

## **Memory and Masculinity: Religion at Prince Alfred College 1960-66**

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This paper examines my experiences interviewing men as part of an oral history research project and concentrates on the processes of interviewing, transcribing and analysis using the theme of religion. The aim of this research was to collect data about some men's experiences of masculinity while students at Prince Alfred College (PAC). PAC was opened in Adelaide, 1869 as a Wesleyan Methodist boys college. The data will be used to investigate the social construction of masculinities within some boys' experience at school and in society. This will be achieved by analysing men's accounts of how they learned to construct and define themselves and others as masculine. Specific masculinities may be explored through various themes, such as sport, power, literature, school ethos and ideals. They will then be compared and contrasted to the hegemonic masculinity of the time.

Masculinity for the purpose of this research is defined as the social construct consisting of values and characteristics that were associated with the male gender during the early to mid 1960s. The biological sex of individuals does not encompass their social attributes or their socialisation process and therefore this study is based on gender. Gender is defined by Connell, 1996 as 'the way that social practice is ordered'.<sup>1</sup> This definition is broad and flexible in that it allows for 'masculine' women and 'feminine' men and so on. It is therefore not always tied to sex. Connell also states that 'gender is a process and not a fixed social practice. Its about bodies, what bodies do and how they react.'<sup>2</sup> Therefore there are many different masculinities at any given point in time. Hegemonic masculinity is the definition out of the many that is set up as or considered the norm. This is usually based on middle class values and is therefore most often, but not exclusively, found in the middle class.

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

Historically, schooling has been perceived as reinforcing the inborn nature of the sexes, as well as preparing individuals for their roles in society which directly related to their biology. The definition of this inborn nature has varied slightly through time. Traditionally boys have been seen as rough, tough, physical and harder to control than girls. They are the pioneers, builders of nations, the leaders of society. In subtle and not so subtle ways these desirable characteristics of manliness are inculcated from birth and encouraged throughout boyhood.<sup>3</sup> It would be interesting to see how many of these ideals have contributed to men's situation in the late twentieth century as Biddulph, 1994 states ...

Men on average live for six years less than women do.

Men routinely fail at close relationships. (Just two indicators: forty percent of marriages break down, and divorces are initiated by the woman in four out of five cases.)

Over ninety percent of convicted acts of violence will be carried out by men, and seventy percent of the victims will be men.

In school, around ninety percent of children with behaviour problems are boys and over eighty percent of children with learning problems are also boys.

Men comprise over ninety percent of inmates of gaols. Men are also seventyfour percent of the unemployed.

The leading cause of death amongst men between 12 and 60 is self-inflicted death.

Surely, the most powerful reflection on the male gender is its suicide rate. Men and boys commit suicide five times more frequently than women. (The rate for men exceeds the road toll, though the two are probably blurred together. A 'single vehicle accident' is often impossible to differentiate.)<sup>4</sup>

The Men's Movement, which is developing in the late twentieth century is about "learning how to be confident and easy in making better marriages, jobs, pastimes, friendships and in developing a rich and sustaining inner life. It's about enjoying the key role of raising our sons to go even further in the male adventure.<sup>5</sup> One of the instigators of the men's movement in the United States was Robert Bly's International best seller *Iron John: a book about men* which explores masculinity and manhood through a Grimm Brothers story called Iron John.<sup>6</sup> This book is very altruistic and therefore fits every mans' life experiences in some way but it is not backed up with any research.

The feminist movement has changed the way history is written and perceived, and this approach is now being used in other areas of research. Feminists continue to write women into history, creating a new history that centres around women's daily lives, thoughts and experiences.<sup>7</sup> Women are being written into history as individuals and not just subsumed in the family. A good example of this type of history is *Creating a Nation* which rewrites women and other minority groups into the development of Australia.<sup>8</sup> Just as women have not been treated as individuals in historical writings, many of men's experiences have also not been represented. The interviews undertaken in this project are about the social construction of masculinity at PAC during the early 1960s rather than simply about men as a group, and is based on the feminist practise of looking at inner experiences as well as external deeds and happenings.

