.\footnote{Wood, 'Women's organisations', pp. 204-13; Oppenheimer, All work no pay, pp. 206-8; Mackinnon and Gregory, 'A study corner in the kitchen', pp. 72-5.}

Some writers have considered that such participation in voluntary work was an
extension of the domestic role, where women transformed their energy, commitment
and moral values of their homes into community work. In this they were seen to be
exploited, subservient to men and failing to find their own place in the paid

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workforce. This approach does not take full account of the historical realities, assuming that there were such choices available. Others have seen participation in women’s organisations as a parallel, if unpaid, career in which skills could be learnt and applied at local, national and international levels. When married women did not have a choice about working, they ‘used voluntarism as a vehicle for expanding their interests and for involving themselves in current social and political issues’. The principal areas of voluntary activity were church activities, welfare organisations, education and the arts.

Participation in church organisations was a feature in the lives of several women. Winifred Burrell (1882) was a member of women’s groups at St Mary’s Church, Kangaroo Point, Emily Wild (1890) was active in Methodist church activities in Warwick; and Constance Board (1893) in the Church of England at South Brisbane and Annerley. Edna Davies (1921) married a Methodist minister and served on church committees; Betty Baird (1936) was an elder in the Presbyterian, later Uniting Church; and Dorothea Skelton (1938) was active on the parish council of St Lukes’ Anglican Church in Toowoomba. She was the first woman appointed to the Diocesan Council of the Brisbane Diocese. She also chaired the Glennie School Council in Toowoomba for five years from 1991. Similarly, Beth James (1953) served on the Synod and on the Diocesan Schools Council of the Anglican Diocese of Canberra and Goulburn.

Like Skelton and James, continuing involvement in educational matters was a strong element in the lives of a number of women. Agnes Moore (1909) was a foundation member of the University of Queensland Alumni Association. Through that involvement and her active membership of the Country Women’s Association, she strongly advocated the establishment of a university college on the Darling Downs, eventually opened as the Darling Downs Institute for Advanced Education in 1967.

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134 Personal communication with Jenny Fison, 2 January 2003.
135 WDN, 14 March 1959, p. 3.
137 Personal communication with Max Brightman, 20 November 2002.
138 Personal communication with Beth Heyde, 30 November 2003.
Active interest in cultural pursuits was a strong feature in the life of Betty Baird (1936), who received an Order of Australia Medal in 1990 for service to the arts and the community. From her childhood she had been involved in music and drama activities. She served as president of the Bundaberg Art Society, convened an arts festival for eleven years, and was a member of a drama group and a community choir. Beth James (1953) chaired a board that established the Canberra Museum and Gallery.

Jill Matthews said ‘the map of Australian femininity shows it is a maze. … We are faced constantly by dead ends, by refusals of entry, by compulsions to turn this way and that. New and enticing paths are constantly opening up, but they are as obstructed by barriers as the old’. This portrayal of barriers was written after a case study of women in psychiatric care who had struggled, she said, to live up to an ideal of the ‘good woman’ and failed. However, by placing all Australian women in the maze, unable to escape, Matthews ignored the experience of those who overcame such obstacles, created opportunities, adapted to circumstances or developed new ways for others to follow.

Educated women were frequently active agents in social change and responsible for shifting social boundaries, sometimes even at risk to themselves. Once barriers were lifted, those who followed then moved into the available spaces, occupying places in higher education and in professions formerly closed to them. What was previously the territory of nonconformist bluestockings was eventually claimed as a right, almost a necessity, for girls and women to occupy.

In many ways the achieving girls and women of Queensland were swimming against the current. A few found they were washed into stagnant backwaters, where

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140 Personal communication with Betty McLean, 13 October 1999.
141 Personal communication with Beth Heyde, 30 November 2003.
143 Mackinnon and Gregory, ‘A study corner in the kitchen’, p. 79.
144 Solomon, In the company of educated women, p. xviii.
‘aspirations were submerged’ and they led a life of unfulfilment and regret. Others, unable to swim past the obstacles, were not necessarily regretful if they were able to reach the firm ground of personal satisfaction within the prevailing constraints. At first very few, but increasingly more, successfully negotiated the snags and eddies, completed the challenge and discovered it was possible to fulfil the promise shown when they were children, to participate fully and change not only their own life course but that of society at large.

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Chapter 7

Navigating the currents: Boys and men

Two of the men who addressed a public meeting on 30 May 1893 at the Centennial Hall in Brisbane had reached positions of influence in the colony following educational opportunities provided by the government. Thomas Byrnes (1873) and John Woolcock (1874) were students together at Brisbane Grammar School. They each proceeded to study, at Melbourne and Sydney Universities respectively, returning to Brisbane to establish successful legal careers. At the time of the meeting, Byrnes was Attorney-General, while Woolcock was an influential barrister with expertise in drafting legislation.

In 1891 both men had been members of a Royal Commission inquiring into the establishment of a university. The idea languished, possibly due to the depression of the 1890s, but Woolcock had taken steps to keep the idea alive by founding a University Extension Movement. The public meeting was the first attempt to garner popular support for the proposal. Those attending represented a wide cross-section of the professional community of Brisbane, from whom a committee was established to provide a series of public lectures and to establish links with southern universities.¹

Byrnes and Woolcock publicly demonstrated the high value they placed on education and cultural life. As Premier for only six months before his death in 1898, Byrnes was unable to make the significant changes he promised. Woolcock, on the other hand, continued to support the University Extension Movement until the eventual establishment of the University of Queensland in 1910 and beyond. He was a founding Senator of the University from 1910 until 1916; served as Chairman of Trustees of Brisbane Grammar School and Brisbane Girls’ Grammar School from

¹'Report with minutes of evidence taken before the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the best means to be adopted for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a University in Queensland', in *VPLAQ*, vol. 3 (1891), pp. 803-1003; University Extension Minutes.
1906 until 1929; and was one of the founders of the Public Library of Queensland in 1895.²

These two men were leaders who emerged successfully from the local education system. They were followed by other men included in this study who were also to take their place in positions of influence in the professions, politics and business. It may seem that they followed an easier path than their female counterparts; but males also faced constraints and interruptions to further education and successful careers. The Scholarship winners were forerunners in their fields, their life stories illustrating how ‘while achieving “success” themselves, many defined the pathways for subsequent generations’.³

From the life experiences of those boys placed first in the State Scholarship examination (1873-1962), several themes have emerged: anti-intellectualism and changes in notions of masculinity; the slow expansion of secondary schooling and higher education in Queensland; continuing education through serving an apprenticeship in various professional fields; the impact of military service on lives and careers; and the strong ethos of contributing back to the society that had benefited them.

When Byrnes (1873) and Woolcock (1874) attended Brisbane Grammar School there were 123 boys enrolled, 28 of whom were scholarship holders.⁴ The existence of the Brisbane and Ipswich schools was tenuous. Rupert Goodman described their difficult formative years:

Grammar schools made a struggling start in the 1860s, and indeed continued to struggle for the remainder of the century. They struggled to attract sufficient numbers of pupils, they struggled to get sufficient finance, they struggled to develop sound educational standards. Throughout the whole period they struggled because there were conflicting ideas about the nature and purpose of a grammar school education.⁵

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³ Mackinnon, One foot on the ladder, pp. 175-6.
⁵ Goodman, Secondary education in Queensland, p. 46.
The scholarship holders whose secondary education was subsidised by the government were the mainstays of both schools, scholastically and financially. The schools were adversely affected when the government reduced the number of scholarships in 1892. While secondary education was valued by the small professional population of Queensland, the nature of that education was constantly at the forefront of education debates for more than fifty years and was prominent in the discussions regarding the establishment of the university. Parents and politicians regarded the traditional classical education, likely to lead to university entry, as of little relevance. They were in favour of the teaching of more practical skills. The schools responded to this agitation with the introduction of more vocationally based courses, but maintained the classical subjects for those with aspirations to tertiary study.

Headmasters, particularly Reginald Heber Roe of Brisbane Grammar School (1876-1909), David Cameron of Ipswich Grammar School (1875-1900) and James Thomson of Maryborough Grammar School (1890-1910), while all classically educated themselves, successfully adapted to their new environment and the demands for more pragmatic approaches.

While the annual reports of each school were testaments to the value of intellectual endeavour, by the late 1870s the internal culture of the schools, as experienced by the boys, had moved from one where bookish young men who had represented the ideals of manliness, at least in the mind of the school’s founders, were no longer the role models. They were supplanted by the athletes, who regarded the ‘swots’ as effeminate or un-manly. It was said of Byrnes that he did not play games at all. At the time of his death his contemporaries described this as highly unusual, and that Byrnes only overcame the ‘stigma’ by his good character and friendly nature.

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7 Goodman, *Secondary education in Queensland*, p. 62; Willey, *The first 100 years BGS*, pp. 21, 45.
Martin Crotty examined the culture in Australian public schools, particularly in Melbourne and Sydney, from 1870 to 1920. He described the tension at the end of the nineteenth century between intellectual pursuits in schools and the increasing importance of athleticism, which incorporated moral values of courage, determination and loyalty. Both parents and boys willingly accepted the athletic ideology, accompanied by attitudes that denigrated the intellectual.12 There is much evidence of such a change of culture in the Queensland grammar schools in the annual reports, histories and memoirs of past students.13 Roe, described as ‘a zealous advocate of physical culture’,14 oversaw the development of sporting facilities and the increasing variety of sporting competitions. His counterparts at the other schools were equally supportive of the need for the all-round development of their students, encouraging ‘vigorous manliness and thoroughness, purity of speech and life, and public spirit’15.

At the turn of the twentieth century a further shift in the culture of schools took place, towards militarism. The ideals of courage and loyalty to the team and the school were stretched into soldierly virtues of chivalry and patriotism to nation and empire. This shift was achieved through the introduction of compulsory military drill and cadet corps.16 The cadet corps at Brisbane Grammar School was first formed in 1877, eventually becoming compulsory in 1911. Boys participated in annual rifle competitions and at least one military tournament.17 This enthusiasm for combat was maintained by closely following the fortunes and misfortunes of past students on active service at the Boer War and World War I. In the general community enthusiasm for the war waned towards its end, but the ‘schools continued glorification and memorialising’ the noble fallen heroes.18 These attitudes were maintained in the interwar years and re-intensified during World War II and beyond.

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12 Crotty, Making the Australian male, pp. 49, 55-8, 68, 80, 221.
16 Crotty, Making the Australian male, pp. 81, 86, 90, 92.
17 Francis, ed. Records of BGS, pp. 97, 106.
Crotty pointed out that militaristic ideals had ‘much to condemn, as well as commend them. They were, for example, extremely tightly-constructed ideals which became less and less tolerant and pluralist.’ He maintained that the ‘increasingly rigid, racist, misogynist and anti-intellectual hegemonic constructions’ of Australian nationalism ‘infected’ the notion of masculinity in destructive ways. The long-term effects of this infection were felt in many aspects of life throughout the country.

In this belligerent anti-intellectual climate young men of academic ability were undertaking secondary schooling; but not many boys were doing so. Goodman chronicled the slow growth of secondary schools in Queensland. Townsville was the last of the grammar schools established in 1888. Once the government agreed that schools other than grammar schools could accept scholarship holders in 1900, a few privately owned and Protestant church schools were established, like Clayfield College in 1902 and the Church of England Grammar School in 1915. They operated alongside the Catholic boys’ schools, St Joseph’s Nudgee College and St Joseph’s Gregory Terrace. All of them benefited from enrolling scholarship holders.

The first enthusiasm for state high schools was short-lived; from six in 1912, there were twenty-one schools by 1920, plus classes in technical colleges and secondary departments in primary schools. The opening of new state high schools then practically stopped until the rapid expansion of the late 1950s. Goodman rightly lamented those who missed out on a secondary education in the interwar years as ‘the lost generation’. More were deprived by the effects of the Great Depression and the further ‘withering’ of the education system during the years of World War II.

through to battle fields’, p. 62; Garton, ‘War and masculinity’, p. 89; Crotty, Making the Australian male, pp. 90, 92.
19 Crotty, Making the Australian male, p. 223.
20 Ibid., p. 227.
21 Clayfield College was established as a boys’ school by A.W. Rudd in 1902. It was taken over by the Presbyterian and Methodist Schools Association in 1918. In 1931 the school transferred to Toowong as the Brisbane Boys’ College.
22 St Magnus Collegiate School for Boys, which opened in Toowong in 1912, became The Cathedral School for Boys in 1913 and the Church of England Grammar School in June 1915.
24 Ibid., pp. 106, 269, 276.
It was against this backdrop of poor provision, apathy, lack of encouragement and anti-intellectualism that the males represented in this study undertook secondary education. Despite these constraints, on the whole those who showed such early success were able to translate it into continuing education and successful careers. Of the ninety-five males who are the included in this study, only two did not immediately take up the offer of a place in a secondary school; but for each of those two the lack of an education at that point of their lives did not inhibit their advancement.

The first was Louis Lipsett (1881), a pupil at Gympie Central State School, who returned to that school as a pupil teacher. He stayed there for less than a year before resigning. Although he enrolled at Maryborough Grammar School he was not a candidate for the Sydney Junior examination, and is thought to have left to work in a grocery shop. In 1887, at the age of nineteen, his life was to take a dramatic turn when he was attracted by the Salvation Army, which was established in Queensland two years previously. In Maryborough, where large numbers of people attended meetings, there were reported to be 300 converts and three new cadets. Two of these were Louis and his sister Florence, who were among the first recruits into the officer ranks in Queensland. They were both drawn away from their family to spend their lives in the evangelistic and welfare work of the Army, marrying within its ranks and transferring regularly to serve wherever the Army decreed. While Lipsett served in various parts of Queensland, he was promoted annually through the ranks from Ensign to Major, before being sent to Melbourne where he was appointed Vice-Principal of a Training College. In 1907 he was appointed a Brigadier in Western Australia, but resigned from the Salvation Army soon afterwards. His career beyond that time is uncertain, but is thought to have been as a public servant.

The second was Donald Maccoll (1919), who was placed first in the Scholarship when a student at Manly State School. In August of the year following the examination he was admitted as a pupil teacher back in the same school. He stayed at

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25 Recorded variously on family papers and official documents as Lewis or Louis.
Manly until 1927, when he was transferred to Murgon, then to Yeronga where he taught for thirty-two years, frequently as acting head teacher. Because of ill-health, he transferred to the Primary Correspondence School until retiring several years before his death in 1973. Maccoll’s own education did not finish when he was admitted as a pupil teacher. He studied for promotion, passing examinations at regular intervals. Some of these studies took place through the University of Queensland, which administered examinations for teachers at high levels.27

There were several Scholarship winners who did not spend very long at secondary school. Henry Medhurst (1878), Thomas Jones (1885) and John William (Bill) Briggs (1905) left school prior to the Sydney Junior examination. The career of Medhurst is not known. Briggs had a variety of positions throughout his life, working at first in his family’s newspaper office in Mount Morgan, as bookkeeper on pastoral properties and as Shire Clerk at Banana and Camooweal. After World War II he established a business in Brisbane.28

Thomas Jones (1885) was one whose short-lived education was in no way a hindrance to further accomplishments. As a result of his Scholarship success, he attended Brisbane Grammar School. His father was a master plumber, so it is unlikely he would otherwise have had the chance of secondary education. The death of his father prevented him from continuing his schooling, and he left early to enter business life.29

Jones joined J.C. Hutton meatworks, and became assistant manager there. In 1904, at the age of thirty-two, he joined with Charles Emmanuel Foggitt, also a Hutton employee, to establish an abattoir and meatworks at Oxley. Within a few years Foggitt, Jones Pty Ltd had operations in four other states. During World War I the company developed an extensive canning operation. Jones eventually became Managing Director of the company. In 1927 when the firm amalgamated with J.C. Hutton Pty Ltd as United Provisions Ltd, he became Chairman of Directors.30

27 Personal communication with Eileen Maccoll, 8 January 2000; EOG various; Thomis, Light and learning, p. 86.
During his time at Yeronga State School, Maccoll taught the 1940 Scholarship class when Bernard Backstrom won the Lilley Medal.
28 Personal communication with Marie Beck, 16 December 1999; and Jack Briggs, 1 December 1999.
When Jones entered political life as a Member of the Legislative Assembly for the Oxley electorate in 1915, his political affiliation was ardently Labor. His grandfather had been a militant Chartist in Wales, his father was something of a rebel, while his brother Will edited Labor newspapers. Thomas Jones was a member of the Australian Workers Union for many years, and it was said of him that ‘though an employer, is still a unionist by conviction’. This may explain why workers at his meatworks were generally well treated. The company built houses and offered them to workers at nominal rent. It provided bursaries to children of employees so that they could further their education, thus enabling other children to have the opportunities Jones valued. He remained the Member for Oxley until 1918, after which he was a Member of the Legislative Council from 1919 until its abolition in 1922.

In 1920 Jones was appointed to the University of Queensland Senate, where he worked on various committees. He was a strong mover in the establishment and development of the faculties of Dentistry and Medicine. His financial and business ability was of value to the finance committee. In addition to his university service, he was Trustee of the Brisbane Grammar School, Chairman of the Brisbane and South Coast Hospitals Board, Chairman of Directors of the Crematorium and Commodore of the Royal Queensland Yacht Club.

Although unavailable to the previous six boys, the Sydney Junior examination, later the Queensland Junior Public examination, marked a turning point in many lives. Adolescents of some promise chose or were directed to continue their schooling or to divert into the apprenticeships available in teaching, law, surveying, architecture, dentistry or pharmacy. Some moved into careers in accounting, banking or business. Others joined the Public Service, anticipating a path of promotion to senior positions.

31 Daily Standard, 19 May 1915, p. 3.
32 Waterson, Biographical register, p. 96.
33 BC, 21 January 1886, p. 5; CM, 20 June 1946, p. 5; BGSM, June 1934, pp. 115-16; June 1936, p. 41; June 1937, pp. 98-9; November 1946, p. 72; Personal communication with Margaret Lloyd, 9 May 2002.
34 Information regarding candidates for the Junior examination has been collected from a variety of sources. These include the Manual of public examinations held by the Sydney University (MPESU) (Sydney: Angus & Robertson) 1905, 1908-15; Manual of public examinations (MPEUQ) (Brisbane: University of Queensland) 1910-40. After 1940, results have been obtained from the Courier Mail in the January following the examination.
To enter these professions students were required to sit for an additional entrance examination, administered by the Public Service Board or the professional bodies. Each examining board had different requirements, making it burdensome for schools to prepare their candidates. In his annual report of 1910 the headmaster of the Toowoomba Grammar School, George Pitty Barbour, complained:

One matter … covers a species of monster that has become extinct in the Southern States, but still batters and thrives in our own – the hydra-headed examination fiend. Examinations of some sort are, and we fear will always be, a necessity, but when the number is multiplied by seven, the school-master’s difficulties are increased not seven-fold but a hundred-fold. At the present time we have the Queensland Junior, the Law Entrance, Pharmacy Entrance, Dental Entrance, the Civil Service, Military College, and Commonwealth Service. Now, with quite a slight adjustment, the junior examinations could be made to do duty for all seven’.35

His pleas were heeded and the monster contained, for by 1918 most examining bodies had accepted the Junior Public Examination for entrance, each requiring certain subjects as administered by the University of Queensland.36

For boys in this study, there were attractive opportunities in these various fields that enticed them to leave school and move into the ‘real world’ of business or one of the professions. They were to discover that they were still required to study for examinations in order to advance. They would also find that there were opportunities beyond school for those with the initiative to grasp them.

The only boy who proceeded to teaching after the Junior was John Jones (1901), the brother of Thomas Jones (1885) above. Like his older brother, John went to Brisbane Grammar, but completed only three years there before leaving in 1904 to become a pupil teacher at Kelvin Grove Boys’ State School. The regulations had been changed in 1899 to enable those with three years secondary education to become pupil teachers and be classified teachers after two years. Jones must have had ambitions for further education because he resigned from teaching in 1910 to enrol in an Arts degree at the University of Sydney. He graduated in 1913 and went to Germany to study at the Tilly Institute of Modern Languages in Berlin. Being in Germany in 1914 was not a

35 BC, 16 December 1910, p. 6.
36 MPEUQ 1917-18, pp. 84 a-d. The Queensland Public Service, Commonwealth Public Service, Dental Board, Pharmacy Board and Surveyor’s Board all accepted the public examinations.
propitious move, for he was interned in a prisoner-of-war camp at Ruhleben in Prussia for the duration of the war.

On his return in 1919 Jones taught at Brisbane Grammar School for six months before joining the staff of the Central Technical College, firstly in the Department of Languages, Literature and Mathematics, and later as senior instructor in the Department of Commerce. During this time he completed a Master of Arts degree in Logic and Philosophy from the University of Sydney in 1921. The University of Queensland accorded him an equivalent degree in 1929. Meanwhile his life took another turn, for he resigned from the Central Technical College in 1925 to establish an advertising agency known as Johnston Jones Advertising Service.37

In 1937 John Jones succeeded his older brother Thomas as a government appointee on the University of Queensland Senate, a position he kept until his death in 1954. He was also Chairman of the Queensland Health Education Council.

Similar to the pupil teacher system experienced by Jones, legal training in Queensland was available through the Solicitors’ Board. Boys were employed in solicitors’ offices, undertaking a course of study over five years while sitting for annual examinations.38 Four sixteen-year-olds followed this route after the Junior examination. James Hamilton (1875) had a career as a solicitor in Bundaberg;39 Romido Sachse (1883) practised in Cunnamulla and Gatton;40 Ronald Swanwick (1889) in Blackall;41 and George Suthers (1894) in Townsville.42

Architecture attracted only one boy. Training for this profession varied, but usually involved serving several years of articles with an established architect, while attending evening classes.43 Walter Voller (1876) stayed at Brisbane Grammar for a

39 BGSM, (1934), pp. 94-5.
41 ‘Obituary’, Western Champion, Blackall, c 7 November 1921, n. p. Press cutting in family collection.
42 BGSM, December 1982, p. 151.
43 Watson and McKay, Queensland architects, p. 1.
year beyond the Junior, but left ‘to work on his father’s farm, for his health’s sake’. Later he joined the firm of F.D.G. Stanley, serving his articles for four years before becoming an assistant to Stanley in 1887. After 1891 he practised in a partnership and on his own. Voller was responsible for the design of many Queensland buildings, particularly churches in country towns.

Surprisingly only one of the boys leaving after Junior joined the Public Service. On leaving Brisbane Grammar School, Warwick McKenna (1908) became a clerk in the office of the Crown Solicitor. He completed studies in 1917 to become a Clerk of Petty Sessions, to serve in various centres including Esk, Rosewood, St George and Ingham before his appointment as Chief Stipendiary Magistrate.

A career in banking or accountancy was considered highly suitable for intelligent young men. There was very little regulation of accountants until the late 1890s, when they sought to regulate their profession, requiring minimum standards of education before admission to training and the introduction of a series of examinations. Leonard Ray Gillmore (1929) turned to accounting, firstly at Thompson and Sharland Accountants and later in other firms.

A plethora of banks, insurance offices, commercial firms and pastoral companies grew up in Queensland in the late 1890s and early 1900s, all seeking bright young men to join as clerks with a view to management positions. William Morse (1914) joined the Royal Bank, and in later life had a responsible position in the Commonwealth Bank.

