

May Cox: Leading Swimming and Lifesaving Advocate and Patriotic Fundraiser, 1910–1938

Deborah Towns

Business, Work and Ageing Centre for Research
Swinburne University of Technology
John Street, Hawthorn VIC 3122
dtowns@swin.edu.au

Abstract: May Cox was a swimming teacher in government schools and a highly visible community leader in Victoria in the early twentieth century. As a result of her enterprise and organisational skills thousands of children learned swimming and lifesaving. Her patriotic leadership during World War I ensured that hundreds of pounds were raised by the Education Department of Victoria and countless soldiers' comforts were provided for the Australian Red Cross.

Keywords: May Cox, swimming, government schools, physical education, World War I, equal pay, Frank Beaurepaire

May Cox (1883–1953) was appointed Organiser of Swimming and Lifesaving in 1910, making her one of the first women teachers to work in the head office of the Victorian Education Department. In her lifetime Cox was recognised as a leader in the Victorian community. Therefore her name acted as a drawcard for the Red Cross's patriotic activities during World War I. In 1916 she was highlighted on a poster: 'Miss May Cox, Chief Lady Swimming Expert in Victoria', that advertised a 'Grand Annual Aquatic Carnival' as a fundraiser.¹ During her career she held two influential positions in Victoria. She was a swimming and lifesaving expert and managed the department's World War I patriotic activities where her promptitude ensured that the department was the leading government fundraiser.² The public record shows that she had a forceful and engaging personality. One such example was in 1921 when a poem written by grateful teachers described her as 'The Queen of all the hearts' and 'ready from dawn till eve to play the game'.³ This chapter recalls May Cox's inspirational leadership in the Victorian community before World War II.

May Cox began her career as a pupil teacher in 1898, aged sixteen, when she was appointed to Albert Park State School, a government school in a Melbourne seaside suburb. This school had outstanding student swimmers who included the future Olympians, Frank and Lily Beaurepaire. Cox was a strong swimmer, most probably because she was born near the sea in South Melbourne and encouraged to learn to swim as a child. She may have attended

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Albert Park or one of the other near-by state schools where both boys and girls were encouraged to swim. Notably, girls and women swimmers were provided with separate baths in South Melbourne and surrounding suburbs from the 1870s, including the famous Stubbs Ladies Baths and the segregated Emerald Hill Baths.⁴ Competitive swimming was organised by separate swimming clubs for men and boys and women and girls. The Albert Park Swimming and Lifesaving Club, established in the 1870s, was one of Victoria's first.

Significantly, in 1898, the year before Cox began teaching, every Victorian state school was encouraged by the Education Department to introduce state school swimming clubs.⁵ Albert Park State School immediately formed Victoria's first school-based swimming club.⁶ For many years from then onwards, Albert Park won the Victorian state school swimming championships. In 1905 May Cox coached the winning girls' team, which included Lily Beaurepaire; the winning boys' team had Frank Beaurepaire, who was then still a state school student aged fifteen.⁷ Cox's strong personality was on show when, aged twenty-two, she made an early appearance on the public record photographed for the event's commemorative postcard. Her strong determined face is juxtaposed with the Edwardian era's fashions in which she is dressed: a lightly coloured frilled and flounced dress, with her long hair piled up high.

The director of the Victorian Education Department, Frank Tate, and the Minister for Public Instruction, Arthur Schase, attended these swimming events and it can be assumed Cox was appointed to the pioneering position of 'Organiser of Swimming and Lifesaving' because she had demonstrated both swimming prowess and successful organising skills – and she stood out. Thus she became one of the first women teachers employed by the Education Department outside the classroom. Such non-teaching roles were generally a male preserve and Cox's achievement was claimed by the Victorian Lady Teachers' Association as a success for women.⁸ Cox established statewide instruction in swimming and lifesaving by quickly liaising with teachers throughout Victoria as well as the Victorian State Schools Swimming clubs, the Victorian Amateur Swimming clubs, the Victorian Ladies' Amateur Swimming clubs, the military personnel and city and regional councils. Her years at Albert Park State School gave her immediate *entrée* to the highest Victorian swimming networks, as among her teaching colleagues were some of the most influential men in the early history of Victorian swimming. They included F. Richardson – called the 'Father of Victorian swimming' by the Victorian Amateur Swimming Association's (VASA) historian, Henry Belfrage – and Major Sam Barclay, a 'pioneer of state school swimming', a cadet leader and an early secretary and long-standing member of the VASA.⁹

