

**The Ideology of Athleticism,
Its Antipodean Impact,
and its Manifestation in
Two Elite Catholic Schools**



**The Ideology of Athleticism, Its Antipodean Impact,
and Its Manifestations in Two Elite Catholic Schools**

Mark Connellan

A.S.S.H. Studies in Sports History: No. 5

PREFACE

As part of A.S.S.H.'s services to members it has been decided to produce occasional Studies in Sports History. Some of these are compilations of essays on particular themes, others, such as this monograph by Mark Connellan bring outstanding student dissertations to a wider readership. Mark's thesis was submitted to the University of Sydney in 1985 in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Education (Hons.). He was awarded first class honours and the university medal in Education. In 1987 the thesis won the A.S.S.H. Student Dissertation prize.

The thesis examines the phenomenon of athleticism, from its beginnings as an educational ideology peculiar to the English public schools, through to its decline in the post-World War One period. A survey of the major concerns of the literature on athleticism, from both Britain and Australia, provides a background for the substantive study of two Australian elite Catholic schools. Manifestations of the ideology in both schools are examined, and these are then compared and contrasted. General materials on athleticism in British and Australian schools are presented throughout the substantive study, in order to provide contextual information that is relevant to the patterns of adherence that are displayed in the two closely examined schools. The study covers the period 1880-1931; from the origins of the schools and their early adherence to athleticism, through to the period in which athleticism began to decline as an official ideology.

Wray Vamplew
Flinders University
August 1988

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
CHAPTER ONE: THE IDEOLOGY OF ATHLETICISM	1
CHAPTER TWO: ATHLETICISM'S ANTIPODEAN IMPACT : A SELECTIVE LITERATURE REVIEW	17
CHAPTER THREE: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF ATHLETICISM IN TWO ELITE CATHOLIC SCHOOLS	31
CHAPTER FOUR: THE DIFFUSION OF THE ETHOS - ADHERENCE AND ANTIPATHY : 1880-1891	41
CHAPTER FIVE: ATHLETICISM AS ORTHODOXY - THE RHETORIC OF JUSTIFICATION : 1892-1910	61
CHAPTER SIX: ATHLETICISM AND MILITARISM : 1910-1920	86
CHAPTER SEVEN: THE GROWTH OF SCHOOL SPORT AND THE DECLINE OF ATHLETICISM : 1920-1931	98
CONCLUSION	114
BIBLIOGRAPHY	116

CHAPTER ONETHE IDEOLOGY OF ATHLETICISM

"What we need to do is to make clearer the object of education in which athletics forms a part..."

(F.B.Malim)

A review of the literature dealing with the history of Australian education, and in particular of those works that include material on the growth of organised games, reveals very little analysis of the impact of athleticism on Australian schools. It is evident that this omission requires urgent attention and redress; particularly when one considers the excellent literature now available on the ideology of athleticism and its evolution in British schools.¹ This work has provided a base for researching the imperial diffusion of athleticism firstly as a set of ideals, and secondly in its active expression as a justification for the cult of games-playing.

An investigation of the diffusion of athleticism throughout the British empire requires close contextual study of particular schools, and the highlighting of differences as well as similarities in degrees of adherence. In the past the notion of conformity to the norms of the English Public School tradition has been stressed as the dominant perspective. Games have usually been presented in such works in an uncritical celebratory fashion, or as simply a manifestation of community spirit within schools. Either through embarrassment, or insensitivity with the values of the past, the

didactic rhetoric and elaborate educational justifications that accompanied games playing have been ignored or else politely dismissed.

A major accomplishment of the recent literature on athleticism resides in its exposition of a carefully reasoned argument, backed by prodigious primary research, which reveals that the "growth of athleticism was characterised by diffusion and parallel innovation",² rather than being subordinate to any monolithic tradition. There is no doubt that the paucity of secondary materials on athleticism, despite an abundance of primary sources, can be largely attributed to the prevailing belief that the 'Arnoldian' imprimatur was the major catalyst for the growth of organised games in the English public schools. Freed from this methodological 'red herring' we can begin to trace the development of athleticism, from its origins as an unique response to the prevailing educational and social conditions of the mid-Victorian era, through to its decline in the period of social and ideological uncertainty following World War One.

This thesis will attempt to present and explain the different manifestations of athleticism within two Australian schools in which, at least superficially, one would expect a fair amount of conformity in educational aims and practices. The schools to be studied are St. Joseph's College, Hunter's Hill and St. Ignatius College, Riverview. These two Sydney schools are well-suited for the purposes of comparative study;

both are Catholic secondary schools, they were founded within a year of each other (St. Ignatius in 1880 and St. Joseph's in 1881), their geographic locale is similar (the schools are only a few miles apart), and, most importantly, both schools were founding members of the elite "Athletic Association of the Greater Public schools" (A.A.G.P.S.) in 1892.³ The period covered is 1880 to 1930, beginning with the origins of the schools and the emergence of rhetorical justifications regarding the educational value of games-playing, and ending with the period following the First World War, during which educational rationales supporting games-playing were undergoing critical re-evaluation.

The remainder of this introductory Chapter is concerned with presenting the main features of the study of athleticism. The ideology of athleticism will be defined and explained, and the exigencies of its practical implementation will be discussed. In Chapter 2 the diffusion of athleticism to Australia will be examined with a view to uncovering any guidelines or perspectives that may be utilised in the substantive part of this study.

* * * * *

J.A. Mangan, in his study of athleticism in six English schools between 1860 and 1940, describes how the playing of organised team games came to be regarded as:

... a highly effective means of inculcating valuable and impressive educational goals: physical and moral courage, loyalty and co-operation, the capacity to act fairly and take defeat well, the ability to both command and obey.

In most English schools of the late nineteenth century the functional or physical outcomes of games participation were viewed as being of secondary importance alongside "... the ethical value of games as the source of good sense, noble traits, manly feelings, generous disposition, gentlemanly deportment, [and] comradely loyalty".⁵

W.D. Smith defines athleticism in a more pejorative fashion as:

... the exaltation and disproportionate regard of games, which often resulted in the denigration of academic work and in anti-intellectualism. 6

This definition reflects the author's understanding of the most fervent and extreme applications of athleticism. It does not, however, convey the zeal and unshakeable conviction of many of the adherents of athleticism, who genuinely believed in the pedagogical efficacy of games. Sir Zelman Cowen, in an address to the Headmaster's Conference of Australia, displayed a similarly unsympathetic attitude towards athleticism by stating that, in the English public schools of the 1880's:

The playing field and team spirit became exalted into an educational mystique, the 'blood' ruled the school and dictated school customs. What was especially deplorable was the implication that intellectual endeavour was a selfish pursuit, and the highest activities were those that heightened team spirit in the school. 7

Such an openly censorious attitude towards athleticism has developed from the criticisms that led to its decline. For the purposes of writing history such ex post facto generalisations

are more obfuscating than instructive, unless they are qualified by the admission that such criticisms belong to a particular period and arose as a response to certain manifestations of athleticism, and not athleticism per se.

Throughout the Victorian and Edwardian eras athleticism endured frequent assaults, including incessant doses of ridicule administered chiefly by the English satirical weeklies such as Punch and The Spectator, as well as the relatively muted criticism of dissenting educators and ascetic intellectuals. The fact that athleticism maintained its strength, despite this public censure, is evidence of the widespread ideological acceptance that it had acquired. Athleticism enjoyed the relatively imperious status of a 'total' ideology which, at its zenith, encompassed "the whole complex of ideas and feelings linking the members of a group together with the means whereby these are established".⁸ This support for athleticism permeated the upper stratum of society and under this patronage games-playing was elevated to the status of a highly respected educational instrument. Devotees of athleticism included Schoolmasters and boys, Oxbridge academics and undergraduates, peers and royalty, governmental and colonial officials, clergymen, military officers, industrialists, intellectuals and educational theorists; and even international admirers such as the noted anglo-phile Baron de Coubertin, who aspired to introduce to France the British model of moral training and character development through games.⁹ With such a potent fusion of intellectual and broader community support, athleticism was able to display to its

detractors the resilient features of a widely sanctioned and unassailable ideology.

The theoretical basis of athleticism could also be extended to encompass more far reaching concerns than the education of boys. Just as Arnold's work at Rugby was but the preparatory stage of his grander vision of an united Christian nation, so too athleticism in schools can be seen as a subordinate but important element in the development of the 'new' English gentleman.¹⁰ Athleticism served the dual functions of helping to generate, as well as providing an important medium of expression for, the codes of conduct that accompanied this development. The prevailing intellectual and social concerns of mid to late Victorian society were characterised by the social alchemy that produced a reactionary synthesis of the old concepts of social privilege and noblesse oblige, with the emerging positivism of intellectual life. The contribution of athleticism to these developments resulted largely from its intrinsic adaptability, with its eclectic possibilities allowing it to embrace on the one hand the functionalism of Spencerian and Darwinian positivism, and on the other the hybrid product of the merging of medieval romantic chivalry with the ideals of Graeco-Renaissance man.¹¹

David Newsome sees little that is contradictory in the growth of this elaborate physical culture within academic institutions:

We should expect that generations brought up on the classics would learn to sing the praises of *Z'uomo universale* - the 'whole man'.¹²

The public schools, once suffused with Arnold's pre-occupation with 'godliness', now turned to Kingsley's notion of 'manliness', which had initially developed as a reaction against the alleged effeminacy of high anglican Tractarianism.¹³ Educational writings of the Victorian and Edwardian periods worked subtly on this theme of 'manliness', until it eventually "embraced anithetical values - success, aggression and ruthlessness, yet victory within rules, courtesy in triumph, compassion for the defeated".¹⁴

Athleticism also forged links between the growing mercantile class and the public schools. Families owning industrial property were enrolling their sons in public schools both for social advancement, as well as for the supposed excellent preparation for commercial life that survival in such a harsh microcosm afforded.¹⁵ With the public schools contributing to a new form of Social Darwinism, industrialists began to feel that their own practices were being legitimised by the keen competition for high standards of physical excellence.¹⁶ Athleticism held a special appeal for a generation raised on a diet of tangible improvements. Gathorne-Hardy has noted that the educational claims of athleticism were considered to be readily observable and verifiable:

How much easier and more exciting to judge such things in the simple, concrete world of games. Now character showed up in action: bravery in the face of scrums, humility under your captain.

17

Even as late as the time of the First World War the connection between sporting success and industrial success was still being made:

The chairman of a great engineering firm recently told the Incorporated Association of Headmasters, that when he went to Oxford to get recruits for his firm, he did not look for men who had got a First in Greats, but for men who would have got a First, if they had worked. For these men had probably given a good deal of their time to rowing or games and had thereby learnt something of the art of dealing with men. The student who sticks to his books learns many lessons, but not this. 18

The longevity of athleticism as a widely-accepted ideology owed a great deal to the uncritical nostalgia of men who had thrived on such an education. Testimonies as to the effectiveness of games-playing as a preparation for life were constantly aired in school magazines, old boy's publications, speech day addresses, and even corporate and parliamentary minutes. The form of a fellow student on the playing fields was often remembered long after other childhood recollections had faded:

We can all of us in our experience recall many an honest athlete who is now doing splendid services to Church or State, doughty curates, self-sacrificing doctors, soldiers who are real leaders of men. When they become men they put away childish things, but they have not forgotten what they owe to the discipline of their boyish games. 19

To question the sanctity of such memories was tantamount to heresy. An even greater crime was committed by those who complained that the ideologues of athleticism *were* over-stating the value of games which were, after all, mere amusements. The reply to such a charge would often take the form of a re-affirmation of the importance of athleticism's central tenets:

. . . a code that will be the basis of conduct of many good citizens through life - a religion in fact, though a big part of it may be 'cricket' - cannot be stated without seriousness. 20

Having discussed the combination of social and intellectual factors that supported the rise of athleticism we will now turn to a more specific investigation of the pedagogic implementation of the ideology. The following paragraphs will examine the 'machinery' of athleticism as well as the educational aims of its adherents. Many of the issues raised; such as the acquisition of playing fields; the introduction of compulsory games; the feeling that games would act as an antidote to undisciplined behaviour; and the playing of games between schools in order to define membership of an elite group; are recurring themes in the diffusion of athleticism to Australian schools.

It is a common misconception to point to status as the major impetus behind the process of emulation. While there is no doubt that it was an important element in the spread of athleticism it should be noted that "athleticism did not arise simply out of sensible expedience or calculating imitation, but also out of considered and applied educational theory".²¹ Arising out of the social conditions that have been previously discussed was the contention that schools not providing for this aspect of education were less than orthodox:

The claims of athleticism as an official policy permeated the public-school system so rapidly that it was difficult for many of those affected to understand the neologism of moral passion it had been...
22

By the 1870's dissenting headmasters "were helpless to resist the new worship without injuring the public status of the schools".²³ It seems that status was a more compelling issue for critics of athleticism than it was for its adherents. Further reinforcement

for athleticism came from the report of the Clarendon Commission of 1864 which, in searching for an accurate barometer of 'moral tone' within the public schools, looked to games to provide the measure.²⁴ By the 1880's any schools purporting to offer a public school education, either in Britain or throughout the Empire, had included games as part of their time-table.

Edward Thring, a mid-nineteenth century headmaster of the elevated grammar school Uppingham, has provided us with an oft-quoted statement on the value of educational 'machinery':

Machinery, machinery, machinery, should be the motto of every good school. As little as possible ought to be left to personal merit in the teacher... as much as possible ought to rest on the system and appliances on every side checking vice and fostering good. 25

The acquisition of such 'machinery' was the cornerstone of athleticism and the scheme of education in which it flourished:

By the end of the Victorian period a school was to be judged not by the calibre of its headmaster - though this was very important - but also by the quality of the whole staff, the characteristics of its clientele, by its buildings and playing fields, its successes in work and play, its traditions, the loyalties of its Old Boys, and by those aspects of its moral collectivity which were known to the Victorians as 'tone'. 26

Nangan refers to the 'machinery' of athleticism as the "symbols of social ambition",²⁷ and provides us with a model of acquisition that charts the introduction of "specific instruments of institutional organisation and publicity which were *de riguer* in the public school system".²⁸ The model includes the establishment of the school magazine; the founding of the old boy's association; the setting up of colour or house

competitions; the acquisition of playing fields and their continued extension, improvement and upkeep; the writing of the school song; the construction of the pavilion; the organisation of clubs for the major sports; and the eventual building of the gymnasium, handball (or fives) courts and the shooting range.²⁹ If we add to this the provision of aquatic facilities for rowing and swimming we are left with a model that quite accurately reflects the Australian corporate school experience in the late nineteenth century. Such large economic outlays on facilities and equipment for sport reflected the entrenched position of athleticism within the schools. Strong educational rationales had to be presented in order to justify such a high level of expenditure, and the school magazine became a major forum for rhetorical outpourings on the value of games.

The kinds of facilities that were provided also reflected some quite specific beliefs regarding the types of games that were considered to be educative. The inspired eccentric H.H.Almond, headmaster of Loretto school in Scotland believed:

...along with many public school colleagues... that while some games promoted selfishness and were therefore inferior, cricket and football promoted unselfishness and were consequently superior. 30

This bias towards the playing of particular sports continued throughout the period of influence of athleticism. As late as 1917, F.B. Malim was convinced:

...that golf and lawn tennis are not fit school games; they are not painful enough... This is the merit of two forms of athletics which have been oftenest the subject of attack, rowing and running... it is good to retain in our schools some forms of activity in which comfort is never considered at all. 31

On the subject of boxing he remarked that it was:

. . . a fine instrument of education whatever may be the objections to the prize ring. So dispassionate a scientist as Professor Hall in his monumental work, *Adolescence*, describes boxing as 'a manly art, a superb school of quickness of eye and hand, decision, full of will and self-control... it is the surest of all cures for excessive irascibility, and has been found to have a most beneficial effect upon a peevish or unmanly disposition. 32

Malim's work is significant because it is one of the few academic articles that could be said to definitively represent the orthodox aims of athleticism. In placing games at the forefront of physical education Malim listed their virtues as educators of physical courage, hardship, control of temper, team spirit and a sense of fair play.³³ In his opinion games could never be replaced by gymnastics or other 'exercise forms':

From the biological and psychological point of view, the playing field is immensely superior to the gymnasium... though we may use physical exercises as an aid, I should be sorry to see them ever regarded as a substitute for games. Even supposing that they were an adequate substitute in the development of the body (which I doubt) they cannot claim to have an effect at all-comparable to that of games in the development of character. 34

J.R. de S. Honey, as part of his work on the communal life of the public schools, has carried out an extensive study of the institutional effects of athleticism in those schools. He contends that the sporting participation of masters in the boys' games, a method that was employed at St. Ignatius College in the 1880's, had the double-edged effect of 'humanising' these masters while also ensuring an increase in disciplined activity.³⁵ School organisation of games became an exercise for justifying the

school's official mandate over the waking-hours of the boys, and eventually the house system superseded the 'tribalism' that had previously characterised the prerogative of schoolboy autonomy.³⁶

Some masters obsessed by sex, that 'hovering demon', applauded the value of games as a sublimating device, and pointed to the 'pure' conversation of English schoolboys for their evidence. J.M. Wilson, Headmaster of Clifton College in the late nineteenth century, expressed grave reservations about the topics of conversation prevalent amongst French boys and also English girls, although the latter group, he felt, might be saved by the judicious introduction of lawn tennis, and contrasted these inimical circumstances with the example of English schoolboys:

'Freedom of conversation', Wilson insisted, was an 'incalculable moral evil' and he exhorted parents to give devout thanks for the 'priceless boon' of 'school games' as a subject of conversation. 37

It is easy to see why a combination of manliness and asexuality would hold a special appeal for boarding-school masters. The notion of delayed adolescence became both a conscious policy and an unconscious belief in boarding schools throughout Britain and the rest of the Empire.³⁸ Athleticism was to play an important role in controlling the institutional tensions that would result from the edict that "slow growth is best".³⁹

The strength or weakness of any educational ideology ultimately resides in its products. Athleticism aimed at producing the all-rounder rather than the specialised performer. Chandos provides us with a picture of the quintessential outcome of an

education based on athleticism, when he quotes from the famous house-match story, Collegers v. Oppidans , a passage describing Asheton the 'swell':

He was not surpassingly excellent at any thing, but he was good at everything, and might be relied on in everything. He pulled a capital oar, without great dash, but conscientiously and in fine form... unlike most 'wet-bobs- he also played a good game of cricket, while at fives and football he was counted among the best players. But the greatest merit of him was not superlative excellence at any one sport... it was that his play was sure. 40

During the period of greatest influence for athleticism this was the model commonly aspired to. Generations of schoolboys either applauded or despaired of the meritocracy of games. The young corporate secondary schools of Australia openly embraced the model for the education of their boys, partly motivated by an eagerness to display their ties to Britain, but also proud of their self-sufficiency in the production of antipodean copies of the English gentleman.

