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**The Central Board of Education
South Australia, 1852 - 1875.**

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requirements for the degree of Master of Education.**

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ABSTRACT

The development of education in South Australia between 1852 and 1875 was closely interwoven with the structure and dynamics of colonial society. Class, gender, religion and the demographic features of the colony shaped the patterns of social organization, culture and behaviour. They generated a wide range of 'social problems' which were defined differently by colonists according to their positions in the social structure. They also allowed differential access to the various institutional means by which those 'problems' could be dealt with, especially the state.

The educational aspirations, options and choices of parents were constrained by their social backgrounds and the conditions under which they lived. Consequently, there was a wide diversity of educational practices in the colony. The leaders of colonial society and of local communities believed that education could help secure the social order they desired by imparting morality and discipline to working class and small farmers' children. However, they believed that only schools characterized by trained teachers, the organization of pupils into classes, and a planned curriculum could fulfil that function efficiently. In 1851, colonial leaders used their dominance of the newly elected Legislative Council to pass an Education Act to support such schools. The strategy embodied

in the Act reflected both their concern to restrict state expenditure in economically unproductive areas and their ideological commitment to the autonomy and responsibility of the family in education. It provided limited financial assistance to 'good' schools but left the initiative to establish and utilize schools in private hands.

Control over the implementation of the Act was firmly entrenched in the hands of the leaders of the colony. The administrative structure was located within the state. The government retained the power to establish and control the limits within which it operated, principally through its power to regulate funding and to appoint the members of the administrative Board. Within the limits set by governments, the Board enjoyed considerable autonomy and devised a range of policies consistent with the aims embodied in the Act. The implementation of these policies was the responsibility of the permanent officers of the civil service department of education. Once basic procedures were established these officers enjoyed substantial autonomy in managing the growing education system. This three tiered structure meant that the implementation of the Act according to the strategies formulated in 1851 was strongly resistant to pressures from either 'public opinion' or temporary changes in government policies, such as those of the 1860-1861 Reynolds government.

The Board and its officers faced a large number of problems in implementing the Act. Financial limitations undermined key strategies for encouraging 'good' schools and transforming 'inferior' ones. Trained teachers, crucial to the 'good' schools, sought clients from the secure, respectable sectors of the society. The working class and small farmers patronized untrained teachers, whose methods were more closely attuned to the rhythms and constraints of their lives. If the Board supported only trained teachers, therefore, it failed to provide for its intended clients, while if it supported schools amongst the poor, it found it difficult to enforce 'standards'. It devised a range of administrative solutions to these problems within the limits of the Act, but by the late 1860s it consistently argued that it needed more money and more powers.

Social changes, evident from the late 1860s, generated new social problems, a shift in the balance of political power and a transformation of the dominant ideology. This new ideology focussed on the new problems, redefined old ones and indicated new strategies for dealing with both. In education, the promoters of the new ideology concentrated on the problem of unschooled urban 'street children' and the standards of many of the working class and rural schools. They demanded far greater control over the process of teaching, and compulsory

attendance. In 1874 they radically reshaped the administrative structure and by the following year enjoyed sufficient political power to pass a new Education Act.

Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university and, to the best of the author's knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person, except when due reference is made in the text.

Malcolm J. Vick.

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Abbreviations

<u>Advertiser</u>	South Australian Advertiser.
Minutes	Central Board of Education, Minutes.
<u>Register</u>	South Australian Register.
SAA	South Australian Archives.
<u>S.A.G.G.</u>	South Australian Government Gazette.
<u>S.A.P.D.</u>	South Australian Parliamentary Debates.
<u>S.A.P.P.</u>	South Australian Parliamentary Papers.

Introduction

This thesis is an exploration of the formation of policies and the development of administrative processes and machinery for state intervention in education in South Australia during the third quarter of the nineteenth century. The immediate questions it addresses concern why the Central Board of Education was established, how it operated as it did, and why it was replaced in 1875. It approaches these issues in order to throw light on the more general question of the relationship between education and the social order in the colony. It only examines one aspect of this problem: the way in which the prevailing structure of social relations shaped the development of education rather than the way that education then affected the society. In referring to 'colonial society', I have confined myself to the society of the white colonists; the relations between Aborigines and the new settlers was not an important source of the tensions which helped produce the 1851 Education Act, and the Act was not intended to apply to them. A satisfactory treatment of the implications of white settlement for Aboriginal education requires - and deserves - a fuller treatment than would have been possible here.

In the main accounts of South Australian schooling, especially those of Pike and Saunders, the 1851 Education

Act is usually seen as a compromise, a partial step towards a system of public education vitiated by religious difficulties and the associated issue of 'voluntaryism'¹. The machinery established to administer the Act is regarded as inadequate and lacking in power, while its personnel are portrayed as inept, inexperienced and devoid of any coherent policy. These problems were compounded by parliamentary parsimony and parental apathy and the system failed miserably to meet the colony's needs. By 1875, the argument continues, the need for a better system had become so obvious that the churches subordinated their sectional interests to the welfare of the colony as a whole, while voluntaryist arguments lost their strength. The way was clear for progressive liberal reform and the 1875 and 1878 Education Acts established a new system.

According to these accounts these Acts were the result of a broad consensus and were free of the debilitating compromises which characterized their predecessor. The administrative machinery was restructured as a ministerial department with a permanent, full-time head and furnished with much more comprehensive powers. The personnel, especially the new head, were also more professionally qualified and adopted high standards, a clear sense of direction and far-sighted policies. The result was a far more complete, well-coordinated and successful system of public elementary education. The system under the 1851 Act thus appears as

a precursor of 'real' public education rather than a system to be considered and explained in terms of its viability as part of the structure of colonial society as it was forming in the 1850s and 1860s.

I argue that this view is fundamentally in need of revision. I contend that the 1851 Act was the result of particular social conditions and an ideology which explained them in terms which closely reflected the interests of the colony's dominant class. This ideology defined specific functions for education, formulated a model of schooling capable of fulfilling those functions, and stipulated the limits of legitimate state action in support of such education. The 1851 Act embodied a well articulated plan for educational development which colonial leaders expected to meet the society's needs as they saw them. This strategy required the state to provide limited financial support for private educational initiative, especially among the urban poor and rural settlers, while making such assistance available only to schools which conformed to its model of good education. The machinery established was consistent with other aspects of the state's administrative apparatus, the model of how the state should act and the educational goals of the Act. The personnel administering the system were far from inept or lacking in direction, but were chosen from the colony's leading

social, political and business circles and were firmly committed to the strategies embodied in the Act.

In practice one particularly significant tension built into the Act became apparent: the conditions under which the poorer and rural sectors of the society lived militated against their acceptance of the sorts of schools the Act was intended to support and where they did patronise them, they did so in ways which undermined their efficiency. Frequent depressions, parliamentary financial priorities and social changes exacerbated the problems thus generated. The Board and its officers devised a range of administrative responses to deal with these problems within the general strategy of the Act, but by the late 1860s it was widely agreed that the system was failing. Supporters of the 1851 strategy argued that more money and some form of compulsory attendance would make the system viable, but their political dominance was successfully challenged by a newly powerful social group with a different model of educational development. The outcome was the new system established by the 1875 and 1878 Acts.

This difference in interpretation is not simply an empirical one - the result of new sources and evidence forcing a reinterpretation of existing material, or filling previously

unexplored areas, although it involves both of these processes. More importantly, it reflects a basic difference in the ways the society and its dynamics are conceptualized. The major accounts in which the prevailing interpretation is articulated share a number of important, although usually unstated, assumptions about the way nineteenth century South Australian society functioned. Characteristically they conceptualize it as a functional whole embodying fundamental common interests. Educational developments, such as those represented by the 1851 and 1875 Education Acts appear as good and necessary for the whole society. Conflicting sectional interests are recognized and at times even stressed, but they are seen as obstacles which had to be overcome to secure the progress of the colony as a whole. The democratic state is seen as the means by which this common interest could be secured. The fact that the institutions of the state were dominated by the 'middle classes' is readily recognized, along with the consequence that some legislation blatantly favoured sectional interests above the common good. Generally, however, government appears responsive to 'public opinion', while administration, where it appears at all, is the politically neutral means of implementing policy. Legislative change, in this view, has its origins in the realm of public debate with the development of new and better ideas often, of course, in response to changed social conditions².

In contrast to this, I argue that conflict was both endemic and fundamental to the society as different groups within it sought to establish, maintain and reproduce patterns of social relations favourable to their own interests. Conflicts were generated along many lines of the social structure including those of gender, religion, ethnicity and region, but the most significant source lay in the economic sphere. Firstly, the organization of production around the relationship of employer employee generated two classes, the bourgeoisie and the working class, with fundamentally opposed interests. The former sought to maximise production and minimise costs, while the latter sought the best (largest and most secure) income under the best conditions. Secondly, different sectors of the economy vied for favourable positions in the market while individual enterprises in the same sector competed against each other. This market competition not only involved employers and employees, but 'independent' producers and traders whose small capital enabled them to work for themselves rather than for an employer, but who employed little or no labour. This group, the petty-bourgeoisie, included such people as shopkeepers and the numerous and extremely important small farmers.

In part the forms these conflicts took were shaped within the sphere of the economy itself. The size of the work-group and the organization of the production process, the supply and organization of labour generally, the state of the market and such factors

as drought and crop disease affected both the intensity of conflict and the ways in which it was perceived and conducted. Equally important were broader social factors including politics, institutions and other forms of social organization which cut across class boundaries, such as religion and region, and a wide range of cultural practices and expectations. Such influences did not simply flow one way as the relations of class also affected the broad shape of social life and many institutions drew heavily on members of a specific class and reflected their concerns. In this view, social change was part of the process of identifiable groups within the society manoeuvring against each other³.

The role of the state in these processes was critical. It attempted to appear politically neutral, to stand outside all sectional interests and, indeed, to represent the society as a whole. To some extent it actually provided a dimension of social organization and identification which transcended class and other lines. However, as an employer of labour it shared the interests of capital. Moreover, it was dominated by members of the capitalist class and it was dependent on the 'health' of the economy. Therefore it participated in class conflict, entering on the side of capital. It serviced and organized capital and sought to maintain social relations which were harmonious and conducive to efficient production free

from disruption. In performing these roles it was compelled to strike a balance between the costs of maintaining social harmony and the expenses of both production and the organization of capital. The specific choices it made in allocating its resources were determined by an interplay between three major elements: direct manipulation by specific groups and interests, the constraints of the society itself including the prevailing state of class relations, and its own internal structures and mechanisms⁴.

This view of South Australian society, developed in chapter one, provides the context within which I locate and examine the Central Board of Education. In chapter two I show that colonists supported a wide range of forms of schooling adapted to different means and ends. These schools and the purposes for which they existed were differentiated by class, gender, religion, ethnicity and region. The dominant class ascribed to education the function of helping develop an orderly, politically stable and harmonious society and argued that only schools which organized their pupils into graded classes, adopted a planned curriculum and strictly subordinated pupils to the authority of the teachers could provide efficient means to that end. Since large sectors of the urban working class and rural society supported other forms of school better adapted to their

needs and means, colonial leaders called on the state to promote 'efficient' schools among them. The mode of state intervention was shaped by bourgeois needs for the state to reserve most of its resources for economic development and by an ideology which defined education as a private matter. The 1851 Education Act provided limited state assistance to, and regulation of, private initiatives in education which it was expected would lead working class and rural parents to provide 'proper' education for their children.

The third chapter is concerned with the structures of the state and their constraining influence on the Board's administration. I examine the Board's relationship with the government and the legislature, on the one hand, and the officers of the growing education department, on the other. I argue that the government and parliament determined the broad limits within which the Board could work through the control of legislation, finance and appointment of personnel. In particular, financial restrictions severely restricted the Board's scope of action. Within these boundaries, the Board enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy and, despite rhetoric about responsible government, it was rarely called to account except on financial matters. Within the department, the Board formally controlled the development of policies while the small professional staff took responsibility for devising administrative procedures for implementing them. While the relations

between the Board and its officers were never defined, the Chief Inspector and the Secretary enjoyed substantial independence and initiative, and with the growth of the system and the generation of a body of routine procedures they took effective control of the department. This structure of power made it difficult for the Board to translate subsequent new directions in policy into practice.

Chapter four examines the administrative procedures the Board developed and the ways it was forced to modify them by the responses of teachers and communities. The initial procedures were designed to allow the Board to choose between what it saw as good schools and bad schools or, where no such choice was possible, to regulate and exert leverage on such schools as did exist. Initially, it was well funded and it was increasingly able to support 'good' schools and transform 'inferior' ones. At this early stage the general strategies of the Act appeared successful, but as early as 1855 the Board began to recognize patterns of failure and non-acceptance of the sort of schools it wished to encourage. I argue that while this was due to the fact that these schools were ill-adapted to the needs and means of the poorer sectors of the society, the Board's ideology led it to see problem in terms of 'ignorance' and 'apathy'. Its answer to these difficulties was to tighten its regulation of 'inferior' schools

and appeal to 'men of influence' to encourage support for 'good' schools in their districts. Restrictions in funding and staffing undermined these approaches and weakened the Board's capacity to support existing 'good' schools, force improvements to 'inferior' ones, or support the development of schools in new areas. Consequently, it appealed for more money and powers to improve its effectiveness.

The final chapter looks at the demise of the Board and the department as they had developed since 1852 and the formation of a new system. I argue that this was part of a more general process which involved significant changes in the structure of social relations in the colony as a whole. I identify the existence of an alternative strategy for educational development, trace its growing coherence from the late 1850s, examine the different social bases for these competing ideologies and suggest that support for the 'new' ideology was increasingly well organized and gaining in political strength through the 1860s. At the same time the Board's system was under pressure and new social problems were being generated, defined and allocated to education. By the 1870s the evident need for some form of change detached some support from the existing system, and a shift in the balance of political power enabled the supporters of the new strategy to carry their reform.

While this interpretation differs significantly from the standard accounts, it has affinities with recent contributions to the debate on comparable developments in both Britain and North America. Firstly, such studies show the importance of class in shaping educational developments. In both countries the bourgeoisie attempted to use its political and social power to impose a particular form of schooling on the working class in order to secure some form of 'social control'. They also show that the working class developed a range of alternative forms of schooling and that their rejection of bourgeois forms of schooling represented a rational response to the circumstances under which they lived, rather than ignorance or apathy. There was no single, common interest across all sections of society, at least in the field of education⁵. Secondly, studies of government and administration have shown some of the ways in which the structure of relations between government and administration on the one hand, and within the administration, on the other, shaped the extent to which defined goals could be attained. Furthermore, they have suggested ways in which those structures were themselves shaped by political conflicts⁶.

In analysing the history of the Board, its administration and its relation to colonial society I have drawn on a number of primary sources. The manuscript records of the Board comprise two main items: the official Minutes books, and the letters the Board

received about District Schoolhouses. The Minutes books provide detailed information about the business transacted which makes it possible to examine administrative procedures and decision making criteria. They also show the frequency of Board meetings and attendance at them and provide the means to assess the respective roles of the Board and its administrative officers. The files on District Schoolhouses include many letters from District Councils and school committees requesting information, contesting the Board's decisions or enlisting its support in local conflicts. The Trust Deeds, which are also included, show who controlled the local schools. Both these sources cast considerable light on the problems the Board faced and the ways it dealt with them. The files of the Colonial/Chief Secretary's Office contain much of the correspondence between the government and the Board, and permit a close analysis of their relationship. Unfortunately, other important manuscript records have proved untraceable : other correspondence files, licence applications, attendance returns and the detailed notes of the Inspectors' visits to schools. The most important published primary sources for examining the Board, the education department and the developing education system are the Reports of the Board and the Chief Inspector. They provide valuable information on the problems faced, the strategies adopted and the successes and failures of state intervention in education. They include selected statistical records, including the number of teachers, schools and pupils. These sources, however, must not be

used uncritically. They were the Board's major means of self-promotion and were thus calculated to throw a good light on its affairs. Moreover, the basis of many of the statistics is unclear, while the statistics themselves are far from comprehensive or accurate. Other published primary sources used include the Parliamentary Debates, Parliamentary Papers, the Government Gazettes and the colonial newspapers, particularly the Register.

I have also drawn heavily on the work of a number of earlier historians. While there is no major, general social history of South Australia covering the period, Pike has dealt extensively with the years to 1857 and Hirst has provided the fullest account of colonial society after about 1870⁷. Hawker's study of the civil service, while concerned mainly with the development of career conditions, devotes considerable attention to the internal structure of government and administration⁸. Economic history still depends largely on the pioneering work of Coghlan, supplemented by an important article by Richards⁹. A number of local histories provide valuable material on aspects of social life, such as work, leisure and social organization at a regional level. The majority of works are male oriented, however, and there is little systematic treatment of women, children or family life¹⁰.

An early entry in the Minutes book of the Board reads : "the

different problems connected with the working of the Act was (sic) again fully discussed"¹¹. The details of that discussion, however, were not entered. I have sought to use the sources available to analyse and to understand those problems and the many attempts to solve them.

Notes and References

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D. Pike, Paradise of Dissent: South Australia 1829-1857, (second edition, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1967).

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A partial departure from this interpretation is found in R.M. Gouttman, "The Relationship between Politics and Education in South Australia, 1834-1875", (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1979). J.B. Hirst, Adelaide and the Country, 1870-1917; Their Social and Political Relationship, (Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1973), pp. 135-143 also takes a much less pessimistic view of the system and of local involvement in particular.

2. It is interesting to note that these assumptions are remarkably close to those of the colonial bourgeoisie who provide most of the historians' sources: see J.H. Swanson, "Conflict and Consent: South Australia, 1859-1862", (unpublished B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1972). Gouttman, ibid. explicitly adopts a model which rejects these assumptions.

3. For a rationale for this approach to social structure, see I. Balbus, "Ruling Elite Theory vs. Marxist Class Analysis", Monthly Review, volume 23, no.1 (1971); P. Cook, "The Uses of Marxist Theory in the History of Education: a critique of some contributions", (Paper read to the ANZHES Conference, Melbourne, 1979); J. Stolzman and H. Gamberg, "Marxist Class Analysis vs. Stratification Analysis as General Approaches to Social Inequality", Berkeley Journal of Sociology, volume 18, (1973-1974); E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, (new edition, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1980), pp. 8-12.

For a general application of the approach to Australian history, see R.W. Connell and T.H. Irving, Class Structure in Australian History: Documents, Narrative and Argument, (Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1980). Some problems in this approach are discussed in S. Macintyre, "The Making of the Australian Working Class", Historical Studies, volume 18, no.71 (1978).

4. This conceptualization of the state draws heavily on work developed and summarized in G.E. Andersen, R. Friedland and E.O. Wright, "Modes of Class Struggle and the Capitalist State", Kapitalistate, nos.4 & 5, (1976); D.A. Gold, C.Y.H. Lo, and E.O. Wright, "Recent Developments in Marxist Theories of the Capitalist State", Monthly Review, volume 27 nos.5 & 6, (1975). See also R.W. Connell and T.H. Irving, ibid, ch. 1 & 3.

5. S. Bowles and H. Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America, (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1976).

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T.W. Laqueur, "Working-Class Demand and the Growth of English Elementary Education, 1750-1850", in L. Stone (ed.), Schooling and Society : Studies in the History of Education, (John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1976).

6. S.E. Finer, "The Transmission of Benthamite Ideas, 1820-1850", in G. Sutherland (ed.), Studies in the Growth of Nineteenth Century Government, (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1972).

R. Johnson, "Administrators in Education before 1870 : patronage, social position and role", ibid.

G. Sutherland, "Administrators in Education after 1870 : patronage, professionalism and expertise", ibid.

7. J.B. Hirst, Adelaide and the Country.

D. Pike, Paradise of Dissent.

8. G.N. Hawker, "The Development of the South Australian Civil Service, 1836-1916", (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University, 1967).

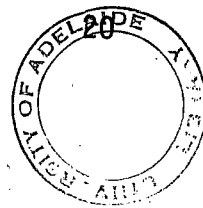
9. T.A. Coghlan, Labour and Industry in Australia, volumes 2 & 3, (1918, reprinted Macmillan, Melbourne, 1969).

E.S. Richards, "The Genesis of Secondary Industry in the South Australian Economy to 1876", Australian Economic History Review, volume 15 no. 2, (1975).

10. Particularly useful examples include I. Auhl, From Settlement to City : A History of the District of Tea Tree Gully, 1836-1976, (Lynton Publications, Blackwood, South Australia, 1976); S. Marsden, A History of Woodville, (Corporation of the City of Woodville, Woodville, South Australia, 1977); K. Wimshurst, "Nineteenth Century Hindmarsh", (unpublished B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1971).

11. On women, see P. Baker, "Position of Women in South Australia, 1836-1876", (unpublished B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1977) and S.L. Campbell, "Women and the Law : South Australia, 1836-1936", (unpublished B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1976).

12. Minutes, 40 (1852).



Chapter One

The Structure of Colonial Life c. 1851

South Australia was conceived in England as an experiment in 'systematic colonization'. It was a capitalist venture with certain basic features carefully planned and controlled; in particular the balance between land, capital and labour was to be closely regulated. Its supporters were largely smaller English capitalists and professional men, many of them religious dissenters, who suffered social and political disadvantages and limited opportunities to employ their capital and skills profitably. In keeping with their perceived needs, the colony was to be politically self-governing and economically self-supporting as soon as possible, and to embody the principle of separation of church and state. Within five years of foundation the colony was in the depths of a depression which threatened its survival. By 1851 the crisis was well past and survival seemed assured, although the shape of the colony no longer conformed closely to the original plans. Government was divided between the Crown and the colonists but the Crown retained the lion's share of the power, the state had established links with the churches, and there had been marked departures from the scheme for controlling the balance between land, capital and labour¹.

The economic survival of the colony was principally dependent on three primary products - wool, wheat and copper.

Supplemented by other primary products they supported a wide range of other economic activities in the form of local production and the import of goods and capital. Building trades flourished, a wide range of crafts and trades manufactured items ranging from boots and soap to agricultural implements and milling equipment, and a number of ventures developed connected with the processing and marketing of both primary and secondary products. Finally, there developed a range of economic 'services' such as banks, insurance companies, surveyors and land agents, 'social services' such as doctors, lawyers, teachers and domestic servants, and the political and administrative apparatus of government².

Much of the production of goods and services was carried out within a framework of social relations between employers and employees. Within this relationship, employers and employees enjoyed radically different status, rights and powers, and reaped radically different benefits. Employers enjoyed the right to determine wages and the nature and conditions of work and in many cases had the power to dismiss employees at will. They derived profits which were generally sufficient to enable them to increase and reinvest their capital and to live in a secure, often quite luxurious fashion. Their employees worked for wages which employers generally endeavoured to keep as low as possible and were

often barely sufficient to provide the basic necessities of food, shelter and clothing. A significant proportion of economic production was also carried out independently of the employer-employee relationship by people with sufficient resources to work for themselves or as a family unit without the need for paid labour. In addition, a vast amount of unpaid productive labour was performed by women within their homes, often under extremely harsh conditions³.

The bourgeoisie in South Australia around the mid-nineteenth century was a relatively small class of (mainly) men of varying social origins, with diverse sources and extents of wealth. At the core of the class was a small number of large capitalists with interests across all key sectors of the economy. Men like George Fife Angas and Thomas Elder exercised great economic power through their investments in land, wool (growing, buying, shipping, and selling), banking, financing other landed ventures and trade. In the 1860s Elder expanded the scope of his activities further through his involvement in the Moonta and Wallaroo copper mines⁴. Moreover, such men shared many company directorships and thus had access to information, and were able to plan and coordinate their economic ventures in ways which were not possible for the overwhelming majority of colonists. Many of them had brought substantial capital with them and established themselves by early

investment in land. However, success in trade, business and other activities in the early years of the colony placed others in the ranks of the leading capitalists⁵.

Most members of the bourgeoisie, however, operated on a much smaller scale. Owners of a single pastoral property, a mill or two, an implement manufactory employing perhaps a dozen men or a freehold farm of a few hundred acres helped make up the 'lesser' bourgeoisie. Some expanded their capital by co-operative ventures such as the Freehold Land Society, by adroit trading during the Victorian gold-rush, by establishing monopolies over such diverse things as mail carting or the potato supply, or by successful investment in copper mining. When their resources permitted they often invested in land, or shifted their capital into other spheres, diversifying or changing their economic base. Their economic power was often visible at a local rather than at a colonial level, as in the case of landowners who worked part of their holdings with the help of a few employees and leased the rest of their land, and invested in a few cottages, a shop or a hotel which they also leased. Neither as individuals nor as a 'class' were they able to offer more than an occasional successful challenge to those who had established an early stranglehold over the economy of the colony as a whole⁶.

A significant group within the bourgeoisie comprised professional men and civil servants who used their substantial and secure incomes to invest in land and other capitalist ventures. Charles Burney Young, for example, was a surveyor who was able to become "one of the largest freehold landowners in the colony" and one of Adelaide's major land dealers⁷. His close friend, W.C. Belt, a lawyer, continued to follow his profession whilst steadily expanding his landholdings⁸. Others, such as Arthur Hardy, established themselves first as successful capitalists and then simply maintained their investments while returning to practise in the profession for which they had trained at 'home'. Hardy was an early investor in land and a successful pastoralist, but by the 1850s his daily occupation was in a legal practice⁹.

Different sources of wealth involved different balances between labour and capital investment. Mine owners often employed large concentrations of both skilled and unskilled labour: the Burra mines, for example, employed over one thousand workers at times. Manufacturers, on the other hand, employed much smaller numbers, usually less than forty hands. Pastoralists employed relatively small numbers of labourers most of the time but added large numbers, especially of shearers, on a seasonal basis. A few agricultural producers had a large workforce, including cooks, blacksmiths and even a schoolteacher, but most farmers were much

less extensive or regular employers, characteristically using casual labour in busy seasons to supplement a few 'regular' labourers. Merchants relied more on the buying and selling of goods for profit than on productive labour but they too required the services of clerks to process their accounts, sailors to man their ships and carters and labourers to shift their goods¹⁰.

Despite these differences, members of the bourgeoisie shared certain fundamental interests. A growing population would help ensure an expanding domestic market and a supply of labour in sufficient numbers to keep wages low. Tractable and docile workers who readily accepted the prevailing relations between capital and labour would enable them to pursue their business with a minimum of social disturbance. Ready access to land, security of tenure and the development of good transport, communications and other infrastructures would enable them to expand their interests and invest profitably. Politically their interests could be served by a state which operated at low cost and did not resort to taxation on wealth, property or trade. The interests of capitalists also demanded a state which devoted its resources to the development of infrastructures which were either too costly or not profitable enough for capitalists to invest in directly. State policies which provided a legal framework which allowed unfettered pursuit of economic interests and helped maintain social harmony would also help sustain social conditions favourable

to the bourgeoisie.

Members of the working class - the bulk of the population - were differentiated in many ways. They earned their livings in a variety of occupations: as craftsmen, shop assistants, domestic servants, shepherds, farm labourers.

Also there was often a degree of stratification within the work process: skilled workers often exercised a high degree of control over the job and over other less skilled employees. Moreover they characteristically earned substantially higher wages and enjoyed a greater regularity of employment and job security. To some extent the labour market was segmented, especially along lines of gender, but also in some cases by ethnicity. Domestic service, washing, ironing, cleaning and dressmaking were the province of women, while large scale mining was dominated by Cornish and Welsh colonists. While work conditions for perhaps the majority of the working class were harsh, the isolation and primitive conditions under which pastoral workers lived as part of their job distinguished them from those employed in towns and the more closely settled agricultural districts¹¹.

These differences had important implications beyond the world of work itself. The security and wage levels of skilled tradesmen provided the basis for a relatively stable life, enabling many of them to buy their own house and plot of land. Unskilled

labourers, on the other hand, often experienced a high degree of transiency as they were only able to find temporary or seasonal work. Both the level and insecurity of wages militated against the formation of the regular, ordered lifestyle and habits which the skilled might enjoy. Segmentation along the lines noted helped reinforce the separation of women's lives from those of men, and the perpetuation of ethnically based communities and cultures. Isolation shaped strongly the forms of social activity and organization available to those who suffered it¹².

Despite these differences, members of the working class shared a number of important experiences and characteristics. Foremost among these were insecurity of employment and irregularity of income, from which not even the most highly skilled were exempt, due to seasonal and cyclical fluctuations in the economy and the legal position of labour in relation to capital as defined by such laws as the Masters and Servants Act. Even those who attained relatively secure and well paid positions normally spent some portion of their working life under less satisfactory circumstances. Moreover many of the distinctions between workers in different occupations and regions were blurred by this high mobility from place to place and job to job¹³.

These shared characteristics and the position which all members of the working class occupied in relation to their employers

generated a range of common interests which were fundamentally opposed to those of the bourgeoisie. Setting aside any question of their interest in a fundamentally different social and economic order, workers shared an over-riding concern for securing the best conditions for their work and the best return for their labour. Security of employment, high wages, short hours and a high degree of control over the work process were significant aspects of their interest while they were employed. Economic security for those out of work because of seasonal fluctuations, economic depression, old age or injury was also important to alleviate the threat of periodic or chronic poverty. In times of hardship, in particular, they expressed these interests by opposing high rates of immigration and agitating for the provision of relief works at adequate rates of pay and other forms of assistance for the unemployed. Within the sphere of production some workers were organized into craft unions, which sought to improve wages and conditions, while outside it they were at times heavily involved in such bodies as the Political Association through which, in conjunction with some of the radical urban bourgeoisie, they fought for political recognition of their claims¹⁴.

The petty-bourgeoisie comprised small shopkeepers, self-employed artisans, contractors and other small independent producers in Adelaide and the towns, and many farmers in the country districts. Many of the small farmers, however, only survived by working from

time to time as labourers, while others, slightly more substantial, were able to work as carters and contractors. At Tea Tree Gully, for example, five local 'farmers' held between them only twelve acres of wheat, one and a half acres of garden, one acre of potatoes, twenty-three cows and two pigs¹⁵. Clearly, they needed to work elsewhere to supplement this production. Thus both the social origins and the economic position of many small farmers, whether freeholder or tenant, made them effectively a sector of the rural working class. Many of the larger, 'gentleman farmers' on the other hand can be readily classed as members of the rural bourgeoisie. Common to both the petty-bourgeoisie and the working class was a pressure to engage in long hours of work to extract the maximum value from the labour of the family in its own enterprise. It is important to note that as non-employers (or at most, marginal employers) of labour, the interests of the petty-bourgeoisie were more closely related to the market for goods than to the labour market. Their needs were met in particular by policies which would keep the costs of goods low enough for them to meet a ready market such as the development of cheap and efficient means of transport and, in the case of farmers, by policies which would permit a ready sale of their produce in both domestic and overseas markets¹⁶.

An understanding of class in South Australia is important in drawing attention to systematic tensions and conflicts of interest - conflicts which were often fought out through the state as well as

the labour market and workplace and whose temporary resolutions characteristically generated further conflicts. However, its effects were qualified in a number of ways, even within the immediate sphere of production. Firstly, not all individuals identified themselves simply or even primarily as members of their class. Frequently they saw their interests in terms of individual mobility (upward!) into a different class, rather than in strengthening the position of their own class. This sense of individual ambition was important for many of the early colonists of all classes. In particular, there is evidence that many working people pursued the goal of 'independence' through becoming landowners, even if only small ones¹⁷. The strength of this individual and family loyalty, as opposed to class loyalty, was reinforced by the relatively open boundaries between classes : little capital was required to pass from being a skilled worker to the master of a small workshop, or a small landowner. In addition, the development of a strong working-class consciousness may well have been inhibited by the fact that despite relative insecurity and hardship, the standard of living for most was substantially higher than in their country of origin¹⁸.

Secondly, the divisions within classes were accompanied by differences of interest. For those engaged in primary education - that is, those whose activities dominated the economy - the importance

of access to overseas markets demanded a 'free trade' policy. For secondary producers, however, a tariff on imported manufactures offered protection against competition, which might be necessary to enable them to attract sales and maintain 'satisfactory' profits. Farmers and pastoralists pursued conflicting interests over access to land, and consequently over land legislation and administration. Within the working class, skilled workers sought to control access to skills to protect their sectional interests, and the organization of unions within rather than across workshop and craft boundaries strengthened this sense of sectional rather than class interests. The small scale of workgroups, the prevalence of contract work and the mobility of large sections of the workforce also cut across the formation and development of working-class organizations and the generation of a strong class consciousness¹⁹.

Thirdly, there were strong cross-class interests such as those of locality. A travelling journalist found that the residents of Port Elliot were "wrath against the Adelaidians who wished, they said, to monopolise all the comforts and the facilities of the colony, and leave the distant country and its produce to shift for themselves"²⁰. At suburban Hindmarsh, too, there was a strong sense of small local capitalists and petty-bourgeois residents sharing an interest against the large 'city' capitalists²¹. Neighbouring rural districts often competed with each other for benefits of various sorts. At Houghton

all residents were conscious of a common cause against George Anstey, a large landowner in the next district, over the route of the main road from Adelaide to the north-eastern hills districts. Many of them depended on trade along the existing route for their livelihood, but Anstey threatened to use his influence to secure a new road which would pass by his property and by-pass Houghton²². At Kapunda, local landowners, shopkeepers and professional men joined forces with unemployed workers to seek relief works in the form of a local reservoir²³. Transcending all these internal divisions was identification with the colony itself - the awareness of being 'South Australians' and a sense of rivalry with neighbouring colonies - reinforced by the institutions of the state and fostered by appeals to all colonists to strive for the common good²⁴.

Finally, it is important to note that neither this structure of production nor the social relationships it embodied were static. Changes in the technology of agricultural production were interwoven with changes in the demand for farm labour and the nature and conditions of that labour. Changes in the nature of the economy brought different sectors of the economy into greater or lesser prominence. In particular, manufacture held a relatively important place prior to the Victorian gold-rushes but the loss of workers and the success of traders at that time strengthened the position of imported goods against locally manufactured products. Thus the economic position of manufacturing against trade was weakened considerably and not regained

until at least the late 1860s. Similarly the growth of local capital by the early 1850s overwhelmed the previously dominant interests of overseas investors. Moreover, the relative strength of labour and capital altered in the short term on a cyclical and seasonal basis, and in the long term, as one or the other made advances in economic or political organization²⁵.

Although the relationships determining social class lay within the sphere of economic production, the experiences which went with membership of a particular class, or sector of a class, affected other aspects of people's lives too. Wealth or poverty most directly affected housing, diet and health; but they also had far-reaching implications for the development of individual habits and attitudes and a wide range of other socially structured activities. The insecurity and mobility of some sectors of the working class helped produce people who developed irregular rather than regular habits, for whom values such as thrift had no relevance since they had few opportunities to exercise it, and who were pre-occupied with economic survival rather than the 'finer' aspects of culture. The experiences resulting from such conditions shaped people's perceptions of life and society, and severely limited the goals they might pursue for themselves and their children. On the other hand, members of the bourgeoisie usually enjoyed a high degree of economic security, had time and money for various 'cultural' pursuits and could organize their family life according to quite

different priorities²⁶. Moreover, the lines of class were criss-crossed by many others - status, gender, family, ethnicity, regional patterns of settlement and the complex webs of social interaction.

The core of the bourgeoisie was concentrated in and around Adelaide, but Adelaide and its suburbs were socially differentiated, with acknowledged 'good' and 'bad' areas dominated by the bourgeoisie and working class respectively. Residents of the 'nice' suburb of Walkerville included the Hawkers, Acramans, Levis, C.B. Youngs, Gilberts, Barr-Smiths and Finnisses, all large landowners, merchants and leaders of the colony. Brompton on the other hand was a notoriously working-class area. Within a particular suburb similar differentiation might exist: 'upper' North Adelaide was dominated by the houses of the wealthy, while 'lower' North Adelaide contained largely the two-roomed cottages of working-class tenants. However, these differences were matters of degree rather than total segregation, and suburbs such as Glenelg, North Adelaide and Walkerville had many working-class cottages interspersed between the mansions of the rich. Even within working-class Hindmarsh, there was a clear difference between the larger properties occupied by established owners who had risen from the ranks of the working class and the cottages of those who worked for them²⁷.

Patterns of social interaction and status paralleled these residential distinctions. Workers from Brompton or 'lower' North Adelaide were unlikely to mix with their betters either in the local pub or elsewhere, except perhaps in the world of work. As such terms as the 'lower orders' and their 'betters' suggest, colonial social life embraced a hierarchy of status. At the top was the colonial 'Establishment', the 'gentry' described by Hirst, comprising principally the core of the bourgeoisie, although it also included some people from lesser backgrounds - smaller capitalists, professional people and senior civil servants²⁸. Thus Catherine Spence, whose family were certainly not large and wealthy capitalists moved in quite exalted social circles²⁹. Elite social interaction, through Government House balls and levees, a range of semi-public functions, and such private organizations as the Adelaide Club was often reinforced by marriage on the one hand and business dealings on the other. They were set apart not only by wealth, but by the education, genteel manners and leisured pursuits which their wealth made possible. Less refined men, like Reynolds, found that mere money was insufficient to gain entry to this elite³⁰.

Below this elite in the urban hierarchy, and often on its fringes in social life was the world of the 'middle class', smaller capitalists and less prominent professional men and civil servants and their families, ranging down to include clerks, members of the

petty-bourgeoisie and the most secure sections of the working-class, such as the superior artisans. This was the world of the characters in Clara Morison. Like the 'Establishment' it had its rounds of visiting, private entertainments and 'cultured' pursuits, but unlike it there were few extravagant balls and large parties. Dominated by the pursuit and consciousness of its own - and others' - respectability, many of its members were to be found in the Temperance Society, Philosophical Society, the local Institute and the Wesleyan church. At Hindmarsh, the local leaders, successful artisans and small capitalists, participated in tea-meetings, lectures, and the self-improvements of the Mechanics Institute³¹.

Within rural society, which effectively included many suburban villages, social stratification also followed the contours of class. A village such as Glen Osmond contained people as diverse as the wealthy Arthur Hardy, a number of smaller capitalists and employers, self-employed families and professional men, and a large group of working men and their families, several of whom owned a house on a small block of land from which they derived a measure of independence. Members of the Adelaide elite in the district such as Hardy, Judge Cooper and R.R. Torrens joined with other relatively substantial residents to form their own local elite. They conducted their local literary society, and founded the major institutions of local public life, such as the churches and the

Institute³². Perhaps something of the prestige and importance of local gentlemen as patrons and sponsors of village activities is suggested in the names of hotels such as the Torrens Arms at Torrens Park, the Davenport Arms at Macclesfield and others. Where members of the Adelaide elite were not present in local society, their place might be taken by the larger landowners and entrepreneurs, local gentry who at times attained the honorary title of "squire"³³. Frequently they were joined in the local leadership by such people as the local shopkeepers, whose position in small communities was of key importance in the local economy. Thus the leadership of small rural communities was often in the hands of people who occupied a similar position in the economic and social structure of the colony as a whole to those in the middle ranks of urban society³⁴.

The lowest strata of colonial society were occupied by the bulk of the working class and the small farmers. The pressure of economic circumstances and the arduousness of their work reinforced cultural differences to preclude the lower orders from the social world and activities of their betters. For them, one of the foci of social life was the local pub. The Anglican minister at Willunga claimed that the lack of alternative recreational facilities for the poor drove many of them to congregate there, and Paula Nagel suggests that the British Hotel provided the social centre of 'lower' North Adelaide³⁵. In the towns and

in Adelaide itself, it is likely that a second focus of working-class sociability was the street, especially for youths; certainly many 'respectable' observers referred frequently to the number of children and young adults roaming the streets³⁶. In rural areas there were also community events such as picnics and ploughing competitions in which many of the relatively poor, especially farmers, participated. Amongst the itinerant workers, particularly bodies of single males such as shearers, the life of crowded huts while unpleasant in the extreme must have provided the basis for such shared activities as gambling, story-telling and singing³⁷.

Sex differences fundamentally divided the society. Men, the socially, politically and economically dominant sex, and probably most women too, believed that the sexes were fundamentally different well beyond the limits of such biological functions as those of sexual reproduction. Women were believed to have 'natural' domestic roles, including the rearing of children, and household work - roles which were seen as easy or 'merely instinctive'³⁸. The major goals for women focussed on marriage and raising children and were thus located within the 'private' domain of the family, in contrast to the more diverse, 'public' activities of men. Apart from the moral sphere, these differences were taken to denote the general inferiority of women -

physically, intellectually, economically and socially³⁹. Even a highly educated woman might feel that she "must habitually talk below herself, lest she be supposed to arrogate either equality to the lords of creation, or perhaps superiority over them"⁴⁰.

This imputed inferiority was embodied in a multitude of social practices and legal sanctions. Women were excluded from a wide range of economic activities, including most professional work. Within the family they functioned as an unpaid labour force and were generally kept in economic dependence on husbands or fathers. The concept of 'universal suffrage' was taken for granted to mean 'adult male suffrage', and women were allowed no part in political life. The civil service and the leadership of most institutions, such as the churches, were also the preserve of men and where women were allowed a public role, it was frequently a subordinate one, located within a framework in which men made the major decisions⁴¹. The committee to establish Christ Church in North Adelaide, for example, comprised a number of leading men from the city; their wives held teas and other fund raising functions⁴². Where women did engage in paid work it was generally poorly paid and often under extremely harsh conditions; certainly where men did equivalent work, women were paid at lower rates⁴³.

Such practices reinforced the prevailing beliefs: women could be seen to be both different and inferior, since all the important work was done by men. The vast amount of work performed by women, including the maintenance of male workers and the production of children was defined out of the sphere of economic production altogether. Moreover, while they continued to display all the skills associated with domestic production at the expense of developing skills seen to pertain to 'men's' work, they seemingly provided the proof that there was a 'natural' division of labour between the sexes, and that they were indeed incompetent in roles traditionally filled by men. The interaction of this ideology and the objective conditions it reflected operated to produce in women as well as men a consciousness of their 'given' position and provided massive obstacles to any woman who wished to challenge the prevailing conditions.

However, while women at all levels within the society shared these disadvantages, their experiences were also clearly differentiated by class. Wives of wealthy bourgeois men enjoyed a social life which included formal visits to other 'ladies', charitable works, private balls and other elegant recreations. These activities gave them what Beverley Kingston describes as a major entrepreneurial function in maintaining the institutions of caste and status, as well as a key role in the moral economy of

the society as a whole⁴⁴. These pursuits were premised on a relative liberation from both the need to work for wages outside the home and the performance of domestic work within it. Thus, they were only made possible by the security and wealth of the husband, and the employment of domestic servants to perform the household chores. Indeed, the employment and management of servants was the domain of the mistress of the house, who was thus effectively an employer and manager of her own workforce⁴⁵

In contrast, working-class women not only performed all the work of maintaining the house, but often engaged in paid labour either at home or outside when this was both available and necessary to the family economy⁴⁶. Petty-bourgeois women were integrated into the family economy in ways which differentiated them from the wives and daughters of both bourgeois and working-class men. While they might have some assistance in the performance of household work - even a country schoolteacher's family might employ a single domestic servant - they were indispensable to the success of the family enterprise. German women from Hahndorf, for example, had the task of carrying the garden produce to market in Adelaide each week, while the milking of cows on small farms and family lots almost invariably fell to the women of the family⁴⁷.

These differences were not simply a matter of what women did, but were an integral part of their status and identity.

Catherine Spence showed a sharp awareness of the distinctions between women in different positions in the social order, and Clara Morison, one of her characters, felt that her employment as a domestic servant would permanently isolate her from the world of her genteel former peers:

"The Miss Eliots are your cousins? Why they are ladies, Clara," said Mrs. Bantam.

