

APS SPORT CENTENARY HISTORY 1908 - 2008

BY G. M. HIBBINS

Extended from published edition, minus the individual schools' histories, plus footnotes.

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1. PARADOXICALLY ‘PUBLIC’

‘The School should be as far as possible worked upon the basis of an English public school, and prove in this colony no unworthy younger brother of the public schools at home’, asserted Edward Ellis Morris, Headmaster of Melbourne Grammar in 1875.¹ The term ‘public school’ was used for some of the grammar schools which had appeared in England by the sixteenth century to teach Latin. A number had been founded for public benefit, carried on under public management, and endowed for religious or philanthropic purposes. There were those which dated back to the Middle Ages, such as Winchester College in 1382, and Eton College in 1440. Rugby had begun in 1567 and Morris was an old Rugby School boy.²

Similarly, in the mid-nineteenth century, the Victorian colonial government made grants to the religious denominations for schooling, in proportion to the size of their religious affiliation, as revealed by the pre-gold census of 1851 in the Colony: Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist and Roman Catholic respectively, resulting in the establishment of Melbourne Grammar School and Geelong Grammar School, Scotch College, Wesley College and St. Patrick’s College. Thus, all five had a common bond and a somewhat tenuous link with kindred English public schools which had, at that time, developed into large, fee-paying, boarding schools drawing children of wealthy parents from all parts of the country. The ancient endowed schools of Eton, Harrow, Winchester, Shrewsbury, Charterhouse, Rugby, and Westminster were officially designated as the [English] Greater Public Schools in 1864 after a Royal Commission into Education and an Act of Parliament passed in 1864. Others were regarded as ‘minor public schools’.³

Along with the designation ‘public’, the new colonial schools were proud to appropriate the prestige of these ancient and highly regarded English public schools, and to imitate them.⁴ Mere grammar schools had not the same social and educational prestige and both Melbourne Grammar and Geelong Grammar at one stage had serious discussions about removing ‘grammar’ from their names for this reason.⁵

There is controversy over the actual dates of the three oldest schools in the Association: Geelong Grammar, Melbourne Grammar and Scotch College.⁶ Both St. Patrick’s and Xavier College were established by the Jesuits in 1855 and 1878 and they joined together to field sporting teams until 1901 when St. Patrick’s, due to limited sporting facilities, the 1890s depression and competition from Xavier enrolments, relinquished the status of ‘public school’ in favour of Xavier, despite the latter being less enamoured of the English traditions.⁷ In April 1900 the Headmasters met to consider the request that Xavier College, Kew, enter the APS and, it being understood that St Patrick’s College waived its claim for the present, the request was granted.⁸

The alternative secondary education in Melbourne was provided by private schools, such as Caulfield Grammar School and Brighton Grammar School, often termed ‘grammar’ schools but

¹ W. Bate & H. Penrose, *Challenging Traditions: A History of Melbourne Grammar*, 2002, p. 49 First Annual Report 1875; W.E. Wilmot, *Liber Melburniensis 1858-1914: A History of the Church of England Grammar School Melbourne*, 1914, p. xxv

² *Oxford English Dictionary*, second edition: ‘grammar school’, ‘public school’

³ C.E.W. Bean, *Here, My Son, an account of the independent and other corporate boys’ schools of Australia*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1950, chapter 4.

⁴ C.E.W. Bean, ‘The English Public Schools – and the Australian’, *Journal of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 36, pt. 4, 1950, pp. 211-23

⁵ GGS to ‘Corio School’ in 1925-26: W. Bate, *Light Blue Down Under: The History of Geelong Grammar School*, pp. 158-160; M.C. Persse, *Well Ordered Liberty – A Portrait of Geelong Grammar School 1855-1995*, pp. 22-23; MGS to ‘Melburnia’ in 1911: W. Bate & H. Penrose, *Challenging Traditions: A History of Melbourne Grammar*, pp. 140-141.

⁶ W. Bate & H. Penrose, *Challenging Traditions: A History of Melbourne Grammar*, pp. 12-14; W. Bate, *Light Blue Down Under: The History of Geelong Grammar School*, p. 6

⁷ G. Sherington, R.C. Peterson, I. Brice, *Learning to Lead: a history of girls’ and boys’ corporate secondary schools in Australia*, Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1987, p. 101

⁸ M. Head, G. Healy, *More than a School: A history of St. Patrick’s College, East Melbourne, 1854-1968* pp. 52-54

funded and led by their founders, many of whom believed in the English public school traditions. The Geelong College was originally founded by the Presbyterian Church (wanting to establish 'a grammar school'⁹) in 1861 but was quickly relinquished to the private ownership of George Morrison.

In the 1870s the five self-proclaimed public schools (then including St. Patrick's College but not Xavier College or The Geelong College) had delegated masters to organise the United Public Schools Athletic Sports. This expanded in 1877 to a meeting to discuss the 'conditions of the various competitions and composition of teams' in rowing, cricket, football and athletics, sports which the schools had already been playing among themselves but also with other schools. It would seem that James Cuthbertson from Geelong Grammar was the impetus behind this and, once he became secretary of the committee with its master and two boys delegated from each school in 1879, it did not look back.¹⁰ Squabbles on the definition of a schoolboy led to the 1890 Regulations for Athletic Contests amongst the Public Schools of Victoria which agreed to regularize times, ages of the boys and other matters for the four main sports. Delegates would consist of one master and one boy from each of the five schools.¹¹

In 1908, Norman Morrison, the Headmaster of The Geelong College and son of its founder, returned the College to the Presbyterian Church, and succeeded in having it included in the group of now six public schools. The minutes of the delegates' meetings were then headed The Association of Public Schools and by 1914 the title has usually, but not consistently, mutated to Associated Public Schools. The headmasters and delegates decided to debar each school from 'widening the area of competitive games in any way' and from competing against other schools with their first representative teams.¹²

In the twentieth century, the term 'independent school' grew in favour. It was used in 1957 by the existing headmasters when inviting expansion of the group.¹³ Of the newcomers, Brighton Grammar, Caulfield Grammar and Haileybury College were church-affiliated, no longer private ventures; Carey was Baptist and St. Kevin's College of the Catholic Order of Christian Brothers.

Today the term 'public schools' refers to state government-run schools. High schools were suggested in the 1879 Royal Commission on Education but not opened until after the 1910 Education Act, although in the five years before the Act some government continuation and agricultural high schools provided education between elementary and university. The term sometimes used, 'private schools', rarely but strictly speaking, refers to those schools originally established with private money. The schools which compete under the banner of the Associated Public Schools refer to themselves as independent schools or non-government schools.

⁹ B.R. Keith, ed., *The Geelong College 1861-1961*, Geelong, 1961, p. 2

¹⁰ *Geelong Grammar School Quarterly*, December 1877, vol.2, no.4 pp. 13, 34; vol.2, no.5, p.5; December 1879, no. 4, p. 13

¹¹ *Wesley College Chronicle*, October 1890, no. 47, pp. 831-833; J.B. Kiddle, *Liber Melburniensis 1848-1936: M.C.E.G.S. Official History*, Melbourne, 1937, pp. 676-677; Kiddle says first amended 28 August 1891.

¹² APS delegates' meeting minutes, 19 October 1914

¹³ Minutes of the Associated Public Schools meeting at the Melbourne Club, 8 August 1857, quoted in C. McConville, *St. Kevin's College 1918-1919, The first 75 years*, M.U.P., 1993, p. 157

2. SOME EARLY GAMES

As winter approached in 1858 Dr. John Bromby read *Tom Brown's Schooldays* and shed a tear. It was 'a noble work' he confided to his diary. The first Headmaster of the new Melbourne Grammar School in the colony of Victoria, Dr. Bromby was not the only one to be moved by Tom Brown's struggle to play Rugby School football and the message of Thomas Hughes' book that moral as well as physical strength could be derived from athleticism and the playing of games. In 1860 the local sporting paper, *Bell's Life in Victoria*, referred to a gratifying change in public opinion: 'Within the last five years the advocates of muscular Christianity have become the majority. Such books as *Tom Brown's Schooldays* are among the most popular works of fiction...' ¹⁴ Three years later, in *Tom Brown at Oxford*, Thomas Hughes emphasised the Christian belief that a man's body was 'given to him to be trained and brought into subjection, and then used for the protection of the weak, the advancement of all righteous causes, and the subduing of the earth...' ¹⁵

Morality, however, had not the staying power of muscularity; spiritual stamina faltered in the philosophy's heathen cry of the last half of the nineteenth century: 'Mens sana in corpore sana' (a sound mind in a sound body'). Both phrases were general enough to bear a variety of blurred interpretations but one simple attitude dominated: physical robustness and moral rectitude could both be attained by a dedication to athletic sports. ¹⁶

A colonial society approved of the values of co-operation, loyalty, courage, obedience to rules, and the rewards of dedication and persistence – all prominent on the sporting field. The public schools led the way in that their chief concern was the moulding of Christian gentleman through the corporate life of the school and, pragmatically, by clothing games with this ideology. ¹⁷

It was Dr. Bromby who hoped that 'by the annual union of the Schools in friendly contest, in athletic sports as well as by the annual boating and cricket matches, a pleasant feeling may be kept up among the pupils - the rivalry notwithstanding - as is the case with the Public Schools in England'. ¹⁸ The boys were certainly interested more often in corpore sana than in mens sana.

The five schools, including St. Patrick's College which had opened at the end of 1854, competed in cricket, football, athletics and rowing between the 1860s and 1890s, not ignoring the privately owned and small church schools in Melbourne or the University as competitors. English and Australian cricket, English and colonial athletics, Victorian football, Oxford v Cambridge rowing and the Melbourne Regatta, reported in the press each year, set the tone for the 'big four' sports.

CRICKET Colonial cricket was well established when Geelong Grammar had Scotch College ¹⁹ to play at Geelong on 26 February 1858 and Scotch repaid their hospitality by winning by 14 runs. It is claimed 36 wides were bowled! ²⁰

Geelong Grammar had Scotch to play at Geelong on 26 February 1858 and Scotch repaid their hospitality by winning by 14 runs. ²¹ A return match in November was drawn, not having been played out. Geelong Grammar played Melbourne Grammar the day before and was awarded the

¹⁴ *Bell's Life in Victoria* 7 January 1860

¹⁵ T. Hughes, *Tom Brown at Oxford*, Nelson Classics, pp. 212-213

¹⁶ J.A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School. The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology*, Cambridge University Press 1981; C. Turney (ed.) *Sources in the History of Australian Education 1788-1970*, Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1978

¹⁷ I. R. Wilkinson, 'School Sport and the Amateur Ideal: The Formation of the Schools' Amateur Athletic Association of Victoria', *Sporting Traditions*, vol. 15, no. 1, November 1998, pp. 51-70;

¹⁸ J.B. Kiddle, *Liber Melburniensis 1848-1936*, Robertson and Mullens, 1937, p. 28

¹⁹ Scotch had already played cricket against Melbourne University: *Argus* 28 July 1856

²⁰ Account of February 1858 cricket match played at Geelong appears in *Argus* 2 March 1858 p. 5; *GGs Quarterly*, July 1905 *Examiner and Weekly News*, 6 March 1858, p. 17; J.B. Kiddle, *Liber Melburniensis 1848-1936* p. 681; C.E.W. Bean, *Here, My Son; an account of the independent and other corporate boys' schools of Australia*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1950, pp. 160-163

²¹ *Argus* 2 March 1858 p. 5 Names, batting and bowling figures given

match after a dispute about the number of runs. They did not meet again for 17 years! The students who played in some of these early matches such as George Tait, John Conway and Dan Wilkie all played later for Victoria.

Wesley began playing Scotch College and Melbourne Grammar cricket on an irregular basis from 1870. Geelong Grammar and The Geelong College contested annually from 1876-1877 'except during periods of controversy',²² and Geelong Grammar joined the three Melbourne schools which played regularly from 1877. St. Patrick's played occasionally and not without some success. Xavier had opened in 1878 as Melbourne's second Jesuit school, and when admitted as a public school in 1901, the headmasters decided on one annual match between the schools.

FOOTBALL Melbourne Grammar played football against both St. Kilda Grammar and a number of men from St. Kilda in June and July 1858.²³ Melbourne Grammar won the first and the second ended in fisticuffs. Dr. Bromby would not make the same mistake again: the school's next opponent was not so easy or so rough. Over three Saturdays in August and September 1858 the lads from Grammar and Scotch College exhausted themselves playing a continuous game of football, probably under modified English Rugby School rules, among the gum trees north of the Melbourne Cricket Ground. The spring sun threatened to make this winter game unpalatable, and the result was declared a draw - one goal each.