* * * * *

NOTES ON CHAPTER ONE

1. For what is undoubtedly the most comprehensive study on athleticism to date see Mangan, J.A., Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School. The Emergence and Consolidation of An Educational Ideology Cambridge University Press, 1981 (hereinafter referred to as Athleticism).
2. ibid., p. 66.
3. Minutes of the A.A.G.P.S., April 28, 1892, see also Carington Pope J., Unity in Diversity, A.A.G.P.S., Sydney, 1961, p. 24.
4. Mangan, J.A., op.cit. p. 9.
5. ibid., p. 132.
6. Smith, W.D., Stretching Their Bodies: The History of Physical Education, David and Charles, London, 1974, p. 18.
7. Cowen, Sir Z., 'Opening address to the Headmaster's Conference of Australia', held at St. Peter's College, Adelaide, August 1979, recorded in Independence, Vol. 5, No. 1, April 1980, p. 15.
8. Mangan, J.A., op.cit., p. 6.
9. ibid., p. 16.
10. See Mason, P., The English Gentleman: The Rise and Fall of an Ideal, Andre Deutsch, London, 1982, p. 13.
11. Mangan, J.A., op.cit., p. 135.
12. Newsome, D., Godliness and Good Learning, John Murray, London, 1961, p. 204.
13. ibid., p. 208.
14. Mangan, J.A., op.cit., p. 135.
15. Mangan, J.A., 'Social Darwinism, Sport and English Upper Class Education', in Stadion, Vol. 7, No. 1., 1981, p. 102.
16. ibid., p. 100.
17. Gathorne-Hardy, J., The Public School Phenomenon, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1977, p. 161.
18. Malim, F.B., 'Athletics', in Benson, A.C., Cambridge Essays on Education, Cambridge University Press, 1917, p. 156.

19. ibid., p. 167.
20. Bean, C.E.W., Here, My Son, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1950, p. 132.
21. Mangan, J.A., Athleticism, op.cit., p. 48.
22. Chandos, J., Boys Together: English Public Schools 1800-1864, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1984, p. 335.
23. ibid., p. 336.
24. Tozer, M., 'From "Muscular Christianity" to "Esprit De Corps"', in Stadion, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1981, p. 119.
25. Thring, E., quoted in de S. Honey, J.R., Tom Brown's Universe, Millington Books Ltd., London, 1977, quoted from footnote to p.119.
26. ibid., p. 145.
27. Mangan, J.A., 'Imitating their Betters and Disassociating from their Inferiors: Grammar Schools and the Games Ethic in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', in Parry, N., and McNair, D., The Fitness of the Nation - Physical and Health Education in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, Proceedings of the 1982 Annual Conference of the History of Education Society of Great Britain, p. 8.
28. ibid., p. 8.
29. ibid., p. 8.
30. Mangan, J.A., Athleticism, op.cit., p. 56.
31. Malim, F.B., in Benson, A.C., op.cit., p. 153.
32. ibid., p. 154.
33. ibid., pp. 152-156.
34. ibid., p. 151.
35. de S. Honey, J.R., op.cit., p. 108.
36. ibid., p. 109.
37. Chandos, J., op.cit., p. 189.
38. Mangan, J.A., Athleticism, op.cit., p. 186.
39. ibid., p. 186.
40. Chandos, J., op.cit., p. 106, College v.Oppidans Story, (author unknown).

CHAPTER TWOATHLETICISM'S ANTIPODEAN IMPACT : A SELECTIVE LITERATURE REVIEW

This Chapter provides a brief account of the treatment of athleticism in the work of some Australian educational historians. It is not intended to be an exhaustive survey, but rather an attempt to point out and to analyse dominant trends that emerge from a reading of the literature. This may in turn provide us with some insights into the 'disappearance' and subsequent re-emergence of athleticism in the post-World War Two literature on the history of education. There is enough material here to fill several books, so for the sake of parsimony some general observations will suffice.

In general we can identify three distinct traditions or groupings for the purposes of investigation. The first group is made up of the ideologues and apologists, whose period of writing, teaching, or school attendance coincided with either full-blown expressions of athleticism or at least a vestigial form thereof. In the twenty years or so following the Second World War a second group emerged to investigate games-playing as part of the pantheon of Arnoldian tradition. The final or contemporary group reflect the trend towards a more particularised socio-historical analysis of athleticism and its adherents. The process from one approach to the next has been the product of historical and intellectual development, so that to adopt the current methodology is not to demean previous efforts. Historical perspectives are inexorably

transient and each period of innovation should acknowledge its debt to the successes and failures of preceding periods.

The histories of Australian schools written either before or around the time of the Second World War provide an interesting source of primary material on athleticism in Australia. These early works portray a quite unashamed regard for the role of games-playing in education, consequently they include quite celebratory appraisals of athleticism as an educational ideology, MacCallum, in his extended obituary of Albert Bythesea Weigall written in 1913, leaves us with a picture of Weigall that would undoubtedly embarrass a headmaster in today's examination-conscious society:

He thoroughly identified himself with the athletic ambitions of the boys... He was as keen about their good performance as the keenest of the protagonists, and was almost over liberal in time-concessions to those who were representing the school on river or field.

41

This work is also notable for its chronicling of Weigall's introduction of many of the features of the English public school, in particular a school magazine, school colours, cadets, the prefect system and organised games. In this work he was aided by Mr. E. Bean and Mr. C. Francis two masters who, like Weigall, were educated in middle-ranking English public schools as well as at Oxford. All three masters can be identified as primary diffusionists of the ideals of athleticism, as well as other features of English public school organisation. As a result of their influence Sydney Grammar School presented an early, albeit adapted, model for aspiring emulators to follow.

S.M. Johnstone, writing in his history of The King's School some twenty years after MacCallum, provided a defence of his inclusion of materials on games:

Some may complain of the introduction into the serious history of the school of statistics and comments relative to sport. But the objection can only arise from a narrow view of education and the functions of a school... Play, work and worship are all essential in the work of education... 42

He also ventured an opinion on the comparative need for supportive educational machinery, that undoubtedly places him among the ideologues of athleticism:

It was realised by Macarthur, as it was realised by other schoolmasters, that while it was possible to carry on a boys' school without a chapel, and still do good spiritual work, it was not possible to carry on successfully without proper playing-fields. 43

It is significant that both St. Joseph's and St. Ignatius had old boys, students and staff who, in the early days, constantly referred to Sydney Grammar and King's for examples of the efficacy of games.

St. Magnus was a rugged Viking who fortuitously converted to Christianity, and subsequently combined the best elements of each. Canon W.P.F. Morris, headmaster of Brisbane Church of England Grammar School from 1912 to 1946, was evidently so moved by this legend that he named his school history Sons of Magnus. While his ideal was personified in the form of St. Magnus, he also hero-worshipped Charles Kingsley another "Christian hero with a Viking's courage".⁴⁴ Morris, a product of Melbourne Grammar, Geelong Grammar and the University of Melbourne, presented himself without embarrassment

as the doyen of twentieth century Australian 'muscular Christianity'. When he referred to the three R's he was talking about "Riding, Rowing and the River".⁴⁵ His athletic inclinations are best summed up by the following anecdote regarding his encounter with a lazy student:

He was a big chap; and he was backward, but physically very strong. I thought he would be a powerful oar; but no! He would not pull his weight... So I told him to put the boxing-gloves on, thinking I would energise him. One hit from him on my chin and I felt as disinclined to box with him as he had felt about rowing with me... 46

The work of the ideologues presented a picture of personal involvement and contemporaneity that present accounts of athleticism would find difficulty in recapturing. The second group of writers that we will look at are representative of a trend towards the writing of histories reflecting the growth of educational systems rather than of individual schools. Such general works are highly necessary but often involve a study of the official or accepted view and thereby lose sight of that which is spontaneous or implied. The tenets of athleticism often resided in the unconscious mind of the school, occasionally rising to the surface on speech days, in school publications, or when used to lend weight to an argument on moral, ethical, military or religious grounds. It is little wonder that the impact of athleticism is so diffuse and uneven and therefore difficult to place as a part of any one tradition.

C.E.W. Bean's work on the corporate boys school of Australia, published in 1950, was a courageous though contrived attempt to fit

these schools into a generalised Arnoldian framework. Bean's central contention was that:

the more one studied them, the more is one impressed by the fact that the major institutions and principles of these schools in Australia - even in some degree of the Roman Catholic ones - stem directly from the reforms of Dr. Arnold at Rugby...⁴⁷

Despite such strong statements Bean's work was often equivocal in its presentation of supporting evidence. At one point he claimed that the 'spirit' of Arnoldianism was introduced before the "precise forms and methods" that characterised its application.⁴⁸ On the question of "what Arnold has given us" Bean lapses into a vernacular that belies his understanding of Arnold's work.⁴⁹ Bean's summary of Arnold's legacy includes "playing the game",⁵⁰ being "first 'in' when needed... whether in a local progress society or in the fighting services",⁵¹ "...neither to crow in victory nor to make excuses in defeat...",⁵² and "the loyalty that never lets down the school..."⁵³ Arnoldianism in this sense is little more than a legitimising rhetoric for Bean's exposition of the public school world-view. He has used the invocation of the Arnoldian tradition for the purpose of celebrating and affirming the mid-twentieth century corporate school ideology. Athleticism is sparingly treated because it does not fit with the era that Bean is celebrating.

Turney's articles on Arnoldianism, written in the mid-1960's, provided a promising revision of Bean's central thesis.⁵⁴ By stressing the 'adaptation' of Arnoldianism Turney eschewed Bean's normative approach and opened the field for the study of patterns of adherence in particular schools. His own analysis of Sydney Grammar reflected the difference that could often arise between ideas and

practices originally implemented and their subsequent adaptation to fit a particular environment. Elements of this approach were present in Bean but they were made subordinate to Bean's general theme of Arnoldianism. Turney does briefly mention the impact of athleticism:

School leaders invariably emphasised the educational value of sports... games were seen as important agents of physical development, discipline and character building. 55

For the most part, however, games are depicted as primarily an exercise in building up *esprit de corps*.⁵⁶ Ultimately Turney's articles have left us with few references to athleticism because, despite his questioning of Bean's view of Arnoldianism as a set of direct unifying practices, Turney presented a 'frozen' picture of English public school developments and their antecedent causes.

With the growth of interest in investigative sociology in the late 1960's and early 1970's came new perspectives for other areas of the humanities. The fusion of sociological and historical study introduced a period of substantial revision which is still in progress. Hansen's case study of six public schools in the State of Victoria, published in 1971, contained a lengthy historical introduction with some significant materials on athleticism.⁵⁷

With the benefit of Newsome's insights Hanson argued against the earlier view of an homogeneous Arnoldian tradition. In particular he described the process by which 'Godliness and good learning' was, from the 1860's on in England and Australia, gradually supplanted by 'muscular Christianity', the "often timid fusion of godliness and sporting bonhomie".⁵⁸ Hanson identified a strong

tradition of 'athletic' headmasters in the schools that he studied, lasting from the 1870's through to the 1920's, after which a new shift towards 'Christian humanism' led to athleticism's demise as a dominant ideology. His work also described how the athleticism of headmasters such as Adamson and Littlejohn affected sporting developments at other schools:

Games were a selling-point; if a school was good at sport, it was a good school. However, as much as headmasters might deplore the influence of competitive games, it was the one thing the general public knew about their schools. 59

Competitive games, particularly those organised on an inter-school basis, were a feature peculiar to the Australian version of athleticism. The English public school sports have never displayed the level of organisation and intensity that exists in competitive sport in Australian schools.

The 1970's were also a notable period for educational historians due to the burgeoning quantities of school histories that were being commissioned and written. The trend shows no signs of abating in the 1980's, in fact it seems likely to keep on growing as many schools approach their centenary year. The books that have been produced have, for the most part, devoted large amounts of space to sport. Despite such detailed treatment there are few acknowledgements of the fact that sport was ever the subject of extensive and considered educational rationales. The exigencies attached to the writing of such histories usually consign athleticism to the realms of the unexceptional, preferring instead to chronicle heroic deeds or mind-boggling statistics from the halcyon past. To uncover the traces of athleticism we must dig a little deeper than the score-books.

With the majority of school histories we can expect little more than the bare skeleton of the pedagogic system to be presented. It is unrealistic to expect them to provide any more than this. Brother Michael Naughtin's qualification regarding the subject matter of his centenary history of St. Joseph's College, Hunter's Hill, is a modest but pragmatic summary of the intentions of most school historians, to provide "a straightforward and factual narrative, popular rather than academic".⁶⁰ A detailed investigation of athleticism in such a work is as unlikely as a close study of social discrimination within the school, or of any other part of the hidden curriculum for that matter.

Dening's history of Xavier College, Kew, a Victorian Associated Public School, is remarkably different to most other school histories.⁶¹ For the most part it resides in the murky waters of anthropological and hermeneutic investigation. In attempting to describe the way in which the school environment and the Jesuit education affected the student 'psyche', Dening contributes some cogent views on athleticism and the role of sport in general. Dening recognises the potency of sport and its historical dimension:

Sportsmen and sports commentators are the greatest antiquarians of all. They record and savour the memory of a first century or a first hat-trick, the weight of a winning crew, the highest score in a quarter of football. There is nothing so momentary as a sporting achievement and nothing so lasting as the memory of it. 62

Rather than focussing on such matters, Dening reveals the symbols of athleticism; the desire for bigger and better playing fields; the official interest of the school when sporting success became synonymous with reputation; the privileges accorded to competitors

such as additional "food, sleep, relaxation, [and] freedom from academic anxiety...";⁶³ and the desire to emulate those schools considered to be better equipped and more successful. Dening's work provides a concise overview of the impact of athleticism at Xavier, and in particular the aspect of compulsion that followed its adoption as an official ideology. In response to a questionnaire which formed part of Dening's study and included respondents from as early as 1909:

Almost all of the four hundred men who replied... remarked that though they enjoyed sport and profited by it and, indeed, often measured their achievement at the school in terms of it, they felt in hindsight that there had been too much emphasis on it. 64

The publication, in 1983, of Sherington's history of Sydney Church of England Grammar School, marks the first serious attempt in Australia, to uncover the intricacies of athleticism within the framework of a commissioned history.⁶⁵ With something of the consummate skill of a tight-rope walker the author manages to provide for different levels of appreciation in the subject matter and exposition of his work. Details of sporting events, physical drills and heroic participation are balanced by insights into the patterns of diffusion and emulation that helped to shape the official ideology of athleticism within the school. Sherington disputes the popular notion that Arnold's reforms were in any way a significant proselytising force behind the introduction of organised games.⁶⁶ He also avoids the use of the polygenic concept of 'Arnoldianism', no doubt believing that the occasional invocation of Arnold's name in support of a multifarious range of educational innovations, does not necessarily constitute the continuance of an irreducible tradition.

Sherington presents the main forces of diffusion as being both the emulation of school's already in existence at the time of Shore's founding, in particular he believes that Sydney Grammar was a strong influence "...not only for its size but for the model it offered of a 'public school' in the Antipodes,"⁶⁷ as well as the attraction to the school of a long line of 'athletic masters suitably imbued with the ideals of athleticism. This latter influence included the school's first headmaster E.I. Robson, whose education at Repton and Cambridge provided the typical balance of academic and games-playing activity that gave rise to athleticism's eminent position in the English public schools.⁶⁸ E.I. Robson, and his successors, appointed masters with both academic and games-playing abilities, so it comes as no surprise to find that "...Shore was in the forefront of the changes that occurred in the organisation of school sport in the 1890's".⁶⁹ In fact one Shore master, the Reverend David Davies, exerted a primary influence in the formation of the A.A.G.P.S. in 1892.⁷⁰

Sherington's largest departure from the accepted formula of a school history is undoubtedly his expansive treatment of the fluctuating fortunes of athleticism as an educational ideology. The sentiments of the late - nineteenth and early twentieth century ideologues are well summarised in the 1901 speech day rhetoric of the second headmaster Mr. C.H. Hodges, who claimed that:

The 'instinct of sport' had helped create the British Empire, and while there could be 'excessive devotion towards games' their potential value remained unchanged. 'Opportunities for the practice of those virtues which stamp the real man - courage, vigor, chivalry, straightforwardness - are found perhaps more frequently in the playing field than upon the school benches.'

we are later provided with some notable contrasts to Hodge's sentiments, not so much in the form of attacks on the efficiency of games, but rather as brave attempts to dispute the overriding importance that was increasingly being attached to them.

One of the earliest manifestations of this pedagogic debate over games is fully explored by Sherington. James Lee Pulling, a master at Shore and formerly an above-average athlete himself, presented a paper to the Teachers' Guild of New South Wales on the subject of 'Sport in Relation to School Life'.⁷² In it he presented an argument that was, for 1909, an insightful foretaste of the pedagogic controversy over games that would erupt in the 1920's and 1930's. He conceded that the introduction of school games "... had increased respect for masters, provided opportunities for influencing the formation of boys' characters, and was of benefit not only in physical and mental training but in the 'moral tone imparted'."⁷³ He believed, however, that "GPS competitions were becoming too demanding on the time of the school and the boys"⁷⁴ and that this was a corruption of the 'function of school games...to provide a healthy relaxation and refreshment from mental strain'.

Sherington's history of Shore has been surveyed in some detail, because it provides an account of athleticism in one school that adds significantly to the scarce secondary resources in this area. He has also written an article on athleticism, that places him at the forefront of the educational historians in Australia who are presently investigating the diffusion of athleticism throughout the British empire.⁷⁶ Similar work is being

carried out in Canada by Gerald Redmond, an astute chronicler of the diffusion of athleticism to Canada.⁷⁷ In essence Sherington's article identifies a three-fold process undertaken by the Australian adherents of athleticism; including proselytisation in school magazines, the acquisition of playing fields as an educational priority, and the subsequent organisation of competition both within and between schools. He also highlights the significant differences between the English and Australian 'public schools', noting that the lack of full-boarding at most Australian schools and the concentration of these schools in metropolitan areas, combined as factors to produce an idiosyncratic mode of athleticism.⁷⁹ The geographic centrality of schools, despite the widely dispersed population that they served, acted as a strong lever for conformity and the development of a heavy reliance on a competitive ethos.⁸⁰

We would be guilty of a serious omission if the work of Ray Crawford was entirely ignored, Crawford is currently engaged in the task of tracing the ideological role of sport and physical education in independent girl's schools.⁸¹ While this work is not directly relevant to the subject of this thesis, it does provide an interesting perspective on one possible extension of many of the ideas that are being presented. The scope of the study of athleticism is enormous, for although the current literature is depressingly scarce, the prodigious quantity of primary materials that are available suggest a growing area of scholarship.