"And so was I once," said Clara, "and had quite as good a position as they had at home; but I was sent out here with very little money and preferred going into service to going into debt; so, of course, I am no lady now."⁴⁸

There was in fact a broad hierarchy of status distinctions among women, shaped by such factors as the social position of husbands, the need to work at all, and the kind of work engaged in. Wives and daughters of the poorest sectors of the working class thus occupied a position of inferiority to both other women and their menfolk⁴⁹.

Closely linked to the position of women in the society was the family, the fundamental institution of social life outside of work. The overwhelming majority of colonists lived within families, increasingly defined as a unit comprising a husband and

wife and their children, although often including others such as aged relatives, unmarried domestic servants and, occasionally, other employees. Nevertheless, there was a considerable number of men, in particular, who remained outside the bonds of marriage and the institution of the family⁵⁰. The family served as the focus of the key functions of women: the maintenance of men and the upbringing of children. It was indeed the central institution for socializing children, imparting to them a knowledge of the society, religion, morality and discipline, and for reinforcing the moral discipline of men. For men it served as the institution by which they could acquire an heir for whatever property they possessed and as a source of domestic and other labour. Colonial propagandists stressed the advantages of large families in the colony as a source of productive labour, and Beverley Kingston has pointed out the importance of particular skills held by women in the process of selecting marriage partners; a farmer for example might find great virtue in a wife who was a competent dairy-
maid⁵¹.

Despite the fact that the institution of the family transcended class boundaries, the shape of family life and the way it performed its various functions were strongly moulded by social class. The relative economic stability and security of the bourgeois family permitted parents to maintain their children in a prolonged state of dependency in a protective environment which

functioned as a 'nest' to shelter them from the harsh realities of life 'outside'. Within this environment, mothers were able to supervise the details of their children's lives quite closely, even though much of the actual work associated with this might be delegated to servants. Mothers and older siblings taught the younger children the elements of religion, morality, literacy and numeracy, while the children enjoyed a considerable degree of freedom from set tasks, certainly from the need to contribute to the family income⁵². Jane Watts, for example, looked back on a childhood dominated by pleasant recreations, walks with friends, picnics and anticipations of such events as dinner parties with special guests, 'coming out' and weddings⁵³.

Anne Summers argues that this bourgeois model of the family was also widely copied amongst other ranks of society. Certainly members of the petty-bourgeoisie and to some extent the superior artisans, enjoyed a degree of security which made such a pattern possible, at least to some extent. The means to establish homes which were less crowded, for example, permitted the family unit to live a more self-contained and 'private' life. However, the need to involve all members of the family in productive labour of some sort, particularly within the family business cut across the prolonged dependency which greater wealth made possible. Nevertheless, children in such circumstances remained within the protective custody of their parents, who thus

exercised many of the broadly educative functions of bourgeois parents⁵⁴.

Amongst the working class, and especially the poorer, less secure sectors of the class, there was a need for both parents to work when and where they could. Young children were thus either left in the care of older siblings, relatives or neighbours, or taken with parents on the job. In many cases, indeed, it appears that quite young children were left to fend for themselves. From quite early ages, too, working-class children might be required to work, sometimes assisting their parents and at other times independently for wages. Where this involved casual labour they might spend a considerable part of their time unsupervised by adults⁵⁵. The working-class family was thus precluded by economic circumstances from providing the protective 'nest' functions of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois families. The need for parents and especially fathers to travel in search of work meant that many families were split for periods, and thus generated a much less 'closed' form of family life. It seems likely too that amongst the working class, many more families were informally founded, rather than through the institution of marriage, and this may well have added to other pressures towards instability. This instability was reflected in reports of men deserting their wives and families, and in such instances as the Register's account of an event in a Hindmarsh

pub where a man auctioned his wife. While such incidents were recounted with heavy moral disapprobation, it is clear that they reflected a pressure to survive which few members of the bourgeoisie would ever experience⁵⁶.

In the 1850s the colony was still young enough for all (white) adult males to have been born outside the colony, most of them in Britain, but a substantial minority of them in Germany. Often ethnicity, and the consciousness of being 'English' or 'Irish' or 'German' provided a significant element in the social structure. Many settlements were identified with a particular ethnic group, if not founded explicitly as such; Strathalbyn was founded by Scots primarily for Scots, while the identity of Hahndorf was clearly indicated in the name of the nearby 'Germantown Hill'. In other cases, settlements and districts were divided along ethnic lines, or embodied distinct sub-groups; at Burra there were separate settlements of Welsh and Cornish miners⁵⁷. For many settlers, the experiences of 'home' must have been dominant in shaping behaviour and expectations which in turn helped shape the social life of the colony. In particular, ethnicity was closely associated with religion, Scots being predominantly Presbyterians, Irish being largely Catholics, and Germans almost exclusively Lutherans.

The social class which colonists occupied in their country of origin also strongly influenced their position in the South Australian class and social structure, as well as their culture, broadly defined - their values, attitudes, forms of social organization and activities and expectations. Those drawn from the English 'middling classes' - small capitalists, tradesmen and professional men - were prominent amongst the leaders of early South Australia, having used their small capital from 'home' to accumulate small fortunes in the colony. They were characteristically Anglican or 'old Dissent' in religion, and in many respects put into practice the values and attitudes of the same class in England. Irish Catholics, on the other hand, were overwhelmingly working-class in origin, and continued to be so in the colony. Ethnicity, then, was a significant factor in structuring the social life of the new colony, often closely intertwined with such other factors as class⁵⁸.

Religion provided another dimension of social life and organization for a large proportion of the colony's population. While no doubt the majority of settlers would have identified themselves as Christians, with small minority groups such as Jews providing exceptions, formal religious practice as defined by participation in organized life of the various churches was far more limited. Numerically the most important denominations were the Church of England, the Methodist churches, the various

Presbyterians, the Catholic Church and the Lutherans⁵⁹. Members of the different churches were drawn from all social classes, and within some settlements provided one of the main institutions in which most members of the community joined together. However, religious organization was also structured and differentiated by social class and its associated hierarchy of status in two principal ways. Firstly, some churches drew their members principally from a single class: the Catholic and Methodist churches, in particular the Primitive and Bible Christian sects, were identified as working class bodies⁶⁰. Secondly, even where denominations drew members widely from different classes, their leadership heavily represented a particular class. The leadership of the Church of England, Congregational, Baptist and Presbyterian churches was dominated by men of capital and high social standing, and this fact was reflected in the recognition that these churches wielded a significant degree of political power⁶¹. The overlapping of class, status and religion is suggested in the career of Thomas Reynolds: he began his colonial career as a working-class Methodist, but as success raised him into the ranks of the bourgeoisie and as he gained political prominence, he shifted his affiliation to the Congregationalists⁶².

Some final observations need to be made about the scale of social differentiation. English observers were struck by the

absence of marked differences of rank in the colony; Harrison for example, lampooned the fact that men such as "Smith, Brown, Jones and Robinson, who have respectively gathered together a little money in the cattle, milk, liquor and cheese trades" could attain the title of "honourable"⁶³. In a more serious vein, the Times characterised South Australia as a "new community of rising tradesmen, farmers, cattle breeders, builders, mechanics with a sprinkling of doctors and attorneys"⁶⁴. Certainly there was no class to compare to the aristocracy or even those immediately below them in English society.

Nevertheless, colonists themselves were acutely conscious of social status and position. The characters in Clara Morison were highly sensitive to the characteristics and value of rank: Harris, a clerk, was incensed when told to look up to the working classes and pointedly differentiated between them and 'gentlemen'⁶⁵. The same sensitivity in small rural settlements is well captured in a description of church-going in early McLaren Vale:

There were two square pews with doors, which were thought much of by the two families who sat in them, two benches with arms and backs occupied by the families next in honour, while ordinary folk sat on slabs of wood propped up on bricks⁶⁶.

Whatever the pretensions and aspirations, life was lived under conditions which were often not far from primitive. Robert

Bruce found the shop at Port Augusta constructed of planks and mud, with the mud fallen out while the squatters, like their workers, lived in rough wooden huts, with crude and sparse furniture⁶⁷. Even in Adelaide, while members of the bourgeoisie were beginning to build their mansions, the basic facilities of the city were far from developed, as E.K. Miller observed:

Most of the streets had trees standing in them, and all were full of holes, furnishing mud in winter and dust in summer. ... Victoria Square (the geographical centre of Adelaide) was a particularly dangerous locality, there being but two or three narrow tracks across it, to diverge from which was almost certainly to get bogged. I found it expedient in winter to wear fisherman's boots to wade through the sheets of water that frequently crossed the tracks⁶⁸.

Social life was organized within a framework of legal limits determined and enforced by the state, which claimed authority over all people living within the territorial boundaries of the colony - even such reluctant 'South Australians' as the Aborigines! The institutions of the state included central and local legislative and executive bodies. At the centre, with jurisdiction over the whole state was a governor, appointed by and in the name of, the English Crown. By 1851 he was 'assisted' by a Legislative Council of eight nominees and sixteen members elected by men possessing certain property qualifications. This body dealt with government proposals for new laws, expenditure of state revenues and the policies of state, and to some extent could

initiate new directions in these areas by means of petition and bargaining. The government exercised a close control over the raising and spending of revenue, the framing of laws and the administration of government. Administration was in the hands of the civil service - the 'permanent' salaried officers of the state - and many honorary Boards and Commissions which supervised the operation of many civil service departments. Generally the activities of the central government and its administrative bodies were concerned with matters affecting the whole of the colony rather than particular localities, although the town of Adelaide itself was a striking exception to this rule⁶⁹.

After 1852, a large number of local functions were performed by regional government bodies, particularly District Councils. Councils were elected by ratepayers in a particular district, and their jurisdiction was limited to that district. They had both legislative and executive functions: they passed by-laws affecting local matters, and allocated funds from the rates for such projects as local roads and bridges, as well as operating stock pounds and other local institutions. They usually employed a District Clerk as their major executive officer, as well as contractors and other part-time workers. Nevertheless, the scale of their operations was small and their powers strictly limited by the District Councils Act and the proviso that no district by-law should contravene the laws of the central government of the colony⁷⁰.

Many of the state's activities were concerned with maintaining the social stability of the colony against threats from within or without. The conflict of interest between capital and labour involved the potential for open hostility, while property owners, large and small, shared an interest in seeing that private property was well-protected against theft. All members of society also needed some form of protection against the dangers of personal violence in various forms, and the presence of Aborigines prepared to resist the process of dispossession, ex-convicts from the east, and local undesirables of many kinds made this appear a pressing concern to many⁷¹. Through the establishment of police, law courts and gaols the state possessed the means to punish and to some extent prevent transgressions of what it defined as the legitimate limits of social behaviour. The state also adopted many policies intended to secure and reinforce popular acceptance of the prevailing social order. It attempted to ameliorate conditions which might convert underlying tension into overt conflict, for instance, and at times gave way to working-class demands, providing relief works and suspending immigration when unemployment was rife. By the visibly incorrupt administration of the law the state claimed to demonstrate that it could ensure justice and fair play for all. With the introduction of government by a parliament elected on the basis of adult male franchise it could also claim that the laws themselves would represent the interest of all. The state

could thus appeal for the allegiance of all because it represented the welfare of the whole society. Finally, it supported a number of institutions which leading colonists believed would help maintain the prevailing social order. Fundamental institutions such as the family were endorsed by means of marriage and divorce laws, while schools received a degree of financial aid⁷².

Ensuring social harmony would be pointless, however, if the colony could not survive economically, and the state played an important role in ensuring this survival. It provided funds for the development of infrastructures which were either too expensive or too unremunerative for private ventures, such as roads, harbours and railways. It also passed laws and established agencies to ensure economic growth; when the impact of the Victorian gold-rush posed the threat of bankruptcy and economic collapse the state immediately passed the Bullion Act, established the Assay Office and provided a police escort for gold shipments from the east to enable South Australian capitalists to survive and, indeed, exploit the situation handsomely⁷³.

Within this general framework the details of state policy and practice were determined by a number of factors. Firstly, as the cases of unemployment and the gold-rush suggest, changing social and economic conditions put pressure on the state to give priority

to particular aspects of its role and hence frame particular courses of action. Secondly, the structure of the machinery of state also helped shape government policy and practice. Existing structures had been developed to implement particular policies, but once established they could make it difficult to pursue different policies. For example, the policy of developing public works by contracting their construction to private firms meant that there was little administrative or executive infrastructure if the government wished to directly undertake such construction. If, on the other hand, such an infrastructure was developed, it would be difficult for the government then to contract jobs to private businesses and leave its own body idle, or else have to dismantle it. At another level, the relations and division of power between central and local government made it possible for the central state to maintain control over functions it believed were vital to the welfare of the colony as a whole. However, it also made it difficult to rationalize the allocation of resources for such items as local roads in accordance with criteria applying to the whole colony.

A third determinant of state policy was the power of particular sectors of the society to impose their sectional interests on the state. Both the legislative and executive arms of the central government were in the undisputed control of the

'Establishment'. During the period of semi-elective government, the governor nominated members of the 'Establishment', while the qualifications required for members ensured that only 'men of property' could be elected. After 1857, when the government was under the control of an elected parliament, the fact that members were unpaid ensured that only those with secure incomes could afford to enter Parliament. The property qualification which remained for both membership and voting for the Legislative Council combined with the Council's power to veto legislation from the Lower House to give the bourgeoisie effective control over any legislation hostile to its interests. At the same time, the appointment of members of the civil service and the honorary Boards was controlled by the governor with the advice of his ministers. The men thus appointed were almost exclusively drawn from the ranks of the colonial elite. Through such processes the bourgeoisie and, in particular, the men of large capital were able to dominate the machinery of state and largely direct government policies and practice⁷⁴. Local government, on the other hand, was more directly in the hands of local elites - larger landowners, professional men and shopkeepers⁷⁵.

Despite the state's claim to represent the interests of all, the 'common interest' of the whole society, the existence of conflicting interests outlined earlier meant that the claim was unfounded. In practice the state primarily served the interests

of the bourgeoisie, and in particular of those who dominated the economy. Firstly, through the legal support of such institutions as private property and the family, the state upheld a social structure without which capitalist forms of enterprise would not have been possible. At the same time its activities in maintaining social harmony enabled economic pursuits to be conducted with a minimum of disturbance. Secondly, by intervening as little as possible in the relations between labour and capital it reinforced the advantages which capital enjoyed within those relations. Where it did intervene, it was generally in the interests of capital; the Masters and Servants' Act, for example, endorsed the rights of employers over employees, while immigration policies helped ensure a supply of labour to hold down wages⁷⁶. Thirdly, the scope and form of state economic activities helped make capital more profitable; by developing important but costly infrastructures it reduced the direct costs of production and marketing to those who owned the means of production, allowing them to invest in fields which would otherwise have been unattractive. By limiting its activities to such enterprises, and by providing a wide range of services rather than directly competing with capital in profitable spheres it helped realize rather than undermine the interests of the bourgeoisie. Fourthly, by providing services which were nominally open to all but not ensuring that all had access to them it favoured those with wealth. Equality before the law depended not only on the

impartiality of judges but on the quality of legal representation - apart from any questions about the law itself. The provision of special land surveys and the introduction of leaseholds also blatantly favoured large capitalists. Fifthly, in its mode of raising revenue the state favoured capital by limiting itself to indirect taxes, land sales and such special direct duties as the short-lived Dray Tax rather than by imposing direct taxation on wealth or property⁷⁷.

This service to the bourgeoisie was not 'perfect' however. It was in the direct interest of capital to see maximum commitment of state resources to the development of economic infrastructures and the minimum expenditure on the state apparatus itself, or on maintaining social harmony. In practice, however, the need to contain social conflict and the large number of roles devolving on the state meant that a large proportion of state revenue was directed to 'non-productive' activities. To maintain a good supply of labour the state had to ensure that conditions were sufficiently good to attract workers. The Immigration Office, therefore, suggested that the government would guarantee them work in the colony. This raised working-class expectations, and when these were not realized, as in periods of depression, working-class leaders demanded state support and threatened open hostility if these demands were not met. Had the state refused, its creditability and legitimacy would have been undermined in the eyes

of a large section of the working class. The state's role in maintaining social harmony thus cut across its role in supporting other aspects of bourgeois interest⁷⁸.

Even where the state did serve the bourgeoisie directly, it did not do so equally across all sectors of the class. Customs duties were levied on sacks for wheat, but not on those for wool or copper, state economic policies consistently favoured primary producers over manufacturers, and the administration of land sales favoured large pastoralists against farmers until at least the end of the 1860s⁷⁹. The need for members of parliament and government in particular to retain electoral and other political support often induced them to support particular projects which favoured specific groups or regions against others. Moreover, through the division between local and central government, the state provided greater support for infrastructures needed by large capitalists - roads and rail links to such major enterprises as the Burra mines - than for those needed by smaller, 'local' capital, such as district roads⁸⁰.

Thus far I have focussed on broad social structures and the ways in which colonial life was organized. However, colonists were not simply passive, inert objects, moving at the dictates of external pressures or abstract structures; rather they were active, conscious agents who perceived their society and themselves in quite

specific ways and framed their courses of action accordingly - within the limits which social structures imposed. The ideas, attitudes and assumptions by which they understood their world, together with the practices which corresponded to such views, comprised their ideology. Swanson has argued that there was a high degree of consensus about such matters as the nature of society, the individual and the state - an ideology which was shared by most members of society, which might, therefore, be labelled a dominant ideology⁸¹.

In this ideology society as a whole was conceptualized in two distinct ways. On the one hand it was seen principally as the aggregate of individuals within the territorial boundaries of the state. On the other hand, it was seen as a functional, unified whole. These two conceptions were integrated through the belief that there was a 'natural' balance between the interests of the individuals and the interests of the whole - all members shared a common interest which was congruent with their individual 'private' interests. The individuals comprising the society were seen as forming groups of different degrees of importance. The most fundamental of these was the family, which was seen as essential to social order and organization, and rooted in nature, morality and religion. All other groupings, such as class and religion, were seen as secondary, and as such their interests must not be allowed to take precedence over either society as a whole or the rights of

individuals within it. They were often portrayed in terms which denied them any fundamental social reality; class in particular was often shown to be reducible to other factors such as individual differences in education, ability, morality or character⁸².

Social and individual wellbeing were defined in both economic and moral terms. The pursuit of wealth was considered a necessary and good form of human endeavour - indeed, the basic form of public activity - and many of the traits which defined the man of good character gave moral status to habits and attitudes of economic importance: the good man was industrious, thrifty and sober. Material success was not sufficient, however, and qualities such as honesty, piety, generosity and domestic affection were also highly valued; the inculcation of such virtues was, in fact, seen as one of the fundamental roles of the family, the key institution of 'private' life⁸³.

The proper functioning of society was also regulated by the laws of political economy on the one hand and human nature on the other. The relationship between the individual and the common interest meant that the economic good of the society could be secured through each individual's pursuit of his own interest⁸⁴. 'Human nature' was variously conceived; in some cases it was seen as flexible and plastic, moulded by the environment. Thus, the

importance of such institutions as the home and the church in producing good people was strongly stressed. At other times, however, it was suggested that human nature was in some sense given; there would always be some people who were morally inferior, ill-disciplined, spendthrift and without religious sentiment⁸⁵. The proper functioning of society was dependent on the exercise of moral will and rational understanding of the laws of society on the part of the individual members of the society. Citizens who possessed the desired moral attributes and rightly understood the nature of their society would see that improvement was to be found in hard work which would bring material success to themselves. What was needed, then, was good citizens rather than legislative interference - "practical Christianity" rather than "socialism" as one writer to the Register put it⁸⁶.

The state was ascribed the function of guaranteeing the 'natural balance' of the society. Since this balance would 'naturally' exist when society was functioning 'normally' and 'healthily', the state's role was a limited one of correcting aberrations and deviations. The chief function of the state was therefore to do as little as possible; "overgovernment", wrote B.T. Finniss, an early political leader, "is the worst form of government"⁸⁷. The prohibition on government action was strongest in the economic sphere where 'free trade' and non-interference were

axioms. Socially the state should confine itself to ensuring that those who transgressed the law were punished and that gross irregularities did not develop. Despite the state's role in providing legal sanction and some financial support for a variety of institutions which would actively reproduce either existing social relations, or attitudes conducive to acceptance of the prevailing order, many forms of intervention in the 'private' domain were viewed with suspicion. In particular, financial support for religion, or any endorsement of specific denominations were anathema to the colonial elite, since for them they were associated with economic, religious and political disabilities they had suffered in England. However, they argued that education, if disentangled from religion, might receive support if it was necessary for the maintenance of social harmony⁸⁸.

To ensure that the state functioned correctly and commanded the loyalty of all citizens, it was important that government be in the hands of a democratically elected body. By placing 'power' in the hands of 'all' (that is, giving most adult males the right to vote), it was believed that the true interests of all could be safeguarded by legislation. The ideology also embodied the seemingly contradictory principle that 'property' had important rights which should receive additional protection by means of special representation in the legislature. This apparent contradiction was resolved by the belief that those who

were 'successful' had shown both the moral qualities necessary to guide the society in the right direction, and the clearest understanding of how the society worked. 'Property', then, was a mark of fitness for political leadership. Within the state, administration was believed to be politically neutral, removed from the sphere of direct government control; where patronage and other forms of direct control existed, administration was believed to be inefficient and corrupt⁸⁹.

The immediate roots of this ideology were in the English intellectual movement of Philosophic Radicalism, the doctrines of the Political Economists, and the tradition of English Dissent (i.e. the religious groups such as Congregationalists and Quakers). These movements had broad affinities with the movement of liberalism in Europe from the late eighteenth century. In Britain they were closely associated with the newly-powerful class of manufacturers and others who identified their interests with them - small capitalists, tradesmen and professionals. These people were disadvantaged economically, politically and socially by the aristocracy and others with established wealth, through electoral processes and state policies in trade and religious matters. The political and economic doctrines of liberalism undermined the theoretical basis of aristocratic power at the same time as the economic power of the new bourgeoisie challenged them on other fronts. As many writers on British liberalism have pointed out, the interests of the bourgeoisie as a class went hand in hand with liberal ideology⁹⁰.

The early leaders of South Australia were in fact drawn from this social, religious, economic and ideological background. R.D. Hanson, possibly the outstanding political leader in the colony between 1850 and 1860 had been associated with Wakefield and others in the founding of South Australia. Alfred and Arthur Hardy, leaders in colonial society who had arrived as small capitalists and invested their capital successfully, were related by marriage to the leading late nineteenth century liberal philosopher, John Stuart Mill. Others, like George Fife Angas and Thomas Elder fit very closely the 'type' suggested by R.S. Neale in his analysis of the English movement. Thus the ideology which was dominant in early South Australia represented well the interests of the class which also dominated the colony's economic, social and political life⁹¹.

To some extent, however, there were competing ideologies. Catherine Spence demonstrated in her own life and through the characters in Clara Morison that members of the petty-bourgeoisie and the 'lesser bourgeoisie' could articulate alternative views and courses of action from those which were central to the dominant ideology. In particular they were often sharply aware of the differences in interest between their own class and those above and below them in the social hierarchy. The Eliot family in Clara Morison was critical of any facile glossing over of such differences in the name of social harmony, and expressed great hostility to

bourgeois ideas of democracy which gave too much power to the working class. Margaret Eliot also opposed the view which saw the state as a mere "policeman" and which refused to intervene in social issues except to punish wrongdoers; rather, she argued, it should take the initiative to nurture social harmony by supporting institutions like the churches⁹².

Within the working class too there were ideas, attitudes and beliefs which implicitly or explicitly contradicted the dominant ideology. Some men, like William Townsend, a shoemaker who later became a successful auctioneer, drew on their experience in the Chartist movement which diverged markedly from liberal ideology at a number of points⁹³. Thomas Reynolds, working class in origin, countered bourgeois claims that men of property deserved power because they had a greater stake in the country than others; he argued that in fact working men had an even greater stake since they could not afford to leave⁹⁴. I have already shown that at times working-class leaders openly rejected the notion of a harmony of interests and of non-intervention in the market-place or the relations between labour and capital, while at the level of day-to-day consciousness, the conditions under which members of the working class laboured served to negate the belief that hard work brought material success. Moreover, the cultural heritage of working-class people in their 'home' countries abounded with expressions of rejection of the world views of their 'betters'⁹⁵.

Members of the 'lesser bourgeoisie', the petty-bourgeoisie and the working class were sometimes at least aware of the ways in which the idea of harmony of interests served to obscure conflicts and hide the fact that the state overwhelmingly served 'Establishment' interests. Since the liberal ideology was so deeply grounded in bourgeois experience and needs it is not surprising that alternative ideologies, or at least fragments of alternatives, should have arisen within classes whose experiences did not match such a view of the world.

Despite this the ideology of liberalism appears to have been widely accepted by members of all classes, and even where it was partially rejected it continued to provide a general framework within which colonists saw their world. One of the reasons for this was undoubtedly that it was couched in terms which implied that it had a universal validity, that it expressed the 'truth' about society. It was framed in terms of 'natural laws' such as the 'iron laws of political economy', as religious and moral truth or as rationality. It thus appealed for acceptance by all people of whatever class, rather than just by the bourgeoisie whose interests it reflected⁹⁶.

Secondly, the bourgeoisie dominated the 'public' forums through which an understanding of the society could be articulated. Like the Philosophic Radicals in England, colonial leaders and

others from similar backgrounds clearly recognised the importance of the press. Margaret Eliot regarded the press as "the public instructor" from which the working class "take their political creed"⁹⁷. The press was firmly controlled by the bourgeoisie (although not always by men of large capital) and not surprisingly offered a 'creed' which firmly embraced liberal ideology. The institutions of religion offered further support. In particular, the Methodist churches, active amongst the working class, offered explicit support for the existing political order and stressed the importance of hard work, self-discipline and honesty, which they linked to material as well as spiritual success. Thus Methodist doctrine and preaching reinforced the dominant ideology on religious grounds amongst a working-class audience⁹⁸.

A third explanation focusses on the origins and hopes of those attracted to the colony. Those promoting the colony claimed that it offered the possibility of success to all those who worked hard, and in some measure the claim appeared justified. Thus the colony probably attracted a significant number of working-class people who already accepted important aspects of the ideology. Within the colony some of them - Reynolds again illustrates the point - could claim to have risen from working-class backgrounds to positions of relative wealth and power. Their own success in effect validated, or appeared to do so, the ideology⁹⁹.

A final explanation is suggested by recent work in both the history of ideology and theoretical sociology on the relationship between social structure and consciousness. Berger and Luckmann argue that the process of socialization is one in which the existing social order appears 'natural', the necessary and right way for things to be¹⁰⁰. Liberalism identified, defined and explained many aspects of the social order and thus corresponded to experienced reality. Where it failed to correspond to experience, the failure could be readily assimilated as an exception which did not challenge the validity of the ideology as a whole. Thus as Tim Rowse succinctly put it, the ideology was accepted because it 'worked'¹⁰¹.

In so far as they accepted this ideology members of the working class conceptualized their world in terms which favoured bourgeois interests rather than their own. This had clear political implications: if working class people believed that there was an over-riding 'common interest' and saw this in bourgeois terms, there was little possibility that they would articulate and work for their own interest. Indeed, by a process of "fragmentation and disorganization of the culture and consciousness" of the working class, the ideology undermined working class capacity to understand their experience in their own terms¹⁰². The 'universalistic' form and claims of the ideology were thus highly functional for the bourgeoisie. As Marx and

Engels argued, each new ruling class:

is compelled, merely in order to carry through its aim, to represent its interest as the common interest of all members of the society ... it has to give its ideas the form of universality, and represent them as the only rational, universally valid ones¹⁰³.

This ideology was not a simple monolithic corpus of doctrine, but took a number of different forms. At one end of the scale there were carefully constructed 'philosophies', in which the implications and difficulties implicit in the ideology were worked through and resolved in some way. These very characteristically the product of 'intellectuals' who thus provided a theoretical legitimacy to the less systematically worked out forms. At the other end of the scale were the propositions and assumptions of everyday knowledge, 'commonsense', the things 'everyone' knew to be true and took for granted. This was the form in which the ideology was most widely used. It embodied many ambiguities and contradictions, especially in its dual focus on the economic and the moral, the social and the individual. This however gave it a flexibility and adaptability which made it a politically powerful tool. Thus the ideology was not simply a consciously held body of ideas but rather the range of limits which defined the broad areas within which people thought about their world and constructed courses of action¹⁰⁴.

One of the consequences of this complexity in the ideology and the variety of forms it took was that aspects of it could be selectively applied as the occasion appeared to demand. 'Voluntaryism', for example - the belief that the state should not do for individuals what they could do for themselves - was cited as one of the fundamental principles of colonial life and James Allen, an Adelaide pharmacist, showed that it could be applied to almost any action the state undertook from supporting schools to restricting the sale of poisons¹⁰⁵. However, it was usually only invoked when it suited the political purposes of its users. Thus from the late 1860s the Register consistently attacked the 'Establishment' for its insistence on a form of educational voluntaryism, claiming that if voluntaryism was such an important principle it should be applied equally to banking and real property transactions. Yet the Register itself opposed state intervention in the labour market with exactly the same principle¹⁰⁶.

Moreover, there was not always a simple and direct relationship between the ideology or the principles invoked and the practice which followed. The precepts about personal life and individual behaviour delivered from the pulpit on Sunday did not always match the activities of their adherents during the rest of the week. Robert Harrison observed that, despite the protestations about righteousness made by colonial leaders, he

found no signs of morality in the business life of the colony. He quoted the case of a landlord whose Christian principles refused to allow him to rent a property to a woman of dubious character, but permitted him to sell it to her at a grossly inflated price¹⁰⁷. At a more general level, there was a wide gap between the role assigned to the state in ideological terms and the range of functions it fulfilled in practice.

Like other aspects of social life, the ideology of liberalism was far from static and underwent a continual process of redefinition. In its English context it has been shown to have undergone radical transformations under the pressure of changing circumstances, each time emerging in a form moulded closely to the newly-defined interests of the bourgeoisie. In South Australia an outstanding example of this process is found in the changed attitudes of the bourgeoisie towards 'democracy' and the 'rights of property' before and after the granting of the 1855 constitution which established government by elected parliament, and again around 1860 when the working-class supported Political Association threatened to challenge bourgeois political power¹⁰⁸.

Despite the correspondence between liberalism and bourgeois interests it is crucial to recognize that it functioned

as a way of perceiving and understanding the world - as a form of consciousness. Within its general framework, individuals might articulate quite different, often opposed, strategies for dealing with particular issues as they arose. In part this explains the debate between those who supported a 'voluntaryist' conception of the state and those who sought a more active role for government; crucial to that debate was the process of defining specific concerns as belonging to the 'public' or 'private' spheres. Within such debates, individuals and groups carefully reflecting on the principles involved could frame courses of action which might even appear contrary to their own, or their class's interests. The belief in the rightness of democracy, for example, led bourgeois politicians such as Francis Dutton and G.S. Kingston to advocate such radical reforms that had they succeeded could have seriously weakened bourgeois political ascendancy¹⁰⁹. Moreover there were important aspects of the ideology which stressed a humanitarian concern for those in need and led many members of the bourgeoisie to temper some of the harsher features of capitalism with costly and extensive philanthropic endeavour.

This outline analysis of South Australian society and its dynamics around the mid-nineteenth century provides the basis for a more detailed analysis of education in the colony and in particular of state intervention through support for a

particular form of schooling. In particular, it suggests ways of understanding the factors which shaped the forms of schooling provided and the way they were used. It indicates the social, economic and political imperatives of the bourgeoisie, and shows the ideological context within which functions of education and the role of the state were defined. This last point is especially important in view of the way 'voluntaryism' has been used as a major explanatory concept: it shows the provisional nature of the concept and indicates the factors which shaped its use in political planning and decision making. The exploration of these issues is the task of the next chapter.

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18. M. Cannon, Life in the Cities, ch. 16.
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20. E.M. Yelland (ed.), Colonists, Copper and Corn in the Colony of South Australia 1850-1851, by Old Colonist, (Hawthorn Press, Melbourne, 1970), p. 86.
21. K. Wimshurst, "Nineteenth Century Hindmarsh", pp. 16; 39; 52-54.
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23. "Report of Meeting of the unemployed of Kapunda", SAA GRG 24/6/1867/1037.
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28. J. Daly, "Play and Display: A study of the sporting life of a colonial upper class", Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia, no. 5, (1978).

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29. J.B. Hirst, ibid. p. 38.

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31. M. Cannon, Life in the Cities, ch. 15; 16.
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 K. Wimhurst, "Nineteenth Century Hindmarsh", p.40.
32. T. Gill, The History and Topography of Glen Osmond, (1905, facsimile, Libraries Board of South Australia, 1974), pp. 27-30; 44.
 S. Marsden, A History of Woodville, (Corporation of City of Woodville, Woodville, South Australia, 1977), pp. 29; 38-43.
 W.A. Norman, The History of the City of Mitcham, (Corporation of the City of Mitcham, Mitcham, South Australia, 1953), pp. 19-23.
33. I. Auhl, From Settlement to City, p. 117.
 K.R. Bowes, Land Settlement in South Australia, p. 42.
 S. Leighton, "A Visit to South Australia", pp. 27-28.
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34. This pattern can be discerned in a large number of local histories; see, in addition to those already cited, J. Murdoch and H. Parker, History of Naracoorte, (Naracoorte Chamber of Commerce, Naracoorte, South Australia 1963), especially pp. 14-20, and H.J. Stowe, They Built Strathalbyn, (Investigator Press, Leabrook, South Australia, 1973), especially pp. 16-29; 38-39. For a discussion of the position of shopkeepers and the economic basis for it, see K.R. Bowes, "The Moonta Mines", p. 16.
35. E.K. Miller, Reminiscences of Forty-Seven Years' Clerical Life in South Australia, (A.H. Roberts, Adelaide, 1895), p. 93.
 P. Nagel, A Social History of North Adelaide, pp. 13-14.
36. M. Cannon, Life in the Cities, ch. 3.
 D. Manuel, "Roads Not Taken: Some Minor Concerns of Adelaide's Newspapers at the Mid-Nineteenth Century", Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia, no. 8 (1980), pp. 85-86.
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 M. Cannon, Life in the Country, pp. 99-102; 106-107.
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38. C.H. Spence, Clara Morison, pp. 232-233; Some Social Aspects of South Australian Life, p. 3.

39. P. Grimshaw, "Women and the Family in Australian History", in E. Windschuttle (ed.), Women, Class and History : Feminist Perspectives on Australia, 1788-1978, (Fontana, Melbourne, 1980), specially pp. 40-44; 46-48.
- B. Kingston, My Wife, My Daughter and Poor Mary Ann, p. 12, ch. 2. South Australian, 23 May, 1851.
- C.H. Spence, An Autobiography, p. 22.
40. C.H. Spence, Clara Morison, p. 262.
41. P. Baker, "The Position of Women in South Australia", ch. 1, especially p. 9.
- A. Summers, Damned Whores and God's Police : The Colonization of Women in Australia, (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1975), ch. 9.
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- Cf. E. Windschuttle, "'Feeding the Poor and Sapping their Strength' : the Public Role of Ruling-Class Women in Eastern Australia, 1788-1850", in E. Windschuttle (ed.), Women, Class and History, passim.
42. P. Nagel, A Social History of North Adelaide, p. 26.
43. P. Baker, "The Position of Women in South Australia", pp. 98-116.
- S.L. Campbell, "Women and the Law", p. 28.
44. J.M. Brown, 'The Almonds' of Walkerville, pp. 17, 23.
- B. Kingston, My Wife, My Daughter and Poor Mary Ann, pp. 24-25.
- J. Watts, Family Life in South Australia, pp. 22, 35, 82-83.
45. B. Kingston, ibid. ch. 3.
46. R.W. Connell and T.H. Irvine, Class Structure in Australia, p. 126.
47. M. Broughton, Chronicle Cameos, (Madjuri Australia, Jamestown, South Australia, 1977), p. 112.
- B. Kingston, My Wife, My Daughter and Poor Mary Ann, p. 39.
48. C.H. Spence, Clara Morison, p. 179.

49. For a sustained discussion of the implications of the position of women both economically and socially for the formation of Australian culture and women's identity, see M. Dixon, The Real Matilda : Woman and Identity in Australia, 1788-1975, (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1975), especially ch. 3 for women amongst the poor.

50.	Male	Female	Total
Population 21 years or older	22,063	18,735	40,797
Married (all ages)	15,037	15,795	30,833

Source: Abstract of Census, 1855, S.A.P.P. 1855-1856, no. 19. The higher rate of marriage among women and the discrepancy between the numbers of men and women married may be explained by the imbalance between men and women in the total population and the loss of a significant number of husbands to the Victorian goldfields. Moreover, women tended to marry younger than men, so that a far greater proportion of men represented in these figures would be below conventional marrying age. Further specialized study is urgently needed to explore this aspect of South Australia's social history. For a discussion of the distribution of population between urban and rural areas, and of the imbalances in gender and marriage ratios in different areas, see J.B. Hirst, Adelaide and the Country, pp. 6-7. For a discussion of the extent to which adolescents may have lived within, or partially within, family environments, see M.B. Katz and I.E. Davey, "Youth and Early Industrialization" in J. Demos and S. Boocock (eds.), Turning Points: Historical and Sociological Essays on the Family, (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1978).

51. B. Kingston, My Wife, My Daughter and Poor Mary Ann, p. 30.
C.H. Spence, Some Social Aspects of South Australian Life, pp. 2-3.
A. Summers, Damned Whores and God's Police, ch. 9.

52. P. Baker, "The Position of Women in South Australia", ch. 4.
J. Brown, 'The Almonds' of Walkerville, p. 45.
J. Verco, "Early Recollections of Sir Joseph Verco, 1851-188-". SAA PRG 322/6, p. 11.
J. Watts, Family Life in South Australia, pp. 18-19. Even when the author had household duties, they were irregular and not arduous; pp. 24-25.

53. J. Watts, ibid. pp. 19-21; 26; 34-35; 37-38; 51-52.

54. A. Summers, Damned Whores and God's Police, pp. 306-307.

55. R.W. Connell and T.H. Irving, Class Structure in Australian History, pp. 123-126.

M. Dixon, The Real Matilda, pp. 103-106.

S. Fabian and M. Loh, Children in Australia: An Outline History, (Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1980), pp. 43, 46-47.

A. Summers, Damned Whores and God's Police, p. 169.

Local leaders were well aware of the constraints which different modes of production could place upon the working class; see Register, 8 April, 1850.

56. M. Dixon, ibid. p. 94.

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57. R. Charlton, The History of Kapunda, (Hawthorn Press, Melbourne, 1971), p. 18.

I.A. Harmstorf, "German Migration to South Australia, 1851-1884" pp. 18; 127-128.

H. Munz, Jews in South Australia 1836-1936, (Adelaide, 1936), ch. 2; 3.

R.J. Noye, Clare, p. 21

E.S. Richards, "The Highland Scots of South Australia", Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia, no. 4 (1978), p. 53.

58. I.J. Bickerton, "The Catholic Church in South Australia 1836-1858: a study of the problems of the Catholic Church in establishing itself in South Australia", (unpublished B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1959), pp. 5-6.

I.A. Harmstorf, ibid. pp. 10-11; 22-23; 40-41; 46-47.

S. Leighton, "A Visit to South Australia", p. 32.

C. Nance, "The Irish in South Australia During the Colony's First Four Decades", Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia, no. 5 (1977), passim.

D. Pike, Paradise of Dissent, pp. 124-137; 146-155; 309-318; 377-378.

E.S. Richards, ibid. pp. 33-37; 50-55.

59. Denomination	Nominal Adherants 1855 (a)	Average congregation 1854 (b)
Church of England	33,812	3,180
Roman Catholic	8,335	1,420
Presbyterian		
Church of Scotland	7,120	1,105
Free Church of Scotland		
Congregational		
Independent	5,355	2,751
Baptist		
Methodist (c)	11,178	6,784
Lutheran	6,151	1,965

(a) 1855 Census, voluntary declaration of religion, S.A.P.P. 1855-56, no. 20.

(b) 1854 Statistical Returns, S.A.P.P. 1855 — 1856, no. 18, p.10.

(c) The 1854 figures represent a compilation of various Methodist groups, whereas the 1855 figures listed Wesleyans separately, and included other Methodists only under the heading "other denominations" (7,118).

60. I.J. Bickerton, "The Catholic Church in South Australia, 1836-1858", pp. 5-6.

P. Nagel, A Social History of North Adelaide, pp. 8; 14.

D. Pike, Paradise of Dissent, pp. 261; 364.

61. B.T. Finnis, The Constitutional History of South Australia During the Twenty One Years, From the Foundation of the Settlement in 1836 to the Inauguration of Responsible Government in 1857, (Rigby, Adelaide, 1886), p. 240.

W.W. Phillips, "The Influence of Congregationalism in South Australia", (unpublished B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1957), pp. 9-19.

62. W.W. Phillips, ibid. p. 13.

63. R. Harrison, Colonial Sketches, (1862, facsimile, Austaprint, Hampstead Gardens, South Australia, 1978), pp. 53-54.

64. Cited in E. Hodder, History of South Australia, (Sampson Low, Marston, London, 1893), p. 307.

65. C.H. Spence, Clara Morison, pp. 104; 179.

66. A. Pridmore, The Rich Valley, (McLaren Vale Institute, McLaren Vale, 1949), p. 56.

67. R. Bruce, Reminiscences of an Old Squatter, (W.K. Thomas, Adelaide, 1902), p. 26.

Cf. R.J. Noye, Clare, p. 21.

68. E.K. Miller, Reminiscences of Forty-Seven Years' Clerical Life in South Australia, pp. 28-29.

69. The main accounts of the structure of government and administration are provided by G.N. Hawker, "The Development of The Civil Service in South Australia, 1836-1916" and K.K. O'Donoghue, "The Constitutional and Administrative Development of South Australia, from responsible government to the Strangways Act of 1868", (unpublished B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1950).

70. There is no major study of District Councils; for brief discussion of their powers, see W. Marcus, South Australia : Its History, Resources and Productions, (Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, London, 1876), pp. 46-47, and J.B. Hirst, Adelaide and the Country, pp. 123-125. Some indication of the functions of local government can be gleaned from the various local histories; e.g. I. Auhl, From Settlement to City, pp. 151-154. M. Scales, John Walker's Village, ch. 4; 5.

71. G. Jenkins, Conquest of the Ngarrindjeri : The Story of Lower Murray Lakes Tribes, (Rigby, Adelaide, 1979), pp. 52-64.

D. Pike, Paradise of Dissent, pp. 285-294.

South Australian, 18 February, 1851; 29 April, 1851.

M.A. Worden, "Some Social Attitudes in South Australia, 1836-1857", (unpublished B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1964), p. 77.

72. T.A. Coghlan, Labour and Industry in Australia, pp. 623-624.

B.T. Finnis, The Constitutional History of South Australia, pp. 67; 118.

W.W. Phillips, "The Influence of Congregationalism in South Australia", p. 22.

Register, 29 January, 1850; 19 December, 1851.

73. G.R. Blainey, The Tyranny of Distance, (revised edition, Macmillan, Melbourne, 1968), ch. 6.

B.T. Finnis, ibid. pp. 60-61; 97-99.

G.N. Hawker, "The Development of the South Australian Civil Service 1836-1916", pp. 49-51.

E.S. Richards, "The Genesis of Secondary Industry in the South Australian Economy to 1876", p. 127.

M.J. Walters, "Policies, Production and People in South Australia, 1861-1891", (unpublished B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1971), preface.

74. D. Jaensch, "Political Representation in Colonial South Australia", pp. 33-34; 42; 155-156; 216-222; 235.

G.N. Hawker, ibid. pp. 94-95.