Women had to overcome oppression, but men's difficulties are with isolation. The enemies, the prisons from which men must escape, are: loneliness; compulsive competition, and lifelong emotional timidity. Men's enemies are often on the inside - in the walls we put up around our own hearts.<sup>9</sup>

There is a substantial amount of literature on both the overt and covert teaching and learning of the feminine ideal through education. On the other hand there is a limited

number of writings on the teaching and learning of masculinity in schools<sup>10</sup>, although there is a reasonable amount of literature on the historical social constructs of masculinity. As society has changed so have the hegemonic definitions of masculinity. Currently there is a move towards actively teaching boys and men to define and construct their masculinity in an acceptable, non-violent manner. This is evident in Australian books like *Boys in Schools: Addressing the real issues; behaviour, values and relationships*,<sup>11</sup> *Secret men's business, manhood: the big gig*<sup>12</sup>, *Manhood: a book about setting men free*<sup>13</sup> and *Raising boys*.<sup>14</sup> There is a great deal of literature emerging on the sociology and psychology of masculinity<sup>15</sup>, much of which is based on the experience of British and American men, but little on how schools have been involved in creating these roles or in challenging them. This research aims to redress the imbalance and investigate opportunities for further study which could lead to the expansion of equal opportunity for individuals in schools in Australia - regardless of age, gender, race, class, background etc.

Current oral histories on Australian men focus on their lives and family experiences rather than education or schooling. These include: *Fathers, Sons & Lovers*<sup>16</sup>; *Fathers & Sons*<sup>17</sup>; *Real Men*<sup>18</sup> and *Men Talk*.<sup>19</sup> Until recently oral history has been viewed as less academic than traditional approaches. However, viewing schooling through the lived experience of the students is becoming more widely accepted. This is evident in the number of current writings that are based on oral history.<sup>20</sup> Oral history effectively reveals the educational experiences of each individual as they remember it. This can then be compared to archival sources such as the school magazines for analysis.

*Learning to Lead - a history of girls' and boys' corporate secondary schools in Australia*,<sup>21</sup> outlines the inception and development of these schools. This was written eleven years ago and is a factual account of events and some of the ideas and values that moulded this history. In contrast, this study addresses the definition of masculinity by examining the every day experiences of the students. Including how masculinity was

reproduced at PAC through the writings of students, Old Scholars and teachers within the school magazines. *Journeyings: the Biography of a Middle-Class Generation 1920-1990* contains the stories of a group of middle class men and women which examines their life experiences, including education and schooling in this context. School histories of PAC written for the record tend to focus on the positives and not on the experiences of the students.<sup>23</sup>

Defining masculinities and how these are replicated, or not, through education in Australia will provide insights into the development of new teaching methodologies that acknowledge students as unique individuals thus assisting the elimination of narrow stereotypes of masculinity and femininity. This will lead to the underlying issue of equal opportunity rather than gender, as people are individuals comprised of many parts such as socioeconomic status, race, ethnicity, geographic location, upbringing, schooling, class etc and not just masculinity and femininity. All men are certainly not the same, just as all women are not the same, or for that matter all white middle class Australians are not the same. They all have individual differences.

My research will look at boys' schooling and their socialisation into men, through interviews that capture their memories and feelings from that period of their lives. Secondary sources will include school magazines, school histories, archival interviews, newspapers and popular literature such as magazines. These will illustrate the organisation of the school, the views of those running the school and the school ethos as well as the hegemonic masculinity of the outside world. Historical research is only as good as the material available due to the unspoken assumptions and values of every culture.<sup>24</sup> Some of these sources can also be limited in only showing what the writer chose to show, representing positive events and officially approved ideas about schooling and masculinity. Documents that were written for the record and therefore influenced by the writer's own masculinity, especially in the case of schools like PAC, may present the 'ideal' rather than the reality. However the data acquired from interviews will highlight boys' schooling experiences and socialisation process.

