The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate the utility of school centenary and jubilee history publications as sources of evidence of school culture. A content analysis of a sample of 264 Australian school centenary and jubilee histories was undertaken using a conceptual model developed by Millikan(1) and refined further in Beare, Caldwell and Millikan(2). The model provides a workable practical framework for the identification of the components of school culture.

Culture may be viewed as "beliefs, language and knowledge, within which and through which the members establish and maintain their sense of community."(3) Literature in the field of organizational theory and administrative behaviour emphasises that the culture of an organization distinguishes its uniqueness in relation to all other organizations.(4) All schools are intrinsically quite different from each other as a consequence of the variety of variables bearing upon them including the uniqueness and individuality of their teachers, students and principals. It is argued in this paper that situational and locational variables are also very important influences upon schools and are reflected in the centenary and jubilee history publications of schools. The characteristics of the school community and its client parent population are crucial, in some cases, to the cultural development of the school. This paper seeks to demonstrate, from
the group of histories sampled, the closeness of the relationship
between schools and their communities and the subsequent
influence of some local communities upon the culture of the
school.

Applying the Millikan model, as an analytical tool to the sample
of published school centenary and jubilee histories the paper
seeks to discover what categories of tangible expressions of
school culture are most evident in these publications and the
extent to which such publications may be used to differentiate
amongst schools. Beare, Caldwell and Millikan(5) identify
separate tangible expressions of culture as: Conceptual/Verbal
Manifestations; Behavioural Manifestations; and Visual
Manifestations. These are the categories used for the analysis of
the sample of school histories described below.

Size and Nature of the Sample Investigated
Although histories from high schools, inner city schools and
nongovernment schools were included in the initial sample of two
hundred and sixty four, seventy two percent of histories

were from primary schools and twentyeight percent from secondary
schools. The total was selected from all Australian states, the
majority coming obviously, from New South Wales, being the oldest
and most populous of the states during the last century. Most of
the secondary school history publications in the sample
celebrated fifty or seventyfive years of existence.

Of the total sample of histories, seventyone percent were from
government schools, and twentynine percent nongovernment schools.
Approximately fiftyeight percent of the histories sampled were
from rural primary schools.

Approximately twothirds of the histories were published between
1981 and 1990, which is understandable in the light of the dates
of passage of colonial government education acts.

Common Features Identified
The following general trends were identified from the content
analysis of the sample:

1. The most common manifestations of tangible cultural
expressions identified in the publications included: Crests and
Mottoes; organizational "Heroes"; ceremonies, rituals and a place
and fabric consciousness (reflected in focus upon buildings and
physical surrounds).

2. The least common overt manifestations of cultural expression
were aims and objectives of schools and curriculum. However, the
ideology and values of schools, not often explicitly stated
except in the case of Church schools, could nevertheless be
identified from the style and content of the publications.

3. Nongovernment school histories were often more explicit and
detailed than government schools in their expressions of most of
the categories of manifestations listed above.

4. Government school centenary and jubilee histories, particularly those from small rural government primary schools, indicated in the majority of publications strong evidence of parental and community interaction patterns. In this particular field of behavioural manifestations it was noted that many aspects of the local and community culture appeared to permeate these schools.

5. Sixtyfour percent of the histories in the sample included sections and/or short biographies on wellknown exstudents "old boys, old girls" and highly successful former pupils of the school. This is perceived as reflecting the "organizational heroes", seen by Millikan as belonging to the group of conceptual/ verbal manifestations of culture.

6. Common amongst almost all school histories was evidence of the respect and reverence devoted to "war heroes", those exstudents who served and died in World Wars I and II. Anzac Boards, Rolls of Honour and active service lists feature significantly in Australian school histories, reinforcing those values associated with service to one's country. These exstudents are the sacred heroes of all Australian schools and reflect the values of sacrifice for the community, national loyalty, chivalry, honour, duty, fearlessness and courage on the battlefield. As Beare et al suggest, they become "rolemodels" for the "Tribe". Examples of these types of manifestations of culture will be discussed later.