NOTES ON CHAPTER TWO

41. MacCallum, M.W., In Memory of Albert Bythesea Weigall, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1913, p. 52.
42. Johnstone, S.M., The History of The King's School, Kings OBU, John Sands, Sydney, 1932, p. 249.
43. ibid., p. 183.
44. Morris, W.P.F., Sons of Magnus, William Brooks, Brisbane, 1948, p. 76.
45. Bean, C.E.W., op.cit., p. 121.
46. Morris, W.P.F., op.cit., p. 23.
47. Bean, C.E.W., op.cit., p. 3.
48. ibid., p. 134.
49. ibid., p. 133.
50. ibid., p. 133..
51. ibid., p. 133.
52. ibid., p. 133.
53. ibid., p. 133.
54. Turney, C., 'The Advent and Adaptation of the Arnoldian Public School Tradition in New South Wales', in Australian Journal of Education, Vol. 10, No. 2 (Part 1), 1966 and Vol., 11, No.1, (Part 2), 1967.
55. ibid., p. 33 (Part 2).
56. ibid., p. 135 (Part 1).
57. Hansen, I.V., Nor Free Nor Secular, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1971.
58. ibid., p. 22.
59. ibid., p. 122.
60. Naughtin, Bro. M., A Century of Striving, S.J.C. pubs., Hunter's Hill, 1981, preface p. vii.
61. Dening, G., Xavier: A Centenary Portrait, O.X.A., Melbourne, 1978.
62. ibid., p. 169.
63. ibid., p. 175.
64. ibid., p. 180.

65. Sherington, G., Shore: A History of Sydney Church of England Grammar School, George Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1983.
66. ibid., p. 29.
67. ibid., p. 6.
68. ibid., pp. 30-32.
69. ibid., p. 40.
70. ibid., p. 40.
71. ibid., p. 63.
72. ibid., p. 72.
73. ibid., p. 73.
74. ibid., p. 73.
75. ibid., p. 73.
76. Sherington, G., 'Athleticism in the Antipodes: The AAGPS of New South Wales' in History of Education Review, Vol.12, No. 2, 1983, pp. 16-22.
77. Redmond, G., Diffusion in the Dominion: "Muscular Christianity" in Canada, to 1914', in Perry, N., and McNair, D., op.cit., pp. 100-118.
78. Sherington, G., in ANZHES., op.cit., p. 16.
79. ibid., p. 16.
80. ibid., p. 16.
81. Crawford, R., 'Sport for Young Ladies: The Victorian Independent Schools 1875-1925' in Sporting Traditions, Vol. 1. No. 1, November, 1984, pp. 61-82.

CHAPTER THREE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF ATHLETICISM IN TWO ELITE
CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

The following chapters represent a substantive study that aims to practically illustrate some of the issues raised in Chapter Two. An investigation of athleticism at St. Joseph's College and St. Ignatius College, covering the period 1880-1930, will be undertaken to provide some understanding of the available evidence and its possible uses. The method used in this work involves the study of a selection of documents from both colleges, for the purpose of making some comparisons with regard to the impact of athleticism on each of them. By using a comparative method we can identify what Mangan refers to as the "variation in interpretation of ideological fashion,"⁸² within the colleges. Newsome provides a more detailed justification for the intensive study of athleticism in particular schools:*

What happened in one school is not evidence of what happened in other schools, and even a cursory study of the evidence suggests that the introduction of particular features of the cult of manliness took place in different schools at different times. 83

This warning against overly simplistic generalisations is particularly applicable in the case of the St. Joseph's and St. Ignatius Colleges.

The selection of primary materials to be considered in this study arose partly as a function of the strictures imposed by the

limitations of size, but also because of the widely expressed belief that certain school documents reveal more of the inner life of a school than do others. School magazines are an obvious source in providing a summary of each year's activities. At St. Joseph's this involved, at some stages, the production of three different magazines annually, while at St. Ignatius for many years the magazine was published twice each year. Both colleges published an annual prospectus that proudly listed the sporting facilities available, and often provided some rhetoric on the place of physical activity within the curriculum. The press displayed its continuing interest in college life by publishing articles on various events at the Colleges. In the first thirty years of the existence of both colleges it was not surprising to see the major speech day addresses reported verbatim in the Freeman's Journal, and the Catholic Press. These Catholic newspapers derived a large amount of copy from St. Joseph's and St. Ignatius, and often provided detailed reports of the college sports. The commercial dailies and weeklies also showed an interest in this latter area. All of the abovementioned publications provide valuable source material for the study of athleticism.

Some may view the use of the school magazines as a problematical question due to the likely intervention of official censorship. It is true that, in general, any material likely to bring the school into disrepute would attract the prohibition of the censors. Despite this problem school magazines are characterised by introspection and so, quite often provide a genuine reflection as well as an official record of school life. Mangan has firmly defended his

own use of school magazines as a source of materials on athleticism:

...the magazine, with its devotion to the small world of the school, contains biographical material and statements of staff, pupils and old boys, which constitute a fund of vocabularies of motive, enthusiasm and nostalgia. These provide insights into the beliefs, attitudes and values of an era, and permit the composition of a picture which, though certainly incomplete, goes a considerable way towards capturing the aesthetic of athleticism. 84

Bean provides an historical justification in support of Mangan's contentions:

Originally school magazines were used more largely than at present as vehicles of school opinion... [therefore] the contents of a school magazine and the interest taken in it by the boys are perhaps as good an indication as any other of the school's academic standards and of its morale. 85

The arguments of Mangan and Bean are particularly relevant to the circumstances surrounding the prohibition on the publication of Our Golden Days, the St. Joseph's College annual of the 1880's and 1890's. This magazine was not published for five years, presumably for revealing too much about the interests of the boys, when these interests were obviously at odds with the pedagogic intentions and beliefs of the French Marist Brothers who controlled the college.⁸⁶

* * * * *

St. Ignatius College, Riverview opened with twelve students, all of whom were boarders, in 1880. St. Joseph's College, Hunters Hill, opened in the following year with approximately forty students,

again all boarders. The founding of these two Catholic boarding colleges represented a partial fulfilment of the long expressed desire of both clerical and lay Catholics in New South Wales, for the setting up of their own elite educational institutions. Catholic demand for education was motivated on the one hand by a profound mistrust of secular education, and on the other by the realisation that intellectual and professional leaders for the Catholic community could only be procured by preparing Catholics for University entrance.

The defence against various plans to either 'secularise' or 'protestantise' colonial education had led to the formation of a Catholic Education Society in the 1820's.⁸⁷ In 1838 Bishop Polding founded the first Roman Catholic Secondary School, otherwise known as the St. Mary's Seminary.⁸⁸ The opening of Sydney University in 1853, before the setting up of an appropriate supporting secondary school system, justified the establishment of a college for Catholics that aimed at providing for this need. Lyndhurst College, as it was called, was staffed by members of the Benedictine Order and provided for the teaching of a liberal curriculum rivalling any other provided in the colony. Archbishop Polding presided over the opening of the college in 1852.⁸⁹ Polding was anxious for the success of this enterprise as he had alienated the early Christian Brothers, resulting in their angry departure from Sydney in 1847 claiming that Polding had plotted to turn all Catholics into Benedictines.⁹⁰ The attraction of teaching Orders to New South Wales was a recurring problem for the Catholic hierarchy up until the late 1870's.⁹¹

By the 1860's Polding obviously felt that Catholic education in New South Wales could not expand under the Benedictines. This period was also marked by increasing 'Irishness' in the devotional outlook of New South Wales Catholics.⁹² As the fortunes of the anglocentric Benedictines noticeably waned, Polding accelerated efforts to gain Marist Brothers as educators. Doyle believes that the Public Schools Act of 1866, and its accompanying threat of the imminent withdrawal of state funding, increased the urgency of these negotiations.⁹³ Polding's keenness to gain the services of the Marist Brothers did not bear fruit until 1872,⁹⁴ the year in which the Brothers took over the school at St. Patricks, Harrington Street.⁹⁵

In July of 1872 a novitiate was opened for the training of Australian Marist Brothers.⁹⁶ The early availability of Australian Brothers was to play an important part in the developing controversy over games-playing, following the establishment of St. Joseph's College. The Brother's second postulant, William Farrell, was later recalled by veteran Australian Brothers as being a, "first class cricketer who might have been selected for an Australian team."⁹⁷ Doyle also mentions that the French Brothers were non-plussed, if not a little annoyed, by the interest of the Australian and British Brothers in the sports events held at the Domain.⁹⁸ At that time the French view was the official one, and appears to have been motivated by sincere efforts to establish the Order's priorities in a foreign land. The later arguments over sport at St. Joseph's provide a marked contrast to this sincerity,

with both French and Irish-Australian factions resorting to acrimonious and petty debate in support of their respective beliefs.

A most important development for the Marist Brothers in Sydney was the opening of their 'select' school in 1875, also at St. Patrick's.⁹⁹ This school was arranged into junior and senior divisions and began to accept boarders from 1879 onwards.¹⁰⁰ The boarding section at St. Patricks was to be the direct forerunner of St. Joseph's College. In fact the eventual site of St. Joseph's had been purchased by the Marist Brothers from Didier Joubert three years earlier, in 1876, but development of this land at Hunters Hill was contingent on an assessment of the relative merits of it and a Marist-owned Parramatta site, as a suitable location for a boarding college.¹⁰¹

Archbishop Vaughan's closure of Lyndhurst College in 1877, amidst accusations of scandal, pro-British sentiments and increasing financial difficulties, seems to have acted as a catalyst for the introduction of the Jesuit Teaching Order into New South Wales.¹⁰² Austrian Jesuits had run schools in South Australia during the 1850's and, from 1865, Irish Jesuits carried out the teaching duties at St. Patrick's College, East Melbourne.¹⁰³ In his search for Teaching Orders, to staff New South Wales schools, Archbishop Polding does not appear to have considered the Jesuits as an option.¹⁰⁴ After Polding's death and Vaughan's assumption of leadership of the diocese a period of swift action commenced. Unable to gain any more than a promise of more Marist Brothers from the French Superiors, Vaughan decided to invite the Jesuits

to take over the failed Benedictine school at St. Kilda House, Woolloomooloo. The Jesuits agreed and also undertook to open a boarding school and run a large parish.¹⁰⁵ From the beginning Vaughan and the Jesuits intended the boarding school to be for the upper echelons of wealthy Catholic society, and to be run on similar lines to Xavier College, Kew, an elite Jesuit College founded in Victoria in 1878.¹⁰⁶ Vaughan provided the entire venture with more than diocesan approval, he forwarded four thousand pounds to the Jesuits, or two-thirds of the cost of the Lane Cove site.¹⁰⁷ The portent of legislation similar to that already in place in other states, in which state aid to denominational schools was ended, had motivated Vaughan and his Catholic hierarchy to move quickly and decisively on the question of education.¹⁰⁸ The urgency of Vaughan's actions were soon justified by the passing of the Public Instruction Act in 1880.¹⁰⁹

Events leading up to the founding of both Colleges have been considered in some detail, in order to provide for an understanding of the position of these Colleges as the elite vanguard of Catholic education in New South Wales. Elitism was an important concomitant of athleticism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, particularly when it became obvious that Protestant meritocrats, both in Britain but even more so in Australia, were willing to incorporate educated and socially adept Catholics into elite society. Athleticism provided a universal philosophy that could reinforce 'Britishness' and thereby defuse the potential for an active upper-class Irish nationalism. Catholicity was becoming increasingly

less of a social obstruction for its elite adherents, whereas overt or militant 'Irishness' remained an incalculable social evil.

The acceptance of Catholic anglo-conformists was nowhere more noticeable than in corporate school relationships. The economic prosperity of the 1870's and 1880's, together with the unifying existence of the common enemy secularism, promoted an unofficial coalition of denominational schools watchful for any sign of attempts to further State control over education. With the introduction of the University examination system in 1867, and the growth of opportunities in the civil service and professional areas, these schools became used to competing on a uniform basis. Schools like Newington and King's came to regard St. Joseph's and St. Ignatius as like-minded 'stable-mates'. Through University entrance and professional patronage the corporate school 'system' became locked-in to a self-perpetuating cycle. Attendance at certain schools ensured patronage, and this patronage ensured a degree of financial and vocational success, which led ultimately to the formation of dynastic associations with particular schools, as previously successful students enrolled their progeny at their old Alma Mater. This type of elite association, the influx of popular and literary works on English public schools, and the public school background of many masters and colonial meritocrats, all contributed to the slavish emulation and rhetorical justification that supported athleticism's rise to prominence.

NOTES ON CHAPTER THREE

82. Mangan, J.A., Athleticism, op.cit., p. 5.
83. Newsome, D., op.cit., p. 216.
84. Mangan, J.A., Athleticism, op.cit., p. 245.
85. Bean, C.E.W., op.cit., pp. 186-187.
86. Naughtin, Br. M., op.cit., p. 85.
This issue will be dealt with in more detail later in the chapter.
87. Bean, C.E.W., op.cit., p. 19.
88. ibid., p. 29.
89. ibid., p. 36.
90. Campion, E., Rockchoppers: Growing up Catholic in Australia, Penguin, Australia, 1982, p. 72.
91. See for example, Doyle, Br.A., The Story of the Marist Brothers in Australia: 1872-1972, Marist Brothers of the Schools, Sydney, 1972, which gives a long account of Polding's protracted negotiations for the procurement of Marist Brothers to staff the schools.
92. Campion, E., op.cit., p. 60.
93. Doyle, Br.A., op.cit., p. 7.
94. ibid., p. 38.
95. ibid., p. 51.
96. ibid., p. 65.
97. ibid., p. 67.
98. ibid., p. 132.
99. ibid., p. 100.
100. ibid., p. 191.
101. Naughtin, Br. M., op.cit., p. 13.
102. Windsor, G., 'Riverview Origins and Early Style', in Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society (J.A.C.H.S.), Vols. 5, Part 1, 1976, p. 2.
103. Bygott, U.M., With Pen and Tongue: The Jesuits in Australia: 1865-1939, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1980, p. 3.
104. Windsor, G., in J.A.C.H.S., op.cit., p. 1.

105. ibid., p. 2.
106. Bygott, U.M., op.cit., p. 27.
107. Windsor, G., in J.A.C.H.S., op.cit., p. 3.
108. Turney, C., Pioneers in Australian Education: Volume One
Sydney University Press, Sydney, 1969, pp. 183-184.
109. Turney, C., op.cit., p. 183.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE DIFFUSION OF THE ETHOS: ADHERENCE AND ANTIPATHY: 1880-1891

To many contemporary observers the imposing surrounds of the St. Joseph's and St. Ignatius Colleges suggest the uniformity of principle and action that the title 'Greater Public Schools' has come to represent. The two college sites, and their overt similarities, are in fact a misleading element in the comparative study of the early sporting life of the Colleges. The first fifteen years at St. Joseph's were characterised by the prohibition of most sports by the French Brothers, acting originally on the basis of their own pedagogical inclinations, but later as a punitive measure against perceived challenges to their control.¹¹⁰ At St. Ignatius, on the other hand, the Jesuits and their charges indulged in as much sporting activity as was possible in a twelve student school; with Father Keating, the Prefect of studies, often turning out for the school cricket eleven.¹¹¹ St. Ignatius students also indulged in aquatic activities from the outset under Father Gartlan's watchful eye.

The staff of both colleges maintained a strict regime of surveillance over their students, thereby displaying a significant variation to the position at non-Catholic schools. At St. Ignatius the continental system of a 'Hofmeister' or 'surveillant' was in force, a similar system to that which most of the Jesuits would have experienced at Clongowes school in Ireland. It was a proud boast of the Jesuit system that boys were never allowed out of

range of their particular surveillant.¹¹² An 1887 St. Ignatius prospectus also reveals that the "...correspondence of the pupils is subject to the inspection of the Superiors."¹¹³ Parents worried about the pernicious influence of older boys were also reassured that the "...younger boys have their dormitories, playgrounds, etc., apart from the seniors."¹¹⁴ This last measure was impossible in the first few years at St. Ignatius, when Rector, staff and students all lived in the one wooden building, although all seemed to emerge untarnished. The difference between the St. Ignatius and St. Joseph's systems, which will be described shortly, was that in the former, organised games were an important attribute of the system rather than an abuse of it.

The first 'surveillant' or 'prefect' appointed at St. Joseph's was the Frenchman Brother Vial. His job was to preside over the three periods of daily recreation, from breakfast till 9 a.m., lunch until resumption of school, and from dinner until evening study.¹¹⁵ The accepted recreation was either walking in 'crocodile formation', or the ultimate liberty of a game of 'unofficial' cricket. The highlight of the weekend, as far as Brother Vial was concerned, occurred when "on Saturday afternoons we usually have a nice walk, visit some orchard or repair to Jackson's Green to enjoy the game of the season."¹¹⁶ The boys, unwilling to wait for such opportunities, took matters into their own hands:

The boys soon appreciated the open spaces among the eucalyptus trees on the hill. Soon the trees were to fall as the boys themselves used the axe and the cross-cut saw to clear greater spaces for games and recreation.

Brother Vial's relations with the boys were quickly declining, in more than one instance his rulings were questioned, and the boys "ended by hooting him on one or two occasions."¹¹⁸ In the end his unpopularity led to a change of positions with another Frenchman Brother Cleophas.

Brother Cleophas was destined to play an important role in the early development of rugby at St. Joseph's, even though, as far as he was concerned, his contribution was a negative one. He continued where Brother Vial had left off, organising walks and other out of school activities. Naughtin reveals that the boys, at least in the case of football, clearly had his measure:

Brother Cleophas was a very conscientious man, discharging his duties with scrupulous exactness...[he] never shirked his unpleasant task, even though popularity was out of the question, owing to his strenuous objection to the barbarous game of 'ruggedy'. To do him justice, he had but a mystified knowledge of the good old rules; for at times, the wags of the First Division would start playing a game labelled Australian, and play 'ruggedy' rules under his very eyes. He used to be quite satisfied with the mildness of the game.

119

'Ruggedy was Brother Cleophas' attempt at a pronunciation of the word 'rugby'.

Despite a lack of interest in team games, the French director Brother Emilian did look to the provision of other sporting outlets. Swimming was encouraged by the construction of tidal baths on Tarban Creek in 1885.¹²⁰ Handball courts were built and prizes made available for an annual competition. In 1888 the first edition of the St. Joseph's College Magazine, entitled Our Golden Days, included the following piece on the handball competition:

Previously there has been no recognised champion of handball in the college...In order to ascertain the one most entitled to that honour, the Rev. Bro. Emilian (Director), ever anxious to afford enjoyment to the students, and to encourage all manly exercises, offered for competition a silver medal. 121

Brother Emilian's interest in handball is not as significant as the expression of this interest in the college magazine, as this article provides an early trace of the justificatory rhetoric of athleticism.

This promotion of the college's physical activities is also in evidence in a section on 'gymnastics':

Instruction in this branch is given once a week by Drill-Instructor Carey. The magnificent gymnasium, which is far superior to those usually in connection with schools and colleges...offers considerable attractions for recreation and splendid opportunities for developing the muscles. 122

Athletics are also mentioned, but these were mainly picnic days composed of a ferry trip and a programme of novelty events such as 'cricket-ball throwing' and 'three-legged races'.¹²³

The first magazine is also interesting for two other reasons. Firstly it included what Mangan refers to as some "parochial literature" on school sports,¹²⁴ in the form of a piece of introductory doggerel, or poorly written verse:

'Oft we have sought for something fresh to do,
When pleasure's programme wanted pastimes new;
Our sporting hours had filled the vacant mind,
Each in each season suited to the kind;
But thinking on we thought it well to raise
This first small issue of Our Golden Days. 125

Songs, poems and short stories of this ilk often contained celebratory material in support of athleticism within schools. The other notable feature of this first issue involved the combination of sporting and examination results in assessments of the success of the college year. In a short historical digression the editors reflect on the year 1885, which:

...was a singularly eventful one in the annals
of the College, both for its successes at the
Public Examinations and victories gained in the
cricket field. 126

This form of rhetoric quickly became wide-spread, and sporting results were aligned with examination results, general pedagogic observations, religious and ethical lessons, and also discussions of military capability.