May Cox's work was given an impetus when swimming was included in the Commonwealth government's compulsory cadet training program for all Australian schoolboys and immediately grew in importance. As Australia's federal Parliament and the Australian military headquarters were based in Melbourne at that time, it was expected that the local Victorian schoolboys would be paid particular attention. From 1911, all boys aged twelve to fourteen were made junior cadets, which involved compulsory cadet training, including swimming and lifesaving.¹⁰ Victoria's state schools included nine grades, which were a preparatory year to year eight, so all boys in years seven and eight would spend part of their school time in cadet training. Physical education programs were based on military drill and supervised by the army until 1931. Teachers received training from army personnel and were encouraged to qualify in physical training drill, which included swimming.¹¹ Women teachers were included in the training as they were expected to drill the cadets in their single-teacher rural schools, of which there were hundreds scattered throughout rural Victoria.

Cox taught boys and girls and male and female teachers and supervised male staff. This made her work unique in this era when women supervising men was generally considered inappropriate. In her first year, Cox visited fifty metropolitan government schools to introduce the program, and instructed hundreds of students.¹² She quickly developed swimming and lifesaving programs and organised venues.¹³ Cox kept meticulous records of pupil numbers, venues and dates and wrote regular articles for the monthly *Education Gazette and Teachers' Aid* about swimming and lifesaving.¹⁴ She also instructed at the Melbourne Teachers' College and Melbourne High School.¹⁵ Segregated venues were used and included the open sea and baths at seaside suburbs and Geelong beaches, as well as the 'Surrey Dive' in Box Hill and the heated City Baths. Boys were usually taught in the rougher environments of the sea, the Yarra River and rivers in country towns including the Werribee River and the Murray River and its tributaries. Women and girls were instructed in swimming baths or missed out altogether in rural areas. Cox particularly advocated the importance of swimming for women.¹⁶ She encouraged local councils and the private lessees of the baths to provide opportunities for women to use the baths, and she later claimed that the number of women swimmers had increased because of her work. She also promoted the need for swimming pools throughout Victoria, helped councils and schools raise funds and advised on the building and hygienic maintenance of swimming pools, before the use of chlorine.

In 1911, a year after she had pioneered the statewide swimming and lifesaving programs, Frank Beaurepaire, her former pupil from Albert Park, joined her as co-organiser. Since his student years he had become a national and international swimming champion and had represented Australia at the

1908 Olympic Games.¹⁷ Cox and Beaurepaire shared the work, though for Beaurepaire's first six months he was Cox's trainee.¹⁸ At twenty years of age, he was a champion swimmer but had had no teaching experience. In 1911, by testing each other, they were the first swimmers to qualify for the Bronze Medallion for Swimming and Lifesaving in Victoria.¹⁹ Their work was considered vitally important to the Victorian community. The Minister of Education promoted their programs and the Railways Commission provided cheaper transport for 'teachers and scholars to travel to the seaside for swimming lessons'.²⁰ Their programs were promoted by the *Argus*, the *Geelong Advertiser* and other newspapers. Teachers who passed the swimming tests received a certificate recognised for promotion purposes.²¹ However, though the instruction was the same for both genders, the perceived outcomes were different. For boys and men it was preparation for the military and for girls and women it was for healthy motherhood. These differences were explained by educational historian Kate Whitehead and physical education historian Stephen Thorpe, who argued that the 'participation of women and girls' in physical education, including swimming, was 'under the discipline of a patriarchal gaze'.²²