7. Fiftysix percent of the histories sampled included brief recollections and reminiscences of former students, mainly reports of oral history type. They represent the organizational stories of the school culture.

8. The large majority of histories placed considerable emphasis upon the sporting achievements and traditions of the schools. This unique "History of Achievement"(6) reflects the "shared meanings" of an individualistic culture.

9. Photographs were reproduced in eightysix percent of histories. Although the majority of these were of class groups, the high frequency of photographs of "Heroes", i.e., expupils, principals and teachers, and school buildings and sites tended to confirm the importance of these visual manifestations in school culture.

Conceptual/Verbal Manifestations

Organizational stories and organizational heroes were revealed as the most common of the Conceptual/Visual manifestations of school culture found in school history publications. Of the former, Beare et al(7) state:

"In its own way every school cultivates its own cycle of legends
to encapsulate what is transcendent about its own culture."
Examples of organizational stories in school histories fall into
two categories: those based on a plan which describes the era, or
period of each headmaster, or principal, their achievements,
problems and events surrounding each of their encumbancies; and
secondly, those which draw heavily upon the recollections,
reminiscences and memories of former pupils and teachers of the
school.
In the first category of stories, the organizational past of the
school becomes associated with the successive "reigns" of great
principals. This category is more common in histories of
nongovernment secondary schools.
A Century of Striving  St. Joseph's College Hunters Hill 1881-
1981 (8), is one such case. The influence of the principal upon
culture in each period of the school's history is one of the
integrating threads of the publication and the story of each
principal's activities, enthusiasms and successes reflects the
developing corporate character of the school. For example,

"The spirit of the College developed strongly under Br. Clement.
He was a man of strong will and unshakeable convictions tending
as he aged to be autocratic."(9)
There are many stories and anecdotes reported in this publication
which reflect the concepts classified by the Millikan Model as
evidence of school culture. Of Br. Louis, the history records:
"The College chapel is his monument; it is he who deserves most
credit for providing the College with a worthy chapel."(10)
Much of the chapter is devoted to the saga of the building of the
magnificent chapel at St. Joseph's.
From the Government school sector comes an example of an history
similarly structured. Werris Creek Public School 18831983 The
First One Hundred Years,(11) records:
"During Mr. Davies' early years the Boer War was raging in South
Africa and a newspaper item refers to a near miss involving some
pupils from the school.
'When the Church of England bell was being rung for the relief of
Mafeking, it came adrift from its bearings and fell to the
ground, narrowly missing the assembled youths.'"
Strahan State School 100 Years of Education 18901990(12) includes
a number of stories, now most certainly enshrined as part of the
culture of the school, notable among which is that of "The Train
Kids" children who travelled to school by train down the Zig Zag
track and in which "boys and girls sat separately in the train
car."
Ascham Remembered 18861986(13), offers a good example of a
centenary history in which school stories by and about teachers,
pupils and headmistresses abound:
"For a remarkable 33 years, Miss Margaret Ann Bailey was Ascham. The legendary MAB was headmistress from 1914 until 1947, a time which spanned two world wars, the great depression and involved many second generations of Ascham girls. For a thousand or so mothers and daughters alike, Miss Bailey was undoubtedly the most influential and memorable character of their young lives."(14)

Recollections and memories of expupils and teachers as organizational stories vary from a few paragraphs to complete chapters, as in the Ascham history which devotes its third chapter to "Memories of MAB". In the histories of small rural primary school communities it is common to find short biographies of local district pioneer families in the region. Approximately onethird of the sample includes stories about the school and its community families. The emphasis upon the professional biographies of school principals reflects the way in which a community values its educational leaders. By their inclusion in school centenaries and jubilee publications these stories, and tributes become cemented into the culture of the school. In dealing with organizational heroes as manifestations of school culture, school history publications identify two major categories of Hero the exstudents who were World War I and II servicement and women, and secondly, sporting heroes. Of heroes, Beare et al explain (15):

"The heroes (and antiheroes) around whom a saga is built personify the values, philosophy and ideology which the community wishes to sustain."