It was not, as is so often asserted, Australian Rules football that was being played; those Rules originated in May 1859.²⁴ John Henning Thompson who was at MGS in 1858 wrote later: 'Our football games had no rules at all. Tripping, elbowing, tackling, or anything else, was practised with impunity. I remember one tough little fellow who used to jump on the backs of taller boys and bring them down, and there were some who had more interest in counting the number of fellows they could trip than in trying to get the ball. There was no limit to the number of players, or to the duration of the game, and masters used to play together with the boys.'²⁵

The two schools played again in 1859, then six times in the 1860s and 2 matches a year between 1870 and 1874.²⁶ In 1864 they combined to play the Melbourne Football Club.²⁷

It was not until 1869 that victory was given to the side scoring the most goals in a given time instead of the side scoring two goals and, in that year, Wesley made its first appearance. David Lyons presented a Football Challenge Cup in 1869 to Wesley for competition between the Public schools for which Melbourne Grammar School and Scotch College competed.²⁸ Geelong Grammar and The Geelong College began a longstanding rivalry between 1868 and 1914, with honours about even,²⁹ and students from both schools played with the Geelong Football Club from August 1864.³⁰ In June 1868 a combined side of MGS and Wesley defeated the Geelong Football Club team at Geelong after the Geelong captain gave the boys a generous advantage in numbers.³¹ Matches were played irregularly in the early 1870s and regularly in the late 1870s and 1880s between the four schools, except for St. Patrick's College which did not appear again after 1877..³² After regulations

²² B.R. Keith, ed., *The Geelong College 1861-1961*, Geelong, 1961, p. 90

²³ Dr. Bromby's Diary 5 June, 31 July 1858 held by M.G. S.

²⁴ G.M. Hibbins, *Sport and Racing in Colonial Melbourne*, Lynedoch, Melbourne, 2007, chapters 8 and ('Football' and 'Rules')

²⁵ Philip St. John Wilson, *The Pioneers of Port Phillip*, Melbourne, Robertson and Mullens, 1934, p. 98

²⁶ J.B. Kiddle, *Liber Melburniensis 1848-1936*, Robertson and Mullens, 1937, p.701, : MGS v Scotch football: 1862, 63, 64, 67, 68, 69 T. Power (ed.) *The Footballer*, 1875, gives details of the games between MGS, Scotch and Wesley in 1875. Wesley had a Second Twenty. T. Power (ed.) *The Footballer*, 1877. In 1877 Geelong Grammar played 12 matches, Wesley 10 matches, Scotch 9 and St. Patrick's 6 matches.

²⁷ *Argus* 6 June 1864, p. 5

²⁸ *Australasian* 1869, p. 429. Lyons' son went to Wesley. E. Nye, *History of Wesley College 1865-1919* Melbourne, McCarron, Bird & Co., 1921 pp.117-118 *Argus* 24 August 1870 Wesley played Scotch for the Public Schools Challenge Cup. Won again by Scotch; Catto captained Scotch and Lupton Wesley. There was a large audience of boys. Mr Mack of Geelong was the central umpire.

²⁹ W. Bate, *Light Blue Down Under: The History of Geelong Grammar School*, O.U.P. 1990, p. 112

³⁰ Mark Pennings, University of Queensland, unpublished research as of 2008.

³¹ *Australasian* June 20 1868, p. 780

³² J.B. Kiddle, *Liber Melburniensis 1848-1936*, p. 702, St. Patrick's played football in 1877 as did GGS, MGS, Wesley, G.C. and the University, 9 football games between them, *Australasian* 20 October 1877, p. 492

were set up for 2 matches per year between each school in the 1890s, they played more often and the one match a year policy applied after Xavier was admitted in 1901.

ROWING Claims that Scotch and Melbourne Grammar rowed in 1859 or competed in a pair-oared race before June 1868 have been convincingly refuted by Paul Mishura.³³ In 1868 'Remus' of *The Australasian* reported that several new crews had appeared on the Yarra River. The rowing of two schools, he said, was of 'the crudest and most primitive description'.³⁴ [until two members of the University Rowing Club had taken them in hand, (claimed to be John Henning Thompson and J.C. Johnstone³⁵), the result of which was a challenge from Mr. Morrison's pupils to Dr. Bromby's. It was accepted, and training began, which simply meant a hard row every evening. Earlier John Craig, a Scotch pupil, presumably sculling, had capsized. Headmaster Alexander Morrison had immediately and personally tested whether each Boat Club member could swim the breadth of the Sandridge Baths (at South Melbourne) with his clothes on. Two could not manage it.³⁶

It was agreed to row on 18 June 1868 from the Botanical Bridge (a pedestrian bridge which then existed on the western side of the current Anderson Street bridge) downstream to the boatshed of boat-builder Jem Edwards at Princes Bridge. Tossing for stations, Scotch won the north side which gave them the inside rowing at the notorious (then a swimming) Baths' Bend, and they won by 2 lengths. Melbourne Grammar School was not disgraced. Observed 'Remus': 'if they had had the north station and been artistically steered, the race would have been closer'. From the crowd lining the banks, estimated to be two thousand strong, there was hearty, genuine and impulsive cheering.³⁷ The boats would have been four-oar, inrigged, single strake, stringtest boats with fixed seats. About 2 ft. 6 wide in beam, their saxboards rose above the skin at such a layout that a string passed around the boat touched all over -hence the name.³⁸

The two schools contested again in June 1869 (Scotch won) and in June 1870 and 1871 (Melbourne Grammar School won). With some reluctance Wesley was finally allowed to row against the other two schools separately in 1871. Geelong Grammar school first competed in 1875 and as the Yarra flooded, it was thought advisable to have a 'time' test as a race, two crews beginning from and ending at two posts 60 feet apart. Having tossed for position, Scotch started at the back post but crossed their end post earlier than Geelong Grammar. The following week in a similar manner, Scotch defeated Wesley.³⁹

This was the first race for the Sumner Cup, the gift of the Hon. Theodotus John Sumner, M.L.C., a merchant with agricultural interests, who provided a challenge cup for competition by the five public schools.⁴⁰ The rowers had to be bona fide pupils of the school and under the age of 19 on the 1 January of the year of the race. And they were to race in string-test gigs. All trial heats were to be rowed on Melbourne water and the final on the water of the school holding the Cup so that, when

³³ J.B. Kiddle, *Liber Melburniensis 1848-1936*, claimed 1859 p.715; P. Mishura 'Did Any Victorian Public School Row before 1868?' See appendices.

³⁴ *Australasian*, 'Remus', 20 June 1868, p.780. 'Remus' is copied in J.B. Kiddle, *Liber Melburniensis 1848-1936*, p. 715-716

³⁵ J.B. Kiddle, *Liber Melburniensis 1848-1936*, p. 715, claims John Henning Thompson and J.C. Johnston

³⁶ P. Mishura, 'Did Any Victorian Public School Row before 1868?' See appendices.

³⁷ Most sources indicate the margin was a little over one length, but was unlikely to have been two lengths. The most common factor noted by journalists was that the MGS boat was too heavy for the boys in it. Steering was also an issue. Notes from Paul Mishura. Email September 2008. The average weight of the MGS crew was 10 stone, 10 lbs. J.B. Kiddle, *Liber Melburniensis*, p. 716

³⁸ J. Edwards, 'The Building of a Racing Eight', *The Australian Oarsman*, 19 April 1926; *Wesley Chronicle* October 1890 p. 833

³⁹ *Australasian* 24 April p. 524, 8 May p. 588, 15 May p. 620, 22 May p. 625, 1875; E. Nye *History of Wesley College 1865-1919*, 1921. p. 136

⁴⁰ Theodotus John Sumner (1820-1884) Arrived Melbourne 1842 pastoral and agricultural pursuits, wholesale merchant with Benjamin Heape and then Richard Grice. Member of the Board of Education 1862 Extensive charity work, especially for Melbourne Hospital and elderly. MLC Central May 1873- Nov.1882, MLC South Yarra Nov.1882- Feb. 1883

Geelong Grammar School won the race in 1878, the next year the race was held on the Barwon River. The Cup would be the property of the school winning it three times, achieved by Melbourne Grammar in 1879.

By May 1878 the 'time test' had been abandoned and heats of two crews competed abreast. They trained almost daily for two months prior to the race and raced down stream from the Botanical Bridge to boatbuilder Edwards' boathouses at Princes Bridge. On all occasions the students lined the river bank to cheer on their crew vociferously.⁴¹

On 14 October 1899 the first crews of GGS and MGS rowed in the sheltered Albert Park Lake in eight-oared boats. Hundreds of old boys watched as the transition was successfully made for all the schools in 1901. Journalist "Old Boy" wrote a short account of public school rowing to that date, and admiringly of Geelong Grammar's James Cuthbertson who had urged the change for some time, quoting Cuthbertson's poetry:

A racing eight of perfect mould
True to the builder's law,
That takes the water's gleaming gold
Without a single flaw.
A ship deep resonant within,
Harmonious to the core,
That vibrates to her polished skin
The tune of wave and oar.'⁴²

ATHLETICS At the end of the eighteen sixties each school began its own athletic sports, replicating those of the 'old country'.⁴³ Melbourne Grammar School, Geelong Grammar School and Wesley held the first combined meeting in November 1870, the 'United Athletics Sports of the Melbourne Public Schools', with some 556 entries and some 27 to 32 events, including kicking the football, throwing the cricket ball and pole-vaulting. Individual prizes were awarded as well as an overall standing for each school scored by points.

The results were considerably lower than those of today, the 'running high leap', for instance, being won at 4ft. 9 inches!⁴⁴ But then they did not have a sand pit in which to land. William Hammersley, 1856-57 Victorian cricket captain and sporting editor of *The Australasian*, and Colden Harrison, Melbourne Football Club captain and colonial sprint and hurdling champion, MCC Secretary William Handfield and prominent Victorian cricketer, Dick Wardill officiated at the MCG. The next three combined sports met with mixed support and in 1874 they did not take place.⁴⁵

On 20 November 1875 GGS, Wesley, St. Patrick's College and Melbourne Grammar School held combined sports on the South Melbourne [cricket] ground. They were managed by Professor Herbert Strong of Melbourne University as judge (he played football and encouraged athletics at the University), and by William Hammersley, Colden Harrison.⁴⁶ In 1876 MGS, GGS, and Wesley held combined schools sports; it was organised by a committee of management of two delegates from each school. W.E. Russell from MGS was the Hon. Secretary and William Hammersley,

⁴¹ *Australasian*, 'Cloanthus', 11 May 1878 p.588, 18 May p. 621 Boat built by Clem Blunt who had a cottage and a workshop on a rising knoll just before the Cremorne Gardens (east of Punt Road) according to *Bells Life in Victoria* 28 June 1862. Professor Irving and T.C. Colle, umpire and starter respectively. Weight and names given.

⁴² *Australasian* 21 October 1899, p. 918; "Old Boy" 19 October 1901 p. 871

⁴³ *Australasian* 21 November 1868 p. 652 Scotch College held sports at the MCG on 21 Nov. 1868. It was notable for the Old Collegians Cup worth 12 guineas, for the points winner of three races over 100, 440 and 800 yards. Wesley had school athletics sports in 1869. E. Nye *History of Wesley College 1865-1919*, 1921. p. 144

⁴⁴ E. Nye *History of Wesley College 1865-1919*, 1921, pp. 144-145; R.E. Wilmot, 'Old Boy', writing about a copy lent to him of the printed results of the 1870 meeting *Australasian* 8 January 1938

⁴⁵ For the 'united public schools athletic sports': *Argus* 11 December 1872 p.7, 15 November p. 5

⁴⁶ *Australasian* 13 November, p. 620, 20 November 1875, p. 653 (lists events). Lake of MGS given special mention for his assistance. *Argus* 16 November 1875 p. 6

editor of *The Australasian*, was the referee. Gold and silver medals were given, not articles of jewellery or cups, for first and second prizes. In 1877 the United Public Schools sports were held on 2 November between St. Patrick's, GGS, MGS and Wesley,⁴⁷

Scotch College under Alexander Morrison had not participated since the first sports in 1870, 'to prevent devotion to athletics encroaching on school work',⁴⁸ and Wesley's Headmaster Henry Andrew followed suit in 1881. The sports were abandoned. A proposed restoration was rejected in 1891, some incomplete meetings (in events and schools) were adopted between 1900 and 1905⁴⁹ when the combined sports were revived. The 'fourth annual combined sports for *The Argus* and *The Australasian* Cup' were held in 1908.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ *Australasian* 27 October, 1877, p. 524

⁴⁸ J. Mitchell, *A Deepening Roar: Scotch College Melbourne, 1851-2001*, pp. 68-69

⁴⁹ *Australasian* 25 January 1907, p. 196 Discussion on organizing combined school sports meeting.