Beaurepaire was paid a higher salary than Cox. Unequal pay was the government's policy in this era despite the radical equal pay claims made by Vida Goldstein and the Victorian Lady Teachers' Association since 1901. Cox displayed her feisty self-assurance and immediately explored possibilities for a salary increase. Her letters to George Morrison, the Public Service Commissioner, and Frank Tate described her 'pioneering work' and pointed out that Beaurepaire, eleven years younger, whom she had trained, was on a higher salary scale of £168 to £204 although they did the same work.²³ A new position was created for her with an increased salary, beginning at £156 and increasing incrementally to £192.²⁴ This was still less than Beaurepaire's salary and Cox's claims continued. She insisted that her work was of 'great national significance and value, especially to the state'.²⁵ By 1913 she had 'personally instructed over 10,000 pupils and in the swimming season of four months she instructed 500 teachers a week'.²⁶ She had assistants whom she had trained and supervised and there was also organisational and clerical work. Cox travelled throughout the state and often worked until 6.00 pm on summer evenings.²⁷ Her claims reflected pride in her career and her arguments were not based solely on equity; she also emphasised the patriotic and eugenic importance of her work. She called the teachers she trained 'missionaries': their 'gospel is cleanliness and healthful exercise and useful citizenship'.²⁸ Her further claims were ignored.

Ironically, from the beginning of World War I Cox's work increased without any additional salary. From 1914 to 1919, she combined her organiser's role with the management of the Education Department's patriotic

activities when she was appointed as honorary organising secretary of the Victorian State Schools Patriotic League (VSSPL). Cox and her staff supported the committee, chaired by the minister and the director of Education. This was a second statewide promotional, management and organising role for Cox and involved work at which she excelled. She had developed effective school networks, had a high community profile and had already worked with military personnel who would from now oversee the patriotic programs.

Her work was immediately refocused in the same way as it was for all Victorian government teachers who found that patriotic work consumed their daily activities.²⁹ For the duration of World War I, government schools followed the department's directives for making and collecting items for the war effort and in patriotic fundraising. Historian Les Blake described this period as one of 'feverish patriotism' throughout the department.³⁰ Cox was the only woman on the VSSPL's executive and she worked closely with the minister, Thomas Livingstone and the director, Tate.³¹ The VSSPL, through Cox and her staff, mobilised the state's two thousand technical, high, higher elementary and state schools to work for the war effort. During the war, around four hundred thousand 'comfort' articles, including 59,981 knitted socks, were provided by teachers and children.³² As well as this overwhelming contribution of articles from government schools, £422,470 was raised in funds.³³ Teachers believed their promotion marks were based on their patriotic work.³⁴

Victorian schoolchildren provided military necessities as well as comforts. They stitched sandbags for trench defence; packed food parcels; grew flowers and vegetables; gathered scrap materials, old clothes and waste paper; collected books and magazines and a 'host of other saleable items'; and wrote thousands of letters to soldiers.³⁵ Cox closely monitored each school's patriotic work. Every month from 1914 to 1919 about half the *Education Gazette and Teachers Aid*, the teachers' professional journal, was devoted to a monthly tally as each school was listed next to the amount it had raised.³⁶ Cox's monthly reports culminated in the most detailed chapter in the *Education Department's Record of Service Report*.³⁷ In this record the department glorified the lives of all the teachers who enlisted and included the significant role that women teachers played. Cox reported that the new Caulfield Military Hospital, with twelve wards of twenty-five patients each, was built with funds raised by Victorian state schools.³⁸