The students' words contained in essays, stories and poems, as recorded in the school magazines will be a rich source of insight into the minds of boys and possibly their family and life experiences in Adelaide during the early to mid 1960s. In contrast the magazines also include school generated material written by staff and advertisements that illustrate ideal masculinity. Reading the material directed to students will allow us to perceive the world that they were being prepared to take their place in. The interviews and school magazines will provide information that will further the understanding of masculinity and masculine behaviour from the student's point of view. Therefore their words will be used to tell their stories as only they can without losing further meaning through editing or rewriting.

Fifty men who attended their final year at (PAC), 1960-66 were interviewed. They were predominantly from white middle class backgrounds, although some were from working class backgrounds. These men were self selected for this research in that everyone who left the school from 1960-66 (140 students) were contacted by letter and asked if they were interested in participating. Fifty five replied in the affirmative, even one currently residing in Malaysia. Those who were able to be contacted and had the available time were

interviewed. Interviews were conducted on an individual basis with all transcripts and written material approved by the interviewees' prior to any publication. These interviews were conducted informally with a flexible format in a comfortable environment of the interviewees' choice. The environments where the interviews took place were important in keeping the interviewee at ease, although sometimes I found the surrounding noise could be distracting. A set of open ended questions were used as the basis for the interviews and guiding questions were used as necessary. This included biographical data such as number of siblings, what school they attended and when they started at PAC. The group of open ended questions used for these interviews was often questioned by participants as not being direct enough and too broad. Interviewees' often stated that they were expecting more direct questions such as, 'What do you remember about a particular master?' rather than, 'What do you remember about the masters?' Therefore guiding without directing responses became a very important skill. The interviews were taped with the written consent of the interviewees', and where further exploration of issues was needed, written responses were obtained. Forty of the interviews were conducted face to face and the other ten were conducted by phone. The phone interviews were conducted in the evening when the interviewees were at home. Face to face interviews were conducted both during the day at the university or place of work and in the evening at their homes. The starting times of interviews ranged from 8am to 9:30pm. The interviews took from twenty minutes to over an hour depending on the interviewee, most were about forty to forty five minutes. Interestingly the phone interviews often went longer and were easier to conduct than the face to face interviews. They often chatted for up to half an hour after the interview which became another excellent source of information.

In order to be successful the interviews were carefully planned while still allowing the flexibility to guide the interviewee. Therefore the set of questions were not asked in a set order, rather this was guided by the interviewees answers. I felt that many of these men were getting things off their chests in these interviews, possibly because they were in their late forties to early fifties when many people review their dreams and lives. These men were very direct in manner in all communications which was something I wasn't expecting and had to learn to accommodate. Prior to the interview they all asked a few questions such as 'What is this for?' 'What is your interest in it?' 'What is your connection with the school?' 'Did the school hire you?' 'Did your husband attend PAC?' Then after this brief conversation said something like 'Right, lets get on with it'. After completing the interview statements and questions asked ranged from 'I don't understand what those questions have to do with masculinity?' to 'What do you expect to find out? and Who else have you interviewed?' This was often followed by suggestions of other men who they thought would be good to include in the sample. A number of interesting recollections were related to me after the interviews such as how the boarders used to sneak out at night to meet girls in town and smoke in the tunnels under the school, a left over from the war which became their pathway to freedom.

The men interviewed came from a wide variety of careers including; actors, social workers, crematorium operators, technician, farmers, managing directors, doctors, magistrates, politicians, real estate agents, accountants, lecturers, teachers, graphic artists, clerks, journalists, engineers, architects, and consultants. Most started at the school in either year 5 or year 8 which were the two major intake years at PAC. Some were boarders but most were day boys, although there were three individuals who boarded for a year whilst their parents were overseas. Most felt their parents sent them there for a good education and that this was a privilege. All the men who had come from working class backgrounds received sports, academic or church scholarships to attend PAC. In one case his mother was the

school nurse and part of her agreement with the school was that her son boarded as her accommodation was not large enough for both of them. I didn't interview any brothers although many described their siblings experiences at the school. Usually these were unhappier than their own.