This point is illustrated in school histories which accord great respect to the servicemen among their expupils. Photographs of expupils in service uniform, honour boards and war service exploits of expupils predominate in a majority of school histories. The values associated with these heroes self sacrifice, service, loyalty reflected in school histories, are important underpinnings of Australian school culture. A few examples:
Knox A History of Knox Grammar School 19241974 (16), devotes a chapter on "A New Headmaster and Years of War". It has a number of appendices including a Roll of Honour, War Service lists, AIF, RAAF and other units, and a section on military training. Linking the remembrance values of World War I service with an identifying badge for the school, Robert J. King in his history, Randwick and Its School A Social History 1883-1983 (17), records:

"Following World War I the school community, in planning the Honour Board for 'Those from the School Who Served 19141918' approached Mr. A. G. Alanson seeking a suitable school crest, insignia or symbol to have carved onto the Board."

Often noted in school histories are accounts along the lines of
that included in a slim, twelve page History of Binginwarri 18831972 (18), a small rural Victorian State School in Gippsland. "In 1916 the School Committee decided to purchase a roll in honour of those who fought for their country in the First World War. The names on that roll appear below; an asterisk means the person gave his life for his country."

School Cadet Units feature in a number of secondary school histories, for example, The Centenary History of Sydney High School (19), devotes a complete chapter and twelve photographs to their cadet unit.

A second important order of heroes are sporting heroes. A large majority of school histories have included a chapter or a series of photographs emphasising the schools' achievements on the sporting field. Football and cricket teams feature most regularly in the sample. Nongovernment secondary schools appear to place a much greater emphasis upon team sports than government primary schools, judging by the content of school histories analysed. What is particularly noticeable among the majority of coeducational primary and secondary schools in the sample is the disproportionately greater amount of content and photographs devoted to boys' sports than girls' sporting achievements. A few examples illustrate this:

Carnegie Primary School No. 2887: The First Hundred Years (20) includes four sports photos: Boy Football Premier Team 1967; Boys Premiership Team 1951; Boys Soccer Team 1981; Girls Netball Team 1976. Meringur School No. 4357 Golden Jubilee 1978 (21), has eight photographs of boys' sporting teams and only three girls' team photos. A general trend was observed indicating that nongovernment schools, especially secondary schools, devoted considerably more photographs and content of their histories to sporting achievements and sporting heroes than did government school histories, reflecting the difference in the value emphasis in this category of school culture.

Lesser categories of heroes, such as school bands, drama and choir groups, are not altogether ignored in school histories, although they feature, photographically, far less often than sporting individuals and teams.

Local district pioneers as heroes are noticed mainly in the histories of small rural government primary schools where the history of the school relates closely with the history and development of its district. In many cases the original pioneers in the rural districts are quite often among those who originally petitioned for the establishment of a school in the district, and their surnames recur throughout the history of the school in rolls, honour boards, P & C Committees. The concept of the school as an extension of the local community is revealed by the school
histories sampled, as a distinguishing characteristic of school culture in the majority of small government rural primary schools. A good example of this is contained in Bendick Murrell School Centenary 1883-1983 (22), a large part of which is devoted to brief accounts of the pioneer families in the district and photographs of local homesteads and families. Approximately onethird of the sample contained genealogical and biographical details of local pioneers and families.

Visual/Material Manifestations and Symbolism
Among the most common categories of photographs included in the sample of histories were those of the school buildings and equipment including plans of the school and original buildings. This concern of authors of school histories with the material fabric of the school indicates a set of values associated with place and style. Beare et al (23), comment:

"their distinctive configurations as well as their quality, architecture and furnishings make an immediate and lasting impression. The messages a school signals to a person who visits it for the first time are important, especially the approaches, the reception area and the office and classroom furniture."

and later,

"the physical features sometimes become a trademark of a period of the school's history, and are thereafter a part of the school's cultural baggage."

Eighty percent of the histories sampled included photographs of school buildings. In a majority of cases the text of the histories which dealt with the early development and foundation of the school noted school principals' concerns about buildings, extensions, teacher accommodation and classrooms. One reason explaining this high concentration upon buildings arises from the comparative availability, in school records and government archives of details of the actual physical and contractual aspects of foundation and building of schools. Construction contracts require the involvement of formal government approval at a number of levels: loans and leases demand written financial agreements and careful documentation and it is often this form of documentation which survives and which now comprises a significant component of government school archival records in Australia.