Articles on football and cricket, the two team games played at St. Josephs in this period, reveal something of the state of affairs with regard to the College sports. Australian Rules was the version of football that was officially sanctioned. In the article on football there is doggerel, but little else:

'Oft were we, joined in football, to be seen,
Kicking the ball or dashing o'er the green. 127

Pen pictures of the players are given and the University Australian Rules Club is thanked for its help in coaching. The synopsis of the season provides a veiled criticism of the lack of playing-facilities:

We have been unable to play any matches with outside
clubs during the season on account of the unsuitableness
of our grounds for footballing. 128

The question of playing facilities was to be a major area of controversy in the 1890's at St. Joseph's. The college had expanded from the original forty to two hundred and fifty boarders by 1888, and the available playing spaces were unsuitable for such numbers.

Cricket appears to have been the main College game of the 1880's. The magazine reports that, prior to 1885:

...the College Cricket Team had occupied a foremost position amongst school clubs, but this year [1885] they crowned their victories by defeating all comers, thus becoming the champion school team of the Colony. 129

The 1886 team gained even wider notoriety, being referred to in the sporting press by the title of the 'Unconquered'.¹³⁰ A quick scan through the fixture list reveals only two school matches, against Grammar and King's, both matches being drawn.¹³¹ The bulk of the games were played against 'foreign' teams such as district cricket clubs or business firms. In 1888 St. Joseph's appears to have attempted to play more inter-school games, but the magazine records that:

The Sydney High School C.C. was the only school club that had the pluck to accept a match with our team this season. No doubt the remaining college and school clubs considered a refusal more honourable than defeat. 132

St. Joseph's were undoubtedly keen to prove their worth on the cricket field, but the Marist system of full-day schooling on Wednesdays and half-day schooling on Saturdays made it hard to organise fixtures.

The pattern of games-playing at St. Ignatius differed markedly from the one in existence at St. Joseph's in the 1880's. On the whole, the boys at St. Ignatius followed activities that closely resembled those in vogue in the British public schools. There are several possible reasons for this phenomenon. Unlike St. Joseph's predominately French founders, the Irish Jesuits had often experienced a remarkably cosmopolitan existence prior to their arrival at St. Ignatius. The Jesuits ran two English public schools, Stonyhurst founded in 1793, and Beaumont founded in 1861. Both of these schools were initially unwilling but eventually wholehearted adherents of athleticism. There were significant opportunities for interchange of both staff and ideas throughout the Jesuit schools of Britain. Most of the early staff at St. Ignatius had either taught at or attended schools such as Clongowes in Ireland.¹³³ This provided a direct influence from Britain for the young college to emulate. So, in the 1880's, the masters at St. Ignatius College set about the task of establishing the playing-fields, boat-sheds and rifle ranges that were part of the environment that they were used to.

They also brought with them the ideas and rhetoric of athleticism. The college prospectus of 1887 outlines the official attitude of the Jesuit masters towards games:

The out-door games are warmly encouraged by the Superiors not only because they contribute to the health of the students and materially assist to impart to them manliness and self-reliance, but because they are found, when used as rewards for good conduct and steady application, direct and valuable aids to the maintenance of strict discipline and the preservation of a solid spirit of study...The two general out-door games of the college are football and cricket, and as the Superiors consider it is injurious to a boy's health and character to hold aloof from the games, all the pupils will be enrolled as members of the football and cricket clubs...

From the evidence available it appears that St. Ignatius College holds the dubious distinction of being the first New South Wales school in which compulsory games-playing was an official policy.

The prospectus also provides some interesting material on the organisation of games within the college. This task was to be completely carried out by committees of students,¹³⁵ although, one imagines, under the benevolent eye of the prefect 'surveillant'. The system was also in place at Xavier College, Kew.¹³⁶ Another Jesuit measure was to have the junior and senior sports grounds located at opposite ends of the property.¹³⁷ On these grounds, for the summer games, "...fine concrete wickets [had] been laid down...", while in winter they provided a grassy surface on which "...football [was] played according to the Australian rules of the game."¹³⁸ Despite student organisation their opponents were closely monitored by the Jesuits, "none but respectable clubs visit the College, [and] no public match may be arranged for without the Superior's permission."¹³⁹

Rowing was the most important sport at St. Ignatius in this period, the students and masters were enthusiastic recreational and competitive rowers, and the holding of an annual regatta from 1885 brought substantial social kudos to the college.¹⁴⁰ The college four competed in the Schools Championship Fours held by the Sydney Rowing Association, and were runners-up to Sydney Grammar in 1885 and 1886, before winning in 1887.¹⁴¹ In 1888 they rowed against Geelong Grammar on the Barwon, a race which Geelong won.¹⁴²

The following year they reversed this result by defeating Geelong Grammar on Lane Cove. Clearly the sportsmen at St. Ignatius enjoyed privileges that were not extended to St. Joseph's students. As late as 1893 the Marist superiors ruled that St. Joseph's cricket eleven could only play matches against outside teams if they were played in the college grounds.¹⁴⁴

'Trident' of the Sydney Mail, reflecting on ten years of rowing at the College, summarised the extent of St. Ignatius' rowing reputation:

St. Ignatius holds some records, including the number of entries received for one race, for all races, the possession of challenge prizes, the introduction of Inter-States School rowing, the winning of a schools' challenge cup, and [are] the holders of not only a fine club house, fleet of boats, and a substantial cash credit at the bank, but [also] have no liabilities. 145

Through the efforts of the college, and the interest of the press, the Riverview Regatta became a feature of Sydney's social calendar. It was a significant boost for the image of the college, attracting vice-regal patronage as well as the attention of leading Sydney socialites.

While rowing flourished the other sports were retarded by a lack of adequate facilities. These sports were still "...carried on with spirit, if not with success."¹⁴⁶ A student of the period reported that the college authorities were sympathetic and "...were making efforts to provide playing grounds..." but that "...the class of country was against success."¹⁴⁷ Progress on the levelling and clearing of playing areas provided a recurring area of interest

for the college magazine, Our Alma Mater, which first appeared in 1886. One version of the college decision to play Australian Rules refers to the ground as a contributing factor. The claim was that the ground was covered in ironstone shingles that made it unfit for rugby, despite attempts by students to clear these obstructions.¹⁴⁸ A.A. Rankin, a student at St. Ignatius between 1882 and 1889, provides a different story:

During my stay at Riverview...we were not allowed to play Rugby, and accordingly did not join in the inter-collegiate football matches, though occasionally when opportunity offered, we surreptitiously did attempt 'ruggie' amongst ourselves, as we preferred it to the Victorian game. 149

The first ten years of games-playing at both colleges provided widely disparate experiences for their respective student populations. Whereas the atmosphere at St. Joseph's was largely one of antipathy towards games, at St. Ignatius masters and boys indulged in games with similar levels of enthusiasm. The only significant supporter of games on the first staff at St. Joseph's was the Irishman Brother Basil. He acted as 'de-facto' sportsmaster, presiding over all sports in the early years of the college.¹⁵⁰ His love of sport set him on an inevitable collision course with the French Brothers, whenever the diminution of sporting opportunities seemed imminent. Across the river, at St. Ignatius, the experience was almost the reverse of this. A number of the Jesuit Fathers were games devotees, the most notable among them being Father Keating and Father Gartlan.

Father Keating, the Prefect of Studies and later Rector of first Xavier and then St. Ignatius, was held in high esteem

by his students. He often opened the batting and the bowling for the college eleven with marked success. A tribute to him claims that he was:

...a scholar in every sense of the term, he was a man of most striking personality. Strikingly handsome, he was an all round athlete. It would be hard to find a game requiring strength and skill, which he could not play well. He used to play as a member of our team when the teams of the most formidable cricket clubs about Sydney visited Riverview. 151

Father Gartlan, outside of his college rowing commitments, tended towards a more eccentric expression of his athletic interests. He was known to enliven many an evening in the refectory with his readings and analysis of the latest cricket Test Match details.¹⁵² In warmer weather, when a full moon was visible, he organised moonlight rowing excursions; "...he would select a crew of half a dozen...and in the big college boat a trip would be taken down the harbour."¹⁵³ He would position himself at the bow of the boat, with his rifle, so that he could take 'pots' at flying foxes and other unfortunate nocturnals.¹⁵⁴ Masters like Father Keating and Father Gartlan were complemented by Father O'Connell and Reverend Frank Keogh, who were both sporting enthusiasts, as well as by "that fine old soldier and drill master" Sergeant Michael Hagney, who had been procured from Sydney Grammar School.¹⁵⁵ With such ardent sportsmen providing the model for the students to follow, the pattern of adherence and emulation was evident at St. Ignatius from the earliest days of the College.

There seems to have been a precedent for the athletic involvement of the Jesuit masters at St. Ignatius. Mangan notes the increasing expectation that masters would involve themselves in games playing in the English public schools of the mid to late-nineteenth century. This staff involvement often "reflected devotion to a belief that to lead by example in these areas of school life was to properly emphasise their importance and value."¹⁵⁶ In 1903, when His Majesty's Inspectors visited some of the public schools, they remarked that they found this practice to be highly commendable.¹⁵⁷ The Jesuits at Stonyhurst had played in their student's games, as a common practice, for at least sixty years before the advent of the "young muscular masters" in most other English public schools.¹⁵⁸

Despite the powerful opposition to games-playing at St. Joseph's, some concessions begin to arise in 1889. Unfortunately there appears to be little evidence to explain these departures from the norm. Brother Basil's name is prominent in the football report of 1889, which records the college's first year of games against outside clubs.¹⁵⁹ Four games were played in all, including games against Sydney High School and the University.¹⁶⁰ The rules that the games were played under were the Australian ones.

St. Joseph's arrogant confidence with regard to their cricket is evident again in the summary of the season:

Before closing our cricket record, we should like to state that we are now entitled to the School's Championship. We have easily defeated three school clubs, two others have refused to play, though asked to do so, and a third actually backed out of a match which had been a long time arranged. 161

The highlight of the season was the match against Newington, for which the cricket eleven were actually allowed to leave the college under the care of Brother Basil.¹⁶² The cricket correspondent revelled in the status of a game against such eminent opposition:

The Match that excited greatest interest, so far, was that against Newington College. As an educational institution, Newington has been very prominent for a great many years past. More than once have its boys distinguished themselves in the cricket field. A sort of rival claim for supremacy has for some time existed... 163

St. Joseph's won by one hundred and eighty-six runs to Newington's seventy-four.¹⁶⁴

In 1890 Brother Emilian, the French Director of St. Joseph's, left the college amidst rising tensions. Naughtin provides a circumspect account of the conditions at the time of Brother Emilian's departure:

It was first of all inevitable that a French Director of the College and Superior of the Community would at some time be replaced by an English-speaking Director, if not an Australian. The Australian milieu was very different from the French, and French preconceptions of educational needs had to give way to Australian. Br. Emilian himself had already mentioned to the Provincial that he would welcome a change. A further reason for Br. Emilian's departure was the growing friction among some of the Brothers between the Australian and the French. This tension was to become acute in the early 1890's. Opposition to Brother Emilian was growing in the late 1880's. 165

These tensions were at least partially due to Brother Emilian's autocratic rulings on the question of games. As early as 1887 Brother Basil had argued with Brother Emilian over the playing of games, with such little success that he declared his sub-directorship

"a farce".¹⁶⁶ For a record of these controversies we must rely on Naughtin and Doyle, for these matters were obviously too controversial to be publicly aired in the college magazine or other official documents:

The French Brothers at the College were unsympathetic to the desire of the boys and of the Australian staff members to extend the place of sport in the college... In 1890 a deputation of senior boys in the College had petitioned the Director (Br. Emilian) for a Wednesday half-holiday to enable games to be played against outside teams. Br. Emilian refused the request; Br. Basil, as Sub-Director, had strongly supported the request. 167

The Marist Brothers may not have been aware of the experience of the Vincentians at St. Stanislaus in Bathurst, who had precipitated a local crisis due to fears that they were "against football".¹⁶⁸

After Brother Emilian's departure one might have expected problems to ease, particularly following the promotion of Brother Stanislaus, an Australian, to the Director's position. A combination of factors militated against any settlement of the long running disputes. Firstly Brother John, the Irish-born Superior of the community, was forced to defend his appointment of Brother Stanislaus against accusations of anti-French policies.¹⁶⁹ Then Brother Basil was sent to New Zealand to convalesce after an illness.¹⁷⁰ At the same time economic conditions in the colony were worsening following a speculative land boom, the primary and business sectors of the economy were affected, and enrolments declined annually from two hundred and ninety-nine students in 1888, to below two hundred in 1891.¹⁷¹ The Frenchmen, Brother

Theobald and Brother Vales wrote often to the Superior General in France outlining Brother Stanislaus' failings:

The difficult times that the College was passing through were taken as evidence by Br. Theobald and his supporters that the Australian Director was a failure and that the only hope for the College was to reappoint the Frenchman, Br. Emilian. 172

Brother Emilian was apparently lending support to these accusations and pressing for his own reinstatement to the position while in Europe. ¹⁷³

Brother John meanwhile carried on his own correspondence with the Superior General and, realising that the majority of the staff remained opposed to Brother Emilian's reappointment, recommended that:

...his (Br. Emilian's) good qualities which are certainly great would be of greatest usefulness in a new field rather than in a place where his defects are better known. 174

The Superior General must have heeded Brother John's advice because Brother Emilian was subsequently sent to a mission in China. ¹⁷⁵

On the question of the college magazine, Brother John did not have the same success. The French Brothers had written to France criticising the magazine for the financial loss it had incurred, its lack of acknowledgement for their help in producing it, and its over-emphasis on sport. ¹⁷⁶ It is clear that they also objected to the magazines alienating effect on them. In many ways the focus of Our Golden Days strengthened the bonds between the Irish and Australian brothers and the boys, while further distancing the French brothers who did not belong to the

culture that was being portrayed. Brother John wrote to the Superiors a defence of the magazine content:

Similar works are published annually by the Jesuits (Riverview), the Vincentians (Bathurst) and the Marist Fathers (Wellington, N.Z.) in which as much is made of sport as has been the case in Our Golden Days as far as I can judge. 177

The 1891 Annual was to be the last for five years after the Superiors in France forbade its publication.

The French antipathy towards games, as well as other aspects of public school life, has been examined in some detail because it provides the explanation for the delayed development of athleticism at St. Joseph's. It also accounts for the marked contrast between experiences at St. Joseph's and St. Ignatius. The adherence of the Jesuits approximated the games-playing norm while the Marists displayed a significant deviation from it. Amongst the boys at St. Joseph's the seed of athleticism was planted despite the unfavourable environment. The following passage from the 1891 Annual, justifying the value of cricket, is evidence of athleticism's nascent presence:

Apart from the physical strength which it develops, cricket is quite an educative power. To play it 'thoroughly a boy must be patient, self-denying, brave and obedient; he must think, he must see, he must act... It is therefore not surprising that such an amusement meets with the Brothers' highest approval and warmest encouragement. 178

The following period was to be one of consolidation and expansion of the ethos at both colleges. With the founding of the A.A.G.P.S. in 1892, the French Brothers, with their objections to games, were gradually forced to capitulate. School sporting competitions,

along with examination results, became the tangible means by which the worth of a school could be measured. Athleticism became an accepted part of the educational orthodoxy.

NOTES ON CHAPTER FOUR

110. Naughtin, B.M., op.cit., p. 84.
111. St. Ignatius College, Riverview, Jubilee Book: 1880-1930, O'Loughlin Bros., Sydney, 1930 (hereinafter referred to as S.I.C. Jubilee Book), p. 27.
112. Dening, G., op.cit., p. 18.
113. St. Ignatius College, Riverview, Prospects for 1887, p. 3.
114. ibid., p. 5.
115. Naughtin, Br. M. op.cit., p. 48. See also Saint Joseph's College Annual. 1891. p. 30 hereinafter referred to as S.J.C. Annual).
116. Naughtin, Br. M., op.cit., p. 48.
117. ibid., p. 30.
118. ibid., p. 34.
119. ibid., p. 31.
120. ibid., p. 41.
121. S.J.C. Annual, 1888 (Cal led Our Golden Days), p. 28.
122. ibid., p. 32.
123. ibid., p. 31.
124. Mangan, J .A., Athleticism, op.cit., p. 180.
125. S.J.C. Annual, 1888, p. 1.
126. ibid., p. 10.
127. ibid., p. 27.
128. ibid., p. 27.
129. ibid., p. 11.
130. ibid., p. 22.
131. ibid., p. 23.
132. ibid., p. 33.
133. Windsor, G., in J.A.C.H.S., op.cit., p. 4.
134. St. Ignatius College, Riverview, Prospectus for 1887, p. 16.
135. ibid., p. 16.

136. Dening, G., op.cit., p. 64.
137. St. Ignatius College, Riverview, Prospectus for 1887, p. 16.
138. ibid., p. 17.
139. ibid., p. 17.
140. S.I.C. Jubilee Book, p. 114.
141. ibid., p. 114.
142. ibid., p. 114.
143. ibid., p. 114.
144. Doyle, Br. A. op.cit., p. 330.
145. Reported in S.I.C. Jubilee Book, p. 115.
146. ibid., p. 38.
147. ibid., p. 38.
148. ibid., p. 38.
149. ibid., p. 14.
150. S.J.C. Annual, 1888, pp, 22, 27 and 30.
151. S.I.C. Jubilee Book, p. 27.
152. ibid., p. 26.
153. ibid., p. 26.
154. ibid., p. 26.
155. ibid., p. 14.
156. Mangan, J.A., Athleticism, op.cit., p. 119.
157. ibid., p. 65.
158. ibid., p. 65.
159. S.J.C. Annual, 1889, p. 60.
160. ibid., p. 60.
161. ibid., p. 77.
162. ibid., p. 72.
163. ibid., p. 72.

164. ibid., p. 72.
165. Naughtin, Br. M. op.cit., p. 69.
166. ibid., p. 70.
167. ibid., p. 96.
168. Bean, C.E.W., op.cit., p. 71.
169. Naughtin, Br. M., op.cit., p. 84.
170. ibid., p.
171. ibid., p. 81.
172. ibid., p. 84.
173. ibid., p. 84.
174. ibid., p. 85.
175. ibid., p. 84.
176. ibid., p. 85.
- 177, ibid., p. 85.
178. S.J.C. Annual, 1891, p. 36.