D. Pike, Paradise of Dissent, p. 435.

75. I. Auhl, From Settlement to City, pp. 146-148.

K. Wimshurst, "Nineteenth Century Hindmarsh", p. 51.

76. J. Moss, "South Australia's Colonial Labour Movement", pp. 14-15.

D. Pike, Paradise of Dissent, pp. 118; 320.

Register, 28 January, 1850; 6 December, 1855.

Cf. R.W. Connell and T.H. Irving, Class in Australian History, pp. 108-113.

77. I. Auhl, From Settlement to City, pp. 74-75.

W.H. Baynes, "John Hart: the Public Record, 1831-1872", (unpublished B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1961), pp. 20-23.

G.R. Blainey, Tyranny of Distance, p. 261.

B.T. Finnis, Constitutional History of South Australia, pp. 34-35.

Register, 1 May, 1850,; 3 December, 1851.

M.J. Walters, "Policies, Production and People in South Australia", pp. 6-10.

78. J. Moss, "South Australia's Colonial Labour Movement", p.16.

Register, 27 September, 1851.

S.A.P.D., 1858, col. 583-584; 1859, col. 134.

For a fuller discussion of the competing claims of economic development and social spending, see chapter 3, pp.158-159, 166-167, 174-178.

79. J.W. Bull, Early Experiences of Colonial Life in South Australia, (1878, facsimile, Libraries Board of South Australia, Adelaide, 1972), p. 56.

G.L. Buxton, South Australian Land Acts, 1869-1885, p. 7.
Register, 1 May, 1850.
S.A.P.D. 1859, col. 133.

80. E.S. Richards, "The Genesis of Secondary Industry in the South Australian Economy to 1876", pp. 127-128.

M.J. Walters, "Policies, Production and People in South Australia", Preface and p. 6.

K. Wimshurst, "Nineteenth Century Hindmarsh", pp. 51-54.

81. J. Swanson, "Conflict and Consent", introduction. The most coherent and sustained statement of this ideology is found in R.D. Hanson's "Inaugural Address to the South Australian Literary Society" in 1834, (a facsimile is held in the State Library of South Australia), and most points of the ideology outlined below can be found in it.

82. Register, 29 January, 1850; 22 March, 1850; 1 May, 1850.
 C.H. Spence, Some Social Aspects of South Australian Life, p. 2.
 Swanson, ibid. pp. 40-42.

M.A. Worden, "Some Social Attitudes in South Australia, 1836-1857", p. 7.

83. W.W. Phillips, "The Influence of Congregationalism in South Australia", p. 10.

D. Pike, Paradise of Dissent, p. 150.

South Australian, 23 May, 1851.

C.H. Spence, loc. cit.

M.A. Worden, ibid. pp. 6-7.

84. Register, 9 January 1851.

J. Swanson, "Conflict and Consent", p. 42.

85. C.H. Spence, Some Social Aspects of South Australian Life, p. 2.

86. Register, 2nd April, 1850.

87. B.T. Finnis, Constitutional History of South Australia, p. 242.
J. Swanson, "Conflict and Consent", p. 17.
88. W.H. Baynes, "John Hart: the Public Record", pp. 34; 53.
J. Swanson, ibid. pp. 12-13; 15-22.
M.A. Worden, "Some Social Attitudes in South Australia, 1836-1857", pp. 32-33.
89. G.N. Hawker, "The Development of the South Australian Civil Service, 1836-1916", pp. 79; 85; 93.
D. Jaensch, "Political Representation in Colonial South Australia", pp. 11-14; 43; 57.
D. Pike, Paradise of Dissent, p. 320.
J. Swanson, ibid. pp. 45; 57.
90. J. Bullock and M. Shock, The Liberal Tradition, From Fox to Keynes, (Black, London, 1956), pp. xxii-xxiii.
D.J. Manning, Liberalism, (Dent, London, 1976), pp. 14-17.
R.S. Neale, Class and Ideology in the Nineteenth Century, (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1972), pp. 22-24; 35; 51-52.
H.J. Schultz (ed.), English Liberalism and the State: Individualism or Collectivism? (Heath, Lexington, Mass. 1972), Introduction, p. ix.
91. R.S. Neale, ibid. pp. 6-9; 34-38.
D. Pike, Paradise of Dissent, pp. 64; 82; 86.
D. Jaensch, "Political Representation in Colonial South Australia", pp. 11-16.
92. C.H. Spence, An autobiography, p. 21; Clara Morison, pp. 104; 240; 395.
93. W.A. Norman, Mitcham, pp. 235-236.
Cf. J. Moss, "South Australia's Colonial Labour Movement", p. 19.
94. J. Swanson, "Conflict and Consent", p. 58.
95. S. Leighton, "A Visit to South Australia", p. 22.
South Australian, 1 April, 1851.
H.J. Schultz (ed.), English Liberalism and the State, p. xiv.

96. J. Bullock and M. Shock, The Liberal Tradition, p. xxiv.
T. Gill, The History and Topography of Glen Osmond, p. 29.
H.J. Schultz, ibid. p. xxii.
97. C.H. Spence, Clara Morison, p. 305.
98. J. Haslam, History of Wesleyan Methodism in South Australia, (1886, reprinted South Australian Methodist Historical Society, Adelaide, 1958), *passim*.
D. Manuel, "Roads Not Taken", pp. 84-85.
D. Pike, Paradise of Dissent, pp. 393-396.
99. D. Pike, ibid. pp. 148-150.
100. P. Berger and T. Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge. (Penguin, London, 1966), p. 154.
101. T. Rowse, Australian Liberalism and National Character, (Kibble Books, Melbourne, 1978), pp. 15-16.
102. B. Abbey and D. Ashenden, "Explaining Inequality", Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology, vol. 14, no. 1, (1978), p. 8.
103. K. Marx and F. Engels, The German Ideology, (Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1965), p. 62.
104. For a discussion of the structure of ideology, see especially P. Berger and T. Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality, especially part 1, and R. Williams, "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory", New Left Review, no. 82, (1973).
105. Register, 7 June, 1861; 9 September, 1868.
106. Register, 3 December, 1869; 2 March, 1870.
107. R. Harrison, Colonial Sketches, pp. 51-52.
108. D. Pike, Paradise of Dissent, p. 392.
J. Swanson, "Conflict and Consent", pp. 45-57.
109. This was certainly the view of some conservatives; E. Hodder, History of South Australia, p. 307. Cf. J. Swanson, ibid. p. 8.

Chapter 2

Colonial Schooling and State Intervention: The Formation of the Board

In 1851 a new Constitution established a semi-elective Legislative Council. During its first session the Council debated and passed an Education Bill which many contemporaries regarded as one of the most important measures dealt with that year. It superseded Governor Robe's 1847 Education Ordinance and significantly increased the state's powers to intervene in the development of colonial schools. It was to be administered by a Central Board of Education appointed by the governor with the advice of his Executive Council. In this chapter I explore the background to the formation of the Board by considering why state intervention was considered necessary and why it took the form it did. I examine the diversity of colonial educational practices and their relation to the social structure, the functions colonial leaders ascribed to education, the forms of schooling they believed would fulfill those functions and the means by which they believed such schooling could be developed.

By the end of 1851 there were 115 schools receiving assistance under the provisions of the 1847 Education Ordinance in South Australia, while many more either did not apply for aid or were deemed ineligible to receive it¹. These early schools were

extremely diverse in character and ranged from institutions like St. Peter's College through the many 'academies' for young ladies or gentlemen and superior elementary schools to much less formal schools operating on a more casual basis and local 'dame' schools which in many cases probably offered little more than a minding service for young children². These schools differed in many ways - in the educational and social backgrounds of the teachers, the organization of the pupils and the curriculum, accommodation, stability and clientele.

One important group within the ranks of the teachers comprised those who saw teaching as a profession and themselves as professional practitioners. Many of them had been trained at Normal Schools in England or elsewhere or had served apprenticeships under experienced or trained masters, while some had even held positions in teacher training institutions. Joseph Ryder, Robert Mitton, James Bonwick and E.K. Miller had all trained at the headquarters of the British and Foreign School Society in Borough Road, London, Bryant Waymouth had been an Organizing Master in a Scottish Normal School, and Leonard Burton had trained under Miller in the Anglican Pulteney Street Model School. Other professional teachers had begun their careers before the development of Normal Schools but claimed long experience and high reputations from 'home'. Augustus Winter had taught at the prestigious Merchant Taylors' School in London, Edward Wickes claimed experience and the authorship of

several reputable school texts and James MacGowan offered testimonials to his competence dating from 1804 as well as the editorship of the first English educational journal. Characteristically these teachers saw their understanding of the science of pedagogy and their expertise in conducting schools as placing them at the pinnacle of colonial education³.

A second group embarked on teaching on the basis of a substantial formal education, often including study at university. However, while some of them were no doubt familiar with the growing literature in the field of pedagogical science, their lack of specific teacher training meant that their methods of school organization and instruction were generally quite different from those of the trained masters and mistresses⁴. To some extent members of the first two groups are difficult to distinguish and may have overlapped - certainly in many cases it is not possible to distinguish to which group particular teachers belonged. Moreover, both groups played a significant part in the intellectual life of the colony. James Bassett and Edward Catlow, for example, established a reputation for their prowess with 'magic squares', William Cawthorne and Frances Sheridan were known for their literary contributions to colonial life, while James Bonwick lectured on phrenology. Some of these teachers came from families of learning and 'culture' and offered their pupils not only the advantages of a formal education but the polish and manners of a respectable position

in the society. With some exceptions teachers in these groups appear to have seen teaching in the colony as an opportunity to maintain or improve their social positions in ways which were not open to them at 'home'; in this regard their position was rather similar to that of members of other professions⁵.

A third group of teachers embraced those who had acquired an informal education and developed a high degree of literacy and were quite widely read but lacked both the systematic, formal schooling and the professional training of the first groups. Such teachers appear to have accounted for a high proportion of early colonial teachers, judging from the number of reports about teachers whose attainments were limited but generally satisfactory. Thomas Mugg, for example, who taught at Mitcham for several years was a retired carpenter, but was accepted by the Inspector of Schools as quite adequate for the needs of the school and locality⁶.

Finally there were the teachers who had little more than a basic literacy and numeracy to offer in the way of skills for their pupils. The Colonial Secretary complained of the apparent inability of some teachers to write correctly in filling out forms, or even to follow the instructions accurately, while the Register complained of poor spelling and syntax and pointed out that one school was advertised by a sign which read "ritin teeched ear"⁷.

A few schools boasted relatively large numbers of pupils, especially in Adelaide and other larger centres. Edward Wickes'

and James Bath's schools in North Adelaide and Agnes Curl's in the rural town of Mount Barker claimed to have over one hundred pupils on their rolls. At the other extreme there were schools with less than a dozen pupils such as those in the small rural settlements of Ardtornish and Buchsfelde⁸. While demographic factors limited the size of some schools, some teachers deliberately offered places to only a few students; a master at Walkerville, for example, advertised positions in an establishment for only "six young gentlemen"⁹. Most schools necessarily fell between these extremes and the average size of schools receiving government assistance in 1851 was around twenty-five, although town schools were characteristically larger than rural ones. Enrolments in many schools fluctuated seasonally, especially in the country, and with cyclical changes in the economy. Attendance was often highly irregular and markedly below the nominal enrolment. When Inspector Wyatt visited Mary Cubbon's school in North Adelaide in 1851, he found only seven pupils present out of more than twenty on the register¹⁰. Only in a relatively few schools, it seems, did most pupils attend regularly.

A number of factors affected the permanence of the schools. Many enjoyed only a casual, ephemeral existence, and "appeared and disappeared with great rapidity"¹¹. In some cases professional teachers established schools as business ventures but did not gain the support they required to continue and either moved their school to a more promising locality or shifted into a different field of

business. More commonly, small schools were established in periods of depression by men or women out of work who secured a temporary income by teaching for a small fee until their normal work was again available. Parents experiencing reduced wages or employment frequently withdrew their children from the more established, but more expensive schools and often patronised such teachers¹². Moreover, since most schools were private ventures on the part of a single person, they were subject to the changing personal circumstances of the teacher - marriage, ill-health, old age or even death. Sophie James' school at Burra closed after only a brief existence "in consequence of her father coming to reside in town"¹³. Where schools were integrated into other institutional structures such as churches or local school committees, where they were conducted by professional teachers in remunerative localities or as a vocation and where (often as a result of these factors) special school buildings were established, the schools enjoyed a high degree of permanence¹⁴. However, the internal stability of even permanent schools was affected by the irregular attendance patterns already mentioned and by the high rate of pupil turnover. Later estimates suggested that as many as half the pupils in a school with relatively constant enrolment might leave and be replaced by others during the course of a year. The limited number of attendance returns available for the years 1848 to 1851 confirm this impression of transiency among the school populations in many instances. Such variation was not felt equally in all schools and in some, pupils attended regularly over a period of years¹⁵.

The scope, level and organization of the curriculum also varied markedly from school to school. Under the 1847 Ordinance, which paid teachers at different rates for elementary and advanced instruction, some teachers, such as Joseph Abbott, claimed only for elementary teaching, while others, such as Elizabeth Whitby, also claimed for advanced pupils¹⁶. At the elementary level, some schools offered little more than reading, writing and arithmetic while others included religious teaching, geography, history, grammar, singing, needlework and other subjects. In some schools instrumental music, crochet and deportment were added for girls, classical and commercial subjects for boys and modern languages for both. Books ranged from the Bible, which was the sole text in some institutions, through a variety of special school books produced by the school societies in Britain or by teachers themselves to whatever materials pupils could bring from home. Finally, the curriculum varied according to the degree of formal organization of its content. Some teachers followed a carefully planned course of instruction through which all pupils were expected to progress in a given order, but in many schools lessons varied according to the individual pupils, the material available and the interests and day-to-day decisions of the teacher¹⁷.

Most schools were conducted in private dwellings, either in a room which reverted to its 'normal' functions when school was not in progress, like Reverend Gill's kitchen at Coromandel Valley, or

in a room specially set aside and perhaps modified for school use. Other schools were held in old huts and disused buildings originally constructed for other purposes and subsequently granted by their owners for use as schools. In many settlements the same building was used as a chapel on Sunday, schoolroom on weekdays and Institute and meeting room during the evenings. Only a small proportion of schools were conducted in buildings designed and built especially for that purpose; Reverend Gill's kitchen was superseded by a schoolhouse built by public subscription. Differences in accommodation affected ventilation, lighting, capacity to house large numbers of pupils and the convenience and comfort of teacher and pupil alike¹⁸.

Most importantly, schools were differentiated socially. Some were established quite explicitly for particular social groups: St. Peter's College was intended for the wealthy leaders of the colony, while St. Andrew's and the Pulteney Street elementary schools were meant for the "industrial classes"¹⁹. The location of the school also helped determine the nature of its clientele, since a school in a working class neighbourhood would be unlikely to attract children of the bourgeoisie from elsewhere. However, even within a neighbourhood, schools were stratified, as Alexander Moody's school in Hindmarsh suggests. His clients were principally drawn from the ranks of the secure, established leaders of the suburb, while children of the poorer residents patronised other teachers²⁰. The tendency for schools to divide along lines of

class and status was reinforced by the fact that tuition fees provided the principal - often the only - income for the teacher. Fees ranged from more than two shillings and sixpence per week down to as little as one or two pence; clearly working class people were excluded from the more expensive schools, while the respectable but not particularly wealthy tended to patronise those in the middle of the range. * Perhaps only in small rural towns and larger villages was there the possibility of a real social mix in schools : where the population was too small to support more than one school, professional people, shopkeepers and larger farmers sent their children to the same school as poorer small farmers and labourers.

These different aspects of schools and attendance interacted strongly with each other to generate several characteristic patterns of schooling. First, there were expensive, socially exclusive schools like St. Peter's College, (and to some extent Charles Feinagle's South Australian High School), modelled after the English Public Schools. These schools were relatively large, integrated into a stable institutional structure, taught by formally well educated and often especially trained teachers and utilized a broad, clearly defined curriculum and class methods of instruction. Pupils were enrolled and attended regularly over a prolonged period in order to attain an advanced education²¹.

Secondly, there were the large proprietary schools conducted by trained or experienced masters or mistresses anxious to secure

a substantial income and professional reputation. They followed a well defined curriculum, which might range from elementary to advanced, adopted class methods of instruction, standardized text books and special teaching apparatus and were characteristically conducted in premises designed or modified especially for the purpose. To facilitate these methods of instruction, these schools sought, and often secured, prolonged regular attendance. They charged moderate to high fees and thus drew on a clientele ranging from wealthy members of the bourgeoisie through members of the professions to established shopkeepers, small employers and the occasional superior artisan - the elite and 'respectable middle classes'. The majority of these schools were located in Adelaide and the more prosperous suburbs, but a few were also to be found in the larger country centres²².

Thirdly, there were the small 'academies' established by well educated and occasionally trained teachers. Like the masters and mistresses of the larger proprietary schools these teachers sought a secure income and a position of social respectability. They competed for the same class of pupil as attended the larger schools, but offered a different form of education, even if the content of the curriculum was similar. In particular, their small size made class methods of organization and instruction inapplicable. The Tilney sisters conducted their "Academy for Young Ladies" in one room of their house. Their mother sat in one corner of the room making netting while the sisters taught. The pupils sat on forms

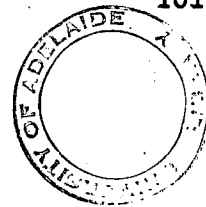
on either side of a single long table, while the older sister sat at the head exercising general supervision and giving general instruction and the younger moved from one pupil to another providing individual direction and assistance. The school appears to have been conducted in a very orderly fashion, and marks were given for both schoolwork and behaviour - Joseph Verco recalled receiving five marks for not needing to be told to keep his elbows off the table²³.

Fourthly, there were the ephemeral schools which were to be found in both rural and urban working-class communities, often conducted by women for whom a 'dame' school might be an alternative to washing or cleaning as a means of economic survival, or by men who were temporarily unable to find work in their normal field. These schools were cheap and often provided little formal education and in some cases were probably patronised as much as a minding service for young children as for their 'educational' value. Attendance at these schools was casual and irregular and the curriculum highly informal and unstructured²⁴.

Fifthly, there were the regular day schools established in urban working-class neighbourhoods and rural communities with the expectation of a relatively permanent existence. Such schools were sometimes conducted by trained teachers or well educated men and women from 'superior' social backgrounds as a form of missionary vocation but more frequently they were established by educated

working-class people themselves. They characteristically charged fees of around ninepence to one shilling per week and thus attracted clients with a secure and comfortable income, or those who were enjoying a period of regular work at relatively high wages. In the country their capacity to attract pupils fluctuated according to the time of year and whether the season proved bountiful to the farmers. While many teachers in such schools were probably either unfamiliar with class methods of organization and instruction or else saw little need for them, even trained teachers found such methods difficult to implement because of fluctuating and irregular attendance, the high turnover of pupils and the difficulty they experienced getting parents to buy prescribed text books. Instruction was therefore often individually based and the content of the curriculum relatively loosely defined and organized²⁵.

It is also important to recognize that these schools were not the only means of education available to the colonists of early South Australia. Bourgeois parents sometimes sent their sons to superior English schools and perhaps to University. More frequently education was provided at home, either by mothers or older siblings, or by hired tutors or governesses. For working class and petty bourgeois children, much informal education could be obtained working with parents on the job, while Sunday schools, which attracted large numbers of children, may well have provided an introduction to the basic skills of reading and writing for many. Certainly the Sunday schools in Britain fulfilled this function in



many working class communities and it seems highly likely that the same practice was continued in the colony, especially amongst denominations which placed great emphasis on Bible reading²⁶.

These patterns reflected a range of aspirations and possibilities determined largely by the structure of the society and the location of individuals within that structure. Parents' educational choices for their children were shaped by their hopes for their children's futures and by the role they saw for schooling in fulfilling those hopes. They were also tightly constrained by the means available to them for schooling their children, and these means in turn imposed limits within which they could develop their aspirations.

The first major factor affecting parental choices about education was a direct outcome of social class: their capacity to afford different forms of education. Members of the bourgeoisie had the financial resources to maintain their children in a prolonged state of dependency in which sustained, regular schooling was possible. Moreover, they had the means to choose whether to educate their children at home, in England or at schools such as St. Peter's College²⁷. Those of lesser, but still substantial incomes, could afford some of these options, since they too could maintain their children's dependency, even though the more costly choices were beyond their reach. Their children might learn elementary reading and writing at home then proceed to a small

elementary school, a larger academy and finally perhaps an advanced school such as the South Australian High School or even St. Peter's College. These children, therefore, might attend school regularly for several years²⁸. Shopkeepers, superior artisans and farmers with relatively secure comfortable incomes could afford to send their children to schools charging moderately high fees, perhaps a shilling a week, for several years. However, the need for children to work in the family business, for boys to join their fathers in their trade and for girls to share with their mothers in the running of the household and the minding of young children cut across regular attendance. Their attendance was characteristically less regular and prolonged than that of their betters and the schools they attended were less effectively organized around class teaching methods than the schools conducted by trained teachers for the children of the bourgeoisie²⁹. The children of the less secure sectors of the working class and small farmers had even less prospect of regular sustained attendance, because of seasonal and cyclical fluctuations in income and the need for them to work either casually or 'permanently'. Moreover, the transiency which characterised important sections of the working class prevented regular attendance at the same school even if it could be afforded. The size of such families' incomes at the best of times placed both the level of fees and the cost of special books often demanded by trained teachers well beyond their means. At the worst of times, all forms of schooling were beyond their means : the Register pointed out in 1847 that there were families with as little as one penny per week for clothing and

schooling their children³⁰.

Residential location also affected the possibilities open to parents. In Adelaide, and in some of the suburbs and the larger country towns, the concentration of population made it possible for several schools to co-exist. This permitted a diversity of schools, enabling them to draw on socially distinct groups. In smaller rural settlements, while the most wealthy could send their children to boarding schools in larger towns or in Adelaide, most residents had little choice of school. Many settlements had only enough children to support a single school and thus children of all ranks in the community attended it - if they went to school at all³¹.

Within the limits imposed by class and demographic factors educational choices were shaped by parents' aspirations and expectations for their children and the role they expected schools to play in realizing them. In particular, they were moulded by religion, ethnicity and the positions they expected their children to occupy as adults, these positions themselves being largely determined by class and gender. Prominent and wealthy members of the bourgeoisie and leading professionals wished to see their sons take their place as leaders in the social, political and commercial or professional life of the colony. Their homes provided basic training in religion, morality, manners and intellectual skills and knowledge and schools offered

a means of developing these more fully. Consequently they favoured exclusive schools which offered religious training, skills and knowledge applicable to commercial and professional life and a broad acquaintance with the culture of the English elite. Their daughters would become the leading ladies of the society as well as wives and mothers. Schools for them must therefore provide social prestige, the religious knowledge they would need to fulfill their duties as moral guardians of their families and a range of useful and decorative skills such as dancing, music, drawing, foreign languages and fancy needlework. Mathematics, sciences and commercial subjects were considered 'unfeminine' and irrelevant for a 'lady'³².

For smaller capitalists, lesser members of the professions and those in clerical positions, larger farmers, shopkeepers and successful artisans, schools also offered an extension of family values and a means of securing or improving their social and economic position. They provided training in discipline, morality and habits of industry which such families regarded as the basis of success and thus provided both a means to, and a hallmark of, respectability. The literacy and numeracy skills they offered were important for their sons as a basis for active participation in family businesses or employment in clerical or professional positions. Intellectual skills were less important for their daughters than a sound preparation for their vocations as wives and

mothers, although they might enable them to obtain respectable work such as teaching before marriage. However, apart from those being groomed for specifically literate occupations, most of these children also learned important lessons working alongside their parents, sons in the business or on the farm, daughters with their mothers in domestic tasks - lessons which could not be learned in school. Regular sustained attendance therefore did not have the same status or functions as it did among leading families. Schools which offered a sound elementary education at a moderate price, but which also set them apart from their inferiors were widely patronised by these groups. While many supported untrained teachers, especially for girls, trained teachers were often preferred since their qualifications appeared to provide some guarantee of efficiency and their methods characteristically emphasised such highly valued features as discipline, regularity and order³³.

For working-class and small farmers' children, schooling offered little in the way of preparation for work, and certainly had little to do with creating the possibility of upward mobility, since few jobs were premised on literacy and those which were required a greater degree of schooling than most members of the poorer sectors of the society could afford. Nevertheless the ability to read and to a lesser extent to write was of great value in a wide variety of daily routines. Moreover, it seems likely that, as in England, education was highly regarded amongst the

working-class both for its own intrinsic value and as a means of participating in an increasingly literate culture. Such values, however, did not require either regular formal schooling or specially trained teachers³⁴.

Religion and ethnicity also played important roles in shaping parents' educational concerns. Dissenting denominations such as the Methodists placed great stress on the ability of every child to read the Bible for him or herself, but saw little urgent need for the school curriculum to include explicit religious instruction of a doctrinal nature. Catholics and Lutherans, however, saw a much closer integration of religious and secular knowledge and aspired to a thorough interpenetration of the two in the school curriculum. For them, instruction in the doctrines of the faith was fundamental to any true education³⁵.

Within communities founded around a common ethnic or religious identity education offered a means of passing on shared values to the young of the community. German communities clearly sought to use their schools to teach their children the German language and to introduce them to German culture more generally as a means of maintaining their identity³⁶. Where communities were divided along such lines, each group often supported its own school, reinforcing that division. In some communities, however, the small number of settlers made this impracticable and each group supported the same school. At Uley Bury, for example, one of the

conditions written into the trust deed of the local schoolhouse stipulated that it should not be made available for any form of religious activity, in order to avoid developing religious conflicts within the community³⁴.

Finally, the educational aspirations of the early colonists were shaped by their knowledge of the forms of education available in their countries of origin. In Scotland and Germany formal education sponsored by church or state was extremely widespread, and Scottish and German colonists displayed a strong commitment to providing similar forms of schooling for their children. It is perhaps no accident that the Golden Grove and Coromandel Valley communities, both with an influential Scottish element were among the first to erect public school buildings by local subscription³⁸. The class origins of colonists also influenced their attitudes to schooling and their understanding of what constituted appropriate forms of education. English working-class education in the early and mid-nineteenth century was largely self-provided and geared to the conditions under which they lived. Many working-class people actively rejected the bourgeois-provided 'national' schools and attended a range of institutions from Sunday schools through small day or evening schools to self-help and cooperative institutions. While elementary schooling was a brief and haphazard affair, it was seen as merely one part of an educational process which proceeded well into adulthood³⁹. English 'middle class' education was much more systematic and continuous, and centred around the old grammar

and endowed schools and a range of newer academies. The curriculum was highly formalized focussing on such 'modern' areas as English language, literature and history, mathematics, science and commercial subjects in addition to skills of writing and arithmetical calculation. These differences can be discerned clearly between colonists from different English class backgrounds⁴⁰.

These patterns of schooling provided the immediate background for public debate about education around 1850. This debate was principally conducted by three groups: the colonial elite centred in Adelaide, the leaders of local communities especially in the country, and the professional teachers. It is important to note that much of the debate was not concerned with their own children's schooling but with that of their social inferiors, the poorer sectors of the working class and the small farmers.

Concern about the education of the poor had been evident amongst the bourgeoisie and educated sectors of the petty-bourgeoisie since the beginnings of the colony. As early as 1834, this had been the central theme of Richard Hanson's paper at the inaugural meeting in London of the South Australian Literary Association. It had led to the formation of schemes for school systems for the poor throughout the colony, such as those of the South Australian School Society and Bishop Augustus Short.

Catherine Spence had one of her key characters in Clara Morison suggest the need for a "ragged school" in Adelaide and the colonial press not only gave generous space to discussion of colonial education but also lampooned illiteracy and ignorance on many occasions⁴¹

These concerns were intimately linked with the hopes and fears such people entertained for the future of the society. The groups dominating the debate represented broadly the interests of capital and those who aspired to the ranks of the capitalist class - the petty-bourgeoisie and superior artisans. They sought a social order which would secure and increase their wealth and give them power and prestige, and they regarded any divergence from this as disorder. They were therefore quick to point to any threats to 'good' order. In 1842 for example, the Register drew attention to the dangers of "an ignorant and barbarous peasantry"⁴². In 1851 the South Australian attacked workers who refused to operate labour saving machinery in a time of widespread unemployment as opponents of progress and good order⁴³. They defined these problems and located their causes in terms of personal morality rather than economic relations and their political consequences. Thus, claimed the South Australian, the question was whether children should be allowed to grow up "ignorant, depraved, vicious and criminal"⁴⁴. While some working-class spokesmen argued that the root of social conflict lay

in the institution of private property, a letter writer to the Register affirmed that what was needed was not "socialism" but "practical Christianity"⁴⁵.

The links between social order and education were clearly suggested by Edward Baker, the Independent minister at Morphett Vale, commenting on his recent visit to two families in the district. The first family where the children were sent to school was a picture of bliss, but the second disturbed him deeply:

There is no school in the neighbourhood. They all sit crouching around the fire like the picture of an Irish cabin. There is no attention to dress, no tidy little girl coming home from school, and no interest in any subject of the kind. I see there a family sinking into barbarism ...⁴⁶.

The fruit of such "mental anarchy", he continued, would be "social anarchy" unless schools were provided.

Schools would help secure the order that men like Baker desired by producing people who were individually good citizens. Many argued that they would lay the foundations of morality by inculcating fundamental religious truths. This was regarded as especially important in a society where so few working class people appeared to attend church⁴⁷. Others, less sanguine about the prospects of religion, pinned their hopes on rationality. Hanson, for example, believed that with an instructed populace a "reasonable community" could be formed⁴⁸. Moreover the regimen

of school would develop important habits of discipline, industry, subordination and regularity⁴⁹.

Such individual characteristics would help secure social order in many ways. The strengthening of the moral will would inhibit - perhaps eliminate - crime and ensure "the safety of persons and property": schoolhouses and teachers would render gaols and police unnecessary⁵⁰. 'Rationality', by which colonial leaders meant acceptance of the dominant liberal ideology, would "convince them (the "Working Classes") that they and the Capitalist possess a Common Interest"⁵¹. The doctrines of political economy which were fundamental to this rationality would demonstrate the "disastrous effects of attempting to alter the natural position of the labour market"⁵². 'Rationality' and the discipline of the schools would help ensure a docile and industrious work force. Moreover education was essential if a democratic form of government was to be established. It would fit men of working class origin who had risen to positions of power to exercise that power responsibly, and would enable a wide franchise to be granted without the risk of "riots and discontent arising ... from ignorance exposed to the delusive arts of educated men"⁵³. The South Australian claimed that even the electoral principles of Chartism could be introduced safely if education and its close relative, religion, were properly attended to⁵⁴. Finally, in a community of diverse origins, a common

schooling would lay the basis for some form of common culture and hence guard against conflict generated along lines of ethnicity. In particular, by integrating German children into an English culture, "after a time, the population would all be one race"⁵⁵.

These beliefs about the function of education continued to be endorsed by colonial leaders and the 'respectable classes' throughout the following decades, and provided the framework against which they viewed existing practices and made plans to introduce new ones. It is significant to note that they ascribed no direct role to schools in providing vocational or productive skills until about 1870. Education was seen strictly in terms of its functions in shaping attitudes, values and habits.

Not all forms of schooling were considered equally efficient in fulfilling these functions and the professional teachers in particular articulated a model of schooling which they believed was especially suited to such purposes. The bourgeoisie, members of the professions and others with a thorough formal education strongly supported this model, especially as a means of educating the poor. To some extent they and members of the middle ranks of the social hierarchy also accepted it as a model for their own children's schooling. This model was not peculiar to the colony, and those promoting it were well acquainted with developments in Britain and other countries. Newspapers summarised the educational

systems in various parts of the world and reported new developments and debates as they arose. Men like William Wyatt and George Fife Angas had been active in attempts to provide education for the poor at 'home'. Many of the teachers at the forefront of the colonial education debate had trained and worked in systems such as the British and Foreign School Society which embodied the form of education they advocated⁵⁶. These systems had been developed specifically to provide a means of disciplining working-class children and reasserting what Richard Johnson calls "class cultural control"⁵⁷.

The organization of the school was based on 'classification' : the division of the curriculum into carefully defined subject areas which were each broken into an ordered learning sequence, and the grouping of pupils into "classes" according to their degree of progress through this sequence⁵⁸. Advocates of 'classification' usually suggested that the elementary curriculum should consist of from three to five classes in reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography and history, supplemented by singing and drawing, with "industrial training" for boys and needlework for girls. The role of schools in incorporating all colonists into the mainstream of colonial life meant that English was considered an essential subject in schools for German children⁵⁹.

'Classified' schools were believed superior to others for several reasons. In contrast to individual instruction in schools,

the "simultaneous method" enabled the teacher to ensure that all pupils were working all the time⁶⁰. This form of organization was also designed to allow for large numbers of pupils and, in particular, for a single teacher to supervise several classes at once through the use of monitors, pupil-teachers or assistants. The organizational efficiency of such schools was suggested by comparing their division of labour with that of "any other well conducted business"⁶¹. According to Governor Young, a large school was "worth half a dozen small ones"⁶². Moreover, they provided an economical means of educating the working class since many pupils could be taught for the same cost as a few, and this attraction was reinforced by the apparent shortage of suitable teachers in the colony. As Simon Frith shows, such schools made an extensive series of demands on their pupils:

they had to attend regularly, be classified by age and ability, learn a given curriculum in a given order and at a given speed, be examined and display their abilities for measurement⁶³.

Such demands took away the close responsiveness of schools to their clients' needs and deprived parents of control over the process of education within the school, seemingly not as a political act but as a rational one.

The effectiveness of schools in fulfilling the functions ascribed to them was inseparable from the quality of the teachers. Firstly, teachers had to conform to the highest standards of

morality. Wyatt argued that their moral character "should be entirely without stain"⁶⁴, while others stressed the importance of setting an example of "patience, temper and cheerfulness" amongst other virtues⁶⁵. Secondly, the formation of a superior English culture in the colony meant that the teacher had to be able to demonstrate approved cultural values himself or herself. The press attacked such deviations from cultural 'norms' as grammatical errors and provincial expressions. Wyatt was later to advise a school committee against appointing one candidate for the position of schoolmaster because he spoke with "a heavily Scotticised dialect ... a very serious objection in a teacher"⁶⁶. Thirdly, the teacher was required to have a thorough general education. According to Charles Feinagle, principal of the South Australian High School, a first class teacher was expected to have a mastery of such subjects as Classics, modern literature in English, French and German, mathematics, sciences and logic⁶⁷.

Such qualifications, however, were believed to be inadequate without further special training in the skills of management, organization, discipline and instruction in a classified school. William Wyatt argued that even highly educated men and women were incompetent to teach without training, a view that accorded closely with that of the professional teachers⁶⁸. In Clara Morison, Margaret Eliot's brother advised her against opening a "ragged school" for the poor of Adelaide:

you will perhaps hear the inspector say that Miss Eliot is in great want of training ... The man might even recommend that you go to a normal school!⁶⁹

Large, classified schools required special material provisions. A school of one hundred pupils could not be accommodated in a small cottage, or even in a large room in a house. Overcrowding prevented good organization and was a danger to the health of pupils and teachers alike, especially during periods of epidemic. Churches and halls had sufficient space, but made it difficult to provide and arrange desks and to have blackboards, maps, globes, libraries of books and other material needs in constant readiness for use. Consequently an important element in this model of the good school was the need for specialized school buildings. Once again, ideological and economic considerations coincided: furniture and equipment cost less in relation to the total financial resources of large schools than of small ones. Wyatt in fact claimed that smaller schools were "unavoidably destitute" of the many "mechanical appliances" found in large establishments⁷⁰.

While occasionally teachers argued that teaching could be based on oral instruction, most professional masters claimed that class books were necessary. Carefully chosen texts, in contrast to those which pupils might bring from home, could be used to define the curriculum and provide the desired moral lessons as an integral part of the process of learning to read

and write. Moreover, all pupils in a class could follow the same work and perform the same exercises, even when the teacher was engaged in directly instructing another class⁷¹.

If such a system in the classroom was superior to all others, it followed that it should be applied to all schools, and many professional teachers and contributors to the mid-nineteenth century education debate sought a degree of uniformity throughout the colony. Progress, claimed one leading schoolmaster, was most obvious and rapid where uniformity had been established whereas "where there is no uniform system of teaching, education is at the lowest ebb"⁷². Colonial conditions generated another pressing rationale: the mobility of large numbers of both pupils and teachers meant that children's schooling was often extremely fragmentary and discontinuous. According to Bryant Waymouth, a leading teacher, when a boy transferred from one school to another, his education might be retarded by as much as three years⁷³.

In the light of this model of what schools should be, many of the working-class and rural schools appeared hopelessly inadequate while even some "middle class" schools were less than ideal. The most comprehensive and systematic criticism of colonial schools was provided by William Wyatt in 1851, after he had visited a large number of them in his capacity as newly appointed Inspector of Schools. Some, he reported, were competently and energetically

taught by trained and efficient teachers using the best methods and materials, and usually housed in at least reasonably spacious rooms or schoolhouses. While none of them was particularly large, the best used class instruction methods with the aid of assistant teachers. The majority, however, presented a sombre picture. Many were conducted by untrained and in some cases barely literate teachers, in private houses of "the most inferior description", and most lacked proper materials. They were poorly organized and lacked any semblance of proper discipline⁷⁴. Similar criticisms were offered by a large number of teachers, rural landowners, city businessmen and the newspapers.

The focus of most attacks on the schools was the standard of the teachers. Trained masters in particular frequently inveighed against their untrained competitors and the inadequacy of the education they offered, while the Register described teachers in general as "below the point blank range"⁷⁵. Many of these inferior teachers, it was suggested, came from the working class : Wyatt saw them "emerg(ing) from every imaginable position in society"⁷⁶, while the Register, more pointedly, claimed that teaching had become "the last resort of broken-down tradesmen and unprotected females"⁷⁷.

A major problem for rural education was the sparsity of settlement and the small size of many communities. Charles Watson, the shopkeeper and postmaster at Golden Grove, pointed out that the

Local residents had built a schoolhouse from their own resources but argued that despite the commitment to schooling which this demonstrated there were too few children in the locality to support a trained teacher by their fees⁷⁸.

More characteristically, however, the inadequacy of schools and the lack of trained teachers was attributed to the moral failure of working-class and farmer parents themselves. In the matter of education, claimed one writer to the South Australian, "the generality of parents are brutally and obstinately dead to the welfare of their children"⁷⁹. In the country farmers withdrew their children to help with farm or domestic work, especially during busy seasons such as harvest. Professional teachers claimed that this made the position of the rural schoolmaster precarious, often only attracting inferior, untrained persons. In the city similar problems were caused by parents withdrawing their children to help on the job or to find paid work. While some observers recognized that such child labour reflected economic necessity many others saw it simply as a result of parental greed and materialism. To some extent these criticisms were also applied to members of the petty bourgeoisie and the small capitalist class, especially those who had risen from working class backgrounds⁸⁰.

Finally, critics of existing educational practices argued that many parents sent their children to inferior schools because they were unable to judge the merits of different teachers. Thus

they sent their children to those schools which charged the lowest fees in order to save a "trifling amount", receiving in return "the most worthless substitute of an education"⁸¹. In such cases, trained teachers, unable or unwilling to accept such low fees, could not compete and moved elsewhere or found alternative occupations. Bryant Waymouth claimed to "know two or three myself that have been trained in England working as labourers, who would be very glad to get a school, only that the situations are pre-occupied"⁸².

However, even where superior teachers did establish a school and attract working class or farmers' children, irregularity of attendance made 'classification' difficult and ineffective. Moreover critics claimed that even when they did attend their parents were often unwilling to provide the money for proper books and even the best teachers under such circumstances might have to put up with a "motley array" of materials. Schools under these conditions could barely hope to conform to the model of good schooling which they aimed at, however well qualified and experienced the teacher⁸³.

Many of Adelaide's leading citizens had made attempts to establish 'good' schools for the poor, from the South Australian School Society which collapsed during the depression of the early 1840s to the Anglican Pulteney Street and St. Andrew's schools for the "industrial classes". Some professional teachers, such as

Joseph Ryder, and untrained but well educated men and women from 'superior' backgrounds, such as Frances Sheridan, had privately attempted to establish similar schools. In the country districts, many leading local landowners had also established schools, built schoolrooms and even provided teachers⁸⁴. Moreover the state had provided a limited form of support for schools under an Ordinance introduced by Governor Robe in 1847. This provided a capitation grant for teachers with at least twenty pupils in regular attendance, to a maximum of forty pounds per annum⁸⁵. None of these forms of intervention in the provision of schools had transformed colonial education in the way that the advocates of 'good' schooling desired. To remedy the situation, they advocated a more active and extensive role for the state.

First, they argued that the state should do more to raise the standard of teachers. Many of them suggested that the state should immediately establish a Normal School to train teachers in the colony, since "you cannot begin a good thing too soon"⁸⁶. Others argued that in the short term a Model School, providing a form of apprenticeship for teachers while instructing a large number of pupils, would be sufficient. The standard of existing teachers could also be raised if the state appointed experienced and qualified teachers as Organizing Masters to visit them and provide instruction and assistance in methods of conducting a

school⁸⁷. These strategies were to be supplemented by an extension of Robe's scheme in order to attract trained teachers from elsewhere and to ensure that locally trained teachers remained in the profession. Teachers in particular identified three major problems with the existing scheme : it allowed many unqualified teachers to receive aid, the regulations under which it operated made it difficult for country teachers to get assistance, and if they did, it further discriminated against them by tying the grant to the number of pupils⁸⁸. In place of the capitation grant they suggested that the state pay teachers a fixed stipend based on their competence and qualifications rather than on attendance and proposed that the rates of payment be raised. In response to the suggestion that the government might raise stipends as high as one hundred pounds per annum, leading teachers claimed that "a superior class of teacher would come out from England if they heard such good salaries were being given"⁸⁹.

Second, the state was to help improve the standard of school accommodation. The simplest strategy was for the state to put pressure on local communities to provide proper school buildings by refusing aid to schools which were not properly housed. However, as Andrew Garran, an Adelaide journalist and preacher argued, "where the people live in huts they are not particular of course as to the style of house their children go

to school in" and the strategy might prove self defeating⁹⁰. A second approach recognized that many rural communities had already raised funds for buildings which doubled as churches and schools and recommended subsidies to encourage such initiatives. In the city, larger buildings would be required and occasionally advocates of educational development argued that the government might build or lease suitable accommodation and let it to approved teachers at nominal rent⁹¹.

Third, the state was assigned an increased role in shaping the curriculum and organization of the schools. Teachers and a large number of leading colonists in both Adelaide and the country argued that the state should define the position of religion in the schools. Education was seen as a fundamentally moral and therefore religious task, and yet many leading colonists, especially through the League for the Preservation of Religious Freedom, argued that the state should not provide even indirect funding for religious purposes. Supporters of the League, the most highly organized and effective political body in the colony, insisted that if the state was to fund education, the teaching of religion must be restricted to some form of general, non-sectarian Christianity. Teachers widely recommended the solution devised by the Irish National system as a means of resolving this problem⁹². However, the clergy of the Anglican, Catholic, Wesleyan and Lutheran churches, with support from sources such as the South Australian, argued strongly that denominational instruction was

essential to a truly adequate education⁹³.

Those who advocated further state intervention in education believed that it should also regulate the secular curriculum to some degree. They argued that the state should insist that German children were taught the English language, but were divided over whether the state should require all instruction to be in English⁹⁴. They also argued for some degree of control over the methods and content of instruction. Newspaper editors and politicians occasionally advocated that the state should insist on a particular method and that it should restrict assisted schools to a specified elementary curriculum. Teachers had more difficulty in articulating the state's role in this sphere : on the one hand they wished to eliminate 'inferior' teachers with their haphazard methods and curricula but on the other they wished to retain their own professional autonomy within their schools. Their solution to this problem (which created a degree of consensus with other advocates of closer state control) lay in the means by which control should be exercised. The state should define the general criteria by which schools were to be judged and assess which schools satisfied those criteria. Only those schools should receive aid, and no further direct regulation would be needed⁹⁵.