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44 BGS Register, Vol I, p. 15.
45 Watson and McKay, Queensland architects, p. 200.
46 BGSM, December 1974, p. 98; Queensland Public Service Blue Book (Brisbane: Queensland Government Printer), various. Date of appointment not confirmed.
48 Goodman, Secondary education in Queensland, pp. 204-5.
Business careers awaited several of those who left school following the Junior. Arthur Brookes (1877) worked for Parbury Lamb and Company, a firm of agents and merchants. He later established a business of his own, W. H. Paxton & Co, in Mackay;50 Arthur Blackett Smith (1879) was a merchant in Sydney51 and John Macfie (1880) became an insurance agent in Gympie.52 Roy Cyril Taylor (1890) joined his father’s ironmongery business, Alfred Taylor Ltd, in Cairns, but later moved to Brisbane where he worked as an accountant.53 George Crouch (1891), while first joining the bank of New South Wales, then worked for Dalgety’s Pastoral Company, before starting a business as a dairy produce broker and indent agent. He was the founder and managing director of the firm Crouch and Connah, a wholesaling business. Crouch was prominent in cricketing circles, managing an Australian touring team to England in 1912.54 Harold Middleton (1896) left Brisbane Grammar School to work for the Australian Mutual Provident Society and later as sales manager in the piano department at Paling and Company. His career took several turns, as he gained a theology qualification followed by an Arts degree in 1934. He taught at Brisbane Boys’ College from 1928 to 1942, completing his teaching career at Brisbane Grammar from 1943 to 1947.55 Arnold Little (1903) left Ipswich Grammar School to work as a clerk in the Australian Mutual Provident Society, where he remained throughout his career, eventually to manage a department of the company.56 Thomas Johnston (1930) became a mine manager and owner in Thailand.57

Of the first place-getters who had been Scholarship candidates prior to 1935, only half the males in this study completed their secondary schooling, but after that year all did so. Some of them had been assisted by extension scholarships, introduced in 1915, which continued the payment of school fees for two, sometimes three years. Overall, two-thirds of the males had a complete secondary education. This is noteworthy in the

50 Pugh’s Almanac 1880, pp. 422-5, 436; DMM, 4 January 1913, p. 6; 22 January 1917.
51 Stephenson, Annals, p. 247.
52 GT, 10 May 1941, p. 3. QPOD 1905-19.
53 QPOD 1916-22; QER Buranda 1921; South Brisbane 1922-4; Toowong, 1925-6; Nundah, 1927-29.
54 GT, 8 February 1912, p. 3; BC, 6 August 1929, p. 55; BGSM, April 1909, p. 29; 1952, p. 83; CM, 22 August 1952, p. 5; Ian Diehm, Green hills to the Gabba: The story of Queensland cricket (Caringbah, NSW: Playright, 2000), pp. 75, 90, 92, 100, 327.
55 Willey, The first 100 years BGS, p. 340; Noel Quirke, Gentlemen of honour: A history of Brisbane Boys College 1902-2002 (Brisbane: Brisbane Boys College, 2001), pp. 38, 100, 110-12, 123.
56 Personal communication with Donald Knowlman October 2000.
light of the two studies that examined the outcomes for the academic achievers in the Scholarship examinations of 1951 and 1956. Of those male students who achieved over 85 per cent in 1951, 58 per cent proceeded to Senior, whereas only 11 per cent of the age group did so. Five years later, 67 per cent of the high achievers proceeded to Senior.58

Those who completed their secondary schooling faced the next hurdle of the Sydney Senior examination or, after 1910, the Senior Public Examination administered by the University of Queensland. For a number of young men, this was the end of their formal education, although there were other avenues for further professional training.59

Four went directly into teaching, but they each had quite different outcomes. John Jackson (1897) was admitted as a pupil teacher in 1903.60 He was an assistant teacher at Gympie Central State School from 1904. On Christmas Eve 1911 he drowned while swimming at Caloundra. Jackson had been highly regarded as a teacher and was expected to take some classes at the newly opened Gympie State High School.61

Thomas Thatcher (1899) was fortunate enough to be able to take advantage of further education opportunities. He left school in 1904 after completing the Sydney Senior examination to join the Department of Public Instruction as a pupil teacher at Richmond Hill State School in Charters Towers. In 1908 he resigned and farmed at the family property Hope Vale at Laidley. On the establishment of the University of Queensland in 1911 he was a foundation student. His studies were interrupted by the need to earn, so that for two years he worked as a journalist on the Kingaroy Herald, followed by a period as assistant to Thomas Edward Jones, the Director of External Studies at the University. In 1917, when he graduated in Arts with first class Honours

58 EOG, 1962, 64, 10, pp. 381-84.
59 Information regarding candidates for the Senior examination have been compiled from a number of sources. These include MPESU, 1905, 1908-15; MPEU/Q, 1910-40. After 1940 results have been obtained from the CM December editions of the year of the examination.
60 QSA: RTM, EDU, vol 11, 23
61 GT, 30 December 1911, p. 2; EOG 14, 3 (1912), p. 61.
in Philosophy, he was awarded the Government Gold medal and the Archibald Scholarship.62

On graduating, Thatcher took up a position as private secretary to the Governor of Queensland, Sir Hamilton Goold-Adams, as well as being a political reporter for the Daily Mail. After the departure of the Governor, he joined a group of like-minded men, some of them returned soldiers, in an agricultural scheme growing fruit in the Stanthorpe district. Thatcher became involved in politics at this time.63 In 1929 he moved back to Brisbane to stand as a Country Party candidate for the seat of Bulimba, narrowly losing. Hubert Sizer, the new Minister for Labour in the Arthur Moore government, chose Thatcher as his private secretary. As this period was the height of the Great Depression, he was responsible for the organisation of the relief programmes for the unemployed, as many as 32 000 by 1932.64

In 1932 after another election, he returned to teaching, firstly on the staff of the Brisbane State High School, before transferring to Toowoomba State High School where he taught for over seven years. On the retirement of Thomas Edward Jones as Director of External Studies at the University of Queensland, Thatcher was appointed to that position at the age of fifty-one in 1938 and remained until his death in 1948. Outside the University he was Chairman of the Education Committee of the Brisbane Kindergarten Teachers College from 1947 to 1948.65

In his role as Director of External Studies, Thatcher was responsible for the instigation of vacation schools for external students. He established a correspondence circulating library, which opened on 1 May 1948. He was not to enjoy its success for

63 Thatcher, Olive Thatcher, p. 53; Isabelle Thatcher, Thatcher descendants in Australia (Gold Coast, Qld: Isabelle Thatcher, 1994), p. 9.
64 'Annual report of the Under-Secretary, Department of Labour and Industry', QPP 2 (1931), p. 49; Thomas Thatcher, 'Unemployment relief in Queensland', Australian Quarterly 3, September (1931), pp. 53-64; 'Annual report of the Under-Secretary, Department of Labour and Industry', in QPP (1932), p. 19.
he died of cancer three weeks later on 23 May. The library came to be named after him as the Thomas Thatcher Memorial Library.66

Morris Harnell (1932) joined the Queensland teaching service in different times, but he was also one who grasped at opportunities throughout his life. After four years at Brisbane State High School he won a teachers’ scholarship to Teachers’ College. He was first appointed to Innisfail in 1938 before transferring to Toowoomba East. During the war he served as a Sergeant in Army Education at Goondiwindi. He returned to Toowoomba East, then moved to Ravenswood, Silkwood in north Queensland and several other schools. In 1964 he was appointed as a secondary principal, opening Everton Park State High School, from where he went to Gladstone, Atherton, Woodridge and Holland Park. His last appointment before retirement in 1979 was to the Disadvantaged Schools Program. Harnell’s further education encompassed a Certificate of Education in 1946, an Economics degree in 1964, an Education Degree in 1968 and an Arts degree in 1971. At the time of his death in 1999 he had commenced a Masters degree in Public Administration. A staunch member of the Seventh Day Adventist Church, Harnell maintained his faith in each locality that he served. His other contribution to many schools and provincial centres was the promotion of choral singing.67

Over twenty years after Harnell, Brian Thorne (1954) also won a scholarship to the Teachers’ Training College. While he began engineering and science subjects at night, he decided to direct his energies into classroom teaching. He said of this decision:

I never entertained aspirations of administrative positions in education because
I loved the classroom environment and the challenge of inspiring young people to achieve goals they thought were beyond them.68

Thorne completed an Associate of Education and numerous professional development courses. He went on to be a subject master in mathematics and computer studies at a

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66 Kitchen, Men of vision, p. 43; Thomas Thatcher, Poems: Footprints on the sands of time (Olive Thatcher, n.d).
68 Personal communication with Brian Thorne, December 1999.
Catholic secondary school at Scarborough, also serving as President of the Catholic Science Teachers Association.

Careers other than teaching that were taken up by school leavers included accountancy and non-graduate engineering. Accountancy attracted Phillip Nott (1900) and Newman Lyons (1906). Nott sat for the Sydney Senior examination in 1905, a year when he was dux of Brisbane Grammar School. On leaving school he joined the staff of the Royal Bank. After qualifying as an accountant he was the secretary of the firm Gunneren, Crockett Limited. 

Lyons became secretary of the Licensed Victualler’s Association. 

Frank Walker (1892), like Nott, was a dux of Brisbane Grammar. In later years he reflected on the chances that had eluded him:

In my life what seemed to be a disaster often turned out to be a blessing in disguise. I will give only one example. It was a terrible blow to me not going to the University. Having failed to gain an Exhibition, my people could not afford to pay for me. I felt, too, that I had “let the school down”. It was really not my fault as I got a dose of typhoid in the Sixth Form. … I came fourth for the Exhibition, and only half a percentage out. But it was well that it happened so. Had I passed it was Dad’s idea for me to take up medicine, which I hated and was quite unsuited for. Instead I entered the Public Service and took up engineering in the Electrical Engineer’s Branch of the GPO [General Post Office].

Walker rose to be the Assisting Superintending Engineer of telephones before his retirement in 1936.

The university education that eluded Walker was available to very few, obtained only with the benefit of an exhibition, of which three were awarded annually, or by financial support from the student’s family. Byrnes and Woolcock were fortunate recipients of exhibitions in 1879 and 1880, but it was another ten years until Edwin Fowles (1884) was similarly successful. The winners of exhibitions in intervening years were largely boys who had been scholarship holders, but not the Scholarship

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72 *BGSM*, November 1936, p. 91.
first place-getters included in this study. Of the eighty-four young men awarded an exhibition between 1879 and 1910, sixty-six were State scholars.\footnote{Registers of Grammar School Scholarships 1871-94. (Includes Register of payments made on account of Exhibitions to Universities 18709-1901); Miscellaneous Correspondence, including History of the State Scholarship System in Queensland 1873-1927.}

Prior to the establishment of the University of Queensland, eleven of the fifteen in this work who had completed Sydney Senior studies undertook tertiary courses, all but one with the benefit of an exhibition. Fowles (1884) undertook Law studies at the University of Melbourne; whereas Norman Rowland (1886) and Kenneth Swanwick (1887) were Law graduates from the University of Sydney. Hugh Gilbert Stuart Morton (1893) obtained a Master of Arts from the University of Melbourne. Francis Sandes (1888), Clinton Sapsford (1895) and Kenneth Smith (1898) all studied Medicine at the University of Sydney, where John England (1902) completed an Engineering degree. Engineering was also the choice of George Hall (1904) who was in receipt of a Rhodes Scholarship to Oxford.

Edwin Fowles (1884) followed the example of Byrnes and Woolcock. After completing degrees in Arts and Law he taught in secondary schools in Queensland and Victoria for six years. He was admitted as a barrister in Victoria in 1901 and in Queensland in 1902, but was preoccupied with journalism as a leader writer for the \textit{Brisbane Courier} for a year and assistant editor of the \textit{Daily Mail} until 1907. Fowles became a member of the University Extension Movement in 1908. As a member of the finance committee he was influential in the planning for the new university. For his efforts he was appointed a founding Senator, serving from 1910 to 1916 notably as Chairman of the Library Committee. At the inauguration ceremony of the University of Queensland in 1911, Fowles was awarded a Master of Arts, \textit{ad eundum gradum}. He was a member of the Legislative Council from 1912 until its demise in 1922.

A devout member of the Methodist church, Fowles was responsible for compiling a hymn book; also for composing hymns and conducting choirs. The Department of Public Instruction invited him to write scripture books and to compile the Queensland School Readers in 1914. Through his church affiliation he was a foundation member of the Queensland Presbyterian and Methodist Schools Association, which
administered several secondary schools throughout the state. Fowles was acknowledged as a thorough, perhaps tight-fisted, watcher of the finances in the schools. He was also instrumental in the establishment of Kings College within the University, was made a Fellow of the College in 1916 and wrote an account of its early history.  

Fowles’s wide interests were reflected in a range of publications, covering subjects such as freemasonry and guides to Brisbane, as well as important legal papers on workers’ compensation and local government law. He served as President of the Social Service Institute in 1908 and the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in 1912. His love of literature was channelled into a doctorate, gained externally through the Central University in the United States in 1924.

Norman Rowland (1886) was admitted as a barrister in New South Wales, serving as Parliamentary Draftsman of that state. After war service in New Guinea, where he was appointed a civil judge, he returned to Sydney to an appointment as Crown Prosecutor. He returned to the Bar, but acted on occasions as a District Court judge.

Kenneth Swanwick (1887), although admitted as a barrister in Queensland in December 1905, was much more involved in education than law, particularly as a mathematician. In addition to assisting his father in coaching solicitors for examinations, he was a University Extension lecturer, until 1911 when he became a mathematics lecturer at the University of Queensland, while also an assistant lecturer in modern languages and literature. On the outbreak of war he went to England, but was ‘unable to enlist’. His skills in mathematics led to his secondment as a civilian to the Ministry of Munitions, devising new methods in the packaging and storage of ammunition. He later moved to the Ministry of Labour. Following the war he had an appointment at the London School of Economics. While in London, Swanwick was

75 Ross Johnston, History of the Queensland Bar (Brisbane: Bar Association of Qld, 1978), pp. 148, 178, 190, 191, 192, 195196, 197, 201; Quirke, Gentlemen of honour, pp. 50-2.
76 Unsourced newspaper cutting dated 4 April 1924 in cuttings book, BGS Archives. No other evidence of this degree has been sighted, but Fowles referred to himself as Dr Fowles.
77 BGSM, June 1932, pp. 87-8; ADB Register II, p. 231.
a founding member of the World Association for Adult Education, an organisation established ‘to promote better understanding amongst the peoples of the present generation and citizens of all countries.’

Back in Brisbane in 1921, Swanwick resumed his teaching of mathematics, but continued his involvement in adult education through the Workers’ Education Association. At his death in 1925 he was described as ‘a true knight errant of the intellectual life’ and as one for whom ‘every movement for social improvement had his energetic support’. One of his last commitments was as the honorary secretary of the Queensland Basic Wage Commission of 1925. 80

Hugh Morton (1893) was also destined for the law, following in his father’s footsteps. He had left Maryborough Grammar School with an exhibition to undertake studies in Melbourne. With a Master of Arts degree he returned to Maryborough and joined his father’s firm of solicitors, completing his legal studies while in the practice, eventually becoming a barrister. Morton was an accomplished cricketer, playing for a Queensland side in 1904.81 He was a member of numerous community groups in Maryborough, serving as Chairman of the School of Arts Committee and as Chairman of Trustees of the Maryborough Grammar School.82

Like the lawyers, the three Sydney medical graduates were to have diverse careers. Following his graduation with a university medal in surgery from the University of Sydney in 1903, Francis Sandes (1888) went into general practice, but soon sought further study in Europe and Britain. From 1914 he lectured in surgery at his former university, taking up the first chair in surgery at any Australian university in 1921 and holding that position until 1928. Later he developed an interest in treatments combining surgery and radiotherapy. From 1936 he was honorary consultant surgeon

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78 University of Queensland, The University of Queensland 1910-22 (Brisbane: University of Queensland, 1923), p. 27.
79 BGS newscutting collection: 3 April 1925, no source.
80 BGSM, June 1925, p. 36; June 1930, pp. 22-3; University of Queensland, UQ 1910-22, p. 27; ’Appendix D. UQ graduates 1935’, p. 61; Johnston, Queensland Bar, p. 125. Staff records, University of Queensland Archives. SMH 14 April 1925, (cutting in family collection)
81 Diehm, Green hills to the Gabba, pp. 79-80, 91-92.
82 MCM, 29 January 1936, p. 6; 30 January 1936, p. 8; Maryborough State High School, Palma, p. 34.
at the Royal Prince Alfred Hospital, continuing in that role during the early years of World War II.83

Clinton Sapsford (1895) returned to Queensland after graduating in 1906, serving as resident medical officer at Warwick Base Hospital for a year before going to Edinburgh for further studies. On his return he set up practice in Allora on the Darling Downs.84

Despite an attack of typhoid fever, Kenneth Smith (1898) graduated first in order of merit in 1910. He became a resident medical officer at the Royal Prince Alfred Hospital, where by 1913 he had become medical superintendent.85 On the outbreak of World War I, Smith was mobilised into the Australian Army Medical Corps. More of his wartime career will be discussed later. Following the war Smith continued his involvement with the treatment of those adversely affected by battle. From 1928 until 1950 he was a medical officer in the Commonwealth Repatriation Department, where he was appointed principal medical officer at the Department headquarters in Melbourne in 1935, remaining there until 1950.

The war that so profoundly affected Smith’s career also impacted on an Engineering graduate from the University of Sydney. John England (1902) was dux of Ipswich Grammar School in 1906 and 1907, following which he was awarded an exhibition. He graduated in 1912 in mechanical and electrical engineering. With the outbreak of war, he enlisted in the 5th Pioneers Battalion. It was not possible to trace him after his return to Australia.86

George Hall (1904) was another Engineering graduate. Success in the State Scholarship enabled him to leave Charters Towers to attend Townsville Grammar School. There he was not only academically successful, but was also a sporting

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84 Stephenson, Annals, p. 243.
champion. He was appointed head prefect in his final year, said by the school, in reference to his mixed-race heritage, to be ‘a triumph over prejudice by sheer merit’. Hall was awarded a Rhodes Scholarship in 1910, immediately following secondary school, allowing him to study at Oxford University. As the awardee was required to raise the fare to England, Hall was assisted financially by the Charters Towers and Townsville communities. At Oxford he graduated in Engineering, after which he worked in Scotland briefly, before joining the Royal Air Force during World War I. He returned to Australia in 1919, where he ended his career in the New South Wales Main Roads Board in 1957 as Supervising Engineer.  

The opening of the University of Queensland in 1911 was a watershed in that those seeking degrees could study locally. However, their choices were limited to the three faculties of Arts, Science and Engineering. Those seeking Law or Medicine degrees still needed to go south until 1935. None included in this case-study did so, probably because there were no longer any exhibitions available.

Proceeding to undertake Arts degrees were Idrisyn Frederick (Fred) Jones (1911), Leslie Rye (1916), Frank Williamson (1917), Allan Hoey (1921), Allan Morrison (1925), Clarence Cronin (1926), Edward Pearce (1927), Alfred McCready (1929), George Copeman (1934), William Logue (1936), John Lee (1947), Spencer Routh (1949), Philip (David) Robin (1958) and Howard Bamsey (1962). Just as most female Arts graduates gravitated towards teaching in secondary schools, seven of these thirteen men taught in some capacity. Three taught in schools in other states: Idrisyn (Fred) Jones (1911) taught at the Church of England Grammar School, North Sydney for forty-two years; and Frank Williamson (1917) returned to teach at his own school, Townsville Grammar, and at Clayfield College before joining the staff of The Scots College, Sydney, in 1930. He stayed there until 1941 when he enlisted in the Royal Australian Air Force. Following the war he joined the staff of the Universities

Commission as the Victorian officer-in-charge.\textsuperscript{89} In Adelaide, Leslie Rye (1916) taught at Prince Alfred School, then moved to Queen’s College in 1928, where he was appointed headmaster in 1934.\textsuperscript{90} He resigned at the end of that year. Rye was awarded a Master of Arts by the University of Queensland in 1936.\textsuperscript{91}

Allan Morrison (1925), who graduated with first class Honours in History in 1933, completed a Masters degree in 1935. He then taught in Queensland State Schools for ten years before being appointed to the Department of History at the University of Queensland as an assistant lecturer. Morrison’s academic research, publications and public advocacy of the preservation of records concerning the history of Queensland were highly regarded. He was influential in the Royal Historical Society of Queensland, the John Oxley Library and the foundation of the Queensland State Archives.\textsuperscript{92}

After Alan Hoey (1921) graduated with first class Honours in Classics, the University awarded him a travelling scholarship to Oxford. Following a Masters degree there he continued further study before proceeding to Yale University in the United States, where he was awarded a PhD. He then took up a teaching position at a private school, the Hotchkiss School in Lakeville, Connecticut, where he remained for thirty-two years until his retirement in 1972.\textsuperscript{93}

Like Hoey, Alfred McCready (1929) was a classicist. After his graduation with first class Honours and a university medal he was appointed as a junior lecturer in Classics at the University of Queensland. Following war service he returned there, but left to teach at St Barnabas School at Ravenshoe and his own old school, All Souls’ Charters Towers, where he taught until 1958. McCready then moved to Armidale in New

\textsuperscript{89} The Scots College Archives. \textit{Federal Guide}, 1955, p. 23.
\textsuperscript{90} Brian O’Connor, \textit{Queen's College North Adelaide 1883-1949} (Adelaide: Queen's College Old Boys' Association, 2000), p. 70.
\textsuperscript{93} \textit{BGSM}, December 1977, p. 89.
South Wales, where he was on the academic staff at New England University as Senior Lecturer in Classics from 1958 to 1976.  

William Logue (1936) began his tertiary studies as an external student, but after the interruption of war service, completed two years as a ‘Rehabilitation student’. He taught at the Church of England Grammar School in Brisbane for thirty-nine years, during which time he was responsible for writing a number of school history textbooks used widely throughout the State.  

Spencer Routh (1949) joined the staff of the University of Queensland Library, where he spent thirty-eight years in various administrative positions, but largely as a reference librarian advising researchers in Humanities. He considered himself ‘a partner in scholarly research’. Routh was a Fulbright travelling scholar at Columbia University in New York, 1965-6, where he completed a Masters degree in the School of Library Service. He wrote for professional publications and as a regular contributor to the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* for over thirty years. In 2005 he was awarded an Honorary Doctorate by the university he had served for so long. 

The careers of the other Arts graduates took them far away from academia. Edward Pearce (1927) became an assistant industrial officer for the Australian Sugar Producers’ Association in 1934. He completed a Bachelor of Commerce in 1938, and had commenced Law studies when he enlisted for service in World War II. Following the war, his career resumed in the Sugar Producers’ Association, where he was General-Secretary for over thirty years. As well as his involvement with industrial affairs, Pearce participated in international negotiations on the sugar trade and was a member of the 1950 Royal Commission on the development of the sugar industry. He took an active role in the development of the Sugar Research Institute. For his

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94 Personal communication with Irene McCready, 14 October 2002; *The Phoenix (All Souls’ and St Gabriel’s)* 1996, p. 132.

95 In 1985 called Anglican Church Grammar School.

96 Personal communication with William Logue, 6 November 2002.

services to the sugar industry he was made a Companion of the Order of St Michael and St George in 1959.98

Although war service also delayed the tertiary study of George Copeman (1934), he completed his Arts degree in 1948. In the following year he took up the offer of a Walter and Eliza Hall Travelling Scholarship to complete his doctorate studies at the London School of Economics. Copeman remained in England to become ‘one of Britain’s leading executives and business writers’.99 Clarence Cronin (1926) was admitted as a barrister after serving articles,100 while John Lee (1947) and Philip (David) Robin (1958) proceeded to complete Law degrees, to be mentioned later. After graduating, Howard Bamsey (1962) joined the Commonwealth Department of Foreign Affairs, serving in a number of overseas posts, including a term when he assisted Papua New Guinea to set up its Foreign Affairs Department after independence. After time as Australian Ambassador to the Netherlands (1996-7) and Ambassador for the Environment, he became Deputy Secretary of the Department of Environment and Heritage in 1998. Following two years as the Chief Executive of the Australian Greenhouse Office from 2002, he returned to the former position in 2004.101

The outcomes for the Science graduates were just as diverse. They were: Edward Wood (1918), Charles Miller (1938), Ross Hosking (1948), John Mills (1955), John de Jersey (1957), Bevan Green (1961) and Douglas Sweet (1961). Only one of the seven taught in schools, while two became academic teachers and researchers.

Edward Wood (1918) was one of the latter, but in addition to academic life he had a long career in research for a number of scientific organisations. He graduated in Science in 1927, followed by a Masters in 1929, an Arts degree in 1935 and a

99 CM, 26 September 1986, p. 5; Personal communication with George Copeman, 6 August, 2005.
100 QSA: Roll of attorneys, solicitors and proctors, 1857-1953, PRV 11607-1-2. Cronin was admitted as a barrister, 29 July 1952.
101 WWA, 2006, p. 185.
Doctorate in Science in 1966. His first work was in the Queensland Department of Agriculture and Stock as a plant pathologist in sugar cane diseases. In 1934 he was a lecturer at the University of Melbourne for three years before joining the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research. In 1958 he gained promoted to principal research scientist in the Division of Fisheries and Oceanography of the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation. Considered a pioneer in the discipline of marine microbiology, Wood moved to the United States in 1963 to be professor at the Institute of Marine Science, University of Miami. He wrote extensively in his field and was widely recognised for his innovation. He died soon after returning to Australia in 1970.102

Charles Miller (1938) completed an Honours degree in Applied Science in 1947. His career was in business, with a particular interest in safety management. After retiring at the age of sixty in 1985 he gained a Masters in Safety Science at the University of New South Wales, following which he was self-employed for several years as a consultant in management and safety. Miller was involved in community groups and served a term as Chairman of Dunmore Lang College at Macquarie University.103

After Ross Hosking (1948) was awarded a Masters degree in Science in 1958 he won a scholarship to study nuclear science at the Research School of Physical Science at the Australian National University. His research career was tragically cut short by his early death at the age of twenty-eight.104 John Mills (1955) proceeded to postgraduate studies with a Masters degree in 1967, after which he became an analytical chemist at the Royal College of Mines, Imperial College, London. After eighteen years as an industrial chemist for Broken Hill Proprietary Ltd at Newcastle, he was elected to the Legislative Assembly in New South Wales in 1988. As a political representative he served on a number of committees, including those on road safety, welfare, mining and energy.105

John de Jersey (1957), after completing an Honours degree, decided to continue his postgraduate studies at the University of Queensland in the fields of biochemistry and

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103 Personal communication with Charles Miller, 15 March 2000.
104 Personal communication with Ann Hosking, 24 November 2005; Sunday Mail 21 July 1963, p. 5.
molecular biology. Following his doctorate, he joined the staff there as a lecturer and research fellow. In 1996 he was appointed Professor of Biochemistry and Head of the School of Molecular and Microbial Sciences in the Faculty of Biological and Chemical Sciences. Professor de Jersey served as President of the Australian Society for Biochemistry and Molecular Biology in 2001. He was made a Member of the Order of Australia in January 2005 for his services to science education and research.\textsuperscript{106} He considered the four decades at the University of Queensland to have been rewarding: ‘My discipline has seen enormous changes over this period and exciting developments are still occurring constantly’.\textsuperscript{107}

Two others moved into applied science areas. Victor (Peter) Grenning (1912) attended the University of Queensland where he studied Applied Science. When chosen for a Rhodes Scholarship in 1919, he left the University before graduating, teaching briefly at the Church of England Grammar School to earn the fare to England. At Oxford he studied Forestry, but did not sit the final examinations because he contracted malaria, causing him to return to Australia. Grenning’s entire career was spent in the Queensland State Forest Service, to which he was appointed Director in 1933, a position later named Conservator of Forests, held until his retirement in 1964. He was instrumental in the establishment of plantation forests, and also in declaring Barrier Reef islands as National Parks. In recognition of his achievements, Grenning was awarded the Honorary Degree of Master of Science by the University of Queensland in 1951, and the N.W. Jolly Medal for outstanding service to forestry in 1959. He served on the Brisbane Grammar School Board of Trustees from 1942 to 1968, six of those years as Chairman.\textsuperscript{108}

John Lipsett (1942), who briefly began a medical course, decided it was not his strong suit. As he was not permitted to transfer his Open Scholarship to another course, he returned to school to repeat the Senior examination. The following year he took up studies in Agricultural Science, a degree course established at the University

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item\textsuperscript{106} Personal communication with John de Jersey, 12 May 2005.
\item\textsuperscript{107} Personal communication, 12 May 2005.
\item\textsuperscript{108} DS, 18 May 1933, p. 1; BGSM, June 1918, p. 23; June 1934, p.120; June 1937, p.111; December 1984, pp. 196-97; Alumni News UQ December 1984, p. 21; Personal communication with Dorothy Knowlman, 23 September 1999; Ralph Fones and Elizabeth Marks, \textit{Sir Matthew Nathan Avenue rediscovered: Sherwood Forest Park-Sherwood Arboretum} (Brisbane: Oxley-Chelmer History Group, 1999), pp. 10-1.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
of Queensland in 1927.109 After graduating in 1952, he began a career as a scientist in the Division of Plant Industry of the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation. A Masters Degree in Agricultural Science in 1962 was followed ten years later by a Diploma in Education at the Canberra College of Advanced Education. For some years he tutored in human ecology at the latter institution.110

Engineering graduates also found a wide range of career destinations. They were: James Baxter (1907), Eric Freeman (1910), Robert Kelly (1922), Lister Hopkins (1923), George Johnson (1928), Donald Wearne (1939), Bernard Backstrom (1942) and Robert McCulloch (1956).