⁵⁰ *Australasian* 9 May 1908, p. 1145 The high jumping was notable; four boys jumped over 5 feet, 5 inches with the Wesley winner jumping 5 feet, 6 inches. E. Nye *History of Wesley College 1865-1919* Melbourne, McCarron, Bird & Co., 1921, pp. 147-150

3. 'TO PLAY THE GAME – THE ONLY REAL VICTORY' 1908-1930

In 1908 The Geelong School was welcomed into the public schools and for the next fifty years the 'four sports' remained the most important sports, as gold-lettered honour boards, trophies, school colours and blazer pockets testified. Cricket matches were fixed at one per year and to be played over two days instead of two matches a year lasting one day each. To ensure continuity within the Committee membership was confined to masters only. The organisation of inter-school matches was left to this body though all decisions were submitted to the Heads for approval. The APS delegates consistently refused to play against other schools or to increase the number of interschool sports.⁵¹ They only reluctantly acceded to the University's annual request to play a combined APS football team and decided not to include swimming as an APS sport.⁵²

Other endeavours such as sailing, golf, walking, climbing, canoeing, and even team sports like tennis and lacrosse, tended to be regarded only as exercise, and took a back seat as energy and boys were directed to the competitive team games.

The emphasis given to sport in the first half of the century varied and depended much on the attitude of the headmaster, although as Dr. James Darling pointed out later, 'there is no need to encourage sport; the natural inclination of every British-born man or boy is on its side' and, by 'British-born',⁵³ he was including those of the British Empire. Complaints about the undue concentration on sport appeared before the turn of the century and became the focus of continued debate during its first two decades as audiences grew for the APS football matches and boat races. In January 1907 'Old Boy' was already suggesting that: 'the growth of interest in school sports during the last few years in Victoria has set some people to asking the questions "Are we not rather overdoing the thing", "Are we not placing too much importance on school sports and premierships?"'⁵⁴

It was primarily Lawrence Arthur Adamson, enthusiastic sports master at Wesley and thereafter Headmaster for thirty years from 1902 to 1932, who initially built on the legacy of others to construct a monument to the virtues of school sport.⁵⁵ The messiah of athleticism, Adamson had a philosophy summarised by historian Andrew Lemon: 'Sport created a sense of unity and purpose at Wesley. Sport encouraged boys to improve their health and develop their physical potential. Sport, [Adamson] believed, taught life-lessons about practice and persistence, courage, teamwork and how to deal with reverses and misfortune. Sport offered unacademic boys a purpose in life; an incentive to stay on at school, to act as leader and inspiration to the younger ones. Sport offered heroes and legends.'⁵⁶ Overall, these advantages were seen as subordinate to the moral training, it was asserted, that sport instilled. His deputy, colleague and friend, Harold Stewart, was Secretary of the Public Schools delegates from 1904 until 1924 and the 'translator of Adamson's precepts into actual practice'.⁵⁷

Adamson had much support. William Littlejohn returned Scotch College to the combined public school sports in 1905, when previous participation had been denied by Alexander Morrison.

⁵¹ APS delegates' meeting minutes, 14 August 1909. The delegates refused St. Patrick's College's request to join in the combined athletic sports of April 1911.

⁵² APS delegates' meeting minutes, 26 February 1909

⁵³ J.R. Darling, *The Education of a Civilized Man: a selection of speeches and sermons*, F.W. Cheshire, Melbourne, 1962, p. 83.

⁵⁴ *Australasian* 26 January 1907, p. 199. See for example, *The Age* debate between Dr. W. Kent Hughes and Adamson, 24 May 1910, 28 May, 1 June 1910.

⁵⁵ R. Crawford, 'Athleticism, Gentlemen and Empire in Australian Public Schools: L.A. Adamson and Wesley College', *Melbourne Sporting Traditions. Paper presented at the history of Sporting Traditions IV Conference, MCG, August 1983*

⁵⁶ A. Lemon, *A Great Australian School: Wesley College Examined, Helicon*, 2004, p. 136

⁵⁷ *The History of Wesley College 1920-1940*, McCarron, Bird & Co., Melbourne, 1941, pp. 11-12. Minutes, A. P. S. delegates' meetings, passim. Stewart resigns as Secretary, 21 February 1925, began as Secretary of an earlier similar committee in August 1903.

Littlejohn made sport compulsory, except when a medical certificate exempted a pupil, and pursued a more English public school route for the school. 'To play the game', said the Scotch College chaplain, meant 'clean sport and honourable dealing'.⁵⁸

Following Xavier's incorporation as a public school, Father James O'Dwyer 'embraced the English, Protestant and secular public school spirit with enthusiasm' and 'enlarged and embroidered this with Catholic virtue', historian Greg Denning wrote.⁵⁹ At both Scotch and Xavier continued sporting success exhilarated and encouraged the ethos.

Richard Franklin (1915-1936) at Melbourne Grammar was an unabashed supporter, so much so that historians, Weston Bate and Helen Penrose, claim sporting prowess was held in higher esteem than academic success.⁶⁰

However, at Geelong Grammar Francis Brown (1912-1929) was occupied with moving the school to the isolation of 200 acres at Corio and coping with the war-induced turnover of staff, forcing him to use his energies on building supervision, administration and finance. His deputy, James Cuthbertson, a kindred spirit of Adamson, encouraged an emphasis on sport, especially rowing.

The Geelong College celebrated its jubilee with athletic sports and went on to build a new tennis court and enlarge its oval. Headmaster William Bayly (1910-1914) presented the College with a racing eight. The College suffered during the war years and its enrolments dropped but, in 1920, a fine sportsman, Rev. Francis Rolland, began twenty-six years of transforming the College with new buildings and a new spirit.

Inevitably, there was a reaction. In 1910 the schools had a conference of headmasters and school councillors to consider the 'prominence given to school athletics' and concluded that undue time was not given to school sport.⁶¹ So vociferous and increasing did criticism become from 1920 that the headmasters of the schools were moved to decry the giving of presents to successful crews and teams, and to encourage modification of theatre nights celebrated after the Head of the River but to leave the tradition of sporting dinners untouched.⁶² In May 1930, Xavier's Father O'Keefe and C.H. Cameron from Geelong Grammar led the delegates in deploring the excessive amount of publicity given to public school sport and asked the headmasters to suppress this as much as possible. The headmasters agreed and asked for practical suggestions as to how this could be achieved.⁶³ The local press was much to blame for providing the attention.

⁵⁸ J. Mitchell., *A Deepening Roar: Scotch College Melbourne, 1851-2001* p. 72 Rev. Rowan Macneil chaplain (1925-1934) said this in 1911.

⁵⁹ G. Denning & D. Kennedy, *Xavier Portraits*, Melbourne, 1993, p. 3

⁶⁰ W. Bate & H. Penrose, *Challenging Traditions: A History of Melbourne Grammar*, pp. 139-141

⁶¹ *Australasian* 10 September 1910

⁶² APS delegates' meeting minutes, 10 June 1920.

⁶³ APS delegates' meeting minutes, 3 May 1930, 7 June 1930

4. THE PRESS

“Tommy now was famous and his glories were not hid,
For the *Argus*, *Age* and *Herald* noted everything he did.”

Tommy was a Wesley boy and Wesley boys have sung about him since the late nineteenth century.⁶⁴ From the very beginning of public school sport in the 1870s and, particularly in the first half of the twentieth century, considerable space in the local press was given to speculating on which school would succeed in the competitions and to describing the matches, the boat race and the athletic sports.

Reginald William Earnest Wilmot [not Winchester Wilmot who was his father] devoted regular columns to public school sport in *The Argus* and *The Australasian* as ‘Old Boy’ between 1892 and his retirement in 1935.⁶⁵ Born in 1869, he played cricket at Melbourne Grammar, left in 1888 and was awarded a university cricket blue in 1890.

Xavier historian Greg Denning has described him as ‘a very jealous guardian of the sporting spirit. For forty years he celebrated pluck and skill and self-sacrificing team spirit, and he glowered at excesses in competitiveness or too close an imitation of the ‘gladiators’ of professional sport. Above all, he savoured the proper behaviour of victors and losers. A memorable moment for him was the scene outside the boatsheds on the Yarra when the victorious Xavier crew of 1928 brought in their boat and, as the supporters milled around in feverish excitement cheering each oarsman, the coach and the Rector, someone from Xavier called for three cheers for Wesley and Melbourne Grammar and got a generous response. ‘Old Boy’ glowed with pride. At another time he recorded the setting aside by the Xavier football captain of a disputed behind in the championship match against Scotch in 1933. It meant Xavier only drew the championship. It was ‘good sporting spirit’. When Xavier did not protest against off-line rowing by the Melbourne Grammar Crew in the 1930 Head of the River, he applauded the spirit that left judgment entirely in the hands of the umpire. For forty years and for two world wars he exalted in the spirit of generosity and self-sacrifice, of submission to team requirements, of playing with total effort for no other reward than the school’s good name.’⁶⁶

An active vice-president of the Metropolitan Amateur Football Association at the beginning of the century’s first two decades, Wilmot supported Wesley’s Headmaster L. A. Adamson in his attack on professional football, payment being opposed to the public school view of sport as improving moral uprightness,⁶⁷ and Wesley’s Harold Stewart in his work as the Victorian Amateur Football Association vice-president from 1912 to 1932 and VAFA President from 1933 to 1946.

James Joshua (Jim) Blake was an old boy of Wesley College (1917-1922) and claimed to be only average at athletics and rowing although he rowed with the Melbourne Rowing Club once he left school. “Impressions of a Boy at School under Adamson” which he wrote for Dr. Felix Meyer’s biography, “Adamson of Wesley” led him into journalism and he began as a casual on *The Herald*.⁶⁸ Blake wrote a weekly column on school sport as ‘Mentor’ in *The Herald* from 1937 and as Jim Blake in *The Sporting Globe* from March 1938 except for a few short breaks due to wartime

⁶⁴ The Wesley Song Book 1895 L.A. Adamson

⁶⁵ *Australasian*, ‘Weekly Jottings College Sport’, some noted: 29 July 1893 p. 188 suggesting resumption of public school athletics sports. Earliest I could find was 7 January 1893 p. 12 [‘once more I take up my pen’, so must have written earlier than this]; 21 Jan. 1893 p. 115, 28 Jan. 1893 p. 155, 4 Feb. 1893 p. 202; MGS Old Boys Society recalled 2 Feb. 1895 p. 21, on cricket 4 April 1908 p. 831, on MGS jubilee 11 April 1908 p. 589 and picture p. 899, 1908 4th annual sports for *Argus* and *Australasian* Cup, MGS, Wesley and Scotch only, 2 May p. 1079, 9 May p. 1145. High jumping notable - 4 boys jumped over 5’5” and R.G. Henley for Wesley 5’6½; 30 May 1908 p.1327

⁶⁶ G. Denning, *Xavier Portraits*, Melbourne, 1993, p. 153. Denning, of course, uses Xavier examples; no doubt Wilmot identified others.

⁶⁷ *Argus* 23 April 1915; J. Johnson *For the Love of the Game* p. 41; www Metropolitan Football Association.

⁶⁸ *Wesley Chronicle*, December 1977 pp. 101-102

paper rationing.⁶⁹ Few accounts did not include a description of the spectators, comprising as they so often did the fascination of combined affluence and the ebullient vitality and physical beauty of the young boys and girls.

Blake retired from fulltime writing in 1965 but was still writing his school columns in 1983. During this time he was sympathetic to the schools which had newly joined the APS and encouraged their efforts and teams.

Jim was the founder of the Sporting Globe Good Friday appeal in 1942 which raised millions of dollars for the Royal Children's Hospital over the following decades. He was awarded the British Empire Medal for his services to Journalism in 1977.

Samuel Wells was born in Victoria in 1885. He joined *Melbourne Punch* after World War One and later worked for *The Herald* drawing sporting cartoons. After six years in England, he returned to *The Herald* in 1939 and moved in 1950 to *The Age*. He died in 1964. Samuel Wells (1885-1964) caricatured the public school 'heads' and rowing coaches in the *Herald* 13 May 1930.