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

The interviews were then transcribed using a number of methods. Firstly by the interviewer. This proved to be too slow. Secondly by a typing service which was expensive, time consuming and inaccurate. Thirdly using IBM ViaVoice which is a continuous speech recognition program. This proved to be a very accurate, inexpensive and relatively quick method of transcribing once the program had been trained to my voice. The time taken for corrections was cut drastically as this was completed during the transcribing process. To use ViaVoice I listened to the interviews through the headphone and dictated into the headphone mic. This new technology was highly successful as it simplified the transcribing process.

I found two major difficulties when transcribing these interviews. Firstly, the tape recorder picked up all the surrounding sounds like chiming clocks, telephones, radios and street traffic. This made the tapes very difficult to hear and to understand. Some men spoke very softly or their voices tailed off, usually at the end of a sentence. The interviews were transcribed verbatim to allow determination of normal speech patterns and their points of emphasis. The importance of clear instructions in all correspondence was highlighted by a phone call I received about the transcripts stating that it made him sound like a 'dolt'. Even after rewriting my letter explaining why the transcripts were verbatim for analysis and the ums, ers and ahs would be left out in any publication many men still corrected the language in the transcripts.

ViaVoice is a continuous speech recognition software package from IBM. Continuous speech recognition means that you can speak naturally, without pausing between words. Many other speech recognition technologies require the distinct pronunciation of individual words. This makes the process of dictating much more natural, and considerably quicker, as well as freeing the dictator from having to consciously think about each word as they speak.

While not the only continuous speech recognition program on the market, it is one of the cheapest, being at least half the price of competitors.

This software runs on an IBM compatible computer using either Microsoft Windows 95 or Windows NT4. The manufacturer suggests your computer should be a 166Mhz Pentium processor or faster, with 32Meg of memory for Windows 95, or 48Meg of memory if you are using Windows NT. It also requires around 120Meg of free hard drive space, a Creative Labs Sound Blaster 16 or 100% compatible sound card and a CD-ROM drive. I used a 166Mhz Cyrix 686 which is compatible with the Pentium processor and about the same speed, using Windows NT4, with 64Meg of memory, a compatible sound card, and a CD-ROM. This setup was able to keep up with the stopstart nature of dictation, but was a little slow if I talked continuously at normal speed. The latest Pentium II processors would probably be able to keep up continuous normal speech.

It should be noted that while speech recognition has come a long way in the last few years, it is still not perfect and there are a few things to be aware of. My copy of ViaVoice was the UK English Vocabulary and Spelling edition, which is trained to recognise an English accent. If you have another accent or less than perfect dictation, you will need to spend more time initially with the program 'training' it to recognise your voice. Every new user should undertake a Dictation Training session prior to using the software. This has two functions, firstly to allow the software to recognise and learn your personal speech patterns, and secondly to familiarise yourself with the best way to speak for accurate recognition. The aim here is for clear, smooth and consistent speech while dictating. The placement of the microphone and quiet surroundings are also important for accurate recognition.

The training process takes around four hours to complete and can be done in more than one session. You are required to read a specific text which consists of the ViaVoice user manual and the opening to Alice in Wonderland. After this training the accuracy approached the 90-95% claimed by IBM. This program continues to learn and improve as you work and correct your dictations. After many hours of my dictating transcripts the accuracy reached approximately 98%.