Cox's patriotic work was the statewide development and coordination of the department's diverse wartime patriotic program. It included overseeing the activities already described as well as other responsibilities, which included organising all government schoolteachers to pay 2.5 per cent of their salary into the war effort; many successful fundraisers including statewide physical

training displays by thousands of schools throughout the year, which culminated in December 1916 when ten thousand children performed to an audience of thirty thousand at the Melbourne Cricket Ground; and liaison with the Railways Commission and the Defence Department about more efficient ways to transport supplies to local hospitals and overseas soldiers. In 1916 she also arranged for government schools to hold fundraising concerts for the Red Cross and organised 'Christmas Remembrances to the hundreds of Soldier Teachers in Active Service' from schools.³⁹ Another of Cox's initiatives was the prolific Young Workers Patriotic Guild (YWPG), which at its height had 79,980 members. The YWPG members pledged themselves to earn funds for the war effort as well as make soldiers' comforts.

Cox also led the department's swimming and lifesaving program during this period and from 1915 she had even more to do. Beaurepaire had left the department and joined the Australian Military Forces. Every year, along with her many other activities, she organised the annual summer swimming school for two weeks in Queenscliff. She continued to travel the state. In early 1916 she was a special guest at the Natimuk Lake's swimming carnival.⁴⁰ The local paper, the *West Wimmera Mail*, described her as one of the 'heads of the Education Department' and claimed that because of her admiration for the Natimuk Lake, 'the Lake becomes known far and wide'.⁴¹ In 1918 Cox was credited by the Eaglehawk Council as the person 'instrumental in getting their swimming "Baths"'.⁴²

Understandably, Cox's pay claims gathered momentum. The director agreed she had pioneered the swimming and lifesaving program and that she instructed men as well as women. He recognised her responsibilities had increased and that she 'handled £300,000, the organising of the many activities associated with the raising and the allocating of the funds and the training of her assistants'.⁴³ According to the director, Cox 'has discharged her responsible duties in a highly efficient manner, facilitating the administration of the Department's large fund'.⁴⁴ He was particularly impressed with her financial management skills and described her as displaying a 'special business attitude'.⁴⁵ At last, in 1920, Cox's salary was upgraded to the range £180 to £204, which was what she had requested back in 1913. Her pay increase may have been supported by the Public Service Commissioner as she had dependents – her mother, her sister and a niece and a nephew – but it was most probably because of her impressive patriotic work.

The patriotic committee meetings that continued after the war had ceased by November 1918. Substantial funds were left and Cox continued as the executive secretary, being paid an additional honorarium of £50 per annum.⁴⁶ The committee eventually invested its proceeds of almost £100,000 to provide in three areas: an old age provident fund, a housing fund and a 'fund for the immediate relief of necessitous cases'.⁴⁷ Significantly, one of its post-World

War I funded programs receives regular attention today. This is the Villers-Bretonneux school in France, rebuilt with Victorian schoolchildren's patriotic funds, in memory of the Australian soldiers killed there. Frank Tate laid its foundation stone in 1923 and was awarded the Legion of Honour in 1927 for his World War I services to France.⁴⁸

After the war, Cox continued to advocate swimming and lifesaving with alacrity. Every month in the *Education Gazette and Teachers' Aid* she wrote instructive articles. The program of the 1921 summer swimming school is representative of the annual event. It was held for two weeks during teachers' holidays, with 110 self-funded intrastate participants. The range of organisations and networks Cox regularly worked with were represented. The Mayor of Queenscliff, the Minister of Public Instruction and the Director of Education attended for one day. An exhibition of swimming was held to raise funds for the local orphan program. There were fourteen male and female instructors and lecturers, including the well-known eugenicist Dr Harvey Sutton.⁴⁹ All participants received certificates of various grades, including the Bronze Medallion for Lifesaving. The annual summer school was the culmination of a year's work for Cox, who reported that her team in the previous year had conducted 1,084 swimming classes and 39,113 children were learning to swim or receiving coaching.⁵⁰ This summer school, however, gained more than the usual local media attention as the *Weekly Times* photographed the participating women teachers floating and the men practising lifesaving.⁵¹