James Baxter (1907) entered the new university in 1912. He did not complete his degree, but as a result of his high academic results and sporting ability he was awarded a Rhodes Scholarship in 1916. Unfortunately, wartime restrictions prevented his travelling to Oxford. According to one report ‘he went to do experimental work in North Queensland’. There he contracted ‘some disease that baffled medical science’, possibly leukaemia, and died in 1920 at the age of twenty-six.112

Eric Freeman (1910) was propelled into war service immediately following the 1915 Senior examination. After taking up a Returned Soldiers Matriculation opportunity in 1920, he graduated in Mechanical and Electrical Engineering in 1924. During his undergraduate career he took an active part in rugby union and rowing. He joined the staff of City Electric Light Company, first as resident engineer at Bulimba. From 1926 he supervised the expansion of the electricity supply to Brisbane and country Queensland. Freeman was involved in meeting the increased demand for electricity during World War II under difficult circumstances. Following the war he visited

109 University of Queensland Archives.  
110 Personal communication with John Lipsett, 16 July 2000.  
111 Although Baxter did not graduate, he is included here on the basis of his Rhodes Scholarship.  
Canada and the United States to investigate new technology used in electricity distribution. Two of the outcomes of this visit were an improved communication network to increase safety, and the instigation of research into the effects of lightning on the electricity supply. Freeman was appointed a Senator of the University of Queensland in 1944. In that capacity he served on a number of committees, but his particular interest was the reform of engineering education. This cause was further advanced when he served as Chairman of the Brisbane Division of the Institution of Engineers Australia, and on national electricity bodies. Failing health led to an early retirement in 1960 and he died in 1966, aged 68.113

Following his graduation with Honours in Civil Engineering in 1932, Lister Hopkins (1923) was granted a Rhodes Scholarship to Oxford University, where he gained Honours in mathematics. From there his career as a statistician took him to Palestine, the West Indies and Lebanon. On his return to Australia in 1951 he joined the Australian Bureau of Census and Statistics, where he remained until 1975, holding the position of Assistant Government Statistician on his retirement. He assisted the census in the Sudan and the civil registration in Cyprus in 1977 for the United Nations. Hopkins was made an Officer of the Order of the British Empire in 1950. He was a member of several international population societies.114

A civil engineer, George Johnson (1928), was responsible for the sewerage of country towns, particularly Cunnamulla, Goondiwindi and Charleville.115 Bernard Backstrom (1942), whose engineering degree in electronics and communications prepared him for a position as engineer in the Post Master General’s Department, finished his career working for its successor, Telecom. In this role he oversaw the installation and

113 Personal communication with Lois Perry, 1 November 1999; Geoffrey Cossins, ed. Eminent Queensland Engineers Vol II (Brisbane: Institution of Engineers Australia, Queensland Division, 1999), pp. 38-9.
115 Personal communication with George Johnson, 10 November 1999; and Mark Johnson, 10 October 2002.
maintenance of carrier equipment followed by sixteen years leading a team to solve problems in telephone switching systems, particularly designing test equipment.\textsuperscript{116}

There were only three University of Queensland Law graduates, one of whom quickly moved into another field. Although Philip Day (1937) graduated in Law in 1953, his primary career interest was in town planning. As a public servant he served on Commonwealth and State (New South Wales) committees on decentralisation and state development. In 1974 he became Director of Town Planning for the Brisbane City Council, before an appointment as the head of the Department of Regional and Town Planning at the University of Queensland in 1977. After a three-year term as Director of the Australian Institute of Urban Studies from 1980, he returned to the University of Queensland until 1988, when he became a private consultant.\textsuperscript{117}

John Lee (1947) graduated in Law in 1957, but subsequently became senior lecturer in Philosophy at the University of Newcastle. Phillip (David) Robin (1958) followed Arts and Law degrees at the University of Queensland with a Masters degree at Harvard University in the United States. He was appointed a Queen’s Counsel in 1984. Six years later Robin was appointed as a Judge to the Bench of the District Court, and an Acting Judge of the Supreme Court in 1991.\textsuperscript{118}

When the University of Queensland Medical School opened in 1936, there was the possibility for aspiring doctors to study locally, an opportunity taken up by Harry Wilson (1930), John Isles (1931), Graham Windrum (1941), Ian Cary (1944), Alexander Vereschagin (1946), James Baker (1950), Allan Baker (1953), Peter de Jersey (1955) and Ross Diplock (1960).

Among the first students, Harry Wilson (1930) was following a family tradition. He was first in the class in the graduation year of 1940. After two years in the Army Medical Corps and eight years in general practice in Ipswich (1943-51) he undertook

\textsuperscript{116} Personal communication with Bernard Backstrom, 10 December 1999.
\textsuperscript{117} Personal communication with Philip Day, 18 October 1999; \textit{WWA}, 2000, p. 493.
\textsuperscript{118} Personal communication with David Robin, 27 April 2000. \textit{WWA}, 2005, p. 1605.
specialist studies and became the senior physician and cardiologist at the Princess Alexandra Hospital in Brisbane. Not content with his medical studies, he embarked on an Arts degree in 1951, a Masters degree in Arts in 1957, as well as diplomas in agriculture and electronics. Wilson served as Trustee of Ipswich Grammar School and Cromwell College within the University of Queensland, and as a board member of the Heart Foundation.119

John Isles (1933), who graduated in the year following Wilson, was also immediately involved in war service in the Royal Australian Air Force. After the war he set up in general practice in Maryborough in 1946, remaining there until his death in 1973.120 Graham Windrum (1941) completed his medical studies in 1951 with first class Honours. The following year he was awarded a Rhodes Scholarship to Oxford where he completed a Doctorate. After working in English hospitals he completed specialist studies in pathology. Windrum set up a practice in Sydney, becoming Visiting Honorary Pathologist at many hospitals in the Sydney area. In later life he developed interests as a grazier and helicopter pilot.121

Two doctors with an interest in rural medicine also shared a common specialty. Ian Cary (1944) undertook specialist studies in obstetrics and gynaecology. He practised in Brisbane, on the Darling Downs and on the Gold Coast. His interest in sport led to his appointment as doctor to the boxing team at the Melbourne Olympics in 1956.122 For his first appointment, James Baker (1950) went to Blackall Hospital in western Queensland. After his specialist studies and a term as senior consultant obstetrician at the Royal Brisbane Hospital, he returned to the country in 1988 to establish the Queensland Flying Obstetrics and Gynaecology Service based at Roma. When he retired in 2001, he claimed that he had flown over two million kilometres and assisted thousands of women in thirty hospitals. Baker was appointed as an Associate

120 Personal communication with Betty Isles, 11 November 1999.
121 Personal communication with Graham Windrum, 20 May 2000; Rhodes register 1903-95, p. 179.
122 Personal communication with Isabelle Thatcher March 2002; Gold Coast Weekend Bulletin, 9-10 March 2002, p. 52.
Professor at the University of Queensland in 1995, and the following year was made a Member of the Order of Australia for services to the people of western Queensland, especially in obstetrics and gynaecology. In 2002 the same award was conferred on Peter de Jersey (1955) for services to nephrology and the establishment and management of specialist renal services in north Queensland.

Alan Baker (1953) was in general practice in Yeppoon area from 1965 until 1996 when he retired. Ross Diplock (1960) graduated in 1971. He took up a specialty in paediatrics, practising in Darwin, where he was a senior lecturer at the Northern Territory Clinical School for Remote Health in 1999.

Dentistry, a profession subject to little regulation before legislation in 1902 established a Dental Board and required examinations after three years study as an apprentice. At first a Sydney Junior was required, but in 1913 university matriculation became a requisite. A Faculty of Dentistry established at the University of Queensland in 1935. Garth West (1947) was the only Scholarship winner to graduate in dentistry.

Weaving through the preceding accounts of careers is unmistakable evidence that the experience of military service marked the lives of many of the men. For some it had a major impact, changing the whole direction of their lives; for others it was an interruption to their higher education, career and business life; and for still others it led to opportunities they would otherwise not have had. Only one life was lost in battle. For the rest, the extent of the enduring stresses on their health, personal relationships and attitudes cannot be known. Stephen Garton, writing of the aftermath of war, claimed that many men were utterly changed by the experience, finding the process of re-assimilating to civil society hugely unsettling, leading to anger,

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125 Telephone conversation with Ross Diplock, 17 June 2005.
resentment and a sense of betrayal; but he also acknowledged that many men returned
to home life with a great sense of relief, embracing their domestic lives and
responsibilities.  

In the course of this work, no attempt was made to seek accounts of the personal costs
and rewards, so that it was impossible to report on any individual’s response to the
experience of war service. As far as is known, none of the men in this case-study
served in the Boer War in South Africa (1899-1902), but several were enlisted in
World War I (1914-18).

One young man, Leonard MacDonnell (1909), who had been an outstanding student
at Nudgee College, completed a year as an Arts student before enlisting in April 1915.
He embarked for Egypt and France, also attending a four-month course at Cambridge
University to train for a commission in the infantry. As a Second Lieutenant, during
his third period in the trenches of France, he was killed in action in October 1917. His
family in Gympie was doubly devastated as Leonard’s younger brother Neil was also
killed in action in France.

Eric Freeman (1910), who had four years experience in the cadets at Brisbane
Grammar, completed his Senior studies in 1915, immediately enlisted, then embarked
on the Demosthanes six months later with the rank of corporal. Like MacDonnell he
undertook an officer cadet training course in England, at Balliol College at Oxford
University. Freeman spent several periods in France, where he was promoted to
Lieutenant. He did not return to Australia until 1919, and was able to commence his
Engineering studies the following year. Idrisyn (Fred) Jones (1911) enlisted as soon

\[\text{Garton, 'War and masculinity', pp. 91-2.}\]
\[\text{Details of war service have been obtained through personal communication with the men concerned,}
\text{or family members, through published obituaries and through research at the Australian War Memorial}
\text{and National Archives of Australia online databases: http://www.ww2roll.gov.au and}
\text{http://www.naa.gov.au/search}
\text{These records frequently provide minimal information. Full military records have been obtained in}
\text{only a few cases. Details as known are included in the biographical register in Appendix C. In the}
\text{following accounts, only brief details are given and sources other than the databases are cited.}
\[\text{GT, 20 October 1917, n.p.}\]
as he was eighteen. He embarked in July 1918, but saw little action before the war finished in November. On his return to Australia he started his tertiary studies.

Others had already completed a degree before they enlisted. Kenneth Smith (1898), already a doctor, was mobilised immediately on the outbreak of war. He left for England in May 1915 in charge of the Third Australian General Hospital which was to be based on the Mediterranean island of Lemnos, receiving the sick and wounded from Gallipoli. Later, as a major, he moved to Egypt, France and England. Promoted to lieutenant colonel he was appointed in command of the Second Australian General Hospital at Wimereux in France. He was made a Companion of the Order of St Michael and St George, and was commended for his work in the field. After the Armistice, Smith was responsible for the medical care of troops returning to Australia. He returned with the rank of colonel.130

John England (1902), an engineer, rose to the rank of lieutenant and was awarded the Military Cross.131 Norman de Horne Rowland, a lawyer, went to New Guinea in the early stages of the war as a member of the Australian Naval and Military Expeditionary Force. These troops were dispatched to Rabaul to seize German occupied territory. Rowland stayed in New Guinea throughout the war, acting as a civil judge. He was discharged with the rank of major.132

George Hall (1904), in England on his Rhodes Scholarship, finished his Engineering degree in 1913. He then went to Scotland, working for the firm of Barclays in Kilmarnock, which became a munitions factory during the war. In May 1918, he enlisted in the Royal Air Force as a pilot, but saw no service before the armistice was signed. In April 1919 he was repatriated to Australia with the rank of second

130 'Obituary', p. 1200.
lieutenant. Like Hall, Kenneth Swanwick (1887) worked in the Ministry of Munitions as a civilian, in charge of the statistical work and calculations connected with the supply of packages for gun and howitzer ammunition for all fields of land warfare. The work was crucial to the war effort, as ineffective packaging made ammunition inoperative, endangering the troops in the trenches as well as hindering their success in battle. Shortages of materials made the task even harder, especially as demand increased. After two years Swanwick moved to the Labour Regulation Department for the remainder of the war.

Frank Walker (1892), a telephone engineer, served in a Naval Auxiliary Patrol at Thursday Island repairing submarine cables damaged by German cruisers. As mentioned previously, John Jones (1901) was caught up in the war when he was interned as a prisoner of war in Germany, where he was studying.

During World War II (1939-45), several veterans from the First War lined up again, largely in the Voluntary Defence Corps. On this occasion war was close to home, particularly in Queensland where battles took place on the doorstep, there was widespread fear of invasion and considerable social disruption as civilians adjusted to large numbers of visiting American servicemen and massive troop movements. Frank Walker (1892), by then aged more than sixty, was on naval patrol ‘with my dieseline 44-foot launch, the Tonga, and we were in several tight places’; Idrisyn (Fred) Jones (1911), based in New South Wales, was a sergeant in the 7th Battalion Volunteer Defence Corps; and Eric Freeman (1910), while managing the extra demands for electricity in Brisbane, also undertook duties as an air raid warden and teaching mathematics to Royal Australian Air Force recruits.

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135 BGSM, June 1950, p.20.
136 BGSM, June 1937, p. 99.
Others who were not veterans were also in the Volunteer Corps. William Morse (1914) enlisted in 1942 and spent three years in the 2nd Battalion in Brisbane. Cyril Hall (1915) joined in Nambour; Edward Wood (1918) in Sydney, and Ernest Neal (1924) in Townsville. Several who enlisted in the Army did not see overseas service. Among them were Sergeant Morris Harnell (1932) who was based in Goondiwindi in the Army Education Unit; and Warrant Officer 2 Clarence Cronin (1926) who worked in the Accounts Section.

While full details were not obtained, the following accounts provide some indication of the range of representation in a variety of military operations and the ranks attained. Those in the Army included: Robert Kelly (1922) who was discharged in September 1945 as a captain in the Headquarters of the 8th Military District in New Guinea.; Captain Edward Pearce (1927), General Staff Officer Intelligence in 9th Division in the Middle East; Captain George Johnson (1928) who served in New Guinea with the 55 Field Park Company of the Royal Australian Engineers; and the classicist, Staff Sergeant Alfred McCready (1929), who was a member of the 8th Australian Malaria Control Unit in New Guinea.

Other young men caught up in the action were Captain Harry Wilson (1930) who, soon after graduating in Medicine in 1940, spent two years in the First Light Field Ambulance; and Captain Sydney Mellick (1933), who served in signals for four years in the 6th Aust Line Section. Oscar Kindervater (1935) was a member of the Citizens Military Force in 1944, before enlisting in June of that year. He was a Corporal in the 9th Australian Carrier Maintenance Division. At just nineteen years of age, Lieutenant Philip Day (1937) had enlisted in 1943 to serve in the Intelligence Corps. For three years from February 1946 he was part of the British Commonwealth Occupation Force in Japan.

Four men enlisted in the Royal Australian Air Force: Flight Lieutenant Frank Williamson (1917); Squadron Leader John Isles (1931), a medical officer from 1941 to 1946; Squadron Leader George Copeman (1934), wireless operator and air gunner; and Leading Aircraftman William Logue (1936), groundstaff in 3 Personnel Depot.
After the war Logue was active in the Air Training Corps for 24 years while teaching at ‘Churchie’. One Scholarship winner joined the Royal Air Force: Flying Officer Thomas Johnston (1930) was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross for his flying operations on Lancaster bombers.\(^{139}\)

No men were found to have enlisted in the Navy. Nor were any records found of service in the subsequent engagements in Korea, Malaysia and Vietnam. Without details of actual war experience it was difficult to draw any conclusions about the experiences of those listed above. What is apparent is that among the men in this study there was a high proportion of commissioned officers. Janet McCalman, whose work tracked the lives of private school students of the 1930s in Victoria, made two relevant points about war service. The first was that students from private schools prepared their young men for life in the services:

\begin{quote}
Many of these private schools brought into the forces some very real skills in leadership, but their strong representation in the officer corps was partly due to the manner in which the Army was formed in the first two years of the war. Many serious young men had been convinced that a world war was imminent and had joined the militia in readiness. …Their prior training in school cadet corps also brought into the AIF a number of ready-trained officers.\(^{140}\)
\end{quote}

All but two of the above servicemen attended private denominational or grammar schools in Queensland.

McCalman’s second point concerned the type of warfare conducted and the skills required of its officers:

\begin{quote}
This war now required an educated officer corps, able to perform more complex mathematical calculations and to understand a more advanced technology and nowhere was the need for a numerate serviceman greater than in the Air Force. The Air Force quickly became the most exciting and prestigious arm of the three services and the most desired recruits were those from private schools.\(^{141}\)
\end{quote}

The war effort was not confined to those in the services. Those in reserved occupations were essential to operations. Staff members in universities and research

\(^{139}\) BGSM, June 1945, p. 76.  
\(^{140}\) McCalman, Journeyings, p. 170.  
\(^{141}\) Ibid., p. 167.
organisations were also engaged in wartime activities. They ‘carried on research and advisory work in such diverse fields as experimentation with rubber synthetics, the production of a pressurised flying suit for airmen, and the devising of effective camouflage patterns’. From 1943 the Commonwealth Universities Commission exercised ‘ultimate authority over both selection and enrolment of students’. The aim of the Commission ‘was to balance the national manpower requirements against the need to train students in such key Faculties as Engineering and Medicine, but from its work and recommendations, developments of much wider and more lasting significance were to eventuate’. The Commission and the new Commonwealth Office of Education supervised the postwar rehabilitation programme of professional training for ex-members of the services through the Reconstruction Training Scheme. By 1948 there were 1733 ex-service members at the University of Queensland, plus 188 civilians receiving benefits, far in excess of expectations. Several of those mentioned above benefited from this scheme. Frank Williamson (1917), who joined the staff of the Universities Commission, became Victorian officer-in-charge, based at the University of Melbourne.

The impact of both world wars was immense, on individuals, families, local communities and the nation. Little can be said about the personal experiences of the men in this study, but there is evidence that their intellectual ability and capacity for leadership were recognised through the range of military positions in which they served and the ranks they attained. While many ex-servicemen who survived may have been physically and psychologically scarred by their experiences, there was also the possibility for personal change and growth. Expansion of knowledge led to a greater demand for educational opportunities after the war and a high expectation of a better life for the following generation.

146 Gallagher, *We got a fair go*, p. 89.
In a number of the previous biographical sketches reference was made to the manner in which those men who had achieved success in their youth considered it was important to give back to the community in some way. They may have felt they owed society some recompense for the assistance they had been given to further their own education, or they may have had such a high regard for education that they wanted to ensure that following generations had the opportunities from which they had benefited. Whatever their motives, for these may have been mixed, the commitments made to community life in Queensland and beyond were substantial. These were in addition to the contributions they made through professional life in medical, engineering, legal, educational, scientific and business careers, all of which helped to ‘shape the country they inherited and the generations that succeeded them’.147

This public-spiritedness was not exclusive to the well-educated. McCalman, writing of the expectation of service to others, said ‘it was the most powerful and morally significant social ethic of Australian society, taught in homes comfortable and poor and in schools religious and secular. And it came with certain diffidence’.148 By diffidence she meant that service was given quietly, not in a ‘showy way’. Those who displayed their beneficence were disdained. McCalman went on to say that, intrinsic to the concept of masculinity, the first responsibility of a man was to earn a living to provide for his family; but playing a responsible part in the community was regarded as equally obligatory.149

Certainly the schools inculcated a strong sense of responsibility. Headmasters frequently reminded their students that while they were especially privileged and much was expected of them as future leaders, they had a duty of service to those less fortunate. Reginald Roe, Headmaster at Brisbane Grammar School, who regarded ‘vigorous manliness and thoroughness, purity of speech and life, and public spirit’ as essential qualities, expressed great satisfaction with the public spirit of past students ‘doing valuable service in all parts of Queensland’.150

147 McCalman, Journeyings, p. 22.
148 Ibid., p. 108.
149 Ibid., pp. 144-5.
The well-educated had the means and the influence to make changes in the community. Those young men who became ‘men of their time’\textsuperscript{151} translated the service ethic into a wide range of activities, in welfare, church and community organisations; but the importance of education remained a strong value. The following discussion is confined to the efforts of some to improve education for those who came after them.

Following the example set by Charles Lilley, Thomas Byrnes (1873) and John Woolcock (1874) took up the cudgels in the fight for the establishment of a university. Byrnes, when visiting the ‘cradle of his education’ in Bowen soon after his election as Premier in 1898, vowed to ‘strive to all his might and main’ for the extension of higher education in Queensland.\textsuperscript{152} Others followed in the same vein.\textsuperscript{153} Edwin Fowles (1884) and Kenneth Swanwick (1887) were both active members of the University Extension Movement. Woolcock and Fowles were foundation Senators of the University of Queensland, followed in later years by the brothers Thomas (1885) and John Jones (1901), Eric Freeman (1910) and John de Jersey (1957). John Lee (1947) was a member of the Senate of the University of Newcastle.

John Woolcock was Chairman of Trustees of Brisbane Grammar School, as was Victor Grenning (1912). Hugh Morton (1893) had a similar position at Maryborough Grammar, while Harry Wilson (1930) was a Trustee at Ipswich Grammar. Fowles was a member of the Presbyterian and Methodist Schools Association, overseeing the administration of the Brisbane Boys’ College, among other schools. He was also instrumental in the establishment of King’s College within the University of Queensland, while fifty years later Harry Wilson served on the Council of Cromwell College. Charles Miller (1938) was Chairman of Dunmore Lang College at Macquarie University, while John Mills (1955) was appointed as a New South Wales

\textsuperscript{151} Borrowing the expression ‘men of our time’, a section published annually in Pugh’s \textit{Almanac} providing details of influential men in Queensland.\textsuperscript{152} \textit{BC}, 19 May 1898, p. 5.\textsuperscript{153} For more details of the years served on various bodies, see previous accounts in this chapter and the biographical register in Appendix C.
Government representative on the Board of Governors of the University of New England at Armidale.154

Thomas Thatcher (1899) was Chairman of the Education Committee of the Kindergarten Teachers’ College. His efforts led to the establishment of the Thatcher Library within the University of Queensland, largely to support external students. Several men recognised the importance of libraries as vital to the educational and cultural needs of the community, in particular John Woolcock, who had an extensive private library, but was also instrumental in the foundation of the State Library of Queensland. The John Oxley Library collection concerning Queensland history at the State Library was enhanced through the commitment of Arthur Morrison (1925), whose travels throughout the state looking at government department records led also to the opening of the Queensland State Archives. Others known to be involved in School of Arts Committees which managed library collections were Hugh Morton (1893) in Maryborough and Henry Crouch (1891) in South Brisbane.

Adult learning became a lifelong enthusiasm of Kenneth Swanwick (1887), a foundation member of the World Association for Adult Education. In his honour, the Association dedicated a Swanwick Memorial Room at its London headquarters in 1927, to honour a man ‘who strove continuously, unselfishly and successfully to further the objects of the Association, especially in England and Australia’.155 Frank Walker (1892) regarded his contributions to Brisbane Grammar School as being modest donations, but the school considered him a major benefactor. Through his financial assistance the school was able to purchase sporting equipment, pianos, scientific apparatus and library books. Walker said his gifts were in grateful memory of his Headmaster Reginald Roe, taking the spirit of service full circle.156

These accounts refer to only some of the ninety-five men under scrutiny who, as children, benefited from the Scholarship system, and whose subsequent involvement

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154 See Appendix C.
155 BGSM, June 1930, pp. 22-3.
156 BGSM, June 1950, pp. 18-21.
in educational matters demonstrated the importance they placed on making a quality education available to all. Their willingness to give, not only in education but also in other areas of service, opened doors for many others.

Young men of ability leaving school in Queensland after the 1870s were able to navigate the currents of life by grasping the opportunities offered to them, either through higher education or other professional and business streams. Almost all of those whose lives displayed such promise in their youth were able to turn these opportunities to their advantage. Growing up in an anti-intellectual climate, where most of their contemporaries were denied any such life chances, they held on course for successful careers. The turmoil of war dislocated many lives, but it also reinforced the high value they placed on education and their willingness to make the course less hazardous for those who followed.
Chapter 8
Promise realised: Reflections on outcomes

The words ‘weep, Queensland, weep and with thy tears, keep green the memory of thy glorious son’, carved on the grave of Thomas Byrnes (1873) in Toowong cemetery, expressed the heartfelt grief of Queenslander at the death of the young Premier in 1898. In the wake of his passing, friends and supporters raised funds to erect statues in Warwick and Brisbane, wrote poems in his honour and introduced a scholarship in his name for the most successful student in the Sydney Junior Examination, later the Queensland Junior Public Examination. The life of the young man who had succeeded because of the opportunities available to him somehow epitomised the mood of the time. In him had lain hope for the future in the new century, such optimism thwarted by his early death.