The program comes with a special noise canceling headset microphone which provides the best results. It would be convenient if you could just connect your tape recorder to the computer and transcribe the interviews directly, but it will be a few years before voice recognition software is this versatile. ViaVoice works by recording your spoken words to the computer's hard drive, and then analysing the sounds to produce written text. Both the recording and the text can be saved, and loaded again at a later date if required. The recording can take up a lot of space on the hard drive, so it is best used for a session and then deleted. To ensure best results, I plugged the line out from my dictation machine into the 'Line in' on the sound card. This way I could listen to the interviews through the headset, pause the tape and then repeat the dialogue into the microphone. Then I could listen to my recorded speech on the computer if I needed to make corrections to the computer's recognition efforts. One nice aspect of Via Voice is that as you speak into the computer, your voice is recorded in the same way a cassette recorder does, while having the spoken words converted to text on the screen. If you need to review a word, sentence or paragraph, you can simply highlight the words on the screen, and your recorded words are replayed back to you. This means that you can dictate a whole paragraph or more without stopping, and then

go back and correct any recognition errors. Another way ViaVoice improves its speech recognition is by analysing other documents that you have written to learn any new words.

In summary, ViaVoice is an excellent tool for transcribing interviews, particularly for those who can not touch type. Finding accurate, affordable and time-effective methods for interviewing and transcribing is of benefit to all researchers dealing with interview data.

Oral history is essential for understanding the history of masculinity and how schools have replicated or challenged these ideals. This will enable teachers to understand this process and make schooling a positive experience for all those involved. I found the process of interviewing these men sometimes challenging, but very rewarding, and have collected a great deal of information for my research. I had set out to interview a number of public and prominent men, but ended up listening to the individuals and their school experiences.

The next step was to analyse and interpret the information that I had collected from the interviews. This was achieved by comparing and contrasting the interview data in themes and relating this to official information contained in the school chronicle. I also looked at topics that were discussed and those that weren't and considered reasons for these silences. The following is a brief discussion about religion at PAC.

During the mid 1960s PAC had a formal assembly every morning that included a Bible reading, prayers and hymns. This took about a third of the assembly time the rest was announcements including sporting results from the previous weekend and notable achievements of students.

*TY: ...religion was certainly there, we had religious instruction and we had a formal assembly where prayers were conducted each morning. Whether they were taken seriously or not at the time or it was just a matter of course, it's hard to say.<sup>25</sup>*

Everyone had scripture lessons once a week. The boarders went to evening prayers and church every weekend. Each term everyone walked to Kent Town Methodist Church for a church service. There was also a mid-year school service and an annual school service which parents and friends were also invited to attend. It was viewed as important by those who attended or were involved in a church outside of the school. This was the minority in the group I interviewed. A number saw the religion as token and not something to be taken seriously. Religion wasn't seen as very important or strongly emphasised by many. They could take it or leave it.

*ID: Religious instruction was a compulsory segment of class, taken by the Chaplain, who handled most matters of life in this period-including sex discussions. But religion was not an overriding aspect, despite Princes being a Methodist school. Prayers, the lesson and Bible readings by the prefects were given every morning at assembly, It neither convinced, persuaded or dissuaded me from religion.<sup>26</sup>*

*AP: Religion at school was a fairly, well it was a non-conformist blanc mange of religion ...27*

*NR: Yes religion was always there but not jammed down your throat but you were taught what religion was and how to live, not in a strictly religious manner, but in a reasonable manner, taking into account that what you did affected other people.28*

Most of those interviewed were Anglican not Methodist. Religion outside of school was presented differently due to different denominations but the religious ethics were similar. About a third of those interviewed attended church or Sunday school outside of school. Some went more for the social value.

*DG: I didn't get involved in religion outside until I left school. I think I went to church to meet girls.29*

There was a student Christian Movement that held fortnightly meetings which invited speakers and panels to answer student questions. Panels were often made up of masters and guest speakers were usually local Ministers who spoke on topics like, "Books", "Christianity and Other Religions", "Communism in Europe", "The Modern Image of the Church", "Two Young Men" and "Seven Paths to Peace". All the speakers were selected by a committee of students who were elected by the students. They also ran debates and discussion groups that involved student participation. This appears to be a small group of about twenty-thirty students in a school of three to four hundred.30

Kyle Waters was the Chaplain at PAC during this period and was variously described in the interviews as "charismatic", "open minded", "kind", "masculine", "dynamic", "magnificent", "dominant", "an eccentric character who acted out bible lessons to make it interesting for the students". He was seen by the students as a positive influence who was highly respected.