That schools take great pride in their finer buildings is evident from some examples:

Of the thirtyseven photographs included in Fifty Years at Frencham A History of an Australian School (24), no less than twentyfive are photographs of school buildings or landscaping and school grounds. There are eleven illustrations of buildings in
The Brown and Yellow Sydney Girls' High School 1883-1983 (25). Through the Years Silver Jubilee St. Joseph's Tara 1965-1990 (26), also includes eleven photographs of buildings, classrooms and grounds, while a small government primary school in Victoria, Welshpool Primary School No. 3011, 1890-1990 (27), has ten photographs, or onethird of its photographs concentrating upon the school buildings and/or classrooms. Although the majority of photographs included in school histories in the sample were of people and groups (classes, teachers, principals), buildings, gardens and architectural features are the second most important category of photographs. Nongovernment metropolitan secondary (grammar) schools, in their choice of photographs quite often select their extracurricula and exclassroom facilities, for example, tennis courts, cricket ovals, gymnasia, as depicted in They Dreamt of a School A Centenary History of Methodist Ladies' College Kew 1882-1982 (28).

The swimming pool and school chapel are prominent in Sydney Church of England Girls' Grammar School 1895-1955 (29), while Newington College 1863-1963 (30) appears proud to include full page plates of its "Millner Gates and Memorial Drive" and "Founders' Wing Entrance Lobby showing Honour Rolls 1914-1918 War".

Crests and Mottoes
In the centenary and jubilee publications of government and nongovernment schools, crests and mottoes feature widely as a "visual symbolism" which constitutes the "livery"(31) of schools. Approximately forty percent of the sample included school crests somewhere in their publications. In the case of many school history publications their crests were reproduced on the covers of their histories, for example, as in Sydney Church of England Girls' Grammar School (33), whose crest indicates its religious relationships through the presence of a bishop's mitre on its badge; Tabulam School 1879-1979 (33), which has, fittingly, a rural theme depicted in its crest and its motto is in English rather than Latin. The Rose and The Waratah: The Friends' School Hobart 1832-1945 (34), whose crest includes an English Tudor Rose heraldic symbol in addition to the Australian native waratah which expresses the continuity of values and relationships from English colonial sources. The Sydney High School (35), has the oft seen open book symbol in its crest, common in the grants of arms of many educational institutions. Nevertire Public School (36), has a badge depicting a merino sheep's head and ears of wheat (?), while The Hutchins School (37), has a very traditional heraldic group of Lions Passant on its covers. A fine example of the full grant of arms, together with explanation of the heraldic
symbolism and confirmation from the College of Heralds in London is to be found in the frontispiece of Newington College's history publication.

Artefacts and Memorabilia
These include school songs, school hymns, sporting warcries, flags, trophy boards, reproduced in school histories. School songs are included in less than twenty percent of the sample but when they are included, they are most often given a place of prominence in the publication. Werris Creek Public School 1883-1983: The First One Hundred Years (38), includes not only its school song but also its School Pledge on the inside front cover. Girton College’s Through Hardship to the Stars (39), has its school song in the front endpapers on the verso of the page displaying its crest and the School Prayer. All Saints' College Bathurst (40), has more than one school song, with special songs for special occasions reproduced in its history for example, its appendix includes a football song which concludes: “Wishing our foes confusion; to our team, triumph long. Football, football, that's the game to make you jolly.” etc., etc. The content and the sentiment of the lyrics of school songs provide some insight into the values as indicators of culture.