CHAPTER FIVE

ATHLETICISM AS ORTHODOXY - THE RHETORIC OF JUSTIFICATION:

1892-1910

In this chapter only brief mention will be made of the development of particular sports at the Colleges. The intention is to focus on the organisational and pedagogical innovations, connected with games, in the period. The formation of the A.A.G.P.S. in 1892 was undoubtedly a major influence in the standardisation of sporting practices within the member schools. Membership was also a mark of status, carrying with it an implied ethos and an official demeanour, that individual schools had to emulate in order to be deserving of the G.P.S. acronym. At the pedagogic level athleticism provided the justification for a substantial re-ordering of financial and temporal priorities. The acquisition of playing fields often required large financial outlays, so the official scheduling of games could not be seen to be educationally disadvantageous. Consequently the playing of games, and their educational utility, became the subject of a detailed and articulate form of justificatory rhetoric, indulged in by headmasters, masters, old boys, parents and students.

At the first formal meeting of the A.A.G.P.S. both St. Joseph's and St. Ignatius were represented.¹⁷⁹ The early meetings provided for both a reflection of common purposes and ideals, and an attempt to systematise the growing phenomenon of inter-school games. Despite tacit approval for the latter concern, both colleges

appeared to have been primarily motivated by the opportunity for fostering a group identity. St. Ignatius continued to compete in the rowing competition but not in any of the other sports. St. Joseph's did not take part in any of the sports in the first year, probably because of the continuing ascendancy of the French ideals at the college, but were able to field a cricket eleven which shared the premiership in 1893.¹⁸⁰ Again in 1894 St. Joseph's did not field teams in any competition.¹⁸¹ In 1895, however, the A.A.G.P.S. accepted a late application from St. Joseph's, thus waiving their two month notice rule, in order to facilitate St. Joseph's entry into the rugby competition.¹⁸² St. Joseph's did not enter teams in the cricket, with the exception of 1893, or the rowing, until the following decade. The reticence displayed by St. Ignatius, with regard to the sports other than rowing, appears to have been a function of the lack of student numbers at the College. At St. Joseph's sport remained a contentious issue throughout the first half of the 189's.

Despite the various factors that constrained their efforts in the competitive sphere, St. Joseph's and St. Ignatius gained immeasurable advantages from their A.A.G.P.S. membership. There were many compelling reasons for these elite Roman Catholic Colleges to aspire to Greater Public School status. It was common knowledge that many status conscious Catholic parents had sent their boys to the non-denominational Sydney Grammar School, because it was perceived that this would provide social advantages that St. Joseph's and St. Ignatius could not offer. Membership of the A.A.G.P.S.

provided a cogent argument for the contention that Catholicism was no longer a social impediment. The interaction of schools in the area of games-playing provided these schools with 'caste'. In Australia competitions formalised the means by which prestige could be gained, and groups like the A.A.G.P.S., and the A.P.S. in Melbourne, became the 'Ivy Leagues' of their respective spheres of influence. There is no doubt that the status of St. Joseph's and St. Ignatius would have suffered early on from their incomplete involvement in competitions. Nonetheless, the fact that they were Greater Public Schools could not be questioned. Speaking about the prestige of these sporting organisations Bean suggests that:

...what is important here is that their existence tended strongly to encourage the growth of distinctions such as had existed in England, both between the larger and older of the independent schools and the remainder of them, and between all such schools and the State high schools when these came into being. 183

The position of St. Joseph's and St. Ignatius can be likened to that of the aristocratic Catholic schools in England. At Beaumont, a Jesuit College, the conversion to athleticism provided a large impetus to the school's bid for public school status:

It was not until 1901, with the appointment of a new headmaster who 'advertised widely, entertained magnificently and exhibited ruthlessly' - and, no less significantly, fostered contacts at rowing, boxing, cricket and cadet corps activities with leading non-Catholic as well as Catholic public schools - that Beaumont's products can definitely be said to have benefited from public schoolboy status. 184

A student at Stoneyhurst reflected the full extent of the conformity generated by emulation of the more traditional public

schools, when he claimed that: "I think of myself first as a public schoolboy and second as a Catholic public schoolboy."¹⁸⁵ In England, however, the criteria involved membership of the Headmaster's Conference. Inter-school sport was, from the outset, the major agent of conformity in Australia, as the setting up of the A.A.G.P.S. and similar organisations in other states significantly pre-dated the institution of the Headmaster's Conference of Australia. Sporting interaction was to be the predominate symbol of an elite group identity for at least forty years.

While conformity of purpose was undoubtedly the main concern of the A.A.G.P.S. founders, conformity of practice was also desired. Pressure on member schools with regard to the standard of their playing fields, their ability to fit in with fixture lists, the age of their representatives, and the general conduct of their sporting teams, provided an unremitting theme in the early association meetings. Conformity was also strengthened by confining the association sports initially to only four: rowing, rugby, athletics and cricket.¹⁸⁶ Rifle-shooting was added in 1905 and swimming in 1909;¹⁸⁷ sports such as tennis, although widely played, were considered to be too individualistic in character and therefore of lesser value than other games.

St. Joseph's appear to have been one of the more frequent transgressors of the A.A.G.P.S. rules in the first decade of its operation. They were first censured on the question of their playing fields when in 1895, with their own grounds unfit for play, they carried on their competition matches at Boronia Park.

The A.A.G.P.S. ruled that this ground was unsuitable due to the lack of barriers to prevent the spectators from encroaching onto the playing area.¹⁸⁸ School hours were also an impediment throughout this period. St. Joseph's, having shared the premiership in 1893, were unable to re-enter the cricket competition until 1901.¹⁸⁹ In 1898 they had attempted to enter the competition but later had to withdraw due to the association decision to implement a 2 p.m. start on Fridays and a 10.30 a.m. start on Saturday morning.¹⁹⁰ Travelling was also a negative consideration for some years following the order of the Superiors, in 1894, that games would only be allowed if they were played in the college grounds. St. Joseph's finally returned to the cricket competition in 1901, after the A.A.G.P.S. re-organised the playing times to Wednesday afternoons and all day Saturday.¹⁹¹

Apart from these administration problems, the A.A.G.P.S. also had to preside over a dispute involving the bona fides of a St. Joseph's player. William Doyle, the St. Joseph's rugby captain, was found to be over the agreed upon age limit of twenty-one, and St. Joseph's were subsequently disqualified.¹⁹² The King's Master, W.S. Corr, asked that St. Joseph's be required to withdraw from the Association, but his motion was defeated by ten against six votes.¹⁹³ King's and Newington withdrew from the Association under protest for two years, not returning to competition until 1899. St. Ignatius were never involved in this level of controversy with the A.A.G.P.S., at least partly because of their limited participation. The college magazine of

1899 does mention a slight incident concerning a football game against King's. The magazine rejected a claim made by Kings, in the King's School Journal, that two St. Ignatius' players had been cautioned.¹⁹⁴ The football correspondent reported that the incident had actually involved two King's boys, and that Mr. Armstrong, the referee, had no recollection of the cautioning of any St. Ignatius players.¹⁹⁵ Dening, referring to the existence of similar disputes involving Xavier College and the Associated Public Schools sports committee, neatly summarises the reasons behind this phenomenon:

What was happening, of course, was that the competing schools were being caught up in a mad logic of rule-making in competitive sport. The scandal and the suspicions were signs that winning was really more important than playing the game. 196

It was this often frenzied level of adherence to the games-playing ethos at St. Josephs that most annoyed Brother Felix, the new French superior of the Order in Australia. From the very beginning of his period of office, Brother Felix found fault with Brother Stanislaus, the Director of St. Joseph's, Brother Stanislaus had transacted, with the help of the previous Superior Brother John, the purchase of sixteen acres of suitable playing fields near the college.¹⁹⁷ These grounds purchased for the sum of three thousand pounds in 1892, required substantial preparations before reaching competition standard.

This fact was not entirely understood by Brother Felix, and this lack of understanding precipitated more conflict at St. Joseph's. Naughtin quotes Brother Felix's version of an

incident at Boronia Park in 1893:

Games at the College seem to continue with more frenzy than before... On the Feast of Corpus Christi... in the afternoon, I found the boarders playing a game of football... All the boy's divisions, the senior boys, the middle ones, the small ones, mixed together; men, women, girls and young children, mixed everywhere with the boarders; the Brothers supervising the boys, the other Brothers of the College, young and old, pell-mell with the crowd, seemed to be more concerned with the game than the children. 198

Besides his concern at the fraternisation between the different divisions of boys, as well as between the boys, the Brothers and the general public, Brother Felix was most irate about the location of the game:

Very annoyed, I went to our own ground where I saw a group of children also playing football: they were children from Hunter's Hill and the neighbourhood. I said to myself: 'Have we bought this land for strangers?' 199

He approached Brother Stanislaus:

I let him know how amazed I was, believing that, now that we have sacrificed three thousand pounds for a magnificent site for games, we would use it for games instead of going to the public park where our Brothers and our boys are mixed with all sorts of people. 200

The 1894 examination results were not up to their usual standard at St. Joseph's, so Brother Felix felt doubly justified in transferring Brother Stanislaus to Bendigo. 201

Brother Basil's return to St. Joseph's as Director seems to have been a somewhat remarkable choice in the circumstances. With his return the cult of athleticism received a faithful and tenacious adherent. Firstly the rulings of the French superiors had to be overcome. These rulings allowed games to proceed only

under the following guidelines; that they were only played in the college grounds, that such play would be 'moderate', that the opponents would be only respectable young men, and that no results should be published.²⁰² These edicts, issued in March 1894, were totally impractical if the college wished to compete in the A.A.G.P.S. competitions. The moral provisions could be supported but the inability to leave the College grounds made involvement impossible. The last point, given the enthusiasm of the press, was impossible to enforce also. Brother Basil contested the position in a fairly non-combative fashion. He seems to have been behind the move, at least in spirit, when:

In 1895, a deputation of senior boys at the College went to the Provincial, Br. Felix, requesting permission to take part in the competition games against other schools. 203

Surprisingly, given his feelings in the matter as well as the Superior's ruling, Brother Felix granted permission for one years trial involvement.

He seems to have regretted his decision almost immediately. On the 17th of February, 1895, he wrote to the Superiors complaining about sport:

I have decided... to take a firm stand against the excessive tendency to sports, which is the great plague of our colonies. 204

His 'stand' had not made any obvious headway by the following year, in which he recorded that:

Yesterday...the crowd was enormous, the shouts deafening, supporters had come from Sydney and suburbs to enjoy the spectacle... 205

By the end of 1896 Brother Felix still maintained that the major evils confronting young boys were, "the world, sports, flesh and the devil".²⁰⁶ His opposition had become an anachronism as far as the institution of games-playing at St. Joseph's was concerned.

The re-introduction of the annual magazine in 1897, although characterised by some initial caution, further aided the inculcation of athleticism within the college. Naughtin believes that the paucity of sporting reports in the magazines for 1897, 1898 and 1899 reveal that "...the editors seem[ed] wary of having the magazine banned on the grounds of excessive emphasis on sport."²⁰⁷ He overlooks the existence of substantial amounts of rhetoric, related to the educational justification of games, that appears in these issues. An article by the famous old-boy cricketer Tom Purcell, appearing in the 1897 magazine, presented a euphemistic 'glimpse of College life':

...it is undoubtedly a matter for congratulation that we revelled so much in the king of games [cricket] for thereby we were able to conclusively prove that St. Joseph's could take the lead in physical as well as in intellectual and moral pursuits.²⁰⁸

Purcell's article was reinforced by the sports section, which although small by comparison with previous issues, contained some quite extensive pieces of rhetoric:

In an educational institution like the college, bodily training must receive its due share of attention... When, by the practice of bodily exercises, the character can be shaped and perfected, these exercises become doubly valuable. The matter of sport is judiciously handled at the college, the noblest and manliest games are chosen for the students, and these are properly encouraged...²⁰⁹

Another article in the 1897 magazine refers to Br. Basil as the driving force behind St. Joseph's sport, and expresses regret at his leaving the college in that year:

Whether in the senior class solving problems or imparting useful and wholesome instruction, or engaged outside in conversation on current topics or sport, he was always the same...Who cannot still regard him meandering around the football field, with his big stick in hand, keeping the playing area clear; or his form on the cricket field when it was necessary to make a bold bid for victory? Who forgets his pet phrase 'Play up lads; keep at them lads'?²¹⁰

Br. Basil had been the most firm supporter of sport and the ideals of athleticism during his period at St. Joseph's. During his directorship the new grounds were systematically improved until, early in 1896, the first turf wicket was laid down by Ned Gregory, a member of the famous cricketing family, and curator of the Sydney Cricket Ground. The major legacy of Br. Basil's work was his substantial revision of the Marist pedagogy, and his incorporation of Australian ideas and practices that he perceived as being educationally useful.

At St. Ignatius, during the 1890's, the Rector and staff continually sought to improve the facilities and games-playing opportunities for the students. The 1897 Prospectus expresses their pride at the outcome of these efforts, with a list of facilities at the College:

...its own private wharf, at which the ferry steamers call every half hour; baths, Senior and Junior boat-sheds, with a fleet of thirty boats; lawn tennis courts, handball courts, rifle range, and four cricket and football grounds.²¹²

These symbols of athletic life within the college engendered a certain amount of smugness. In the 1895 magazine there was a comparison of the athletic facilities at St. Ignatius and at Sydney Grammar, the article concluded that:

The Grammar School will always be handicapped in athletics till it gets that patch of park or reserve for a playground, which ought to have been its endowment from the beginning.²¹³

The pride with which the G.P.S. schools described their playing fields was analogous to the 'bricks and mortar' mentality that they also displayed. Acquisition of playing space became a necessary requirement for any educational institution that desired status. At St. Ignatius this seems to have been a more prevalent consideration than at the other schools. The St. Ignatius rowing facilities were constantly referred to in college publications and at official ceremonies. For many years the College magazine contained a detailed balance sheet, outlining the financial dealings with regard to rowing, and often proudly boasting of a surplus of income over expenditure. Rowing, as well as being the favourite sport of the College, was also a rewarding public relations exercise for the Jesuits.

Mangan borrows an idea from Veblen when he describes this pre-occupation with games acreage, as the ownership of "conspicuous resources".²¹⁴ While the primary aim for purchasing facilities was undoubtedly for the purpose of actually playing games, it was also the case that:

These symbols of commitment, indulgence and privilege [bore] witness to the power of an ideology, the wealth of an institution and the devotion of its pupils, staff, old boys and parents. 215

St. Ignatius' back-hand criticism of Sydney Grammar's lack of facilities is further support for the contention that:

Schools of the time stood or fell in public esteem by the quality of their wickets and the extensiveness of their games acres.²¹⁶

Another area in which St. Ignatius displayed a particularly zealous adherence to athleticism was on the question of compulsory games. The official line on compulsion has already been mentioned in the discussion of the 1887 prospectus. In the 1890's compulsory games-playing was also enforced by some quite considerable peer pressure. Reflecting on a poor season of football in 1895, the College magazine recorded that:

The real cause of the failure was the total want of 'esprit de corps' displayed by a few individuals, who would not put themselves to the least inconvenience, and only played in practice when they could find no grounds for obtaining exemption from the rule of the College, obliging them to do so.²¹⁷

Later, in the same issue, the point is raised again:

To be in proper condition to play football, diligent and hard practice is required, and those who neglect to make this essential preparation sacrifice the honour of the school to their own selfishness and love of ease. This is nothing short of shameful treason.²¹⁸

The same charges were also levelled at the College tennis players, who displayed "the same lack of energy and 'go' which characterised many other departments of sport."²¹⁹

According to the ideologous of 1895, however, all was not lost:

This is not as it used to be at Riverview; and let us hope that it is only a slight reaction after the fatigues and victories of former years, to be followed by another

and healthier reaction in the constitution of physical education at St. Ignatius. 220

This stirring rhetoric does not appear to have enjoyed much success. The 1896 magazine reveals a slackening of attitude in rowing. On this occasion the weapon used is sarcasm - "Rowing at Riverview has become a recreation, not a species of professional training".²²¹ In fact rowing at the College experienced quite a recession, with no regatta being held in 1897.²²² It is noted, however, that the College received a communique from the N.S.W. Rowing Association stating how much the regatta had been missed.²²³

In 1898 sarcasm and censure were combined to again attack the footballing effort:

. . . One would think we were no longer boys at all, but well advanced in years, for our principal occupation is sitting on the seats, basking in the sun, and then having undergone such hard training we feel greatly astonished at losing match after match. Let us hope that we shall put our shoulders to the wheel for the latter part of the season and show the football world what Riverviewers can do when they set to work in earnest.
224

Again, in 1903, the editors felt it necessary to cajole the footballers into greater efforts:

It scarcely requires a philosopher to say that the end cannot be procured without the proper means to it. And we are of the opinion that hard and constant practice of the game is one of the great means for securing a victory in a match. 225

By December of 1903, however, the college footballing stocks seem to have experienced a marked upswing. A coach was procured,

a Mr. Alick Burden of Glebe,²²⁶ who later gained notoriety as the injured player who precipitated the split that formed the Rugby League in 1908. The College was invited to play the curtain-raiser at the S.C.G. before the New Zealand vs. Australia match. In front of 35,000 spectators St. Ignatius held Sydney Grammar to a respectable margin in losing 5-0.²²⁷ The advocates of compulsory games seemed to have finally achieved their desired result. By the time of publication of the 1906 magazine, even the College aesthetes had been conscripted to the weekly footballing effort:

Irate footballers in bygone years had reason to complain of the number of 'spiritless duffers', who failed to take an active part in the king of games. We are happy to announce that the obnoxious species is now well-nigh extinct... Even 'Weary Willie' has been so busy marking the twenty-five yards line, that he can only steal an occasional glance at the latest thing in light literature.²²⁸

Compulsion was a necessity for the effective implementation of athleticism. There was often a fine line between the educational ideals of the Jesuit Fathers, and the co-ercive rhetoric that we have just examined. When one considers the divergent experiences of a boy from the era that we have been examining, and another from Father Gartlan's 'moonlight' expeditionary force in the early 1880's, a striking change is noticeable. Whereas earlier students roamed the river precincts and the bushland between the College and Chatswood, later students spent their time travelling between the stumps,

goal-posts and rowing sheds of the Greater Public Schools, thus serving as living and breathing testimonies to the conformity presided-over by the A.A.G.P.S.. At St. Joseph's the pressure for compulsory sport was not as strong. In some circumstances there had been calls for fines for non-attendance at training sessions. Far more equanimity was displayed at St. Joseph's than at St. Ignatius when performances were poor. The 1898 football report shrugs off a poor season with the excuse that "...the College adopted the Rugby game of football much later than all of the great schools and Colleges of the colony..."²²⁹, but also adds a philosophical observation which suggests the likelihood of future success; "...even the sun in the heavens is at times eclipsed; but it is only a very temporary darkness..."²³⁰

Whereas athleticism at St. Joseph's could be said to have been in its infancy at the turn of the century, at St. Ignatius the ideology had been developed as part of the conscious external image of the College. A letter from the Earl of Jersey, written to Father Gartlan in 1894, displays quite concisely how St. Ignatius wished to appear to the outside world:

On the whole, I should say that the muscular branch of education, into which you throw so much care and energy, will enable your boys to hold their own under whatever circumstances they may be placed.²³¹

The College also took great delight in reproducing celebratory notices, that appeared in the press on the quality of Our Alma Mater, particularly when these notices re-affirmed the official personae of St. Ignatius' College:

Our Alma Mater is well worth reading, as it supplies an example of the kind of school which supplies a sound mind in a healthy body.²³²

-Bundaberg Star, June, 1894.