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

From these students' comments he was an excellent teacher who happened to also be the school chaplain. He was often referred to as the Kyle but had no other nickname. There were only two other masters talked about in the interviews who were not referred to by nicknames and didn't seem to have any. The other two were David Mattingley a young English teacher and Chester Bennett the sports master. These masters were widely liked, respected and remembered fondly by the students. Kyle Waters' sons attended PAC during

this time, one of whom I interviewed, remembered his father as being highly regarded and an integral part of the school. He taught many of the boys about life including discussions about sex and was open to being challenged about religion. He let the boys make up their own minds about what they believed and what religious path, if any, they chose to follow. Kyle was seen as a positive role model by the students. All of the men I interviewed remembered Kyle and nearly all in a positive, fond manner.

Hymns were sung every morning at assembly and were hand picked by Kyle Waters. The students favourite hymns like 'Onward Christian Soldiers' were sung with such enthusiasm that the 'roof would lift off the assembly hall'.<sup>32</sup> Three to four hundred boys singing at the tops of their voices.

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

All students were required to have a hymn and prayer book that was taken to assembly every morning and evening prayer if you were a boarder. The prefects were rostered on each morning for the bible readings and the Captain of the school also read the lesson at the Annual School Service. All the men that I interviewed remembered reciting prayers off by heart but not one could remember any of their titles. Interestingly most recalled enjoying singing hymns but nothing about what they were singing or the meaning of the hymns. It was just something they were required to do at school. None of them saw it as important in terms of their learning or socialisation into men.

Kyle wrote the addresses for the mid year church service with titles such as; "Have you anything to declare?", "Wake up!", "Service", and "The meaning of the school badge."<sup>34</sup> All of his speeches had strong Christian values cleverly entwined through a story that the boys could relate to or were interested in. He used themes of school pride, community, sport and war to get his message across. These addresses were all printed in the *Prince Alfred Chronicle* and were described as inspiring, excellent and enlightening from 1963-66 prior to this no critique or comments were made. Interestingly, 1963 is the first year that these addresses get noticeably longer, from 1960-62 they are only a page yet from 1963 they are two pages. This suggests that the mid year service became a more significant event during this period. The address at the annual school service was given by the headmaster, Jack Dunning, and was always on a strong religious theme as the following illustrate: "Children obey your parents in the Lord, for this is right"; "freedom"; "faithful men and men of faith"; "Pressures, Loyalties, Standards, Values"; "Being a good Christian and factors that make for happiness."<sup>35</sup> These addresses were also printed in the school chronicle and were consistently three pages long. They were written in a very formal, traditional style that drew heavily from the Bible. This was in stark contrast to Kyle Waters' speeches that were energetic, interesting and less formal. Jack Dunning was seen as a good leader, aloof and authoritarian by the students. Whereas Kyle was seen as approachable, open minded and helpful. This may explain why none of those interviewed commented on Jack Dunning's addresses or even remembered him as a religious man. According to these old scholars, Kyle Waters not only ran the religious side of the school but embodied it in everything he did

at the school. This suggests that the formal, authoritarian style of teaching during this period was not as effective as the humanistic style which had a positive impact on the boys.

Students didn't question religious teachings in those days. They learnt the Ten Commandments parrot fashion and were expected to live by these. They don't remember being formally taught Christian ethics but they all recounted them. Particularly the following values and morals; give back into the community, help others less fortunate, use your gifts to succeed in life, be honest and fair in your dealings with others and the school. These ethics were taught and reinforced throughout the school, but not seen by the boys as religion. It was more covertly taught than overtly. They were role modeled by the masters and a similar code of behaviour was expected of the boys.