Teachers also argued that the state should provide assistance to teachers trying to conduct their schools properly by ensuring an

adequate supply of books and other necessities. This was a difficult area given the dominant ideology of free trade and the intense hostility to the notion of state intervention in the market place. However, teachers claimed that many important books were unavailable or excessively expensive, and that schools used a wide variety of texts. The state, they suggested, should stipulate a select number of books for use in assisted schools. This would encourage booksellers to increase their supply to meet the stimulated demand. If this failed or if prices remained high the state might establish a depot for such texts, either calling for tenders from local booksellers or importing them direct from England⁹⁶.

Finally, the state should weigh the costs of increased intervention against the potential gains on the one hand, and its commitments to other expenses, especially the development of economic infrastructure, on the other. Men of large capital who had little to gain directly from state assisted schools and much to gain from improved roads, railways and harbours sought to restrict education costs as far as possible. They sought to restrict state support to places where good schools could not or would not be provided from local resources. They readily accepted the case for rural schools where settlements were too small to provide a sufficient income for trained teachers, but some balked at providing aid for urban schools⁹⁷. However,

as Andrew Garran argued, "the people are virtually as poor in Adelaide as in the country" and would thus be unable to support good teachers without some assistance⁹⁸. John Hart, a ship-owner, miller and merchant, argued that the curriculum should be strictly elementary since the children attending assisted schools would be of a class requiring little more⁹⁹. Many professional teachers opposed such restrictions, arguing that "middle class" education was also inadequate and required state intervention for its development. Such a view accorded closely with their interests, especially for those who conducted relatively select, educationally advanced 'academies' in Adelaide. They were supported by those in the middle ranks of the society who saw a relatively extensive state funding of schools as a subsidy to themselves¹⁰⁰.

The second restriction on the scope of state funding, supported by teachers and both urban and rural leaders was that the state should not meet all the costs of schools. Parents should provide the basis of the teachers' incomes by paying tuition fees, while half the cost of local schoolhouses should be met locally. Moreover, state subsidies for school buildings should only be for capital costs; maintenance and other recurrent costs should be met locally. The Normal School, too, should be established by the state, but become self supporting as soon as possible. While such a sharing of costs fitted well with the

concern to infringe as little as possible on other state financial priorities, it was justified on other grounds. In particular it was widely argued that free schools would 'pauperise' those who attended them, that local initiative should be stimulated as the basis for effective education, not replaced, and that people only valued what they paid for. The stress which the dominant ideology placed on free trade and on the importance of the family provided further reinforcement¹⁰¹.

Advocates of increased state intervention also directed their attention to the administrative structure needed. Some argued that little special machinery would be required: church leaders, for example, claimed that the state should channel its funds through them, while many leaders of local communities suggested that if the state provided the funds they would be able to apply them, choosing teachers, erecting buildings and supervising the schools¹⁰². Professional teachers and urban capitalists, however, argued that local leaders were not competent to exercise such responsibility. They distrusted their notions of what comprised an adequate education and claimed that school management would be vitiated by petty squabbles and questions of self interest¹⁰³. Moreover, the teacher would be subject to the "tender mercies of local wiseacres" anxious to exercise authority in a field in which they lacked expertise¹⁰⁴. In their view, control of schools must be centralized, at least to some degree.

Some teachers argued that a professional body such as a College of Preceptors should be established to examine and certify teachers as eligible for assistance. Others accepted the view of politicians and the Register that a central board should be established as a state instrumentality to distribute funds and exercise general management of the schools¹⁰⁵. Such a Board might be composed of "men of integrity in whom the public may feel confidence; men who have long been identified with the moral and intellectual interests of the colony"¹⁰⁶. Teachers who saw such a board as an alternative rather than an addition to the professional body added that they should be represented on it¹⁰⁷. In order to assess effectively the standards of teachers and schools, such bodies should have inspectors who could visit and report on the schools and act as general executive officers. The teachers argued that the role of inspectors should be strictly limited, and their supporters expressed horror at the prospect of "beadles" checking on their every move¹⁰⁸. Inspectors, they argued, should have the power to observe and report, and perhaps even advise the teacher, but should have "no power to interfere" in the running of the schools¹⁰⁹. However, even within government circles there was no suggestion that the Inspector's powers should be more extensive. In the Legislative Council prior to Wyatt's initial appointment, Governor Young argued that he should do no more than check and report on the quality of the teachers and the state of their schools¹¹⁰.

Within this administrative structure there was some room for recognition of the fundamental importance of local initiative in the provision of schools, and urban leaders and teachers defined a limited role for local committees. Their functions, they argued, should be confined to selecting teachers (subject to central approval), reporting to the central board, setting school fees, funding and maintaining school buildings and encouraging educationally apathetic parents to send their children¹¹¹.

Many of these proposals were embodied in an Education Bill introduced into the newly elected Legislative Council and rapidly debated and passed. The new Education Act provided for state assistance to non-sectarian education in the form of stipends to teachers and funds for district schoolhouses and a Normal School. A Central Board of Education was established to administer the Act, its members appointed by the Governor and his Executive Council and chosen independently of religious considerations. The Board was empowered to license teachers and set and pay stipends, to establish and operate a Book Depot and Normal School, and to determine the "kind, quality and extent of instruction." The Act assumed the appointment of an Inspector of Schools to "visit, inspect and report" to the Central Board on all schools seeking or receiving aid under the Act. It designated District Councils, or where they did not exist, two Justices of the Peace, as District Boards of Education and gave them powers to visit their

local schools and to report on them to the Central Board, to raise funds for and erect, furnish and manage, local school buildings. Finally, it defined the mode of funding: the District Schoolhouses and the Normal School were to be financed by means of bonds which the Board would issue and the government redeem, while stipends were to be provided by annual grant from the legislature¹¹².

A significant omission from the Act was any indication of whether the schools established under the Act should be open to children of all classes, or only some. This was especially important since it was generally assumed in the debate that the schools were principally for those who could not provide them unaided. Although the Colonial Secretary suggested that the Act would make aid available to "every competent schoolmaster in the colony", he also introduced the Bill with a discussion of "the past and present condition of the working classes", suggesting that it was primarily designed for them¹¹³. Moreover, a clause to provide certificates for pupils who had completed a relatively advanced curriculum was opposed by many on the grounds that such certificates would not be required by the class of children in assisted schools¹¹⁴.

In April 1852 the first Central Board of Education was appointed. Pike has discussed the selection of members, like the Act itself, within the context of the struggle for religious liberty and equality, and described the membership of the Board

as if this were the principal criterion¹¹⁵. Pike identifies the members appointed as two Anglicans, a Presbyterian, a Congregationalist, an Independent and a Lutheran. However, a closer look at the personnel of the Board suggests that Pike's emphasis is misleading. Firstly the omission of Methodists and Catholics, which Pike noted without comment, was highly significant, since they represented a large proportion of the population and were, moreover, largely working class sects. The apparent religious balance on the Board which Pike presented is disturbed by his curious omission of another Anglican, Francis Dutton. It recedes even further in the light of the original list of nominees to the Board, which included four Anglicans, a Presbyterian and an Independent - hardly a religious balance!¹¹⁶.

In fact, the appointment of the Board reflected the social, economic and political structure of the colony, and to some extent the special concerns of the Education Act itself. Male dominance in the public life of the colony was reflected in the fact that the Board was, and remained, an all male body. Moreover, the men appointed or nominated were a socially select group. Hanson was a member of the government, and one of the planners and founders of the colony. Francis Dutton, William Allen and Peter Cumming were all merchants and landowners. Handasyde Duncan was a small landowner, civil servant and leading member of the medical profession, and G.W. Hawkes a relatively senior civil servant. When Allen and Hawkes declined membership, Edward Wickes and William Cawthorne, leading professional schoolmasters, and Otto Schomburgk, a leader within the German community, were appointed.

While neither Wickes nor Cawthorne can be classed as large capitalists, both enjoyed high social standing and moved in the colony's leading circles¹¹⁷. Thus the Board was dominated by the representatives of the colony's most powerful economic class and most prominent social circles. Moreover, it included representatives of two groups whose cooperation was essential to the successful working of the Act: the professional teachers, and the major ethnic minority group.

Thus the closely interrelated factors of class and status appear to have been the major criteria in determining the composition of the Board. However, educational qualifications were also important, and members stood well in the intellectual and educational life of the colony. Hanson's interest in education has already been mentioned, and as an editor of the Register he was closely associated with one of the leading platforms for educational reform. He was also described by a later governor as one of the most able men in the colonies. Francis Dutton, too, was recognized as one of the best educated men in the colony, while other members could claim high levels of personal education and prior interest in the development of schools¹¹⁸. Such men were clearly seen, not as mere amateurs as later historians have described them, but as men well fitted to exercise financial and administrative responsibility as well as sound educational judgement.

A number of conclusions can be drawn from this analysis of the origins of the 1851 Education Act and the appointment of the Central Board to administer it. Firstly, the form of intervention it established was not simply the result of rational debate leading to the adoption of a scheme to promote a form of schooling which was self-evidently or innately superior to all others. Nor was it an attempt to do which was defeated by misguided conflict over the place of religion and the churches in education, as some historians have implied. Rather it reflected the aims of particular sectors of society and their different capabilities to enforce their own strategies, modified by their need to secure the cooperation of other groups. Thus the overall aim, "to instill into the mind of the young those principles upon which the safety and union of the community so much depended"¹¹⁹ embodied the concern of those who exercised power at both local and colonial levels. The mode of control, by intervention in the educational marketplace rather than by direct regulation of schools and determination of parents' choices, reflected both the general ideological framework and the need to secure the support of the professional teachers, who would have resisted direct controls and thus undermined the success of intervention. The locus of control can be seen as a result of the differences between the educational model adopted by the urban bourgeoisie and professional men and what they saw as the limited acceptance of that model by rural and local leaders and settlers

and the differences between their political strengths. This control, it should be noted, was not simply embodied in the Act, but lay firmly in the dominance of both the legislature and the Central Board by the bourgeoisie.

Secondly, there were major tensions between the realities of working-class life and the forms of education it supported on the one hand, and the forms of education envisaged for them in the Act on the other. The schools the Act was intended to support demanded a form of commitment which was difficult if not impossible for most working-class and small farming families to support. Moreover it was a form of schooling which was shaped by educational aspirations and expectations fundamentally different from those of its intended clients, and which was not responsive to their needs. In so far as local leaders held different views about what comprised a good education from those who shaped and administered the Act, the division of power between local and central bodies institutionalized a significant potential conflict. The professional teachers had a direct interest in ensuring that state control infringed as little as possible on the schools, but at the same time they had an equally strong interest in ensuring that untrained competitors were excluded from the benefits of the Act. However, there can be little doubt that many untrained teachers hoped to continue receiving aid under the new Act and would seek to use their local support to do so. Thus there was a complex of tensions and

contradictory interests built into the Act, which threatened to undermine its central strategies.

Thirdly, the way in which educational problems were defined and solutions devised failed to identify the fundamental dynamics of the situation. The strategy of intervention focussed on two principal issues: the distribution of schooling opportunity to those in need, and the enforcement of 'standards'. The problems of distribution were conceptualized in terms of the marketplace. Teachers offered a service and the best of them commanded the highest fees and the most clients. Working class and rural colonists were badly placed in the marketplace and required special assistance to overcome their disadvantage. The problem of 'standards' however was seen in terms of individual ignorance and morality. Special guidance would be required to enable them to see what good education was, and incentives would be needed to persuade them to patronise good schools. To some extent these two ways of seeing the issues conflicted with each other: the first assumed that all parents were active in the same educational marketplace, while the second accepted that they were operating in different markets. However, both problems could be met by the strategy of supporting good schools: the standard of poor children's education would be raised as trained teachers were able to entice them away from inferior schools by lowering their fees to competitive levels. It is

clear, however, that by seeing the problems thus, colonial leaders were unable to grapple with the factors which shaped the educational choices of the poor.

The power to implement the Act nominally lay with the Central Board. It would do so in terms of strategies shaped by the Act and the ideology on which it was founded, but it would be constrained by its place within the apparatus of the state on the one hand, and the responses of its intended beneficiaries on the other. The analysis in the following two chapters will explore the ways in which it proceeded.

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There is no thorough study of the range of educational forms in South Australia in this period, while existing accounts tend to identify 'education' with formal schooling and denigrate both informal schools and alternative educational strategies; for example, R.M. Goultman, "The relationship between politics and education in South Australia, 1834-1875" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1979), pp. 5-9; D. Pike, "Founding a Utopia", "A Society without Grandparents" and "Education in an Agricultural State" in E.L. French (ed.), Melbourne Studies in Education, 1957-1958, (Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1958), esp. pp. 54, 57-58; G.E. Saunders, "The State and Education in South Australia, 1836-1875", in E.L. French (ed.), Melbourne Studies in Education 1966, (Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1967), p. 208. However, important studies have shown that in both England and North America there was a wide range of educational forms before the establishment of 'public' systems; see, for example, S. Frith, "Socialization and rational schooling : elementary education in Leeds before 1870" in P. McCann (ed.), Popular Education and Socialization in the Nineteenth Century, (Methuen, London, 1977); R.D. Gidney, "Elementary Education in Upper Canada : a Reassessment" in M.B. Katz and P.H. Mattingley (eds.), Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past, (New York University Press, New York, 1975); and C. Kaestle, The Making of an Urban School System : New York City, 1750-1850, (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1973). In the following argument I draw heavily on these interpretations; the readily available evidence is consistent with them, but further study is required in the area to map the field adequately.

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8. S.A.G.G., 1853, pp. 97-98.

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12. G.E. Loyau, Notable South Australians, pp. 120-121, 225-227.
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48. R.D. Hanson, "Inaugural Address", p. 12.
49. C.H. Spence, Clara Morison, p. 279.
50. South Australian, 11 June, 1850.
51. R.D. Hanson, "Inaugural Address", p. 9.
52. T.H. Gill, The History and Topography of Glen Osmond, p. 29.
53. Register, 25 January, 1858.
54. South Australian, 13 April, 1851.
55. Select Committee on Education, 1851, p. 13.
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cf. note 3.
57. R. Johnson, "Notes on the Schooling of the English Working Class", in R. Dale, G. Esland, and M. McDonald, (eds.), Schooling and Capitalism, p. 49.

58. Select Committee on Education, 1851.

For a discussion of the English and Irish models, see especially D.H. Akenson, The Irish Educational Experiment, (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1970), pp. 231-233 and S. Frith, "Socialization and rational schooling", pp. 78-79.

59. Select Committee on Education, 1851.

Register, 2 April, 1850.

60. Select Committee on the Estimates, 1856, p. 226.

61. Register, 20 July, 1852.

62. South Australian, 7 June, 1850.

63. S. Frith, "Socialization and rational schooling", pp. 86-87.

64. Select Committee on Education, 1851, p. 17.

65. Ibid. p. 6.

66. Register, 9, 21 January, 1850.

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67. Select Committee on Education, 1851, appendix K.

68. S.A.G.G., 1854, p. 175.

71. Select Committee on the Estimates, 1856, p. 226.

J. Leith to Education Board, SAA GRG 18/113/9 (1856).

72. Select Committee on Education, 1851, p. 7.

73. Ibid. p. 4.

74. S.A.G.G., 1851, pp. 555-557.

75. Register, 25 January, 1850.

76. S.A.G.G., 1851, p. 555.

77. Register, 16 February, 1853; cf. 4 February, 1850.
78. Register, 21 January, 1851.
79. South Australian, 8 February, 1850.
80. Register, 5, 7 February, 1850.
South Australian, 8 February; 25, 28 March; 15 April, 1851.
81. S.A.G.G., 1851, pp. 556-557.
82. Select Committee on Education, 1851, p. 3.
83. S.A.G.G., 1851, p. 556.
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84. I. Auhl, From Settlement to City : A History of the District of Tea Tree Gully 1836-1976 (Lynton Publications, Blackwood, South Australia, 1976), p.229.
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85. G.E. Saunders, "The State and Education in South Australia", pp. 210-212.
86. Select Committee on Education, 1851, p. 5.
Cf. Register, 16 December, 1853; South Australian 25 March, 29 July, 1851.
87. Select Committee, ibid. p. 8; Appendix H.
88. Ibid. Appendix K.
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89. Select Committee, ibid. p. 6
90. Ibid. p. 2.
91. Loc. cit.
92. D. Pike, "Founding a Utopia", pp. 53-54; Paradise of Dissent, pp. 367-368; 422.
Select Committee, ibid. pp. 4, 8, 11.
93. Register, 10 January, 1852.
G.E. Saunders, "The State and Education in South Australia", pp. 210-211.
Select Committee, ibid.; Appendices A, B.
South Australian, 8 February, 1850; 29 July, 1851.
Cf. C.H. Spence, Clara Morison, p. 103.
94. Select Committee, ibid. pp. 4, 9, 12.
95. Register, 9 April, 1850; 12 December, 1853.
Select Committee, ibid. pp. 1, 4, 11.
South Australian, 8 February, 1850.
96. Select Committee, ibid. pp. 4, 11, 16.
The state had already shown a willingness to intervene in the market in this way; R.M. Goultman, "The Relationship between politics and education", pp.106-108 ; what is important in this context is that colonial leaders were prepared to countenance a continuation of this direct breach of the ideology of non-intervention in the market.
97. Register, 1 June, 1853.
S.A.G.G., 1853, pp. 99, 333.
98. Select Committee on Education, 1851, p. 3.
99. Register, 24 December, 1851.
100. Ibid. 2, 16 April, 1850.

101. D. Pike, "Education in an Agricultural State, pp. 69-70.
Select Committee on Education 1851. Report.
102. Register, 10 January, 1852.
Select Committee, ibid. Appendices, B, F, G, I.
Cf. W. Lucas to Central Board of Education, SAA GRG 18/113/2
(1856).
103. Register, 7 February, 1850.
Select Committee, ibid. pp. 3, 8.
104. South Australian, 8 February, 1850.
105. Register, 24 January, 1850.
Select Committee on Education, 1851, pp. 1, 7, 10.
106. Select Committee, ibid. p. 8.
107. W. Cawthorne to Governor. SAA GRG 24/6/1851/1101.
Register, 24 January, 1850.
Select Committee, ibid. p. 7.
108. South Australian, 8 February, 1850.
109. Select Committee on Education, 1851, p. 4.
110. South Australian, 7 June, 1850.
Cf. SAA GRG 24/4/1851/122
111. Select Committee on Education, 1851.
112. Act no. 20, 1851.
113. Register, 19 December, 1851.
114. Ibid. 24 December, 1851.

115. D. Pike, Paradise of Dissent, p. 491.
116. SAA GRG 24/4/1852/355.
117. Ibid. 378.
118. Australian Dictionary of Biography vol.1, p. 335.
D. Pike, Paradise of Dissent, pp. 112, 395, 428.
119. Register, 19 December, 1851.

Chapter Three

The Board and the Structure of the State

The implementation of the 1851 Education Act did not simply involve the appointment of a new Board of Education, but the establishment of a new department of state whose sole responsibility was the management of state intervention in education. This entailed the formation of relationships with other parts of the state such as the government and the legislature, and within the department itself. This chapter is concerned with these relationships and their implications for educational policy and practice.

These relationships developed most clearly in response to specific problems as they arose in the daily operation of the Act rather than according to some preconceived plan. They were shaped primarily by the dependency of the Board on the government for funds and powers, by the framework of assumptions about the nature of the state and the relationships between government and administration shared by the leaders of colonial society, by the models provided by already existing departments and by the struggle of the colonial bourgeoisie to wrest power from the governors. Despite the seemingly ad hoc, contingent nature of this development the process of solving problems provided precedents for similar cases. Thus standardized, routine administrative procedures were established. At the same time, a

division of labour was developed in which the respective powers, rights and responsibilities of the government, the legislature, the Board and the officers of the department were defined. Thus an administrative structure was generated and increasingly clearly articulated, not on paper or in formal statements but in daily practice. The development of this structure and its associated administrative procedures effectively determined the limits within which education policies could be framed and executed. Consequently they provided a major set of constraints on the state's intervention in schooling.

Prior to 1852 there was no special department of state to handle educational matters. The 1847 Ordinance had established a Board of Education and made provision for the appointment of school inspectors. However, the Board appears to have met rarely, if at all, after it drafted the initial regulations. No inspector was appointed until 1851, and then he worked not with the Board but under the jurisdiction of the Colonial Secretary. Indeed, all the administrative work associated with the Ordinance was handled by the Colonial Secretary's Office¹.

In 1852 the administration of the new Act was placed directly in the hands of the Central Board of Education. The records relating to the previous system were transferred to it, and all subsequent correspondence on educational matters received

by the Colonial Secretary's Office was forwarded immediately. With the appointment of an inspector and a secretary the administrative machinery became more extensive and more complexly structured. One outcome of the development of a more complex machinery for administering the state's educational affairs was the coining of the term the "Education Department". The exact connotation of the term is difficult to define; at times it appears to refer simply to the Civil Servants who acted as executives for the Board while occasionally it seems to imply the Board as well².

The main elements of the state with which the Board and its officers had to deal were the government (the governor and the Executive Council), the Legislative Council and other civil service departments. The government had a number of means of exercising control over its administrative branches. It could define the broad limits within which they operated by means of legislation and by granting or withholding additional powers. It had control over the state budget and thus over the financial limits within which departments could operate. The governor or his ministers could make specific recommendations to boards and officers about the conduct of their departments. Finally, the governor held the formal power both to create positions within departments and to nominate their occupants. Indeed, the Education Act specifically granted the governor the power to

appoint the members of the Education Board. This power of appointment gave the governor the opportunity to control the department by selecting men who were known to be sympathetic to his own general policies³.

Despite these forms of control, the Board enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy in many areas. An early governor, Henry Young, withdrew from one confrontation with the Board, explaining that he intended no "vexatious interference" in its activities, since that would "seriously interfere with that free action which is indispensable to the efficient discharge of (its) responsible duties"⁴. Shortly afterwards he pointedly refused to intervene in the affairs of the Board even when conflicting factions appealed for his support⁵. This degree of autonomy appears to have reflected a general principle concerning the relationship between government and administration: in 1856 R.D. Hanson, the Attorney-General, informed the recently appointed governor, Richard MacDonnell, that "however appointed," government Boards "are essentially and necessarily independent of direct control by the government"⁶.

Political, ideological and functional reasons can be suggested for this. Firstly, the members appointed to such positions were drawn overwhelmingly from the bourgeoisie, a class with a strong interest in wresting control of the state from the Crown and its representatives. It seems highly likely that they

regarded their assertion of independence in administering government departments as one aspect of this struggle. Thus although the governor enjoyed the formal right to nominate members, he may have found it difficult to find men willing to serve if he had refused some degree of autonomy. Moreover, even if he had, the leaders of colonial society and the colonial press were both quick to question the legitimacy of administration which appeared to be simply a tool of the governor⁷. Secondly, as I argued in chapter one, within the dominant ideology government administration and the civil service were conceptualized as being independent of politics. Thirdly, the process of administration involved meeting a large number of day-to-day contingencies. No government could keep close enough touch with the affairs of even a few departments to deal with such matters effectively. As Governor Young suggested, a degree of autonomy might be necessary to ensure efficiency in administration⁸.

In the absence of formal definitions, the relationship between the government and the education department was characteristically negotiated as particular problems arose. These negotiations can be traced in some detail in relation to the Board's powers, funds, and policies, and to the appointment of members of the Board and officers of the department.

The government's power to legislate and hence determine the powers of the Board and its staff was fundamental to the relationship.

However, on several occasions the Board was able to obtain quite different powers from those outlined in the Act. One major change concerned the mode of financing school buildings. The Act stated that funds for District Schools and the Normal School were to be raised by bonds issued by the Board, and further stipulated in detail how these bonds should be redeemed⁹. The Board regarded these provisions as unworkable and asked the government to set aside the one thousand pounds per annum required by the Act for interest and redemption of the bonds as a direct grant for school buildings, thus doing away with the bonds entirely. Although the governor argued that the bonds clauses were satisfactory and superior to the Board's scheme he gave way¹⁰.

A related case concerned the Normal School. The Act required the Board to wait until five thousand pounds had been spent on District Schools before establishing a Normal School. However, the delay in finding satisfactory means of funding District Schools, and the fact that they would only be funded at a rate of one thousand pounds per annum, meant that the Normal School would be delayed until 1860. Moreover, the Act placed a two hundred pounds limit on building subsidies¹¹. The Board argued that this was insufficient to provide an adequate contribution towards the cost of buildings sufficiently large to meet the needs of Adelaide and other large centres. To overcome both these problems, it proposed to build a Model School which would provide for large numbers of

poorer urban children and provide some means of training teachers. Despite the fact that the proposal involved a considerable departure from the provisions of the Act, the government offered its support immediately and granted the Board the powers it needed to proceed¹².

In contrast to these cases, however, the government refused to sanction any direct central control over schoolhouses built with the aid of subsidies under the Act. The Board sought the power to vest all such District Schools in itself as a means of ensuring that they were properly managed and kept open for educational purposes. The government however claimed that such a move would directly contradict the principle of local initiative and discourage local support, and insisted that they be locally vested and controlled¹³. Clearly, then, while the government could alter the powers of the Board from those stipulated in the Act, it kept that prerogative to itself and did not simply acquiesce in every request for more power. This remained an important mode of government control over the department.

The government's second major form of control lay in its power over funding. The Act provided two sources of funds for the department: the bonds already discussed, and an annual grant through the legislature¹⁴. As Governor Young pointed out, the bonds scheme allowed the Board a degree of financial autonomy¹⁵. By opting for direct grants for building subsidies as well as other

needs, the department became totally dependent on the government for its funds; for stipends, officers' salaries, fees for the schooling of destitute children, payments to Board members, office rental and stationery.

However, the Act failed to define the mechanisms by which the Board might appropriate money granted it or by which the government might hold it accountable for its expenditure. This issue too had to be worked out in practice, and within weeks the government and the Board were locked in conflict over the matter. The Board asked the government to place its grant of money at its disposal with the authority to spend it as it saw fit. In reply, the Colonial Secretary sent a copy of the Civil Service financial regulations with the instruction to abide by them. These regulations required the Board to seek prior approval from the government for each item of expenditure and the Board claimed that this would mean obtaining government approval before granting any licence, altering any stipend or paying any destitute claim. This, it argued, would make it impossible to operate effectively. When the government insisted on adherence to the regulations the Board suspended its activities until a "satisfactory" reply was received. The government backed down and authorized the Board to commit itself to any expenditure it believed necessary within both the terms of the Act and the limits of the grant. Nevertheless, the government insisted that the Board be accountable for its expenditure, and that no funds would actually be forwarded until its

accounts had been approved by the government auditor¹⁶. In effect this allowed the department to plan its allocation of licences, set levels of stipends and destitute payments within the limits of the total education grant.

In other cases, the Board actually sought limitations on the way it could allocate its funds. Under the terms of the Act, it faced unlimited liability for claims for the teaching of destitute children. In 1856 in particular the department faced a sharp rise in the number of such claims and since they were paid from the same general grant as stipends, the Board argued that its capacity to pay teachers was threatened. Consequently it asked the government to vote specific amounts for the two purposes, safeguarding stipends against excessive destitute claims and placing a legal limit on its liability for destitute payments. The government agreed to this request without demur¹⁷.

Through this process of negotiation over financial procedures the Board established a high degree of financial control within the limits of its annual vote. However, the annual grant itself, representing the government's attempt to balance the needs of education against all other aspects of the state's activities, was less negotiable.

Control of the state budget was firmly within the government's hands. It prepared the estimates of state revenue and allocated

the funds available to the various departments. Although the Legislative Council could alter the details, the overall pattern of government spending was thus determined by the governor and his advisors.

Within this context the education budget was determined by a number of factors. The government pursued a policy of balanced annual budgets. Since the bulk of revenue was drawn from land sales and custom duties which fluctuated widely from year to year, state spending also varied considerably from budget to budget. Consequently, the government could ill-afford to commit itself to ongoing expenditure on a scale which it might not be able to sustain. However, it was committed in advance to a substantial and relatively fixed expenditure for the maintenance of the machinery of state, (the 'Establishments'). It therefore tried to hold such spending to the minimum levels possible even in good years. This also reflected a strong commitment to 'developmental' spending in preference to 'social' spending, and the status of education as a social rather than economic investment ensured that it would be treated as a low priority¹⁸. These factors were clearly reflected in the overall shape of the budgets from 1852 to 1857 as shown in the table below.

Budget Estimates, 1852-1857

(figures in pounds)

	<u>Estimated Revenue</u>	E s t i m a t e d E x p e n d i t u r e			<u>Total</u>
		<u>Developmental Works</u>	<u>Establishments Education</u>	<u>Total</u>	
1852	321,519	54,150	3,085	93,886	167,256
1853	196,600	26,500	6,646	114,410	188,391
1854	512,895	141,529	10,845	128,758	562,569
1855	576,951	159,584	10,765	137,297	591,995
1856	593,567	115,290	12,716	155,269	595,191
1857	458,300	140,380	11,761	185,716	425,505

Source : Estimates of Ways and Means, 1852-1857¹⁹

During the five years in which the department worked under gubernatorial rule, education spending rose from five thousand, three hundred pounds to eleven thousand, seven hundred and sixty-one pounds. This expansion included an increased salary bill, a grant for administrative costs and the inauguration of direct grants for building subsidies. The largest increase, however, was in the area of teachers' stipends. Originally they were drawn from the same general grant as administrative costs and claims for the education of destitute children. By 1857, however, these costs were borne by separate grants, while the general grant for stipends alone had risen to eight thousand, six hundred and

twenty-five pounds²⁰.

This did not represent a steady growth, but rather a sharp leap in 1854, and then small adjustments thereafter. This can be seen as part of the process whereby the government established its general educational commitments in relation to its overall social and financial priorities.

While the early increases were made largely in response to the Board, and were granted relatively easily, the government rapidly decided that the new levels of spending represented the maximum which was consistent with other needs. Thereafter it held spending steady or, as in 1855, threatened reductions. The Board, however, protested that such reductions would not allow the department to continue without "injurious restrictions", and negotiated with the government to halve the proposed reduction²¹. Nevertheless, education funding remained small when compared with such areas as roads and other developmental projects. The expansion of the education vote to ten thousand, eight hundred and forty-five pounds in 1854 must be set against a road grant of nearly one hundred and sixteen thousand pounds. However, the stable ongoing nature of stipends in particular was underlined the following year, when they remained almost at the same level, while the road grant fell to only twenty one thousand, five hundred and eighty-four pounds²².

A third area in which the government and the Board established well defined relationships and procedures concerned the appointment of personnel. The Act gave the governor and Executive Council the power to appoint Board members, and stipulated that the two who attended fewest meetings in a year should retire, although they were eligible for re-appointment²³. The letters sent to nominees offered them appointment "by the Governor with the advice of Executive Council"²⁴. However, after the initial set of appointments in 1852, the process was rather different from that suggested by this terminology. Before the Board had completed its first year, some members stopped attending. The Board informed the governor and asked for replacements, but he referred the matter back to the Board and invited it to nominate its own new members. These nominees were then appointed in the name of the governor through the Colonial Secretary's Office²⁵. On several subsequent occasions, either in its annual return of attendances at meetings, or with the resignation of a member, the Board nominated replacements. The government routinely accepted such recommendations²⁶.

Hawker argues that the process of appointment allowed governors to select men with whom they enjoyed close contact and in whom they had high confidence. This, he suggests, provided a means whereby they could secure Boards which would pursue courses of action which conformed to the government's general policies²⁷. The appointment

of George Young appears to illustrate the argument. In 1854, Francis Dutton, the Chairman of the Board, resigned. He was at the time a notable radical politician, an advocate of universal male suffrage, secret ballot, annual parliaments and a single chamber; he had clashed with the government on several occasions. Under his leadership the Board, too, had clashed with the government, and his resignation followed hard on such an incident²⁸. Instead of asking for the Board to nominate a replacement, as he had previously done, the governor, with the assistance of his Colonial Secretary, took the initiative and appointed George Young²⁹. Young was an agent for absentee investors and a member of the Chamber of Commerce, a body which had refused Dutton membership, apparently because of his radical politics. It seems possible therefore that this appointment was made in order to lessen the likelihood of further conflict between government and Board.

It was also important to ensure that appointees enjoyed the confidence and respect of colonial leaders, and especially the elected members of the Legislative Council, to ensure that the administration commanded support. However, the fact that the governor and these colonial leaders together formed the small colonial elite meant that this was easily accomplished. In practice it made little difference whether members were selected by governor or Board. Arthur Hardy and W.C. Belt, for example, were both nominated by the Board and subsequently served on it

for over fifteen years. Both were not only men of considerable social standing, but were on private visiting terms with the governor at the time of their appointment³⁰. Thus the broader social processes which lay behind the selection of Board members generally ensured that there was usually harmony between the overall aims of both the government and the Board.

A potentially important limitation on the government's capacity to control the Board through appointment of personnel was that the Act provided no means whereby it could dismiss any member. It was not until 1872 that an Act was passed which decreed that the power to appoint also conferred the power to dismiss members of government departments³¹. While the social and political composition of the Board and the government remained similar, however, no such issue was likely to arise.

The power to create and fill additional offices within the department also lay with the government. In practice, however, these matters were subject to much negotiation and the Board exercised a considerable degree of initiative. When the Board was first appointed it approached the government to secure the continued services of Wyatt as Inspector of Schools. Wyatt, along with many other civil servants, had been retrenched as part of the government's economy drive in response to the crisis created by the Victorian gold rush. Following the Board's representations to the government he was immediately reappointed³².

The government did not always acquiesce so easily in the Board's request for more staff and their salaries. When Wyatt and the Board asked for the appointment of at least one additional inspector in 1853 the government replied that it would appoint no further inspectors until the whole system was more fully developed³³. Unlike school inspectors, there was, no mention of any position of secretary to the Board in the Act. When the Board sought such an appointment the government argued that no such position had been contemplated and that Wyatt should fulfill such duties himself. Nevertheless, in response to repeated requests and arguments from the Board it appointed a secretary and provided a salary³⁴.

While the government retained the prerogative to create offices, it made it clear from the start that the selection of candidates to fill any positions which were established would lie with the Board³⁵. Thus in 1852 the position of secretary to the Board was advertised by the Colonial Secretary's Office and applications were addressed to the Colonial Secretary, but they were forwarded directly to the Board for its consideration. When the Board nominated William Crane for the position, he was immediately appointed³⁶. Again in 1855, when a second inspector was appointed, the applications were formally handled by the Colonial Secretary's Office, but were in practice forwarded to the Board and its nominee appointed³⁷.

A final sphere in which the government and the Board negotiated their respective powers and rights was the process of educational policy formation. In 1852, for example, the governor wrote to the Board to inform it that he believed certain of its regulations were "injudicious"³⁸. The following year he recommended the Board to develop an overall plan for educational development which included both elementary and higher schools³⁹. In both cases the Board flatly rejected the governor's proposals and strongly asserted its own prerogative to act independently in framing its educational objectives and the means by which they should be attained⁴⁰.

The Legislative Council had no direct jurisdiction over the Board or its officers. In 1852, however, radicals in the Council, led by C.S. Hare and G.S. Kingston successfully pressed for a Select Committee to investigate complaints about the Board's 'arbitrary' handling of licence applications. The Committee itself dealt rather harshly and arbitrarily with some of the witnesses who presented - or offered to present - evidence in support of the Board, and its report was severely critical⁴¹. However, the Committee was unable to compel the government to impose any controls on the Board, and the focus of criticism shifted to the more general issue of 'irresponsible' government⁴².

However, the Council did have the right to consider and modify the government's financial estimates and this gave it an important

role in providing some degree of support for, or opposition to, the department. In 1852 Dutton, as a member of the Council, secured the support of other elected members for a special grant for general expenses of the department and a salary for a full time secretary. The following year he similarly secured a fifty per cent increase to the stipends of teachers for two years. In 1856 Governor MacDonnell refused a request from Wyatt for an increase in salary, but B.T. Finniss, his Colonial Secretary, advised him that the elected members supported the increase and it was placed on the estimates⁴³. The extent of the Council's involvement and power in financial matters was shown in 1855 when the Board protested against major cuts to its stipend grant for the following year. It successfully negotiated with Governor MacDonnell to have the cut reduced to only half its original level. However, the governor expressed doubt as to whether the Council would accept the change if it were submitted directly by the government, or whether the Board should petition the Select Committee on the Estimates for the increase⁴⁴.

In their financial priorities elected members of the Council if anything surpassed the government's commitment to developmental spending, and generally opposed any expansion of non-productive expenditure. Their direct interest in such an economic policy reinforced their belief that government administration was cumbersome, costly and inefficient⁴⁵. Their priorities can be

seen in the additions to the 1854 estimates. Most of the government's additions were for salaries, whereas the elected members petitioned for funds for harbour improvements, the development of the River Murray and premiums for faster shipping and stock improvements⁴⁶. Nevertheless, they did not once reduce the amount allowed for education and, as I have shown, in fact supported a number of increases.

In 1856 the Council established a Select Committee, ostensibly to examine the estimates for the following year. It examined the heads of all departments and drew up a series of reports which sharply criticised the administration in general for costliness and inefficiency⁴⁷. This Committee can be seen as a declaration of the intention of elected members to intervene much more directly and closely in the affairs of government under the new Constitution due to be implemented the following year⁴⁸. As such, the strategy it outlined for intervention is significant. It focussed principally on the costs and the final outcomes of administration and largely ignored the structures and processes which mediated between them. The interview with Wyatt, for example, ignored the way the department was structured, the way roles were determined and the division of labour, all of which affected the effectiveness of the department's administration of the Act. Rather it looked at the point of contact between the schools and the department to ascertain whether the schools themselves and the method of inspection were satisfactory and efficient⁴⁹.

Thus the primary concern of the Committee was to ensure that greater efficiency was enforced and its main strategy was through carefully restricting funding levels.

After 1857, the new Constitution meant that control of the government shifted away from a governor appointed by the Crown to the members of an elected Parliament. Ministers were no longer chosen and appointed by the governor but depended for their position on the support of Parliament. Moreover, the governor was obliged to accept their advice, and exercised significantly less real power than before.

The first move towards greater and more direct control of government departments, foreshadowed in 1856, came from Thomas Reynolds, the Commissioner of Public Works in an early Hanson ministry. He clashed with the Central Roads Board which he tried to bring directly under his control and fought to obtain detailed reports from the Railways Commissioners, who repeatedly refused his requests. However, when he appealed for support from other members of the government they failed to back him and he was forced to resign⁵⁰. These were in fact the only major attempts to transform the principle of ministerial responsibility into procedures which made administrative departments directly accountable for the details of their activities until the 1870s. There was, in other words, little fundamental change in the structure of relationships between government and administration

as a whole⁵¹.

This held true for the education department as well as other departments. There were, however, several minor incursions into the administrative autonomy of the department. On a number of occasions the Board was asked to modify its procedures, in an attempt to encourage uniformity. In 1856, it was asked to alter its accounting methods in order to facilitate auditing, while G.M. Waterhouse, the Chief Secretary, instructed the Board to bring its financial year into line with other departments⁵². Four years later, the Chief Secretary, at the request of the Auditor-General, instructed the secretary of the Board to revise the procedures for granting credit through the Book Depot. The extension of "trifling amounts" of credit, he claimed, involved an inordinate amount of auditing time and expense. However, the details of the revision were left to the secretary and his submission to the Chief Secretary was eventually formally set down as official regulations⁵³. These incidents were consistent with the concern for economy and efficiency in administration which dominated the 1856 Select Committee. As the last example shows, the government was prepared to leave the details to the department concerned, as long as they were consistent with that overriding objective.

There was little attempt to alter the department's powers by legislation; the only Education Bill introduced between 1857

and the early 1870s was Reynolds' bill to reduce state support for urban schools significantly⁵⁴. On the other hand, the Board was able to press for minor extensions of the powers of local government bodies to intervene in education. Under the existing acts, only District Councils could provide funds for local schools. At the Board's request these powers were extended to Municipal bodies through the Municipal Corporations Act in 1861⁵⁵.

Similarly, governments made little use of their powers of appointment to increase their control over the department. In the first year of Cabinet government, Finniss, the Chief Secretary, nominated J.C. Paisley, an officer from his own department, to the Board, presumably as a means of liaison and a source of information on the workings of the department - certainly Paisley was one of the few members who attended regularly at that period⁵⁶. Thereafter, however, the established routine by which the Board generally nominated its own new members was resumed. Even in 1861 when the department was under attack for its alleged denominational bias and the Board invited the government to appoint new members "having different denominational views", Cabinet simply re-appointed the retiring members⁵⁷.

Governments continued to exercise the same control over the creation of new positions within the department as they had prior to 1857. On a number of occasions the Board sought the appointment

of additional staff, especially to handle the increasing load of clerical work. The government tended to treat such requests according to financial criteria, granting them only if they could be accommodated to budgetary limitations. One device it employed in this process was to replace a clerk at one rank and salary level by two more junior appointments, such as an office boy and a cadet, whose total salaries were no greater than the clerk's. In these cases the government followed precedent and left the actual choice of candidate to the Board⁵⁸.

Only one appointment fits uneasily into this pattern. In 1860 the Second Inspector Henry Smith died. The Chief Secretary G.M. Waterhouse informed the Board that a replacement would be appointed in accordance with the Board's wishes. Applications were forwarded to the Board which selected two candidates from whom the government might choose: G.W. Hawkes, a senior civil servant, and William Ross, a clergyman. Hawkes' subsequent withdrawal left Ross the sole candidate. The government ruled that as a minister of religion he was ineligible for the position. The government's grounds for this were clear: although the Act said nothing about the appointment of inspectors, it specifically precluded the appointment of clergymen to the Board, in order to keep the system free from denominational bias. Furthermore, the system was in fact under fire from Catholic critics who were claiming that it was openly Protestant; the appointment of a

Protestant minister would only exacerbate the problem. However, the Board refused to nominate an alternative and the government refused to back down. It therefore consulted Wyatt, the professional head of the department and known confidant of the Board, and on his advice appointed Edward Dewhirst as the new Second Inspector. Dewhirst had been the next candidate on the Board's list, and it accepted the appointment without further debate⁵⁹.

While the Board largely maintained its prerogatives to determine the overall educational policies of the department, there were occasions when the government intervened in this area. In 1860 Waterhouse instructed the Board to make more funds available for rural schools by "weeding out ... inferior schools" in the city⁶⁰. This clearly implied a move into the area of educational policy which the Board had previously guarded jealously. In reply it claimed that it was already attempting to implement this policy, but that it was hampered by the lack of funds, especially for its proposed Model School⁶¹. In 1869 the government again warned of impending cuts and instructed the Board about where it should make reductions⁶².

However such attempts to dictate the details of departmental policy or procedure were uncharacteristic of relations between the government and the Board. In 1863, for example, Francis Duffield,

a District Council chairman asked Henry Ayers, the Chief Secretary, to formulate a government policy on the replacement of school trustees. Instead Ayers simply referred the matter to the Board and offered it the services of the Crown Law Office for any advice it required⁶³. Similarly in 1869 when the government notified the Board of the financial cuts to be made, it asked for recommendations for a "better and less expensive" system of school inspection. The Board replied that any improvements would require more staff and thus cost more and the government took no further steps⁶⁴.