In 1922, the Victorian Education Department celebrated its Golden Jubilee and the commemorative book featured the seventy men and nine women considered the department's leaders, beginning with the minister, Alexander Peacock. In 1922, Julia Flynn was the only woman inspector, as she had been since her appointment in 1914. Of the eight other women, two were teachers' college lecturers, two more were the organisers of domestic arts and needlework, and another two worked in physical education with Cox who taught swimming. The ninth was Dr Jane Greig, the chief medical officer. Significantly, Cox was singled out as the organiser of the Young Workers' Patriotic Guild who 'deserves special mention for her work in connexion with it, and for much other work during the war'.⁵²

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, Cox and Beaurepaire continued working together: he regularly provided swimming demonstrations even though he had left the department.⁵³ In 1920, Beaurepaire had again competed in the Olympics so he was a drawcard for encouraging people to learn to swim and to events to raise fund to build local pools.⁵⁴ He was also developing many other interests such as establishing in Melbourne the Beaurepaire tyre company – which today is a successful national company. He was Melbourne's mayor twice in the 1930s, was knighted in 1942 and was a

member of the Legislative Council in the Victorian Parliament for ten years. In 1929, Cox and Beaurepaire launched the *Herald and Weekly Times* newspaper's 'Learn to Swim Program' with a spectacular diving exhibition and swimming carnival in the Yarra River. It continues as a successful program in the twenty-first century.⁵⁵ In 1933, they co-authored a book that supported community swimming activities.⁵⁶

Cox continued to be held in high esteem by the state government and the community. In 1928 it was announced by 'Topsy Tell' in 'Ladies Page' of the *Public Service Journal*, that she 'bears up well under the heavy work' and 'Her cheerful personality is well known in the Service'.⁵⁷ In 1929 the Minister of Public Instruction, Henry Cohen, travelled to Queenscliff to visit her summer school and congratulated her on the program's success.⁵⁸ The national women's magazine the *Australian Women's Weekly* mentioned in 1933 that Cox was leaving Australia for a 'three month's health trip to China and Japan'.⁵⁹ The article noted that when she started twenty-six years ago, swimming was considered 'taboo' for some women but she had broken down prejudices and established swimming classes 'from the Murray to the sea'.⁶⁰ A large front page photograph of the *Sun News-Pictorial* in 1934 showed thirty men and women drilling and the caption read: 'Thousands of school children will benefit by the Education Department's swimming classes for men and women teachers, now being held at Queenscliff.'⁶¹ In 1936 Cox was loudly cheered as the 'swimming expert of the Education Department' at the opening of the new Eltham swimming pool.⁶² In the same year Manly Beach, New South Wales, was the site for one of Cox's last summer schools. Participants came from NSW and Victorian schools. The local mayor welcomed Cox and her staff, which included Jack Rossiter, later an assistant minister for Education from 1964 to 1970.

In 1938, as a single woman aged fifty-five, Cox gained her full superannuation benefits. She immediately retired. Her retirement party was promoted in 'The Life of Melbourne', the social pages of the *Argus*, to be held at the sophisticated Oriental Hotel at the 'Paris end' of Collins Street. A few weeks later, the party was described in more than one paper, when it was revealed community leaders attended and that Cox, wearing 'a graceful black velvet frock and a scarlet velvet cape', displayed her strong personality.⁶³ Rosalie Virtue, Supervisor of Physical Education, who had enjoyed a close working relationship with Cox for decades, contributed to the *Education Gazette and Teachers' Aid* a review of Cox's long career.⁶⁴ Virtue observed: 'Needless to say we learned to swim – with such an instructor as May Cox failure was impossible' and 'the wonderful success of the schools' war work was to a great extent due to Cox's efficiency and to her ability to infect others with her enthusiasm'.⁶⁵ About Cox's leadership, she insisted: 'Town and

country schools all felt the inspiration of a leader who could suggest and successfully carry out so many methods of providing assistance.’⁶⁶