Among the most common expressions of feelings in the songs contained in the sample analysed are those of school loyalty, pride, a rallying cry and an urge to sporting greatness for example:
"Loud let the Echoes ring, In tennis, cricket, football, too" (Cootamundra Public School (41));
and the cultural origins and the patron saint of the school as in St. Columba's school history:
"Hail To Columba, Erin's Pride! Hail to our Patron Saint and Guide." (42)
Fairness and sportsmanship values are evident in the lines of Trinity Grammar School's song:
"To live our motto and play the Game, In field and classroom shall be our aim, Till in life's broader fields we may win wider fame." (43).
Trophy boards are a most common feature in all schools sporting trophies abound in school foyer display cases and Dux of School tablets adorn school corridors. In many secondary school centenary publications reproductions of trophy boards or transcriptions of "winners" lists are included, often in appendices. Randwick and Its School (44), has included photographs of no less than six of these types of boards. School prizewinners of community awards and scholarships are often highlighted in some histories as indicators of the school's valuing of scholastic achievement. For example, Daws Road High
School (45) devotes a complete page of its history to the Lions Scholarship Winners, with a photograph of the 1989 winners.

Behavioural Manifestations
Called the "enacted expressions of culture" by Beare et al, rituals, ceremonies, rules and regulations are behavioural manifestations of school culture often reported in school histories. Included in this category are parental and community interaction patterns, considered to be very important in this investigation because of the attention afforded them in school centenary and jubilee history publications. The most common rituals reported are those surrounding "house" systems of boarding schools and pastoral care systems. While some histories emphasise the ritual of participation in sporting team activities others focus on reporting their academic rituals, such as speech days, prize givings and the acknowledgement of the academic success in higher education of their expupils. To balance the public perceptions of St. Joseph's College, Hunters Hill as a solely team games institution, its publication includes a chapter on studies and examinations which begins: "Amongst the general public St. Joseph's College has acquired a reputation for success in sport, but its successes in academic matters, equally as striking, have not received similar acclaim." (46)

The chapter outlines the rituals of the pursuit of academic success over the years. Academic achievement and the ritualization of its pursuit is evident in those school histories which include photographs of educational certificates most often from past generations, which emphasizes the link between academic values of past and present generations. Canberra Grammar School's jubilee publication devotes a chapter to "Life as a Boarder" in which the author, a former pupil, writes of school rituals and customs, recognizing in the following statement their contribution to school culture. "At weekends, the tempo slackened somewhat. On Saturday morning, boarders were allowed out of the school to go shopping. They had to be properly dressed in full uniform . . . " and later, "The routines, the incidents that stand out these are the stuff of memories." (47)
Where they occur these reports of rituals in school histories provide a rich example of the behavioural manifestations of school culture. Even in smaller rural primary schools there is evidence of rituals, as shown in the chapter, "Our School by the Pupils of 6th Grade 1975" (48). (Centenary Cootamundra Public School).
"Book Week is held each year when we have a competition for posters, short stories, bookmarks, book jackets, book reviews, biographies and illustrations. We also enjoy dressing up as our favourite book characters."

Amongst the most common rituals reported in school histories are the annual Anzac Day observances, usually a special school assembly or chapel service. There is also reference to the annual celebration of Empire Day among the reported recollections of past pupils of the pre1950s eras. In more recent years these older rituals have had to compete with annual environment days, charity appeal days and open days.

School Ceremonies take many forms and school histories record them as special events commemorating past achievement. They are formal events and are regarded by Beare et al as a public display of culture. The visit of a community or political leader on the occasion of the opening of a new school building, or the laying of a foundation stone is the type of ceremony most often included in school histories. The following list of examples illustrate this point:

Canberra Grammar School  photograph and report of Prime Minister Fraser unveiling a commemorative plaque to celebrate fifty years of existence.
The visit of Cardinal Gilroy to St. Joseph's College to bless and open Pius X Wing of the school buildings.

Public Education in Nevertire: The First Hundred Years 1883 1982 (49), contains a fullpage plate of Lady Woodward after the opening of the new kindergarten room.
Kinross Wolaroi School (50)  the State Governor delivers the occasional address on speech day.
Referring to the era of the 1950s, Cardiff Primary School: Its First 100 Years 18911991 (51), includes a section "Special Events in the primary school routine included frolics, play days and speech nights".
Knox 19241974 (52)  photograph and text of a ceremony which reflects the values and Scottish traditions of the school "The Pipe Band at the 1970 Retreat Parade".