The general procedures by which overall financial controls were exercised were largely unaltered by the introduction of Parliamentary government. The government framed the budget on the information available from its departments and its general spending priorities and constraints, and the House of Assembly reviewed them. Members took their power to check the estimates very seriously, often engaging in long debate over quite small items, and were praised by the Register for their conscientiousness in this⁶⁵. Moreover, there was a continual interchange of key members between the government and non-government benches. It is convenient and appropriate, therefore, to consider the roles of parliament and government in exerting financial controls over the education department together.

Annual budgets continued to be shaped by the same general considerations and constraints as in the earlier period: balanced budgets and fluctuating revenues, the maintenance of government establishments, and the overriding commitment to economic development spending over social spending. Between 1857 and 1870 the economy was subject to recurrent severe depression which strongly affected state spending, often causing sharp reductions to programmes of public works⁶⁶. Under such circumstances governments were placed under great pressure to reduce their spending on 'establishments'. In 1858, for example, it became clear that revenue would fall short of the estimated level. Lavington Glyde, an Adelaide corn merchant, expressed priorities which commanded widespread bourgeois support when he argued that "the proper way of meeting the difficulties arising from the decrease in the revenue consists in reducing the costs of establishments and of immigration, and not in diminishing the amount set apart for public works"⁶⁷.

These priorities showed in deeds as well as words. Each year members proposed reductions to all sorts of 'unnecessary' items: one year a clerk's salary was removed from the Armory vote, while another year spending on lighthouse keepers was reduced. In 1865 the allowance for improvements to the Lunatic Asylum was reduced from eight thousand pounds to three thousand pounds and on another occasion the vote for defence was reduced from ten thousand, seven hundred and ten pounds to a mere seven

hundred and ten pounds!⁶⁸

Education too was a common target for such attacks. The low spending priority already accorded education as a 'social' expense was reinforced by the changing status of the rationale for state intervention. Initially bourgeois supporters of state involvement in schooling had stressed its role in making democracy safe from ignorant men who might abuse it. After 1857, however, this danger appeared increasingly illusory to those represented in Parliament. Even with a school system which was acknowledged to be inadequate, democracy rarely seemed threatened. When it was, as in 1861 when the working-class supported Political Association dominated the elections in Adelaide and other large centres, members of the bourgeoisie sought refuge in electoral reform rather than more education⁶⁹. Thus for many the ideological basis for state education was weakened. This is well illustrated by the case of Francis Dutton. He had strongly supported state education in 1851 and became the first chairman of the Education Board. He was a recognized radical and invited electors in 1851 to "Buckle on the Armour of Freedom and vote for Francis S. Dutton the staunch advocate of the Rights of the People"⁷⁰. By 1859 his support for continued immigration earned him the opposition of the Political Association and in 1862 he was a staunch supporter of the rights of property. The following year he presented a motion in the House of Assembly calling for the withdrawal of all state

funds for education⁷¹.

Finally those whom Pike describes as the 'educational voluntaryists', self-made capitalists, farmers and others, were often men with little formal education. Their own experience convinced them that extensive formal education was not necessary either for success or social responsibility. This enabled them to express their commitment to economic development quite readily by trying to cut education spending⁷².

Governments thus characteristically provided relatively small education budgets. From less than twelve thousand pounds in 1857 they rose to sixteen thousand, six hundred and forty-seven pounds in 1858, and more than twenty-one thousand pounds in 1869. Over that period, salaries and general departmental expenses remained relatively static at around one thousand five hundred pounds while the allowance for stipends, the department's main item of expenditure grew or remained stable in most years. The grant for destitute fees, too, grew from five hundred pounds to one thousand two hundred and fifty pounds, as the department faced increasing numbers of claims, and as widespread depressed conditions continued. The grant for schoolbuildings, however, fluctuated widely from year to year; the District School vote, for example rose to one thousand five hundred pounds in 1858 but fell to only four hundred pounds in 1863-64, while the vote for the Model School appeared and disappeared regularly⁷³.

The contrast between the relative stability of the salaries, stipends and destitute votes, and the fluctuation of the buildings votes no doubt reflects not only the fluctuation of revenue, but the fact that while the former needed to be ongoing commitments if a stable, well-organized system of public education was to be developed, building costs were a single, expense. The reduction of building votes would simply delay the erection of another schoolhouse rather than close existing schools. Despite this overall increase in education spending, the general level remained low in relation to the total budget, and especially in relation to public works⁷⁴.

Normally these estimates passed through the House of Assembly relatively untouched. Occasionally reductions were made but usually these were small and affected minor items; in some cases they were compensated for by additions to other parts of the budget. Thus, for example, the allowance for attendance fees for Board members was eliminated in 1857, and a small sum transferred from the second inspector's salary to that of the secretary⁷⁵. Occasionally, too, increases were sought by members of the House, most notably in 1864 when H.B.T. Strangways successfully pressed for a five hundred pounds increase in the allowance for rural stipends, and in 1870 when, following severe cuts in the previous budget, members granted an additional one thousand pounds⁷⁶. Only rarely were more substantial additions or reductions suggested.

In 1858, Henry Mildred, a Cambelltown farmer, suggested removing the grant for inspectors and clerical staff altogether, while in 1860 Edward McEllister advocated doubling the vote⁷⁷. The most important features of such suggestions were that they were so exceptional and that they commanded little support - there was a strong general consensus about what constituted appropriate levels of expenditure on education in relation to the overall resources and needs of the state. Through the exercise of budgetary control the government and other members of parliament placed strict limits on the activities of the education department and kept them within acceptable bounds.

Non-government members of Parliament also took a number of independent initiatives to exercise a degree of control over educational administration. By means of questions and requests for returns of such details as the books held in the department's Book Depot, and through the 1861 Select Committee on Education, members monitored such aspects of the system as its possible denominational bias⁷⁸. The 1861 Select Committee checked on the extent to which the department was providing for the poorer sectors of society, especially in Adelaide, and subsequently a resolution was passed requiring the department to licence only schools which charged fees of one shilling per week or less⁷⁹. John Barrow, the founding editor of the Advertiser and member of the Legislative Council pressed a recommendation that the Board investigate the possibility of "bush schools" to meet the needs

of the more remote pastoral districts⁸⁰.

The outstanding attempt by members of parliament to participate in the process of determining the scope and nature of state intervention in education and other aspects of educational policy was the Select Committee on Education in 1868. Through it, members examined in detail various aspects of the department's system and methods, considered criticisms and alternatives suggested by teachers, departmental officers, clergymen, businessmen and others, and formulated a report embodying a number of recommendations for change⁸¹.

The report and its recommendations, however, like other resolutions and suggestions from within parliament were addressed to the government rather than the department, since there was no formal mechanism by which it could direct the Board itself. However, on each occasion that members of parliament made suggestions for policy and practice the Board responded, often deliberating over them at great length, and in some cases adopting new regulations, procedures or policies⁸². Clearly then the Board acknowledged some form of accountability to the legislature.

This discussion of the relationship between the Board and its officers on the one hand and the government and legislature on the other shows clearly that there was generated a relatively

stable and articulated structure in which the respective functions and prerogatives of each were defined and recognized. The implications of this for departmental policy and practice can be seen clearly if we define three general levels at which they were developed : social, educational and administrative. The first of these represents the most general level at which the overall goals of the system were defined, the limits imposed within which courses of action could be framed, and the educational needs of the colony balanced against other needs. Educational policy concerns the formation of specific objectives within the general limits of social policy. The decision to seek trained teachers for all schools, or to provide training in a Model rather than a Normal School were aspects of educational policy. Administrative policy, finally, concerns the procedural details by which the social and educational policies already determined might be attained. Thus it included the decision to issue licences annually rather than permanently, the method by which inspectors reported to the Board and the procedures by which the government kept a check on whether the department was keeping its spending within the determined limits.

Overwhelmingly, the controls exerted by the government, and the legislature were concerned with general social policy. Most obviously, the financial limits were concerned with determining the general place of education within overall bourgeois priorities. However, other issues such as the refusal to grant particular

powers to the Board, or to appoint clergymen to its staff can also be seen to reflect the same concern. The general commitment to private rather than state initiative in social life dictated that schools should be controlled locally rather than centrally, and the separation of church and state, and of religious and secular education demanded that the education system be supervised by laymen. The appointment of members of the Board, too, can be seen in the same light, since it concerned the selection of men committed to 'responsible' social policies. The Board's acceptance of this limitation on its own competence was clearly demonstrated in 1869 when the government asked for its recommendations for a new Education Act. The Board replied that :

regarding themselves rather as an executive body than a legislative body, they feel some hesitancy in offering suggestions upon the policy to be embodied in a new Education Act⁸³.

Where educational or administrative policy was at stake, or where the Board's recommendations did not alter overall social goals or priorities, the government was generally willing to accept its requests. Only rarely, as in the 1860 and 1869 recommendations about where cuts should be made in expenditure, can either the government or the legislature be seen to have trespassed on what the department regarded as its own territory - educational and administrative policy. The implications of this general control of the limits within which the department could operate are examined in detail in the following chapter.

The department's position within the machinery of the state had one further dimension : its relationship to the other departments. Firstly, it is important to note that neither the Board nor its staff had any direct relationship with any other part of the civil service. All dealings with other departments were conducted through the Colonial Secretary's Office and then, where applicable, through the minister responsible for the other department and thus finally to the department itself⁸⁴.


Secondly, there were many occasions on which the education department required the sort of services provided by other departments - legal advice, auditing, or the services of an architect. In the first few years of operation the Board sought to use these services on many occasions, and only rarely were they refused. After 1856, it became part of government policy for departments to use each other's services rather than those of private individuals or firms, since they were generally cheaper⁸⁵.

Frequently access to these services expedited the department's business. It enabled it to order school text books and other stock for the Book Depot through the government's agency in London, thus helping secure a good, regular supply of materials⁸⁶. After 1855, it made frequent use of the Destitute Board's staff to check on the claims for free places in schools⁸⁷. Often however the tortuous nature of the procedure by which departments communicated with each other meant that business was delayed, often for quite

long periods. This could be exacerbated by the fact that educational business did not always enjoy high priority with other departments. On one occasion the department was engaged in a protracted set of communications with the Crown Law Office simply in order to explain what it really required. On another, the Colonial Architect took so long providing plans that the Board in desperation sought the services of a private architect⁸⁸.

The relationships between the Board and the staff, and between the different officers themselves also played a major role in shaping the processes of state intervention in schooling. As the Board began to implement the Act it began to develop an administrative structure - a patterned division of power, authority and labour.

Particularly important was the division between the honorary, part-time Board and the professional, permanent staff. However, the process by which the administrative apparatus was established and developed left the relative positions, powers and roles of the Board and staff undefined. This was not unusual; Hawker noted that there was a high degree of ambiguity about the relationships between the various positions within the state administration in general⁸⁹. In order to examine this structure and its development therefore it is necessary to look at it in action rather than at such documents as the Civil Service Acts and Regulations or the Education Act.

The Board itself was central to the whole structure; it was defined and established by the Act as the body responsible for the administration of the Act. Its general policy making function was reflected in its requests to the government for reports on education in Britain and elsewhere in order to keep in touch with educational developments⁹⁰. The Act also assumed the appointment of an Inspector of Schools, but made no attempt to define his position in relation to the Board except to require him to report on his visits to schools⁹¹. In practice, Wyatt assumed an important position within the administrative structure and process. In some respects his place was similar to the way it was envisaged by some of the witnesses before the 1851 Select Committee - an ex-officio member without voting rights⁹². He attended most early Board meetings and was a member of important sub-committees. His knowledge and expertise as the Inspector of Schools in 1851 gave him a key role in deliberations on many issues and at times items of business were delayed until he could attend⁹³. Thus he played an important part in shaping many early departmental policies. Moreover, although the Board claimed authority over Wyatt, it exercised no direct control and allowed him a high degree of independence in shaping both the  scope of his work and the methods by which he would execute his duties. Beyond requiring him to report in writing weekly and to attend Board meetings where possible, the Board gave him a free hand. This was consistent with the terms of his appointment in 1851,

when the government instructed him to observe and advise rather than attempt to dictate to teachers, but beyond that gave him extensive discretion over the development of the job⁹⁴.

The position of secretary had not been envisaged at all in the Act and in so far as it had been considered in the debates which preceded it, it was assumed that the inspector would fulfill any secretarial functions⁹⁵. The Board, however, sought and obtained a separate appointment for the position. The terms of appointment made quite clear that the secretary was to be directly subordinate to the Board as a clerical assistant, although formally he was appointed to the Civil Service within the Colonial Secretary's Office. The government was explicit that the secretary was to exercise no independent decision making power at all⁹⁶. The place of the secretary, it seemed, was to be a very minor one.

This structure embodied some striking anomalies and ambiguities. The Board had no power to employ and yet it had two officers - the inspector and the secretary. However, these two stood in quite different relationships to the Board, one being highly independent and the other thoroughly subordinate. Moreover, while both were officers within the same department, with Wyatt holding the senior rank, there was no direct relationship between them and certainly Wyatt exercised no authority over the secretary. There was also no defined relationship of authority to be appealed to in cases of conflict between Wyatt and the Board.

While this created the potential for considerable conflict it seems to have resulted in few problems in practice. Wyatt showed little concern to exert authority over the secretary, and there only appear to have been two occasions on which he disagreed with the Board over policy decisions. In dealing with the problem of providing adequate accommodation for large city schools, Wyatt preferred a Model School while the Board wished to rent accommodation and let it cheaply to suitable teachers. In the short term, the Board appears to have carried its policy, but in the longer term it abandoned it in favour of the Model School scheme⁹⁷. Wyatt also wished to develop a scheme for paying pupil teachers whereas the Board argued that this lay beyond the scope of the Act. However, a sub-committee was appointed with Wyatt as a member and the principle that teachers who employed pupil-teachers should be paid at a higher rate was adopted⁹⁸. Thus where there was a conflict, Wyatt appears to have been able either to win support or negotiate a compromise with the Board. However, these differences were largely concerned with the means by which generally agreed aims - better organization and larger schools - might be achieved, and the overall unanimity between the two is more striking than their differences. This is hardly surprising since they shared the same general strategy for educational development.

The other major aspect of the structure was the division of labour. The Board received and discussed applications for

licences and allocated them on the basis of Wyatt's reports, set levels of stipends and destitute fees and determined the procedure by which both licences and destitute fees should be administered. Through its sub-committees it compiled regulations governing the teachers and lists of materials for the Book Depot. It corresponded with the government to establish its rights to use the services of other departments, to clarify the department's legal position and powers and to negotiate increased staff, funds and power. It spent considerable time formulating means by which the building subsidy scheme could be put into operation. Finally, it drew up quarterly reports, outlining the details of the system, of its spending, and its general policies⁹⁹.

When the secretary's position was created the duties involved were described as "not onerous", and the appointment was only part-time, although within a year it had become a full-time position¹⁰⁰. The work was mainly clerical, and involved taking and re-writing minutes of the Board meetings, keeping the financial and statistical records of the department and writing letters under the direction of the Board. It also appears to have included the general execution of decisions, and the implementation of procedures determined by the Board, such as the actual forwarding of licences, notification of school committees that building subsidies were not available and the processing of destitute claims¹⁰¹.

Most of Wyatt's time was spent inspecting the schools and teachers who had applied for licences and been referred to him by the Board. The task of corresponding with school committees mentioned in the Act fell largely to the secretary under the Board's direction. He also acted on a number of occasions as the Board's agent in investigating complaints laid against teachers for drunkenness or other misdemeanours, or ascertaining the merits of conflicting claims about which teacher should be appointed. A considerable part of his duties also involved attendance at meetings of the Board or its sub-committees¹⁰².

For about the first two years a large proportion of the business received by the Board raised new issues which required careful discussion and the formulation of policies. Decisions had to be made about whether a teacher might also hold a position as Clerk of the Local Court, whether a teacher might order his own books or was obliged to use the Book Depot, whether a man and his wife might be licensed separately, or should be regarded as a single school and how they should be paid in the latter case¹⁰³. The Board asserted its general responsibility for establishing the policies implied by such decisions, and the pattern of meetings and attendance at them during this early period reflected the weight of such business.

Governor Young had advised the members who formed the initial Board that they would probably need to meet relatively frequently

until the basic routines and procedures of the department were established¹⁰⁴. In its first two years the Board averaged slightly more than one meeting each week, and often met twice a week. Moreover, the attendance at these meetings was high: apart from Hanson who, as Attorney General found it impossible to attend, members averaged attendance at four out of every five meetings¹⁰⁵. Those who failed to attend regularly were asked to do so or resign. Indeed, several members who found themselves unable to attend either from business pressure or absence from Adelaide even if only for a few months, resigned voluntarily, and the Board sought prompt replacements¹⁰⁶. Thus the turnover of members was high: of the thirty-three men who served on the Board at any time, fifteen were appointed before the end of 1854¹⁰⁷.

Through this close attention to the details of business and the development of decision making criteria, the Board effectively controlled both the details, and the overall direction of departmental policy. In many instances such as the handling of destitute claims, licensing and the payment of teachers, it also defined the procedures by which those policies should be executed. However, once these procedures were established it was content to leave most of the execution of such business to the secretary¹⁰⁸.

Wyatt's position as both ex-officio member of the Board and as a semi-independent agent of the Board gave him an important role in developing both policy and procedures. He participated

extensively in determining the criteria on which licences were granted and stipend levels set, through his involvement in Board meetings. Even more importantly, however, he was able to determine the procedures by which these decisions were made. While the Board formally decided which teachers to license, Wyatt determined how schools were to be inspected, what criteria of competency and efficiency to apply and how reports were to be framed. In practice he kept detailed records of the schools and teachers, noting their methods of organization, use of books, mode of discipline and other details but only reported his overall judgement of the school to the Board. Thus when the Board came to consider a teacher's application for a licence, it had no independent means of making its assessment of his or her worth, and was completely reliant on Wyatt's report¹⁰⁹. Thus the administrative procedures and the relative independence of the inspector placed strict limits on the Board's effective decision making.

The system was far from static of course. The number of teachers and schools grew, and spread over an increasingly wide area, increasing the workload of the Board and its officers. At the same time the number of staff increased to help handle the extra work. The early development of basic principles and procedures also meant that most of this extra work could be treated as routine matters, and the balance between policy making and the execution of established policies shifted toward the latter. Each of these changes had important implications for the administrative and

decision making structure and consequently for the management and execution of business.

The Board continued to deliberate on any new issues which did arise, to exercise a general supervisory role over the affairs of the department and to check that it was running according to the general policies already established. When the Board was criticised, for example, for allowing denominational instruction in licenced schools, it called the inspectors to account and instructed them to abide by the policy laid down¹¹⁰. Similarly when the Board received complaints about the character of teachers, the social exclusiveness of schools or the over-generosity of teachers in permitting destitute claims the Board investigated the matter, either directly or through its inspectors and decided what action should be taken¹¹¹. Most importantly, it continued to take responsibility for the problems of funding and staffing. It continued to negotiate with governments for additional funds, and at the same time dictated general funding priorities principally through setting stipend levels, controlling the general distribution of licences and checking on levels of destitute claims¹¹².

However these aspects of its business tended to be swamped by large amounts of routine work. The re-issue of licences, the reading of reports from local clergymen and District Council chairmen, queries about whether a vacancy existed in one place or

a teacher could be found for another, and deputations from warring factions of school committees now occupied most of the Board's time¹¹³. The large amount of such business and the fact that the procedures for handling it had already been established meant that it was both less easy and less necessary for the Board to keep a close check on the details of each case.

The Board therefore came to rely on digests of correspondence and other business prepared by its staff, while a large number of matters were handled directly by its officers without prior reference to it. In the licensing of teachers, for example, most decisions were now made by officers of the department rather than the Board. Wyatt continued to exercise his judgement about the suitability of teachers and increasingly he, in conjunction with the secretary, took responsibility for deciding which teachers should be re-licensed and which should be re-considered. Characteristically, he informed the Board which teachers needed to be threatened with loss of licence, or advised to make particular improvements, the Board notified the Secretary and he wrote to the teacher concerned¹¹⁴. Such procedures meant that these officers were making discretionary judgements which interpreted rather than simply executed the policies determined by the Board. The only major area of routine business the Board kept close control over was the building subsidy scheme : it considered carefully each application for a new building or additional funds for improvements. In this it was no doubt aided by the fact that such

applications did not usually exceed about a dozen a year, only half of which could be funded¹¹⁵. In most areas, therefore, business was administered by the staff as a matter of course and the Board's role became one of providing official approval for work already done.

This shift away from active decision making by the Board was reflected in the frequency with which it held meetings, and the rate of attendance at them. After 1854 the number of meetings fell until the Board was meeting only about once every three weeks, and at times several weeks elapsed between meetings. This seems to have been the general level of activity expected when the Act was framed, for it allowed attendance fees for Board members for only twelve meetings per year, and on no occasion did the number of meetings fall that low¹¹⁶. However, the attendance of members at these meetings also fell sharply and on many occasions only the chairman and one or two other members were present. Apart from W.C. Belt, the chairman, most members in fact attended relatively infrequently. Thus Samuel Davenport admitted in Parliament that "it was true that he had not been very regular in his attendance lately"¹¹⁷. Indeed he had attended only twenty-six of the one hundred and seventy-eight meetings over the previous five years¹¹⁸.

There were two important consequences of these changes in structure and meeting patterns. Firstly when new business did

arise it was often delayed for some considerable time until sufficient members were present to make thorough discussion possible¹¹⁹. Secondly, the pattern of meetings accelerated the process by which the Board became dependent on staff for the general conduct of business, since the less time it devoted to business the more difficult it became to exercise effective control over it. Thus effective management increasingly became the province of the professional full-time staff.

The expansion in both the number of officers and the workload they shared entailed changes in the structure and division of labour within the civil service department. The appointment of Henry Smith as a new Inspector of Schools in 1855 meant that the relationships between the two inspectors and between Smith and the Board had to be determined. Although the terms of his appointment suggested that Smith would be subordinate to the Board, Wyatt immediately assumed a high degree of authority over him, especially in determining his duties and the manner in which he should perform them. He carefully coordinated their inspection programmes for the first year so that Smith could learn from and copy his methods, in the interests of uniformity of inspection¹²⁰. Moreover, almost all correspondence from Smith to the government or the Board was forwarded by or through Wyatt, although they did not always reply through him. Thus Wyatt wrote to the government on such matters concerning his colleague as salary and travel

allowance as well as more routine administrative matters¹²¹. Their relationship was symbolically reinforced as Wyatt adopted the title of Chief Inspector and Smith became the Second Inspector. The hierarchical nature of the inspectorate was sufficiently well established by the time Edward Dewhirst was appointed Smith's successor in 1860 that he was placed under Wyatt's orders¹²².

This distinction in rank was paralleled by a division of labour. After the first year of Smith's appointment in which the task of inspection was shared more or less evenly, Wyatt undertook sole responsibility for the city schools and most of the responsibility for the suburban establishments while Smith was preoccupied with the rural districts¹²³. While the Second Inspector was also required to attend Board meetings from time to time, and undertook some additional tasks, most of his work remained that of inspecting and reporting¹²⁴. Wyatt's job, however, expanded considerably. By the late 1860s he spent a considerable portion of his time in the Education Office, interviewing teachers and school trustees, conducting correspondence, preparing teachers' examination papers and taking care of "various other details connected with the general business of the department"¹²⁵. Overall, the difference between the roles and functions of the two inspectors was suggested by the fact that the Second Inspector travelled two to three times as far as Wyatt, and spent about forty per cent more time in schools¹²⁶.

The position of the secretary also changed substantially as clerical assistants were employed and placed under his supervision¹²⁷. Thus there developed another hierarchy within the department. While the aggregate workload for the secretary and his assistants was increasing, it was also changing in content. The same tasks still had to be performed as before, of course, but such jobs as the re-issue of licences and the drawing up of lists of teachers whose competence was doubtful also fell to the secretary and his staff. While the more basic jobs were left to the junior staff Wickes, the secretary from 1854 to 1867 took on more of the business which required the exercise of initiative or judgement. By 1865 his position had changed from that of a mere subordinate clerk to one which involved "numerous other duties, regular, contingent, discretionary, etc." and gave him "an intelligent, active and managing part in the general supervision of the Educational affairs" of the state¹²⁸. Two years later his list of duties included examining teachers for licences, interviewing teachers, parents and school committee representatives, preparing the Board's annual reports and deputising for the inspectors on many occasions¹²⁹.

Clearly then, Wickes and Wyatt both established positions of management and authority within the department in relation to the other staff and the conduct of business. The shift in control away from the Board was thus a shift towards them. In practice they

worked together and exercised their power jointly and largely determined the day-to-day procedures of the department and through them the way in which policies were translated into practice. Their positions were such that they were acknowledged as the head and sub-head of the department respectively, titles which reflected accurately their power within the administrative structure under the Act¹³⁰.

During the later 1860s the Board became more active as financial restraints impeded the attainment of its goals and as criticism of both its achievements and strategies mounted. It developed a tendency to call special meetings at which full attendance was encouraged, to deal with such issues as bible reading, Bush Schools for remote pastoral areas, and the failure of the licensed schools to cater for the urban poor. In several of these instances it suggested new approaches to the problems¹³¹.

Nevertheless, the Board remained content to leave both the routine administration and the implementation of any new policies to Wyatt and the secretary. However, these officers saw their task as one of applying procedures largely established and certainly sanctioned, by the Board rather than the generation of new methods. Moreover, Wyatt, Wickes and James Bath, who became secretary in 1868 were committed to the general model for educational development embodied in the Act and the early policies of the Board, and which established procedures had been generated to implement. Thus any new policies generated by the Board

would be implemented piecemeal and accommodated to the existing procedures and general practices of the department. However, the Board largely accepted the same basic framework and its 'reforms' in the 1860s were alternative tactics within the same general strategy. It therefore required no major revision of either the structure or the procedures of the department. The department remained under the control of the Chief Inspector and the secretary.

The administration of the Education Act thus took place within a structural context which was defined with increasing clarity and comprehensiveness, at least in practice. The government defined the limits within which the Board could operate and develop policies and the Board in turn circumscribed the area within which procedures could be developed. Moreover, the Board's reliance on the services of other departments in many cases not only provided it with a means of handling business, but shaped the way that business was performed. Finally, the relative independence of the Board and the officers of the department meant that once initial procedures closely geared to initial policies were established, subsequent implementation of policies would take place within the boundaries determined by those procedures. This could seriously limit the effectiveness with which such policies could be put into effect. The department thus developed a strong resistance to significant changes in direction.

Notes and References

1. The first meeting of the Board was reported to the Colonial Secretary's Office, SAA GRG 24/6/1848/541, but there appears to be no further correspondence. The Regulations and forms for teachers applying for aid under Ordinance number 11, 1847, were published, S.A.G.G., 1848, pp. 140, 232, but there is no sign of further activity. Education correspondence was filed under 'Education' rather than the 'Education Board' as was the case from 1852, and included all administrative correspondence arising under the Ordinance. Wyatt's report as Inspector of Schools was directed through the Colonial Secretary's Office, not the Board; for example, SAA GRG 24/6/1852/309.

Cf. R.M. Goultman, "The Relationship between Politics and Education in South Australia, 1834-1875", (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1979, p. 178, for the view that the Central Board of 1852 was the first step in establishing a state education bureaucracy.

2. SAA GRG 24/4/1852/407, 547; 24/6/1854/300.

For a particularly ambiguous use of the term "Education Department" see ibid. 24/4/1858/23, 47. The relations between the Board and its officers and their respective roles around which this ambiguity revolves is discussed later in the chapter, see pp. 183-198.

3. G.N. Hawker, "The Development of the South Australian Civil Service, 1836-1916", (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University, 1967), pp. 57-58.

4. SAA GRG 24/4/1852/566.

5. Ibid. 24/4/1852/732, 832; 24/6/1852/2194.

6. Ibid. 24/6/1856/968.

7. B.T. Finniss, The Constitutional History of South Australia During the Twenty-One Years, from the Foundation of the Settlement in 1836 to the Inauguration of Responsible Government in 1857, (Rigby, Adelaide, 1886), pp. 358-359.

G.N. Hawker, "The Development of the South Australian Civil Service", pp. 58, 76.

8. SAA GRG 24/4/1852/565.

9. Act no. 20, 1851, clauses 16-22.
10. SAA GRG 24/4/1853/322; 1854/997; 24/6/1853/994.
11. Act. no. 20, 1851, clauses 10, 23.
12. SAA GRG 24/4/1855/634.
S.A.G.G., 1853, p. 1713; 1855, p. 644.
13. SAA GRG 24/4/1855/217-219; 24/6/1855/358.
14. Act No. 20, 1851, clauses 16, 23.
15. SAA GRG 24/4/1853/322.
16. Minutes, 98, 120, 121, (1852).
SAA GRG 24/4/1852/480, 520-521, 565-566; 24/6/1852/1600, 1665.
17. SAA GRG 24/4/1856/73, 255; 24/6/1856/461.
18. B.T. Finniss, Constitutional History of Australia, p. 96.
19. Colonial Estimates, 1852, S.A.P.P. 1851, no. 2.
Colonial Estimates, 1853, S.A.P.P. 1852, no. 3.
Estimates, Ways and Means, 1854, S.A.P.P. 1853, no. 108.
Estimates, Ways and Means, 1855, S.A.P.P. 1854, no. 108.
Estimates, Ways and Means, 1856, S.A.P.P. 1855-1856, no. 89.
Estimates, Ways and Means, 1857, S.A.P.P. 1856, no. 3.
Note: all these items except Estimates, 1857 omitted the Land Fund and treated it separately.
20. See Appendix III.
21. SAA GRG 24/6/1855/3698; 1856/953, 1439, 3500.
22. Estimates of Ways and Means, S.A.P.P. 1853, no. 3, p. 6;
1854, no. 108, p. 6.
23. Act. no. 20, 1851, clause 4.
24. SAA GRG 24/4/1852/378.
25. Ibid. 24/4/1853/94-53; 24/6/1853/498.
26. For example, ibid. 24/4/1854/157, 473; 24/6/1854/591, 1270.

27. G.N. Hawker, "The Development of the South Australian Civil Service", pp. 57-58.
28. D. Pike, Paradise of Dissent: South Australia, 1829-1857, (second edition, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1967), p. 428.
29. SAA GRG 24/6/1854/2668.
30. J. Brown, 'The Almonds' of Walkerville, (Forlib, Adelaide, 1970), p. 17.
M. Hardy, "History of the Hardy Family in South Australia", (typescript, SAA D 3919 (T), 1959), p. 13.
31. See Advertiser, 21 January, 1874.
32. Minutes, 3 (1852).
SAA GRG 24/4/1852/96, 480.
33. SAA GRG 24/4/1853/796.
34. Ibid. 24/4/1852/480.
35. Ibid. 24/4/1854/1060.
36. Ibid. 24/4/1852/480.
37. Ibid. 24/4/1855/23, 67; 24/6/1855/172.
38. Ibid. 24/4/1852/741, Minutes, 281.
39. S.A.G.G. 1853, p. 333.
40. Minutes, 281, 282, 334, (1852).
S.A.G.G., 1853, p. 334.
41. Register, 7 December, 1852.
42. Ibid. 20 July, 1852; 1 June, 1853.
43. SAA GRG 24/6/1856/439.
Votes and Proceedings, Legislative Council, S.A.P.P. 1852, p. 33; 1853, p. 158.
44. SAA GRG 24/6/1855/3698.

45. B.T. Finnis, Constitutional History of South Australia, pp. 303, 358-359.
- E. Hodder, History of South Australia, 2 volumes. (Sampson, Low, Marston, London, 1893), p. 307.
46. S.A.P.P. 1853, nos. 80, 86, 88, 92, 97.
47. Reports of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council of South Australia appointed to take into consideration the Colonial Estimates, S.A.P.P. 1855-1856, no. 153.
48. B.T. Finnis, Constitutional History of South Australia, p. 211.
- G.N. Hawker, "The Development of the South Australian Civil Service", pp. 55-58; 76.
49. Select Committee on the Estimates, 1856, pp. 224-230.
50. K.K. O'Donoghue, "Constitutional and Administrative Development of South Australia from Responsible Government to the Strangways Act of 1868" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1950), pp. 88-89; 100-111.
51. G.N. Hawker, "The Development of the South Australian Civil Service", p. 110.
52. SAA GRG 24/6/1856/958; 1860/629.
53. Ibid. 24/6/1864/1122½.
54. D. Pike, "Education in an Agricultural State", in E.L. French, Melbourne Studies in Education 1957-1958, (Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1958), p. 71.
55. SAA GRG 24/6/1861/867.
56. See Appendices I & II.
57. SAA GRG 24/6/1861/423.
58. Ibid. 24/6/1870/34; 1871/201; 1872/215, 365.
59. Minutes, 6415, 6417-6419 (1860).
- SAA GRG 24/4/1860/203, 208, 215; 24/6/1860/898, 1270.
- Cf. R.M. Goultman, "The Relationship between Politics and Education", pp. 214-217, and G.E. Saunders, "The State and Education in South Australia, 1836-1875", in E.L. French (ed.), Melbourne Studies in Education, 1966, (Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1967), p. 225.

60. SAA GRG 24/4/1860/125.
61. Ibid. 24/6/1860/629.
62. Ibid. 24/4/1869/1126.
63. Ibid. 24/6/1863/1063.
64. Ibid. 24/6/1869/1839.
65. Register, 3 June, 1860.
66. T.A. Coghlan, Labour and Industry in Australia, (1918, reprinted, Macmillan, Melbourne, 1969), pp. 1068-1075.
E.S. Richards, "The Genesis of Secondary Industry in the South Australian Economy to 1876", Australian Economic History Review, vol. 15, no. 2 (1975), p. 124.
67. S.A.P.D. 1858, cols. 583-584.
68. Ibid. 1869-1870, col. 344.
Votes and Proceedings, House of Assembly, S.A.P.P. 1859, p. 63; 1865, p. 143; 1870-1871, p. 316.
69. J. Swanson, "Conflict and Consent; South Australia, 1859-1862" (unpublished B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1972,) p. 45.
70. Register, 1 July, 1851,
71. R.M. Gouttman, "The Relationship between Politics and Education", p. 257.
K.K. O'Donoghue, "Constitutional and Administrative Development", p. 145.
Votes and Proceedings, House of Assembly, S.A.P.P. 1863, p. 252.
72. D. Pike, "Education in an Agricultural State", pp. 71, 76-77.
73. See Appendix III.
74. The highest proportion of annual estimated expenditure voted to education from 1857 to 1873 was 3.7 per cent in 1858, the lowest proportion voted to developmental works and roads was 14 per cent in 1867. S.A.P.P. 1857-1858, no. 7; 1867, no. 2B.
75. S.A.P.D. 1857-1858, col. 620.

76. Votes and Proceedings, House of Assembly, S.A.P.P. 1864, p. 78; 1869-1870, p. 286.
77. S.A.P.D. 1858, col. 723; 1860, col. 486.
78. Votes and Proceedings, House of Assembly, S.A.P.P. 1865-1866, p. 199; Legislative Council, S.A.P.P. 1861, p. 27.
79. Votes and Proceedings, House of Assembly, S.A.P.P. 1861, p. 226.
80. Ibid. Legislative Council, S.A.P.P. 1866-1867, p. 59.
81. The Report of the Select Committee to Enquire into the Working of the Education Act, S.A.P.P. 1868, No. 56.
82. For example, Minutes, 9184-9186 (1967); and S.A.G.G. 1867, pp. 650-651.
83. SAA GRG 24/6/1869/1116.
84. For example, ibid. 24/6/1857/589; the memoranda on the cover trace the journey quite clearly from the Board to the Chief Secretary's Office to the Commissioner of Public Works to the Colonial Architect and back again.
85. Ibid. 24/6/1853/783; 1854/308, 1941; The Board was refused free postage, however; ibid. 24/4/1854/289.
86. Ibid. 24/6/1852/2564; 1854/3362.
87. Minutes, 2035 (1855).
88. Correspondence with the Crown Law Office over the trust deed for the District Schoolhouses lasted from March to September 1853.
SAA GRG 24/6/1853/783, 1463, 2398. The correspondence with the Colonial Architect over plans for school buildings extended from October 1857 until March 1858: ibid. 24/6/1857/1589, 1701; 1858/330, 1089. In neither case did the Board receive any material assistance.
89. G.N. Hawker, "The Development of the South Australian Civil Service", pp. 2-5, 116.
90. Act no. 20, 1851, clause 4.
Minutes 266, 430 (1852).
SAA GRG 24/6/1852/2566.

91. Act no. 20, 1851, clause 15.
92. The Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council Appointed to consider the propriety of bringing in a General Education Measure, S.A.P.P. 1851, No. 14, p. 5.
93. For example, Minutes, 12, 20, 273 (1852).
94. Ibid. 279-280 (1852).
SAA GRG 24/4/1851/122.
S.A.G.G. 1853, pp. 741-742.
95. Select Committee on Education, 1851, Report, p. iv.
SAA GRG 24.4.1852/480.
96. Loc. cit. Cf. ibid. 24/4/1854/136.
97. Minutes, 1898, 1915, 1948-1949, 1951, (1855).
S.A.G.G., 1855, p. 644.
Select Committee on the Estimates, 1856, p. 230.
98. Minutes, 1249, 1257, 1266, 1296-1297 (1854).
99. The quarterly reports give a clear indication of the scope of their actions and responsibility, for example, S.A.G.G., 1852, pp. 507-508; 631-632; 1853, pp. 96-97.
100. Minutes, 22, 541 (1852).
101. Loc. cit. also, 1421 (1854).
102. Ibid. 120, 121 (1852).
SAA GRG 24/6/1854/2512.
S.A.G.G. 1853, p. 721.
103. Minutes, 281-282, 296 (1852); 572 (1853).
104. SAA GRG 24/4/1852/385.
105. See appendices I, II.
106. Minutes, 477 (1852).
107. See appendix I.
108. Minutes 993 (1853); 1421 (1854).

109. Select Committee on the Estimates, 1856, p. 224.

See also chapter four.

110. Minutes, 6616 (1860),; 9123, 9124, 511, 528 (1867).

SAA GRG 24/6/1860/820.

The only major new area of policy and procedure to be dealt with was the District Schoolhouse subsidy scheme, introduced in 1855. The division of labour established followed closely the pattern already determined in other areas of administration and was rapidly routinised; see, for example, Minutes, 1987 (1855); 3034 (1856); 3391, 3673 (1857); 3821 (1858).

111. Minutes, 3125 (1856); 6544 (1861); 8351 (1864); 188 (1868).

112. Minutes, 8224, (1864).

SAA GRG 24/6/1858/493; 1865/1656; 1866/1958; 1867/1186; 1869/906; 1871/201; 1872/53, 365.

113. In 1864, for example, the main items of business were licensing teachers (185 items), receiving reports on schools from local clergymen and other dignitaries (50 items), dealing with applications or enquiries regarding building subsidies (52), complaints about teachers by locals and investigations on behalf of the Board (28), Inspector's reports (20) and correspondence with District Councils about the appointment of teachers (13). Minutes for 1864 (nos. 8209-8501).

114. Ibid. 3022, 3184, 3185 (1856).

Select Committee on the Estimates, 1856, p. 227.

115. Votes and Proceedings, House of Assembly 1859-1860, p. 151.

116. Act no. 20, 1851, clause 24.

Appendix II.

117. S.A.P.D. 1861, col. 191.

118. SAA GRG 24/6/1857/713; 1858/567; 1859/753; 1860/483; 1861/423. Such low attendances did not lead to members being replaced, however. No doubt this was because their presence was not vital unless matters were being discussed which required policy or discretionary decision making, as distinct from mere handling of routine. Thus the Secretary, reporting Gosse's poor attendance in 1860 recommended his reappointment because he rendered "valuable assistance when especially required, but professional demands made regular attendance impossible"; ibid

24/6/1860/483. Cf. 24/6/1865/758. Davenport and Andrews were reappointed in 1858 after Davenport had attended three and Andrews only two meetings for the year; 24/6/1858/567.

119. See, for example, Minutes, 3279, (1856).

120. SAA GRG 24/4/1855/67.

S.A.G.G., 1855, p. 380.

121. For example SAA GRG 24/6/1856/3264; 1857/1884; 1859/81.

122. Ibid. 24/4/1860/215.

123. Ibid. 24/90/170.

S.A.G.G., 1862, pp. 376-377; 1867, p. 651.

S.A.P.P. 1872, No. 223.

124. S.A.P.P. Loc. cit.

125. SAA GRG 24/6/1857/1019, 1801; 1871/1282; 1872/1165.

126. S.A.P.P. 1872 No. 223.

127. SAA GRG 24/6/1867/560; 1870/365; 24/90/170.

128. Ibid. 24/6/1865/1656

In 1859, for example, the Board overspent its destitute fees grant and drew on unexpended stipend funds. Wickes was given the task of explaining the situation to the Colonial Secretary and winning approval; Minutes, 6538 (1859).

129. Minutes, 6527-6528 (1867).

SAA GRG 24/6/1867/1084; 1872/170.

130. G.N. Hawker, "The Development of the South Australian Civil Service", p. 115.

SAA GRG 24/6/1872/1410.

131. Minutes, 9184 (1867); 352 (1868).

Chapter Four

The Board and the Schools

The central aim of the Education Board and its officers was stated most succinctly by William Wyatt in his report for the third quarter of 1853 : "the full development of a perfect system of education"¹. Such a system would comprise a network of schools established by private initiative and supported by the state. The schools would be conducted by trained teachers and organized along modern "class" lines and would ensure that the means of education lay within the reach of every child in the colony.

In this chapter I analyse the processes by which they attempted to foster such a system within the limits imposed by the 1851 Education Act on the one hand and the structure of the state on the other. I argue that they established at the outset a range of administrative policies and procedures intended to secure those goals. In the process of implementing them they faced a number of obstacles which they interpreted in the light of both their specific model of education and their general understanding of society and its dynamics. On this basis they modified their procedures in order to pursue their aims more effectively.

I have distinguished three main phases in this process between 1852 and 1873. The first coincided with the initial development

of procedures and the early responses of communities and teachers. In this period, roughly 1852 to 1856, the Board and its officers believed that the system was making good progress and expressed a strong sense of optimism about the future. The second, extended to about the mid 1860s, and saw them seriously hampered by lack of funds. They recognized important deficiencies in the network of schools they supervised and in colonial education generally but claimed that without more adequate funding only limited success was possible. The final phase was characterised by two important shifts in focus. Firstly, in defining where the greatest need for assistance lay, the centre of their concern moved significantly from rural to urban areas. Secondly, in dealing with the problem of attendance which they regarded as crucial to the success of the system, they abandoned their faith in private initiative in favour of some form of compulsion. This meant that they regarded the resolution of their own difficulties as dependent on new legislation and powers rather than simply more money and administrative adjustments. These phases were not sharply defined with clear breaks between them; rather, they reflected subtle changes in emphasis. Significant aspects of policy and procedure overlapped these periods and in many cases contrary tendencies were present together. However, it is important to identify the underlying shifts since they represented changes in the way the Board and its key officers - central figures in the development of colonial

schooling - saw the capacity of the existing Act to transform schooling in accordance with their ideals.

The Education Act of 1851 gave the Board power to license and pay teachers, provide fees for the free schooling of destitute children, establish and operate a Normal School and a Book Depot, subsidise the building of schoolhouses, determine the broad curriculum of the licensed schools and make regulations governing the licensed teachers and their schools. The task confronting the Board and its Inspector was to transform these provisions from mere enactments on paper into a fully functioning system of "national education". To do this they had to generate a wide range of educational and administrative policies and procedures.