Intriguingly, only a few months after retirement Cox married a widower, Arthur Lloyd, in Melbourne’s society church, St John’s Anglican Church, Toorak. Marriage for women teachers at this time was problematic – as it had been for many years and would be for decades more. Women teachers had to resign upon marriage, because married women could not be employed in permanent jobs in the public service. Women like May Cox may have decided to keep their jobs rather than marry. Cox, along with other single women teachers supported dependents with her salary, which she would have lost if she married. However, women were creative about how they lived their single or married lives. Some were known to retain a single legal status but lived with men rather than lose their well-paid senior jobs and the superannuation that was denied to married women. Others changed their surname by deed poll to have the same name as their male partner and pretended to be siblings. Others married secretly and kept their maiden names. There were others who, like May Cox, married a lover when they gained their full superannuation benefits upon retirement.⁶⁷

The unique position of Organiser of Swimming and Life Saving that Cox creatively dominated from 1910 to 1938 ceased when she retired. Major publications about the Education Department’s war relief program gave Cox singular credit. She was highlighted in *How We Raised the First One Hundred Thousand* as an ‘energetic lady, a teacher and an organiser’.⁶⁸ In the *Victorian Education Department’s Record of War Service* her significant role was discussed. When Frank Tate was interviewed in 1921 in relation to the department’s patriotic program, he stated that there were many workers in the cause but his pick for ‘high commendation’ was the ‘splendid service given by Miss May Cox’.⁶⁹

As May Lloyd, she lived for fifteen years in Mosman, a seaside suburb of Sydney. Neither public nor personal records have revealed what she did during this time. Her will provided evidence of substantial shares in BHP and other assets, so it can be assumed she lived well. She perhaps continued to swim as she was near the sea and she appeared very fit in her wedding photograph, aged fifty-five. She may also have continued to travel. Sadly, she died aged seventy after a very painful and drawn-out illness due to cancer. In her last months May retained her fighting spirit and tried all sorts of medical and other remedies for her painful disease.⁷⁰ She maintained interest in her sister’s family, despite her serious illness and insisted that her great nephew, Ray Syvertsen, and his wife, Dorothea, come up from Melbourne so she could see her new great-great nephew, Chris. Dorothea, a nurse, gave May Lloyd morphine in the last few months of her life and recalled that she had a forceful personality and was a ‘fighter’.⁷¹

This snapshot of Cox's career highlights an important contribution to Australia's history and not only because women with sports careers in the early twentieth century is a 'little researched area'.⁷² I suggest that Cox's career was overlooked because of the reputation of her two male colleagues, the formidable Sir Frank Beaurepaire and Frank Tate, the highly esteemed first Director of Education in Victoria. Neither of these men's biographies mentions Cox despite their ongoing joint ventures. May Cox's influential leadership within a gendered department supports Petra Munro's contention that 'women teachers have not simply been acted upon but they have negotiated, resisted and created meanings of their own'.⁷³ Though she did not have a senior role when compared to senior men within the Education Department, and she received no public awards, May Cox was recognised as a leader in the Victorian community at a time when few women were.

¹ Poster, 31 January 1916, in John McDonald, *The First 100: A Century of Swimming in Victoria* (Melbourne: Swimming Victoria, 1993), 23.

² Age, quoted in *Education Gazette and Teachers' Aid* 18, no. 8 (August 1918): 249.

³ 'BUZ', 'The Pack of Cards' in *Memoirs of Teachers' Summer Swimming School*, ed. George Kent (Geelong: Mercer & Co., 1921), 8.

⁴ H.E. Belfrage, *Victorian Amateur Swimming Association, Brief History 1893–1968* (Melbourne: Victorian Amateur Swimming Association, 1968).

⁵ *School Paper, Grades V and VI* (Melbourne: Education Department of Victoria, 1898), 56.

⁶ May Cox, Supervisor of School Swimming, 'Swimming', *Education Gazette and Teachers Aid* 22, no. 7 (18 July 1922): 139.