While described by his friends as a highly intellectual paragon, he was not without detractors. As with any politician there were opponents who found his manner to be manipulative and less than reasonable. Byrne’s political pinnacle came at a time when momentous matters were under debate in state and national arenas. His policies regarding Kanaka labour, Federation, workers’ strikes and women’s suffrage may well be open to scrutiny from the distance of a century, but his death meant that he escaped that analysis, and his early demise allowed a legend to build up around him.

Thirty-three years later, in 1929, at the state funeral of Supreme Court Judge John Woolcock (1874), he was eulogised as a jurist, educator and a scholar who had ‘done the State some service’. The writer of one obituary declared that ‘his name will find a high place among the records of Queensland’s honoured citizens’ and another said that ‘he was distinguished by the brilliancy of his scholastic and professional career,

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1 The statues are in Palmerin Street Warwick and at Centenary Place, between Ann and Wickham Streets, Fortitude Valley. In 1924 the latter was moved from Boundary Street, Petrie Bight where it had been erected in 1902. The poem by George Essex Evans was published in Knight, 'Byrnes' last tour', p. 98. The Byrnes memorial gold medal was introduced in 1904 after public subscription to a fund for that purpose, (MPEUQ, 1911, p. 61)
and he was still more distinguished by his high ideals of public life'. His 'cultured mind, unbounded enthusiasm, energy and high ideals' meant that ‘his career [could] well be held up as a shining example for all young Queenslanders’. There were no statues built to memorialise Woolcock, but a prize at Brisbane Grammar School and a park in the suburb of Red Hill were named in his honour. He also left a significant legacy in the foundation of the State Library and the University of Queensland, as well as a body of respected legal publications and government legislation.

Somewhat differently, the work of Matilda Burdorff (1876), private school proprietor and teacher, lived on through the education of young women and in the wider cultural life of Brisbane. The same could be said for Margaret Mackay (1880), headmistress of Brisbane Girls’ Grammar School from 1915 until 1924, who died in 1932. In a tribute it was said of her that ‘many lives were touched by the inspiration of Miss Mackay’, that ‘truth, humility, courage, a high standard of justice and a sense of humour may sometimes command respect and no more, but for Miss Mackay there was more than that, … there was in her a genuine love of children and a real concern for the welfare of those under her’.

When Dr Eleanor Elizabeth Bourne (1891) died in 1957 she was acknowledged as one who had ‘distinguished herself in her profession and her name will be remembered for many years to come’. Throughout her professional life Bourne had been a path-maker, the first girl in Queensland to win an exhibition to a university, the first female resident medical officer at the Brisbane Hospital, and the first doctor appointed to the Department of Public Instruction as a Medical Inspector, where she addressed health issues affecting children’s learning. These achievements were followed by distinguished wartime service in military hospitals; and in the postwar period, in public health. At the Women’s College within the University of Queensland, an accommodation wing and a library bear her name in recognition of her commitment to the higher education of the women who came after her.

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3 BC, 12 January 1929, p. 10.
4 BGSM, June 1929, pp. 18-21; November 1938, p. 30; BC, 12 January 1929, p. 10.
5 Johnston, Queensland Bar, pp. 570-1.
6 BGSM, December 1932, p. 4.
7 Ibid., December 1957, p. 59.
The accomplishments of each of the early Scholarship winners mentioned above demonstrate the value of examining the lives of the few successful students, many of whom were pathmakers, setting the scene for others who followed. It was not only the early scholars who paved the way for others; those from later years also set an example by taking up postgraduate study, entering new professions, undertaking new areas of research, accepting leadership positions and working in advocacy groups.

This chapter reviews the outcomes for individuals in the light of their childhood academic success in the State Scholarship examination. Firstly, it explores the nature of success. Secondly, it analyses the extent to which the success of the Scholarship winners was sustained in later life. Thirdly, it examines whether there were markedly different outcomes for the males and females. As a fourth line of enquiry it investigates in what ways the Scholarship winners were forerunners or path-makers for others to follow. Finally it seeks to determine whether there were any peculiarly Queensland characteristics that emerged from this ‘sample’ of people.  

Historians of Queensland education have looked at the type of success generated by the Scholarship examination through different lenses. These have been outlined in Chapter 2, but are briefly reviewed here. Daphne Meadmore harvested the vehement oppositional voices of the writers in the *Queensland Teachers’ Journal* to support her argument that the examination was a dividing practice, an exclusionist instrument that denied a secondary education to the majority of young Queenslanders. In describing the reward/punishment disciplinary power of the Scholarship she stressed its ‘negative effects on pedagogy and curriculum’ and its ‘pernicious effect [on] everything done in schools’, ‘making school intolerable for many pupils and teachers’ work both stressful and monotonous’. Through the ‘terror and tyranny of the Scholarship in its capacity to differentiate and judge’, she maintained that ‘the effect of Scholarship failure on pupils and families could well be devastating’.

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9 As the case-study subjects are two specific students from each year of the Scholarship, it cannot be regarded as a sample in any sociological sense.
10 Meadmore, For reasons of governmentality, (thesis).
While Meadmore garnered this evidence to support the punishment side of the disciplinary dichotomy, she failed to give equal space to gratification or reward, except for two concessions. She acknowledged that the need for an academic secondary education ‘for a select group’ in nineteenth century colonial Queensland had justified the introduction of the examination, but not its continuance.\(^{12}\) She also conceded that ‘in the late 1950s and early 1960s the Scholarship lost some of its power as a selection device because increased numbers were proceeding to secondary school anyway’.\(^{13}\) The only recognition of those who achieved was through derisory references to them as elite. She claimed that the ‘Scholarship secured the grammar schools as the province of the social elite and an academic elite’. That the grammar schools were at first the only schools providing a secondary education, and that the growth of private, Catholic, denominational and state high schools moved at a sluggish pace, seems to have been largely ignored. Nor do her comments acknowledge that Queensland was in dire need of a home-grown professional sector, or that many of the scholarship holders at the grammar schools were not from the social elite. By the end of the period, during the postwar boom of increased state provision, the academically successful were just as likely to attend the new state high schools as private and grammar schools. Of the years to which Meadmore confines her study, 1945 to 1962, twenty-three Scholarship winners proceeded to state high schools, nine to grammar schools and nine to Catholic or other denominational secondary schools. Four students subsequently left state high schools to complete their studies at other schools.\(^{14}\)

Rupert Goodman also attacked the examination, but his derision was aimed more at the policy makers for the lack of provision of schools and secondary teachers; for he recognised that it was not so much the examination as the lack of vision that led to the ‘tragic years of waste, neglect and self-satisfaction in secondary education in Queensland’.\(^{15}\) Goodman referred to the research work of Ezra Wyeth, who in 1949 had claimed the examination lacked reliability.\(^{16}\) On closer inspection, Wyeth’s article revealed that his concerns were for those whose results were close to the pass mark of

\(^{14}\) The total of 41 winners is made up of 36 Lilley medallists and 5 who were first in the state, but not awarded the Lilley medal, as they had attended Catholic primary schools.
\(^{15}\) Goodman, Secondary education in Queensland, p. 314.
\(^{16}\) Ibid., p. 326.
50, possibly missing out on further education, saying that ‘except for the top 10 per cent and the lowest 10 per cent, the examination is little more than a lottery’. When asking the question ‘does a Scholarship pass predict further success?’ he produced evidence to show that the predictive efficiency of the Scholarship was between 10 and 12 per cent; but he did not break this down to indicate whether high achievement in one examination was a good indicator of later success. Research into the high achievers was left to the studies by the Research and Guidance Branch in the 1950s, which found that for this group the examination was an excellent predictor for success in later examinations; but the wastage of talent when above-average students chose not to proceed with higher education was a cause for concern.

Here the focus is on those who succeeded through the opportunities provided by the examination, however flawed the system may have been. They were part of the ‘top 10 per cent’ for whom Wyeth found the examination was a reliable instrument, and that other researchers found was a good predictor of later academic success. They advanced, sometimes in a short blaze of attention, to the next step on the education ladder. Their success was often open to scrutiny. In some educational circles, principally the Queensland Teachers’ Union, there was a belief that the cramming teaching practices and forced learning in some schools produced an artificial type of attainment. At times the critics turned their scorn on the scholar: ‘The press … interviews those prodigies who top the list, and who graciously throw a crumb from the table of fame to their erstwhile mentor.’ When there were students who replicated their success in subsequent examinations, even to repeating their first place in the state, the argument was produced that the secondary curriculum, similar teaching practices, and the nature of the public examinations were simply an extension of that of the primary school. This line of reasoning was used as the most powerful argument against public examinations. Yet again, it was said that the type of

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18 Ibid.
21 QTJ, August 1944, p. 13.
academic success produced was not a good predictor for tertiary education and later life.\textsuperscript{22} The outcomes for the majority included in this study belie this line of reasoning.

The carping criticism of the \textit{Teachers' Journal} was useful in the campaign against the examination, but it also reflected the customary Australian egalitarian suspicion of false claims to privilege or acclaim. By keeping a watchful eye on the ‘tall poppies’;\textsuperscript{23} Australians have always been ready to cut them down should prominent or successful persons be proven to have not deserved their high status; to have become too arrogant, greedy, or disdainful of others; or be shown to have transgressed in some public manner through fraudulent activity. Norman Feather conducted research confirming that ‘attitudes to tall poppies are often mixed or ambivalent’, and that the ‘tension between equality and achievement’ persists in Australian society, as well as a ‘distrust for special excellence’ and an ‘anti-intellectual bias’ which comes from the belief that the successful should not be ‘too far above the average’.\textsuperscript{24}

In a historical context, those who have been considered successful in Queensland have varied according to changing social and economic conditions. Frequently those at the top of the status ladder at one point fell out of favour at another. Initially, the successful had made financial gains as pastoralists and farmers, followed later by miners, builders, developers and business leaders.\textsuperscript{25} Only gradually did the success of locally educated professionals attract acknowledgment. Young bright students moved into the fields of medicine, teaching, science, law and engineering, not only for monetary gain, but also for the intellectual and personal satisfaction of advanced knowledge, assisting others and contributing to the betterment of the population.\textsuperscript{26} While they were frequently stymied by bureaucratic rules and social constraints, such

\textsuperscript{22} Connor, 'Spotlight', p. 12.
\textsuperscript{23} The Macquarie Dictionary gives the meaning of ‘tall poppy’ as : \textit{Colloq.} A person who is outstanding in any way, especially someone with great wealth or status; and ‘tall poppy syndrome’ as a desire to diminish in stature those people who have attained excellence. \textit{Macquarie Dictionary: Australia's National Dictionary}, 3\textsuperscript{rd} ed. Sydney: Macquarie University, 1997, p. 2160.
\textsuperscript{25} Lawson, \textit{Brisbane in the 1890s}, pp. 54-6, 61; Johnston, \textit{The call of the land}, pp. 53, 57-8, 68, 83, 89, 94.
\textsuperscript{26} This is not to deny that there were some who may have been motivated by the prospect of a high income, as well as some who became rich and who enjoyed the trappings of status in fine homes and the membership of prestigious clubs.
as restrictive entry requirements or bans on married women, they learnt to work within and against such barriers, and to bring about change for others who followed.

Despite many attempts to pin it down, the ‘idea of success remains ambivalent and elusive’.27 There have been a number of approaches to the topic, of which two stand out. On the one hand, many writers have confined their discussion to the realm of the career. They claimed that to be considered successful the individual usually possessed a high income, had become a household name, an outstanding leader in a specific field, or been responsible for a significant transformative or creative activity. Ray Pahl, who looked at the changing nature of success at the end of the twentieth century, claimed that ‘the institutionalisation of individual success in the form of a “career” was largely a middle-class phenomenon’, as ‘the main mechanism of advancement for most of those in the civil service, large-scale industry or the professions was the career’. As well as ‘clearly marked-out and structured ladders,’ an essential requirement of the idea was social acceptability, for without it ‘the whole notion of success becomes undermined’.28

On the other hand, a number of writers have regarded a successful person as one who achieved a high level of self-fulfilment, realised a personal dream, or developed a balance between work and personal relationships. They may have been people who shunned the limelight while doing worthy work, or been engaged in collaborative efforts or in making small quiet improvements. They also may have been most concerned with teaching or influencing the young, or have been active in achieving just rights and better welfare provisions.

The work of an ethical philosopher, Alan Gewirth, influenced Don Ambrose in adopting the following definition of self-fulfilment:

[It] is the discovery of one’s deepest desires and worthiest capacities and the subsequent development of those capacities. It emerges from a long-term sequence of choices and strivings that culminate in achievements

28 Ibid., p. 2.
representative of the optimal development of the person. Ultimately, self-fulfilment designates a satisfying and worthwhile life well lived.29

Gewirth and Ambrose also described two dimensions of self-fulfilment as capacity growth and aspiration development. Ambrose offered the following definition of the latter:

Aspirations are strong desires for achievement of ideals that hold great value for the individual. … They serve as directional beacons that generate long-range purposes. It is the passionate, purposeful pursuit of aspirations that spurs a person to develop his or her best capacities.30

For the purposes of this study there was some difficulty in developing a working definition of success to incorporate both career achievement and self-fulfilment. The closest synthesis came from Barbara Kerr who, in her work on gifted women, decided to revive the idea of a ‘calling’ or vocation and to re-define the meaning of a career:

A career is not a job. A career is a vocation. A mission in life. A belief in the fulfilment of, and the urge to exercise, one’s energies and talents…. A career is the passionate, energetic pursuit of a goal that persistently calls to you.

Achievement then is not tied to grades or salary, but to a woman’s fulfilment of her own dreams; not to a particular environment, because women can operate at peak capacity in many settings; not to academic honours, titles, and offices, since these by-products or signs of achievement are not the equivalent of achievement.31

While Kerr’s approach, applicable to men as well as women, is more inclusive and attempts to free ideas of achievement and success from the traditional work-based models, it is also a nebulous concept, hard to grasp and dependent on personal testimony and subjective evaluation. However, it is with these ideas in mind that the following account examines the success of those who displayed such early promise by high academic achievement in their childhood.

In the previous chapters dealing with outcomes for males and females, emphasis was placed on the passage from one educational experience to another, acknowledging those who succeeded in a career through high appointments in academia, the law,
medicine and science; but also recognising those who taught others, who worked to improve conditions and facilities in the community, and who chose or were constrained to channel their efforts into relationships more than work. The intention was not to compare or evaluate the outcomes for individuals; but rather to reveal how the Scholarship winners responded to opportunities; and where possible to discover the degree to which they felt satisfied by the choices they made. In addition the aim was to determine how young Queenslanders met these challenges in the face of changing social conditions, community attitudes and world events.

Some idea of what success meant to the Scholarship winners themselves was gleaned from the words of thirty-five of them who completed the questionnaire. This is a small selection of the total of 186, but gives an indication of the range of reactions. The examination years of respondents covered the period from 1923 to 1962, meaning they were born between 1910 and 1949. By combining the answers to two questions it was possible to discern patterns in personal reflections. The first question asked how the experience of gaining first place in the Scholarship affected them. The second asked them to supply a personal statement reflecting on their own early academic success and their later life experiences, whether in a career, raising a family, community life or creative expression. Many of the replies gave mixed answers, but overall there were three equal types of response. Firstly, several felt that the success ‘was just luck or chance,’ ‘there were others much brighter than I was’, and it was ‘really not important’ to them personally. Others regarded their early success as a self-extending experience: ‘It gave me faith in myself and my ability’ or ‘it gave me confidence to assume I could be a high academic achiever’. The third type of response indicated that it was a life-changing or transformative experience: ‘it was a turning point in my life’, ‘without that award I would not have had a secondary or tertiary education, as neither of my older siblings went beyond primary’, or ‘I had intended leaving after primary school, but winning the Lilley medal changed my life – it led me to an academic career that eventually led me to medicine, a career I have loved’.

Statements regarding how early success translated into adult experience ranged from: ‘I wish it would go away, constantly comparing my later life achievements’; or ‘I did not fulfil my potential’; to ‘pride, for my family as much as myself’; or ‘it gave me a measure of myself’; and ‘my early academic success set me on my life’s path of hard
work, seeking opportunities for self-improvement and achieving a better life for the community’. A number of responses referred to a personal investment in the following generation, stating that ‘I have made sure my children went on with their education’; or ‘I am proud of my children who are all graduates’; to ‘I think I contributed to the development of my children’s intelligence’; and ‘although not a teacher, I maintain a keen interest in fostering excellent schools’.32

Very evident in the personal responses were the strong aspirations, described by Ambrose as ‘directional beacons’, the motivating factors that enable individuals to maintain focus on long-range purpose. He maintained that they can then ‘turn what might otherwise become a lifetime collection of miscellaneous minor achievements into a coherent concatenation of major accomplishments guided by strong and passionate interest and purpose’.33 These passions are evident in many of the choices made by individuals to pursue further degrees, undertake specialist training, expand businesses, or even resist promotion to administrative positions in order to maintain their hands-on role in jobs they loved. In the words of several of them:

[Success] led me to an academic career which eventually led me to medicine and finally to obstetrics and gynaecology. I have loved medicine and the Flying Obstetrics and Gynaecology Service, which I pioneered and established, has been the highlight of that career.34

Early success put pressure on me to maintain that high level of achievement in high school and at University. Consequently I learned to handle the pressure, and became a self-starter, and sought to achieve and work hard throughout my life.35

I kept a strong emphasis on mostly doing what I believed I did well. But in broad terms, chances of timing and opportunity helped me into a career that suited me extremely well, and in which I was able to make a good contribution to teaching and research, while often enjoying my work considerably.36

I never entertained aspirations of administrative positions in education because I loved the classroom environment, and the challenge of inspiring young people to achieve goals they thought were beyond them. … I continued to do courses and educate myself in lots of areas, but not formally through any institution that offered a certificate at the end of the course.37

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32 These statements are not attributed to particular individuals, but are an amalgam of responses.
33 Ambrose, ‘Barriers to aspiration’, p. 283.
34 Personal communication with James Baker, 28 July 2001.
36 Personal communication with Spencer Routh, 1 November 1999.
37 Personal communication with Brian Thorne, 16 December 1999.
In other longitudinal studies of academic achievers, researchers found similar responses. In Felice Kaufmann’s 1980 follow-up of Presidential Scholars in the United States, in which she investigated highly-achieving graduates from high school between 1964 and 1968, she found that the majority had a sustained interest in academic attainment, 81 per cent having earned postgraduate degrees. In general they chose professions that reflected a high level of education, intellectual ability and persistence in striving for excellence. At the same time Kaufmann also noted a trend for her respondents to devalue the legitimacy of awards and to stress the importance of self-actualisation.38

A small opportunity to look at contemporary accounts of the strong aspirations of young Scholarship winners was available through the documents supporting an application for a Rhodes Scholarship, which enabled young men to study at Oxford University. One scholar from Queensland was appointed each year from 1904. For several years applicants were accepted directly from school, but after the establishment of the University of Queensland, undergraduates or recent graduates could apply.39 Scholars were selected according to certain criteria laid down in the will of Cecil Rhodes, to do with scholastic attainment; qualities of manliness; the ‘exhibition of moral force of character and instinct to lead’; and ‘physical vigour, as shown by fondness for and success in manly outdoor sports’.40 In each application to the committee, the candidate included a personal letter outlining his own achievements and interests; a letter from his school principal or university teachers appraising his suitability for such an award; and supporting letters from family friends or community leaders who could bear witness to his personal qualities. These letters were all written in flattering tones, but they gave witness to the contemporary assessment of the young man’s academic, sporting and leadership abilities as well as personal characteristics considered worthy of a Rhodes Scholarship.

Five young men included in this study were recipients of the award: George Frederick Emanuel Hall (1904)[1910], James Hickson Baxter(1907)[1916], Victor Grenning

39 Changes in 1977 opened the scholarships to women.
The family background of Lister Hopkins figured largely in the supporting letters to his application. He grew up in Toowoomba in a Quaker family. His father, Francis Lister Hopkins, a jeweller, was very involved as a peace activist and in community service. Circumstances changed when Francis died, as recalled by a family friend:

The young family set about planning how the business could be kept in the family name. Lister left school temporarily and, although only a lad of 15 years, quickly became proficient in book-keeping and business affairs. He resumed studies at the Toowoomba Grammar School for the Senior examination and in addition attended to the shop book-keeping. This work was done after school hours and occupied from 4 till 6.30 p.m. daily.

Whereas other Rhodes candidates had a record in competitive sport, the headmaster of Toowoomba Grammar School was unable to provide this evidence for Hopkins, as ‘his parents discouraged his participation in school games’. By the time he was a university student living at Emmanuel College in Brisbane, he had broken these bounds to some degree, as he played with and was a committee leader of various sporting clubs for the college and the university. Referring to his mountain-climbing exploits it was said that ‘the conquest of nature rather than the pursuit of football fame characterised his efforts’. Some of his conquests were not so much of nature as of man-made structures. ‘During workshop training at Newcastle on one occasion the highest chimney stack on the plant presented an irresistible challenge’.

While involved in the debating and musical societies as well as student politics, Hopkins considered his principal interest was the Student Christian Movement. He was also committed to the cause of world disarmament and the principles of the League of Nations, as well as having an interest in industrial psychology and industrial relations. At the age of 20, Hopkins said of his own ambitions:

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41 Dates in square brackets refer to the year of the Rhodes Scholarship award.
43 Ibid., testimonial from H. Maltman.
44 Ibid., testimonial from G.P. Barbour.
45 Ibid., testimonial from H. Maltman.
Since boyhood I have been keenly interested in Engineering. My course has served only to strengthen and direct this interest and I do not doubt having chosen the right profession. My examination results and the reports from the firms for which I have worked during vacations, will, I think, indicate the grasp that I have of the subject both theoretical and practical. Academically my best subject has always been Mathematics, and I feel that in making the [Rhodes] Scholarship the occasion for further study in this direction, I should best be able to enhance my contribution to the Engineering World. Mathematics is the backbone of Engineering and therein lies the solution of numerous problems that confront the engineer today.\textsuperscript{46}

Hopkins kept his passion for mathematics, graduating from Oxford with a first class degree in the subject. His wide worldview then led him away from engineering into a career in statistics and demography. He maintained his pacifist views, Quaker beliefs and active membership of the Society of Friends throughout his life. At the age of ninety-four he reflected on his change of career direction, regarding his initial decision to study engineering as having been made with little understanding of the profession: ‘I graduated in the depths of the Depression with no ideas of sticking to engineering’. After his studies in mathematics at Oxford, he was influenced by ‘a feeling that after eight years in universities I should not persist in seeking to enter an academic field’, so that he accepted the British Colonial Office position in Palestine, then a League of Nations protectorate.\textsuperscript{47} He spent eight years in Palestine from 1936, followed by six years in the West Indies, implementing a census, before returning to Australia to work in the Australian Bureau of Census and Statistics. After retiring as the Government Assistant Statistician in 1975, he advised the United Nations in the Sudan and Cyprus.\textsuperscript{48}

From Hopkins and other Rhodes Scholars there is evidence of sustained success across their lifetimes as well as passion for their area of expertise. They had what Anne Colby called ‘sustained commitments to moral ideals or principles’ and Don Ambrose called ‘strong desires for achievement of ideals that hold great value for the individual … in relation to aspects of life such as professional acumen, knowledge

\textsuperscript{46} Ibid., statement of Lister Hopkins.
\textsuperscript{47} Personal communication with Lister Hopkins, 21 August 2004.
\textsuperscript{48} Who's Who in Australia (Melbourne: Information Australia Group, 1996), p. 799; Rhodes register 1903-95, p. 75.
acquisition, autonomy, personal identity, avocations, family or community roles'.

These strong desires were also evident in the lives of those not in receipt of the Rhodes award, although there are no surviving statements of their youthful ambition. Rather, such aspirations can be inferred from the 'choices and strivings' they made, and where possible from their personal reflections later in life. Six examples are highlighted here, two each from science, business and community participation.

The experiences of two scientists provide examples of the search by highly achieving students to further their careers with the best possible teachers. Judith Payne (1950) followed her science degree at the University of Queensland with a Walter and Eliza Hall Fellowship in Biology, researching the marine stinger, and a doctorate at Duke University in the United States. From there she embarked on a research and teaching career before being appointed as a Professor in Marine and Coastal Sciences at Rutgers University in New Jersey. When asked about her choice of career, she credited various teachers as encouraging and supporting the decisions leading her to a research career:

In a positive way, faculty and staff in the Physiology Department and the Zoology Department at the University of Queensland [were important influences]. Some people guided me away from thoughts of medicine, dentistry, and the diplomatic corps, saying I would be bored by the routine of every-day practice, or blocked because of being a woman.

John de Jersey (1957) was similarly inspired by influential teachers, but unlike Payne he chose to stay in Queensland:

I was aided in the decision to stay at the University of Queensland first for Honours and then for a PhD by the presence of an inspirational academic staff member, Professor Burt Zerner, who had recently returned after several years of research in top United States laboratories. ... The University has progressed a long way since I joined as a staff member in 1971 and rightly claims to be a university where world class research happens over a wide range of disciplines.