The early meetings of the Board were concerned with establishing the administrative apparatus of the department - staff and offices for example - and with setting up the system of licensing and paying teachers, handling the initial rush of applications for assistance, and drawing up the regulations which defined the conditions on which schools and teachers might receive support. Following the procedure established under the 1847 Ordinance the Board determined that the teacher or other representative of the school had to show that the school was already functioning and provide a memorial from the parents of at least

twenty pupils testifying to the teacher's good character and competence to conduct the school². Under the new system Wyatt then inspected the school and reported his judgement to the Board. On the basis of his report the Board granted or refused the licence. Occasionally Wyatt's prior knowledge of the school enabled the Board to dismiss the application immediately, or to defer inspection but grant a licence on a provisional basis. Where the school was too remote for Wyatt to visit it within a short time, a local magistrate, doctor or other dignitary was asked to deputize for him, and the application dealt with provisionally on that basis³.

If the Board accepted the initial application and the subsequent report was satisfactory, the secretary forwarded an official application form, requesting information about the teacher's level of education, professional training, qualifications and experience, methods of teaching, school accommodation, books and numbers of pupils. When this was returned the teacher was sent an official licence, a copy of the regulations, the forms required for school records and returns and a notice of the level at which his or her stipend would be paid⁴.

The Board made the licence subject to several conditions. It was valid for one year and the teacher had to reapply before the end of the year to renew it. The teacher was bound to comply with the regulations promulgated by the Board and was obliged to

receive into the school any destitute children who might apply. To resign, the teacher was required to give at least one month's notice, while to transfer to a different school, the teacher had to resign and then establish or take up the new position and apply for a licence according to the established procedure. Similarly when a new teacher was appointed to an already licensed school, the school had to be licensed afresh. Thus the licence was granted to a specific teacher in a specific school and was not transferable. The Board also reserved the right to withdraw licences for failure to maintain standards, breaches of regulation or because the Board or the Inspector wished to transfer the licence to a different school. To ensure that the teachers continued to conform to the conditions under which they were licensed they were subject to inspection at any time, although in practice this meant about once each quarter⁵.

The Board moved quickly to draw up its official regulations. Some were designed to ensure that the schools met the needs of the society as Wyatt and the Board defined them, that teachers conducted their schools properly and that their curriculum conformed to the official model of a secular, Christian elementary education. Others aimed to promote administrative efficiency and record keeping, and required teachers to send returns of attendance and destitute claims on prescribed forms at prescribed times. Finally, the regulations stipulated the dates on which the schools

might be closed and required teachers to specify the hours of instruction in their schools and to adhere strictly to them. This would not only ensure that teachers provided the full amount of instruction for which they were paid but would preempt the situation which Wyatt had encountered previously, in which he visited a school only to find it closed⁶.

The process the Board established for providing free places for destitute children involved the teacher and the local community rather than its own representatives. Firstly, a parent had to apply to the teacher to have a child enrolled and instructed free of charge. The teacher was required to check the credentials of the claim and if satisfied that the child was really "destitute of the means of education", provide free tuition and materials. Each quarter the teacher had to prepare a return providing details of the destitute children taught, have the return ratified by a local magistrate and forward it to the Board which then paid him for the service rendered. The Board believed that this process would ensure that, while the truly needy would receive assistance, local vigilance and the stigma of pauperism would guarantee that those who could pay did not receive their schooling free⁷.

The Board also made the department's services available as an exchange of information between teachers looking for situations on the one hand and school committees and others seeking good teachers on the other. It advertised in leading newspapers informing the

public of this service and of the means of applying for financial support for schools. On at least one occasion it took the initiative to encourage the establishment of a large central school in a major working-class area : it approached the Port Adelaide Land Company for a grant of land for a public schoolhouse. When the Company offered a block at a reduced price and one hundred pounds towards the cost of a building the Board immediately wrote to other leading citizens of Port Adelaide to ask them to undertake the project and offered to secure a first class teacher for the school, from England if necessary⁸.

By early July 1852, the Board and the Inspector turned their attention to the proposed Book Depot. They established a sub-committee to draw up plans for the scheme and a list of necessary materials "with as little delay as possible". Two weeks later the sub-committee presented its list and a series of recommendations for running the Depot. The Board, acting through the Colonial Secretary's Office and the government's London agent, arranged to order its materials from the cheapest available sources, the depots of the British and Foreign Society and the Irish National system⁹.

Wyatt and the Board faced a number of problems in increasing the number of schools in the colony and in ensuring that those which were established would provide the right sort of education.

Firstly, there were difficulties arising from their position within the machinery of the state. Secondly, there were those which arose from within the operation of the system itself and which could be regarded primarily as administrative difficulties. Thirdly, there were problems located within the society itself which impinged on the system they sought to develop. I have already examined a number of issues included in the first category, such as the difficulty in securing adequate financial means from the government, legal problems and the obstacles to implementing the building subsidies scheme. An extended analysis of their attempts to deal with the second and third types of difficulty throws considerable light on the workings of the Board and the department and on the question of whether they were capable of generating a viable system.

Implicit in the strategies embodied in the Act was the assumption that change, dependent as it was on private initiative and response, would be slow. Thus Wyatt argued that a satisfactory system would only be the result of "the gradual introduction" of superior schools of "a public character"¹⁰. In particular, both Wyatt and the Board recognized that the supply of good teachers was unlikely to meet the need for schools within the first few years, especially in working-class and rural localities. Their first problem, therefore, was to assess the relationship between these two factors. In 1852 they drastically

reduced the number of licences from the 115 of the previous year to only 69, mainly by 'weeding out' those whom they regarded as inferior¹¹. This enabled them to set their standards high and to hold open 'vacancies' for superior teachers. This, it had been suggested in 1851, would encourage trained teachers working in other jobs to assess the situation, establish schools and apply for aid. It was also to encourage teachers who had lost their licences to make strenuous efforts to improve sufficiently to regain them. At the same time, it allowed the Board to assess how adequate the supply of good teachers might be and on this basis to calculate how far it might have to compromise its own standards to meet the existing need. Partly because of an improved supply and partly because of this process of compromise the number of licences rose sharply in 1853 reaching 111 by the end of the year¹². Wyatt began recommending that teachers should be licensed provisionally even if, like William Ramsay at Norwood, their "only recommendation is the lack of schools in the area"¹³. Other teachers, like Frances Sheridan at lower North Adelaide, were now licensed for similar reasons, despite earlier refusals¹⁴. After this initial process of balancing standards against needs, the Board increased the number of licences at a relatively steady rate of about twelve to fifteen schools each year¹⁵.

The Board had clear priorities in the distribution of its funds. The largest proportion of its resources was devoted to

rural schools, in order to secure good teachers there against the effects of small and fluctuating numbers. The aid directed to the urban areas was to support schools for the poor and superior schools which could act as a model for elementary education generally. It argued, therefore, that it should not venture into the field of 'higher' education, the preserve of the wealthier sectors of the society, since:

It is principally among the less wealthy classes of the community that the apathy exists in regard to the education of their children; it seems therefore to the Board, a matter of importance to encourage schools to which these classes can send their children, at a small cost to themselves and deprive them, as much as possible, of all grounds to withhold their children from school on the ground of expense¹⁶.

These priorities were reflected in a number of ways. At the end of 1853, 66 of the 111 licences had been allocated to country districts and rural suburbs, and twelve to urban suburbs including recognized working-class localities such as Hindmarsh and Thebarton. Adelaide, the major area of working-class concentration, had the remaining 33¹⁷. The Board began rationalizing the distribution of licences in Adelaide, aided by improvements in the state of the streets, which enabled children to travel further to school in safety. Thus the number of licences in the city fell, while the enrolments rose, if only slightly. The stipends thus saved were available to meet rural

needs. For very small settlements it sometimes abandoned its requirement that licensed schools have at least twenty pupils and Ardtornish school was licensed with only eleven¹⁸. Where small settlements which were unable to support their own teachers were close to each other, Wyatt and the Board experimented with half-time schools, one teacher serving both localities and receiving a single stipend¹⁹: By issuing a licence for a specific location they ensured that teachers maintained their schools in the areas where they were approved, and did not shift to 'better' areas, or ones which were already well supplied, while retaining the stipend. Thus they were able to control the distribution of aid according to their social priorities. They also found that it was necessary to guard against schools catering only to the more financially secure sectors of the communities in which they were licensed, and the regulations insisted that the licensed schools should be open to children of all classes. As an extension of this principle, the Board adopted the principle that no school which took only boarders should be eligible for aid, since it regarded these as socially exclusive²⁰.

The procedures for providing for destitute children also showed a concern to meet as wide a cross section of need among the 'poorer classes' as possible. Most contemporary definitions of 'destitution' included only those chronically unable to support themselves, such as orphans, the aged and the permanently ill or injured²¹. Thus, temporarily unemployed but generally able-bodied

workers were not normally eligible for destitute relief. The Board adopted a much more liberal definition, which recognized that parents might have the means to feed, clothe and shelter their children, but not to pay school fees and provide books. It defined such cases as "effectively destitute of the means of education" and made them eligible for free schooling²². The rate at which teachers were paid for instructing them, nine-pence per week, was comparable to the fees charged for 'ordinary' pupils in many licensed schools. Wyatt and the Board clearly hoped to encourage rather than discourage the teachers to welcome them into their schools. However for both ideological and economic reasons they had no desire to provide free schooling where parents could afford fees and as the number of claims for destitute pupils increased rapidly under the impact of the Victorian gold rush they began checking teachers' returns more closely²³.

The attempts to transform the type of schooling provided focussed especially on accommodation, the qualifications of the teachers and the method and content of instruction. Until 1855, when the Board was able to begin subsidising District School-houses, it used its more general powers to provide incentives and controls for changing the nature of school accommodation. In particular the Inspector and the Board considered the type and condition of the building in which the school was conducted when

dealing with a licence application. One early applicant was informed that "his licence will be granted ... upon his satisfying the Board that he has got a proper School Room"²⁴. Others were refused because the buildings were ill-ventilated, poorly lit, overcrowded or inadequately furnished. Later, teachers were warned that unless they made improvements their licences would be rescinded. These threats were most likely to be effective in larger centres where licensed teachers faced competition from other teachers to whom the Board could transfer the licence. Negative sanctions were accompanied by positive incentives in the form of higher stipends for teachers who made significant improvements to their schools²⁵. To some extent these administrative measures appeared effective. Some country communities built schoolrooms by public subscription and in both town and country there were teachers who provided better quarters for their schools at their own expense. William Leslie at Alberton, for example, built and furnished a school capable of accommodating 185 pupils, while others applied to the Board for permission to shift their schools to better rooms in their neighbourhoods. However, the absence of any direct means to provide assistance for such schemes meant that progress was slight and the Board and the Inspector both regarded the state of school accommodation in general as highly unsatisfactory²⁶.

While Wyatt and the Board continued to work towards the establishment of the building subsidy scheme, they made a number

of attempts to devise alternative means of improving accommodation. As early as 1854 they suggested that they should be especially empowered to provide large schoolrooms to densely populated areas. The Board favoured renting suitable premises and letting them to approved teachers at low cost, while Wyatt preferred an adaptation of the Normal School scheme : the Board would build centrally located Model Schools which would both train teachers and provide good housing for superior schools²⁷.

Despite the recognition that the supply of good teachers would not meet the need for schools for several years both Wyatt and the Board exerted considerable pressure to improve the quality of the licensed teachers. Firstly, they used their control over the teachers' incomes. In the first half year of its operation the Board set all stipends at a rate of forty pounds per annum, the minimum allowed by the Act. At first glance this appears contrary to the aim of providing a strong attraction to teachers. However, this had been the maximum grant for elementary instruction under the 1847 Ordinance and most teachers, especially in the country, had received less. Moreover forty pounds was at least comparable to the total amount many teachers might expect to receive from fees. At the end of 1852 the Board paid all licensed teachers a bonus of ten, twenty or thirty pounds and set their stipends at either forty or sixty pounds for the following year. The rates were determined by Wyatt's assessment of their qualifications, efficiency and ability to attract and hold pupils, as

measured by attendance in relation to the size of the local population²⁸. This the Board argued would make the stipend a "premium to merit"²⁹ and therefore simultaneously reward superior teachers and encourage inferior ones to improve in order to qualify for the higher rewards. By carefully limiting the number of higher stipends - twenty-two out of one hundred, and five teachers in late 1855³⁰ - and offering a few increases each year, Wyatt and the Board hoped to sustain a process which would encourage and reward conformity to their own standards of good teaching.

Secondly, they put direct pressure on many teachers to adopt approved methods of organization and instruction. Professional teachers were expected to do so as a matter of course and appear to have enjoyed relatively cordial relations with Wyatt and the Board : co-operation and mutual respect rather than relations of authority and subordination seem to have been the rule and such teachers were left to manage their schools with a minimum of interference. Untrained and "inefficient" teachers were expected to be much slower to adopt proper methods, from incompetence or lack of interest. They were only licensed as "temporary expedients" in localities where no trained teacher could be procured and the Board attempted to replace them as soon as possible³¹. While they retained the licence, Wyatt inspected them regularly, offered "suggestions" about improvements in methods of teaching and

management and no doubt drew their attention to the fact that the Depot stocked teachers' manuals based on a variety of principles, from those of the British and Foreign system to those of Pestalozzi. If they failed to heed his advice the secretary wrote and threatened them with loss of licence³². The Board also considered imposing a regulation requiring all teachers to classify their schools within six months of receiving their licence. It dropped the idea, however, partly because it doubted whether it lay within its power, partly because it believed many teachers were "incompetent to employ any system without training" and were only licensed until better teachers could be found and partly because many schools were too small for even highly trained masters to classify effectively³³.

Thirdly, they tried to compensate for the number of teachers who had no special training by providing some form of professional instruction. In the absence of either a Normal or a Model School it sought to use the licensed Pulteney Street school as a temporary Model School which teachers could attend for a short period to learn approved methods by means of lectures, discussion, observation and practice. They recognized that such a scheme would be of limited value unless teachers could receive financial support and their schools kept open during their period of training. Despite the lack of such support a small number of teachers did undergo brief training there³⁴. To obviate the need

for teachers to leave their schools in order to receive close direction and guidance Wyatt recommended the appointment of an "Organizing Inspector". He also recommended that the government should provide funds to support the Preceptors' Association which he believed might help raise the standard of teachers by conducting lectures and discussions and by providing important literature relating to professional skills³⁵.

The Book Depot was a major step towards eliminating any unnecessary difficulties which teachers might face when they attempted to implement the approved methods, by providing class books at low prices. Wyatt observed that teachers often used the Depot in order to provide books for their schools at their own expense. To help them and others whose "slender means" made this difficult, he recommended that the cost of books should be included in the tuition fee. Parents would thus be induced to pay for the books while the books would remain the property of the school which would thus acquire an excellent stock of materials. As an additional help the Board extended credit and discounts to teachers purchasing from the Depot against the security of their stipends, thus enabling them to sell the books to their pupils at a small profit without any direct financial outlay³⁶.

The Board also considered licensing assistants and supervising and subsidising pupil-teachers employed in licensed schools. This, they expected, would encourage professional teachers

to enlarge their schools and thus organize them more effectively without the risk that the increase in tuition fees might not compensate for the costs of hiring additional staff. It dropped the scheme, however, because after lengthy deliberation it concluded that it exceeded the bounds of the Act and because in the short term there were no funds available for the purpose. Moreover, it appeared to contravene the principle that the proprietor of the school should be master in his own domain. However, it did adopt a policy of paying higher stipends to teachers who employed assistants³⁷.

The content and scope of the curriculum was defined in the first place by the Regulations. The syllabus was to comprise the elementary subjects - reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history and grammar - daily Bible reading, but not denominational instruction, moral training and in German schools, English³⁸. The books recommended by the Board and the Inspector provided a much finer-grained definition of the content of instruction. The stress on elementary education was well reflected in the numbers of books the Depot stocked: one early order included two thousand copies of the Daily Lesson Book Number One, but only six copies of a Latin exercise book³⁹. Even more importantly, however, they provided the core of the moral curriculum: Wyatt claimed that reading lessons using such books were the main means for providing moral instruction⁴⁰. Imported books stressed character traits

such as cleanliness, orderliness, respect for authority and social superiors, industry, punctuality and sobriety. The existing social order was portrayed as God-given, with its divisions of class, gender and race and their attendant shares of worldly goods firmly rooted in both nature and morality. Acquiescence in the existing order was justified by lessons which showed that English law was founded on reason and justice and accepted by all as a social contract⁴¹. Locally produced texts showed the same traits: Wickes' text on grammar, for example, included such lines as "the virtuous are rarely unhappy" and "by industry we attain fortune" for student exercises⁴².

The social and moral lesson of the curriculum was to be reinforced by the correct methods of schoolroom organization and conduct. By encouraging separate schools for girls and boys and by insisting on segregation within mixed schools the Board sought to provide the organizational counterparts of the social differences between the sexes which the lessons articulated. More generally, the process of subordination to the discipline and orderly management of the well conducted classroom provided a continuous learning process which underpinned the overt lessons of the syllabus⁴³.

The Inspector's visits provided the Board with a means of checking that this curriculum was adhered to and those who strayed too far from the 'correct' path were warned to return or lose their

licence. Wyatt discovered that many girls' schools and female departments within mixed schools spent an inordinate time on such accomplishments as needlework to the detriment of other subjects. To control such problems, the department added to its regulations: needlework, was restricted to a maximum of one hour each day. The Inspector also checked on the mode and effectiveness of discipline in the schools, since these played an important role in imparting the 'hidden' lessons of education. On the one hand, many teachers were warned to improve their general control of their classrooms. On the other hand, in keeping with the stress on rationality in the model of the functions of education, Wyatt stressed that corporal punishment should be used sparingly and that where possible other forms of punishment should be preferred⁴⁴.

The role of the schools in providing moral training was reflected in the process of licensing teachers. The regulations required teachers to set an example of "correct personal conduct". When applicants or already licensed teachers were discovered to be morally unsatisfactory the Board refused or withdrew their licences. Agnes Curl, for example, was the mistress of a large "very efficient and satisfactorily conducted school" at Mount Barker, and Wyatt "strongly recommended" her for the licence. Two years later, however, the Board found some support for charges of "repeated intoxication and immorality" levelled against

her by the local moral guardians, and withdrew the licence immediately⁴⁶. Similarly James Jolly, a well respected licensed teacher and member of the Preceptors' Association was refused a licence because he had once been charged with pilfering. Finer points of 'character' also emerged.

James O'Sullivan's application was dismissed out of hand because it was "highly slovenly and offensive", while Matthew Cranston, a highly trained teacher, was almost refused because "he had been heard indulging in disrespectful language regarding the Board"⁴⁷.

In accordance with their views on the position of women in the society, Wyatt and the Board also used the gender of applicants as a criterion when licensing and paying teachers. Female teachers were considered acceptable for girls' schools and for young boys, but not for older boys. Where more than one licence could be granted in a locality they adopted the policy of licensing one male and one female, but where only one was granted, they deliberately preferred males. In some places where the only licensed school was conducted by a female, the mistress was advised that her licence was provisional, and would be revoked in favour of any competent male teacher who established a school in the neighbourhood, "especially if assisted by his wife"⁴⁸. Furthermore, female teachers were generally paid at lower rates than males, and most received the minimum stipend, although some with large

schools, high standards and assistants received more⁴⁹. This policy in turn helped reproduce the social and economic inferiority of women, while proving financially advantageous to the Board.

One final aspect of the Board's procedures gave it great power in dealing with the problem of balancing 'needs' against 'standards' : it refused to account for its licensing decisions. This gave it a great deal of flexibility in handling applications and in dealing with those already licensed. James Jolly, already mentioned, had been acquitted of the charges brought against him and when the Board's reasons for refusing him a licence were made public there was considerable protest⁵⁰. By withholding its reasons it was able to use whatever criteria it wished without raising such opposition and criticism. The same procedure enabled the Board to deal differently with similar offences, according to its estimation of a teacher's value. James O'Sullivan had his licence withdrawn without notice when it was discovered that he also held the position of Clerk of the District Council at Salisbury, since the regulations prohibited teachers from holding other paid positions⁵¹. Joseph Cole, licensed at Auburn, committed the same offence, but merely had his attention drawn to the regulations. When the Council protested that he was the best person for the job, the Board reiterated its policy but allowed Cole to continue in both capacities until a suitable replacement could be found for the Council⁵². The differences in treatment

of the two teachers is startling. It is explained by the fact that both Wyatt and the Board regarded Cole as a superior teacher and O'Sullivan as an inferior one and were prepared to administer the regulations unevenly in the interests of their overall goals.

They used the same methods for dealing with other facets of the system they wished to control including the size of schools, and the uniformity and stability of the system. Thus, within the restrictions of the Act, the available resources and their own beliefs about the legitimate scope of its action, the Board and its officers developed a wide range of administrative means for shaping the network of schools according to their model of the "perfect educational system". This process involved defining problems as they arose and refining administrative procedures or extending and elaborating administrative policies.

The Board and the Inspector also identified another body of problems which they saw not principally as administrative difficulties to be resolved by adjustments of internal procedure but as the result of more general social problems. They regarded a number of such problems as the almost inevitable consequences of the relatively undeveloped state of the colony and the fluctuations of the economy. In the country, they argued, many settlements were too small to provide large enough schools to attract first-class teachers, even with the stipend. Even where 'good' teachers could be found, the schools were often too small to permit them to

organize or conduct them according to approved principles. In Adelaide, they claimed, the poor state of the streets made it dangerous for children to venture far from home to attend school, inducing them to license many small local schools instead of the few large central schools they believed were really needed. The great value of labour meant that children were often so important to their parents either as wage earners or unpaid workers in the domestic economy that the schools were deprived of many potential clients. The economic chaos following the Victorian gold-rushes meant that there was widespread poverty as men left their families in search of fortunes. The economic depression of the mid 1850s meant that many workers were unable to find employment and plunged their families into destitution. During these years, therefore, many parents were unable to afford school fees. From 1855, state revenue was also reduced and the education department faced financial cuts as a result. Finally the Board was troubled by what it regarded as the lack of suitable local school committees. The Act and the Board's own procedures required a high degree of local initiative and involvement in the formation and running of district schools but, as Wyatt pointed out, neither the size nor the social origins of many of the rural settlements enabled the formation of committees comparable to the English models which Wyatt, at least, regarded as the ideal⁵³.

Other problems, however, stemmed from what Wyatt in particular saw as the moral failure of parents. He claimed that the Board was compelled to license inferior teachers in many places because good teachers were "not to be had at the price offered by the unthinking part of the population"⁵⁴. Similarly, he claimed that the implementation of the building subsidy scheme was "calling forth the liberality" of a "small minority" of the population but, he continued,

the rest are satisfied to look on and, if not quite indifferent whether their children are educated or not, are ready to avail themselves of the outlay of their neighbours⁵⁵.

The same 'failure' complemented the effects of economic pressure to produce the attendance patterns which characterized many of the licensed schools:

One of the greatest evils, irregularity in the hours of attendance and frequent absence from school is continually spreading its baneful influence far and wide. ... Pupils are seen dropping into school at all hours; and days, weeks, and even months of absence occur in the course of a year. Children are thus kept at home to assist in the accumulation of wealth⁵⁶.

Within the licensed school, he argued, this pattern seriously undermined the orderly management of the classroom and the regular, systematic progress of classes. Equally importantly it also affected the Board's ability to promote only 'good' schools and to force others out of the marketplace:

for the sake of a trifling saving, (children) are sent to schools of the lowest description, such as now abound, under the charge of persons whom poverty, misfortune or extravagance has forced into the ranks of the teachers, and who,

tempt the niggardly parent by the smallness of the weekly fee - ranging from sixpence down to twopence. The legitimate income of the qualified tutor is thus grievously diminished, while the youth are brought up in a state of ignorance⁵⁷.

Attendance patterns appeared to be worst amongst the very social groups which Wyatt and the Board regarded as their prime concern. Rural attendance fluctuated with the seasons: in bad times small farmers could not or would not pay school fees and in busy times children were kept to help on the farms. In the urban areas the descriptions of the most irregularly attended schools strongly suggested that they belonged to the working class: they were housed in inferior cottages, charged low fees, lacked proper books, offered the most elementary instruction and were conducted by marginally competent teachers. In contrast, Wyatt observed that attendance was best where parents were "in easy circumstances"⁵⁸.

However the dominant ideology of the colony which Wyatt and the members of the Board shared, suggested that these problems would correct themselves. Depressions were aberrations in the generally smooth running of a 'rational' capitalist economy and the colony would grow and prosper. The value of juvenile labour would disappear as the population grew and the work of basic development was completed. The standards of roads and streets would improve, enabling children to walk further to school,

even in winter. As the Board expressed it in 1859, the difficulty facing the development of education:

could (not) be obviated by any change in an educational system, and are of the opinion that it can only be overcome by time, and the more advanced and settled condition of the community⁵⁹.

The Board was not prepared simply to wait for such a time to arrive but actively set about devising whatever immediate provisional solutions it could. William Cawthorne suggested that it should offer a prize to the best pupils in each school; this, he argued, would encourage parents to send their children regularly to increase their chances of winning. The Board rejected the proposal, since it regarded it as beyond the powers conferred by the Act⁶⁰. It had more power to deal with the attendance of destitute children and threatened to withdraw their free places unless they were regularly at school⁶¹. Finally it resorted to a policy of exhorting local "men of influence" to encourage neglectful parents to look to the true interests of their children and send them to school. Wyatt even suggested that a circular letter should be sent to all such people and the annual reports of both the Board and the Inspector began to feature such an appeal regularly⁶². It is perhaps significant that neither the Select Committee on the Estimates in 1856 nor the 1861 Select Committee on Education offered alternative solutions to this problem: both simply recommended that the Board encourage

such local influence to the utmost of its ability⁶³.

The Board also took steps to deal with the problem of inadequate local school committees. Firstly it appealed to the same "men of influence" who were to encourage attendance to actively promote the development of 'good' schools in their areas and, when particular problems arose, such as the threat to close a school, urged them to intervene. Secondly it modified its own procedures to minimize the role of local bodies in controlling the schools. It restricted the local committees to nominating teachers and providing local information and funds. Thus it consulted local committees when teachers sought to transfer to different schools, asking for co-operation in keeping the school open and finding an immediate replacement. However, when a committee overstepped the limits of its role as the Board defined it, it could receive a sternly worded rebuke. Nevertheless, the Board was heavily dependent on local initiative by virtue of the strict limits on its powers. When it was examining the means by which it could implement the building subsidy scheme, it sought government approval for a proposal to vest control of the buildings and land in itself, significantly reducing its dependence on local support. However, it found this move firmly blocked⁶⁴.

In attempting such administrative solutions to these problems, Wyatt and the Board faced - often consciously - a

dilemma. On the one hand they formally accepted a model of educational provision which strictly limited their role. On the other they found that in order to achieve their goals they were pressing for an extension of that role beyond what they believed were its desirable limits. This showed particularly in the case of the 'inferior' schools.

Despite the difficulties they faced, the Board and its officers claimed that their intervention in schooling was, on the whole, effective. In those aspects of education they were most strongly placed to influence - the number and quality of teachers and books - they claimed good success. In contrast to the dismal picture painted by Wyatt in 1851, they could claim in 1855 that forty-one of their one hundred and thirty-eight teachers were professionally trained, while many others were highly educated and experienced. Many of those initially accepted as "temporary substitutes" had disappeared from the list of licensed teachers. They claimed that the Book Depot was making a strong impact on the schools : in its initial four months it sold over four thousand volumes, and in 1855 its sales reached twenty-one thousand and were still increasing. Consequently, they claimed that the "extraordinary medley" of books was disappearing. Through selective licensing, the size of schools was also growing, despite the number of small rural schools being supported. In 1851 the average size of licensed schools had been

less than twenty-seven; in 1852 it jumped to more than forty-seven pupils in attendance each month and although it then dropped, it only once fell below forty-four. In 1855 suburban schools had an average attendance of fifty-six, city schools forty-nine, and rural schools thirty-six, which was almost double the minimum limit officially allowed. These developments, they claimed, were reflected in improvements in the character of the schools themselves. In particular, classification and associated forms of organization and instruction had become much more widespread⁶⁵.

As I have already shown, the Board was able to do little directly to improve the accommodation of schools. Nevertheless from the time it announced that it was able to subsidize District Schoolhouses, it was faced with more applications than it had funds to meet and new applications continued to arrive at the Education Office. By 1856 it had approved nineteen such applications⁶⁶. Clearly the building subsidy scheme promised to be successful in providing better schoolhouses at least in rural and some suburban districts. Apart from this direct means of effecting improvements, it claimed to have eliminated many of the schools in the most unsatisfactory buildings while the Chief Inspector reported that many licensed teachers had made considerable efforts to improve their rooms or move to better premises⁶⁷.

Wyatt and the Board made fewer and more tentative claims of

success in extending the provision of schooling in quantitative terms. Each year the Board's final report included a statement showing the 'growth' of education. By 1855 it showed that the number of schools licensed had risen from sixty-nine in 1852 to one hundred and thirty-eight. The Board and Wyatt both claimed that the department was supporting teachers in areas "previously destitute of schools", thus keeping in touch with the increasing diffusion of population. The same table also showed that the number of pupils in the licensed schools had risen over the period from 3,823 to 6,039. Such figures, of course, could only be meaningfully interpreted against relevant population statistics. In 1854 the Board's report estimated that the proportion of children in all schools comprised about one-twelfth of the total population. Four fifths of pupils were in licensed schools. Two years later it estimated that the number of children in the licensed system was about one fifteenth of the total population, and that other schools raised this to about one-ninth. Thus the Board could suggest that it was enabling the provision of schools more than to keep pace with the growth of the colony⁶⁸. It must be remembered, too, that the Board had no intention of providing places for all the children of school age. Nevertheless it expressed considerable concern that many whom it regarded as its main concern were attending the cheap inferior schools rather than rather than those of the licensed teachers.

Importantly, the Board and its officers did not see this as

indicating a significant failure on their own part. On the contrary, they saw the provision of schools and the attendance of children as the responsibility of parents. They had no power, and claimed no right, to initiate schools or to enforce attendance at them. If schools were not provided or children not sent, the fault was with parents rather than with the system or its administration.

By about 1856 then, the Board and its key officers had faced a wide range of problems - social, administrative, legal and political. The Board believed that it had solved most of these problems at least in principle. Those which it had not, it argued, were beyond the legitimate scope of its actions and could only be deal with, if at all, by the government itself. This tone of optimism, if not complacency, was evident in the Board's reply to criticisms levelled by the 1856 Select Committee on the Estimates:

The Board of Education consider they have ... directed public attention to the subject of Education to the utmost of the powers which are conferred on the Education Board; and they, moreover, feel satisfied that the provisions of the Education Act of 1851 have been practically carried out by the Board to the fullest extent. ... The Board of Education are confident that their reports will bear out their assertions that the funds entrusted to them have been expended in the most judicious and useful manner ...⁶⁹.

The Board attributed its strong position to adequate financial and other resources, and the range of powers it enjoyed

under the Act. While it maintained that some additional powers would be useful, it nevertheless believed that the system it conducted under the Act was a viable one, able to meet the needs of the growing colony.

Despite the prevailing belief that 'normally' the economy would be expansive and bouyant, the colony faced recurrent depressions over the following years. In particular, the years 1859 to 1862, and 1865 to 1870 saw drought and crop disease cause widespread failure in the rural sectors, while depressed prices in the overseas markets for primary products added to the colony's economic difficulties. Such periods were marked by widespread unemployment and poverty. Thus the Board faced a society in which many parents were chronically hard pressed to afford school fees (especially those sought by the professional teachers) and in which the labour of children remained an important factor in the economic survival of many families. At the same time the reduced level of state revenue meant that the Board's own financial resources were restricted, and in fact lower than in previous years relative to the growth of population and the demand for schools.

The Board was therefore compelled to try to balance its commitment to raise standards through a strong market presence against its commitment to meet growing demands for assistance, in the light of increasingly strained resources. In general it

adopted the policy of giving first priority to the need for more schools and then trying to encourage whatever improvements it could by means of the controls and resources at its disposal.

It was actually better off after 1856 than it had been previously in one important respect - the building subsidy scheme was in full operation. As with other aspects of its system, the Board had to define its administrative procedures in accordance with the Act and its general model of how education should be provided. In particular, it required the initiative for erecting schoolbuildings with the aid of the subsidy provided for in the Act, to come from local residents or teachers, although it did take the important step of writing to all District Council chairmen to inform them of the procedures for obtaining aid⁷⁰. In accordance with the Act's reference to District Councils as local education boards, the Board determined from the beginning that all applications for aid should be directed through the Councils where they existed⁷¹. The procedures for handling applications for aid focussed, firstly, on the suitability of the project and, secondly, on the control and use of the schoolhouse. To ensure that the buildings subsidized were suitable the Board required applicants to show that the school was to be located so that it adequately served the needs of as large a neighbourhood as possible and that the building itself was suitable for the purpose. It demanded plans and specifications to be submitted for approval before the project was begun and in many cases returned them for

modification. Once a plan was approved the Board determined that no subsidy would be paid until it received a certificate signed by local authorities testifying that the building was complete⁷². To ensure that the building was kept open for use as a school and neither diverted to other purposes instead nor allowed to fall into disrepair, it demanded that it be vested in trustees by means of a Deed drawn up according to the Board's requirements. The Board would only allow the building to be withdrawn from use as a school if it was to be sold in order to build another in an even more suitable location. The Board recognized the potential for conflict between itself and the local trustees and determined that the terms of the Trust Deed "must at least secure a veto" for the Board in choosing a teacher for the schoolhouse and stipulated that once licensed the teacher must be given possession until dismissed by the Board⁷³.

The Board experienced a number of difficulties while it assessed its powers and the procedures needed to implement the scheme effectively. Local committees often asked for the subsidy to be paid in advance or in instalments during the construction of the building. However the Crown Law Office advised the Board that the subsidies could only be paid once the building was complete. Local groups replied that it was impossible to complete the buildings without the subsidy since demands for payment for materials and labour often exceeded the amount of local subscriptions required and some contractors were unwilling to complete the work

until they received further payment. Such problems generated tension between the Board and local groups: one trustee accused the Board of "official humbug" while others repeated their requests that the aid "so liberally promised" should be paid⁷⁴. These difficulties required adjustments of administrative procedure rather than fundamental changes of educational policy and the Board persuaded the government to allow it to pay the subsidies in instalments. This cleared the way for a more streamlined administration of the scheme⁷⁵.

In response to requests it received from local bodies or to issues which arose in implementing the subsidy scheme, the Board clarified a number of points which the Act failed to define closely. Through the Crown Law Office it checked whether it had power to approve applications for schoolmasters' residences, whether Municipal Corporations had the same powers to assist in the erection of schools as District Councils and whether the Board could fund improvements to schools erected prior to the 1851 Act. In some cases where the Board's position appeared unclear or limited it secured extensions to its powers. Moreover, since Municipal Corporations were deemed not to have any power to support school building projects the Board took the initiative to have such powers included in the new Corporations Bill of 1861⁷⁶.

The Board also faced a large number of problems which arose within the local communities themselves. A number of the first

schools proved defective in design or construction and fell quickly into disrepair. Local trustees were at times unable or unwilling to provide the money needed to maintain them and the Board was in turn unable to provide funds for the purpose. To pre-empt such problems, it regulated its subsidies more closely. It sought plans from the Colonial Architect but the estimated costs were too high, and then long delays in obtaining new plans from them led the Board to commission a private architect to provide them. Even when it approved locally produced plans it imposed increasingly strict criteria of size, lighting, ventilation and construction, insisting, for example, that hearthstones be provided and that calico ceilings were unacceptable⁷⁷.

Other local problems were less easily solved. Where schoolhouses were built in times of financial difficulty or in newly settled areas the schools often outgrew them within a few years. The Board then had to decide whether to license a school which was overcrowded, provide funds for extensions, or grant an additional licence - all of which it regarded as uneconomical and unpalatable options. In other cases there were local conflicts over the control or use of the building or - even before it was built - over the site for it. Such conflicts could delay the erection of the school, or leave it unused for considerable lengths of time and result in a school which enjoyed the support of only part of the local population.

Partly because of its commitment to local initiative and partly because it recognized that any solution it imposed in such circumstances would be ineffective - those who did not like it would simply withdraw their children - the Board and its Inspectors consistently refused to do more than mediate in such disputes and waited for them to be resolved locally⁷⁸.

The recurrence of economic difficulties in the colony with its consequence of lower teacher incomes added to the Board's problems in securing better school accommodation through the efforts of teachers on their own account. They were less able to afford improvements to existing buildings, find better but more expensive rooms or build their own schoolhouses, while at the same time the Board was less able to offer the increased incentive of higher stipends for doing so.

Apart from these administrative and social difficulties, the Board identified at least three ways in which the Act and the method of financing the subsidies programme severely limited its capacity in this area. Firstly it argued that the system of funding buildings by means of an annual grant - a system which it had in fact demanded from the government - meant that it had insufficient resources to meet all applications. Secondly the levels of funding allowed by the Act restricted its application to the rural areas. The two hundred pound limit was far short of half the cost of the large buildings the Board and its officers

believed were needed in urban areas and the additional cost, they claimed, was beyond the level which could be borne by private efforts. Thirdly the Model Schools project which Wyatt and the Board anticipated would help overcome the problem of poor urban schoolhouses was delayed by lack of finance. They continued to put their hopes in this scheme and were encouraged by the grant of money which enabled the Board to purchase a central site in Adelaide in 1858. However further funds were not forthcoming for another fifteen years despite repeated requests. Under pressure from increasing urban poverty and outside criticism in 1867 and 1868 the Board again considered the possibility of renting accommodation for large city schools. The government delayed consideration of any new proposals until after the 1868 Select Committee had reported; by then both the Board and the government were committed to a much more active policy of building urban schools and the idea was dropped⁷⁹.

From the mid 1850s through to the late 1860s the number of licensed teachers increased steadily. However the level of government grants did not rise proportionately and the rate at which teachers were paid fell. This had little effect on the lowest paid teachers, those whom the Board and the Inspectors considered the least competent, since the lowest rate was fixed by the Act. Those on the highest rates, the type of teacher the Board most wished to attract, lost a substantial proportion

of their stipends as the Board reduced the maximum rate from one hundred pounds to only eighty pounds. Moreover, in effect, the Board was forced to abandon its attempts to use the graduated stipend policy as a means of encouraging less efficient teachers to improve their schools. This financial pressure on the Board thus seriously weakened a key element in its strategy for transforming colonial education⁸⁰.

The Board sought to counter the effects of these financial restrictions in a number of ways. It used the building subsidy scheme to compensate for its inability to pay higher stipends by insisting that school trustees made district schoolhouses available to licensed teachers free of charge. On occasions when trustees tried to impose some charge on the teacher, such as a levy on tuition fees to maintain the building, the Board unequivocally upheld the teacher's rights⁸¹. It continued to rationalize the distribution of licences, eliminating the smaller licensed schools and encouraging larger ones which it could therefore still grant higher stipends despite the claims of rural districts. After 1861 this process was taken a step further when, in response to a parliamentary resolution, it withdrew licences from all schools charging more than one shilling per week. The funds thus saved were disproportional to the number of licences reduced since many of these had been the most 'efficient' teachers who had been paid the highest stipends⁸². There were however curious exceptions to this process. In 1861

the Chief Secretary asked the Board to step up the "weeding out" process. The Board replied that it was reluctant to withdraw licences from some smaller city schools since they had been established early and their masters had borne the brunt of the pioneering process in education⁸³. These exceptions appear to have been confined to the schools which the Board considered superior - it had no hesitation in removing licences from 'inferior' teachers, however early established! In country areas the Board encouraged more half-time and itinerant teachers (although with little success) and withdrew some licences from smaller localities or places which had more than one school⁸⁴.

The Board, acting through the Inspectors and the Secretary, continued to make use of its established combination of threats, incentives and regulations based on its power to licence and pay teachers but it also tried to develop new means of enforcing the form of education it approved. Wyatt and the Board continued to urge the appointment of additional inspectors in order to use the visits to schools more effectively as a means of improving the methods of the untrained teachers but their requests went unheeded⁸⁵. In 1859 Wyatt announced that in future he would require all new applicants for the licence to pass a written examination in addition to the customary inspection before being approved⁸⁶. In practice, however, this proved difficult to carry out, since many applicants were in areas too remote to permit them to be examined promptly but where numbers of pupils

were too small for them to survive without assistance. To meet this problem the Board granted such teachers a 'provisional' licence. To keep them under pressure to pass the examination it kept them on the minimum stipend and in some cases threatened to withdraw even the 'provisional' licence. However the fact that there was little likelihood of such teachers receiving a higher stipend even after examination, and the Board's commitment to maintaining schools throughout the colony, meant that such procedures were probably relatively ineffective. Certainly some teachers remained on a 'provisional' licence for many years. Nevertheless in some cases where it believed the applicant would not pass the examination, it refused even a 'provisional' licence. Periodically, too, Wickes and Wyatt reviewed the list of 'provisional' licences and revoked those which were least satisfactory⁸⁷. In addition there was a steady flow of revoked licences where the Inspector of the Board found that teachers had failed to maintain standards or numbers or had been guilty of moral lapses such as drunkenness or sexual indiscretion. Where schools were too remote for the Inspectors to assess quickly or regularly, the Board continued to use local dignitaries for the purpose, but it often provided more detailed and explicit criteria for judging applicants and asked those responsible to undertake regular close checks on the schools. By the late 1860s even the remotest schools were included in the annual rounds of the Second Inspector⁸⁸.

Despite their attempts to increase their control over the selection of teachers, the Board and its officers found it difficult to hold the ground they had won in the first few years. Parents continued to support 'inferior' teachers and in the absence of 'superior' competitors, there was little the Board could do but recognize the existing teacher. If it withdrew the licence it meant that the school continued unaided, the teacher was replaced by another possibly even worse, or else the school closed altogether. At Port Augusta, for example, the Board licensed Robert Brown after repeated applications but withdrew the licence when it received reports that he was both immoral and incompetent. However, it is clear that Brown had considerable local support and that the school was able to survive for some time without a licence⁸⁹. Even where there was a choice between teachers of different types, the Board was not always able to ensure that the 'better' one succeeded. At Brighton there was competition between William Jemson, an untrained teacher and John Hoad, a 'superior' master. The Board decided to license both, Hoad because of his professional competence and Jemson because he commanded much stronger local support. Despite his 'superiority', Hoad made no inroads into Jemson's numbers and left the district after a few years⁹⁰. Finally, there were conflicts within communities over the choice of teachers, similar to those over school buildings. These often resulted in the loss of teachers because of low income,

since only one faction sent their children. As with school-buildings, the Board and its officers involved themselves only as mediators in such cases, hoping to license the best teacher who could command the support of most parents⁹¹.

The Board and Inspectors continued to use the power to determine the organization and content of instruction to shape the type of education provided, but to some degree refined and expanded the scope of their procedures and requirements. Recognizing that many children attended school at a very young age and remained for only a short period, the Board began licensing trained infant teachers to ensure that these children were taught in the most efficient manner possible. As a means of reinforcing its attempts to use the Book Depot to shape the curriculum the Board added to its regulations, stating that teachers who did not use approved books would be paid the minimum stipend⁹².

From the beginning the Board had recognized that in many of the schools any instruction beyond the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic was ineffective and sketchy. By 1860 its early hopes that this might improve had faded and the new regulations re-defined the curriculum:

The course of instruction at present required from licensed teachers must, at least, comprise reading, writing, arithmetic, with the rudiments of grammar, geography and history⁹³.