*JK: Our religious classes tended to concentrate more on values-moral values, and values in life, where you just don't walk over people. If you can help along the way and still be successful, then that's the way you should be doing it, not just aim at being successful and walking over people.*<sup>36</sup>

*BW: ...it was more to do with the humanitarian aspects of Christianity, that were really primarily taught either overtly or by behaviour. ...more the concepts of Christianity in terms of salvation were probably not emphasised-it was more to do with the humanitarian side of things. A concern for the wellbeing of your fellow man/woman. I mean in the sense that there was an emphasis on really always thinking of other people, and ...the concept of achievement was also built into that and making the best of what opportunities you had and what gifts you had and these were emphasised from a Christian perspective.*<sup>37</sup>

*MJ: Always being open and honest, fair and not putting other people down, turning the other cheek, you know basically all the teachings of the Bible. Which I can't recall at the moment (laughing).*<sup>38</sup>

A few of those interviewed had been at a state High school before attending PAC and remembered having a Methodist minister come to the school to teach religious instruction once a week. They said that the teachings of Christian values and morals were not any different than what they experienced at Princes.

The Christian ideals that PAC taught and reinforced permeated the whole school and as such were a major part of the ethos. It is very difficult to differentiate between the Christian ethos of society in the mid 1960s and the school ethos, as both propagated the same Christian values and morals. As one man stated '*Everything was permeated in those days with Christianity*'.<sup>39</sup> This may indicate the narrowness of their experiences as the emphasis on religion at most state schools was not as strong as at PAC and needs further exploration. The strong acceptance of these ethics and values at PAC appears to be largely to do with Kyle Waters strong and dynamic teaching style as well as his open mindedness and enthusiasm to help the boys through life.

In summary, formal religion was seen by these men as something that you could take or leave, it was not heavily pushed at PAC. However they all learnt strong Christian ethics which most stated that they have carried through their life. The most spoken about were to think of others and give back into your community. The school Chaplain Kyle Waters had a positive influence on the boys and was most likely the reason that they accepted the Christian ethics that were taught and reinforced by the school.

## Endnotes

- 1 R.W. Connell *Masculinities*. St Leonards, Allen and Unwin, 1995, Ch.3, pp71-76.
- 2 Connell, pp.71-76.
- 3 Townsend, Helen *Real Men*, Sydney, HarperCollins Publishers, 1994, p.3 1.
- 4 Steve Biddulph, *Manhood.. A book about setting men free*, Sydney, Finch Publishing, 1994, p.4.
- 5 Biddulph, p.7.
- 6 Robert Bly *Iron John: A book about men*, Brisbane, Element Books Limited, 1993.
- 7 Patricia Grimshaw 'Women in History: Reconstructing the Past' in Goodnow, J. & Pateman, C. (eds.) *Women Social Science and Public Policy*, Sydney, George Allen & Unwin, 1985.
- 8 Patricia Grimshaw, Marliyn Lake, Ann McGrath and Marian Quartly, *Creating a Nation*, Ringwood, McPheee/Gribble, 1994.
- 9 Biddulph, p.4
- 10 Frank, Blye 'Straight/Strait Jackets for Masculinity: Educating for "Real" Men' *Atlantis*, 1992-1993, vol. 18, nos. 1 & 2, p.47-59.
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- Kenway, Jane (ed) 'Point and Counterpoint: Boys' Education in the Context of Gender reform,' *Curriculum Perspectives*, vol.17, no.1, April 1997, pp.57-78.
- 11 Rollo Browne & Richard Fletcher (eds) *Boys in Schools: Addressing the real issues; behaviour, values and relationships*, Sydney, Finch Publishing, 1995. This book is a series of articles on how teachers deal with boys in their classrooms.
- 12 Marsden, John *Secret men's business manhood.. the big gig*, Sydney, Pan Macmillan, 1998. A book written for boys addressing the problems of growing into manhood and identifying different pathways.

13 Biddulph *Manhood: A book about setting men*. Written for men about men that explores a number of issues such as relationships, violence and becoming a better man.

14 Steve Biddulph *Raising boys*, Sydney, Finch Publishing, 1997. A guide to dealing with boys growing up which is aimed at parents.