There are elements in these two stories of the induction experiences described by Harriet Zuckerman in a study of Nobel Laureates, by Kurt Heller and Petra Viek who

50 Ambrose, 'Barriers to aspiration', p. 283.
51 Personal communication with Judith Grassle, 23 July 2001; CM, 20 October 1959, p. 3.
52 Personal communication with Judith Grassle, 23 July 2001.
53 Personal communication with John de Jersey, 12 May 2005.
examined the experiences of postdoctoral university scholarship recipients, and by
Kaufmann in her study of Presidential Scholars. They all emphasized that for
exceptional achievement to be accomplished the individuals needed to have not only a
teacher who was a role model and mentor, but one who also had exacting standards of
work and who evoked excellence from others in a challenging creative environment.54

Outside the academic world, similar examples of strong aspirations are apparent in the
careers of two men who established successful businesses. Thomas Llewellyn Jones
(1885), who left school early to work in the meatworks, founded Foggitt Jones and
Company at Oxley, a company which eventually had operations in four other states.
Jones also extended his influence as a politician, University of Queensland Senator
and in a number of community organisations.55 His political affiliation was ardently
Labor, being a member of the Australian Workers Union for many years. It was said
of him that ‘though an employer, [he] is still a unionist by conviction’.56 Jones was
intent on providing facilities and educational opportunities for his workers and their
families.57

Another man from the business world was George Stanton Crouch (1891), who
worked for the pastoral company Dalgety’s before establishing his own company,
Crouch and Connah Pty Ltd, a general wholesaling company with commercial
interests throughout the state. He worked for the Red Cross during the difficult years
of World War II. At the time of his death in 1952 he had been Chairman of the
Queensland Division for eighteen months.58

Strong ideals and aspirations were also evident in the lives of two active community
workers, forty years apart. From his university student days onwards Thomas
Thatcher (1899) had a strong commitment to social justice issues. He sought an

54 Kaufmann and others, 'The nature, role and influence of mentors', pp. 576-7; Harriet Zuckerman,
'The scientific elite: Nobel Laureates' mutual influences', in Genius and eminence, Robert S. Albert, ed.
students: Individual and social factors', in Developing talent across the life span, Cornelius F. M. van
55 Waterson, Biographical register, p. 96; Grantham, Oxley meat factory, pp. 1-3.
56 DS, 19 May 1915, p. 3.
57 Grantham, Oxley meat factory, pp. 1-3.
58 CM, 22 August 1952, p. 5
inquiry into abuses against Aborigines, supported fruit growers fighting for a fair distribution scheme, and was responsible for the organisation of relief work for the unemployed during the Great Depression. He also established a social welfare committee to provide them with food and clothing. The same sense of concern for the plight of others was evident in his role as Director of External Studies at the University of Queensland during the ‘grim days of World War II’, when, ‘devoted to the welfare of these young people who were striving against great odds to achieve a higher education’, he sent lecture notes ‘into the prison camps, out to the ships at sea, even to the far flung firing line itself’.

Dorothea Skelton (1938), a teacher and church worker, was the first woman on the Diocese of Brisbane Anglican Synod where she served on the Archbishop election committee and the aged care committees. Through her ‘long commitment to excellence in education’ she served as Chair of the Council of the Glennie School in Toowoomba from 1991 to 1996.

Although not the intention of this case study to compare the individuals in this project in an evaluative manner, it was impossible to ignore any measurable outcomes that were available and that were given attention in previous chapters. The most obvious measure, the level of education reached, placed the achievements of individuals in the context of what was happening to the majority of their contemporaries as well as recording changes over time.

The principal measure was the number of university graduates. In total there were 100 known graduates from the total of 186 scholarship winners. Table 27 provides evidence of the changes over the period. Those who completed primary schooling before 1905 had only a small chance of a university education, which would need to be undertaken out of the state. After that they had the opportunity of enrolling at the University of Queensland. Until World War II, just over half the winners undertook tertiary education, whereas after the war 80 per cent completed a degree. These accomplishments need to be seen in the context of the small numbers of enrolments in

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62 Personal communication with Max Brightman, 20 November 2002.
those years, and the numbers of degrees conferred, as demonstrated in Tables 27 and 28.

Table 27: Scholarship winners, 1873-1962, who graduated from universities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of Scholarship</th>
<th>Winners</th>
<th>Graduates</th>
<th>Percentage of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1873-1904</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905-1944</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945-1962</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 28: Enrolments at the University of Queensland, 1911-71

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>1951</td>
<td>4014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>9525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>799</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>17485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>1719</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 29: Bachelor degrees conferred at the University of Queensland and Australia, 1945-75

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>UQ</th>
<th>Aust</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>1455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>4257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>3432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>575</td>
<td>4184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>1020</td>
<td>8627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>1868</td>
<td>13484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>2530</td>
<td>21860</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the story for women graduates is included in the above account, a breakdown of available figures according to gender illustrates that far fewer women enrolled in university courses. Tables 30 and 31 demonstrate significant gender differences in

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63 Compiled from the Annual Reports of the Senate of the University of Queensland to the Governor-in-Council (ARSUQ). The University of Queensland was the only university in the state until the establishment of the University College of Townsville in 1961.

the percentages of graduates among the Scholarship winners in the years prior to World War II.

**Table 30: Male Scholarship winners, 1873-1962, who graduated from universities**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of Scholarship</th>
<th>Male winners</th>
<th>Male graduates</th>
<th>Percentage of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1873-1904</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905-1944</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945-1962</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 31: Female Scholarship winners, 1876-1962, who graduated from universities**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of Scholarship</th>
<th>Female winners</th>
<th>Female graduates</th>
<th>Percentage of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1876-1904</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905-1944</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945-1962</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is evident from **Tables 32, 33 and 34** that 80 per cent of women in the case-study who had completed primary school between 1945 and 1962 graduated, at a time when female enrolments and bachelor degrees conferred at universities were only 20-25 per cent of the total.

**Table 32: Female enrolments at the University of Queensland and percentages of total**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Percentage of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>590</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>711</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>909</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>3561</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>5387</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>7181</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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65 ARSUQ, 1945-75; Statistics of the University of Queensland 1959-1975.
Table 33: Bachelor degrees conferred to females at the University of Queensland and in Australia, 1945-75

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>UQ total</th>
<th>UQ females</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Aust. total</th>
<th>Aust. females</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1455</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4257</td>
<td>742</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3432</td>
<td>704</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>575</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4184</td>
<td>955</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>1020</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8627</td>
<td>2089</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>1868</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13484</td>
<td>3800</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>2530</td>
<td>1091</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>21860</td>
<td>7827</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the 100 graduates in the study, at least twenty-five are known to have acquired postgraduate qualifications, at a Masters or Doctorate level. Half of these degrees were earned in the postwar years. In addition, at least six medical graduates attained specialist qualifications.

Postgraduate study in Queensland was not readily available until after most of those included in this study had already graduated. In 1958 the introduction of Commonwealth postgraduate awards led to the increase in Doctoral and Masters degrees conferred. Twelve of these were awarded annually to students at the University of Queensland, translating into increased graduations over succeeding years. However, the numbers remained low until well after the period under review. Table 34 indicates how few students had the opportunity for further study.

Table 34: Higher degrees conferred at the University of Queensland and in Australia, 1945-75

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>UQ</th>
<th>Aust.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>788</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>1551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>2356</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

67 Ibid.
Of the twenty-five postgraduate awards, seven were gained by women, all after the introduction of the Commonwealth postgraduate scholarship scheme in 1958. These women were part of a very small coterie who were engaged in advanced studies, in the state and nationally. Three of the seven studied at overseas universities and two in states other than Queensland. Table 35 reveals the very slow inroads made by women in the postgraduate area.

Table 35: Higher degrees awarded to females at the University of Queensland and in Australia, 1945-75

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>UQ</th>
<th>UQ females</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Aust.</th>
<th>Aust. females</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>788</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1551</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2356</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The outcomes for women and men in this study were considered in the previous two chapters. In summary it can be said that females were offered access to each step of the opportunity ladder later than males; but once the way was open by means of scholarships to grammar schools, teachers’ colleges, universities and postgraduate research, young women took advantage of these with the same alacrity as their male counterparts. They then made career choices which were frequently restricted by current social attitudes or limited expectations, although there were the exceptions who were prepared to move into fields normally occupied by men. If women married, they faced bans on continuing in their careers. Males, on the other hand, were offered places in professions not generally sought by women, had chances for promotion and experienced little break in their careers when they married or had children. While their careers were dramatically interrupted by military service and wartime conditions, some were able to benefit from postwar education and training schemes. By giving an overall impression, this summary masks the complex personal decisions.

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68 Ibid.
and experiences of individuals who were left out, as well as those who chose or were constrained at different points to seek other than an academic pathway.

Three major points of gender difference in the themes discussed in earlier chapters have been the effect of marriage and family on the lives and careers of women; the prospect of continuing education and advancement for men; and the impact of military service on the lives of men. In stressing these points it is important to acknowledge the three countervailing themes: the extent of the influence of marriage and family on men’s careers; that some women were able to pursue further education and careers after marriage; and that wartime conditions also severely impinged on the lives of women. The experiences of a few individuals are highlighted, by addressing each of these points in turn.

There is very little in the literature concerning masculinity that examines the choices men have made about their careers in the light of family considerations. When men in this case-study were asked how marriage and family affected their careers their statements revealed that there was rarely an either-or choice for them. Some indicated that they had rejected overseas postings because of family commitments. One chose not to continue with university study ‘so that I could enjoy my family and participate in their growth and development’. Others indicated that their family had been their major support, or even their principal interest, as the following quotations attest:

- Marriage and children have been a strong influence, and have helped direct me in later life towards a people-orientation and away from the technological.69
- I have always put my children first, and have given them the best education I could afford. All went to private boarding schools. For many years I was a sole parent, and that brings great responsibilities. These factors put some considerable restraints on my career.70

Women, for whom marriage had a significant impact on their life course, found the doors were not always shut to further opportunities. The last of the Scholarship winners who entered university in the late 1960s were on the cusp of changing attitudes towards women in the workforce. Because of changes that lifted the bars on the employment of married women, the phasing in of equal pay provisions and the

70 Personal communication with Graham Windrum, 20 May 2000.
increased provision of child care, they could choose to maintain a career, marriage and family.\textsuperscript{71} A number of older women also took advantage of these changes, some grasping second-chance opportunities for further study or returning to a long-interrupted career. One of these was Joyce Sivell (1934), who left school after her Junior examinations in 1936 on a teacher’s scholarship. Her teaching career was terminated on her marriage, but in 1962 at the age of 41, she resumed teaching, also undertaking several professional development courses in teaching children with learning disabilities. After retiring, she completed a Masters degree in the teaching of primary mathematics.\textsuperscript{72} Similarly, one 1940s science graduate upgraded her qualifications as a librarian when her children had grown, to return to work. Another waited eighteen years after her first child was born before returning to teaching. She was then head of a science department in a secondary school for eleven years.\textsuperscript{73} Thelma (Beth) James (1953) explained how she made career decisions based on family needs:

\begin{quote}
I worked part-time in research while my children were below primary school age. This enabled me to maintain my output of research publications, but I did not have the security of a long-term position. A research career can be difficult without geographic mobility (because of family) and I chose to break my career at the age of forty rather than continue in non-tenured positions. I joined the Commonwealth Public Service and began a second (related) career in science, technology and industry policy, followed by senior executive work in CSIRO’s corporate centre.\textsuperscript{74}
\end{quote}

The third counterbalancing point concerned wartime experiences of women, not mentioned in Chapter 6. The experiences of those in the case-study varied considerably. During World War I, while it was generally the domain of women to knit socks, raise funds and keep the home fires burning, two women considered here had experience in army medical corps. Jemima Logie (Minnie) Chapman (1902) went to France as a nurse on the frontline,\textsuperscript{75} and Dr Eleanor Bourne (1891) travelled to England where she was appointed as a Major in a military hospital.\textsuperscript{76} Dr Clara Smith (1899) maintained her husband’s medical practice.\textsuperscript{77} On the domestic front, Annie

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{71} Ian Castles, \textit{Women in Australia} (Canberra: AGPS, 1993), p. xii.
\item \textsuperscript{72} Guy and Sutcliffe, \textit{Ascot}, p. 116.
\item \textsuperscript{73} Personal communication with an anonymous respondent.
\item \textsuperscript{74} Personal communication with Beth Heyde, 30 November 2003.
\item \textsuperscript{75} Personal communication with Robin Wilkinson, 11 July 2001; Goodman, \textit{Queensland nurses}, pp. 33, 87, 119.
\item \textsuperscript{76} Bell, 'Bourne', p. 357.
\item \textsuperscript{77} Annable, ed. \textit{Biographical register}, p. 43.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Cornwall (1898) married, was widowed and re-married in the course of the war.\footnote{Index of births, deaths and marriages, Queensland Registrar-General’s Office. Betty Cosgrove, \textit{The wider view: Rockhampton Girls’ Grammar: A social history} (Rockhampton: Rockhampton Girls’ Grammar School, 1992), p. 261.} Evelyn Kennedy (1900), while working in the Commonwealth Bank, raised funds for the Comforts Fund.\footnote{Personal communication with Ian Kennedy, 24 July 2001.} The impact of the war on the lives of others is unknown.

There is no evidence of any of the women joining the services during World War II, although Norah Booth (1923) was engaged in intelligence work through the Commonwealth Investigation Branch. Once she married in 1941 her experience was typical of many women with children, as she recounted in a memoir:

> At the beginning of the war I trained as a V.A.D. (Voluntary Aid Detachment – helping in hospitals) and was awaiting call-up, but instead I was married on 23\textsuperscript{rd} December, 1941 in St John’s Cathedral, Brisbane, the very day that General Macarthur landed in Brisbane with his American troops. My husband, Arch, was exempted from serving in the Army, in order to work in the supply of non-ferrous metals to the Munitions Factories.

> We had two children and it was certainly not a good time to have babies. The Hospital was sandbagged and, of course, was grossly understaffed as Nurses were required for the Military Hospitals.

> Some women and children moved inland for safety but we dug slit trenches like earthquake cracks and the car was packed with provisions for a quick getaway, with the old gas producer rattling along behind. We had food rationing and no petrol, and there was hardly anything for sale in the shops.\footnote{Norah Booth, unpublished memoir, n.d., held by Susan Myring.}

The lived experiences of both men and women in this study have revealed the impact of world events and social attitudes on the decisions they made and the personal outcomes of those decisions. From another perspective it was also possible to reflect on the impact their lives made on the wider community.

When Alison Mackinnon studied the outcomes of early girls’ secondary schooling in South Australia, she claimed that the successful students were the forerunners or path-makers for others to follow.\footnote{Mackinnon, \textit{One foot on the ladder}, pp. 175-6.} The extent to which those children who were placed first in the Queensland Scholarship examination proved to be such forerunners for other young Queenslanders cannot be underestimated. These particular individuals were not alone in their achievements, as while they were placed first, there were
others each year who also were awarded a scholarship to secondary school – at first a handful, but increasingly more – until many thousands were passing the examination. However, the winners represented the small numbers across the whole period who had access to a full secondary education. They were significant in the fact that 63 per cent of them completed secondary schooling, when very few others did so. In particular they led the way for other Queenslanders to progress to university education, over half of them graduating, at first elsewhere, then in Queensland itself. They represented the first Queenslanders entering the professions, particularly medicine, law and secondary teaching, whereas previous practitioners in these fields had been recruited from overseas. Several of them moved into professional fields through an apprenticeship in architecture, law, accountancy, surveying or pharmacy, when the first regulations were established for registration of entry to these occupations. Those who chose to be primary school teachers were frequently selected directly from the classroom; while others were among the first to become pupil teachers after several years of secondary education – all taking advantage of opportunities within the teaching system to advance by examination to higher classifications and administrative positions. They were among the first Queenslanders to participate in postgraduate education and to embark on academic teaching and research careers, in which several were appointed to professorial rank. A few reached high positions as judges, secondary school principals, medical specialists, or highly-ranked public servants at state and federal level. Four entered political life, one to be Premier of the colony. Others led by example in business, providing fair working conditions and introducing innovative practices.

The path-making for women was both more difficult and more significant, as fewer completed secondary schooling, graduated or attained any position of high rank. Those who embarked on medical careers at first faced obstacles that prevented them from taking up city hospital appointments or entering specialties. Public service regulations restricted women from promotional opportunities. There were limited teachers’ scholarships to the University of Queensland for women, sometimes none at

82 Percentage of age group sitting for Senior public examinations: 1911, 0.5%; 1931, 2%; 1951, 9%. Compiled from Annual Reports of the Secretary of Public Instruction. (History Collection, Education Queensland; J.H.G. Smith. Study of the history of the Scholarship, Appendix. 1965). Percentage of age group (18-24) enrolled at the University of Queensland: 1939, males 1.98%, females .54%; 1950, males 5.52%, females 1.15% (ARSUQ, 1950, p. 4)
all, and men were given preference at the Teachers’ Training College. Unless teaching in a private girls’ school, there was no likelihood of an appointment to a position as head teacher or secondary principal until the very last years. Similarly, research and academic teaching positions were not offered to women until late. While the marriage bans existed, female careers were cut short once a woman married and had children. It was only in the latter stages of the period that postgraduate opportunities were available to women and barriers were removed to allow married women with families to take up, continue or resume their careers. There were still obstacles to overcome, some of which may have been from their own low expectations, from the need to balance home and work responsibilities, or from lingering discriminatory attitudes. Against this background, the achievements of women who proceeded on their educational journey and who entered professions are all the more outstanding. Others, who may have felt the time was not right for them to take up those opportunities, ensured that their children did so. Among the women in this category there were those who, through their family life, church participation, community activism and voluntary work, took on leadership positions, demonstrating, as Barbara Kerr stated, that they could ‘operate at peak capacity in many settings’.

They may have been forerunners, but is it possible that the experience of the young Queenslanders was any different to that of successful children in other colonies or states of Australia or in comparable countries? Did living in Queensland make them ‘different’? There is evidence that a number of medical and social commentators in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries believed there were appreciable differences in young Queenslanders raised in the tropics.

In June 1928, John Elkington, the Director of the Division of Tropical Hygiene in the Commonwealth Department of Health and Quarantine Service, wrote to the Under-Secretary of the Department of Public Instruction, noting that the winner of the Lilley Medal was a pupil of the Stannary Hills State School in north Queensland. He made the following request:

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83 See Chapter 6, footnote 100. Clarke, Female teachers, p. 42.
84 Until 1972. Ibid., pp. 27,43.
85 Until 1986.
86 Kerr, Smart girls, p. xi.
Enquiries have been in hand from the Australian Institute of Tropical Medicine for several years past with reference to tropic-born Australians, and the Lilley medal test appears to yield an interesting line of investigation with reference to birthplace and parentage of winners and runners-up. Could you kindly furnish me with a list of these since the institution of the system, together with the schools attended by them?87

Nothing is known of the outcome of this request, but it reflects a common concern about the effects of living in tropical Queensland. The Institute had been established at Townsville in 1910 with the aim of investigating the physiological reactions of white men and women to tropical living conditions, as well as their ‘capacity to colonise tropical north Queensland without loss of longevity, mentality, fertility or health’.88 The scientists’ work was opposed by traditionalists in the medical profession. For instance, at the Australasian Medical Congress in 1920 there were speakers who insisted that white people in the tropics ‘would never bear or rear any healthy children’.89 These fears were not borne out in fertility or mortality rates, nor in studies of the intellectual capacity of children. Once the Institute had set in place controls for hookworm and mosquito-borne diseases, it was generally considered that there were no deleterious physical or mental effects derived from living in the tropics.90

Anxiety about health was only one aspect of commonly-held notions that Queenslanders were in some way unlike citizens in other states of Australia. In 1994 Gail Reekie reviewed the work of a number of writers who had attempted to explain ‘the Queensland difference’, most of them writing in the 1980s, when the political culture in Queensland energetically emphasised such a difference. In attempting to understand how Queensland and Queenslanders might be ‘different’, references were made to climate, population distribution, regionalisation and isolation, to the strong rural economy and a retarded industrial base. Reekie concluded, along with some of those writers, that there were few discernible differences, especially compared with similar states such as Tasmania and Western Australia, and that much of the notion of

87 Education Queensland History Collection: Scholarships and bursaries file; Michael Roe, ‘Elkington, John Simeon Colebrook (1871-1955)’, in ADB, vol. 8, pp. 425-26. Elkington resigned his position in July 1928, a month after the above letter was written.
89 Ibid., p. 438.
difference emerged from contemporary political rhetoric.\textsuperscript{91} However, several writers referred to the under-education of the population and the political devaluation of education by successive governments.\textsuperscript{92}

The issue of under-education was the major factor that provided a background against which the achievements of Scholarship winners could be assessed both within the state and in comparison with other states. It was a result of the late and slow acceptance of state-provided secondary education, the protracted decision to establish a university, the tardy introduction of local Medicine and Law Schools, and the delayed introduction of postgraduate degree opportunities. Each of these had lingering effects on Queensland political and community life, resulting in stunted cultural institutions and an enduring suspicion of those with higher educational qualifications. Table 36 reveals some statistics from 1971 which confirm the case that Queensland lagged behind the other states:

Table 36: Percentage of population over nineteen by state and highest level of schooling attended, 1971\textsuperscript{93}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Highest level of schooling attended</th>
<th>NSW</th>
<th>Vic</th>
<th>Qld</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>Tas</th>
<th>WA</th>
<th>NT</th>
<th>ACT</th>
<th>Aust</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never attended</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years 1-5</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>24.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years 6-9</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>53.4</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>49.0</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>47.6</td>
<td>37.7</td>
<td>48.1</td>
<td>51.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year 10 or higher</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was not that the individuals were different from children in other states, but that the academically able young Queenslanders grew up against a background of neglect. The difference lay more in the contrast of their experiences to those of their peers in Queensland, who missed out at each step for a variety of reasons. The majority of those who had been first in the state were able to complete their education, but 37 per cent of them did not finish secondary school and 45 per cent did not graduate. These

\textsuperscript{93} Grundy and Yuan, 'Education and science', p. 344.
children of promise were prevented from moving into another phase of education by factors such as family financial restrictions, poor health, stringent economic conditions and lack of access to university places. Some chose to follow different paths, often acquiring further tuition along the way. However, the experience of the group as a whole set them apart from the vast majority of their contemporary peers who did not pass beyond the first or second hurdles on the educational or career track.

If success can be regarded as either achievement in a career or the gaining of self-fulfilment, the Scholarship first place-getters, in the main, achieved success. Their early promise was realised against a background of poor provision and restricted opportunity. It was less problematic for men to achieve such success; but as restrictions were cleared away over time, women also gained access to both educational and career possibilities that enabled them to express their talents in meaningful ways. These young Queenslanders were no different to those in similar situations elsewhere, but they represented the limited few who were able to take up the opportunities available, paving the way for those who followed and in the process enriching their own lives and the cultural life of Queensland.
Conclusion

In the late twentieth century, historians of education moved away from the study of institutions towards developing an understanding of the people who participated in the processes of schooling as both students and teachers. Through analysing the subsequent lives of learners, they sought to draw conclusions about the impact of education on individuals and society.

This thesis examined the lives of a number of young Queenslanders within a complex climate of opportunities, restrictions and contradictions. It argued that despite the opportunities accorded to highly achieving children in Queensland, a range of social, economic and political factors influenced their life directions. These factors reflected changes in community attitudes to secondary and tertiary education, to career development and to family formation. Through a closer examination of the choices and directions taken by individuals, it provided a better understanding of these changes.

Governments in Queensland had a mixed response to academic achievement. On the one hand they acclaimed success, but on the other they provided limited assistance to very few students. In colonial times, governments were hampered in the extension of education by scarce resources, but part of their reluctance was a reflection of prevalent anti-intellectual attitudes. Over ninety years, from 1873 to 1962, the Scholarship examination system changed from one that offered opportunities for secondary education to a few, to a gateway for primary school children who increasingly entered secondary education after World War II. While the community accorded some prestige to those who achieved highly in the examination, the Queensland Teachers’ Union forcefully opposed the examination, with teachers expressing opprobrium towards colleagues who gave candidates extra attention. The Union’s main concern was for teachers’ working conditions and for those students who failed, giving scant acknowledgment to those who succeeded. There was also little understanding of the issues surrounding an abandonment of the examination when there were few secondary schools and a lack of trained secondary teachers. The
raised hopes of parents after World War II eventually forced the government to respond with a rapid expansion of secondary education in the late 1950s. It was against this background that this thesis examined the experiences of successful students.

Through an eclectic use of historical research methods a case study was established of those who were placed first each year in the Scholarship examination, one male from 1873 and one female from 1876. All those who received a Lilley Memorial medal, awarded to those placed first in state schools after 1904, were included. Research throughout public records revealed the basic details of the life stories of 186 individuals. An open questionnaire distributed to a number of those still living sought personal perceptions of their educational experiences and asked them to reflect on their careers and life decisions. In this way it was possible to discern patterns of experience in the context of Queensland society over more than a century.

To establish the background of the winners, several key factors were examined: their place of birth, school attendance, fathers’ occupation, religious affiliation, and geographic location. In the main, the children were born in Queensland, although in the first half of the period their parents were likely to have come from overseas. For most of the Scholarship years the children were somewhat different from their peers in that they had attended school regularly, completed primary school education and been nominated for the examination, which they then passed. Most fathers were in professional or commercial occupations. The high proportion of fathers who were teachers was significant in that almost all became head teachers or inspectors. At a time when religious divides were a prominent part of Queensland cultural life, most children were members of Protestant denominations. The majority lived in Brisbane and provincial cities or, if living in smaller towns, were frequently the children of itinerant professionals such as teachers, doctors or bank officials. In general, families were the most important influence on the academic and social development of the students in the case study. Those from educated families were at a definite advantage by the informal transfer of cultural capital through language, reading and the discussion of ideas.
An investigation of how highly achieving children engaged with their schooling provided insights into the impact of education on individuals and on Queensland society. While the case study revealed diverse experiences, there were elements of commonality about them throughout the entire period, as conditions in schools, teaching methods and poor resources remained largely unchanged over ninety years. Curriculum changes and moves in ideological focus had little impact, because teachers, whether trained as pupil teachers in schools or through the Teachers’ Training College, perpetuated the practices of those who preceded them. The Scholarship examination itself inhibited change as teachers taught to its requirements.