⁶⁹ *Sporting Globe House News* for Nov. Dec.1957

5. THE MOST CHALLENGING GAME OF ALL

When the Australian cricket team finally beat the English on 29 August 1882 at the Oval, a victory which sparked the start of the Ashes content, the editor of the *Australasian* wrote; ‘Our kinsmen in the old country will, we are sure, readily acknowledge that Australians are made of the same sterling stuff which enabled their forefathers to gain glorious victories on the fields of Cressy, Waterloo, Alma and Inkerman.’⁷⁰

Sport and war were related, and preparing young men to be good soldiers had been significant since the schools were founded. In 1908, when Prime Minister Deakin spoke of the increased emphasis on sport in life during the last 30 or 40 years, he was repeating a familiar creed: ‘not merely the physical training but the discipline of sport, its effect upon character and courage, its prominence as an educational process, were valuable. It has been found that the true sportsman, pitted at his best against his opponents under rules of fair play, is the manliest man who walks this planet today...’ He went on: ‘We are laying the foundations of a physical stamina and capacity which is not only exercise and sport, but which in the hour of need will respond to the nation’s call...may mean a nation’s safety, its name and its existence.’⁷¹

Young Australians, some from the public schools, had already responded to another ‘nation’s call’; the Boer War (1899-1902) encouraged military training and more discipline for young boys. Both rifle shooting and cadet corps took on a new emphasis and urgency.

In 1908, it was considered that rifle shooting should be regarded as a public school sport. It had, after all, been first contested in 1873 when hardware merchant James McEwan provided a challenge cup for the public schools, won by Wesley in 1873 and 1874 and retained with its third win in 1877. In 1878 the match was named the Grammar Schools’ Match and included Hawthorn Grammar School. In the next few years both Wesley and Melbourne Grammar were keen contestants until cadet rifle competitions were instituted by the Victorian Rifle Association in 1884 and the other three schools joined in.⁷²

Cadet corps were formed from 1884 throughout the schools of Victoria and the public schools were quickly off the mark. Alexander Lucas, Melbourne Grammar corps instructor wrote: ‘I am proud of the pre-eminence the School has gained in the noble games of Cricket and Football and I trust that it will be equally distinguished for its patriotic spirit in its boys coming forward as volunteers to learn the art of defending their country, should invasion ever be attempted...’⁷³

In Victorian schools from 1906, boys over thirteen were required to undergo military and physical drill conducted by instructors supplied by the Defence Department to instil the discipline and physique required of soldiers. Melbourne Grammar set up a miniature rifle range in 1906 and Adamson was able to return rifle training to the position of significance which it had held in the late nineteenth century at Wesley. In 1911 such training for boys over fourteen was made universal. Rifle shooting was curtailed only on the outbreak of war, when the Defence Department called in all rifles, making it impossible for school rifle matches to continue.⁷⁴

Large numbers of sportsmen from public schools, both teachers and past pupils, enlisted in the First World War. The popular metaphor of sport as war, particularly football, appeared in the sporting press and in the discourse of the public schools and amateur sporting clubs.⁷⁵ Games became

⁷⁰ *Australasian* 2 September 1882, p. 301

⁷¹ *Argus* 29 August 1908, p.17

⁷² E. Nye, *The History of Wesley College 1865-1919*, McCarron, Bird and Co. Melbourne, 1923, pp. 153-154

⁷³ W. Bate & H. Penrose, *Challenging Traditions: A History of Melbourne Grammar*, p. 73

⁷⁴ J.B. Kiddle, *Liber Melburniensis 1848-1936; Melbourne Church of England Grammar School official history*, 1926, pp. 741-743

⁷⁵ D.W. Brown, ‘Muscular Christianity in the Antipodes’, *Sporting Traditions*, vol. 3, May 1987

'battles' rather than friendly competition. As the chorus of the Wesley 'war song', 'Before the Boat Race 1907', expressed it:

'Then it's forward, boys, to battle – hark the bugle's thrilling tone,
With the Royal Purple borne ahead, march on to hold your own,
With the Lion proudly passing as the ensign flutters free,
Let the Lion guard the river as the Lion guards the sea.'⁷⁶

Father O'Dwyer at Xavier said: 'If I wished to teach soldierly qualities, I know of no finer training than that which the struggles of our Schools Association gives its members.'⁷⁷ Xavier boys sang their patriotic sporting school songs as, with a Xavier flag in one hand and the Australian flag in the other, they were proudly urged to war in September 1914.

Wesley Headmaster, L.A. Adamson, argued that professional footballers should have enlisted. He told the boys 'a patriotic German' could not do better than 'to get into touch with the most physically fit men in this community - the most fitted for war by their practice in mimic warfare, and to pay them from 30/- to £3 per week to stay here in Australia, instead of going to fight'. He appealed to the boys not to support the League football matches.⁷⁸ 'Old Boy' (Ex-Wesley Wilmot) supported him arguing that professional football did not improve the calibre of the men who played it, the sport itself and the community.⁷⁹

Thirty Xavier boys had already died fighting when the newly appointed Catholic Archbishop of Melbourne, Daniel Mannix, opposed conscription in October 1916 and the school was seen as a bastion of Irish Jesuits, a disaster in the predominantly Protestant sporting ethos. AS the conscription issue raged, Sir Edmund Barton said: "There is a higher and nobler game and no man who omits to play it can be called a sport. I hope the manhood of Australia will yet awake under voluntary recruitment to the duty it has before it." Directly underneath *The Argus* report of his speech was a letter from W.S. Littlejohn bringing up-to-date the number of Scotch College's enlistments.⁸⁰ School sport took on a religious bigotry, so much so that, when Xavier won the football premiership in 1917, the school and the Catholic community rejoiced more than they might otherwise have done.⁸¹

The year of 1917 was one of reflected aggression in which 'regrettable incidents' showing ill-feeling between schools such as school war-cries, cap-snatching and boys fighting each other on and off the field at matches had school masters concerned.⁸² The APS delegates blamed the premiership idea for dominating school games, with football as the main offender, and recommended discontinuing all premierships for a period, to which the headmasters finally acquiesced.⁸³

To their combined credit, they replied, when asked to lift the ban: 'Playing at hate here in Victoria seemed repulsive when hundreds of letters told how the real brotherhood of all Public School boys was being shown under other skies and tested as it had never been before.'⁸⁴

⁷⁶ Wesley College Song Book, 1907, p.20. This version above slightly amended.

⁷⁷ G. Denning & D. Kennedy, *Xavier Portraits*, Melbourne, 1993, p. 95

⁷⁸ *Argus* 22 April 1915 p. 5

⁷⁹ *Argus*, 22 April 1915, p. 5. This was followed by Alex. Leeper of Trinity College on 23 April (*Argus*, p. 8) claiming that he had misgivings about the amateur sportsmen's response to the call for army volunteers which he considered 'inadequate'. But F. J. Newman agreed with Adamson, (same page).

⁸⁰ *Argus* 24 April 1917

⁸¹ G. Denning & D. Kennedy, *Xavier Portraits*, Melbourne, 1993, pp .92-93; A. Lemon, *A Great Australian School: Wesley College Examined*, pp.152-153

⁸² APS delegates' meeting minutes, 24 February 1917

⁸³ APS delegates' meeting minutes 23 February 1917, 22 September 1917, 8 June 1917; *Argus* 31 August 1917, 4e

⁸⁴ G. Denning, *Xavier: A Centenary Portrait* 1978, pp. 101-102. This is attributed to Adamson, endnoted to minutes of the APS Headmasters' meetings, 30 August 1917, by A. Lemon, *A Great Australian School: Wesley College Examined*, pp..153, 588

In April 1916, the APS delegates suggested that a charge be made at football matches and the proceeds devoted to the Patriotic Funds. The following year they agreed to help the Red Cross and Patriotic Funds by selling programmes at 6d to the public and 3d to schoolboys at the Head of the River. Programme-selling and admission fees became a standard feature at the boat races and athletic sports for some time, the proceeds donated after the war to hospitals.⁸⁵

As the death toll, honour boards and the reading of casualty lists mounted, grief and some understanding of the grim reality being faced overseas, modified any sense of adventure or decoration. Indeed, Melbourne Grammar's historians concluded that the effect of war was a 'more sober outlook on life and a truer sense of perspective'.⁸⁶ The mimic warfare of games became less important. The public was less interested, following the loss to enlistment or death of sporting heroes.⁸⁷ Teams into which students might have expected to graduate were abandoned as their older brothers enlisted.

Of the 4,700 public school boys who responded to the 'call of duty', many were sportsmen of note. The fitness derived from sports and athletics held them in good stead through appalling hardships, as did the camaraderie of fellow school sportsmen. Australia's flying ace, Robert Little, allegedly flew Scotch's cardinal, gold and blue streamers behind his plane in 1915.⁸⁸ He was one of the 756 public school men who died.

The men returned to a society which knew little of the hell they had survived, some traumatised for ever, some reiterating the creed they had absorbed before they left - and tested. Was it Richard Franklin's war service until 1917 which led him, as Headmaster of Melbourne Grammar, to consider that team games played an 'important part in the formation of character, and that it is essential that School games should be team games - games in which the boy must be asked to play for his side, and if necessary to sacrifice himself to the good of the whole'?⁸⁹ Old Wesley boy Robert Grieve, winner of the Victoria Cross for heroism in France, spoke to a school assembly and quoted the school football song: 'Play the game together, self is but a fool. Let defeat dismay you not, fortune find you cool.'⁹⁰

The depression was the next challenge for public school boys, most better able to handle it because of their privileged family and school backgrounds than their poorer contemporaries. But the fees were hard to come by and there was less financial chance of staying on at school and playing sport.

Whatever the experience, there were fewer patriotic speeches and fewer smoke nights to farewell volunteers at the beginning of the Second World War. Father Hackett, Rector of Xavier, sent his boys off in 1939 with four pieces of advice: 'Keep fit. Don't grumble. Shoot straight. Pray hard.'⁹¹ The schools' cadet corps practised with the British .303 service rifle, the Owen gun and on the Thomson submachine gun. Sportsmen and the top athletes were usually the non-commissioned officers. Now the Air Force and the Navy also claimed their enlistments. As before, the bonds of school and sport lifted spirits, hearts and voices in horrific times overseas.

These were difficult times for the schools. Most school competition continued much as usual although the groundsmen had gone to fight. Everything was in short supply; old customs such as

⁸⁵ APS delegates' meeting minutes 8 April 1916, 14 April 1917, 8 June 1918

⁸⁶ *The Melburnian* quoted in W. Bate & H. Penrose *Challenging Traditions: A History of Melbourne Grammar*, p. 120

⁸⁷ *The Melburnian* Aug 1917 p. 59

⁸⁸ J. Mitchell. *A Deepening Roar: Scotch College Melbourne, 1851-2001* Allen & Unwin 2001 p. 94 Biographical www.Robert Little

⁸⁹ MGS Annual Report 1923 quoted in W. Bate & H. Penrose, *Challenging Traditions: A History of Melbourne Grammar*, p. 137 A disciple of the English style Public Schools education, Franklin is described by Bate and Penrose as "besotted with Public School sport unparalleled by any other headmaster before or since, p.140.

⁹⁰ Robert Grieve gave his Victoria Cross to Wesley when he died in 1957.

⁹¹ *Xaverian*, December 1939, p. 185, quoted G. Xavier: *A Centenary Portrait*, Melbourne, 1978, p. 230

giving a student the cricket bat if he hit a hundred runs were ended. Cups for individual athletic events were no longer; the money went to wartime fund-raising efforts. Clothing coupons did not run to sports uniforms or spiked shoes and hand-me-downs were the order of the day. Petrol restrictions meant fewer inter-school contests.

Wesley was invited to share facilities with Scotch College when the defence authorities requisitioned the school's accommodation in March 1942, and did so until the end of 1943. It seemed to do neither school any sporting harm, the two sharing the four premierships between them, Scotch football and cricket, Wesley athletics and rowing. They each barracked for the other school against their joint rivals. The splendid large Scotch College oval hosted the combined athletic sports which returned to the St. Kilda cricket ground in 1944. Wesley's 'back turf', however, was trenched with air-raid shelters and other facilities, such as the empty swimming pool and the gymnasium, suffered from military use. It was not possible to continue compulsory sport.⁹²

In 1942, when the Japanese were near our northern shores and air raids were possible, the Federal Government asked there be no large crowd gatherings organised, especially in the capital cities. The Head of the River was cancelled, although the Melbourne Schools rowed in challenge races on the Yarra, as did the Geelong Schools on the Barwon. Wesley won all of its senior and junior races.