Singing, drawing and physical exercises which had been recommended earlier disappeared from the reports of the Inspector. Thus there appears to have been a partial contraction in the scope of instruction he and the Board hoped to see in the schools. By the late 1860s, however, the curriculum had again expanded. This expansion was not so much concerned with fields of knowledge, the subject of rational learning, but with non-cognitive aspects of learning, such as discipline and order. Drill, for example, was advocated as "a healthy exercise; it induces habits of order and prompt obedience"⁹⁴. While recognizing that "the value of singing in schools is not appreciated by some persons to the extent it deserves", the Board argued that it "is one of the most effective means to secure order and good discipline"⁹⁵. However, it was not without its cognitive importance:

School songs can be made the medium of conveying to the youthful mind many valuable moral lessons, which will never be forgotten, as well as lessons of friendship and patriotism⁹⁶.

As it was integrated more fully into the purposes of the school singing itself would be transformed from a simple art to be learned 'by ear' and invested with the full dignity of other branches of formal learning : Wyatt expressed regret that so few schools taught singing "as a science"⁹⁷.

The moral curriculum was also expanded. It became the "incumbent duty" of licensed teachers to :

repress quarrelling, profanity, cruelty to animals and every approach to vice; to encourage kind and generous feelings one toward another; to enforce the duty of obedience to parents, and the observance of a respectful behaviour to all persons; and to lose no opportunity of inculcating the principles of truth, honesty, self-reliance, industry, temperance and other social virtues⁹⁸.

The continued focus on elementary instruction in most schools was reflected in the stocks of the Book Depot. Orders of books continued to be dominated by basic level reading books, while advanced readers and singing books made up only a small but increasing proportion of orders. Nevertheless the increasing use of books generally was reflected in the overall size of such orders⁹⁹.

As with other aspects of its programme, the Board faced a number of problems in securing adherence to its curriculum. A major recurrent area of contention was the place of religion in schools. In 1861, in particular, Catholic leaders claimed that many of the licensed schools were openly Protestant, while in 1868 Tennison Woods, the head of the newly established Catholic Education Office added that others were blatantly Catholic. The Board closely questioned the Inspectors and stressed that religious practice in the schools must be limited to the daily bible reading, without any comment of a sectarian or doctrinal nature. It also asked the teachers named by Woods to explain their actions. The Board concluded each time that the teachers were acting within the regulations¹⁰⁰. It regarded

the matter seriously enough to devote several meetings to a reconsideration of the daily bible reading. Despite the difficulties it entailed, bible reading remained, partly because it was considered essential to the moral function of education and partly because, as Chairman Belt put it, "it was better to leave things as they were"¹⁰¹. The case of the Pulteney Street school suggested strongly that the Board knowingly licensed^{*} at least some denominational schools. This school included among its advisors and governors Chief Inspector Wyatt and some members of the Board and yet it included instruction in the Anglican catechism in its curriculum¹⁰². Many other schools, too, were closely identified with particular denominations - teachers included clergymen or their wives, lay readers and local preachers, while others were conducted in or by churches.

Other problems concerned both the content and methods of instruction. Where teachers attempted to employ 'approved' methods, they often encountered considerable parental and pupil resistance. C.S. Hussey, for example, conducted a school at a sheep run on "industrial school lines", but reported that he was in danger of having to close the school because "the parents so strenuously object to their children being taught to work"¹⁰³. Elsewhere parents withdrew their children because they objected to the forms of discipline, the use of pupil-teachers or the separation of their children into different classes. Finally the Board found that many parents withdrew their children as soon as

they had learned to read and write, undermining all endeavours to develop a more comprehensive curriculum¹⁰⁴.

Wyatt and the Board argued that these difficulties seriously hampered their efforts to develop colonial education and that successes were offset by significant failures. There were, they claimed, marked improvements in school accommodation. By 1873 there were one hundred vested schoolhouses, sixty-three of which included teachers' residences and the Model School was finally under construction. Moreover, there were one hundred and forty licensed schools conducted in privately owned schoolhouses and many teachers had made significant improvements to their schoolrooms. However, many licensed schools were still conducted in chapels and private dwellings which were ill-suited to the purpose. Furthermore many schoolhouses, both vested and private, had been outgrown, had fallen into disrepair or were located in older farming areas which had been depopulated. In working-class suburbs and country centres such as Moonta there was not a single public schoolhouse and the lack of suitable alternative rooms prevented the development of large schools¹⁰⁵.

The same contrast between success and failure could be seen in the lists of the licensed teachers. Many whom the Chief Inspector regarded as highly competent and useful teachers persevered in the licensed system. They included trained masters such as Leonard Burton, Robert Mitton and Joseph Ryder and men of high standing in the intellectual life of the colony like James

Bassett and Edward Catlow. A large number occupied positions of leadership in the local districts and held offices such as Institute Secretary, District Council auditor, Sunday School teacher and preacher¹⁰⁶. However many of the best teachers had withdrawn from the system either in 1861 when the limit on fees was introduced, or as stipends continued to fall. George Irvine, for example, took up the licensed school at the major country centre of Strathalbyn. Thomas O'Halloran reported that "the healthy, cleanly, happy and intelligent appearance of the boys who gave evidence of being well taught and otherwise brought up, afforded as favourable specimen of a good country school as he had seen anywhere"¹⁰⁷. However Irvine resigned a short time later and was replaced by what the Board regarded as a much less competent teacher. This drift of trained teachers away from the licensed system meant that the Board was unable to develop the body of teachers it aimed for, especially in the country, and the system continued to include many whom it regarded as barely satisfactory. Jane Crossland, for example, first licensed in 1861 was still on the list in 1867 when the Board described her as "one of the least efficient" teachers, whose school was "still (of) so rudimentary a character as it has always been"¹⁰⁸. In contrast to the optimism of his early reports Wyatt was reduced to claiming in 1865 that the teachers were "rarely those who had failed at all else"¹⁰⁹.

Not surprisingly, therefore, the Board admitted that the

licensed schools were generally far below the standards it hoped to attain. It regarded this failure as the result of the political and economic circumstances of the 1860s which had severely restricted its level of funding. Lack of money for stipends, District Schools and the Model School, and the lack of additional Inspectors had forced it to weaken its demands and accept many teachers and schools it would have otherwise been able to reject, and given it no means to improve them. Although it had attempted to develop administrative solutions to such problems, the maintenance of a strong market presence was so fundamental to its strategy for raising standards that any such alternatives could produce, at best, limited results.

These problems in raising standards were inseparable from the Board's other major commitment: supporting schools wherever they were needed. It conceptualized this in terms of responding to local initiative and as population grew and new districts were established the demand for schools grew steadily. However, funds grew only slowly and the department was forced to stretch them much further. In part its strategy for urban education - fewer but larger schools - helped solve this problem by cutting costs in Adelaide. In the country, however, it was faced with the need to license many more schools. Consequently it was pre-occupied with rural needs. Working class areas like Hindmarsh and Port Adelaide were still identified as areas of need but the Board

believed that most new licences should go to meet "the more urgent claims of distant country localities"¹¹⁰. This stress was reflected in the Board's reports which continued to claim that new licences had been granted in areas previously without schools, that schools were provided in most districts and that it was keeping pace with the growth of population and the demand for schools. The large amount of time devoted to developing a system of itinerant teachers for sparsely settled pastoral areas bore witness to the same concern¹¹¹.

Much of this articulated policy was reflected in the department's procedures. The number of licences in Adelaide fell and few old established districts which already had a school received additional support, while at Wallaroo, a large mining centre in the 1860s, one applicant was informed that no further licence would be granted until the population grew considerably¹¹². At the same time, the number of rural licences rose steadily and in several places licences were granted to half-time schools in order to meet local need¹¹³.

However, financial restrictions placed great strain on these policies and procedures. Stipends were generally paid at the minimum level, while rural depressions meant that parents were often ill-able to afford fees and in small settlements teachers' incomes were extremely low. In 1861 the average incomes of all country teachers was barely more than eighty pounds

and Wyatt declared that in many cases it was less than an "ordinary labourer" would earn¹¹⁴. Consequently many teachers left their schools in small localities and moved where they hoped to attract a larger clientele and earn a more adequate living. Such places were frequently unable to obtain a replacement and were left without a school. Moreover, as the pressure on funds increased, the Board itself began rationalizing country licences. Many small schools lost their licences and the larger towns were limited to a single licence¹¹⁵. These considerations were reflected in the Board's advice to Charles Otto not to open a new school unless he had "not fewer than twenty-five pupils at a place where such a school was really required"¹¹⁶. Finally the Board began eliminating licences where schools shared the same, or overlapping catchment areas, and refused subsidies to new schoolhouses which were relatively close to existing ones¹¹⁷.

Where schools were provided the Board stressed the need to ensure that all those who required their instruction had access to them. It strongly resisted attempts by the government to transfer its role in providing schooling for the destitute to either local bodies or the Destitute Board. Such a transfer, it argued, could not be effected "without incurring great hazard that many children of a class for whom the Government is especially called on to provide would remain uneducated"¹¹⁸.

Moreover, it resisted moves which would force it to apply

stricter criteria of eligibility for assistance under the 'destitute education' clause of the Act. It fought against cuts in the level of its grant for the purpose, and against government recommendations that it should revise its regulations to reduce the availability of free places. Even when it bowed to government pressure on the issue it failed to implement the new regulations in response to widespread poverty¹¹⁹. Thus, when Sarah Warner, the wife of an unemployed agricultural labourer asked whether her children were eligible for free schooling the Board immediately wrote to the teacher to arrange the matter¹²⁰. In 1862 it replied to an enquiry from Tungkillo that it could not provide free places for children of farmers whose crops had failed, but tacitly approved this in principle by suggesting that it would reconsider the matter if additional funds became available¹²¹. It did not restrict its concern merely to those who qualified as destitute but encouraged teachers to adjust their fees to the circumstances of their clients and strictly enforced the one shilling limit on fees. Furthermore it commended teachers who allowed children to attend free even if they were not formally classified as destitute, despite the fact that this contravened the Act¹²².

Despite the Board's intentions, however, lack of funds compelled it to restrict payments for destitute children to the most needy cases. It made greater use of the Destitute Board's Relieving Officer to check the merits of many applications and

apply stricter criteria, especially where teachers submitted claims for large numbers of destitute children. Teachers such as Thomas O'Brien at Dry Creek and Walter Crosby at Armagh who had a high proportion of their pupils classed as destitute, were asked to justify their claims and warned that unless they reduced the number of free places their stipends would be reduced or their licences withdrawn¹²⁴.

While the Board attempted to make school places available to all children whose parents were unable to provide them unassisted, both it and the Inspector were aware that many parents appeared to lack interest in the licensed schools. They saw the problem of both non attendance and irregular attendance as the result of parental apathy and negligence - the "defective intellectual, moral and religious condition of the adult population" as Wyatt put it¹²⁵. Their concern with poor attendance continued to focus on the effects it had on the schools. In 1859 Wyatt expressed the matter thus:

the apathetic indifference of parents ... (is) the cause of a lamentable irregularity of attendance that ... renders classification nearly impossible, interferes with the teacher's efforts to introduce proper discipline, and makes it difficult to find ... monitors¹²⁶.

They regarded attendance principally as a private matter and thus continued to advocate solutions which rested on encouraging parents to evaluate schooling more highly. They continued to recommend local leaders to exert their personal influence for the

improvement of education but as this proved ineffective, turned increasingly to such official bodies as District Councils to perform such roles¹²⁷. In 1857 the Board suggested that incentives to parents might be introduced, such as certificates which would give an advantage in seeking civil service and clerical jobs. This, it argued, would stimulate attendance by the prospect of tangible reward¹²⁸. Only in the case of destitute children could it exert more direct pressure: in conjunction with the Destitute Board it insisted that parents send their children regularly to a licensed school as a condition of receiving destitute relief¹²⁹. Only on one occasion was it suggested that any form of compulsion should be applied more broadly

By the late 1860s, however, Wyatt and the Board began to redefine the nature of the attendance problem. By 1867, under pressure from the Register and the new Chairman of the Destitute Board, Thomas Reed, the leaders of Adelaide society began directing their attention to a new social issue: street children. Consequently, in 1868 the Board stated that "an ordinary child of three years old is far better off at school than idling in the gutters, or already tasting the fatal liberty of the streets"¹³¹. The following year Wyatt claimed that "it is notorious that in large towns the children kept away from school ... are the most exposed to evil courses, and most likely to grow up troublesome, if not dangerous, members of the community"¹³².

This new definition of the problem of attendance in urban areas did not replace the older concern with providing rural schools but was added to it. Moreover it did not abandon the notion that schooling was principally a private responsibility and many of its recommendations for dealing with the problem reflected this duality. Thus the Board continued to recommend that demand should be stimulated indirectly; for example by the imposition of a local education rate, rather than by direct abrogation of parental prerogatives. Nevertheless it increasingly lent its support to the view that the only way to remove children from the streets was to compel them to attend school. An important facet of these proposals was that they lay outside the Board's sphere of competence and required some form of legislation - all the Board could do was recommend¹³³. Most importantly, however, was the fact that poor attendance was no longer seen principally as a problem which adversely affected the schools but lay outside the Board's direct responsibility. Instead it was seen as a problem which the Board should help solve, with the assistance of increased powers. Thus school attendance was transferred from the realm of private responsibility to the public domain: it had become the responsibility of the state.

The stress on street children led the Board to reconsider how adequately it was meeting urban needs. T.S. Reed claimed that the licensed schools in Adelaide virtually excluded the

poorer children, and the Board investigated the issue at length. Although it rejected Reed's claims, it agreed that better provision was needed for urban working class children¹³⁴. As early as 1867, in fact, it had raised the question "whether any, and what, steps should be taken to provide for the education of the children of the poorer classes within the city"¹³⁵. Its answer was to pursue its Model School proposal, first approved in 1855 but never funded, with renewed urgency¹³⁶. However it regarded the procedure of taking the initiative in establishing schools which this involved as an exception rather than a general policy. Thus the Board appears to have adopted two distinct strategies for developing education : in the city it would provide schools for the poor and others who required aid, while in the country it would continue to respond to local demand. Compulsory attendance legislation, although principally concerned with the urban working class, would also increase demand in rural areas and strengthen the Board's position there. The first suggestion that the principle of taking the initiative in establishing schools might be extended to the country came only in 1873. The Board noted that there were almost sixty children at Warrow near Port Lincoln and no school. It wrote to the settlers there and recommended that they appoint a teacher and apply for assistance, promising that the Board would provide a licence. However, there was no response and the Board

recommended in its annual report that it should be given the power to initiate schools where necessary¹³⁷.

To some extent the Board's actions reflected these changes in policy. In large population centres it reserved the issue of new licences to predominantly working class districts. It obtained government permission to provide signs identifying licensed schools as 'public schools', undermining the claims of some private teachers who were posturing as such and counter-acting the exclusive intentions of some licensed teachers by effectively declaring that their schools were open to all. Finally it placed maximum stress on maintaining its destitute provisions and overspent its grant for the purpose, drawing on its stipend fund to meet additional claims. However the increases in the number of licences and consequently the number of pupils was almost solely in the country¹³⁸.

Moreover, where there were a number of schools competing for licences, most notably in Adelaide, the procedure for selecting teachers still lay largely in Wyatt's hands. This procedure made the training and 'efficiency' of the teacher, the organization of the school and the use of books the main licensing criteria, as long as the school did not formally exclude the poor or charge more than a shilling a week in fees. However, as I have shown, working-class children, especially

from poorer, more transient families favoured the schools which were adjudged inferior by these standards. As critics of the Board claimed, the licensed schools had "failed to recommend themselves" to the very sector of the society they were most intended to service¹³⁹.

By the 1870s, then, it was clear that the efforts of the Board and its officers had not resulted in "the full development of a perfect system of education". Lack of adequate funds, staff and powers had contributed significantly to this failure. So too had the administrative structure which placed policy development in the hands of the Board while the administration of those policies was left to the two chief officers of the department. Fundamentally, however, there were contradictions between the two main aims for which the Act was passed - between the aim of promoting a particular form of schooling and the aim of providing schools for the poor. This contradiction was rooted in the fact that the schools, the Board and the Inspectors wished to support were neither attuned to nor responsive to the needs and life patterns of their intended clients.

Notes and References

1. S.A.G.G., 1853, p. 710.
2. S.A.G.G., 1848, p. 232.
G.E. Saunders, "The State and Education in South Australia, 1836-1875" in E.L. French (ed.), Melbourne Studies in Education, 1966, (Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1967), p. 211.
3. For example, Minutes, 32, (1852).
S.A.G.G., 1852, p. 507.
4. It is unclear precisely when the Board developed its licence application forms. The only copy I have been able to trace dates from 1867, and earlier forms may well have been simpler and less comprehensive. It is the 1867 form from which the details listed are drawn. SAA GRG 24/6/1867/1951.
5. Minutes, 14, 20, 517, (1852).
S.A.G.G., 1852, p. 507; 1853, p. 722.
6. Minutes, 76, (1852).
S.A.G.G., 1852, p. 509.
7. Minutes, 506, (1852).
8. Minutes, 5, 274, 275, (1852); 912, 913, (1853).
9. Minutes, 270-273, 320, 295, (1852).
10. S.A.G.G., 1853, p. 710. Cf. ibid., p. 176
11. S.A.G.G., 1853, pp. 97-98 lists the teachers licensed. For teachers licensed prior to 1852, see D. Pike, Paradise of Dissent, South Australia, 1829-1857, (second edition, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1967), p. 487; S.A.G.G., 1851, p. 558. Reasons for refusing licences focussed principally on 'efficiency', Minutes, 155-169, (1852). The Board's frequent refusal to grant licences "for the present" (for example, Minutes, 507), is significant in this context.
12. S.A.G.G., 1854, p. 174.
13. Minutes, 510, (1852).

14. Ibid. 56, 314, 391, 446, 568 (1852); 601 (1853).
15. S.A.G.G., 1875, p. 457.
16. Ibid., 1853, p. 333.
17. Ibid., 1854, p. 173.
18. Minutes, 1880, (1855).
19. S.A.G.G., 1853, p. 99.
20. Minutes, 41, 62, (1852).
21. D. Pike, Paradise of Dissent, pp. 444, 457.
22. Minutes, 1998, (1855). Cf. S.A.G.G., 1862, p. 374.
23. Minutes, 1421, (1854); 3035, (1856).
24. Ibid. 31, (1852).
25. Ibid. 3067, 3068 (1856).
26. Minutes, 1367 (1854); 3102, 3123 (1856).
S.A.G.G., 1853, pp. 496, 709-710; 1855, p. 842.
27. Minutes, 1948-1949, 1951, (1855).
Reports of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council of South Australia appointed to take into consideration the Colonial Estimates, S.A.P.P. 1855-1856, No. 158, p. 230.
S.A.G.G., 1854, p. 815.
28. Minutes, 565-566 (1852).
29. Ibid. 414 (1852).
30. Votes and Proceedings, Legislative Council, S.A.P.P. 1853, p. 155.
31. S.A.G.G. 1853, pp. 227, 496, 709; 1854, p. 815.
32. Select Committee on the Estimates, 1856, pp. 224.
33. Minutes, 1024, (1853).
S.A.G.G., 1853, pp. 99, 172; 1854, p. 176.

34. Select Committee on the Estimates, 1856, pp. 227-228.
35. S.A.G.G. 1854, p. 176; 1857, p. 150.
36. Minutes, 904 (1853).
S.A.G.G., 1855, p. 842.
37. Minutes, 1257, 1286-1287, 1296-1297.
Cf. S.A.G.G., 1860, p. 361.
38. S.A.G.G., 1852, p. 509.
39. SAA GRG 24/6/1855/3362.
Cf. also, S.A.P.P., 1861, no. 89.
40. Select Committee on the Estimates, 1856, p. 226.
41. D.H. Akenson, The Irish Educational Experiment, (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1970), pp. 232-238.
J.M. Goldstrom, The Social Content of Education, 1808-1870, (Irish University Press, Shannon, Ireland, 1972), pp. 119-131.
42. E.W. Wickes, Grammar for Australian Beginners, (David Gall, Adelaide, new printing, 1868), pp. 5-6.
43. S.A.G.G., 1852, p. 509.
Select Committee on the Estimates, 1856, p. 228.
44. Minutes, 228 (1852).
Select Committee, ibid., pp. 225-226.
45. Minutes, 90, 115, 141-142, 255, 448 (1852); 1049 (1853), 115 (1854).
SAA GRG 24/6/1854/300.
46. Minutes 72, 116, 149 (1852). Jolly's case formed one of the central issues in the Select Committee appointed to investigate the Board's 'arbitrary' dealings with teachers; for the Report and Minutes of Evidence see Register, 7 December, 1852.
47. Minutes, 474 (1852); 643-644 (1853). O'Sullivan's case was also discussed by the 1852 Select Committee and he was subsequently licensed.
48. Minutes, 1798, 1807 (1855).

49. Cf. S.A.P.P., 1860, 180, 184.
50. Register, 20 July, 1852.
51. Minutes, 1742 (1855).
52. Ibid. 1999, 2024-2025, 2070 (1855).
53. S.A.G.G., 1853, pp. 277, 721, 1854; p. 374 1855; pp. 127, 131, 641.
Select Committee on the Estimates, 1856, p. 127.
54. S.A.G.G., 1856, p. 124.
55. Loc. cit.
56. Loc. cit.
57. Loc. cit.
58. Ibid. 1856, p. 123; 1857, p. 149.
59. Ibid. 1860, p. 362.
- Cf. Register, 12 December, 1853; S.A.G.G., 1853, p. 96.
60. Minutes, 478 (1852).
61. Ibid. 1870 (1855).
62. S.A.G.G., 1853, p. 100; 1854, pp. 176-177.
63. Select Committee on the Estimates, 1856, Fourth Report, p. 5. The Report of the Select Committee of the House of Assembly Appointed to Report on a System of Education, S.A.P.P., 1861, no. 131, pp. 1-2.
64. Minutes, 488-489, 503 (1852); 1254, (1854); 1994, (1855).
SAA GRG 24/6/1855/358; 24/4/1855/217-219.
65. S.A.G.G., 1854, p. 176; 1855, p. 131; 1856, pp. 119, 124.
66. Ibid. 1857, p. 145.
67. Ibid. 1855, p. 644.
68. Register, 12 November, 1855.
S.A.G.G., 1854, p. 171; 1855, p. 131' 1857, pp. 144-145, 149.

69. SAA GRG 24/6/1856/972.
70. Minutes, 1715 (1855).
71. Ibid. 1763 (1855).
72. Ibid. 1764, 1985 (1855).
73. Ibid. 1292-1293, 1312-1313, (1855).
74. SAA GRG 18/113/2, 3.
75. SAA GRG 24/4/1856/615-616.
76. Minutes, 3821, (1858).
SAA GRG 24/4/1855/637; 1856/656; 24/6/1861/867.
77. Minutes, 3391, 3673 (1857); 6969, (1862).
SAA GRG 18/113/7; 24/6/1857/1019; 1858/1089.
S.A.G.G., 1858, pp. 605-606.
78. For example, Minutes, 2037-2074; SAA GRG 18/113/14, 16, 21, 22, 27. I have discussed the issue of local conditions and conflicts at length in "Communities, Schools and State Intervention in Education, 1852-1873", (for inclusion in a projected volume of essays on nineteenth century South Australian education).
79. Minutes, 365, (1868).
SAA GRG 24/6/1868/969.
S.A.G.G., 1865. p. 498; 1868, p. 710.
80. Minutes, 6537, 6579, (1861).
S.A.G.G., 1867, p. 651.
81. Minutes, 1313, (1854); 9033-9034, 9199, (1867).
82. Teachers removed included Francis Haire, John Martin, Mary Speed and Elizabeth Whitby, Susan MacGowan and William Cawthorne; S.A.P.P., 1860, no. 184, shows that their fees were well above the new limit and they immediately disappeared from the list of teachers. For the Chief Inspector's estimation of them, see his comments on the licensed teachers, S.A.G.G., 1862, p. 337.

83. SAA GRG 24/6/1860/629.
84. Minutes, 63, (1867).
S.A.G.G., 1868, p. 708.
85. S.A.G.G., 1872, p. 539.
86. Ibid. 861, p. 361.
87. Minutes, 196, 201, 212, (1868).
S.A.G.G., 1862, p. 391.
88. SAA GRG 24/6/1867/560.
S.A.G.G., 1858, p. 178; 1864, p. 222.
Minutes, 3005, (1856).
89. Minutes, 9249, 30 (1867); 406, (1868); 1726 (1871).
90. Minutes, 8868, 8939, 9018, 9050, 9067 (1866); 9822 (1867).
G.E. Loyau, Notable South Australians (1885, facsimile, Australia-print, Hampstead Gardens, South Australia, 1978), p. 198.
91. For example, Minutes, 6818, 6820, 6821, 6984 (1862); 8899, 8918, 9006, 9039, (1866). See also M. Vick, "Schools, Communities and State Intervention in Education".
92. Minutes, 6523.
S.A.G.G., 1860, p. 378.
93. S.A.G.G. loc cit.
94. Ibid. 1874, p. 578.
95. Loc. cit.
96. Loc. cit.
97. Ibid. 1872, p. 549.
98. Ibid. 1860, p. 378.
99. SAA GRG 24/6/1856/2947; 1862/1166; 1871/721, 1158.
100. Minutes, 6616 (1861); 9887, 9904 (1867); 511, 528 (1868); Select Committee on Education, 1861, pp. 1-2.

101. Ibid. 9134.
102. Minutes, 1514, 1519 (1872).
J.P. Welsh, "Secularism and Education in South Australia, 1860-1875", (unpublished B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1959), pp. 66-70.
103. Minutes, 489 (1868).
104. Ibid. 88 (1867); 1890 (1872).
Register 9 March, 1863; 7 May, 1864; 17 February, 1874.
S.A.G.G., 1860, p. 365.
Select Committee on the Estimates 1856, p. 227.
Cf. M. Vick, "Schools, Communities and State Intervention in Education".
105. S.A.G.G., 1872, p. 546; 1873, pp. 578-588; 1874, p. 574.
106. See chapter two, pp. 90-91.
Cf. M. Vick, "Communities, Schools and State Intervention in Education".
107. Minutes, 9110 (1867).
108. Ibid. 8888, 9828.
109. S.A.G.G., 1866, p.
110. Ibid. 1857, p. 144.
111. See for example, the Board's response to J.H. Barrow's Legislative Council resolution about Bush Schools; Minutes, 9186-9187; 9206-9206; 9278, (1866-1867).
Cf. S.A.G.G., 1867, pp. 650-651.
112. Minutes, 9015, 9043-9044 (1867).
113. Minutes, 63 (1867).
S.A.G.G. 1865, p. 498.
114. S.A.G.G. 1861, p. 360.
Cf. Register, 4 June, 1860; 3 July, 1860.
115. For example, Minutes, 3139, 3156 (1856); 6257 (1860), 9291 (1867).

116. Ibid. 6286 (1860). Original emphasis.
117. For example, ibid. 6535, 6595, 6604-6605, 6614 (1861).
118. Ibid. 6544-6545 (1861).
119. H. Brown "The Development of the Public School System in South Australia, with special reference to the Education Act of 1851", (typescript, SAA D4828(T)), p. 80.
SAA GRG 24/6/1868/969; 1869/906.
S.A.G.G. 1868, p. 711
120. Minutes, 6908, (1862).
121. Ibid. 263 (1868).
122. Ibid. 9912 (1867).
S.A.G.G., 1868, p. 360; 1868, p. 709.
123. Minutes, 9148, 9152 (1866); 9900, 9914, 51 (1867); 187, 219 (1868).
124. S.A.G.G., 1858, p. 179.
125. Ibid. 1860, p. 365. (Wyatt's Report for 1859).
126. Ibid. 1860, p. 363; 1870, p. 408.
127. Ibid. 1858, p. 179; 1859, p. 201; 1860, p. 378.
128. Ibid. 1862, p. 390.
129. Ibid. 1858, p. 180.
130. Ibid. 1869, p. 755.
131. Ibid. 1870, p. 411.
132. Ibid. 1869, p. 756; 1872, p. 543-544; 1873, p. 697.
The Report of the Select Committee to Inquire into the Working of the Education Act, S.A.P.P. 1868, no. 56, pp. 12, 21, 28, 30.
133. Select Committee, ibid. p. 35.
Minutes, 188 (1868).
134. Minutes, 365 (1867).

135. SAA GRG 24/6/1868/929.
136. S.A.G.G., 1872, p. 539; 1874, p. 569.
137. Ibid. 1869, p. 754; 1872, p. 539; 1874, p. 568.
SAA GRG 24/6/1869/246; 1872/1184.
138. Register, 27 July, 1872.

Chapter five

The Demise of the Old The Rise of the New

In December 1873 the Legislative Council rejected an Education Bill which had been passed in the Lower House. The Bill provided for a radical change in the form and scope of state intervention in education. The following months witnessed an upheaval in the educational administration: the Board was removed and a new one appointed, the structure of the department was radically changed and a new direction in educational policy was established. By the end of 1875 a new Act had been passed, abolishing the Board and incorporating essentially the same proposals as had been rejected in 1873. This chapter examines these events and explores their causes.

On 24th December 1873, the Secretary of the Board of Education wrote to the government drawing attention "to the repeated requests of the Board for additional Inspectors, with an urgent request that at least two additional Inspectors may be appointed"¹. As I have argued in previous chapters, the Board and its chief officers had long recognized that it had too few inspectors for the existing ones to perform their work properly, but governments had steadfastly refused to add to their number. This time, however, the government acted promptly. In Cabinet on the 30th December it decided to appoint James Hosking immediately, and the appointment was approved in Executive

Council the next day. Hosking was notified on the afternoon of the 31st and, with the government's permission, released the information to the press. The Evening Journal carried the announcement the same evening. On 1st January, 1874, the Government Gazette included the official announcement, and on the next day the Board was informed (officially) of the decision. Hosking was formally on the staff on the department on the 1st January - before the Board was even notified. However, he did not receive the official letter of appointment until more than a week later². Certainly this government could not have been accused of ignoring the urgency of the request!

The manner in which the appointment was made, however, involved significant departures from established procedure and a breach of the Board's prerogative of participating in the appointment of its officers. The Advertiser claimed that the government's actions showed "scant courtesy" to the Board and suggested that if it continued to treat its boards thus, it would find great difficulty in finding capable and public-spirited men to fill them³. The Board clearly felt it most improper that it should learn of the appointment of a senior officer through the columns of the daily press and that the Gazette should carry the news before it had been informed. It therefore protested vigorously.

The government explained that it had been delayed in notifying the Board by the holidays⁴. However, the holidays had not prevented it from informing Hosking or from publishing it in the Gazette. In any case it seems at the very least a gross carelessness to permit the information to be released to the press before ensuring that the Board had been notified, even if only unofficially. These considerations raise the possibility that the government offered the Board a calculated insult.

In many respects Hosking's credentials for the position were impressive. Firstly, he was one of Adelaide's leading professionally trained teachers. As a licensed master he had been described by Wyatt as "highly trained" and praised for his success in raising a school of "more than ordinarily ill-disciplined" pupils to a "state of efficiency"⁵. Secondly, he had a long record of involvement in educational affairs outside the confines of his school. Initially he had been involved in the Preceptors' Association and had occupied the position of secretary during which time he had consistently pressed for higher educational standards in the colony. More recently he had been involved in the Philosophical Society to which he had delivered a number of papers on educational problems and needs. Throughout his career he had been a frequent contributor to the press on educational matters and had appeared as a witness

before the 1861 and 1868 Select Committees on Education⁶.

However since 1858 he had been a consistent critic of both the Board and the Chief Inspector and of their policies, practices and achievements. In particular he had criticised the methods of inspection, the tolerance of 'sub-standard' teachers and the lack of classification, timetables, and other aspects of organization in the licensed schools. He had attacked members of the Board in the early 1860s for their poor attendance at Board meetings and their willingness to delegate control of the department to the two senior officers, Wyatt and Wickes⁷. He had criticised the licensed schools in Adelaide for being socially exclusive, claiming in 1861 that there were:

large numbers of poorer children ... who, not possessing the silver key which opens the door of our public schools, range about like so many precocious 'Arabs'⁸.

He was a strong advocate of thorough reform of the state system of education in the direction of a much more powerful administration exercising more direct, detailed control of schools and teachers through minute inspection, along the lines of developments in Canada⁹. This policy was directly opposed to that of Wyatt and the Board and, taken together with his criticisms of both the Board and the Chief Inspector, led the Board to regard him as an unsuitable candidate for

so confidential a position as an Inspector, who has to be the eyes and ears of the Board, and upon whose reports the Board has to act with implicit confidence¹⁰.

Hosking's credentials must also be seen against the criteria deemed relevant to the position. Whilst 'reformers' of the period advocated the appointment of professional teachers as inspectors, those who had administered both the government and the department for the previous twenty years saw this as unnecessary - if not a hindrance. The task of inspectors in their view was to determine the eligibility of applicants for a licence, to check on teachers' attendance claims and to ensure that their schools continued to meet the desired standards, not to interfere in the running of the schools.

Thus when Governor Young appointed Wyatt as Inspector in 1851, he informed E.K. Miller, a rival applicant who was a trained teacher, that he considered it desirable that the inspector should be free from that commitment to a particular system which characterised every trained teacher. When second inspectors had been appointed in 1855 and 1860, candidates had included a large number of professional teachers as well as civil servants, clergymen and journalists. In 1855 the appointment went to an applicant from the Audit Department, whilst in 1860 the three most favoured candidates were a civil servant, a clergyman and an ex-clergyman turned journalist¹¹.

In the light of both the process by which the appointment was made and the department's doubts about Hosking's "suitableness",

the Board informed the government that it regarded the appointment as unsatisfactory. It requested the government to revoke the appointment, advertise the position and make a fresh appointment according to precedent in consultation with the Board. The government refused, stating that responsibility for the appointment lay clearly with itself. The Board responded by refusing to avail itself of Hosking's services, and the government demanded the Board's resignation. Four members resigned and the government immediately "removed" the other three. In their place it appointed a five member Board, Dr. Allan Campbell being the only member of the 'old' Board to be re-appointed. Within a month, however, he was joined by J.A. Hartley¹², another of the 'old' members.

This sequence of events had a number of implications for the relationship between the government and the Board. Firstly the Board's established prerogatives in selecting staff had been overturned. Secondly the position of the Board was no longer "essentially independent of the government" : if it did not accept government directives it could be replaced by one which would. Moreover the government appeared to be intervening in the details of administration and departmental structure in an unprecedented way, for when it appointed Hosking it also "suggested" that the Board restructure the inspectorate. Thirdly the conditions under which members of the Board held office had changed, as previously there had been no doubt about their

security of tenure.

The appointment of the new Board and the government's suggestions about the inspectorate foreshadowed changes in the administrative structure. The Board readily accepted the government's proposals to divide the province into three districts and appoint one inspector to each. This effected a significant change in the relations between the inspectors themselves and between them and the Board. Hitherto Wyatt had exercised direct authority over the Second Inspector and when Hosking was appointed he was instructed to place himself "under the orders of the Chief Inspector"¹³. Under the new arrangement each inspector would be directly responsible to the Board and would work independently of Wyatt's supervision.

Under Campbell's chairmanship the Board drew up a set of "instructions" for the "guidance" of the inspectors. These Regulations specified in detail the mode of inspection of schools and the form in which visits should be reported. They required the inspectors to submit their proposed schedule of visits to the Board for approval and to present a weekly diary of all their duties. They stipulated the hours the inspectors were to work and instructed them to waste as little time as possible travelling between schools¹⁴.

These Regulations had two major implications for the Chief Inspector. Firstly they further undermined his position in

relation to the other inspectors since previously he had determined their work patterns. Secondly they substantially destroyed his own autonomy and removed one of the key administrative procedures by which he had exercised a major influence over the shape of the licensed system. Previously he had kept detailed notes of his visits to schools and only reported his assessment of their merits to the Board. This deprived the Board of any means of deciding for itself which schools should be licensed. The new procedures required him to provide the Board with the details by which it could make that judgement.

The changes in the structure of the inspectorate and the new Regulations effectively demolished the position of Chief Inspector and transferred the headship of the department to the Board. Wyatt protested vigorously. He claimed that the Board had no authority to issue such instructions to him, or to deal with the other inspectors over his head. His responsibility, he argued, was to the Chief Secretary, not the Board. However, the Chief Secretary supported the Board and instructed Wyatt to accept its directions¹⁵. In parliament he informed Wentworth Cavenagh, a deposed Board member, that "the chairman of the Education Board is the head of the Education Department"¹⁶. Wyatt regarded the changes as a gross and unwarranted insult and a major demotion within the civil service:

I am the oldest officer in the service, by date of appointment, and among the few oldest by actual term of office. I have for twenty-eight years held the rank of head of department, and ... during thirty years have been appointed to a large number of honorary offices of great trust... I have been honoured with the personal approval of several of Her Majesty's Representatives ... and have never received any intimat tending to imply inefficiency or disapproval. Under these circumstances, and considering the change now made, ... I respectfully request permission to retire¹⁷.

The Board, "sensible of Dr. Wyatt's services as an inspector of schools", offered no objection¹⁸.

The Board, now under the chairmanship of Hartley, used the opportunity to further re-structure the department. When Dewhirst, Wyatt's long-standing deputy, applied for the position of Chief Inspector, Hartley declared the position abolished and refused him any seniority of rank. Instead the Board granted him an increase in salary in view of his long service and expectations of promotion. Henceforth there were to be three co-equal inspectors, all directly responsible to the Board¹⁹.

These changes in the administrative structure welded the Board and the officers of the department into an integrated body. Henceforth this can be referred to as the Education Department. Despite the transfer of authority to the Board its power was still threatened by the professional staff : honorary, part-time members could not expect to have as effective a grasp of daily business as full-time officers. To consolidate the

position of the Board the government proposed in parliament that the chairman should be paid an honorarium of one hundred pounds per annum. When Parliament rejected this the Board included a similar recommendation in a set of proposals for a new Act. The Education Department, it argued, should comprise a Board or Council and professional staff but the chairman (the President of the Council in its new terminology), who would be the head of the Department, should be a permanent salaried officer²⁰.

Even without this change the 'new' Board was able to exert considerable control over the details of administrative practice as well as educational policy, and it embarked on a radically different approach from that of its predecessor. As a member of the old Board, Hartley had pressed for a number of changes in policy. Licensed schools had been identified by an official 'Public School' sign. Teachers' examinations had been made more demanding and the practice of granting provisional licences to teachers who had not been examined had been discontinued. He had persuaded the 'old' Board to reconsider a number of possibilities which it had previously been compelled to reject. As a result, the Board had made new moves to pay and directly supervise pupil-teachers and assistant teachers and to rent accommodation for large city schools. Moreover the Board had reasserted its role in such matters as selecting materials for the Book Depot²¹.

The restructured Department was given a considerably greater capacity to develop and pursue such policies than its predecessor. The government substantially increased its grant for stipends, enabling it to offer higher rewards to teachers than had been possible for about eighteen years, and thus attract superior masters and mistresses. Special grants and implied powers to provide funds for repairs to District Schoolhouses and to offer large subsidies for school-buildings in major centres of population enabled it to upgrade school accommodation and, in the latter case, to assist in developing larger schools. Working class centres such as Moonta were thus provided with their first public school buildings. Moreover in Adelaide the Board was enabled to rent rooms for another large school, this time in east Adelaide. Finally it was enabled to pay pupil-teachers and assistants. Consequently it was able to press much more strongly towards its ideal of large schools, higher standards and more efficient organization, especially in Adelaide²².

The Department not only expanded the range of its initiatives in providing schooling, but intruded much further into the classrooms of the licensed teachers. In accordance with both its general ideology and the instructions given to Wyatt on his appointment, the department had previously simply "recommended" various practices, and attempted to impose financial sanctions against those who failed to heed them. The 'new' Board, however,

demanded such practices as classification, set timetables and a new form of discipline. At the same time it extended its control over the curriculum. It produced new regulations which defined the content of teaching more closely, adding a detailed statement of the content to be dealt with by each class to the broad definition of the subject areas to be covered. By asserting control over pupil-teachers and assistants the Department added a new dimension to its control depriving the master of a licensed school of his traditional authority over his staff²³.

These more stringent and detailed demands were reflected in the changed form of inspection, in the tone and content of inspectors' reports and in the altered relationship between the inspector on the one hand and the teachers and pupils on the other. To ensure that teachers adhered strictly to the new curriculum, inspectors examined pupils closely on the specific content defined in the regulations. They also noted carefully and in detail the provision of, and adherence to, timetables and other requirements, scrupulously pointing out any slight errors or deviations from the path laid down. Most noticeable was the changed tone of the reports. In particular, Emil Jung's first tour of the districts south of Adelaide produced a scathing indictment of the teachers which seemed to include even professionals who had enjoyed the 'old' Board's high esteem, such as James Bassett at Willunga. Hosking's reports also displayed the bluntness characteristic

of the new order; he reported that Henry Watson's Sheoak Log school had fifteen pupils, "ten in and five out of the classroom" and stated that "laughter and rudeness seemed to be the order of the day"²⁴.

To ensure that the new policies were strictly enforced, the Board exercised detail control over its Inspectors. These controls outlined in the Regulations for inspectors discussed above, were zealously implemented. In 1875 the Board received a complaint of misconduct concerning Emil Jung and immediately recalled him to Adelaide to answer the charges, censuring him severely for what it determined to be a slight - but none the less important - indiscretion and breach of the regulations. On other occasions the other inspectors were admonished for failure to record in the required detail their weekly activities, for failure to use prescribed forms of inspection and reporting and for other deviations from the new code²⁵.

The Board also extended its programme to upgrade the standard of the teachers. Apart from the moves to supervise pupil teachers and more strictly examine new teachers, the Board used the Model School as the 'old' Board had intended - as a means of providing some training and observation for untrained or prospective teachers. At the same time, it sought and obtained an assurance of funding for a project to establish a training school for teachers²⁶.

Finally the Board took steps to ensure its future freedom from the restraints of the existing Act and its dependence on special powers and legally doubtful extensions of its powers. It submitted a set of proposals to the government for a new Act which would give it the powers it needed to pursue fully the policies it had already begun to implement. These powers were largely incorporated in a new Act passed in 1875. That Act established a Council of Education under the leadership of a President who was a permanent full-time officer with unambiguous control over the Department. The Department had powers to initiate schools and enforce attendance of all children at school, to train and appoint teachers and to exercise minutely detailed control over teachers and schools. Inspection was closely supervised and controlled by the President and involved the careful scrutiny of a wide range of aspects of the conduct and performance of the schools. The tendency to reduce the autonomy of the schoolmasters and mistresses characteristic of the 'reformers' on the 'old' and 'new' Boards was greatly accelerated, teachers no longer being the proprietor-masters of their own schools, but employees of the Department²⁷.

These changes in the scope and content of educational policy and state intervention in schooling amounted to a thorough rejection of the model for educational development espoused by the 1851 Act and pursued by the Board and its officers until 1873, and the adoption of a radically different model. Such changes are

easier to describe than explain. However, a starting point may be found in an examination of the personnel involved in both the 'old' Board and the 'new' Board and its successor, the Council of Education.

A total of twenty-nine men served on the 'old' Board while a further ten were offered seats but declined them. A number of glimpses of their social life suggests that many of them were drawn from the colonial elite. Arthur Hardy, a member of the Board from 1856 to 1874, picnicked with the governor and his wife, was a founder of the exclusive Adelaide Club and with other notables such as Judge Cooper and R.R. Torrens, was one of the leaders of local society. W.C. Belt, chairman of the Board from 1856 to 1871, was one of the "squires" of the fashionable suburban village of Walkerville. He was a leading member of St. Andrew's (Anglican) Church which attracted wealthy colonists from a number of districts. His friends included the Chief Justice, the Anglican Bishop, the Hawkers, Robert Davenport, C.B. Young and others in the colony's 'best' circles. (Young, his near neighbour with whom he regularly attended church, was a large land owner and fellow Board member). His daughter married Robert Horn, a wealthy pastoralist, and the account of their wedding reads like a 'who's who' of colonial leaders. J.B. Hughes, on the Board from 1855 to 1857, had retired from his pastoral properties to live the life of a country gentleman

on his 350 acre estate at Woodville, several miles west of Adelaide. In keeping with his position as a leader of local society, he was a major benefactor of many projects: he built the local Anglican church, donated land for a school, provided the local railway station (on his property) and a village square. However, his activities were not confined to such local affairs. He was involved in the social and political life centred in Adelaide and hosted lavish entertainments for other members of the elite.