In secondary schools, the external Junior and Senior examinations, administered by the universities, also governed the choice of subjects, the nature of the curriculum and teaching methods. Students in the case study were largely able to accommodate and to benefit from the prevailing educational practices, but they also provided evidence of resistance to constraints and some attempts to actively shape their own outcomes. In addition, they recorded a diversity of teachers and teaching standards, ranging from brutal to fair, and from incompetent to inspiring.

In a parallel case study, a closer examination of the 167 teachers who taught these particular students revealed that, over the course of their careers, they achieved high status through annual examinations for promotion and further personal study outside the department. Several gained university degrees and moved from primary schools to become secondary principals. Thirty-two served as District Inspectors, three becoming Senior Inspector, one serving as Under-Secretary in the Department and another appointed as Director of secondary education. A number taught Scholarship classes for many years, some earning the high regard of their peers, parents and students. Women were under-represented, as their promotional opportunities were hampered by the marriage bar, the phasing out of girls’ and infants’ schools, and the ban on the appointment of women to senior positions. Among the Scholarship teachers considerable evidence of innovatory practice was evident: from the use of technology like radio and film; to the promotion of libraries, science, music and art programs; and the introduction of rural, preschool and distance education by correspondence. Many of these teachers were also prominent within the Queensland Teachers’ Union from its foundation in 1869, frequently advocating the elimination of the very examination for which many of them were reputed to cram or coach their...
students. This seeming ambivalence could be reconciled by their strong desire to see children have the opportunity for further education, once having gained a solid foundation in elementary learning.

Just as the female teachers faced restrictions in pursuing their careers, so did the female students who achieved early success in the Scholarship. Those who proceeded to complete a secondary or tertiary education accomplished this by surmounting a range of difficulties. Some were unable to progress when faced with the need to assist parents and siblings in their own families, or to deal with health and financial problems, in the face of low community expectations and restricted opportunities. All but four of the female first place-getters had some secondary education, although for some their time at school was short-lived. All girls in the case study who were Scholarship candidates after 1910 completed the Junior Public examination and from 1943 all were candidates for the Senior Public examination. This differentiated them from almost all their contemporaries. Those leaving school moved into primary teaching and clerical positions. Girls wishing to take up university education were faced with contradictory messages of derision and encouragement. Before the University of Queensland opened in 1911, only three young women moved interstate to study, but over the entire period, almost half of the women were to graduate. All but four of those who were Scholarship candidates after 1944 were awarded a degree.

When the careers of women graduates in Medicine, Science and Arts were followed closely, some distinct patterns of change emerged. Early female medical graduates were frequently marginalised, whereas in the later years they were able to undertake specialist study. Early female science graduates were channelled into secondary teaching; but after World War II there were opportunities for postgraduate research and university teaching positions. Arts graduates almost all took up teaching positions in secondary schools. There, unless they taught in private girls’ schools, they were hampered by the marriage bar and bans on promotion to senior positions. While marriage and family responsibilities curtailed or interrupted the careers of most women, many of them moved into parallel ‘invisible’ careers in community and church organisations. In many respects females in this case study were path-makers for others to follow, as they moved into professions previously occupied by men, and discovered ways to negotiate the balance of marriage, families and careers.
Males, while less encumbered by social constraints, still had to navigate their way through a range of options and interruptions, in a predominantly anti-intellectual climate in which notions of masculinity were dominated by athleticism and militarism. All but two boys entered secondary school as a consequence of their high achievement. Following two years of further schooling, male students were provided with opportunities to enter an apprenticeship in the fields of teaching, law, accountancy, architecture, surveying and the public service. After the establishment of the University of Queensland in 1911, entry requirements changed, so that four years of secondary education, and ultimately a degree, were needed for acceptance into the professions. All males in the study who had passed the Scholarship after 1935 were candidates in the Senior examination, and from 1945 all but four graduated. In all, sixty-three per cent of males were to graduate.

Their careers in engineering, law, medicine, science, and teaching provided evidence of the willingness of men to seek advancement through further study or promotion; but world events disrupted their aspirations. Schools prepared boys for service to their country through participation in cadet corps and the promotion of Anzac ideals, but the reality of military service and conditions in both world wars dislocated the lives of many of the men. While only one lost his life, the extent of the personal trauma on others is unknown. From the point of view of their careers, the impact of military service resulted in interrupted study, marked changes in direction, or new opportunities through postwar training schemes. Another strong masculine ideal inculcated by the schools was a sense of public-spiritedness. Adopting this tenet, the well-educated had the means and the influence to make changes in the community. A strong commitment to education was evident among men who actively sought to influence succeeding generations through advocating the establishment of a university, through membership of university and school governing bodies, as well as adult education and pre-school associations.

The nature of the early success achieved by those placed first in the Scholarship examination was seen by its opponents as contrived or artificial. By tracing the careers of individuals well beyond primary school it was clear that it was sustained into further success in secondary school and university achievement, in business and
professional careers, in teaching and leadership in community organisations. The
winners themselves regarded their early success in one of three ways: as a result of
luck or chance, as a self-extending experience giving them confidence in their own
ability, or as a major turning point in their lives. Through their own testimony or
through the evidence of their life choices, it was apparent that most of them held high
aspirations and passionately pursued goals within their area of expertise or interest.
For many, this passion was the satisfaction gained through helping or teaching others
and investing in the education of future generations.

Whereas success in terms of personal fulfilment was difficult to demonstrate, the
measurable outcomes of success gave a sense of the realisation of early promise
demonstrated by the majority of winners. Two-thirds completed secondary schooling
and over half graduated from universities. A quarter of the graduates pursued
postgraduate qualifications. At first fewer women had these advantages, but later they
too took up such opportunities, sometimes in second-chance careers after raising a
family. The lives of both men and women in the case study may have been impacted
by social constraints and by world events such as wars and depressions, but their lives
in turn had an impact on the wider community.

These achieving children matured within the education system and led the way for
others to follow. They represented the first Queenslanders to progress to university
education, to enter the professions, to participate in postgraduate research, and to gain
high positions in law, teaching, medicine, engineering and the public service. These
achievements were gained against a background of the under-education of their
contemporaries, as successive Queensland governments neglected to make provision
for the personal enrichment and cultural growth of their citizens and the future of the
state.

This thesis comprises the first longitudinal case study of participants in Queensland
education over their life span, taking account of their backgrounds, schooling
processes and conditions, as well as life and career choices. It contributes to a greater
understanding of the influence of education and demonstrates the consequences for
learners of ability when opportunities are provided and restrictions are removed.
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Betty McLean (Baird)     Oscar Kindervater
Allan Baker              John Lee
James Baker              John Lipsett
Hazel Campbell (Baynes, Cryle) William Logue
Judith Hefferan (Cartwright) Sydney Mellick
George Copeman           Charles Miller
Philip Day               John Mills
John de Jersey           Irene McCready (Myles)
Peter de Jersey          Judith Grassle (Payne)
Pat Shannon (Fairlie)    Marceline Luck (Pickup)
Lois Perry (Freeman)     David Robin
Robin Greeves (Sullivan) Spencer Routh
Peter Hawse              Heather Simpson (Thomsen)
Anne Holmes              Brian Thorne
Lister Hopkis            Graham Windrum
Gwen Beecham (Ingram)

Family sources

Marie Beck                Robert Grice
Peg Bourne                Lucy Harnell
Jack Briggs               William Harvey
Maxwell Brightman         Ann Hosking
Darcia Burns              Betty Isles
Margaret Duncan           Thelma James
Alan Dunlop               Mark Johnson
Jenny Fison               Michael Johnston
Peter Gasteen             Jan Kendall
Helen Gregory             Ian Kennedy
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## Appendix A: Chronology of the Scholarship examination

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Provision made for the award of scholarships to grammar schools under Section 9 of the Grammar Schools Act.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>Ipswich Grammar School opened.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>Five scholarships were awarded to Ipswich Grammar School.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>Brisbane Grammar School opened.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>Free primary education was introduced.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>First Grammar School Scholarship Examination was held in July for male candidates from Brisbane and Ipswich. Successful candidates were awarded exhibitions paying grammar school tuition fees for three years. Subjects were Grammar, Arithmetic and Geography. Second examination held in December for male candidates from government schools throughout the colony. Of 23 male candidates, 19 were awarded scholarships. Age limit was set at less than 14.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>December examination continued with altered conditions. Value was £50 per annum, the difference between that amount and the grammar school tuition fees being intended to assist in defraying the cost of residence.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>Royal Commission on Education.</td>
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<td>1875</td>
<td>State Education Act. Establishment of the Department of Public Instruction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>Conditions reverted to 1873. Value of scholarships was the amount of instruction fees charged in each case, together with reasonable travelling expenses once a year.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Information used in compiling this chronology was derived from a variety of sources. The principal references were Miscellaneous Correspondence, including History of the State Scholarship System in Queensland 1873-1927; QSA: State Scholarship history, SRS 4037-1-1; Smith, History of the Scholarship. In addition, the *Education Office Gazette* (annually), and the Annual Reports of Secretary of the Department of Public Instruction or Director-General of the Department of Education, were consulted, especially a summary in the 1961 report in *QPP*, 1962, 1, p. 572. Further information was obtained from QSA: Awards: Lilley, Byrnes and McDonnell medals, Gowrie Scholarship, 1930-68, SRS4039/1/1-5; V.J. O'Dea, Some aspects of the examination for State Scholarships, (DipEd dissertation thesis, Faculty of Education, University of Queensland, 1944), pp. 20-6, 40-1.
1875 Toowoomba Grammar School opened.  
Brisbane Girls’ Grammar School opened.

1876 Females could be nominated for scholarships. Sixty scholarships available, 50 for boys and 10 for girls.

1881 Maryborough Grammar School opened.  
Rockhampton Grammar School opened.

1883 Maryborough Girls’ Grammar School opened.

1884 Students in non-state schools could sit for the examination, but if successful, were required to attend a grammar school.

1885 Candidates were required to be not yet 14 years of age.  
120 scholarships were awarded, 90 for boys, 30 for girls.  
Scholarships were available for three years.  
Successful candidates were required to attend any grammar school established in the colony.  
Minister paid school fees: 16 guineas for males, 12 guineas for females, plus reasonable travelling expenses to and from the nearest grammar school and the residence of the scholar’s parents.

1888 Townsville Grammar School opened for male and female students.

1892 Scholarships reduced to 68.

1893 Scholarships reduced to 52.

1894 Local system allocated a quota of scholarships to each grammar school: 120 scholarships were offered, all were awarded.

1895 128 scholarships awarded.

1896 Rockhampton Girls’ Grammar School opened.  
Ipswich Girls’ Grammar School opened.

1897 State Education Amendment Act. Introduction of bursaries.  
Only children of ‘ability above the average’ were awarded scholarships. The holder of a state scholarship was free to attend any grammar school. Those living at a distance from a grammar school, whose parents were unable to afford boarding fees, received additional help in the form of a bursary.  
36 scholarships (27 for boys, 9 for girls), and 8 bursaries (6 for boys, 2 for girls) were awarded. Bursaries entitled holders to free education and an allowance for board not exceeding £30 per annum.  
Scholarships and bursaries were tenable for three years.
1900 Both scholarships and bursaries were tenable at a grammar school or any other approved secondary school.

1904 Lilley Memorial Medal was presented to the student ranked first in the examination, boy or girl, attending a state school. The award was administered by Trustees, not the Department of Public Instruction. For many years there was no medal but a monetary payment.

1906 An additional 50 district scholarships were offered. Holders of these scholarships were to attend the grammar school nearest their homes.

1908 Grants of £12 per annum were paid to successful candidates, the income of whose parents did not exceed £156 per annum, or £30 per member of the family. Papers set were Grammar, Arithmetic, Geography, History and Miscellaneous (general knowledge).

1908 The number of scholarships increased to 52: 40 for boys, 12 for girls. Bursaries increased to 10: 7 for boys, 3 for girls. Payment to schools decreased to 10 guineas per student.

1912 The first six state high schools opened in Charters Towers, Warwick, Bundaberg, Gympie, Mount Morgan and Mackay. School leaving age was raised to 14 years.

1913 The State Scholarship examination became a qualifying rather than a competitive examination for a limited number of places. Every candidate who gained not less than 50 per cent was granted a scholarship. Scholarships were tenable for three years at any state high school, technical high school, grammar school or approved secondary school. An allowance of £30 was paid to those living away from home, £12 to those staying at home – provided income was not more than £156. Payment of 10 guineas was made on account of each scholarship holder attending a non-state school.

1914 District scholarships were discontinued.

1915 Scholarships were tenable for two years, but holders who passed the Queensland Junior Public Examination were granted an extension scholarship for a further 2 years, with a fifth year available to those who passed the Senior Public examination.

1915 Examination was held in April. This arrangement continued until 1929.

1918 Scholarships were tenable for two and a half years from July. Fifth year scholarships not provided.

1919 Fifth year extension scholarships were introduced for those completing Senior studies.
1922 Textbooks were supplied free, but the allowance of £12 paid for those remaining at home was reduced to £4. Where a £30 allowance was paid to those away from home, textbooks were not free. Fifth year extension scholarships were discontinued.

1922 Public Curator administered the award of the Lilley Memorial Medal. Two medals were awarded to the first boy and the first girl attending state schools.

1923 Age limit was abolished. Candidates were required to obtain 50 per cent in both Arithmetic and English.

1924 Allowances were not paid to scholars whose parents’ income exceeded £208 in Southern Division, £214 in Central Division and £220 in Northern Division. No change was made in monetary amount of allowances.

1924 Allowances were not paid to scholars whose parents’ income exceeded £221 in Southern; £227 in Central; or £233 in Northern Divisions. Tuition was still paid to non-state schools – 12 guineas for boys, 10 guineas for girls, irrespective of income.

1925 Scholarships were not paid to scholars whose parents’ income exceeded £221 in Southern; £227 in Central; or £233 in Northern Divisions. Tuition was still paid to non-state schools – 12 guineas for boys, 10 guineas for girls, irrespective of income.

1929 Two examinations were held, in April and December. Subsequently the examination was conducted in late November or early December.

1930 Scholarships were tenable for two years. Age limit reimposed. Candidates were to be no more than fifteen before 30th June following the examination.

Competitive scholarship system was re-introduced: 1000 full scholarships offered, 890 in order of merit; 30 to those within daily travelling distance of Maryborough, 30 to those within daily travelling distance of Ipswich; and 50 to those near no approved school. Other candidates gaining 50 per cent or more were qualified for entry to state high schools, with no allowances paid.

Subjects set were English, Arithmetic (including algebra and geometry), Geography and History (British and Australian).

The T.J. Ryan medal was awarded in alternate years to the first boy or girl placegetter attending state schools.

1936 Subjects set were English, Mathematics, Geography and History (British and Australian). Boys could sit for Manual Training and girls for Domestic Science instead of Geography or History. Candidates from one-teacher schools did not need to sit for British History.

1937 Scholarships reverted to be qualifying rather than competitive and were unlimited in number.

The Frank McDonnell medal was awarded to the girl and boy with the highest passes in Catholic schools.
1941 Allowances were set at £4 a year for those living at home and £24 for those away from home, provided the income of parents did not exceed the basic wage of £40 a year for each member of the family entirely dependent on parents or guardian.

1943 The allowances were increased by £1 in each case.

1943 The Jack French VC Memorial Prize (or Corporal French Prize) was awarded to the student with the highest English pass.

1947 Students living at home were granted an allowance of £7, while those living away from home were to receive £32 for the first year, £39 for the second year, £52 for a first extension year and £65 for a second extension year. These allowances were paid to students attending a non-state school, whose parents’ income was not in excess of the basic wage or £50 per dependent member of family.

1951 Allowances were increased: to £10 for those at home; and to £42, £52, £68 and £84 for respective years of study.

1952 Social Studies replaced History and Geography. Manual Arts and Domestic Science were no longer subjects for examination.

1952 Living at home allowances increased to £12 a year, while living away from home allowances increased to £52 for first year; £65 for second year; £82 for third year; and £104 for fourth year. Tuition fees increased to £17 for first and second year scholarship holders and £19 for third and fourth year holders, paid to the school they attended.

1954 The E.M. Hanlon bursary was awarded to the first placed boy or girl, irrespective of the school attended.

1955 Allowances increased for those living at home to £16. Students living away from home received £65 for first year and second years, £82 for third year and £104 for fourth year. Allowances were paid to students whose parents’ income did not exceed the basic wage or an amount equal to one-fifth of the basic wage per member of the family dependent on that income. (Basic wage was £585 a year for males in south-east Queensland)

1957 Halse medal awarded to the student with the highest pass in Anglican schools.

1958 A pass was granted to candidates achieving 50 per cent of aggregate marks, rather than compulsory passes in English and Mathematics. Tuition fee of £18 was paid to non-state schools irrespective of family income.
1958 Rapid increase in state high schools over the next five years and corresponding growth of attendance.

1959 T.J. Ryan medal was changed, to be awarded to the student with the highest pass in Mathematics.

1961 The interim report of a committee (1960) appointed to enquire into secondary education recommended the abolition of the Scholarship examination and that secondary education was to be the right of all. Further proposals were for five years of secondary education and the raising of the school leaving age to 15 years. The Government accepted all recommendations.

1962 The final Scholarship examination was held in November. By this time, the Scholarship tuition fee was £18 per year irrespective of family income, paid to non-state schools. Allowances were paid where income did not exceed the basic wage plus £50 for each dependent child. It was £16 if living at home, and £65 if living away from home.

1963 The Lilley Memorial medal was awarded to the first placed candidate in the Senior public examination. The Ryan medal was awarded in conjunction with the Byrnes Memorial medal for the candidates with the highest results in the Junior public examination. If the Byrnes medal was awarded to a male, the Ryan medal was then awarded to a female. The Corporal French prize was awarded to the candidate with the highest pass in English in the Junior public examination. Benefits continued to be paid to non-state schools.
Appendix B

Chronology of first placegetters in the Scholarship examination

The list includes all male candidates placed first from 1873 to 1962; all female candidates placed first from 1876 to 1962; and those awarded a Lilley Memorial medal from 1904 to 1962. From 1904 until 1922, the candidate placed first received the award; from 1923 to 1962 the first-placed male and the first-placed female were both in receipt of it. On five occasions students who attended Catholic schools, who were ineligible for the Lilley medal, were placed first. These students are indicated by an asterisk.

In 1929, two examinations were conducted, in April and December. In the April examination, two candidates (Baynes and Chadwick) were placed equal first.

Abbreviations:
B=Boys; G=Girls; CBC=Christian Brothers College; Cent=Central; Inter=Intermediate; LM=Lilley Memorial Medal; M’borough=Maryborough; R’ton=Rockhampton.

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<th>Year</th>
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<td>1961</td>
<td>Whish</td>
<td>Carolyn</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Buranda G</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Sweet*</td>
<td>Douglas</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Bowen Convent</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Holmes*</td>
<td>Anne</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Darra Convent</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Tyrell</td>
<td>Vicki</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Buranda G</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Bamsey</td>
<td>Howard</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Bundaberg West</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Placed first. Attended Catholic school, ineligible for Lilley Medal
Appendix C: Biographical register of Scholarship winners

Information compiled on individuals listed in this register was derived from numerous sources. To avoid lengthy referencing, only selected references are stipulated with each entry.

Dates of birth, marriage and death were largely obtained from the Queensland Index of Births, Deaths and Marriages. Access was limited to 1919 for births, 1939 for marriages and 1964 for deaths. Certificates were not requested. Additional information was taken from school admission registers (AR), from personal communication (PC) or family sources (FS). Where appropriate, registers in other Australian states were also consulted. Cemetery records and newspaper funeral notices, traced through online registers, were further valuable sources. In a few cases a will or a Death Certificate was sighted (DC).

Family details, particularly the occupation of fathers, unless provided by respondents or family members, have been traced through school admission registers (AR), Post Office Directories (QPOD), electoral rolls (QER, CER), and newspaper reports.

Particulars of the school attended have been found at Queensland State Archives in Scholarship results files and grammar school Scholarship reports; at Fryer Library in Manuals of Public Examinations; and in published results in newspapers. Numerous published school histories were also consulted.

University attendance and awards were obtained from the Calendars of the University of Sydney and the University of Queensland, which published a list of all graduates to 1965. Some additional information was obtained from the University of Queensland Archives.

Career details were found in school magazines, (BGSM, BGGSM); published obituaries, biographical dictionaries (ADB); compilations such as Men of Queensland or A Biographical Record of Queensland Women; professional directories; electoral rolls; Who’s Who in Australia (WWA); the Teachers Register 1860-1904 (TRM and
War service information was obtained from the Australian War Memorial website and National Archives of Australia.

To ensure accuracy, cross-referencing of information was undertaken as much as possible. All recorded information was available through public records. Some personal information has been withheld at the request of informants or where permission was not obtained from living Scholarship winners.

Advice regarding inaccuracies and additional information should be directed to the author.

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ANDREWS, Enid Doris. m. WILDSOET
Earlier in 1942, Enid had attended Tully State School and Maryborough Grammar School.
PC 20 January 2003; CM, 12 January 1943, p. 3.

ANDREWS, Joan Elizabeth. b. 5 August 1918, Qld; da. James Percival, clerk; and
Julie Mabel, nee Calow; unmarried; d. September 2000, Qld.
Scholarship: 1932. Yeronga State School. HT: James Richard Dennis Mahoney; T:
Doris Braid.
Career: clerk typist.
BC, 31 March 1933, p. 6; CER 1961, Moreton; CM, 12 September 2000, p. 20; Somerville House Archives.

ARCHIBALD, Frances Maud. b. 17 September 1879, Qld; da. John, businessman,
politician, MLC; and Frances, nee Herbert; m. John Harry BARDWELL,
19 November 1920, Qld; d. 28 February 1951, Qld.
Scholarship: 1892. Warwick West State School. HT: Wilhelmina Lang Bulcock; T:
Wilhelmina Lang Bulcock.
Ipswich Girls’ Grammar School. Sydney Junior: no
Janet Archibald, sister of Frances, married Edwin Fowles (1884)
IGGS Archives; BC, 24 January 1893, p. 7; CM, 2 March 1951, p. 16.

ARMOUR, Mary Douglas. b. c. 1865; da. William J. and Mary Douglas, nee
McAsh; unmarried. d. 10 June 1953, Qld.
Berry; T: Margaret Berry.
Career: music teacher.
BC, 4 January 1881, p. 3; CM, 11 June 1953, p. 12; QER Kurilpa, 1925.

**ARTHUR, Dorothy Isobel. m. GIPPS.**
University of Queensland, BSc.
CM, 22 January, 1936, p. 31; 23 December 1939, p. 15.

**BACKSTROM, Bernard Samuel. b. 16 January 1927, Qld; s. Samuel Ivar, tram engineer; and Beatrice Mary, nee Luxton; m. Nathalie Claire Savage, 10 February 1961, Qld.**
University of Queensland, BE
Career: engineer in telephone system (GPO and Telecom), overseeing installation and maintenance of carrier equipment, network planning.
Interests: early music society; technical aids for disabled.
Teacher, Donald MacColl, was placed first in 1919 Scholarship.
PC 10 December 1999; CM, 22 January 1941, p. 3.

**BAIRD, Betty. b. 7 November 1923, Qld; da. John, secondary teacher; and Madge Letitia, nee Price, kindergarten teacher; m. Alastair Lawson Grant McLEAN, 20 December 1951, Qld.**
University of Queensland, BSc; Riverina CAE, Grad Dip Librarianship and Information Science.
Career: librarian for Queensland Museum, CSIR, Bundaberg TAFE.
Interests: art, music. Awarded OAM, June 1990, for services to the arts and the community.
Niece of Henriette Baird (1905)

**BAIRD, Henriette Elfriede. b. 27 May 1892, Qld; da. John, produce merchant and auctioneer; and Johanna Wilhelmina Louise, nee Reinhold; unmarried; d. 25 October 1983, Qld.**
University of Queensland (foundation student), BA(Hons)
Interests: translated books into braille.
Aunt of Betty Baird (1936).

Career: doctor in general practice, Yeppoon.
PC 15 November 2004; CM, 16 January 1954, p. 3.

University Of Queensland, MBBS. FRCOG London.
Career: doctor, specialist gynaecologist and obstetrician. Established the Flying Obstetrician Service of which he was director 1988-2001. Adjunct Professor of Obstetrics and Gynaecology, University of Queensland. Awarded AM for services to people of western Queensland, 1996.
Interests: Secretary of Livestock Transporters Assoc. of Qld.
PC 28 July 2001; CM, 12 January 1951, p. 3; University of Queensland-Graduate Contact, Summer 2001, p. 30.

University of Queensland, BA (Hons); Harvard Business School, AMP.

BAXTER, James Hickson. b.13 March 1894, Qld; s. James, farmer; and Katherine, nee Melody; unmarried. d. 3 December 1920, Qld.
University of Queensland, BE incomplete.
Awarded a Rhodes Scholarship in 1916, but unable to travel to Oxford because of World War I.


BRIGGS, John William (Bill). b. 30 June 1892, Qld; s. Charles, journalist and auctioneer; and Phoebe Ellen, nee Power; m. Mabel Ann Valentine, 25 March 1912, Qld.; d. 19 October 1953, Qld.
Sydney Junior: no.
Career: Shire clerk at Banana and Camooweal, bookkeeper for several pastoral properties and ambulance.
Bill Briggs was the uncle of George Copeman (1934).

BROOKES, Arthur. b. c1863, England; s. Benjamin, ironmonger and business manager; and Margaret, nee Stewart; m. Margaret Blanche Davies, 12 October 1892, Qld; d. 13 January 1917, Qld.
Career: Manager, W H Paxton & Co, agents and wholesale merchants, Mackay.
BC, 4 January 1881, p. 3; QPOD 1900-10; MDM, 4 January 1913, p. 6; 14 January 1917, n. p.; QER 1915, Mackay.