In 1943, this division was repeated. Melbourne Grammar, the Yarra winner, declined a challenge by Geelong Grammar who had won against The Geelong College on the Barwon. Wesley, winner of the newly introduced losers' final on the Yarra, accepted the challenge and was defeated. A controversy developed in which both Melbourne Grammar and Geelong Grammar seem to have had legitimate reasons for not rowing against each other. The 1944 programme showed MGS to be the 1943 winner but much later, in 1967, they were declared joint winners.

In 1944 and in 1945, as in pre-war races, all six crews competed but arranged that the Geelong crews decide a heat on the Barwon and then come to Melbourne for the finals. The Geelong crews had to row in borrowed boats as petrol restrictions meant transporting boats was not possible. Schools had found it hard to get old boy coaches, and minor repairs were made by the student rowers themselves. By the end of the war, the boats were in a bad state.

Sadly, these wars were not the only ones to affect young Australian men. There were battles to come in Korea, Malaysia, Vietnam and Iraq. As Greg Denning so pertinently observed of the students who went to the Second World War, 'These young dead had longer preparations for life than they had life.'⁹³

⁹² J. Mitchell, *A Deepening Roar: Scotch College Melbourne, 1851-2001*, Allen & Unwin, 2001, p. 170; A. Lemon, *A Great Australian School: Wesley College Examined*, Helicon, 2004, pp. 281-282

⁹³ G. Denning, *Xavier: A Centenary Portrait*, Melbourne, 1978, p. 233

6. 'ADULATION OF THE SPORTING WAS CHILLED'

Colin Covill, *The Melburnian*, August, 1970, p.37

It took James Darling, Geelong Grammar's intellectual Headmaster, to take on the enthroned but ageing Adamson over the glorification of athleticism.⁹⁴ "But Darling", Adamson allegedly objected, "it's the only thing that marks us off from the State Schools". "Oh, come, come," said the mild-mannered Francis Rolland, "not the *only* thing, I hope."⁹⁵ Rolland, another remarkable man and Headmaster of The Geelong College (1920-1945) had a moderate perspective on sports' place in education and Darling's arrival at Grammar in 1930 had his ready approval.

Geelong Grammar's historian, Weston Bate, suggests that Darling's English background disposed him to identify premierships with the professional, ungentlemanly approach to sport of the working classes.⁹⁶ Darling expressed it differently:

'The so-called public schools', he wrote later in his 1978 autobiography *Richly Rewarding*, 'were knit together in a tight union formed for the sole purpose of conducting a series of annual premierships. By this means these schools kept themselves exclusive and nurtured a privileged position in the educational world.'

The press played up to this rather unworthy ambition and the annual boat race in particular, rowed then two out of three times on the Yarra, had gained an almost Melbourne Cup-like prominence in the public mind. For weeks beforehand the various school eights were discussed and analysed in the newspapers and the days of the races themselves a flood of spurious excitement. Theatres were decorated in the school colours and the audience rose to its feet when the contest heroes entered. It was not quite so bad with the other sports but bad enough and the reputation of the various schools was either enhanced or tarnished by the successes or failure of their teams. The headmasters of the six accepted all this as right and proper and the whole public school world bitterly resented any attempt on my part to contend against it....

My main objections were twofold: first I did not like the exclusiveness of the six and the fact that these leaders of education appeared to base their pre-eminence upon such an inadequate distinction. Secondly, within the school public notice paid to the athletes as compared to scholars was not good for the standard of values which I was keen to establish. It did not take many years to get my views more or less accepted in the school⁹⁷ but it had little influence on the general problem.'

After 23 years he was still 'horrified at the importance attached to premierships and the amount of time that sport demanded. 'The basis of a premiership, which is to find out which is the best side, is futile and wrongheaded... The truth is that anything which gets away from the satisfaction of the individual contest introduces into sporting activities features properly alien to them and, in addition, has the effect of giving results more importance than is appropriate to them, thereby militating against the proper spirit in which games should be played.'

⁹⁴ R. Crawford, 'Athleticism, Gentlemen and Empire in Australian Public Schools: L.A. Adamson and Wesley College, Melbourne', Paper presented at the History of Sporting Traditions IV Conference, M.C.G., August 1983. Crawford defends Adamson against Darling's attacks, last pages.

⁹⁵ I.V. Hansen, *Nor Free Nor Secular*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1971, p. 121. A reminiscence vouchsafed to Ian Hansen by Sir James Darling.

⁹⁶ W. Bate, *Light Blue Down Under: The History of Geelong Grammar School*, p. 332.

⁹⁷ Wrote the Editor, *Corian*, Dec. 1930: 'football matches are played on public grounds in all the professional atmosphere of those grounds; the Boat Race has become, next to the Melbourne Cup, the great sporting event of the year; the Combined Sports attract more of the outside public at each meeting; cricket alone preserves some of its traditional friendly and informal nature.' W. Bate, *Light Blue Down Under: The History of Geelong Grammar School*, pp. 332-333

His 'only support', Darling wrote, 'came, and that not unqualified, from Frank Rolland, the Principal of Geelong college, and from the very great Dr Littlejohn of Scotch.'⁹⁸ [Dr. William Littlejohn (Scotch 1904-1933.)]

Then Colin Macdonald Gilray (Scotch 1934-1953), an All Black player, introduced rugby and encouraged the cultural side of the school. Richard Selby Smith (Scotch 1953-1964) believed playing sport was more valuable than watching it, and doubled the numbers participating by enlarging the range of sports.⁹⁹ Adamson died at Wesley late in 1932 and Neil MacNeil came to Wesley in 1939, recognising that the schools had 'come to be regarded as representatives of privilege and guardians of a tradition of exclusiveness', the class division being engendered making them vulnerable to attack by other schools, by the press and by thinking people generally.¹⁰⁰

Discussion rolled on, only interrupted by the war years. Dr. Martyn Buntine replaced the retired Rolland at The Geelong College in 1946 and oversaw a broadening of the sports, particularly increased interest in tennis and swimming. At Melbourne Grammar 'sport was proclaimed a no word - to be replaced by 'games'¹⁰¹ and set, by Brian Hone (1951-1970), within educational objectives that gave participation as much value as performance'.

To both the intertwined questions of exclusivity and the glorification of sport, the answer was seen to lie in enlarging the number of schools within the APS. In 1957 Darling chaired the Public Schools Headmasters Association when the headmasters met, somewhat ironically, at that bastion of exclusivity, the Melbourne Club, on 8 August 1957. The time was ripe: there were a number of other fine schools around, and Darling had support from both Hone and Selby Smith. Dr. Martyn Buntine was nearing the end of his fourteen years at The Geelong College; Dr. Tom Coates was a very new Headmaster at Wesley who had never attended or taught at a public school.¹⁰²

Once it was evident additions would be made to the APS, Father Roland Boylen, rector of Xavier at the time, although opposed to the expansion, declared another Catholic school should be included. The choice was left to Father Boylen and the Melbourne Archdiocese but there was indecision until the headmasters assured the Catholics that the expansion was designed to 'lessen privilege'.¹⁰³

⁹⁸ J.R. Darling, *Education of a Civilized Man: a selection of speeches and sermons*, pp. 92-93; J.R. Darling, *Richly Rewarding*, Hill of Content/ Lloyd O'Neil, Melbourne, 1978, p. 114

⁹⁹ J. Mitchell, *A Deepening Roar: Scotch College Melbourne, 1851-2001*, Allen & Unwin, 2001, Gilray p. 149, Selby Smith pp. 174, 197-198

¹⁰⁰ John McLaren called them 'proud, aloof and privileged' in *Our Troubled Schools*, Cheshire, Melbourne, 1968, pp. 6, 7, 12-13

¹⁰¹ W. Bate & H. Penrose, *Challenging Traditions: A History of Melbourne Grammar*, pp. 196, 273

I.V. Hansen, *Nor Free Nor Secular*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1971, p. 122

¹⁰² For background and likely views of these headmasters, see I. Hansen, *Nor Free Nor Secular*, pp. 68-70

¹⁰³ C. McConville *St. Kevin's College 1918-1993: The first 75 years*, M.U.P., 1993, pp. 157-158; A. Lemon, *A Great Australian School: Wesley College Examined*, Helicon, 2004. p. 342

7. THE ASSOCIATED PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF VICTORIA EXPAND

In the interests of the 'Independent Schools' (no longer 'public schools') it was agreed to invite Brighton Grammar School, Caulfield Grammar School, Haileybury College, Carey Baptist Grammar School, (Anglican, Presbyterian and Baptist) and St. Kevin's College.

The Christian Brothers had begun St. Kevin's College, 'a rare gesture of hope, a vote for the future'¹⁰⁴ in war-weary 1918. The College became a full secondary school with the move from the city to Toorak in 1932 and primary schooling began in 1935. Its invitation relied much on the disinterest of the other two Catholic teaching orders in joining. The College was, however, building a brand new school at Heyington where it already had ovals.¹⁰⁵ It would be the smallest of the independent schools.

Carey Baptist Grammar School was also buying nearby land and expanding, having begun in 1920. Its first Headmaster, Harold Steele (1923-1944), a believer in 'the well-rounded man' composed the school song which evoked the ethos of English public school.¹⁰⁶ 'Games' flourished although victories often seemed elusive. During Steele's term in office Stuart Hickman had been assistant sports master and, as the third Headmaster (1948-1952), Hickman had set about improving the sports ovals and adding a gymnasium.

The older schools, Brighton Grammar, Caulfield Grammar and Haileybury College, had been established as private ventures and developed religious affiliations. Begun in 1881, Caulfield Grammar had been incorporated fifty years later as suggested by its owner/principal, Walter Buntine (1896-1931). From 1933 it was administered by a Council predominantly of Old Boys and the school was associated with the Church of England.

Caulfield Grammar sport had benefited from the leadership of W. S. (Bill) Morcom who retired as Deputy Headmaster in 1961, having received the O.B.E. in 1959 for services to school sport. He had the support of Frank Archer, Headmaster (1932-1954) and an early coach of the first eighteen and first eleven. Archer opened Australia's first outdoor education campus at Yarra Junction in 1947,¹⁰⁷ employed a full time physical education master and built a new gymnasium.¹⁰⁸ A new Headmaster and Oxford graduate, Stanley Kurrle (1955-1964), felt enjoyment, learning to co-operate and fitness were the reasons for encouraging sport.¹⁰⁹ Caulfield Grammar was the largest of the Associated Grammar Schools of Victoria (790 boys in 1954-55)¹¹⁰ and had always participated in interschool competition, having won a number of premierships.¹¹¹

Brighton Grammar was begun by Dr. George Henry Crowther in 1882.¹¹² After he died in 1918, the Crowther family sought to sell the School to the Church of England. When it became clear that would not occur, members of the local community led by Canon Hancock, Vicar of St. Andrews Church, raised the funds to buy it. The Brighton Grammar School Association was thus established in 1924. A gymnasium and sports pavilion were built despite the depression of the 1930s, and the school's population rocketed in the late 1940s as bay side suburbs extended. It had just bought the

¹⁰⁴ S. Russell, *St. Kevin's College Newsletter*, 14 February ? 2008

¹⁰⁵ C. McConville, *St. Kevin's College 1918-1993: The first 75 years*, pp. 151-155.

¹⁰⁶ D. Morgan, *The Torch Is Lit: A Life of Harold George Steele*, Playright, Sydney, 1997, p. 50

¹⁰⁷ H. Penrose, *Outside The Square: 125 Years of Caulfield Grammar School*, M.U.P., 2006, p. 34

¹⁰⁸ H. Penrose, *Outside The Square: 125 Years of Caulfield Grammar School*, p. 41

¹⁰⁹ I. R. Wilkinson, *The Fields At Play: 115 years of Sport at Caulfield G. S. 1881-1996*, p. 141

¹¹⁰ H. Webber, *Years May Pass On*, Wilkie, Melbourne, 1981, p. 143. Possibly senior school figure only; H. Penrose, *Outside The Square: 125 Years of Caulfield Grammar School*, I gives 1024 in 1954 and 1058 in 1955.

¹¹¹ H. Penrose, *Outside The Square: 125 Years of Caulfield Grammar School*, p. 54

¹¹² There's a good description of the early Brighton Grammar oval; 'five acres known as Rostrevor in New Street Brighton ... a low-lying piece of land, in almost its virgin state, with old red gums, wattle, wild cherry-tree, and other native trees, where bird life was plentiful. Details of its construction follow. *Australasian* 2 February 1907, 'Old Boy', *College Sports Weekly Jottings*, p. 261

Gas and Fuel's Corporation's three acres over the road at New Street, Brighton and, with Canon Philip Wilson (1942-1967) as Headmaster, was set to expand.