...the authorities at St. Ignatius' College foster not only the cultivation of 'mens sana', but judiciously direct the practice of those athletic exercises by which there may be virtue 'in corpore sano'.²³³

-Bega Gazette, June, 1894.

An extract from The Clongownian, the magazine of a Jesuit School in Ireland at which many of the St. Ignatius masters of the nineteenth century had either taught or learned, provides an evaluation of St. Ignatius by a visitor from the 'old country':

We call up before the mind those subtle chains of influence which act in the nobler and purer strains of character and which make for the formation, not only of cricketers and oarsmen, but of men of energy and virtue, of gentlemen and Catholics.²³⁴

The St. Ignatius speech day of 1905, the Silver Jubilee year of the College, provided the occasion for some quite excessive rhetoric on the theme of athleticism. The Report of The Prefect of Studies entered the area of games cautiously, but the speaker quickly wamred to his subject:

It may not be as in the province of a Prefect of Studies to intrude upon the sphere of sport, but is very gratifying to us and to all our friends to note that Riverview again holds the Great Public Schools Championship on the river... this is not rendered the less satisfactory by the fact that sports and games are...found to be very necessary relaxation, and also a great stimulus, to class work.²³⁵

Lord Jersey's speech on the 'The Object of Education' followed the same theme with a slightly different emphasis. Riverview, he claimed, was a school "... following the example of similar institutions in the old country..."²³⁶ He continued his discourse by stating his main contention that:

A school may turn out a succession of brilliant students or remarkable athletes, but it has not attained the object of education unless it also gives to all its pupils...an elevating influence which we may call 'tone' or 'esprit de corps', or anything else we like, but which cannot be mistaken.²³⁷

St. Ignatius College basked in the glory of these positive affirmations of its pedagogic methods.

The brand of athleticism adhered to at St. Ignatius was of the most orthodox variety. By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century it had reached its zenith. An editorial in the 1907 magazine evinces a pure form of athleticism in existence at the College:

...we are reminded of the games to which Riverviewers owe an allegiance that is offered in no unwilling spirit. Duty is not seldom bittersweet in the mouth, but at Riverview the duty of helping the great cause of muscular Christianity seems to have little of bitter in its sweetness.²³⁸

Rowing, the most popular sport in the College throughout this period, was strongly advocated for the inculcation of manly characteristics. Professor Edgeworth David, the noted Antarctic explorer with the Shackelton expedition, and an ex-Oxford Eights rower, presented the Annual Regatta prizes at St. Ignatius in 1909. He asserted that:

All his life he had been brought a good deal in contact with rowing men, and he found them to be an exceedingly genial, capable, resourceful lot of men. It was to their boating men that they looked for the backbone of athleticism in its most healthy form in Australia. (Applause).²³⁹

The first decade of the twentieth century at St. Joseph's need only be mentioned briefly, because it was primarily a period in which the gains made in the late 1890's were consolidated. The director-ships of Br. Denis (1897-1902) and Br. Clement (1902-1909) were periods during which any vestiges of the overtly French pedagogy of the early years were finally laid aside. Br. Denis was involved in establishing the Old Boys Union (O.B.U.) in 1898,²⁴⁰ while Br. Clement introduced several measures to facilitate the smooth conduct of inter-school games. Naughtin refers to Br. Clement's period of office as one of growing '*esprit de corps*' and school tradition.²⁴¹ This was no doubt facilitated by the remarkable success of the rugby team, who won in 1904, 1905, 1906 and 1907.²⁴² It was also the decade during which rowing was introduced to the College as part of the Silver Jubilee celebrations.²⁴³

Despite these obvious contributions by Br. Clement, it must be conceded that a fair amount of the ground work was laid by Br. Denis during his director-ship. The major strength that Br. Denis displayed was his ability to aid in the College's transition from the troubled period of the mid-1890's through to the new century, for it must be remembered that Br. Basil had only just begun to address himself to this problem in 1895.

Athleticism was actually present, as a quasi-official ideology, during the latter part of the director-ship of Br. Denis:

There was undoubted proof that success in public examinations is not the be-all and end-all of educational effort. Here [at St. Joseph's] every power of the body and faculty of the mind are carefully trained... The health, strength and grace of the human body are promoted by athletic exercise and manly sport...²⁴⁴

Br. Clement's period of office also coincided with a quite momentous occurrence. St. Ignatius College entered the G.P.S. rugby for the first time in 1907, thus leading to the first official sporting contact between St. Joseph's and St. Ignatius. The game itself lived up to the high expectations of both Colleges, when a solid 11-11 draw was played. St. Joseph's were behind by 3-11 at one stage but had recovered to salvage the draw. Boys at both Colleges "had earnestly longed for the day when they would meet their worthy foemen from across the river",²⁴⁵ so "all left the ground feeling pleased they had not missed the first, and perhaps the greatest, Rugby encounter the two Catholic Colleges will have to record."²⁴⁶

A brief consideration of another organisational innovation of this period, the Old Boy's Unions, will complete this chapter.

The conduct of the Union provides evidence of the effectiveness of athleticism and its post-school manifestations. The nostalgic regard, of the Old Boy's for athleticism, took many forms. Part of this nostalgic view of athleticism was no doubt engendered by the role of these Unions as games-playing institutions in their own right. Apart from the ideological support that Old Boys

Unions provided they also raised money for the school, established a network of patronage, and often played a role in defining school policy in certain areas. Sport often became one of these areas.

The St. Joseph's Old Boy's Union, formed in 1898, would undoubtedly have been well pleased with their position as role models for the efficacy of athleticism in life after school:

It may, perhaps be as well to disillusion the many who seem to consider a practical maintenance of school prestige in the sporting field as incompatible with the dry-as-dust professional life beyond the school.²⁴⁷

The first number of the Cerise and Blue, the Old Boys official magazine, instituted in 1906, carried an article on education by the President P.H. Louis (1902-1907), in which athleticism provided the central theme:

By means of his games a boy obtains that exercise for his muscles and limbs that is so necessary for the proper development of the body... it is equally certain that there is an even greater development of the mind created by play. This is what the ancients meant by the sound mind in the sound body.²⁴⁸

As well as providing this ideological support for athleticism the St. Joseph's Old Boy's Union carried out all of the other functions previously alluded to. They set the tone for the boys still at College to follow, both in their intellectual and sporting life, and acted as 'watchdogs' zealously guarding the values that they upheld.

The St. Ignatius Old Boy's Union, founded in 1897, embarked on a keen policy of improving the College sports from its inception. A classic tale of Old Boy intervention arose at the

Old Boy's Union ninth annual dinner in 1905. Pressure was applied on Fr. Gartlan, from the outset, on the question of St. Ignatius' involvement in the G.P.S. rugby. Mr. D'Apice in toasting Fr. Gartlan, the patron, remarked that:

He was very sorry... that the Riverview football fifteen were not in the great Schools' Competitions - (applause) - but that was not altogether Fr. Gartlan's fault.²⁴⁹

The new president Senator Keating, in his reply to the toasting of the Union, added support for D'Apice:

The hope was expressed...that it would not be far distant day when Riverview would be Faking part in the Great Schools' Competition, and the enthusiasm which [these] remarks evoked showed what a great moral force the Union could be.²⁵⁰

Fr. Gartlan, ever cautious on matters of College policy, replied to the Old Boy's Union Dinner of 1906 by letter:

Popular rumour has it that the coming year will find Riverview ready to enter the Great Public Schools Competition and in this instance I think the rumour is not far wrong - at any rate so far as football is concerned - and I am hopeful that even with regard to cricket the difficulties at present existing may be smoothed away. ²⁵¹

Fr. Gartlan's 'rumours' were well-founded and the Old Boy's pressure was rewarded with positive results; St. Ignatius entered the rugby in 1907.

The Old Boy's Unions represented another tier of the system which supported athleticism as well as other aspects of the corporate school ideology. They were particularly potent in their defence of athleticism, because they themselves were the tangible products of this system. The Unions maintained the bonds of allegiances formed at school, and also promulgated

a world-view that was consistent with the educational experience of their members. Mangan, speaking about Old Boy's Unions, asserts that "what the public school boy did was to take his school world and its symbolic actions into the outside world."²⁵² This sense of corporate spirit and identity was to be severely tested during World War One and its aftermath.

NOTES ON CHAPTER FIVE

179. Carington Pope, J., op.cit., p. 24.
180. Naughtin, Br.M. op.cit., p. 272.
181. ibid., p. 290.
182. ibid., p. 290.
183. Bean, C.E.W., op.cit., p. 74.
184. de Honey, J.R., op.cit., p.293.
185. ibid., p. 287.
186. Sherington, G., in History of Education Review, op.cit., p. 19.
187. ibid., p. 19.
188. Carington Pope, J. op.cit., p. 31.
189. Naughtin, Br. M., op.cit., p. 273.
190. ibid., p. 97.
191. ibid., p. 273.
192. ibid., p. 293.
193. ibid., p. 293.
194. Our Alma Mater, Dec.1899, p. 41 (hereinafter referred to as O.A.M.).
195. ibid., p. 41.
196. Dening, G., op.cit., p. 179.
197. Naughtin, Br. M. op.cit., p. 89.
198. ibid., p. 91.
199. ibid., p. 92.
200. ibid., p. 92.
201. ibid., p. 92.
202. ibid., p. 97.
203. ibid., p. 98.
204. ibid., p. 96.
205. ibid., p. 97.
206. ibid., p. 97.

207. ibid., p. 293.
208. S.J.C. Annual, 1897, p. 31.
209. ibid., p. 51.
210. ibid., p. 32.
211. ibid., p. 53.
212. O.A.M.,Dec. 1899, p. 1.
213. O.A.M.,Dec. 1895, p. 114.
214. Mangan, J.A. Athleticism, op.cit., p. 99.
215. ibid., p. 99.
216. ibid., p. 103.
217. O.A.M., June, 1895, p. 91.
218. ibid., p. 98.
219. ibid., p. 95.
220. ibid., p. 95.
221. O.A.M. Dec., 1896, p. 250.
222. O.A.M., Dec. 1897, p. 344.
223. ibid., p. 344.
224. O.A.M.,June, 1898, p. 390.
225. O.A.M., June, 1903, p. 21.
226. O.A.M., Dec. 1903, p. 54.
227. ibid., p. 54.
228. O.A.M., Dec. 1906, p. 36.
229. S.J.C. Annual, 1898, p. 70.
230. ibid., p. 70.
231. O.A.M., Dec., 1894, p. 14.
232. ibid., p. 50.
233. ibid., p. 50.
234. O.A.M.,Dec. 1903, p. 9.
235. O.A.M. Dec. 1905, p. 16.

236. ibid., p. 26.
237. ibid., p. 26.
238. O.A.M. Dec., 1907, p. 5.
239. O.A.M., July, 1909, p. 62.
240. Naughtin, Br. M. op.cit., p. 105.
241. ibid., p. 111.
242. ibid., p. 113.
243. ibid., p. 113.
244. S.J.C. Annual, 1901, p. 17.
245. S.J.C. Annual, 1907, p. 56.
246. ibid., p. 56.
247. S.J.C. Annual, 1899, p. 41.
248. Cerise and Blue, 1906, p. 12.
249. O.A.M., Dec. 1905, p. 32.
250. ibid., p. 33.
251. O.A.M., Dec. 1906, p. 20.
252. Mangan, J.A., Athleticism, op.cit., p. 145.

CHAPTER SIX

ATHLETICISM AND MILITARISM : 1910-1920

Military preparedness had always been accepted as one of the benefits of games involvement, and was therefore an intrinsic part of the ideology of athleticism. From around 1910 onwards this relationship was typified by a new and vigorous expression, which ultimately resulted in a substantially altered permutation of athleticism's educational priorities. Whereas at one time military preparation had been seen as an implicit side-effect of games-playing, it now became the dominant rationale put forward by athleticism's adherents. This rhetoric connecting war and games had undoubtedly been heard before; Bean mentions the Maori Wars of the 1870's, the Sudan Campaign of 1886, and the Boer Wars at the end of the nineteenth century as all providing instances of school-based rhetoric on the military preparedness of their students;²⁵³ but in its post-1910 manifestation this rhetoric displayed a level of intensity that foreshadowed the unprecedented severity of the upcoming conflict.

The need for military training had provided a recurring theme for many English public school masters, who incorporated militarism into their exhortations on the value of games. Athleticism, as an ideology, came to be regarded as a specific concomitant to the English pre-occupation with militarism and imperialism

For many Victorians and Edwardians there was an obvious link between the development of endurance, toughness and courage on English playing fields and pioneering in Australia, preaching in Africa and soldiering in Burma. And though the association between playing field and battle field may have been too tightly made, it did make some sense. The ferocity of keenly contested house matches helped to create a hardened imperial officer class naively eager for colonial wars. 254

This combination of pioneering and military muscularity pervaded the rhetoric of athleticism as the prospects of war rapidly increased.

Many Australians also believed that the early twentieth century conflicts and tensions were leading inexorably towards a major war. As early as 1910, the Australian government had felt compelled to introduce military legislation because of the growing power of the Japanese, following their victory over Russia in 1905. The corporate schools, acting as barometers of patriotism, warmly applauded the government decision to introduce compulsory cadet service in 1910.²⁵⁵ The Fisher Labour government's legislation required twelve to eighteen year-olds to compulsorily join a cadet unit.²⁵⁶ At St. Joseph's this led to a fairly unprecedented amount of rifle and drill work, with the Juniors practising for three hours per week and the Seniors for half a day each week.²⁵⁷ Military work had been part of the programme for some time at St. Ignatius. St. Ignatius had fielded a rifle team from the 1880's onwards and many of the Jesuits were keen advocates of military training. Father Dalton, the first Rector, celebrated the departure of the Australian contingent for the Sudan by granting a half holiday.²⁵⁸ In a nostalgic piece J.E.S. Henerie, an old boy, referred to St. Ignatius in 1910 as:

The Eton of Australia... Her sons have fallen in far away South Africa fighting for King and Empire...In whatever walk of life the ex-student of Riverview goes his way, he is ever conscious of the obligation the prestige of St. Ignatius' College imposes on him of being a Christian and being earnest and thorough in whatever he does for himself, for others and for his country. 259

At St. Joseph's the inauguration of the cadet movement, and the half-hour of drill administered by Br. Bernard before breakfast, was seen as part of "the duty and nobility of patriotism".²⁶⁰ The 1912 annual contains a remarkably prophetic editorial, that reflects the burgeoning militarism within the College:

In this, Our country's hour of apprehension, our Alma Mater stands shoulder to shoulder with the other great secondary schools in the effort to turn out a hardy body of young men, robust and hardy in physique, strong in character, with minds disciplined by the finest studies... 261

The Cerise and Blue of 1913 echoes these sentiments in an article on 'Sport' by 'Warrior':

Intellectual pre-eminence... seems too sacred a thing to be sneered or scoffed at. In the right view, we admire him [the scholar] undoubtedly, but we should admire him even still more did he possess, in addition, the great bodily endowments and physical prowess that would become a Viking. Right through the ages poets and scholars and writers have sung the praises of the soldier, implying, as that profession does, the possession of the qualities of courage, capacity for enduring hardships, and great physical fitness. 262

To 'Warrior' the soldier and the athlete were virtually synonymous:

... the determined high-motivated athlete is always morally safe, even though he be indifferent as regards religion; he must be careful to avoid excesses of all kinds... he must live ascetically... When the day of reckoning comes they [the athletes] will be much more capable of undertaking a long forced march in war time than the old woman in the semblance of a young man who never takes any exercise. 263

This overt connection between athleticism and militarism was to be a characteristic of the next five years of the rhetoric with regard to games-playing.

With the French prohibition of sport a rapidly fading memory, the boys and Brothers at St. Joseph's began to establish the College

as a prominent competitor amongst the A.A.G.P.S. schools. In 1910 the College managed a second placing behind Shore in the first eight-oared Head of the River.²⁶⁴ The 1911 Eight, of St. Joseph's, won the event by two feet to Sydney Grammar.²⁶⁵ St. Joseph's, revelling in their victory at only their fourth attempt, did not miss the opportunity to openly criticize the two crews from other schools, who had camped on the river for a fortnight prior to the event.²⁶⁶ It was claimed that the members of the St. Joseph's eight-oared crew had remained in class until 12 p.m. on the day of the race.²⁶⁷ In cricket the College had procured the services of the Bannerman brothers as coaches, and had also introduced a colour competition on an intra-school basis.²⁶⁸ Despite such attempts to improve the standard of cricket, results were not forthcoming. The Sydney Morning Herald claimed that between 1916 and 1924, "St. Joseph's endured cricket as a painful necessity".²⁶⁹ Rugby was also in decline at the College between 1908 and 1917.²⁷⁰ A major innovation of the period was the alteration of the form of G.P.S. Athletics in 1914:

There is a movement on foot to induce the sporting authorities at the various secondary schools to introduce new features into their athletic programmes, so that the boys of these schools may be trained on 'Olympic' lines. 271

In summary, however, it was a fairly stagnant period for St. Joseph's in terms of results, despite an increase of interest in competitive sports at the College.

The previous decade at St. Ignatius had been notable for the College's entry into the rugby competition in 1907. With the involvement of St. Ignatius in the cricket competition, for the first time in 1914,²⁷² the College was represented in all of the A.A.G.P.S.

sports. Athleticism and its various tenets were still put forward as a rationale for this involvement in games:

. . . they contribute to the health of the students and materially assist to impart to them manliness and self-reliance... 273

Reflecting on the All Schools' Rifle Match, in 1912, a spectator from the College remarked that:

One realised how sport brings out the very best that is in a lad. He practices at the cost of much self-sacrifice, and develops a generous character that one admires. 274

It is surprising that at St. Ignatius there was very little rhetoric of the sort that existed at St. Joseph's in the pre-World War One period. Perhaps athleticism and militarism had been implicitly linked for a lot longer at St. Ignatius, and therefore did not require as much active enunciation. Cadets from St. Ignatius were certainly prominent at many official occasions, with a guard of honour being sent by the College to A.B. Weigall's funeral in 1912.²⁷⁵ In the same year Father Keating, who had returned to St. Ignatius as Rector, introduced the system of boy prefects for the first time.²⁷⁶ When one considers the previously outlined Jesuit views on surveillance, this was a quite remarkable borrowing from the non-Catholic G.P.S. schools. An event in the following year, 1913, provided further evidence of the strengthening on the bonds of association between the G.P.S. schools. Father Keating died while holding the Rector's position at St. Ignatius, and his funeral was an opportunity for the G.P.S. to display the close relationship of its member schools. Cadets from St. Joseph's, Shore and Sydney Grammar were among the guard of honour, as a St. Joseph's bugler sounded the

"Last Post".²⁷⁷ Fr. Keating's obituary, in the College magazine, mentions his sporting prowess as a tribute to the man:

He was a fine athlete, and it was a sight, regularly expected, regularly recurring, to see him left a leg-ball right out of the cricket ground... 278

If any commonality existed between this Jesuit athlete and his non-Catholic counterparts, it was his ability to deal with a badly directed ball.