BROWNHALL, Beverley Serena.
CM 17 January 1952, p. 3; AR Windsor SS.

Brisbane Girls’ Grammar School. Moved to Victoria after one year.

BURDORFF, Mathilde Frederica. b.16 January 1863, Qld; da. Caspar Rudolph Julius, saddler; and Margaretha Sophia, nee Zahn; m. Stanley HARRIS 19 December 1888, Qld; d. 13 December 1937, Qld.
Scholarship: 1876. Warwick West State School. HT: Mary Canny; T: Mary Canny.
Career: governess, teacher at Miss Jardine’s school for girls, co-proprietor of private girls’ school – Miss Burdorff’s School (1893 -1912), with sister Bertha.
Interests: School of Arts, music, travel.

BURKE, Yvonne Carol.; m. PROTHEROE
University of Queensland, BA DipEd.
Career: secondary and TAFE teacher.
Interests: national treasurer, Country Women’s Association.

BURRELL, Winifred Tomiri. b.18 October 1870, Qld; da. William Edward, engineer in sugar mills and Inspector of Distilleries; and Marianne, nee Cutler; m. David FISON, 16 September 1896, Qld; d. 9 June 1957, Qld.
Career: pupil teacher, admitted 1886; primary teacher, 1888-96.
Interests: Moreton Women’s Club; New Settlers League, Anglican church activities, collected tide and current information for Marine Department.
FS Jenny Fison, 2 January 2003; BC, 26 January 1883, p. 5; QSA: Register of pupil teachers females 1875-87, PRV8004, QSA; RTF, EDU/v19, 7, p. 69.

BUTTERFIELD, Ruby Ellen. b.16 June 1893, Qld; da. Charles and Julia, nee Riordan; m. Leopold Francis Russell PALMER, 4 January 1917, Qld; d. 9 December 1977, NSW.
Career: admitted as pupil teacher 1909, primary teacher until marriage.
EOG 1909-17, various; SMH, 13 December 1977, p. 16.

BYRNES, Thomas Joseph. b. 11 November 1860, Qld; s. Patrick, farm labourer, and Ann, nee Tigh; unmarried; d. 27 September 1898, Qld.
University of Melbourne, BA LLB.
Career: barrister, politician, Premier of Queensland, April-October 1898.
Interests: politics, education, legal reform.
ADB vol 7, pp. 517-19 (Rosemary Howard Gill); Anthony St Ledger, ed. Thomas Joseph Byrnes 1860-1898: Sketches and impressions (Brisbane: Alex Muir & Co, 1902).

CANNY, Mary Frances. b.13 October 1872, Qld; da. Joseph Aloysius, head teacher and Mary, nee Condren, head teacher; unmarried.
Scholarship: 1885. Warwick West State School. HT: Mary Canny.
Brisbane Girls’ Grammar School. Sydney Junior: no
Career: pupil teacher, admitted 1888. Primary teacher until 1914.
BC, 21 January 1886, p. 5; QSA:RTF, EDU/v20, 8, p. 259; EOG 1888-1914 various; QER Toombul 1915.
CARTWRIGHT, Judith Kathleen. b. 14 November 1944, Qld; da. Francis Joseph, mechanic; and Dorothy Kathleen, nee Chapman; m. Paul Francis HEFFERAN, 11 May 1968, Qld, divorced.

CARY, Ian Egerton. b. 25 August 1931, Qld; s. John Egerton; dentist and academic, and Dorothea Maude, nee Staines; d. 7 March 2002, Qld.
University of Queensland, MBBS
Career: doctor, specialist gynaecologist and obstetrician.
Interests: sport.

CHADWICK, Joan Constance. b. 3 November 1916, Qld; da. George, teacher, District Inspector; and Jessie Martha, nee Woodyat; m. Douglas Benjamin HOBSON, 1948, NSW; d. 1952, Malaysia.
University of Queensland, BA (Hons); University of Sydney, Dip Soc Studies.
Career: missionary in Malaysia.
Interests: Student Christian Movement.

CHAPMAN, Jemima Logie (Minnie). b. 14 April 1889, Scotland; da. Andrew, Presbyterian clergyman; and Elizabeth Rendall, nee Logie; m. Robert John WILKINSON,
20 October 1921, Qld; d. 1973, Qld. (FS)
Career: nurse. War service WWI: served in England, France and Belgium with Queen Alexandria’s Imperial Military Nursing Service.
Interests: Sisters sub-branch RSL.
Robert Wilkinson was the brother of Eleanor May Wilkinson (1901).

CLARK, Claire.
University of Queensland, BA Dip Ed.
Career: secondary teacher, university teacher.
CM, 14 January 1950, p. 3; CP, 14 January 1950, p. 1; 1 January 1954, p. 3; 2 January 1954, p. 3.


Interests: Methodist church activities.

**DAVIES, Gladwys Hilary. m. MARSH.**
University of Queensland, BSc


**DAY, Philip Denny. b. 16 February 1924, Qld; s. Phillip Lewis, engineer; and Nancy Florence, nee Grant; m. Nancy Barbara Merigan, 1954; divorced 1987.**
University of Queensland, LLB. University of Sydney, Dip TCP, UQ PhD
Career: town planning consultant, Director of Australian Institute of Urban Studies 1980-2; head of Regional and Town Planning Department, UQ1982-8
War service: WWII: Intelligence Corps, Occupation Force 1942-49.


**de JERSEY, John. b. 2 May 1944, Qld; s. Ronald Claude, head teacher; and Moya Clarice, nee Riddell, teacher; m. Janette Isabelle, 4 May 1968, Qld.**
University of Queensland, BSc, PhD.
Career: university teacher and research scientist. Professor of Molecular and Microbial Sciences, UQ. Awarded AM, January 2005.
Interests: Senator, UQ.
Brother of Peter (1955).


**de JERSEY, Peter. b. 29 May 1952, Qld; s. Ronald Claude, head teacher; and Moya Clarice, nee Riddell, teacher; m. Beverley Kay Fergusson, 13 January 1968, Qld.**
University of Queensland, BSc, MBBS.
Brother of John (1957).


**DICK, Mary Ethel. b.12 January 1881, NSW; da. William Heddle, journalist; and Magdalen, nee Price; m. Charles William Arthur MARTIN, 4 July 1905, Qld; d. 23 February 1960, Qld.**
Career: admitted pupil teacher 1896, primary teacher until 1905.

DIPLICK, Ross Douglas.
University of Queensland, MBBS.
Career: doctor, specialist paediatrician, university lecturer, Northern Territory.

DOWLING, Margaret. b. 24 June 1884, Qld; da. Robert, and Clara Beatrice, nee Morison, teacher; unmarried; d. 10 February 1977, NSW.
Career: admitted as a pupil teacher 1900, primary teacher until 1916, clerk in Public Service.

DUNLOP, Olive Ettie. b. 27 September 1911, Qld; da. Edward James, head teacher, District Inspector; and Rubene, nee Berry; m. Alfred HODGES, c1940, England; d. December 1982, Qld.
Brisbane Girls’ Grammar School: Junior: no.
Career: secretary
Interests: amateur theatre, puppetry
FS Allan Dunlop, 7 March 2003.

EKIS, Aiya. m. WILSON.
University of Queensland, MBBS.
Career: doctor, specialist psychiatrist.

ENGLAND, Charlotte Isabel. b. 27 March 1874, England; da. Francis, draper; and Elizabeth, nee Topham; unmarried; d. 16 March 1959, NSW.
Career: head teacher, provisional school 1892, primary teacher until 1939.


**FOWLES, Edwin Wesley Howard.** b. 17 June 1871, Qld; s. William, head teacher; and Nancy, nee Whittle; m. Janet Mary Archibald, 2 November 1904, Qld; d. 29 December 1945, Qld.
University of Melbourne, BA MA LLB; Central University, USA, D Litt (quoted in funeral notice and unsourced press cutting 4 April 1924)
Career: barrister, politician (MLC), journalist.
Interests: Methodist church; education, foundation Senator UQ, BBC, Kings College; social welfare. Wrote school readers, tourist guides, hymns.
His wife, Janet Archibald, was the sister of Frances Maud Archibald (1895).
*ADB*, vol 8, pp. 565-6 (JCH Gill); *BT*, 29 December 1945 (BGS cuttings).

**FREEMAN, Eric Bernard.** b. 22 March 1898, Qld; s. Jesse Bernard, head teacher; and Sarah Hill, nee Lloyd, teacher; m. Winifred Alice (Freda) Oxnam, 27 April 1927, Qld;
d. 25 January 1966, Qld.
University of Queensland, BE.
War service: WWI, Lieutenant 41st Battalion, AIF; WWII, Volunteer Defence Corps, 2nd Lieut; taught mathematics to RAAF recruits.
Interests: sport, particularly rowing. Member of Senate of UQ, 1944-60.
Eric was the mother of Lois (1941).
FS Lois Perry, 1 November 1999; *BC*, 15 January 1914, p. 4; Geoff Cossins, ed., *Eminent Queensland Engineers II* (Brisbane: Institution of Engineers Australia, Queensland Division, 1999), pp. 38-9 (Doug Mercer).

**FREEMAN, Lois Jean.** b. 15 July 1928, Qld; da. Eric Bernard, engineer, and Winifred Alice, nee Oxnam, secondary teacher; m. William John PERRY, 20 December 1950, Qld.
University of Queensland, BSc; Canberra CAE, Dip Ed; National Library, Library registration.
Career: secondary teacher in Qld and ACT.
Lois is the daughter of Eric (1910).
PC 1 November, 1999; *CM*, 16 January 1942, p. 3; 21 March 1942 (BGS cuttings).

**GALLOGLY, Eliza Ann.** b. 4 October 1898, Qld; da. Michael, labourer and miner; and Sarah Ann, nee Towill; m. George Stanley SMALLWOOD, 12 July 1921, Qld; d. 5 September 1964, Qld.
Career: primary teacher until 1921.
Q, 10 February 1912, p. 10; William J. Gallogly, Old Mick and me: An autobiography with other articles (Cairns: W. J. Gallogly, n.d.), p. 26.

**GERRAND**, Elsa Daise. b. 18 February 1912, Qld; da. Andrew Scott, journalist; and Hattie Jean, nee Graham; m. John Edward CHILVERS; d. 6 May 1976, SA.
Career: medical technician

**GIBSON**, Betty. b. 28 July 1930, Qld; da. Erwin, foundry paymaster; and Frances Puddicombe, nee Cochrane; m. William Cavendish HARVEY, 10 September 1955, Qld; d. 12 April 1989, Qld.
Career: Pharmacy assistant
FS William Harvey, 10 August 2000; CM, 12 January 1944, p. 3.

**GILLMORE**, Leonard Roy. b. 10 February 1915, Qld; s. Frederick William, compositor; and Henrietta Ann, nee Smith; m. Merle Gabriel Tindall; d. 16 October 1975, Qld.
Career: accountant and tax agent
Interests: sailing.

**GRAHAM**, Ronald Keith.

**GREEN**, Annie Isabel. b. 28 May 1918, Qld; da. Maurice Edwin, brass founder; and Sarah Ann, nee Ruffles; m. George Joseph GRICE, 16 September 1939, Qld; d. 28 August 1981, Qld.
Career: typist, bank officer until her marriage in 1939

**GREEN**, Bevan.
Career: Secondary teacher.
CM, 1 January 1960, p. 3.


BGSM, 1934, pp. 94-5.


CM, 15 January 1953, p. 3.


INGRAM, Gwenyth Dulcie. b. 30 January 1934, Qld; da. Edward Charles, manager, later owner of joinery, and Dulcie Emily, nee Davies; m. Dennis Victor BEECHAM, 9 December, 1955, Qld.
University of Queensland, BA DipEd., MEd Studies
PC 20 October, 1999; CM, 15 January 1948, p. 5; BT, 1 February 1952, p. 5.

ISLES, John Howie. b. 6 December 1918, Qld; s. Llewellyn Howie, architect, cycling business owner; and Nano, nee Donovan; m. Betty Kinross Fraser, 1 May 1943, Qld; d. 15 July 1973, Qld.
University of Queensland, MBBS.
Career: doctor in general practice in Maryborough.
War service WWII: RAAF, Flight-Lieut. Medical, Squadron Leader.

JACKSON, John Stuart. b. 11 March 1884, Qld; s. Samuel, teacher; and Sarah, nee Woodland; m. Beatrice Josephine Workman, 21 August, 1907, Qld; d. 24 December 1911, Qld.
Career: pupil-teacher, primary teacher until death in drowning accident.
GT, 30 December 1911, pp 1-2, 16 January 1912, p. 4; QSA: RTM, EDU/v 11, p. 243; EOG March 1912, p. 61.

JAMES, Thelma Elizabeth. b. 18 March 1940, Qld; da. Claude Thomas Bell, head teacher; and Thelma Mary, nee Skinner, teacher; m. Christopher Charles HEYDE, 4 September, 1965.
Scholarship: 1953. Tully State School. HT: Claude Thomas Bell James; T: Duncan Clarke
University of Queensland, BSc (Hons); Australian National University, PhD; Canberra College of Advanced Education, GradDipAdmin
Career: scientist, John Curtin School of Medical Research; Principal Secretary, CSIRO, 1988-2002
Interests: Deputy Chair, Anglican Diocesan Schools Council, Canberra & Goulburn. Board of Management, Canberra Museum & Art Gallery.
PC 30 November 2003; CM, 16 January 1954, p. 3.

JARROTT, Lilian. b. 24 April 1873, Qld; da. William, music teacher, bookkeeper, foundry secretary; and Maria, nee Baldwin; unmarried; d. 27 April 1963, Qld.
No secondary education.
Career: care of family members
Interests: music, WCTU.

JOHNSON, Helena Maria. b. 7 April 1864, Qld; da. Thomas Alexander, merchant and Member of the Legislative Council; and Kate Agnes, nee Wilson; m. Robert ROWELL, 4 March 1891, Qld; d. 2 June 1949, Qld. Scholarship: 1877. Warwick West State School. HT: Mary Canny; T: Mary Canny. No secondary education. DC in Will QSA: SRS 4486 1950, no 89; WDN, 7 June 1949, p. 2.


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University of Sydney, BA, MA; UQ ad eundem gradum; Berlin University; Tilly Institute of Modern Languages, Berlin.
Career: primary and secondary teacher; director of advertising agency
WWI: civilian prisoner-of-war in Ruhleben, Prussia.
Interests: music, golf and sailing; UQ Senator 1937-54, Qld Health Education Council, Board of Adult Education.
John was the brother of Edith Annie (1888) and Thomas Llewellyn (1885).

JONES, Thomas Llewellyn. b. 8 March 1872, Wales; s. John, master plumber, and Elizabeth, nee Pierce; m. (1) Amy Alice Lane, 15 August 1901, Qld; (2) Gwendoline Gee, 9 October 1937, Qld; d. 18 June 1946, Qld.
Career: Managing Director of Foggitt, Jones, and Co, meatworks; later Chairman of Directors of United Provisions Ltd; Politician – MLA for Oxley 1915-18; MLC 1919-22.
Interests: education, UQ Senator 1920-37, Trustee of BGS; sailing.
Thomas was the brother of Edith Annie (1888) and John Henry (1901).

KELLY, Robert Emanuel. b. 7 April 1908, Qld; s. Robert, station master; and Bertha Ann, nee Marshall
University of Queensland, BE
War service, WWII: Army Captain, Headquarters, 8th Military District.
BC, 29 June 1922, p. 7; BGS Cuttings, 18 February 1925; QER, Buranda, Norman, South Brisbane, various 1929-81.

KENNEDY, Evelyn Maud. b. 4 January 1887, Qld; da. Andrew Samuel, District Inspector; and Anna Katharina, nee Gripp, teacher; unmarried; d. 1 June 1949, Qld.
War service WWI: voluntary work in Comforts Fund.

KINDERVATER, Oscar Arno. b. 9 September 1923, Qld; s. Arno Rinaldo, carpenter, and Emma, nee Schlegel; m. Patricia June McLaughlin, 19 December 1923, Qld.
University of Queensland, BE incomplete
Career: divisional telephone engineer Rockhampton, 1955-70; senior engineer Brisbane 1971-78. War service, WWII: AIF
Interests: community organisations (Apex, Rotary, Rostrum)

**KINGSFORD, Richard John.**
CM, 6 January 1962, p. 3.

**LATTKE, Daphne Margaret.**
CM, 24 January 1940, p. 3; 25 January 1940, p. 3; IGGSM, November 1940, pp. 3, 8.

**LAVARACK, Alice Muriel.** b. 5 February 1883, Qld; da. Cecil Wallace, draughtsman, public servant; and Jessie Helen, nee Mackenzie; m. Frank Robert Jones, 24 April 1912, Qld; d. 30 June 1955, Qld.
University of Melbourne, MBBS.
Career: doctor at Muttaburra, Brisbane, Cracow, Texas (Qld)

**LEE, John Mason.** b. 27 August 1933, Qld; s. Horace, primary school teacher, and Kathleen, nee Foley, teacher; m. Sonia Gail Regal, 8 August, 1959.
University of Queensland, BA LLB; Oxford University, MA; Australian National University, PhD.
Career: barrister, senior lecturer in Philosophy, University of Newcastle
Interests: Member of Senate, University of Newcastle.

**LIPSETT, Louis (Lewis) James.** b. 28 September 1868, Qld; s. James, farmer, and Frances, nee Duffield; m. Florence Wells, June 1892; Vic; d. 4 December 1927, WA.
Maryborough Grammar School. Sydney Junior: no
Career: pupil teacher 1882-84; shop assistant; Salvation Army officer 1887-1907, Brigadier in WA. Resigned in 1907. Public servant.
Lewis was the great-uncle of John Lipsett (1942).


MACCOLL, Donald Mackenzie. b. 14 June 1905, Scotland; s. John, carpenter, and Mary Anne, teacher; m. Eileen Jean Angel, 15 December 1934, Qld; d. 16 October 1973, Qld.
No secondary education.
Career: pupil teacher 1920; primary teacher, including Yeronga State School 1931-63; Primary Correspondence School, 1963-73
FS Eileen Maccoll, 8 January 2000; EOGs various; BC, 1 July 1919, p. 4.

MACDONALD, Nina Alice. b. 2 April 1914, Qld; da. Norman Charles, engineer, and Linda Alice, nee Whitehead; m. Francis William WHYTE, 18 December 1939, NSW; d. 6 October 1997, Tas.
University of Sydney, BSc; Sydney Teachers’ College, Dip Ed
Career: teacher, missionary in India 1940-59.
Interests: Australian Student Christian movement.

MacDONNELLE, Leonard Francis. b. 23 June 1896, Qld; s. James Vincent, broker, and Mary Teresa, nee O’Regan; unmarried; d. 4 October 1917 while on active service in Europe.
Nudgee College. Sydney Junior: 1912. Senior: 1913
University of Queensland, BA incomplete.
War service WWI: 2nd Lieut 26th Bn AIF. Service in Egypt and Western Front.
Ambulance driver.

MACFIE, John. b. 17 October 1867, Qld; s. John, shipwright, and Christina, nee Smith; m. Elizabeth Roles, 25 October 1886, Qld; d. 8 May 1941, Qld.
Brisbane Grammar School.
Career: insurance agent, Gympie.
GT, 10 May 1941, p. 3.

MACKAY, Margaret Annie. b. 30 September 1867, Qld; s. George, bookkeeper and Margaret, nee Smith; unmarried; d. 19 August 1932, Qld.
Career: student teacher, teacher, headmistress at BGGS (1915-24)

McCREADY, Alfred Glen. b. 16 October 1916, Qld; s. James, sugar chemist, and Ella, nee Allen, teacher; m. Irene Catherine Myles, 24 June 1950, Qld; d. 29 July 1996, NSW.
University of Queensland, BA (Hons).
Career: lecturer in classics at UQ, teacher at All Souls’; senior lecturer in Classics, University of New England 1958-76.
War service WWII: New Guinea, Lieutenant in anti-malaria unit.
His wife, Irene Myles, was the first-placed female in the 1940 Scholarship examination.
FS Irene McCready, 14 October 2002; The Phoenix, All Souls’ and St Gabriel’s, 1996, n. p.

McCULLOCH, Robert John.
University of Queensland, BE, BAppSc
Career: chemical engineer,

McKENNA, Warwick Edwards. b.11 April 1895,Qld; s. Bernard Joseph, primary school head teacher, District Inspector, Acting Chief Inspector, Under-Secretary for Education; and Edith Kezia, nee Warwick; m. Mary Irene Cutler, 12 November 1927, Qld; d. 7 May 1974, Qld.
Scholarship: 1908. St Helen’s State School, Maryborough. HT: Bernard Joseph McKenna.
Career: public servant, Department of Justice; Chief Stipendiary Magistrate.
BC, 4 February 1909, p. 5; CM, 8 May 1974, p. 44; DC in QSA: Will SRS 4486 1974, 1250; BGSM, December 1947, p. 98; Public Service Directories.

McKENZIE, Gladys Ethel. b. 31 January 1898, Qld; da. John, blacksmith; and Emily, nee Murfin ; unmarried.
EOGs various; Public Service List 1951, p. 91; QER, Toowong, 1919 - Mount Coot-tha, 1959.

McMARTIN, Elizabeth Helen. b. 29 March 1924, Qld; da. Hugh Mackintosh, farmer; and Lila Perry, nee Clunn; m. Ted Edward ASHWORTH, 27 June 1966, NSW; d. 21 November 1999, Hawaii.
Teachers’ Training College evening classes. Senior: 1940.
Career: accountant; stamp dealer in Hawaii.
Interests: philately

MEDHURST, Henry. b. c1864; s. James Henry, cordial manufacturer; and Catherine, nee Clarke; m. Sarah Jane Heath, 10 July 1888, Qld; d. 29 May 1903, Qld.
Brisbane Grammar School.
Career: commission agent.
*QPOD* 1892-3.

**MELLICK**, Sydney Oliver Alfred. *b*. 21 January 1921, Qld; *s*. John Julian, driver in PMG, accounts clerk; and Violet Crawford, nee Canning; *m*. Gloria Billie Balwin, 7 June 1951, Qld.
College of Pharmacy.
Career: draughtsman in Forestry Department; pharmacist.
War service WWII: Captain, Armoured Division Signals Squadron. Officer-in-charge of Line Section and staff officer on Corps Headquarters and Army Headquarters.
Interests: Rotary, two Paul Harris Fellowships; Cerebral Palsy League; photography, computing, reading.
PC 8 December 2005.

**MICHEL**, Gertrude Evelyn. *b*. 22 January 1890, Qld; *da*. Johann, draper’s assistant, and Louisa Elizabeth, nee Ihle; *m*. Charles GLASS, 30 September 1914, Qld.
*IGGS*, June 1914, p. 20.

**MIDDLETON**, Harold Thomas Montressor. *b*. c1883; *s*. Montressor, commercial trader; *m*. Annette Violante Kerr, 1907, NSW; *d*. 4 December 1965, Qld.
University of Queensland, BA 1934.
Career: clerk, shop assistant, teacher at BBC, 1928-42 and BGS, 1943-47
Interests: music composition and playwriting.

**MILLER**, Charles Reid. *b*. 28 April 1925, Qld; *s*. Fred, builder, and Muriel, nee Reid; *m*. Jean Campbell Robertson, 11 October 1952.
University of Queensland, BAppSc; University of New South Wales, M Safety Science.
Career: company manager, safety consultant.
Interests: Chairman, Dunmore Lang College, Macquarie University.
PC 15 March 2000; *CM*, 23 January 1939, p. 3.

**MILLS**, John Charles. *b*. 28 November 1941, Qld; *s*. Llewellyn Thomas, deputy town clerk, and Joyce Mary, nee Steen; *m*. Gertrude Maria Wilhelmina Evers, 29 August 1969.

Career: industrial chemist, BHP; Member of NSW Legislative Assembly, 1988-
Interests: wide range of community and government activities. Member of Council of University of New England.

MOOR, Mary Elizabeth. b. 13 January 1891, Qld; da. Joseph Jewitt, railway guard, and Lucy, nee Barlow; unmarried.
Career: public servant, draftswoman in survey office.
Interests: Methodist Sunday School supervisor.

MOORE, Agnes Jane. b. 8 June 1896, Qld; da. William, cabinet maker, and Annie, nee Burns; m. Niels SKOIJEN, 22 April 1921, Qld; d. 31 August, 1994, Qld.
University of Queensland, BA
Career: secondary teacher prior to marriage.
Interests: QCWA, education.

MORRISON, Allan Arthur. b. 23 November 1911, Qld; s. Alexander, primary school head teacher, and Alice Ethel, nee Jackson; m. Pauline Lucelle Joice, 15 August 1936, Qld; d. 30 April 1975, Qld.
University of Queensland, BA. MA
Career: secondary school teacher, university reader in History UQ 1945-75.
Interests: president and fellow of RHSQ; Trustee of Newstead House; Chairman of Oxley Library advisory committee; establishment of QSA; ADB contributor (Qld chairman)
ADB v15, p. 417 (Ruth Kerr); BC, 24 June 1925, p. 17; Queensland Heritage, 3, 4, May 1976, p. 3;

MORSE, William Robert Makepeace. b. 9 February 1901, Qld; s. William, solicitor, and Helena Leonie Makepeace, nee Thackeray
Scholarship: 1914. Townsville West State School. HT: George Smith; T: Joseph Cyril Lynam.
MORTON, Hugh Gilbert Stuart. b. 14 October 1881, Qld; s. Thomas, solicitor, and Susannah, nee Breen; unmarried; d. 28 January 1936, Qld.
University of Melbourne, BA MA.
Career: solicitor, barrister in Maryborough.
Interests: sport, particularly cricket, represented Qld; trustee of MGS; Grand Master of Masonic Lodges; Rotary; Chairman of School of Arts.
MMC, 29 January 1936, p. 6; 30 January 1936, p. 8; 31 January 1936, p. 8; 4 February 1936, p. 6;

MYLES, Irene Catherine. b. 7 October 1926, Qld; da. Alfred James, cattle station manager, and Joan, nee Edmistone; m. Alfred Glen McCREADY, 24 June 1950; Qld; d. 12 November 2003, NSW.
Senior: 1944.
University of Queensland, BA (Hons)
Career: secondary school teacher at St Peter’s Lutheran College, Indooroopilly; Blackheath/Thornburgh College, Charters Towers; State High School, Charters Towers; and New England Girls’ School, Armidale, 1959-72. (Latin and Ancient History)
Interests: established McCready Fund for Egyptology at Museum of Antiquities, University of New England.
Her husband, Alfred McCready, was the first placed male in the 1929 Scholarship examination.
PC 14 October 2002.