Haileybury was founded in 1892 by Charles Rendall who stood for 'cricket-and-classics', a tradition carried forward to the 1940s by his successors Louis de Crillon Berthon (1915-1922) and Sydney Dickinson (1923-1941). Rendall made Australian Rules football compulsory, and encouraged tennis, gymnastics, athletics, hockey and swimming at the local Baths. In 1939 Dickinson ensured the school's continuation, negotiating the adoption of the College as a fully constituted Presbyterian school which treasured its association with Haileybury College in England. Under Sholto Black (1942-1953) all boys played sport and learnt to swim. Black was responsible for post-war rapid growth: in 1956 Haileybury was the second largest school in the AGSV with 738 boys.¹¹³

In a very real way, it was sport that would be the catalyst for enlarging the number of schools within the APS.

¹¹³ D. Chambers, *Haileybury College: The First 100 Years*, Arcadia, Melbourne, 1992, p. 94

8. 'THE STANDARD STAGGERING AND YET STIMULATING'

The St. Kevin's College Annual commenting on their first year in the APS

The headmasters moved swiftly and secretly. The letter of invitation to join the APS was accepted in November 1957 by the five schools and the decision quickly appeared in the press.¹¹⁴ The letter pointed out that the Association of Public Schools was 'originally formed as an organisation for the playing of interschool games and membership of the Association does, therefore, imply readiness to participate in some or all of the games which we play against each other' and that decisions affecting inter-school games would be made by common agreement. Apart from this emphasis on sport, it was considered that 'greater values have been gained by our membership' and they hoped this would continue to be fostered.

The new schools were welcomed officially by the Scotch College Headmaster, Selby Smith, who said it had been felt 'for some time the Association was unrealistic, slightly offensive and bad for independent schools'.¹¹⁵ Despite this unappetising description, it was no surprise that the five schools were delighted to be included with the oldest and most prestigious secondary schools in Victoria, or that some old boys and parents of the original six were not pleased to have their exclusivity diluted.¹¹⁶

Carey's Headmaster, Stuart Hickman, said, "it was one step further towards the Greater Carey".¹¹⁷ Brighton Grammar received the invitation as 'a token of confidence and encouragement'.¹¹⁸ To St. Kevin's College, the invitation was unexpected as the school was among the smallest of the Associated Catholic Colleges but 'most acceptable for the good of the church generally in Victoria, the prestige of the [Christian] Brothers and of St. Kevin's'.¹¹⁹ Stan Kurrle at Caulfield said 'it was a compliment to our standing in the community'. He considered 'the playing of games is one of the expressions of the Association but only one. The other expressions are rather nebulous and concern the formulation of policy, discussion of common problems, the determining and promulgation of values'.¹²⁰

Except for St. Kevin's, the other schools had been members of the Associated Grammar Schools of Victoria and there was a period of sad transition from old colleagues. Initially, the schools remained in the AGS competitions for swimming, cricket, tennis and football, first competing in the APS combined athletics sports in 1958 and in other APS competitions in 1959. Wisdom and tact were necessary all round for headmasters to steer between the shoals of envy and disdain.¹²¹

On the whole the newly fledged APS schools found that it was a struggle to play sport successfully against the usually larger and better provisioned original six.¹²² The coach of the Haileybury football team, Frank Northcott, had high hopes going into its first-ever match at home against The Geelong College, regarded in 1959 as a lesser side. The Geelong College inflicted a crushing twelve-goal defeat, leaving the Haileybury team shattered. Haileybury College's student paper, *Winged Heart*, wrote in 1959: 'We may never rival the larger and older public schools in sport;

¹¹⁴ H. Webber, *Years May Pass On*, Wilkie, Melbourne, 1981, p. 167; 'Mentor', *Herald* November 25, 1957

¹¹⁵ C. McConville, *St. Kevin's College 1918-1993 The first 75 years*, M.U.P., 1993, quotes on p. 157 the Minutes, Headmasters APS 22 November 1957. They were, in fact, inviting the headmasters of the five schools to join the Association of Public School Headmasters but it followed from this that the schools were being invited to become public schools along with the original six.

¹¹⁶ H.L. Hall, H. Zachariah, G.F. James, *Meliora Sequamur: Brighton Grammar School 1882-1982*, Melb., 1983, p. 81

¹¹⁷ S. Sayers, *By Courage and Faith: The First Fifty Years of Carey Baptist Grammar School*, Hawthorn, 1971, p. 157

¹¹⁸ H.L. Hall, H. Zachariah, G.F. James, *Meliora Sequamur: Brighton Grammar School 1882-1982*, Melb., 1983 p. 79

¹¹⁹ C. McConville, *St. Kevin's College 1918-199: The first 75 years*, p. 159

¹²⁰ I. R. Wilkinson, *The Fields At Play: 115 years of Sport at Caulfield Grammar School 1881-1996*, Playright, p. 157

¹²¹ I. R. Wilkinson, *The Fields At Play: 115 years of Sport at Caulfield G. S. 1881-1996*, p. 155

¹²² H.L. Hall, H. Zachariah, G.F. James, *Meliora Sequamur: Brighton Grammar School 1882-1982*, Melbourne., 1983, p. 81

certainly we shall not do so for a long time yet, but we must not stop trying'.¹²³ Haileybury did not stop trying, nor did the other introduced schools. Nor would they be patronised, rejecting a suggested division into the A 'old' schools and the B 'new' schools for football, with promotion or relegation each year to depend on the previous year's results.

Increasing enrolments were no doubt a strong factor, but more acres and sporting fields were acquired. Almost immediately Carey bought 34 acres at Bulleen, opening four ovals, an athletics field and two grandstands in 1963.¹²⁴ Some Haileybury staff and council members considered a slump in school morale following constant sporting defeats as a factor in the decision to expand with 49 acres at Keysborough, also opened in 1963 and big enough to allow for ovals, tennis courts and a swimming pool.¹²⁵

Caulfield's amalgamation with Malvern Memorial Grammar in 1961 and the development at Wheelers Hill from 1981 eventually helped to bolster their senior teams. A swimming pool was constructed at the Caulfield site in 1963 and, in time, the Wheelers Hill Campus also provided additional sporting facilities that were available to students from all campuses. Initially, these included ovals, tennis and netball courts, and a gymnasium.¹²⁶

Brighton Grammar's immediate concern was development of the Gas and Fuel site and for several years the school used Brighton City grounds for hockey and rugby and hired tennis courts. With sporting facilities sparse, it was sensible to hire grounds at various venues to accommodate additional teams. Investment in new sporting equipment from hurdles to practice wickets was funded.

But an immediate benefit was the strengthening of school co-operative community effort to change the results, rallying councillors, parents, old boys, masters and students. One of the large challenges was to enter the school in the Head of the River, the most visible of the big four APS sports embraced by the six older schools but not by any of the more recent ones. It would also be costly. Brighton Grammar's reaction was typical, as its history *Meliora Sequamur* explains: 'Masters, Mercantile Club members, Old Boy coaches, generous parents, the Mothers' Circle, the School Council (together they provided many of the boats required) and the Meliora Club (an association of Old Boy oarsmen), banded together to assist school rowing combined for one purpose – to give rowers every chance to excel.' Some fifty boys began a new experience demanding team work and concentration.¹²⁷

Caulfield was quickly into action buying a racing eight, introducing rowing in 1958, and participating in the Head of the River with a thirds crew in 1959. The School built a boatshed at Albert Park in 1960, and in 1982 shared a new boatshed on the Yarra with the Banks Rowing Club.¹²⁸

In 1958, St. Kevin's, with the aid of the Hawthorn Rowing Club, boated a number of fours, and entered regattas in eights in 1959. The school competed at the Head of the River thirds competition in 1960, rowed in the firsts crews' competition in 1961 and qualified for its first winners' final in 1979. It, too, had a strong parental support group. A boatshed across the river was brought into full use in 1977-1978.¹²⁹

¹²³ D. Chambers, *Haileybury College: The First 100 Years*, Arcadia, Melbourne, 1992, quoted p. 96

¹²⁴ S. Sayers, *By Courage and Faith: The First Fifty Years of Carey Baptist Grammar School*, Hawthorn, 1971, pp. 160-161

¹²⁵ D. Chambers, *Haileybury College: The First 100 Years*, Arcadia, Melbourne, 1992, p. 96

¹²⁶ I. R. Wilkinson, *The Fields At Play: 115 years of Sport at Caulfield G. S. 1881-1996*, pp. 168, 206

¹²⁷ H.L. Hall, H. Zachariah, G.F. James, *Meliora Sequamur Brighton Grammar School 1882-1982*, p. 81; H. Zachariah, *I Remember, I Remember... Brighton Grammar School 1942-1995*, p. 62

¹²⁸ I. R. Wilkinson, *The Fields At Play: 115 years of Sport at Caulfield G. S. 1881-1996*, pp. 159-162, 212

¹²⁹ C. McConville, *St. Kevin's College 1918-1993 The first 75 years*, M.U.P.1993, pp. 159-160, 170-171

At Carey about twenty boys began to learn with a set of oars and a practice eight provided by Melbourne Grammar and the school rowed in the Head of the River in 1962 with six eights and five fours. Rowing helped to enfold the apprentices into the APS for the other older schools also loaned boats, shared boatsheds and offered coaching advice, as did rowing clubs such as Powerhouse, Banks, Mercantile and Melbourne. Carey's Rowing Parents' Association raised the funds for a practice rowing pool, opened in 1966.

The recent inclusions were not the only schools to extend their sports fields and invest in more sporting equipment. All the schools boldly expanded their range of sports in the 1960s and hockey, soccer, rugby, basketball, and cross-country proliferated. As time went by, sailing, skiing, volleyball, golf, badminton, table tennis and squash were seen where they had not previously figured. In some schools, sport was made compulsory, and in all schools more sports teachers were employed and administration streamlined.

The schools initially did not play a full round of the eleven schools, and premierships on occasions ended up being shared, sometimes a lopsided conclusion in the event of an uneven draw. All the schools realised that it was difficult to draw up fixtures for ten schools each week in cricket and football, leaving one school with a bye. It was an opportunity to diminish the importance of competition but one which received little support. Although the decision to admit the five schools had been based on a desire to end the exclusive rivalry between the six schools, a more general attack in society on competition and the singling out of successful individuals for notice was barely reflected in the APS.¹³⁰

By the end of the next two decades, the sports had been established on a solid footing in the 'new' schools. Success was noticeably difficult in the sixties with Haileybury snaring the first premiership of the schools, by sharing the football premiership with Xavier in 1965. Carey won the athletics meeting in 1966 with 'much joy and enormous pride'. By 1980 the newcomers had either shared or won outright the cricket premiership on ten occasions and the football premiership five times. A number of unofficial premierships in tennis and swimming came their way. Outstanding individuals who won events in the athletics gave cheer and hope to schools who overall could not gather enough points to figure in the top three.

Rowing was less conquerable. In 1977 Brighton Grammar's first eight broke the course record for the Barwon only to lose it to Wesley College who won the Head of the River that year. But in 1983 Brighton Grammar succeeded in winning the prestigious contest.

The 1980s were to see the next big change for the APS when some of the schools began co-education – enter the girls!

¹³⁰ Comment from F. Covill, *Geelong Grammar School Historical Essay*, 7 March, 2008. See manuscript and appendices, APS Office.

9. THE GIRLS¹³¹

The Geelong schools led the way in co-education with girls fully integrated from the start to the finish in both schools in the nineteen seventies, at Carey and Wesley in the eighties, at Caulfield Grammar in 1995 and at Haileybury College in 2006 with its parallel Haileybury Girls College. In a somewhat unexpected side-benefit, the movement into co-education by some of the schools has tended to blur the resistant division between the 'old' schools and the 'new' schools.

Co-education presented all sorts of challenges, not the least in girls' sport which had a number of early problems, especially for the staff. There was no formalised competition and this had to be organised, initially with other independent girls' schools which could provide top quality opposition. This proved to be difficult in itself because those schools did not want to play sport on Saturday mornings which most of the boys' schools did, and the co-ed girls had to go after school-time in buses to the various venues.

Matches were also arranged with local girls' teams, such as those by the Caulfield Grammar Wheelers Hill Campus within the Waverley and District competitions,¹³² and with 'sister' schools to the other APS 'boys only' schools.

Not until the turn of the century were there five APS schools to play against and two of them were outside the metropolitan area. Travel time was and, to a lesser extent, remains an issue. Although some opportunities existed for girls to compete in APS competitions in the 1980s, it was not until the 1990s that the opportunities available for girls and boys were similar. A significant move occurred when the multi-campus Wesley and Caulfield Grammar provided a team from each of two campuses, giving not only their students more opportunity to play interschool sport, but expanding the number of teams available within the competition and making it more even, a contribution now replicated recently by Haileybury.