The athletic traditions of the College were reaffirmed, if not strengthened, by the return of Father Gartlan as Rector:

Not only those immediately connected with Riverview, but also great numbers of those connected with the great public schools, not of our Faith, rejoiced in the return of one who was considered the greatest headmaster the State had known. 279

While this was no doubt an exaggeration of the feelings of its fellow G.P.S. schools, St. Ignatius had gained approval by replacing one athlete Rector with another.

The experiences of both English and Australian ex-public school boys, when they were eventually called upon to back their master's rhetoric with action, were often brutally short. During World War One the gap between rhetoric and reality was closed for many who had been raised on a steady diet of athleticism. Perhaps as a defence against the horrors of war, athleticism's adherents at home and in the schools actually increased their rhetorical outpourings. The following, excerpt from a speech by an 'athletic' General, to the Harrow School War Memorial meeting in 1917, is typical of these ideological pronouncements:

What struck me... all the time I was out at the Front was the magnificent public school spirit, and the fact that the best material for leading troops came from those who had public school training, of which such an important part consists of games and sports. 280

As cracks began to appear in the athleticism-militarism relationship, schoolmasters sympathetic to the ethos attempted to repair the link with large doses of rhetorical support. F.B. Malim's defence of 'fair play' on the battle-field is typical of such attempts:

It has been argued that the prevalence of this generous temper among our troops has been a real handicap in war; that we have too much regarded hostilities as a game in which there were certain rules to be observed, and that when we found ourselves matched against a foe whose object was to win by any means fair or foul, the soldiers who were fettered by the scruples of honour were necessarily inferior to their unscrupulous foe. It has perhaps yet to be proved that in the long run the unchivalrous fighter always wins, and I doubt whether any of us would really prefer that even in war we should set aside the scruples of fair play. 281

These sincere but anachronistic sentiments reflected a part of the ideology of athleticism that was becoming unsupportable, as the full impact of the Great War was being felt. Only the most fanatical adherents were continuing to advocate the extreme outcome of games-playing self-sacrifice - death at an early age.²⁸²

For St. Joseph's and St. Ignatius the question of support and involvement in the Great War provided only one answer. Membership of the G.P.S. ensured the conformity of patriotic response that was so useful in times of war; "War service became a test of national and school values".²⁸³ As far as the elite Catholic schools were concerned it also offered an opportunity to consolidate their position. At Xavier College, the Jesuit school in Melbourne, loyalty reaped its own rewards:

Being recognised as a public school whitewashed the green of being Irish. The Great War that was upon them was more important for the school than anything that had happened before. It was the first real sign that being a public school had made them different. The school went to war in 1914 with excitement and enthusiasm. 284

Dening's description of Xavier College at the beginning of World War One could equally be applied to St. Joseph's and St. Ignatius.

At St. Joseph's, as the news of old boys killed in action began to arrive, games were held up as the ideal preparation for the willing replacements:

The bold bid of our teams for athletic supremacy is attended by far more practical enthusiasm than the struggle of our native land for the supremacy of Right and Liberty, but it must be remembered that the former is but the preparation, not the substitute for the latter. 285

The educational programme of the College, so recently articulated as a device for the development of character and manliness, now defined these desired outcomes in military terms:

... it is inevitable that the boys of today will have to face bigger responsibilities at an earlier period in their lives than those of any past generation. And the pages of this journal will indicate the processes by which they are becoming fitted for the work ahead. They will show how, by steady, systematic training for many weeks, St. Joseph's representative Eight reached that point of efficiency in rowing that made them unquestioned champions of the river... They will show how, during the winter season, the whole of the 280 boys of the College, ranging from ten to twenty years of age, were organised into various grades of football... Wherein... the boys reaped the full benefit of manly outdoor exercise... for the development of character and the qualities of leadership. 286

These preparations were utilised by approximately four hundred boys from the College, fifty of whom were killed and one hundred and ten wounded. 287

The publications of St. Ignatius College during World War One reveal few attempts to overtly link militarism and athleticism. The major preoccupations of the magazine were military and sporting, in that order, but with only a few exceptions one concern did not encroach

on the other. A notable exception was a fine justification of the College pedagogy, and its utility in times of war, that appeared in the 1914 magazine:

It was Wellington's opinion that British battles were won on the playing fields of the great public schools... A complete college course, imparting as it does the power to get the very best out of men's natural gifts greatly helps to this end...At the end of the course he is considered to have a trained mind in a trained body. What better materials than those can the aspirant to military honours commence his second training with? 288

For the most part the St. Ignatius College publications refrained from this type of rhetoric, preferring instead to report on direct happenings involving old boys at the Front. Throughout the war years, and even in the 1919 and 1920 editions, the majority of articles in Our Alma Mater dealt with letters and photographs of old boy soldiers, details of killings and woundings and lists of medals and decorations earned.

The authorities at St. Ignatius seemed to be particularly keen to dispel rumours that Catholic Colleges were not sending their 'fair' quota to the war.²⁸⁹ Windsor points out that eighteen St. Ignatius old boys landed at Gallipoli, and eight of these died.²⁹⁰ The official attitude of the Jesuits was that:

Like the other Great Public Schools, Riverview feels honoured by its sons who in the hour of their country's needs have bravely come forward to take their part in fighting the battles of the Empire. 291

By 1918 "the glorious record of Riverview in the War" was held up for all to see - three hundred and six enlistments with sixty-one killed in action.²⁹² The 1918 Our Alma Mater put the issue beyond doubt by claiming that "... Riverview has been tested by one of the severest of tests - War, and has not been found wanting".²⁹³

The First World War provided a turning point for the ascendancy of athleticism as an educational ideology. By serving the cause of militarism the adherents of athleticism played a substantial part in plotting their own downfall. For all but the most uncritical ideologues the war had provided evidence that was significantly at odds with the prevailing orthodox claims of athleticism. With athleticism being upheld as the means to a particular end, that of military preparedness, the end of the war naturally saw some critical re-evaluation of athleticism. Even at a College such as St. Ignatius, where athleticism had been often supported as an official ideology, adherents began to doubt their own previous convictions. Several College intellectuals and aesthetes, who had studiously avoided all contact with games, had given great service in the War to the point of laying down their lives. With no small amount of embarrassment G.F. Hughes, once a College 'blood', recalled the treatment that he and his friends had handed out to Arthur Nicholls and 'Dixie' Fitzherbert.²⁹⁴ Hughes recalled that when these two were seen in company with a third like-minded soul, he and his compatriots had taunted them for their lack of involvement in games, by calling out to them "there go the 'Three Sisters'".²⁹⁵ Others like Hughes were beginning to understand that compulsion could breed intolerance, and that athleticism could act as a pernicious influence despite good intentions. Revelations such as these, along with the growing fears that schoolboy athletes were receiving far too much publicity, were important indicators of the need for a critical reassessment of athleticism as an educational ideology. The nature of this reassessment, and the factors that impinged upon it, will be the subject of the concluding chapter.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

253. Bean, C.E.W., op.cit., p. 192.
254. Mangan, J.A., Athleticism, op.cit., p. 138.
255. Bean, C.E.W., op.cit., p. 178.
256. Naughtin, Br. M. op.cit., p. 141.
257. ibid., p. 141.
258. Windsor, G., in J.A.C.H.S., op.cit., p. 9.
259. S.I.C. Jubilee Book, op.cit., p. 101.
260. S.J.C. Annual, 1911, p. 5.
261. S.J.C. Annual, 1912, p. 6.
262. Cerise and Blue, 1913, p. 39.
263. ibid., p. 41.
264. Naughtin, Br. M., op.cit., p. 139.
265. ibid., p. 139.
266. S.J.C. Annual, 1911, p. 18.
267. ibid., p. 18.
268. ibid., p. 37.
269. Naughtin, Br. M., op.cit., p. 277.
270. ibid., p. 299.
271. S.J.C. Annual, 1914, p. 42.
272. O.A.M., Dec. 1914, p. 68.
273. O.A.M., Dec. 1911, p. 1.
274. O.A.M., Dec. 1912, p. 116.
275. ibid., p. 113.
276. S.I.C. Jubilee Book, op.cit., p. 167.
277. ibid., p. 179.
278. O.A.M., Dec. 1913, p. 28.
279. S.I.C. Jubilee Book, op.cit., p. 181.

280. Mangan, J.A., Athleticism, op.cit., p. 195.
281. Malim, F.B., in Benson, A.C., op.cit., pp. 155-156.
282. Newsome, D., op.cit., p. 238.
283. Sherington, G., Shore, op.cit., p. 91.
284. Dening, G., op.cit., p. 104.
285. S.J.C. Annual, 1915, p. 72.
286. S.J.C. Annual, 1916, p. 1.
287. Naughtin, Br. M., op.cit., p. 160.
288. O.A.M., Dec., 1914, p. 15.
289. Windsor, G., in J.A.C.H.S., op.cit., p. 10.
290. ibid., p. 9.
291. O.A.M., Dec., 1914, p. 82.
292. S.I.C. Jubilee, op.cit., p. 185.
293. O.A.M., Dec. 1918, op.cit., p. 15.
294. S.I.C. Jubilee, op.cit., p. 186.
295. ibid., p. 186.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE GROWTH OF SCHOOL SPORT AND THE DECLINE OF ATHLETICISM : 1920-1931

The interest displayed by the press in school sporting competitions, prior to the First World War, was an indication of the high level of public interest in this new phenomenon. Before 1900 the secondary schools, both state and corporate, were in their formative stages and their activities engendered widespread public curiosity. School sport was particularly newsworthy because of the lack of large competitive organisations in adult or district sports at that time. As we have seen, many schools also actively canvassed for press publicity concerning their sporting achievements, both to confirm their status and to gain public acclaim. The S.J.C. Quarterly of 1921 contained a complaint that, "the daily and sporting papers have almost ignored the practices and chances of our crews for the last three or four years".²⁹⁶ For the first twenty years of the publication of Our Alma Mater, the St. Ignatius magazine, several pages were given over each year to press opinions on the College and its sporting prowess. Press publicity was welcomed by most of the corporate schools before World War One but later this publicity became the focus for objections, raised by the headmasters of these schools, against the inordinate amount of press coverage of school sports.

A significant causal factor in the debate over large crowds and publicity, in New South Wales, was the moving of G.P.S. sporting fixtures to Saturdays. Rugby matches were played on Saturdays from 1916 onwards and the Head of the River was shifted to Saturdays in 1919.²⁹⁷

This change was made originally to accede to old boy demands, but it also had the result of increasing the general public's access to these events. The suspension of most adult competitions throughout the war years also acted as a stimulus to the growth of crowds at school matches. By the end of the war these contests had captured the imagination of the public, so that the expected decline in post-war crowds did not occur. Naughtin notes that by 1918:

The G.P.S. games were... attracting great public interest, as evidenced in the increasing size of the crowds and the extraordinary publicity in the press, and even on film... In the deciding game against King's, the crowd was estimated at 7000 and '200 motors were counted'. 298

The position in Melbourne was similar, although the press were often critical rather than supportive:

Newspaper editorials clucked over the 'disgraceful' behaviour of the public school boys at football matches, which often became, in George Orwell's phrase 'mimic warfare'; annually the Head of the River rowing contest evoked fierce partisanship in young people and old who had no direct connection with the schools involved... 299

Increased publicity led to increasing rivalry and intensity. In Melbourne, in 1917, all public school competitions were suspended for the rest of the year, following a spate of over-zealous fanaticism and violence.³⁰⁰

Some adherents of athleticism began to question whether games could continue to be educationally useful if played under such conditions. The general public displayed very little interest in the utility of games-playing as an educational instrument, and the boys taking part in their games were beginning to exhibit this same lack of concern.

In looking at the decline of athleticism it is important to discriminate between the playing of games in order to establish the supremacy of one school over another, and the previously held conviction that games-playing could provide educational rewards for participants. The ideology of athleticism was largely a fusion of intentions and actions, rather than just the actions themselves. This accounts for the paradoxical situation existing in Australia from the 1920's on, when more elaborate competitions and increasing numbers of games were accompanied by the marked decline of the ideology of athleticism.

With athleticism being supplanted by a new competitive ethos, there arose a tendency for individual 'stars' to emerge from particular teams, privileges were accorded to schoolboy athletes as a reward for higher grade selection, and scholarships were granted on the basis of games-playing ability. All of these competitive considerations were seen as 'false ideals' by athleticism's adherents. Bean's attitude towards the level of competition and publicity was typical of many concerned onlookers:

... between World War One and Two, in every state and nearly every 'pastime' the premiership contests - especially Head of the River contests - became blatant news, [and] these false ideals were even more dangerous. 301

Bean also noted the lack of any consideration of the educational ideals related to sport, in some school histories:

In some school histories a school was even rated not by the spirit in which it played - the only element of real value - but by the number of its wins. 302

These concerns, although mainly relevant to the post-World War One period, had been raised before by masters and headmasters, who

believed that the aims of athleticism were becoming subordinate to the competitive aspects of games. As early as 1903 Leonard Harford Lindon, the headmaster of Geelong Grammar School, wrote that:

. . . [It is] not often I allude in public to the achievements of the school because I think that the spirit of athleticism requires rather to be restrained than stimulated in this country, because we do not use our games for the vulgar purpose of advertisement. 303

A.B. Weigall also noted that the dangers of worshipping sporting heroes could easily negate any of the good effects of athleticism. Writing to T.K. Abbott, the newly appointed headmaster of The Armidale School in 1908, he cautioned his colleagues on the problems of games:

. . . it was found that the natural admiration of most boys for those who excelled in physical feats was not only causing classwork... to be despised, but was encouraging the very qualities that team games were intended to discourage. 304

C.H. Hodges, headmaster at Shore between 1900 and 1910, also expressed some grave misgivings about the emphasis on competition in sport. Sherington records that in 1908 Hodges publicly stated that:

The 'present attitude' towards sport appeared to be verging on 'mania'... Instead of 'building up character and manliness as well as physical power', games had become an end in themselves. 305

A master at Shore under Hodges, James Lee Pulling, spoke to the Teacher's Guild in 1909 on the need to curb competitive games between schools:

Too serious an aspect has been placed upon the inter-school competitions; the struggle for premiership is almost too keen; its demands upon the attention of the boys are too exacting and too constant... if we schoolmasters see danger in the tendency of the age, it is our duty to combine to arrest them. 306

Lindon, Weigall, Hodges and Pulling were all adherents to the ideology of athleticism, and all believed that competitive games, and the attendant publicity generated by them, were leading to a corruption of the original rationale behind games-playing in schools. From these early criticisms of the developments leading to an increased emphasis on premierships, it can be seen that the problems of the 1920's were merely an escalated version of those that had existed for some time.

Crowds and publicity were not the only causes of athleticism's decline. Mangan claims that in Britain:

The Great War was seen by some as a watershed in the history of public school games... the old world of security, stability and order had gone forever. 307

This effect was nowhere near as strong in Australia, where disruptions to games were minimised due to geographic isolation and a considerably lower relative casualty rate amongst the public school enlistments. There is no doubt, however, that Australians did experience some of the post-World War One cynicism that was so prevalent in Britain. As a reaction to the general malaise of post-War society a new form of "Christian humanism" developed in the English public schools; with the result that far less emphasis was to be placed on games and far more on the ideals of service.³⁰⁸ These newly-formulated ideals later spread to Australian corporate schools in much the same way that athleticism had fifty years before.

By the 1930's, in most Australian corporate schools, it was possible to indulge in other leisure pursuits outside of games:

. . . not till about the time of World War One did it generally become recognised that this sort of provision for both mental and manual pastimes was an essential of education... The belief that organised games were sufficient provision for schoolboys' leisure now quickly receded, and crafts, hobbies, music, art, and drama began to play a larger part in school and out. 309

This availability of a wider range of activities was an important feature of the decline of athleticism.

Sir William Slim summed up the attitude of many leading public figures who had begun to question their predecessors' belief in games:

I would not put the high importance on games that some schools do and teach their boys to do. Games are not much training for real life. I would rather have the boy who can sail a boat, trek across country, or climb a mountain than the one who has got his first eleven cap. 310

Although Slim was speaking in the post-World War Two period, his beliefs were a reflection of a change of emphasis that had occurred between the Wars.

The end of World War One marked the starting point of a quite radical re-evaluation of pedagogic theories and practices. In general these changes were produced by an increasing emphasis on introspection and individualised learning. From its origins in the United States, the notion of individual differences in educational needs and outcomes soon spread throughout the educational institutions of Britain and the empire. The intellectual influences on this movement were quite diverse, often combining Freudian theory with the emphasis of the 'efficiency movement' on physical and psychological measurement. The newly independent discipline of child psychology began to exercise

more influence over pedagogical theorists. Team spirit, epitomised by the elusive notion of *esprit de corps*, became subordinate to these new 'humanist' and individualistic educational ideals.

A specific development that had particularly important ramifications for athleticism, resulted from changing attitudes towards physical education. Whereas athleticism had relied on the invocation of ethical and corporate ideals, the new physical education focussed on empirical and observable changes in the individual. It was difficult to reconcile these two widely divergent approaches. Educational authorities in Britain believed that athleticism had become a somewhat discredited ideology, so throughout the 1920's, "...the Inspectorate, the Headmasters' Conference, liberal headmasters, medical experts and dedicated teachers - helped to change the nature of physical exercise in the public schools".³¹¹ Physical education quickly became established as an alternative ideology, sharing the time previously allotted solely to the playing of games.

The growing complaints by many headmasters, that games had deviated from their original and more pure objectives, provide the most compelling evidence of athleticism's decline as a widely supported ideology. F.B. Malim reviewed the abuses of games-playing after asking the rhetorical question - "what is the ground for the frequent complaint that the public schools make a 'fetish' of athleticism?"³¹² His answer looked at both sides of the ledger, and came out strongly in favour of a return to 'pure' athleticism. The major abuses that he outlined included the growth of spectating, the hero-worship accorded to boy athletes, and the emphasis on prizes and premierships.

On the question of spectating he concluded that:

I am inclined to think that if all athletic contests took place without a ring of spectators, we should get all the good of games and very little of the evil... Few men or boys are the worse for playing games; it is the applause of the mob that turns their heads. 313

Success at games, he argued, would not necessarily result in useless hero-worship if it were not for the intervention of the press:

The harm is done by the advertisement given to such prowess by foolish elders... Even modest boys may begin to think their achievements in the field are of public importance when they find their names in print. 314

Prizes also distorted success at games, according to Malim:

... the enterprise of haberdashers and the weakness of school authorities have led to a multiplication of blazers, ribbons, caps, jerseys, stockings, badges, scarves and the like, which constantly tend to mark off the successful player from his fellows, and to make him a cynosure of the vulgar and an object of complacent admiration to himself. Success in games should be its own reward. 315

Malim believed that the ideals of athleticism could be upheld by appealing to the parents of boys competing in games:

If we could get the majority of parents to recognise the school-master's point of view, that while games are an important element of education, they are only one element... We should have made a real step forward towards the elimination of the excessive reverence paid to the athlete. 316

Later events in Britain and Australia proved that protestations like Malim's, although admirable, could do little to reverse the increasing separation of games-playing from the ideals of athleticism.