NEAL, Ernest Reeve. b. 22 December 1909, Vic; s. Harry Ernest, customs officer, and Letitia, nee Reeve; m. Edna Marion; d. 2 June 1983, NSW.
Secondary schooling interstate not traced.
War service WWII: Volunteer Defence Corps, anti-aircraft unit based in Townsville.

NOAD, Beryl Jean. m. CARR.
University of Queensland, BA.
Career: public servant, private secretary to Dr Raphael Cilento prior to marriage

NOTT, Philip Rowling. b. 7 May 1887, Qld; s. Philip, builder, mayor of South Brisbane (1899); and Martha Jane, nee Wright; m. Myra Lillian Poulson 1916, NSW; d. 2 August 1945, Qld.


University of Queensland, BA, BCom.
First editor of student newspaper, *Semper Floreat*, 1932.
Career: sugar industry administrator.
War service WWII: AIF Captain. Middle East and Pacific. Intelligence duties.
General Staff Manager (Intelligence) 9th Australian Division
Interests: sugar research and technology. Awarded CMG 1959.
*ADB* vol.15, p. 581-2 (John D Kerr); *BC*, 4 August 1927, p. 10; *Semper Floreat*, vol. 1, no. 1, 16 June 1932, p. 1; *CM*, 1 January 1959, pp. 1, 5; *Alumni News*, July 1980, p. 27.

**PECHEY**, Ann. b. 8 July 1946, Qld; da. William Ronald, farmer, and Shirley Dorothy, nee Thom; d. 18 November 1998, Qld.
Senior: 1963.
University of Queensland, BA (Hons); University of British Columbia, MA.
Career: freelance writer, historian.
Interests: social issues, family, farming, conservation.
FS Sue Pechey, 14 May 2000; *CM* 1 January 1960, p. 3; *BT*, 29 April, 1960, p. 2; Crow’s Nest State School, *Crow’s Nest and district school centenary 1877-1977* (Crow’s Nest, Qld: Crow’s Nest State School, 1977), p. 28; Crow’s Nest Tourist and Progress Association, *From tall timbers: A folk history of Crow’s Nest Shire* (Crow’s Nest, Qld: CNTPA, 1988), p. 79-82.

**PEGG**, Harry Philip. b. 2 August 1869, Qld; s. George, dairy farmer, and Charlotte, nee James; m. Julia Abbott Smith, 6 March 1901, Qld; d. 12 November 1905, Qld.

**PENNY**, Marguerite Grace. b. 4 February 1908, Qld; da. Alfred Gervase, doctor, and Nellie Grace Gillanders, nee Macrae; m. Robert JOHNSTON, 1933, NSW; d. 9 June 1996, Qld.
Career: assistant librarian.
Interests: education, Quota Club.
FS Robert Johnston, 15 July 2005; *CM*, 29 June 1922, p. 7; *DM*, 29 June 1922, p. 4; *NC*, 27 March 1931, p. 3; 2 April 1931, p. 9; 20 April 1945, p. 5.

University of Queensland, MBBS.
Career: doctor in general practice in Cooroy
Interests: Aviation
PC 3 March 2000; *CM*, 16 January 1945, p. 3.
**PONTSON**, Valda Leona.
Career: clerk

**PRYKE**, Violet. b. 21 April 1904, Qld; da. Alfred, clerk; and Martha Ann, nee Backenhams; m. Douglas Were FRASER, 1 September 1927, Qld.
Career: public servant, as clerk in Public Service Commissioner’s Office until her marriage.
*BC*, 8 June 1918, p. 7; QSA: Staff files, SRS 6219-1-554, Batch 6003, Violet Pryke.

**RICHMOND**, Agnes Olive Frances. b. 14 January 1883, Qld; da. Walter, head teacher, and Frances Anne, nee Hirst, teacher; m. John Robert HATFIELD, 20 January 1915, Qld; d. 27 March 1922, Qld.
No secondary school.
Career: pupil teacher and primary teacher before marriage.
QSA: RTF, EDUv27, 15, p. 219.

**ROBIN**, Philip David.
University of Queensland, BA LLB; Harvard University, Masters in Law LL.M
Career: QC, judge in District Court from 1990.

**ROUTH**, Spencer James. b. 25 July 1935, Qld; s. William James, bank officer, and Mary Napier, nee Spencer, home science teacher; unmarried.
University of Queensland, BA (Hons); Columbia University, New York, USA, MS (Library Science); University of Queensland, D Letters, (Hon) 2005.
Career: senior principal librarian, reference services and collection development, University of Queensland.
Interests: contributor and member of working party to ADB, sport and sport history, pastoral history, arts.

**ROWLAND**, Norman de Horne. b. 23 November 1874, Qld; s. Peter, storekeeper, and Annie McLeod, nee Davis, teacher; m. Mary Y. Green, 1914, NSW; d. 26 June 1931, NSW.
University of Sydney, BA LLB.
Career: barrister, judge
War service, WWI: Major, civil judge in Rabaul New Guinea 1917-20.

**RUDDELL**, Caroline Mary. b. 11 August 1895, Qld; da. Richard, insurance agent, and Caroline Christina, nee Thomsen; unmarried; d. 23 June 1980, Qld.
University of Queensland, BA (Hons)
Career: secondary teacher 1917-24; lecturer at the University of Queensland, Department of External Studies for twenty years until 1962.

**RYE**, Leslie Howard. b. 24 June 1903, Qld; s. Richard, painter, and Lucy Ellen, nee Lindsay; m. Gladys Newby, 1 January 1929, Qld; d. 26 May 1975.
University of Queensland, BA, MA.

**SACHSE**, Romido Francis Alwyne. b. 7 August 1870, Qld; s. Frederick Otto, surgeon, and Johanna Albertine Elizabeth, nee Schermeister; m. Annie Beikoff, 26 January 1901, Qld; d. 30 November 1943, Qld.
Career: solicitor at Gatton.
Interests: RACQ, golf.

**SANDES**, Francis Percival. b. 21 January 1876, Qld; s. James, police constable, and Annie Jane, nee Gowdy; m. Alice May Black, 19 February 1902, NSW; d. 16 May 1945, NSW.
University of Sydney, MB ChM, MD.
Career: surgeon, Professor of Surgery, University of Sydney, a founder of (Royal) Australasian College of Surgeons.
Interests: cancer research.
*BC*, 30 January 1889, p. 6; *ADB*, vol 11, p. 518 (John Carmody).
SAPSFORD, Clinton Pelham. b. 21 October 1882, Qld; s. Newman, bookbinder, and Mary Jane, nee Buckland; m. Lillian Annie Clark, 15 May 1912, Qld; d. 2 August 1960, Qld.
University of Sydney, MBBS
Career: doctor in general practice in Allora.

SCHACHT, Ina Sylvia. b. 3 April 1904, Qld; da. Charles Allen, and Minnie, nee Kenyon, teacher; m. Reginald Cyril William CHAMP, 18 April 1925, Qld; d. 25 March 1976, Qld.

SCOTT, Emily Margaret. b. c 1865, Scotland; da. Walter, teacher and District Inspector; and Violet, nee McRannel, teacher; m. John Harrap HENZELL, 2 November, 1891, Qld; d. 1958, NSW.
*BC*, 26 January 1880, p. 3.

SIVELL, Joyce. m. PERHAM.
Teachers’ Training College; Brisbane College of Advanced Education, MEd

SKELTON, Dorothea. b. 5 November 1925, Qld; da. Robert, storekeeper, and Florence Mathilde Dorothea, nee Wieck; m. Maxwell Esmond Juel BRIGHTMAN, 4 June 1952, Qld; d. 5 April 2002, Qld.
University of Queensland, BA
Career: secondary teacher.
FS Dr Max Brightman, 20 November 2002; *CM*, 23 January 1939, p. 3.

SMITH, Arthur Blackett. b. 9 August 1866, Qld; s. Augustus Walter Swithin, business man, and Melinda, nee Chambers; d. 1921, NSW.
*BC*, 26 January 1880, p. 3; 22 December 1882, p. 5

**SMITH, Clara Rebecca.** b. 14 April 1886, Qld; da. William Henry, head teacher and District Inspector; and Clara Rebecca, nee Conner, teacher; m. John Fortescue Grantley FITZHARDINE, 17 December 1913, Qld; d. 1960, NSW.
University of Sydney, MBBS.
Career: doctor in general practice

**SMITH, Kenneth.** b. 13 April 1885, NSW; s. Gerritt, ship’s captain, and Emily, nee Marshall; m. Kate Wise, 1914, NSW; d. 24 July 1971, NSW.
University of Sydney, MB ChB.
Career: principal medical officer, Commonwealth Repatriation Department.
War service: WWI -3rd Australian General Hospital, 2AGH, Australian Dermatological Hospital, Assistant Director of Medical Services, 4th Div. Colonel. Served at Gallipoli, Egypt, France and London. Involved in repatriation of injured troops. Senior Medical Officer, Repatriation Department 1921-1950. Retired as Principal Medical Officer.
Awarded CMG 1917.

**STEWART, Elizabeth Amelia.** b. 1871, NSW; da. John Gordon, head teacher and Anne Jane, nee O’Rourke; unmarried; d. 26 June 1954, Qld.
Career: pupil teacher; private teacher.

**SUTHERS, George.** b. 16 July 1881, Qld; s. Bennett, mine manager, and Emy, nee Wise; d. 1981, Qld.
Career: solicitor, Townsville.
Interests: North Qld Tennis Assoc; North Qld Society for Crippled Children; YWCA, Red Cross Society.
SWANWICK, Kenneth ffoulkes. b. 3 February 1875, Qld; s. Frederick ffoulkes, head teacher, solicitor, politician and private tutor; and Elizabeth, nee Fox; unmarried; d. 1 April 1925, Qld.
University of Sydney, BA LLB. London School of Economics, incomplete DSc
Career: teacher, barrister, university lecturer at University of Queensland in mathematics and languages, private coach to solicitors.
War service: as a civilian in England, developed methods of packaging and transport of ammunition. Returned to former occupations in Brisbane after the war.
Kenneth was the brother of Ronald Swanwick (1887).

SWANWICK, Ronald Fox. b. 29 March 1877, Qld; s. Frederick ffoulkes, head teacher, solicitor, politician and private tutor; and Elizabeth, nee Fox; m. Winifred Grace Rawson, 1906, NSW; d. 4 November 1921, Qld.
Career: solicitor in Blackall.
Interests: sport, amateur music and drama, hospital committee, Masonic lodge.
Ronald was the brother of Kenneth Swanwick (1887).
FS Ken Swanwick, 7 April 2004; BC, 25 January 1890, p. 5; Western Champion (Blackall), undated clipping, November 1921; BT, 23 January 1940, p. 9; QSA: Inquest file JUS/N731 757/1929.

SWEET, Douglas Robin.
University of Queensland, BSc; University of Adelaide, PhD
Career: computer science, defence technology

TAYLOR, Roy Cyril. b. 4 September 1878, SA; s. Alfred, businessman; and Martha Christiana, nee Rodda; m. Lily Jean Meikle, 30 May 1908, Qld; d. 19 June 1929, Qld.
Career: accountant
BC, 28 January 1891, p. 6; QER, Buranda 1921, South Brisbane 1922, Toowong, 1925, Nundah 1927-29.

TERRY, Mabel Lily. b. 2 February 1902, Qld; da. James, salesman, and Adelaide Caroline, nee Darker; m. Hubert Mackay CORNWALL, 14 July 1924, Qld; d. 19 January 1995, NSW.


CM, 16 January 1946, p. 3; 24 December 1949, p. 3; University of Sydney Gazette, April 2005.
TYRELL, Vicki. m. WHITEHOUSE.
University of Queensland, BA DipEd.
Career: secondary teacher.

VERESCHAGIN, Alexander.
University of Queensland, MBBS.
Career: doctor.

VOLLER, Walter Carey. b. 1863, NSW; s. James, clergyman, and Ann, nee Carryer; m. Ellen Horwood, 11 March 1907, Qld; d. 14 June 1932, Qld.
Career: architect.
Interests: photography, sport.

WALKER, Frank. b. 26 October, 1879, Qld; s. Francis Lawrence, head teacher, and Eleanor Jane, nee Walmsley; m. (1) Christina Agnes Bell, 25 November 1915, Qld; (2) Doreen Ida L’Estrange, 31 March 1950, Qld; d. 3 September 1955, England.
Career: telephone engineer, assistant superintending engineer of telephones in Postmaster General’s Department War service WWI: Naval Auxiliary patrol at Thursday Island repairing submarine cables; WWII: Volunteer Naval Patrol Interests: school benefactor, BGS.
*BC*, 24 January 1893, p. 7; *CM*, 1 April 1950, p. 3; *BGSM*, November 1936, p. 91; June 1950, pp 18-21, 26, 35, 45; November 1935, p. 80.

WATT, Trevor James.
Career: solicitor

WEARNE, Donald Joseph

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WILKINSON, Eleanor May (Maisie). b. 14 February 1888, Qld; da. James, pharmacist, and Anne McGaw, nee Bell; m. Frederick George PHIPPARD, 19 April 1922, Qld; d. 1948, NSW.
University of Queensland, BA
Eleanor’s brother, Robert John, married Jemima (Minnie) Logie Chapman, first female placegetter in 1902.
IGGS Register; QER Windsor, 1915-22; NSWER Wentworth, Bellevue Hill, 1935; An account of the University of Queensland 1910-1935, Appendix D, p. 94.

WILLIAMSON, Frank Herbert. b. 16 June 1904, Qld; s. James, and Katherine, nee Keller; m. Doris Marion Tealby, 28 June 1927, Qld; d. 1975, NSW
Scholarship: 1917. Townsville West State School. HT: George Smith; T: Joseph Cyril Lynam.
University of Queensland, BA
Career: secondary teacher at Townsville Grammar School, Clayfield College and The Scots College Sydney (1930-41); Officer-in charge of Universities Commission, Melbourne Office to 1955. War service WWII: Flight Lieut. RAAF.


WILSON, Euphemia. b. 1876; da. John Dawson, ship’s carpenter; and Isabelle, nee Brown; unmarried; d. 23 October 1911, Qld.
Maryborough Girls’ Grammar School, 1890-91.
Career: dressmaker

WILSON, Harry Gilmore. b. 3 April 1917, Qld; s. Benjamin Gilmore, doctor, and Dorothy Frances, nee Dunstan; m. Marjory Elizabeth Stephens, March 1945, Qld; d. 17 December 1998, Qld.
University of Queensland, MBBS BA MA
Career: doctor in private practice, specialist physician and cardiologist
War service WWII: AIF, Medical Corps
Interests: electronics, agricultural science, philosophy; Board of Cromwell College, Trustee of Ipswich Grammar School, Board member Heart Foundation.
John G Wilson, son of Harry Wilson, was awarded the Lilley medal in 1963, for first place in the Senior examination, the first year after the abolition of the Scholarship.

WINDRUM, Graham Melrose. b. 26 May 1928, Qld; s. Cyril Melrose, auctioneer, and Alice Ann, nee Grice, teacher; divorced.
University of Queensland, MBBS; Rhodes Scholar 1951; Oxford University, DPhil
Career: doctor, specialist pathologist.
Interests: cattle breeding, helicopter flying.

WOOD, Edward James Ferguson. b. 23 June 1904, Qld; s. James Boyne, engineer
and Maud, nee Barrymore; m. Hazel Jessie Fisher, 29 April 1934, Qld; d. 15 May
1972, NSW.
University of Queensland, BSc (Hons) MSc BA DSc
Career: microbiologist; principal research scientist, fisheries and oceanography,
CSIRO; academic, Professor of marine microbiology, University of Miami.
ADB vol 16, p. 577 (John Jenkin, Sophie Ducker); BC, 8 June 1918, p.7.

WOOLCOCK, John Laskey. b. 7 November 1861, England; s. William, clergyman
and Elizabeth, nee White; m. (1) Gertrude Mary Harpur, 17 June 1891, NSW; (2) Ida
Hague Withrington, 27 May 1914, Qld; d.18 January 1929, Qld.
Kerr.
Brisbane Grammar School: Sydney Senior: 1878.
University of Sydney, BA
Career: legal and parliamentary draftsman, barrister, judge of Supreme Court.
Attended three conferences on Federation with Samuel Griffith.
Interests: instrumental in establishing University Extension Movement 1893;
University of Queensland Senator 1910-16; Trustee of Brisbane Grammar School
1899-1929, Chairman from 1906; founder of Queensland Public Library.
ADB vol 12, pp 570-1 (W. Ross Johnston); BC, 14 January 1875, n. p.; 12 January 1929, p. 10; 19

WRIGHT, Gillian; m. MACDONALD.
James Thomson; Ts: Barry James Thomson, Faye Russell.
University of Queensland, MBBS.
Career: doctor.
CM, 10 January 1959, p. 1; SBP, 13 January 1969, p. 1; QER 1958, Carnarvon.

WRIGHT, Kay Beris. m. DAWSON
Career: pharmacist
CM, 14 January 1955, pp. 1, 3; 30 October 1957, p. 9; 27 December 1958, p. 6;Betty Barron, Buranda
Appendix D: Register of teachers

This register records all teachers identified as head teachers and teachers of Scholarship winners. See Chapter 5 for discussion concerning the inclusion of head teachers. Class teachers were not all identified, as information was not always available. The rank achieved was determined from searches of the Registers of teachers 1860-1903, *Electoral Office Gazettes* and Annual returns of teachers, but more accurate details would be obtained from thorough research in teachers’ records at Queensland State Archives. The purpose of seeking such information was to establish the large proportion of topmost ranked teachers in the case study (I.1 being the highest classification for most of the period). The research was confined to teachers in state schools.

DI = District Inspector, HT = head teacher, Pr = Secondary principal, SI = Senior Inspector, T = teacher, TTC = teachers Training College, U-S = Under-Secretary, V-Pr = Vice-Principal.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surname</th>
<th>First name</th>
<th>Rank achieved</th>
<th>Qualifications</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alcorn</td>
<td>Sydney Norman</td>
<td>HT II.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alphen</td>
<td>Arthur Wentworth</td>
<td>TIII.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ambrose</td>
<td>Bertie</td>
<td>TIII.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anderson</td>
<td>George Oxley</td>
<td>HTI.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anderson/Stanley</td>
<td>Doris Elizabeth</td>
<td>TII.1(209)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Armstrong</td>
<td>Harold William</td>
<td>HTI.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bailey</td>
<td>Stanley Douglas Eric</td>
<td>TII.1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Baskett</td>
<td>Vera Elsie</td>
<td>TII.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Baylis</td>
<td>James Caius</td>
<td>HTII.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Beiers</td>
<td>Hans Andrew</td>
<td>HT I.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bell</td>
<td>David John</td>
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<td>William</td>
<td>HTI.1</td>
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<td>Frederick</td>
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<td>Harold Joseph Dunbar</td>
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<tr>
<td>Berry</td>
<td>Eliza</td>
<td>HT</td>
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<td>Berry</td>
<td>Margaret</td>
<td>HT I.1</td>
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<td>Black</td>
<td>Leonard Robert</td>
<td>HTI.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boland</td>
<td>John James</td>
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<td>Bragg</td>
<td>Albert Henry</td>
<td>T II.1, Deputy HT</td>
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<td>Braids/Alphen</td>
<td>Doris</td>
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<td>Breen</td>
<td>James Robert Martin</td>
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<td>Brown</td>
<td>Lionel Andrew</td>
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<td>Brown</td>
<td>Maria Jane</td>
<td>TII.2</td>
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<td>Bulcock</td>
<td>Wilhelmina Lang</td>
<td>HTIII.1</td>
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<td>Burke</td>
<td>Margaret Agnes</td>
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<td>Cafferky</td>
<td>Edward James</td>
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<td>Campbell</td>
<td>Thomas</td>
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<tr>
<td>Canny</td>
<td>Mary HTI.1</td>
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<td>Carraway</td>
<td>Mary Jane</td>
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<td>Clarke</td>
<td>Duncan TI.5</td>
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<td>Clarson</td>
<td>Kenneth TI.1</td>
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<td>Coe</td>
<td>John Henry HTI.5</td>
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<td>Coleman</td>
<td>Sr Mary St Gertrude</td>
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<td>Collings</td>
<td>Joseph Silver Dyke HTI.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Copeman</td>
<td>Arthur Bradby DI, Pr BA BEd</td>
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<tr>
<td>Corr</td>
<td>Clarice TI.1</td>
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<td>Cunningham</td>
<td>John Skirving HTI.1</td>
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<td>Cutler</td>
<td>Leslie Thornton HTI.1 DI</td>
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<tr>
<td>de Jersey</td>
<td>Ronald Claude HTI.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Deller</td>
<td>Cecil Joseph HT I.1, A/DI</td>
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<tr>
<td>Diplock</td>
<td>Leslie Frank Louis DI</td>
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<td>Dumigan</td>
<td>Edward Jarrott HT I.1</td>
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<td>Dutton</td>
<td>Samuel Locksley HTI.5</td>
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<td>Dwyer</td>
<td>Maurice Llewellyn HT II.1</td>
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<td>Earnshaw</td>
<td>William DI</td>
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<td>Ernst</td>
<td>Cyril Beresford TI.2 BA AEd</td>
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<td>Exley</td>
<td>Arthur HTI.1, DI</td>
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<td>Fewtrell</td>
<td>John Dl</td>
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Appendix E: Further academic awards to Scholarship winners

Table 37: Sydney University Junior examination prize winners, 1876-1910 – first of all candidates

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<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Thomas Byrnes</td>
<td>1876</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edwin Fowles</td>
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<tr>
<td>Norman Rowland</td>
<td>1889</td>
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Table 38: Sydney University Senior prize, 1876-1910 – first of all candidates

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Norman Rowland</td>
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Table 39: Byrnes medal winners – first in Queensland Junior public examination

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Victor Grenning (1912)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Queenie Wendorf (1919)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Allan Morrison (1925)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clarence Cronin (1926)</td>
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<tr>
<td>George Johnson (1928)</td>
<td>1930</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Isles (1931)</td>
<td>1933</td>
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<tr>
<td>David Tribe (1945)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spencer Routh (1949)</td>
<td>1951</td>
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<tr>
<td>Peter de Jersey (1955)</td>
<td>1957</td>
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<td>Phillip Robin (1958)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ross Diplock (1960)</td>
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Table 40: John Black Scholarship – first in Queensland Senior public examination

<table>
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<td>*Victor Grenning (1912)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lister Hopkins (1923)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Graham Windrum (1941)</td>
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<td>John Lipsett (1942)</td>
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<td>*David Tribe (1945)</td>
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<td>*Spencer Routh (1949)</td>
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<td>*Peter de Jersey (1955)</td>
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<td>John de Jersey (1957)</td>
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* previous Byrnes medal winner

Table 41: Awarded government exhibitions to universities, 1879-1909

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<td>John Woolcock (1874)</td>
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<td>Hugh Morton (1893)</td>
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<td>John England (1902)</td>
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Table 42: Open scholars to University of Queensland 1911-1966

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<td>Frank Williamson (1917)</td>
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<td>James Baker (1950)</td>
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<td>Edward Wood (1918)</td>
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<td>Kay Wright (1954)</td>
<td>1959</td>
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<td>Allan Hoey (1921)</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Peter de Jersey (1955)</td>
<td>1960</td>
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<td>Lister Hopkins (1923)</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>John Mills (1955)</td>
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<td>1930</td>
<td>John de Jersey (1957)</td>
<td>1962</td>
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<td>1932</td>
<td>Phillip Robin (1958)</td>
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<td>George Johnson (1928)</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Bevan Green (1959)</td>
<td>1964</td>
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<td>Alfred McCready (1929)</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>Yvonne Burke (1960)</td>
<td>1965</td>
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<td>Beth Beeston (1929)</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>Douglas Sweet (1961)</td>
<td>1966</td>
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<td>Joan Chadwick (1929)</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>*Anne Holmes (1962)</td>
<td>1967</td>
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<td>Harry Wilson (1930)</td>
<td>1935</td>
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<td>John Isles (1931)</td>
<td>1936</td>
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<td>George Copeman (1934)</td>
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<td>Dorothy Arthur (1935)</td>
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<td>Betty Baird (1936)</td>
<td>1942</td>
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<td>Irene Myles (1940)</td>
<td>1945</td>
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<td>Bernard Backstrom (1940)</td>
<td>1945</td>
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<td>Lois Freeman (1941)</td>
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<td>Graham Windrum (1941)</td>
<td>1946</td>
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<td>John Lipsett (1942)</td>
<td>1947 &amp; 1948</td>
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<td>Marciline Pickup (1944)</td>
<td>1949</td>
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<td>Edith Parfitt (1945)</td>
<td>1950</td>
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</table>

x first year of University scholarship

* attended ANU  +Attended Pharmacy college
^ Relinquished Open Scholarship for a Fellowship in Medicine

Additional university scholarship holders

Caroline Ruddell (1908) Teachers Scholarship to the University of Queensland
Agnes Moore (1909) Teachers Scholarship to the University of Queensland