⁷ 'Albert Park State School Swimming Club, Boys' Championship Team and Girls' Championship Team, 1905–06', Postcards 1905–06, Picture Collection, State Library of Victoria, Melbourne.

⁸ *Annual Report of the Victorian Lady Teachers' Association* (VLTA), 1910, 2. Copies held by the author.

⁹ See Belfrage for Richardson; for Barclay see Janet Walsh and Ian Spalding (eds), *Albert Park PS 1181, Centenary, 1873–1973* (Melbourne: Ascot Press, 1973), 18.

¹⁰ *Argus* (Melbourne), 4 March 1911.

¹¹ *Education Gazette and Teachers' Aid* 11, no. 8 (August 1911): 189.

¹² May Cox, Letter to the Public Service Commissioner, 12 February 1914, Special Case File no.1176, VPRS 5675, Education Department records, Public Records Office of Victoria, Melbourne.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ *Education Gazette and Teachers' Aid*, 1910–1938, provide regular reports and articles about May Cox's work.

¹⁵ May Cox, Letter to the Public Service Commissioner, 12 February 1914, Special Case File no.1176, VPRS 5675, Education Department records.

¹⁶ Ibid.

- ¹⁷ J.R. Poynter, Sir Francis Joseph Edmund (Frank) Beaurepaire, (1891–1956), <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A070234b.htm> (accessed October 2011).
- ¹⁸ May Cox, Letter to the Public Service Commissioner, 12 February 1914, Special Case File no.1176, VPRS 5675, Education Department records.
- ¹⁹ May Cox, Teaching Record no. 14235; Frederick H. Morley and Clifford J. White, 'Book Eight: Special Services'; Blake, 991.
- ²⁰ *Education Gazette and Teachers' Aid* 11, no.11 (November 1911): 181.
- ²¹ Ibid.
- ²² Kay Whitehead and Stephen Thorpe, 'The Problematic Place of Woman Physical Education Instructor: An Historical Case Study', *Gender and Education* 16, no. 1 (March 2004): 85.
- ²³ May Cox, letter to Frank Tate, 15 October, 1913, Special Case File, no.1176, VPRS 5675, Education Department records.
- ²⁴ Ibid.
- ²⁵ May Cox, letter to the Public Service Commissioner, 27 October 1913, Special Case File no.1176, VPRS 5675, Education Department records.
- ²⁶ Ibid.
- ²⁷ Ibid.
- ²⁸ Cox, 'Swimming', 140.
- ²⁹ 'Women Teachers' Pay', *Argus* (Melbourne), 17 August 1918, 16.
- ³⁰ O.S. Green and L.J. Blake, 'Book Ten: The Teacher and the Community', in L.J. Blake (ed.), *Vision and Realisation, A Centenary History of State Education in Victoria* vol.1 (Melbourne: Education Department of Victoria, 1973), 1288.
- ³¹ There were four ministers of Public Instruction during World War I, beginning with Thomas Livingston (1914–1915), who was followed by Sir Harry Lawson (1915–1917), Matthew Baird (1917–1918) and William Hutchinson (1918–1920).
- ³² Charles R. Long (ed.), *The Victorian Education Department's Record of War Service, 1914–1919* (Melbourne: Education Department of Victoria, Government Printer, 1906), 112
- ³³ Ibid.
- ³⁴ 'Anon', letter to the editor, *Public Service Journal* 3, no. 5 (May 1917): 6.
- ³⁵ Brian McKinlay (ed.), *Young Anzacs: The Contribution of Victorian Schools to the Gallipoli Campaign, 1915* (Melbourne: Ministry of Education, 1990), 8.
- ³⁶ *Education Gazette and Teachers' Aid* 14–18 (August 1914 to December 1918).
- ³⁷ Long, 43–50.
- ³⁸ Ibid.
- ³⁹ Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee, Minute Books of the Executive Committee of the Victorian State Schools Patriotic League, VPRS 14009/P0001/0000001, Education Department records 1914 to 1919, Public Record Office of Victoria.
- ⁴⁰ *West Wimmera Mail* (Mildura), 18 February 1916, 2.
- ⁴¹ Ibid.
- ⁴² Eaglehawk Council Minutes, 'Notes on Lake Neanger' compiled by Noeline and Ian Wild, in 'Canterbury Park/Lake Neangar precinct, Eaglehawk, City of Greater Bendigo Conservation Management Plan 2008, 246,