There is very little direct evidence on the decline of athleticism in Australia. Apart from the cautionary statements of headmasters, who were concerned that games were getting out of hand, we are left with an unsatisfactory picture of athleticism slowly receding as school sports gained new rationales. At some stage various headmasters and masters of the old generation must have been faced with the realisation that athleticism, no matter how much they adhered to it in principle, had become an outmoded ideology. A second feature of this decline seems to be the arrival of a new generation of headmasters, imbued with the post-World War One ideals of 'Christian humanism', and possessed of a strong grasp of the pedagogical innovations of the period. The paucity of materials from either generation suggests that the handling of the sport question was often too sensitive to be transacted anywhere but behind closed doors.

A search through the St. Joseph's College publications of the 1920's reveals that games were in the ascendancy; but also that the justificatory rhetoric of athleticism had inexplicably disappeared. The French founders would have turned in their graves at the sight of eight thousand spectators in attendance at the rugby game against Sydney Grammar in 1923.³¹⁷ In 1924 the Sydney Mail recorded a crowd of twelve thousand at the St. Joseph's v. King's rugby match.³¹⁸ St. Joseph's enjoyed an unprecedented run of success in rugby throughout the 1920's, with even greater triumphs ahead in the 1930's.

The St. Joseph's rugby coach, Br. Henry, attracted as much publicity as his premiership-winning players. During his long period as coach, between 1922 and 1954, Br. Henry became quite a media personality:

Br. Henry became a legend in his own lifetime, honoured by all who love the game of Rugby. Perhaps no member of staff in the history of St. Joseph's became more widely known amongst the general public. Time and again newspapers and magazines have published articles on him and his influence on Rugby in Australia. 319

Br. Henry's attitudes to sport are not discussed in the College publications of the time. His obituary suggests that he may well have been an adherent to the ideals of athleticism:

Br. Henry saw himself as doing much more than being a successful coach of Rugby. He saw himself as educating boys in the best sense of the word 'educate'...[by] moulding character, [and] in developing manly virtues within boys... 320

If Br. Henry did in fact hold these views during his long tenure as coach, he must have considerably modified them to accommodate the competitive success and public acclaim that he and his players enjoyed. For these trappings of success were the very things that the older adherents of athleticism argued most vehemently against.

Throughout the 1920's, and the 1930's, St. Joseph's were constantly criticised for fostering sporting achievements rather than academic ones. St. Joseph's officials reacted angrily to these allegations, and asked for some concrete evidence in support of them.³²¹ According to the Brothers, sport was only one feature of St. Joseph's success:

We point again, with pride, to the scholastic standards, which grace our listed results, and which surely give the lie to the ever-recurring libel that 'St. Joseph's does nothing but sport'. We have become weary of making this contradiction. 322

Athleticism had arrived later at St. Joseph's than at the other G.P.S. school, but it was adhered to with no less conviction due to this

delayed implementation. In fact the authorities at St. Joseph's continued to support the ideology long after it had begun to wane in some of the other G.P.S. schools. Reflecting on the College sporting policy in the 1930's Br. Louis, the Director of St. Joseph's, stated that

We still believe that the Great Public Schools among whom, we hold an honoured place, have in their hands one solution for the indiscipline of the age, and that they exercise it in the wise combination of Study and Sport, which makes their students sound in mind and limb. Our own experience still holds for we find that the all-rounder in the field is most often the leader in all class activities. 323

Further study may reveal that these attitudes, that prevailed at St. Joseph's for some time, represented a fairly singular response to the criticisms of that particular period. At this stage we must be content with a comparison between Br. Louis' rhetoric and the beliefs of one of his counterparts at St. Ignatius, Fr. Lockington.

During the late 1920's Fr. Lockington, the Rector of St. Ignatius, played a quite vociferous role in attacking the over-emphasis on competitive games within the G.P.S. system. His approach was significant because he not only criticised the current trends, but also questioned the claims that had been made about games and their educational utility. Speaking on the question of education for leadership and the formation of character, Lockington claimed that:

The one man able to lead his fellow-men is he who, by trained and proper development of character, has acquired the qualities essential to a leader. 324

Lockington disputed the beliefs of the ideologues of athleticism, who claimed that games were the most efficient educational instrument for the inculcation of these qualities:

The fetish worshippers of sport laud it as affording this opportunity. They err in doing so. In its proper place sport is beneficial, exercise is necessary for relaxation, and for bodily health and strength, but its place in character building is a minor one, and it does not deserve the place that as an aid in the formation of character it holds in many minds today.³²⁵

Having attacked the pedagogical basis of athleticism, he then turned his attention to the problems of competitive sports in the 1920's:

Apart altogether from the 'brawn' aspect of it - the main incentives to sport in the youthful mind can easily be popular adulation - injurious in many ways that cause the judicious to grieve - and personal pleasure, so that the player is merely following the path of inclination. Thus can selfishness be bred and weakness persist... The fetish of sport taints the pages of the major part of what may be classified as 'schoolboy' literature, and the result is not beneficial. 326

Lockington concluded by advocating the need to keep games in their place:

Sport has its own place - to give *mens sana in corpora sano*, but brawn must be kept in its place as an aid to spirit, and never be lifted above it. 327

Had this speech been made before World War One it would have been branded as heretical.

Lockington's emphasis on the functional or physical outcomes of games, and his rejection of their supposed ethical and social benefits, was representative of the new approach to physical education which was challenging the ideology of athleticism in the 1920's. Games at St. Ignatius were still played with the same intensity and enthusiasm, but the rhetorical outpourings on the educational value of games were heard much less frequently. With the growth of school games, and the decline of athleticism as an ideological justification, a new rationale emerged. Each individual within the College became duty bound to participate in sport, in order to fulfil the growing competitive requisites imposed on the College by its G.P.S. membership.

The inaugural Headmasters' Conference, held at Geelong Grammar School in 1931, was a significant watershed in the history of athleticism. The headmasters present at this meeting reaffirmed their

belief in the efficacy of games participation, but expressed concern that corrupting influences were threatening to rob games of their value. They sought to define a 'proper' attitude to sport for member schools to adhere to. L.C. Robson of Shore was the only headmaster from Sydney in attendance; Br. Denis of St. Joseph's and Fr. Lockington of St. Ignatius were invited but could not attend.³²⁸ Nevertheless the Headmasters' Conference claimed to represent the interests of all members by establishing "a professional etiquette to which all Headmasters and their councils could adhere":³²⁹ The *modus operandi* of the Conference was to be primarily consensual, involving the "gradual formation of a formal motion acceptable to all members".³³⁰ It was felt that the resulting motions would reflect the "general aspirations and ideals"³³¹ of the Conference. These consensual procedures did not lessen the underlying theme of conformity, that pervaded the dealings of the Conference.

On the question of school sport the Conference produced a most definitive statement:

Many opinions were expressed, and much criticism given, of the tendency of the public press throughout the world to place undue importance on sport, before the following motion of Mr. Robson, embodying the opinion of the Conference was agreed to:- 'That this Conference believes that an educational system should use games as a means of developing sound standards of character and conduct, but views with alarm the tendency to give undue weight and prominence to the results of inter-school contests.'³³²

As far as New South Wales was concerned, this motion could be seen as a strong note of censure regarding the activities of the A.A.G.P.S. The competitions presided over by that association had, as far as the Conference was concerned, corrupted the ideals of athleticism.

Sherington points out that:

It was not so much that Australian headmasters now rejected athleticism. Nor did they fail to recognise the social and other benefits to their schools. It was rather that they believed that control of affairs had passed out of their hands. 333

The growth of competitive sports, under the auspices of the A.A.G.P.S., had gradually lost touch with the moral basis of athleticism. The headmasters at the first Conference clearly recognised this fact, and set about reviewing the work of the A.A.G.P.S.³³⁴ For athleticism, however, the review had come forty years too late.

NOTES ON CHAPTER SEVEN

296. S.J.C. Quarterly, April, 1921, p. 8.
297. Sherington, G., in History of Education Review, op.cit., p. 24.
298. Naughtin, Br. M., op.cit., p. 301.
299. Hansen, I.V., op.cit., p. 56.
300. ibid., p. 69.
301. Bean, C.E.W., op.cit., p. 170.
302. ibid., p. 170.
303. Hansen, I.V., op.cit., p. 23.
304. Bean, C.E.W., op.cit., p. 169.
305. Sherington, G., Shore, op.cit., p. 74.
306. Sherington, G., in History of Education Review, op.cit., p. 23.
307. Mangan, J.A., Athleticism, op.cit., p. 169.
308. ibid., p. 208.
309. Bean, C.E.W., op.cit., p. 180.
310. McKeown, P. J., and Hone, B.W. (eds.),
The Independent School: Papers Presented to the Headmasters; Conference,
Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1967, p. xiii.
311. Mangan, J.A., Athleticism, op.cit., p. 214.
312. Malim, F.B., in Benson, A.C., op.cit., p. 158.
313. ibid., p. 160.
314. ibid., p. 161.
315. ibid., p. 163.
316. ibid., p. 162.
317. Naughtin, Br. M., op.cit., p. 302.
318. ibid., p. 303.
319. ibid., p. 301.
320. ibid., p. 309.
321. ibid., p. 188.

322. ibid., p. 188.
323. ibid., p. 188.
324. S.I.C. Jubilee Book, op.cit., p. 199.
325. ibid., p. 199.
326. ibid., p. 199.
327. ibid., p. 199.
328. Headmasters' Conference of Australia, Minutes, Geelong Grammar School, 1931, p. 1.
329. ibid., p. 5.
330. ibid., p. 6.
331. ibid., p. 6.
332. ibid., p. 7.
333. Sherington, G., in History of Education Review, op.cit., p. 26.
334. Carington Pope, J., op.cit., p. 35.

CONCLUSION

There are many difficulties associated with the study of athleticism, and most of these are reflected in this thesis. The paucity of secondary works is a major obstacle to the growth of this area of concern. J.A. Mangan's work, which is cited extensively throughout this thesis, is the only authoritative account that deals solely with athleticism. Even so, it is depicted by Mangan as a tentative work, and his hopes are that his book will encourage further study in the area. Mangan's book reveals another problem with the examination of athleticism. In order to accurately portray the manifestations of athleticism as an educational ideology, a prospective student of the area must undertake a prodigious amount of primary research. The primary sources for such a study are seemingly endless. An examination of Mangan's bibliography will confirm this fact.

The primary data utilised in this thesis has been necessarily restricted to the College annuals, appropriate press items and reports of speech day addresses. There is no doubt that an examination of personal documents of masters and boys and, wherever possible, the use of oral sources, would have significantly enhanced the central argument of the thesis. Dealing with athleticism requires a sensitivity that can only be generated by an understanding of the 'world-view' that accompanied it. Our contemporary attitudes are often inappropriate in this regard. Athleticism has too often been portrayed as a set of pseudo-principles which were primarily used as a means of social control. A close examination of primary documents reveals a level of devotion and belief in the educational efficacy of athleticism, that runs counter to such a reductionist argument.

The prospects for future research in the area seem to be quite unlimited in scope. Sport has been depicted as being a socially and politically neutral enterprise until the most recent times. There is a need for substantial revision of most areas of the history of physical education and school sports. Athleticism and its ideological role in the corporate boy's schools of Australia is but one area that requires substantial review. Girl's schools were also involved in emulating the major features of athleticism from the late-nineteenth century onwards. The ethos was carried into University Colleges and subsequently to the University population in general. The Universities turned out active proselytising agents who either reaffirmed the place of athleticism in school and professional life, or transported its ideals to new areas, notably the State secondary schools. All of these educational institutions must be closely studied, so that a coherent picture of the impact of athleticism in Australia can be produced.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. JOURNALS AND SCHOOL MAGAZINES

Catholic Press, 1900-1910.

Cerise and Blue, 1906-1929.

Freemans Journal, 1880-1890.

London Punch, 1885-1895.

Our Alma Mater, 1886-1930.

Our Golden Days, 1888-1891 (forerunner of S.J.C. Annual).

Saint Joseph's College Annual, 1897-1930.

Saint Joseph's College Quarterly, 1909-1920.

Sydney Illustrated News, 1885-1890.

The Australian Teacher, 1923-1932.

The Referee, 1896-1910.

Town and Country Journal, 1905-1907.

B. ASSOCIATION RECORDS AND MINUTES

Athletic Association of the Greater Public Schools,
Minutes of meetings, 1892-1932.

The Headmasters' Conference of Australia,
Minutes of meetings, 1931-1932.

C. BOOKS AND ARTICLES

Adamson, L.A., 'School Sports and Publicity', in
The Australian Teacher, Vol. 1, No. 3, November, 1923, pp. 19-21.

Bean, C.E.W., 'The English Public School - And the Australian',
in Royal Australian Historical Society Journal and Proceedings,
Vol. 36, Part 4, 1950, pp. 211-230.

Bean, C.E.W., Here, My Son, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1950.

Bygott, U.M.L., With Pen and Tongue: The Jesuits in Australia,
1865-1939, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1980.

Campion, E., Rockchoppers : Growing up Catholic in Australia,
Penguin Books,

- Carington Pope, J., Unity in Diversity, A.A.G.P.S., Sydney, 1961.
- Chandos, J., Boys Together : English Public Schools, 1800-1864, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1984.
- Cowen, Sir Z., 'Opening Address at the Headmasters' Conference of Australia, St. Peter's College, Adelaide, August 1979', in Independence, Vol. 5, No. 1, April, 1980, pp. 13-17.
- Crawford, R., 'Sport for Young Ladies : The Victorian Independent Schools 1875-1925' in Sporting Traditions, Vol. 1, No. 1, November, 1984, pp. 61-82.
- Darling, Sir J.R., 'Now and Then', in Independence, Vol. 7, October, 1983, pp. 7-11.
- Dening, G., Xavier : A Centenary Portrait, Old Xaverians Association, Melbourne, 1978.
- Doyle, Br. A., The Story of the Marist Brothers in Australia 1874-1974, Marist Brothers of the Schools, Sydney, 1974.
- Dunning, E. and Sheard K., Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players, Martin Robertson and Co., Oxford, 1979.
- Fogarty, Br. R., Catholic Education in Australia 1806-1950, Vols. 1 and 2, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1959.
- Gathorne-Hardy, J., The Public School Phenomenon, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1977.
- Goodwin, P. J., 'Thomas Arnold: So What?' in Physical Education Review, Vol. 7, No. 2, 1984, pp. 126-131.
- Gray, R., 'From Drills to Skills' in Australian Council for Health, Physical Education and Recreation National Journal, Three parts, Part 1, Autumn, 1985, No. 107, pp. 50-54, Part 2, Winter, 1985, No. 108, pp. 26-31, Part 3, Spring, 1985, No. 109, pp. 70-73.
- Hansen, I.V., Nor Free Nor Secular, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1971.
- Hogg, J.W., 'The Headmasters' Conference - A Historical Perspective' in Independence, Vol. 5, No. 1, April, 1980, pp. 19-27.
- de S. Honey, J.R., Tom Brown's Universe, Millington Books Ltd., London, 1977.
- Johnstone, S.M., The History of the King's School, Old Boy's Union, John Sands, Sydney, 1932.
- MacCallum, M.W., In Memory of Albert Bythesea Weigall, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1913.

- McKeown, P.J. and Hone, B.W. (eds.), The Independent School : Papers Presented to the Headmasters' Conference, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1967.
- Malim, F.B., 'Athletics', Chapter 8 in Benson, A.C. (ed.), Cambridge Essays on Education, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1917, pp. 148-167.
- Mangan, J.A., Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School : The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981.
- Mangan, J.A., 'Social Darwinism, Sport and English Upper Class Education' in Stadion, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1981, pp. 93-116.
- Mangan, J.A., 'Imitating their Betters and Disassociating from their Inferiors : Grammar Schools and the Games Ethic in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', in Parry, N. and McNair, D., (eds.), The Fitness of the Nation - Physical and Health Education in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, Proceedings of the 1982 Annual Conference of the History of Education Society of Great Britain, History of Education Society, 1983, pp. 1-45.
- Mason, P., The English Gentleman : The Rise and Fall of an Ideal, Andre Deutsch Limited, London, 1982.
- Morris, W.P.F., Sons of Magnus, Rowan Morcom, Brisbane, Second edition, 1955.
- Naughtin, Br. M., A Century of Striving 1881-1981, SJC publishers, Hunter's Hill, 1981.
- Newsome, D., Godliness and Good Learning, John Murray, London, 1961.
- O'Farrell, P. and O'Farrell D. (eds.), Documents in Australian Catholic History, Volume II : 1884-1968, Geoffrey Chapman, London, 1969.
- Redmond, G., 'Diffusion in the Dominion : "Muscular Christianity", in Canada, to 1914', in Parry, N. and McNair D., op.cit.
- Robson, L.C., 'Impressions of English Schools' in The Australian Teacher, Vol. 9, No. 2, August, 1931, pp. 11-16.
- Sherington, G., Shore : A History of Sydney Church of England Grammar School, George Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1983.
- Sherington, G., 'Athleticism in the Antipodes : The AAGPS of New South Wales', in History of Education Review, Vol. 12, No. 2, 1983, pp. 16-28.
- Saint Ignatius College, Riverview, Jubilee Book 1880-1930, O'Loughlin Bros., Sydney, 1930.

Saint Ignatius College, Riverview, Annual Prospectus 1887.

Saint Joseph's College, Hunter's Hill,
Golden Jubilee Souvenir 1881-1931, Harbour Newspaper and
Publishing Co., Sydney, 1931.

Smith, W.D., Stretching Their Bodies : The History of
Physical Education, David and Charles, London, 1974.

Tozer, M., 'From "Muscular Christianity" to "Esprit de Corps"',
in Stadion, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1981, pp. 117-130.

Treadwell, P.J., 'Victorian Public School Sport' in
Physical Education Review, Vol. 7, No.2, 1984, pp. 113-119.

Turney, C., 'The Advent and Adaptation of the Arnoldian Public
School Tradition in New South Wales' in Australian Journal of
Education, 2 Parts, Part One, Vol. 10, No. 2, 1966, pp. 133-144,
Part Two, Vol. 11, No. 1, 1967, pp. 29-43.

Turney, C., (ed.), Pioneers of Australian Education, Vol. 1,
Sydney University Press, Sydney, 1969.

Windsor, G., 'Riverview's Origin and Early Style' in
Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society,
Vol. 5, Part 1, 1976, pp. 1-18.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Catherine O'Brien, Dr. Robert Petersen and Dr. Geoffrey Sherington, for their invaluable guidance in the production of this thesis.

I am also indebted to other members of the Physical Education and History of Education academic staff, for their help over the last four years.

For their patience and diligence I thank those uncomplaining 'trojans', my typists.

Lastly, and most importantly, I thank my wife for being both a 'tower of strength' and a good provider.