15 For instance see Connell 1995, David Tacey *Remaking men: the revolution in masculinity*, Ringwood, Penguin Books, 1997, and Terry Colling *Beyond Mateship: understanding Australian men* Australia, Simon and Schuster, 1992.

16 Peter West, *Fathers, Sons & Lovers: Men talk about their lives from the 1930s to today*, Sydney, Finch Publishing, Sydney, 1996. This book is based on interviews of men, women and boys who grew up or are growing up in Penrith, a working class suburb on the western fringe of Sydney. It mixes their words with the authors analysis.

17 Christine Williams, *Fathers & Sons: Australian men reveal their stories of this special relationship*, Sydney, Angus & Robertson, 1996. Consists entirely of interviews of eighteen Australian men from all different walks of life, although many are prominent public figures.

18 Townsend. This book is based on data from 350 men which included group discussions (four to fourteen in each), thirty individual interviews and questionnaires (over 200 of the 500 were returned). Strongly based around the words of the subjects which are used throughout.

19 Jan Bowen, *Men Talk.. fourteen Australian men talk about their lives, loves and Meetings after two decades offeminism*, Sydney, Angus & Robertson, 1996.

20 Some examples of current oral history work are as follows:

Jean BaiTnan 'Oh No! It would not be proper to discuss that with you': reflections on gender and the experience of childhood,' *Curriculum Inquiry*, vol. 24, no2, 1994, pp56-57. Discusses some of the authors experiences and issues about interviewing men. Julie Meleod and Lyn Yates "Can We Find Out About Girls and Boys Today-Or Must We Settle for Just Talking About Ourselves? Dilemmas of a Feminist, Qualitative, Longitudinal Research Project,' *Australian Educational Researcher*, vol.24, no.3, 1997, pp.23-42. Investigates the process of gender construction using interviews with students.

Christine Trimmingham Jack 'School History and Childhood: Myth and Metaphor,' *Childhood, Citizenship, Culture*. Collected Papers of the 26th Annual ANZHES Conference, Queensland University of Technology, vol. 1, July 1996, pp.263-287. Examines the lived school experience of students and its importance in understanding school history.

Dr. Terry Garvey 'Childhood, Citizenship and Masculinity' *Childhood, Citizenship, Culture*. Collected Papers of the 26th Annual ANZHES Conference, Queensland University of Technology, vol. 1, July 1996, pp. 165 -171. Based on interviews of twenty four men about the impact of their secondary schooling on their lives.

Jo May 'A new Frontier: Exploring Men's Oral Histories Of Selective Schooling In Newcastle, New South Wales, 1930s To 1950s.' Proceedings of the 27 th Annual ANZHES Conference, Newcastle University, November, 1997, pp.313-339.

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

22 Janet McCalman, *Journeyings: The Biography of a Middle- Class Generation 1920-1990*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1 993.

23 There have been two school histories written for PAC firstly, J.F. Ward, *Prince Alfred College: The Story of the First Eighty Years 1867-1948*, Adelaide, Gillinghwn & Co.Ltd., 195. 1, and more recently, R.M. Gibbs, *A History Of Prince Alfred College*, Adelaide, Peacock Publications 1984.

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24 R.C. Petersen, *History of educational Research: what it is and How to do it*, William Michael Press, 1992.

25 Interview with TY 01/07/97. Original tapes and copyright held by Leah Simons. Copies of tapes will also be held in Prince Alfred College archives.

26 Interview with ID 16/06/97

27 Interview with AP 12/06/97

28 Interview with NR 17/06/97

29 Interview with DG 27/06/97

30 Prince Alfred Chronicle, 1960-65

31 Interview with GS 28/07/97

32 Interview with NG 10/06/97

33 Interview with NG 10/06/97

34 Prince Alfred Chronicle, 1960-65, Mid-Year School Service

35 Prince Alfred Chronicle, 1960-65, Annual School Service

36 Interview with JK 19/06/97

37 Interview with BW 12/08/97

38 Interview with MJ 20/06/97

39 Interview with PP 30/06/97

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