http://www.bendigo.vic.gov.au/Files/Canterbury_Gardens_Lake_Neangar_CMP_Main_Report_Part2.pdf (accessed 10 December 2011).

⁴³ Frank Tate, Memorandum to the Public Service Commissioner, 10 February 1919, Special Case File no.1176, VPRS 5675, Education Department records.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Memorandum, Frank Tate, 1 December 1919, Special Case File no.1176, VPRS 5675, Education Department records.

⁴⁷ *Education Gazette and Teachers Aid* 28, no. 7 (July 1928): 63.

⁴⁸ R.J.W. Selleck, *Frank Tate, A Biography* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1982), 254.

⁴⁹ *Education Gazette and Teachers' Aid* 21, no. 2 (18 February 1921): 31.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ *Weekly Times*, January 1921, 7.

⁵² Edward Sweetman, Charles Long and John Smyth, *A History of State Education in Victoria*, (Melbourne: Critchly Parker, 1922), 133.

⁵³ Cox, 'Swimming and Life-Saving', 167.

⁵⁴ Graeme Lomas, *The Will to Win: The Story of Sir Frank Beaurepaire* (London: Heinemann, 1960), 124.

⁵⁵ Vicswim continued the program from the 1970s, <http://www.vicswim.com>.

⁵⁶ Frank Beaurepaire and May Cox, *Swimming Hints for Instructors* (Melbourne: Herald and Weekly Times Ltd, 1933).

⁵⁷ 'Topsy Tell' (ed.), 'The Ladies' Page', *Public Service Journal of Victoria* (July 1928): 55.

⁵⁸ 'Summer Schools, 1929: The Swimmers', *Education Gazette and Teachers Aid* 29, no. 2 (February 1929): 50.

⁵⁹ *Australian Women's Weekly*, 13 June 1933, 21.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ *Sun News Pictorial* (Melbourne), 12 January 1934, 1. For alerting me to this photograph I am indebted to Bendigo education historian, Geoff Pryor.

⁶² *Advertiser* (Hurstbridge), 24 December 1936, 1.

⁶³ 'Swimming Organiser Honoured', *Argus* (Melbourne), 16 July 1938, 7.

⁶⁴ *Education Gazette and Teachers' Aid* 38, no. 7 (July 1938): 98.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ These stories of strategies used by women teachers were confirmed by Betty Lawson. Betty Lawson, interviewed by the author, Toorak, November, 2007, in Deborah Towns, "'Our Own Sphere': Women Teachers and the Victorian Education Department, 1880s–1980s" (PhD thesis, La Trobe University, 2010), 221.

⁶⁸ Gilbert Wallace, *How We Raised the First Hundred Thousand: An Account of Two Years' Work (1915-1916) for the Education Department's War Relief Fund, Victoria* (Melbourne: Victorian Education Department, 1916), 10

⁶⁹ *Argus*, 15 October 1921, 3.

⁷⁰ Telephone interview with Ray and Dorothea Syvertsen, May Lloyd's great-nephew and his wife, who live in Queensland, June 2012.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Kay Whitehead and Stephen Thorpe, 'The Problematic Place of a Woman Physical Education Instructor: An Historical Case Study', *Gender and Education* 16, no. 1 (March 2004): 77.

⁷³ Petra Munro, *Subject to Fiction: Women Teachers' Life History Narratives and the Cultural Politics of Resistance* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1998), 4.