Some talented girls in firsts teams who did not have other girls' teams with which to compete were eventually included in the boys' firsts if they were good enough, in such sports as volleyball, table tennis, cricket and tennis.

In 2000, the APS co-ed schools combined for girls' sport with the co-ed schools from the Associated Grammar Schools of Victoria (AGSV/APS), and the situation in 2008 is much improved with scope for development. Girls' premierships exist within this competition for the sports played by eight out of the twelve schools involved; not all the schools play every sport. It has grown to accommodate approximately 3500 students each season.

The development of the girls' program was slow but steady. The schools employed female staff to teach and coach the girls and there was a major push to improve the standard of competition for girls. The girls' coordinators, later known as delegates, initially supervised by male staff, met regularly and their dedication and drive has developed the very good standard which exists today.

The introduction of co-education led to a further increase in the number of sports offered and a wide range of options are now available to both girls and boys. 'The access to an extensive variety of sporting and outdoor educational activities, such as cricket, gymnastics, basketball and rowing, was a terrific opportunity, compared to what was on offer at a girls' school,'¹³³ said a girl who came to Carey in the early 1970s and clearly relished the opportunity. Such an opportunity, of course, did depend on the school from which the girls had come but, nevertheless, was true of many.

¹³¹ Input from Susan Nairn and Carolyn Rowland from Wesley College and Caulfield Grammar School.

¹³² I. R. Wilkinson, *The Fields At Play: 115 years of Sport at Caulfield Grammar School 1881-1996*, p. 207

¹³³ M. Small, *Urangeline: Voices of Carey, 1923-1997*, p. 87, quoting Natalie Gray 1979 leaver

Organising sport was complicated when it was expected that girls' sport would be planned around the traditional timetable of the boys' competitions. Thus, girls' swimming carnivals had to be after school on Fridays as the pools were booked for the boys on Saturday mornings. Boys' activities had priority by weight of previous practice, such as use of basketball courts, and local venues were sought to accommodate the girls. There was encouragement to apportion facilities with generosity and justice. Boys' cricket started later at the Caulfield Campus to allow for an earlier girls' softball game, although the boys had to be trained not to walk across the softball diamond to inspect the wicket, and softball girls at Wesley were allowed access to the sacred front turf. Sports staff members have persuaded school administrations to demonstrate equal deference to the importance of girls' sport by scheduling high status times.

The facilities themselves were not always suitable for girls' sport and the girls had to adapt to what was available. It was soon found that tennis courts were too short as netball courts but this is being rectified with new courts as time goes by. Change rooms were in short supply and lunch rooms not always shared. It took some urging but girls' sport is now played at very good facilities in soccer, netball, tennis, hockey, badminton, softball and basketball. The swimming and athletics carnivals are held at the same venues as the boys, albeit some would say as 'the curtain raiser' to the 'real event'.

Although a small number of independent girls' schools had crews, the APS girls took to the water like, well, ducks. The APS senior regatta (the Heads of the River,) now at Nagambie, includes a number of races for girls, and the firsts girls' final is the penultimate event of the day. Although some girls' crews rowed early in 1975, it was another six years before the girls from the two Geelong schools competed in firsts and seconds fours, rowing on the Yarra over 800 metres against the independent girls' schools Melbourne Girls Grammar, Morongo and Lauriston.

In 1986 and 1987 girls from Carey, Wesley and Caulfield took part in an all APS firsts fours race over 1500 metres. First eights replaced the fours in 1998, second eights in 1999 and third eights in 2002, with the third eights reverting back to open fours in 2006. All crews now row over 1500 metres except for the girls' fourth and fifth crews. The Geelong schools' traditional rowing strength may explain why their girls have won 24 of the 28 finals between 1981 and 2008.

The introduction of females to traditionally male sports such as rowing and the introduction of new sports such as netball generated a respect for female athleticism and teamwork in traditionally male-dominated schools.¹³⁴ Boys began playing netball in mixed inter-house competition and soccer was introduced to the girls. Combined training sessions in sports such as swimming, athletics and tennis appeared.

The impact of co-education altered the cultural nature of attitudes to sport itself. To some extent seen as a reflection of the changing view of female participation in the general community, staff and student attitudes evolved as female sport blossomed in the 1990s with successful APS hockey, tennis, netball, athletics and rowing teams. All co-educational schools give school sporting 'colours' in the same way to the girls as to the boys. A number of girls have gone on to contribute to State, National and Olympic teams.

In the new century the girls themselves are vocal if they do not think that their sport is receiving equal billing. Women and girls continue to challenge the 'ocker' aspects of sport existing in Australia.

¹³⁴ See comment in the Geelong College Answer to questionnaire, question 4, in appendices of manuscript,. APS Office.

10. THE APS REGATTA (HEAD OF THE RIVER) ¹³⁵

The term 'Head of the River' derives from very early rowing races in narrow rivers such as the Cam in Cambridge, England, in which the crews start in line and try to touch or 'bump' the crew ahead. The race usually took place over four days and the crews changed place each day according to the bumps scored. The crew with the most 'bumps' headed the line and was entitled 'the head of the river'. It seems that it was in October 1903 that the Public Schools' Boat Race first used the term 'Head of the River', ¹³⁶ which refers now to the race of the first crews for the award of the Fairbairn Challenge Cup, a trophy donated by Charles Fairbairn of the Geelong Grammar legendary rowing Fairbairn family in 1911.

In 1901, clinker outrigger eights with overlapping planks and sliding seats replaced the four-oared boats which had been previously used. ¹³⁷ In 1909, the race was held in autumn and this change from Term 3 to Term 1 was made permanent. The contest has rarely been dull, coping with collisions, floods, dead heats, and controversies over the venue, the winner, the rowers' ages and disqualification.

From 1879 the venue alternated between the Barwon River and the upper and lower reaches of the Yarra River – the upper Yarra predominating. A system of choice of water by rotation began in 1886 so that every four years a school had the choice. The Albert Park Lake was chosen by Wesley in 1887¹³⁸ and in 1897 by Melbourne Grammar as it trained on the Lake and had the choice that year. ¹³⁸ The Geelong College, on its inclusion, already had an eight and immediately made an impact, coming second in the Head of the River race in 1908 to Scotch College. The APS, amending its rules for interschool contests to include The Geelong College, approved a suggestion from the Public Schools Headmasters' Association that, to accommodate the second Geelong school, the race 'be rowed on the Upper Yarra, except in 1911 and every fifth successive year when it shall be rowed on the Barwon'. ¹³⁹ This arrangement lasted for the next decade before it became every third year on the Barwon from 1921 to 1939.

From its introduction the race attracted large crowds, first of cheering schoolboys freed from classroom confines but later of old boys and the general public. By the 1920s the Head of the River had attained what was claimed as 'an almost Melbourne Cup prominence in the public mind'. ¹⁴⁰ The surrounding hoop-la and hero-worship gave the schoolmasters some pause for thought. Melbourne theatres booked by supporters were decorated with school colours and the crew in their blazers appeared to great applause and cheering, regardless of whether they had won or not.

The press was not restrained in analysing the various eights for weeks beforehand and in raising the significance of the event, no more so than 'Old Boy' (Reginald Wilmot) who wrote in *The Argus*: 'The title of the Head of the River is more than a name; it means the glorification of young athleticism, it signifies the apotheosis of schoolboys, and, while the fact that a boy is in the crew is enough to single him out for special notice, the possibility of his being one of the victors is something to quicken the pulse of all connected with him and his school.' ¹⁴¹ When Xavier won the Head of the River in 1929, *The Sun* had pictures of the Friday heat-winners in the Saturday paper,

¹³⁵ With acknowledgement to Paul Mishura for his help and checking. See appendix also: Did Any Victorian Public School Row Before 1868?

¹³⁶ *The Argus* 12 October 1903, p. 7, had headline: 'Public Schools Boat Race, Wesley College Head of the River.' It seems not to have been used in 1904 but appears in 1905 as 'Public School Rowing. Head of the River Races' and the name is used frequently that year. Information from Paul Mishura, email September 2008.

¹³⁷ *Australasian* 20 October 1900, p. 862 'Old Boy' The firsts in four-oared boats rowed on the Yarra now widened and straightened.

¹³⁸ *Age* 13 May 1887, p. 6, Donald Morrison notebook: the Yarra was not available in 1897 for some unexplained reason. Information from Paul Mishura, email September 2008.

¹³⁹ APS delegates' meeting minutes, 21 February 1908 at Scotch College

¹⁴⁰ J.R. Darling, *Richly Rewarding*, Hill of Content/ Lloyd O'Neil, Melbourne, 1978, p. 114

¹⁴¹ 'Old Boy' *Argus* 8 May 1926

and then, on the Monday after the race, the Xavier crew receiving the Fairbairn Cup and an insert of the picture of the cox, covering the entire front page.

The long hours of strenuous training for such a short race time, and the sight of eight young men moving in harmonious unison ‘all swinging together steady from stroke to bow’ was unmatched in any other sport. Of course not only one crew rowed; there was the gradual introduction of second and third crews and, in 1943, the losers of the three heats competed in a new race called the ‘Losers’ Final’. Experience in the increasing number of organized junior and open regattas helped to steady nerves.

The Barwon River became the permanent venue from 1948 to 2000. The construction of the Swan Street Bridge during 1948 provided a welcome excuse to move the venue after the ‘unseemly’ behaviour of the crowd the previous year. There was a picnic day atmosphere as the cars arrived from Melbourne, fluttering school scarves and colours. On the north shore of the Barwon River a small hill ran up to the bridge, just after the finish line. It inevitably became a mass of struggling boys as one school tried to urge the others into the water. Headmasters warned, threatened and punished, but to no avail. In 1953, school prefects co-operated in allotting the ‘hill’ to each school in turn. Even then there were skirmishes around the periphery. Parents and others occupied the south bank, less aggressive but no less enthusiastic.¹⁴²

The use of speed boats for coaches and boat-trailers had made life easier. In 1954, the Pincott Memorial Judges’ Box was erected in memory of (“Pinny”) William H. Pincott, who was, first, Geelong College’s rowing coach from 1908 to 1916, and then Geelong Grammar’s from 1923 to 1943.¹⁴³ Racing eights replaced the clinker eights, became lighter, moving from smooth-skinned plywood, then fibre glass to a composite construction.

From 2001 the venue was changed to the Nagambie Lakes despite opposition from the Geelong schools and Haileybury which favoured the National Water Sports Centre on the Patterson River at Carrum. Nagambie had the convenience of providing 2000 metres with eight possible straight lanes, although only six of them have been used. The heats could be rowed in the morning and the finals in the afternoon. Parents and students joined together on the one shore instead of being divided on either side of a river. Although the crowds initially were smaller at the new venue, it had the very real advantage of taking the race out of the limelight of Melbourne or Geelong, but retaining the decorated cars and the picnic fun.

A wide range of distances were rowed in the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. From 1938 the Yarra course was a mile less 66 yards, and the same applied on the Barwon from 1948. The seconds rowed over three-quarters of a mile until 1967; then they also began rowing over a mile. Other crews rowed over half a mile. With the move to Nagambie in 2001, senior crews row over 2000m, with the more junior crews rowing lesser distances. With coeducation, the girls began to row in 1981. A number of APS rowers, both female and male, have gone on to contribute to interstate and international crews.

¹⁴² For example, W. Bate & H. Penrose, *Challenging Traditions: A History of Melbourne Grammar*, p. 280

¹⁴³ www.ggs.vic.edu.au/userfiles/sport/rowing

11. AMATEUR OR PROFESSIONAL?

The growth of professional sportsmen was a class concern in the last half of the nineteenth century in that it distinguished the 'gentlemen' from the rest. It was tackled early by the rowing fraternity, by not allowing as amateurs those 'watermen' whose business lay with river transport but only those who took up rowing as a recreation.¹⁴⁴ Professional cricketers had long been separated into 'gentlemen' and 'players'¹⁴⁵ but a battle was fought over the 'expenses' that a gentleman could legitimately claim. Athletes could be clearly divided and professional runners suffered from allegations of race manipulation.¹⁴⁶ Although footballers were sometimes paid from the 1880s, this was not made legal until 1911.¹⁴⁷

Public schools, likewise, insisted on amateurism because they were educating boys as 'gentlemen'. As early as 1875 the Committee of the United Public Schools resolved 'to introduce the excellent English custom of distinguishing amateurs from professionals, by requiring that all their competitors shall wear white woolly university drawers reaching to about the knees instead of, as hitherto, the professional tights and screens. This broad line of distinction being once drawn between young gentlemen who contest in these athletic efforts in search of healthful pleasure, and those who make running their trade – a trade not always respectable. Said *The Argus* the decision 'will be hailed by all with genuine satisfaction, and will no doubt become general throughout the colony.'¹⁴⁸

As paying the best sportsmen became more acceptable in the general community, church schools climbed the high amateur ground seeking the peak of moral virtue, not quite leaving the class 'gentlemen' claim behind but condemning money as being the root of sporting corruption. In particular L.A. Adamson of Wesley was asserting 'that where consideration of money and its advantages enter into the playing of a game, that game can scarcely provide the moral side of play...' ¹⁴⁹ and he claimed the agreement of the other public school headmasters.