School Community Relationships
These areas of behavioural manifestation of school culture are the most pervasive in centenary and jubilee history and jubilee history publications. Approximately twothirds of the publications sampled included some material which describes such local community institutions as sporting clubs, local industries, police, fire brigade, post office, social clubs in their respective districts. A particularly apt example of this is contained in Bendick Murrell School Centenary 18831983 (53),
which includes brief histories and photographs of shops and business in the main street of the village, St. Catherine's Church, the local cricket club, tennis club, racing club, bushfire brigade, Red Cross Society, local Railway and the first Post Office and name of its officers, the local police station and its staff over the years, and the local hotels. Khancoban Public School 18871981 (54), on the other hand, includes a page on the ascent of Mt. Kosciusko, and an account of hay carting in the Khancoban Valley, while Coraki Central School 100 Years (55), contains a section on the origin and development of two local industries, cedar cutting and sugar cane growing which provided the impetus for the establishment of the district town. The Centenary History of Darlingtonhurst Public School contains chapters on Darlingtonhurst Gaol and how Darlingtonhurst acquired its first hospital.

District maps and plans were included in approximately one-quarter of the histories sampled, most of these maps relating to the location of small government rural schools, showing the original school buildings in relation to other district landmarks. Parent groups are given a special mention in most school histories. The names of members of the executives of P & Cs, Mothers' Clubs, and Old Pupils' Associations, are often listed, and in those schools which are governed by School Boards and Councils, similar records are included.

Of the total sample of publications, sixty-four percent contained sections or chapters relevant to the local history of the school district/village/suburb. This category of information was more commonly found in the publications of government nonmetropolitan primary schools where seventy-six percent of publications in this category provided data of this type compared with only forty-four percent of publications from nongovernment schools. The amount and type of local history data included varied widely from one page chronologies of the "significant events in our local district", to two or three chapters dealing with the settlement and establishment of the district. For example, Cranebrook Primary School 18831983 (54), opens its first chapter on "The History of Cranebrook", a small village in the Castlereagh/Nepean district of New South Wales. Early European settlement in the region is noted, including a brief account of the first pioneers. Photographs of some early buildings and homesteads are included, together with some accounts of the first large properties and holdings in the region. At least half of the publications which did include local history material also published pocket biographies of pioneering families in their districts. Innisfail State School: A History of the School and the District 18871987 (57), provides a good example of
this. In one case, Curlewis Centenary 18851985 (58), it not only provided details of early selectors and pastoralists in the region, but also cited the size of each of their land holdings together with the date of the initial occupation of each holding and the names of the original selectors 18981901, and a plan of the village of Curlewis in 1886, showing the names and locations of the first lots sold in 1888.

Much of the material relating to the families, properties, occupations and industries of small rural school districts contained in school histories is information published for the first time. It makes a valuable contribution to an understanding of the factors which motivated the original application for the establishment of a school in the district, and, as such, reveals much about the corporate values and experiences which moulded the culture of the school.

Conclusion
This paper has attempted to identify many of the visual manifestations of school culture evident in Australian school centenary and jubilee history publications. On the evidence of a content analysis of two hundred and sixtyfour histories, it has been argued that these publications are a very good and readily available source of these manifestations of school culture. A strong impression gained from the content analysis was the closeness of the links between the school and its immediate community, particularly in the case of government primary schools. These schools especially reflect, in their published histories, many values, attitudes and interests prevailing in their local communities. This extension of the local community's culture into the local school helps differentiate the schools from each other.

In the case of nongovernment city secondary schools, it appears to be more the values and culture of the clients (parents and families) of the school which confer cultural uniqueness to these categories of schools, rather than their geographical location in the cities.

Notes and References
15. Beare, Hedley, et al. op cit., p. 191

32. Sydney Church of England Grammar School. op. cit.
35. Ferguson, Arch. op. cit.
38. Walker, Allan. op. cit.
44. King, Robert J. op. cit.
48. Centenary Cootamundra Public School, op. cit., p. 27.
49. Sheerman, Robb, op. cit.

52. Mansfield, Bruce, op. cit.
53. Carter, Garry, op. cit.