This denigration of professionalism extended to the employment of professional coaches instead of relying on the teachers. From the beginning, rowing teams were coached by well-known pioneering rowers, such as Alfred Nichols¹⁵⁰ for Melbourne Grammar in 1870, which would seem to be legitimate, as rowing required specialized skills, and few schools were fortunate to have an experienced practitioner working in some other educational capacity, such as Cambridge University rower, Martin Howy Irving, headmaster of Wesley College (1871-1875).

Professional coaches were abandoned in 1911 when, led by Wesley's Harold Stewart, the APS delegates banned professionals or paid 'rubbers-down' in connection with, or in preparation for, all public school competitions. APS definitions of amateurs were those of the Victorian Rowing Association or the Victorian Amateur Athletics Association.¹⁵¹ Subsequently, in 1916, a school football coach was deemed not to be an amateur, having accepted expenses from teams such as

¹⁴⁴ E. Halliday, *Rowing in England: a social history, the amateur debate*, chapter 3 'Defining an amateur', Manchester University Press 1990; G. M. Hibbins *Sport and Racing in Colonial Melbourne*, p. 393

¹⁴⁵ G.M. Hibbins, *Sport and Racing in Colonial Melbourne*, Melbourne 2007, p. 245

¹⁴⁶ G.M. Hibbins, *Sport and Racing in Colonial Melbourne*, p. 227

¹⁴⁷ G.M. Hibbins, *Sport and Racing in Colonial Melbourne*, pp. 390-392; J. Johnson, *For the Love of the Game: The Centenary History of the Victorian Amateur Football Association, 1892-1992*, Melbourne 1992 chaps.1-4. R. Booth, 'History of Player Recruitment, Transfer and Payment Rules in the Victorian and Australian Football League', *ASSH Bulletin* June 1997, pp. 13-14

¹⁴⁸ *Argus* 22 October 1875, p. 5e

¹⁴⁹ J. Senyard, 'From Gentleman to the Manly: A Large Step for the Amateur', *Sporting Traditions*, vol. 18. no. 2, May 2002. L.A. Adamson quoted p. 9

¹⁵⁰ Alfred Nichols, veteran rower, coached MGS in 1870 and Wesley in 1874. Profile > *Australasian* 6 October 1868, p. 491; G.M. Hibbins, *Sport and Racing in Colonial Melbourne*, pp. 241-242

¹⁵¹ APS delegates' meeting minutes, April 1911, 18 December 1913

Essendon and, although he was not paid by the school, it forfeited all matches for the previous three years.¹⁵²

To circumvent this was to employ the sporting coach as a groundsman, tuckshop worker or caretaker. Charles Donald, who had rowed for Victoria in the King's Cup was appointed to Wesley's maintenance staff in 1901 and coached the Wesley crew for forty years.¹⁵³

In the early part of the twentieth century, students had a larger say in the social and organizational side of the fixtures and this influence was passed on from captain to captain. At first subject masters coached the teams, and those with sporting expertise often of a high order, coached the first teams. When it was customary for teachers to be involved with sport, the employment of new staff could be influenced by potential coaching ability.

As interschool sport became accepted as a core part of the curriculum, the teaching staff tended to apply a set of values related to education rather than just skills-based competition. There was an emphasis on encouraging athletes to a readiness to give time and personal sacrifices for the good of the whole, to a willingness to be utterly dedicated and to an appreciation of the worth of self-discipline. In 1959, one of the headmasters of the introduced schools rejected a parent's suggestion that a professional football coach be employed, explaining that 'using the ordinary master [was better] because he looks at the boy as a whole and not just as a footballer'.

As the number of schools in the APS increased in 1957 and the number of sporting activities exploded, teachers in charge took care of these matters, later to hand over much of this desirable activity to the paid 'directors' of today. Physical education teacher training was sparse right up to the 1950s, although it is now well established and all independent schools employ a number of university trained physical education teachers. The widening variety of sports taxed the ability of staff to provide a diversity of coaching skills and it became apparent that it was not possible to meet the increasingly high standards of APS sport and that professional coaches would need to be employed.

Sport at APS schools can only be justified if it is seen as part of the educational offering as distinct from a marketing or revenue-raising tool. Anecdotal evidence suggests that success in sport has long been regarded as encouraging increased enrolments.¹⁵⁴

At the beginning of the twentieth century issues such as the use of over-age or 'ring in' players and biased umpires threatened to undermine the early inter-school competition

One way to encourage older boys with their peak physical strength, skills and experience to stay on as long as possible at school, even if it were just for first term's cricket or rowing, was to offer the prestigious title of team captain, and sometimes the remittance of fees. 'Old Boy' in 1907 wrote that he knew of too many cases where 'sports scholarships' have been given so that the crack footballer or cricketer or runner may earn honours for his school, to feel that all of these have been at schools "for the purpose of being educated" as the regulations [of earlier sporting committees] maintained that the athlete had to be in regular attendance during the day throughout ordinary school hours for the purpose of being educated....' an accusation rigorously denied.¹⁵⁵ In 1910 a succession of successful Wesley Crews was attributed to the use of overage boys.¹⁵⁶ The introduction of regulations and agreements to govern such conduct and to uphold agreed standards was the aim

¹⁵² APS delegates' meeting minutes, 16 September 1916

¹⁵³ A. Lemon, *A Great Australian School: Wesley College Examined*, Helicon, 2004, pp. 137-138; Charles Donald picture *Sun Herald* 7 May 1930

¹⁵⁴ H. Webber, *Years May Pass On*, Wilkie, 1981, p. 106 'Not uncommon for the real values of sporting competition to be sacrificed to achieve immediate success. Nevertheless the general public regards the 'winning' school as the one where sport is best administered.'

¹⁵⁵ *Australasian* 26 January 'Old Boy', p.199, L.A. Adamson 16 February 1907, p. 384

¹⁵⁶ *The Age*: debate between Dr. W. Kent Hughes and L.A. Adamson, 24 May, 28 May, 1 June 1910.

behind the existence of the APS committee as the delegates worked towards a competition with relatively high qualitative standards and 'a fair approach to competition'.

Disquiet and debate have since ensued as school heads and sporting staff have increasingly found themselves under pressure to win sporting competitions which axiomatically must also have losers. Causing much hostility amongst the schools for some time has been the injection of money into what are called 'general excellence scholarships', but widely known as 'sporting scholarships', in which promising or established young athletes from outside the school are given scholarships as potential participants in an inter-school team. This is may be regarded as infusing into other team members a sense of greater achievement and as lifting the profile of the school, or as running counter to the equitable values sport is expected to develop.¹⁵⁷

In more recent times an agreement has been reached amongst APS heads to establish guidelines for the awarding of scholarships where sporting talent is an element in selection. There are, of course, academic scholarships, music scholarships and drama scholarships but, somehow, they do not seem to stir the same angst. 'Sporting scholarships' remain a controversial issue.

¹⁵⁷ F. Covill, Geelong Grammar School Historical Essay 7 March, 2008. See manuscript and appendices, APS Office. Practically all sports masters' responses to an early questionnaire for this publication mention that sporting scholarships should be included but many assumed the issue probably would not be. Spoken comments to the author supported this view.

12. THE IMMEDIATE PAST, THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE

By the nineties, the range of sport had become so diverse and the number of under-age teams so numerous that each school had a vast undertaking in organising school sport. The work and co-operation of sports administrators and staff now ensures that being in the APS provides certainty of fixtures, and playing games with those of commensurate ability, similar training regimes, age groupings, rules and facilities, with the clear ordering of results. A healthy and desirable aspect of APS sport is meeting traditional rivals regularly and this hopefully inculcates a desire to win; yet, there is always 'next year' as the ever reliable safety valve.¹⁵⁸

A major reorganisation of APS fixtures took place after the introduction of the four-term year in 1987, causing some awkwardness such as playing matches on holiday weekends. From 1993 onwards, a full eleven rounds of matches were played in all APS sports and as it was not possible to complete eleven rounds of summer sport in term one, two or three, rounds are now played in term four of the preceding year after year 12 students have completed their studies and are not eligible to compete.

Apart from cricket and football, the girls in the six co-educational schools play all these sports, and add netball and softball. For them, premierships began for athletics, rowing and swimming in 1987, cross-country, hockey, netball, softball, tennis, basketball, and diving in the nineties, and badminton, soccer and water polo in the new century.

In 1991, it was decided that the male sports in which eight or more schools contest would be recognised as an APS premiership sport. Apart from the original four sports, and swimming and tennis, which had been recognized in 1987, basketball, cross-country, hockey, soccer, table tennis, badminton and diving became APS sports in the nineties and, since then, volleyball and water polo have been included.

Such changes are decided by the teachers in charge of sport in each school being represented by a delegate who meets the other schools' delegates four times a year and sends proposals for the good administration of sport within the schools to the heads who have the final decision.

There have been some significant changes in participation in recent years. Australian football is now less popular than soccer¹⁵⁹ because, it is suggested, parents consider the Australian game too violent, and soccer is the 'world' game. Cricket's demand for long periods of playing time has seen the popularity of the game wane as tennis has increased its appeal.

It is now difficult to compare current record times and distances with the earlier records. Metrification means that 100 metres is about 109.36 yards; shot-puts have changed in weight, hurdles in height. High jumps have different lift-off requirements, runners compete on better tracks. Shoes and clothing have improved. The age of the best sporting boys was probably higher in earlier days.¹⁶⁰

Today, physical education, with fun and safety, is now aimed at instilling a life-long love of recreational and sporting activities to prevent obesity and binge drinking and to promote good health. As Roff, at Scotch College said, typifying the attitudes of our current principals, "Our health has a great bearing on our happiness and, in most cases, our health is related to our physical condition."¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ F. Covill, *Geelong Grammar School Historical Essay*, March, 2008. See manuscript and appendices, APS Office.

¹⁵⁹ J. Mitchell *A Deepening Roar: Scotch College 1851-2001*, p.478

¹⁶⁰ J. Mitchell, *A Deepening Roar: Scotch College Melbourne, 1851-2001*, p. 74

¹⁶¹ J. Mitchell, *A Deepening Roar: Scotch College Melbourne, 1851-2001*, p. 352

Selecting teams can be non-threatening if done with imagination and empathy. Along the way selection may still have to come to grips, particularly in the representative school teams, with avoiding competition for the sake of it, without losing the benefits of team building and self esteem. There is a thrill in playing sport, an aesthetic satisfaction in playing well that can be enjoyed and appreciated, regardless of the actual result.

Sport is now a recognized and socially acceptable occupation and courses are run at tertiary level. The VCE contains the subjects physical education and outdoor education. Past students, parents and prominent sporting heroes can all help the modern physical education and sports teacher to impart the most positive aspects of playing sport by realising that their own sporting education was not necessarily the only and best way to learn.

Our sporting communities still struggle with success as the sporting pinnacle. Brian Hone said it plainly in 1946: 'The winning not only of a particular game but of the competition as a whole became the important thing, and it is has become one of the duties of a headmaster to restrain the inflamed and misguided enthusiasm of old boys, public and press, and the misdirected ambitions of parents, and to insist that games should take their rightful place as a means of education and recreation and not become ends in themselves.'¹⁶²

Great strides have been made with schools in recognising the glorious failures, once only worthy of passing comment, or perhaps as a clichéd consolation for loss, and to value each student's 'p.b', a personal best performance. The danger of hero worship has steadily diminished because the remarkable range of activities undertaken by the APS has diffused the number of 'stars'.

Society may yet move to a situation in which co-operation is seen as commensurate with competition in achieving the best result for everybody. There has to be a way by which sporting achievement is seen in its broadest terms, but which also acclaims excellence. Therein lies the crucial challenge for the future.

¹⁶² Quoted I.V. Hansen, *Nor Free Nor Secular*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1971, p. 122