A closer analysis of the membership of the 'old' Board strengthens these impressions. Firstly many of them were men of large capital, especially landed capital. At least twelve members had substantial landed or pastoral interests, while one Board nominee was a partner in one of the largest pastoral firms and another was the manager of the South Australian Company. Several members also had extensive mining interests, including Arthur Clarke who was a director of the Moonta mine. Others had investments in merchant, finance and other forms of capitalist ventures. In keeping with their economic position a number of them were involved in the Chamber of Commerce which actively pursued the interests of large capital.

Secondly there were many members or nominees who were engaged in the civil service and the professions, sometimes in addition to investments in the field outlined above. Hanson,

Belt, Hardy and Andrews were all prominent lawyers, Duncan, Gosse and Moorhouse doctors, B.C. Young a surveyor and Wickes, Cawthorne and John Lorenzo Young leading schoolmasters. Dutton and Davenport had served with Inspector Wyatt as early Commissioners for the management of Adelaide's municipal government. Duncan, Gosse and Wyatt were involved in the Medical Board and many others filled a variety of positions on government boards. Members who held important civil service positions included Matthew Moorhouse (Wyatt's successor as Protector of Aborigines and later Chairman of the Destitution Board), Dutton, Davenport and Duncan²⁸.

Thirdly the Board represented those active in the political life of the colony, as members of parliament, Justices of the Peace and members of election committees. Sixteen of the thirty-nine who were members or nominees were either past or present members of parliament. Eleven had held ministerial office and four had led governments.

Their religious affiliations provide a final confirmation of their social positions. The Board was dominated by men who were active in the leadership of the elite Church of England or were Congregationalists. There were no Catholics, only one Lutheran (who resigned after one meeting) and, until the appointment of Hartley in 1871, only one Methodist, the Wesleyan, G.M. Waterhouse.

In terms of the prevailing ideology the Education Board, like

most other government boards, did not require the special expertise of professionals in the field - certainly not their control - but the efforts of capable public spirited men who could supervise the allocation of state funds to those schools which met specific criteria²⁹. Governor MacDonnell confirmed this view in a memo to B.T. Finniss, the Colonial Secretary, when looking for a person to fill a vacancy on the Board: "Ask Mr. J.B. Hughes - he is a man of education with time at his command"³⁰.

The men of the 'new' Board appear to be drawn from a rather different social background. Hartley, a relatively recent arrival in the colony, was unconnected with the leading social circles. Way's father was a respected Bible Christian preacher, but not a part of the colonial elite. Von Treuer, a German, had been an assistant teacher and junior post office clerk. Campbell's and Barlow's families are difficult to trace suggesting that they, too, came from 'lesser' social positions. The only apparent exception is W.D. Glyde. His father was an 'old colonist', a merchant and prominent member of Parliament. However, he was associated with Reynolds and Santo who had been linked with the Political Association and were excluded from the most influential circles. This picture of the origins of the 'new' Board also appears to apply to the two additional appointments to the Council of Education which replaced the Board from 1875 to 1878. Murray appears to have come from a petty

bourgeois background while Salom, as a Jew, was almost by definition, excluded from the elite. This analysis is confirmed by the religious composition of the new group. In contrast to the 'old' Board, dominated by Anglicans, the 'new' Board was dominated by members of the less prestigious Methodist churches³¹.

All these men, however, were highly successful in their field. Hartley had established himself as a leading figure in education. Way was a leader in the legal profession. Campbell and Barlow were on the threshold of prominence in medicine and law respectively. Glyde was a successful corn merchant while Murray and Salom were making the transition from shopkeeper and auctioneer respectively to merchants. The 'new' men, therefore, appear to have been drawn from the 'middle ranks' of society, but were men about to attain positions of great influence in the life of the colony.

This change in the composition of the Board points to more fundamental changes in South Australian society. Most historians dealing with the period have noted significant changes in important aspects of colonial life. However they have dealt with them separately and there has been no major attempt to integrate them into an overall pattern. While much work is needed on nineteenth century South Australian social history before a thorough synthesis can be made, enough has been done to permit a tentative mapping of the field.

E.S. Richards shows that the manufacturing sector of the economy expanded considerably during the rural depression from about 1865. At the same time the rural economy was changing with the decline of the old wheat growing lands and pressure from farmers to expand into pastoral areas. In the pastoral industry drought placed increased pressure on outlying properties and led to a concentration of control and a rationalization of holdings under the large pastoral companies such as Elders. Thus the relationship and balance between these three facets of the economy was changing markedly³².

There were also significant changes within the organization of production especially in manufacture, agriculture and pastoralism, although mining, a traditional large-scale employer of labour, remained relatively unchanged. Pastoral production became more capital intensive with the increasing use of fences and wells. At the same time, there were important changes in the composition of labour : more skilled workers, such as drillers and fencers replaced shepherds, the lowliest sector of the rural workforce. In farming the more extensive use of machinery meant less demand for unskilled labour on large farms, while drought and crop disease meant even less demand for casual labour on smaller properties. In contrast, the increasing number of manufactories, including a few relatively large establishments in both Adelaide and the country, meant that more labour was employed in this sector. Within the working class new forms of organization were developed, and broad-based unions appeared alongside the older craft

unions. These new unions were more militant and conducted a number of successful strikes for better wages and conditions, and the period saw the beginning of the eight-hours-day campaign in South Australia³³.

These economic changes were accompanied by political ones. Jaensch notes changes in the composition of Parliament from the late 1860s to about 1880 and claims that there was a growing "fear of urban domination over the settled interests of the land"³⁴. Urban seats in the Lower House were held increasingly by smaller commercial and manufacturing interests while non-metropolitan seats were more often represented by urban rather than rural interests. By 1881 urban capital had forced changes even to the land-dominated Legislative Council³⁵. This shift was not simply a matter of urban and rural differences : the Register saw the 1870 election for East Adelaide, for example, as a conflict between capital and labour³⁶.

Within parliament these changes are more difficult to interpret. The dominant view suggests that parliamentary behaviour and organization are best accounted for in terms of factions. In the 1870s, new factions and new leaders were emerging, partly with the influx of new members following the enlargement of the House of Assembly in 1875, and partly with the death or retirement of some older leaders. The struggle between factions is seen principally as a competition for the benefits of office rather than the result

of differences in principle. This suggests that there was little link between sectional or class interests and legislation and consequently that attempts to show such links are futile³⁷.

This interpretation is based principally on the lack of correlation between voting patterns and the occupations of members, and the consistent appearance of groups of members representing diverse occupations, voting together. It can be challenged on a number of grounds. Firstly the use of simple occupational categories as the basis for analysis may mask important differences between those grouped together. To list McEllister and Angas as pastoralists, or Ayers and Way as lawyers is misleading. It ignores the fact that McEllister was only a marginal pastoralist in the outlying areas while Angas held large tracts of some of the best land in the colony and had extensive interests in other sectors of the economy; similarly Ayers was perhaps the major representative of mining interests whereas Way had no such connections. The fact that McEllister voted differently from Angas, or Way from Ayers, does not so much suggest the lack of class or sectional interests as the fact that they reflected different interests. Secondly it is not necessarily reasonable to expect that similar interests will vote together or contrary ones against each other: within a particular sectional interest there may well be alternative strategies or alternative tactics for dealing with an issue. Hirst shows how John Hart, for example,

introduced a radical land reform Bill into Parliament with the intention of producing a conservative law³⁸. Political tactics dictated that he voted in apparent contradiction of the interests he represented and a similar case is discussed below. Thirdly while the basis for various factions is never adequately explained, it appears that at least some groupings can be identified with particular interests. Reynolds, for example, appears to have provided a degree of leadership for those who were associated with the Political Association around 1860. It therefore seems dangerous to conclude that sectional interest was not a significant factor in shaping parliamentary organization and behaviour.

A fruitful and perceptive alternative line of analysis is provided by Bowes' account of land legislation in the 1860s and the role of pastoral interests in shaping it³⁹. He demonstrates that when confronted with an issue directly bearing on their economic position the representatives of pastoralism in parliament organized themselves and developed policies and strategies for defending their interests. Moreover, he is able to relate this to the opportunism and battles for the spoils of office others have seen as the major feature of politics in the period. It is possible that an extension of this form of analysis to parliamentary activity as a whole would provide a rather different picture from that presented by Jaensch and others. In the light of the economic changes discussed above, and other developments considered

below, it is quite possible that the shift of power to new men and groups in the 1870s will prove to reflect changes in the balance of power between different sectors of capital and between capital and labour.

Such changes are certainly implied in a number of speeches and letters by J.P. Boucaut, one of the leading politicians of the period. Boucaut spoke openly of class conflict, especially between large capital on the one hand and small capital and labour on the other and presented himself as the champion of farmers, manufacturers and workers. In a series of letters to a trade union leader at Moonta he argued the necessity of an alliance of these groups in order to make significant social, economic and political gains. His supporters appear to have been drawn from these groups and from amongst the urban professionals. From the beginning of his political career he enjoyed the support of the Political Association while in 1874 McArthur, the Moonta trade unionist, informed him of a plan to form a state-wide alliance of trade unions to support him and his programmes. His parliamentary allies included Samuel Way, a rising lawyer, Ebenezer Ward, a notable - or notorious - land reformer and spokesman for the small farmers, and John Colton, a successful Adelaide manufacturer and small scale merchant⁴⁰.

Political changes in the leadership of Parliament were, according to Hawker, paralleled by changes in the leadership of

the civil service. Until the 1870s the top positions in administration were in the hands of members of the 'establishment', while recruits to the middle and lower ranks were more likely to be drawn from small bourgeois, professional and petty-bourgeois families. By the 1870s, however, the leadership of the service passed into the hands of men from less prominent backgrounds. The internal structure of the service was also reorganized, strengthening the positions and career potential of those in the middle ranks⁴¹. Such changes may well have reflected the interests and ambitions of the groups whom I have identified as newly powerful.

Some of the social implications of these changes may be seen in the area of religion. The Congregational Union dominated by men of capital, declined markedly in political influence. While Congregationalists were a small minority (never as much as five per cent of the population), until the 1870s they held about one sixth of the Lower House seats and one third of the Upper House. After the early 1870s, however, their representation dropped. At the same time there was a shift in the leadership of the church and in its policies and preoccupations. During the same period the power of the Anglican church was declining while the Methodists were gaining in political strength⁴². Given the social bases of these denominations, these changes point in the same direction as the evidence drawn from the economy and political life: a decline in 'establishment' power and a rise in

the position of the smaller bourgeoisie and those associated with them.

As these groups began to challenge the economic and political dominance of the 'establishment' they began to articulate ideas and policies which conformed more closely to their own interests and needs than had the dominant ideology. From the beginning of the colony, for example, free trade had been a cornerstone of economic orthodoxy. This principle favoured the interests of important sectors of large capital and discriminated against those of manufacturers and the working class. Despite this, it was widely accepted by small capital and labour⁴³. By 1869, however, a Chamber of Manufactures had been established, one of its aims being to press for a tariff policy which would support the development of manufacturing in the colony. It further disregarded the principles of a marketplace regulated only by the laws of supply and demand by arguing that the government should introduce bounties for the development of viable new industries. When the 'establishment' dominated Hart government introduced a new tariff in 1870, it defended its actions on the grounds of expediency. In contrast representatives of manufacturing and their allies welcomed it as a victory for protection, applauded it as a matter of economic principle, and proclaimed the decline of the free trade ideology. A few years later a speaker at the annual dinner of John Lorenzo Young's Educational Institution looked forward to the formation of a

protectionist ministry under the leadership of one of the guests⁴⁴.

There were also important changes in the way the economic future of the colony was conceptualized. Before 1870 the rural sector was seen as the basis for economic development, whereas after 1870 a much more significant role was ascribed to manufacturing. William Marcus, for example, argued in 1876 that no nation could become great on the basis of a primary economy alone and saw manufacturing as the means of employing the growing numbers displaced from the rural sector. Within the rural sector small scale farming was seen as the key which must take pre-eminence over pastoral industry in political and economic decision making. Thus the Register had long inveighed against "the incubus of the landed interest", while Marcus presented a glorious vision of a boundless countryside dotted with the homesteads of prosperous independent small farmers⁴⁵.

These changes in power and ideology were reflected in legislation and other aspects of state policy. The tariff introduced in 1870 was retained in subsequent years as a matter of policy and funds were made available for the bounties desired by the Chamber of Manufactures. The laws regulating access to land were also changed significantly. A number of 'establishment' governments had been placed under great pressure to introduce reforms in this area since the existing laws heavily favoured

pastoralists, land dealers and financiers at the expense of farmers. Hart and Strangways both introduced legislation designed as 'holding operations' to provide concessions to farming interests without deserting pastoral interests completely⁴⁶.

The complex processes of economic, political, ideological and social change tentatively sketched above provide a context within which to interpret the changes in the Education Department from 1874. In analysing these changes in education, two important strands can be distinguished: the articulation of a distinct and coherent new educational ideology and a struggle for the power to implement it.

Between about 1855 and 1865 there were a number of challenges to the system established by the 1851 Act. From 1855 the Anglican church led by the Reverend E.K. Miller, pressed for a denominational system. From 1859 the Catholic church campaigned for the state to support denominational education or else withdraw from the field altogether. In 1861 the Reynolds government introduced a Bill to limit severely the scope of state educational involvement in urban areas as a prelude to complete withdrawal, while in 1863 Francis Dutton moved that the government should stop all its educational spending. None of these moves, however, was successful⁴⁷. There were also a few tentative suggestions that the state should develop a more comprehensive system of 'national' education. These appeared most particularly

at election times, and none of them was developed as concrete proposals in the form of parliamentary Resolutions or Bills. However most effective moves to influence the scope of state involvement in schooling took the form of budgetary restrictions⁴⁸.

These initiatives to limit the existing system came from a number of sources. Budgetary cuts were supported by a number of 'establishment' figures and representatives of farming and small capital who argued that the state needed only minimum involvement to ensure that education fulfilled its functions, and that additional spending was unproductive and therefore wasteful. Denominational proposals were an alternative means to the same basic end which the 1851 Act proposed - small-scale state intervention to support private initiative - but because they threatened the principle of separation of church and state, they received little support. The major proposal to withdraw from education came from the Reynolds' government which enjoyed the support of those sections of the working class and small capitalists represented in the Political Association. Reynolds argued that educational funds were largely wasted since they were spent in urban areas where schools could support themselves, and in supporting unnecessarily advanced forms of teaching. Dutton's move reflected the belief of some sectors of the 'establishment' that the stability of the society and the success of democracy were no longer dependent on state-supported education. Thus there were no consistent sustained class-based attempts to

challenge the existing system, and critics were drawn from all sectors of the society.

With the exception of the moves for the state to withdraw from all educational activities, none of these moves actually challenged the basic assumptions on which the existing system was founded. These included the right for the state to act where necessary for the protection of the society, the essentially moral and religious nature of education, and the roles of private and state action in providing schooling whereby the state offered support for private initiative. Thus the ideology on which the 1851 Act was based largely shaped the terms of educational debate until at least the mid-1860s.

There were a number of voices which suggested reforms which would have extended the state's initiative in schooling beyond the limits set by the prevailing ideology. In 1857 the Register argued for a more comprehensive system of 'national' education and cited Canadian developments as a possible model. In 1861 it published a series of articles on the education systems of other countries and again recommended the Canadian model. James Hosking used the Preceptors' Association as a platform from which to generate pressure on the department to develop a more intensive control over the schools through more detailed, comprehensive regulation and inspection. He advocated the use of trained professional teachers as inspectors, since they could draw on their expertise in directing teachers more closely in the methods

and techniques they should adopt. Such policies implied a radical extension of the authority of the state over the schools and their teachers⁴⁹. However there was no consistent coherent ideology of 'progressive' reform. In contrast to its arguments for an extension of the state system, the Register opposed the Board's proposal to build the first of its Model Schools as a repudiation of the principle of 'self-help'. It attacked Hosking's efforts through the Preceptors' Association, claiming that the Association was "more notable for the time consumed than for the amount or importance of the business transacted"⁵⁰. Also when the Reynolds Bill was presented to parliament the Register offered its qualified support. However, it followed up with criticisms and argued that any move towards voluntary education in the city would inevitably lead to a disastrous decline in educational standards⁵¹.

Not only did the advocates of 'progressive' reforms appear inconsistent and confused but they seemed a small, unorganized minority. In particular, they comprised the Register and a few, seemingly isolated urban professionals, teachers and small capitalists. Among them were James Hosking, the future Education Department inspector, and William Townsend a former Chartist shoemaker who had become a successful city auctioneer.

Despite the inconsistency and lack of coherence, certain characteristic concerns and lines of argument were established

which were significantly different from those of the 'negative' reformers and the defenders of the established system. Firstly, there was a commitment to an extension of the state's role, one that implied a far more intense control over the schools receiving its financial support. Secondly there was a commitment to a more thoroughly secular form of education: if education was to be 'national' it must not offer offence on religious grounds, to anyone. Thirdly there was a stress on urban needs which was quite alien to other educational arguments.

By the late 1860s many of these changes were impinging on the articulation of educational ideology and practice. Firstly the sustained economic depression from about 1865 until after 1870 - especially in drought and rust affected rural areas - placed a considerable strain on state finances. The Education Department consequently lacked the funds it believed were necessary to attract 'good' teachers and build better schools. At the same time, rural and working-class poverty meant that many potential or actual users of the licensed schools found it more difficult to afford the fees needed to obtain trained teachers or to send their children regularly over a long period, even if they desired to do so. As a result of these two factors, the standards of the licensed schools declined rather than improved. Supporters and critics of the system both recognized that it was largely failing to achieve its goals.

Secondly the effects of widespread unemployment - poverty and distress - were most apparent in Adelaide, where working-class unrest came to be seen as a threat to social well-being and order. The difficulties facing working-class parents were also seen to affect their children, many of whom were said to be seriously neglected or else morally and physically degraded and poisoned by their social environment. Referring to those who had been placed in the Industrial School at Magill, the Register claimed that they were "a very inferior type ... (with) sickly or vicious parents born and nurtured in filth and wretchedness, fed with unwholesome food, seldom breathing pure air and utter strangers to cleanliness"⁵². One of the effects of such a background, observers claimed, was that these children were not properly supervised or educated. In 1868, T.S. Reed, the chairman of the Destitute Board, claimed that a very large number of Adelaide working-class children received no schooling at all⁵³. Others pointed to the large number of "arabs" who "spend their hours idling about the streets, gaining lessons in the science of larrikinism, and many of them graduating for the profession of crime"⁵⁴. This social problem thus became a problem for the education system for, it was argued, these children could be saved by the good influence and training of the schools, if only the schools could reach them. The growth of more militant working-class organizations and action after 1870 and the renewed sense of threat which an uneducated and

therefore irresponsible working-class posed to 'social harmony' and the interests of capital gave added urgency to this problem.

Thirdly, manufacturers and others who saw the growth of manufacture as the key to economic growth began to articulate a role for education in supporting that development. The Chamber of Manufactures heard and published a paper on the need for "technological education". In parliament Thomas Johnson, an Adelaide shoe manufacturer, argued that education should be designed to make mechanical occupations "less unfashionable", and to teach every boy a trade or business, while the Register foresaw schools making "every shepherd a botanist and explorer". Such arguments attempted to define a new function for education, and some teachers took up the challenge. William Fogg, a licensed teacher, claimed that "the cost to the state of a liberal, primary and technical education will be a profitable investment for the country"⁵⁵.

Some of these concerns had already been central to the interests of educational 'reformers', in particular, the problems of urban working class children and the problem of standards in the licensed schools, while the newly articulated function for education in contributing to economic development was readily absorbed into the existing list of concerns. Overseas developments also affected the development of the ideology of progressive educational reform. The Franco-Prussian war, for example, was held to have important implications for education : the German

soldiers were better than the French because they were better educated⁵⁶. However overseas models of economic, social and educational development appear to have exercised more influence on the reformation of educational ideology in South Australia than this interpretation of German military strength. Many who saw secondary industry as the key to colonial development cited the United States and Germany as evidence of the importance of manufactures for economic growth⁵⁷. Similarly, educational reformers appealed to models in Canada, the United States and Germany to show how educational improvements could be achieved. After 1872 the Victorian Education Act provided a model from much nearer home, with the added bite of inter-colonial rivalry as an incentive to match it⁵⁸. Although these models had been developed in response to somewhat different problems, they were taken as examples of 'progress' and their solutions applied to local needs.

The ideology identified the major problems and areas of concern for a state educational system and shaped both the educational solutions to those problems and the administrative machinery needed to implement them. The central problems it defined were the need to ensure that urban working-class children received adequate schooling, the need to raise the standards of the schools and the need to ensure that the education given was appropriate to the needs of the society. Schooling had to be made available to all and, to ensure its acceptability to all,

it needed to be secular in its content. Raising standards meant employing only competent, trained teachers working under the close direction of inspectors who were themselves experienced professional educators. There was a degree of ambiguity in defining what comprised 'appropriate' education. T.S. Reed, principally concerned with the problem of urban working-class children, stressed the need for "training" rather than "teaching", but when the principal concern was with the new economic function of schools the stress was on the need for a thorough grounding in areas well beyond this⁵⁹.

Reformers argued that a much stronger centralized Education Department would be needed to implement these policies. In particular it would need powers to establish schools and compel parents to send their children to them. A number of reformers argued that to ensure that the schools were effectively open to all they should be free. However the issue was strongly debated, and free education was never established as an essential tenet of the reform ideology. Most reformers did agree that the Department should have power to train, appoint, inspect and closely control teachers, minutely define their methods and content of instruction and the forms of classroom organization. This implied a larger number of inspectors, closer forms of inspection and power to enforce the Department's will on schools; a curriculum which was much more closely defined, and at the same time more extensive than

previously. To meet the new economic function of education, for example, Hartley recommended that "provision should be made for the establishment of technical schools for instruction in agriculture, mining and other industrial pursuits".⁶⁰ There was also some debate over the means by which such a system was to be implemented. In particular the financial crisis of the late 1860s led men like Boucaut either to ignore the problems of funding or imply local funding, while in most discussions the issue was rarely raised⁶¹.

At the same time as the ideology was growing in internal coherence and comprehensiveness it was gaining in political strength. Firstly those most actively involved in articulating it were becoming organized. The Register, of course, needed no organizing. On the other hand, the previously unorganized teachers, professionals and other urban advocates of reform found a platform in the Philosophical Society. By the mid-1860s they were actively pressing the cause of educational reform along Canadian lines through papers and discussions in its meetings. Hosking left the Preceptors' Association and joined the Philosophical Society later becoming its secretary. Through it, he joined forces with such other intellectuals and professionals as the Anglican Dean of Adelaide and old time 'radicals' from the ranks of the small capitalists, like C.S. Hare. It was through the Philosophical Society, too, that T.S. Reed first drew attention to the 'problem' of unschooled working-class children in Adelaide.

The Register played an important organizational role in publicising these debates through reports and editorials. By 1870 there was a strong campaign organized by the same group now under the banner of the "Educational Reform Association" to promote the cause⁶².

Secondly the ideology gained power by attracting the support of other broader social groups whose interests or concerns it reflected. Its promise of a definite solution to the urban working-class problem attracted support from philanthropists and 'child-savers', and from members of the 'establishment' alarmed at the prospect of social disorder. Its attempt to grapple with the need for technical education must have appealed to those sectors represented in the Chamber of Manufactures. The offer of free, government-provided schools in first class buildings and under highly competent masters must have appealed to the urban professionals, petty bourgeoisie and artisans who were the 'licensed schools' main clients, since it would raise the standard of their schools while lowering the cost to themselves. It is important to notice that these groups were among those which were enjoying new-found economic and political strength.

The ideology of reform enjoyed far from universal support however. In particular, small farmers seem to have overwhelmingly rejected it as expensive, providing a form of education for which

they saw no need and which failed to teach their children the religious truths of the bible. Both the Register and the Advertiser agreed that country districts were generally opposed to compulsory schooling and many country meetings in 1873 rejected the new Education Bill⁶³. Members of the 'establishment' also largely rejected the new ideology and continued to support their existing model of how education should develop. However, many of them also recognized that the system was under great pressure and that some changes were necessary. In particular they supported some form of increased incentive to parents to send their children to schools, through local education rating or compulsory attendance legislation⁶⁴. Some 'establishment' figures provided some support for the reformers however. Henry Ayers, the key figure in the affairs of the Burra mines, for example, advocated reform, while the Moonta mine directors took steps to ensure that the miners' children received a thorough elementary education. The mines refused to employ any child who could not show that he was regularly attending night school and many reformers hailed their decision as a form of compulsion. However, it is also clear that the directors were firmly opposed to any developments which might impinge on their 'right' to the daily work of as many child-labourers as they might require⁶⁵.

The years 1868 to 1875 thus witnessed a prolonged battle over the 'education question' - a battle to determine which social groups

and which ideology would shape the future of state intervention in schooling. Unlike the challenges to the 1851 Act in earlier years which were fought out largely in terms defined by the 'establishment' ideology, the battle was now conducted on grounds determined by the advocates of reform. The existing system could be shown to be failing to deal with the central social problems of the day to which education was applicable, while solutions to those problems were central to the reform position.

Inside parliament the battle began with the establishment of a Select Committee on Education in 1868. Its chairman was the pastoralist Alex Hay, and members included principally other pastoralists and farmers. Witnesses included members of the Education department, reformers such as Hosking, T.S. Reed, Frederick Basedow and J. Tenison Wood, the head of the newly formed Catholic education system, and other representatives of the churches, capital and education. Much of the evidence was highly critical of the department's system, and pointed to its failure to reach the urban poor, to enforce high standards and the associated poor standards of teachers and inadequate inspection. Proposals for change, however, differed widely. Wyatt and the new Secretary of the Board, James Bath, suggested moderate extensions to the department's powers and more money to allow it to function 'properly'. Tenison Woods, the Catholic leader, argued for closer inspection, trained teachers and a more concerted effort to reach the poor, but added that this should be undertaken by the churches with state

support. William Kay, a member of the 'establishment'-dominated Chamber of Commerce, and James Allen, an Adelaide pharmacist and notorious 'voluntaryist', argued for complete 'free-trade' in education. Finally, a number of representatives of teaching and other professions advocated the replacement of the existing system with one which would boldly extend the scope of state intervention along Canadian or Prussian lines. Most of those who dealt with the problem of children receiving little or no schooling advocated some form of compulsion, either directly or in the form of incentives such as local rating⁶⁶.

When the Committee brought down its report, however, it kept closely to the model embodied in the existing Act. As the Register commented, it made a number of suggestions for reform, but "threatened no violence to the existing system"⁶⁷. More funding to enable the system to provide better inspection and attract better teachers, the erection of central schools for the urban poor, and some stimulus to local initiative in the form of local rating were the main changes recommended⁶⁸. All except the last of these were in fact well established elements of education department policy. The representatives of the 'establishment' combined with those whose rural interests were largely met by the existing system and for whom any extension of state educational activity would be considered unproductive to defend the existing order.

Probably the most important consequence of the 1868 Select

Committee was the fact that the problem of unschooled urban working-class children was established as the major concern. Hirst argues that the problem was seen in urban rather than rural terms principally because the colonial elite lived in Adelaide. Thus it was the urban problem which was most visible to the men who mattered politically. Yet as Hirst himself points out, they had always lived there whereas until about 1867 they had seen the problem of educational provision chiefly in rural terms⁶⁹. Reformers on the other hand had drawn attention to the urban problem as early as 1859. The new concern with urban needs on the part of the 'establishment' clearly represented more than a matter of residential location.

Important developments were taking place outside of parliament. In response to this new perception of the problems the education system was called on to deal with, a number of 'establishment' leaders joined forces with reformers in a series of private initiatives to provide schools for those too poor to assist themselves. 'Ragged' schools, often free and with an explicitly religious curriculum, were established in many working-class areas - Norwood, Port Adelaide, Brompton, North and South Adelaide in particular⁷⁰. The motivation for such 'establishment' figures as John Hart and George Fife Angas is suggested in a speech by Hart at an annual public examination of the Port Adelaide 'ragged school', of which he was a major sponsor. 'Voluntaryist' efforts,

he claimed, could meet the needs of the urban poor more cheaply and efficiently than government schools, and were not burdened with the need to remain secular but could openly inculcate the truths of religion.* James Bath further spelled out the implications of such ventures for supporters of the existing model of educational provision : at the opening of the Norwood 'free school' he claimed that if there were more such initiatives further state intervention in education would be unnecessary⁷². Reformers however claimed that the need to provide such schools demonstrated the inability of the licensed system to meet the needs for which it was established. The licensed schools "have failed to recommend themselves" to the urban poor, argued the Register⁷³. What was needed, therefore, was a system which would function effectively and reach them. Significantly, however, the reformers did not intend to wait for their schools to 'recommend' themselves - they would compel attendance.

Within parliament there were further moves. In 1869 reformers like Boucaut adopted the tactic of joining forces with the opponents of all state funding to try to cut the funds for the Department still further, rendering the system even less workable and thus increasing the pressure for reform. On the other hand, 'establishment' figures like W. Kent-Hughes and John Hart pressed for legislative reform which would attempt to meet the problems apparent in the system while safeguarding the interests of those who saw an

expansion of state educational spending as hostile to their interests. Kent-Hughes introduced a resolution worked out by the Anglican synod for a denominational, payment-by-results system involving close state inspection of secular teaching and an examination in a prescribed curriculum while leaving a large share of the financial and administrative burden of the system on private bodies. The following year Hart's government introduced a Bill for a 'national' system of education. This was a long way removed from the reformers' concept of 'National' education, however, and envisaged the withdrawal of all state aid from education except for rural districts and the urban poor. In many respects it did little more than the Reynolds Bill had proposed in 1861. Kent-Hughes' resolution was easily defeated, while Hart's Bill lapsed when parliament was dissolved after a no-confidence motion in the government⁷⁴.

In the debate outside parliament the reformers were on the attack, especially through the columns of the Register. Firstly they attacked the system and its achievements. They claimed that the licensed system had done little to increase the relative proportion of children in schools from 1852, and again stressed the problem of the urban poor. They claimed that in fact many of the licensed schools in the city actively discouraged such children, preferring to appeal to a more financially rewarding clientele. They claimed that where the department had developed

schools it had failed to enforce suitable standards. Many of the teachers were untrained and inferior in character; the Register pounced on the case of a master licensed in the south east on local recommendation who, it was discovered, had recently been released from a Victorian gaol where he had served eight years for assault. Many of the schools were not only poorly accommodated but ill-equipped and badly organized and conducted. This, reformers claimed, was not simply because of inadequate funds to attract superior teachers, but because the department was content merely to licence a school and then leave it to its own devices. Instead, they suggested, it should enforce classification, timetables, good discipline and other aspects of school procedure by means of detailed inspection and the exercise of close control over the teachers⁷⁵.

However the reformers did not confine their criticisms to the system created by the 1851 Act alone. While recognizing that the department was hampered by lack of funds, the Register attacked the Board for "supinely acquiescing in the parsimony of the government" and not adopting a more aggressive stance. It argued that the Board could have removed such difficulties "long ago" if it had "set its face determinedly in the direction of reform"⁷⁶. Commenting on the Board's "fatal hostility to innovation" it suggested that it was "too much to expect of a dignified Board that it should put itself out of the way to carry out new ideas",

describing it as "somnolent", content to work on in a "sluggishly devised groove"⁷⁷. Basically then the Board, rather than the Act, was responsible for retarding the development of education in the colony: it was "King Log ... that incarnation of slothful incompetency which has so long brooded incubus fashion over the brain of the colony"⁷⁸. Wyatt too came in for criticism, and when he retired in 1874 the Register, while acknowledging his public service in a number of fields expressed its belief that he would have acted in the best interests of education if he had retired long before⁷⁹.

When the Department was not under fire, the government or other representatives of the 'establishment' were. Thus the Anglican proposal for reform later embodied in Kent-Hughes' education motion in parliament was contemptuously dismissed as "one more denominational scheme", and a later editorial suggested that the real problem was not the place of religion in school, but whether large numbers of children "were to be allowed to grow up in ignorance, adding to our criminal population"⁸⁰. Hart's 1871 Bill was similarly rejected and comprehensive reform along Canadian lines again recommended. Finally the governments of 1872 and 1873 were frequently attacked for not introducing the required Education Bill⁸¹.

This pressure was not without its effect. It clearly contributed to the various moves by 'establishment' leaders to

provide some sort of changes as a 'holding operation' in much the same way it had done in the fields of land and tariff policies. To do nothing while the credibility of the existing system was so much in doubt would not have been politically wise. . It also kept the focus on the 'urban' problem and gained a degree of support from within the 'establishment' itself. C.H. Bagot, an early political leader, pastoralist and developer of the Kapunda mines, declared his support for the reform financed by direct taxation if necessary. The Congregational and Baptist churches also changed their education policies to support the development of secular state education in order to meet these problems. It is not clear, however, to what extent these changes represented a shift by 'establishment' figures, or their defeat by new leaders within the sphere of church politics⁸². The ideological pressure within the debate was reinforced by the pressure of social changes. In particular a number of successful strikes over wages and conditions in the early 1870s produced a considerable response from a number of representatives of capital who had shown no interest in education reform previously. They asserted that a thorough training in discipline through the schools would ensure a properly subordinate workforce⁸³. While not necessarily supporting the ideology of reform they nevertheless joined forces with those who did in order to make the system more effective. Finally the growing political power of those who

supported the ideology of reform meant that they increasingly appeared able to force through their own measures.

In 1873 the Chief Secretary Arthur Blyth, a consistent supporter of increased educational expenditure over many years, successfully piloted a 'free, secular and compulsory' Bill modelled on the 1872 Victorian Act through the Lower House. Free education, however, was not even acceptable to all advocates of reform. In the Upper House, opponents of reform argued that free education would pauperise the recipients and teach them to rely on charity rather than their own disciplined effort. It would probably require direct taxation - which would fall most clearly on themselves. The Bill was narrowly defeated. In 1875 there was a new election with an expanded Lower House and new electoral boundaries. There were significant changes of personnel, and a change of government followed almost immediately⁸⁴. The new government of J.P. Boucaut introduced a new Bill to embody the principles of the reform ideology. It provided for compulsory education for all within reach of a school (but allowed enough absences to permit farmers' sons to help with the harvest and other seasonal work). It provided for popular education under the close control of a Minister and a strong Council of Education with a permanent professional head and powers to establish schools and inspect them, train and appoint teachers and frame curricula. A major omission from the Bill of 1873 was the 'free education' clause.

The evident need for some reform, the weight of numbers committed to the reform ideology, the fact that the omission of the 'free' clauses threatened fewer financial interests, and the subsequent inclusion of a bible reading clause which placated some religious interests helped secure the passage of the Bill through both houses⁸⁵.

Two other factors were probably also critical. Firstly, as Hirst has argued, the more buoyant state of the economy was crucial in providing the financial means by which the central government could undertake such a scheme. In the early 1870s it lacked the revenue to embark on a more comprehensive system of education without resorting to local rating and its concomitant, local control, or else sacrificing other projects. By 1875, however, rising customs receipts and expanding land sales enabled the government to expand its financial commitments to education without such expedients⁸⁶. However, in the light of the considerations discussed above, this factor seems most important in explaining the timing of the new Act rather than either its general form or the pressure which produced it.

Secondly, the Bill left most of the details of the system to be determined by regulations. This minimised the potential for opposition to the Bill by leaving out many contentious issues which might have provided a focus for attack and alienated some 'establishment' supporters. Indeed, many later criticisms of the

system can be traced to the fact that supporters of the Bill did not expect it to produce the degree of centralization of control the regulations permitted. E.K. Miller much later observed that many who helped the Bill pass would not have done so had they foreseen the way the power to use the regulations would be applied⁸⁷.

By 1875, then, the central features of the reformers' model were embodied in a new Education Act. Historians such as Pike and Saunders have attributed these changes to the overwhelming recognition of the failure of the existing system⁸⁸. Against this, however, must be set Hirst's judgement that there was enough local support for education to provide the basis for a viable form of locally-based education of the sort provided in the 1851 Act⁸⁹. There was also a considerable degree of support for the old system amongst teachers and members of the 'establishment'. As late as 1875 claims were still being made that the old system could provide adequately for the colony's needs with only minor changes. In contrast to the Register's thinly-disguised pleasure at the news of Wyatt's retirement, no less a representative of the 'establishment' than John Howard Angas praised Wyatt's work and affirmed his belief that the system he had superintended was adequate to the colony's needs. A number of the licenced professional teachers made him a retirement presentation in which they affirmed their satisfaction with his performance as Chief

Inspector. Similarly the Advertiser's reaction to the confrontation between the government and the Board in 1874 showed that it had few criticisms of the Board, implying that its members were capable public spirited men. Although the Advertiser, like the Register, was critical of the state of public education it saw no need for the radical reforms which were being urged⁹⁰.

A considerable degree of opposition to both the principles and practices of the reformers' system accompanied this continued support for the old system. The Advertiser severely criticised the Board's regulations for the inspectors in 1874: such detailed controls were unnecessary and probably harmful to the cause of education and the morale of the officers of the Department. It described them as tending to "red tape", and suggested that they should be treated as "suggestions" rather than as "inflexible rules". It offered no support for the reformers' model of close control by the Board over the details of the inspectors' work, regarding them as co-workers with the Board rather than as servants:

The Inspectors, from their position and attainments, are supposed to be gentlemen; and why should they be tied down, as we believe no other officers in the Civil Service are ...? This is not to treat them with confidence, but rather with that mistrust which in turn begets further mistrust⁹¹.

The Evening Journal, which first published the news of Hosking's appointment, also implied its divergence from the reformers' line

of the qualifications required for the position, suggesting that "in some respects it might have been better to secure the services of a gentleman of higher attainments as a scholar"⁹².

Finally there was a considerable section of the licensed professional teachers which saw no improvement in the new system - a system which threatened their status as independent professionals by making them employees of the state. Robert Mitton, for example, consistently attacked Hartley for his strong centralization of control. Others, like James Bassett, expressed their concern at the extent of the inspectors' interference in the running of their schools, and their insistence on 'arbitrary' standards and forms of organization. Some such teachers had in fact been vocal in their opposition to the reforms introduced from 1874 ever since they had first been urged in the late 1850s⁹³.

The establishment of a new form of state education system through the 1875 Act thus appears as the end result of a protracted and complex process involving widespread social changes. This analysis of these changes provides a framework within which to situate the 'Hosking affair' at the beginning of 1874. In particular, it throws light on the timing of a number of incidents, the personnel involved, and the significance of the ideas espoused by the various participants in the events.

The Education Bill which the Blyth Government had introduced and successfully piloted through the Lower House was defeated in

the Upper House on 18th December 1873. The Education Board's next meeting was six days later, and it was at this meeting that the Board decided to apply for the appointment of additional inspectors. Moreover, the initiative for this move came from J.A. Hartley, one of the leading advocates of reform. The government acted with great haste in making the appointment: the Board's letter was received on 24th December, discussed at the next Cabinet meeting on 30th December, and approved in Executive Council the next day⁹⁴. It seems inconceivable that the government did not discuss the matter with Hosking before the 30th, to be certain that he would fill the position. It also acted with great speed to ensure that Hosking knew of the appointment the same afternoon, and yet it failed to employ the same haste in dealing with the department. Finally, the appointment was made without referring the matter to parliament to obtain funds to provide his salary.

Once the Board was advised, the response of members throws further light on the matter. The two reformers on the Board, Hartley and Campbell can hardly have been dismayed at the prospect of having an additional inspector whose views accorded so well with their own. However, at the first Board meeting after the appointment, they were both active in condemning the government. Of the three motions opposing the government's action, Campbell moved one and seconded another, while Hartley seconded two. In subsequent proceedings, the Board passed two more motions condemning the

government and one confirming its own course of action. Hartley moved one and seconded another. Thus it seems that the reformers themselves were very active in helping the Board to its confrontation with the government. Despite their apparent opposition to the government, they were the only two who were re-appointed after the 'old' Board was removed. Campbell in fact, served as the first chairman of the 'new' Board. Hartley was not re-appointed until about a month later when he immediately took Campbell's place as chairman⁹⁵.

Once the 'new' Board was established, it worked in close harmony with the government in pursuit of the same educational aims. To achieve its new goals, however, it was necessary to restructure the department in order to wrest control over administrative procedure from Wyatt the head of the department. As I have shown, Wyatt exercised considerable authority over the Second Inspector (and by extension, the third) and a high degree of control over the processes by which policies were put into practice. For example, he determined the form of inspection, and kept detailed records of his visits to schools, but simply reported his final assessment of the schools to the Board. The Board was therefore unable to make its own, independent judgement of the state of its licensed schools. The Board took a major step towards asserting direct control over procedure with its Regulations for Inspectors. These removed Wyatt's authority over the others and

bound all inspectors to furnish the Board with detailed reports according to a minutely regulated format which the Board itself framed.

Despite these internal changes to the education department, both government and Board were largely constrained by the legal framework provided by the 1851 Act, although the government did sanction additional powers on an ad hoc basis. However, the existing provisions lacked many of the ingredients which the reform ideology demanded, such as the power to establish good schools where parents failed to do so, and to compel parents to send their children to school regularly over a prolonged period. The full unfettered implementation of the new educational ideology would require a new Education Act.

This interpretation of the 'Hosking affair' suggests that it was grasped - if not actually created - by the reformers to achieve the ends which had been thwarted by the conservative Legislative Council. This view receives some support from the reformers themselves. The Register, for example, had conducted a sustained campaign against the Board and on occasion pressed the government to dismiss it as a means of injecting some new life into the department, and it welcomed this confrontation as an opportunity to do so⁹⁶. Subsequently William Bunday, the Minister for Justice and Education in the Blyth government which introduced the 1873 Bill,

claimed that while there was little point in re-introducing the Education Bill into an unchanged parliament :

a great deal of energy was introduced into the Education Department; and it was not fair to say that the government had not taken steps to alter the system ...⁹¹.

The events beginning with Hosking's appointment thus appear to be part of a major process of social change, in which part of the changing relationships between classes and between different sectors of classes was fought out over the Education Department. The old established representatives of property not only wielded disproportionate economic power, but dominated the state legislature and administration. They used their control to shape state activity in ways which were consistent with their own interests as conceptualized in terms of their ideology. By the 1870s they were being challenged in a number of fields. However, governments, such as those of Arthur Blyth and J.P. Boucaut, which represented these newly powerful groups, were not always able to impose their will on the more 'establishment'-dominated Upper House. In 1873, the Blyth government sought to secure educational change along the lines of a 'new' educational ideology informed by the needs of these challenging groups, through an Education Bill. When the Bill was defeated in the Legislative Council, the government seized on - if it did not actually create - an opportunity to restructure the Department by administrative means, as an alternative

path to reform. This limited 'advance' did not satisfy reformers as a long-term solution, however, and a further education reform Bill was introduced in 1875, and its successful passage through parliament provided reformers with a secure basis from which to proceed.

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Conclusion

The analysis of the development of state intervention in education under the Central Board of Education which I have presented in this thesis suggests the need for substantial revision of the existing interpretations of colonial education during the period. Most importantly, it suggests the need for a reconceptualization of the problems historians have explored and of the explanatory categories they have used. It also indicates the need for research in a number of areas to provide a more secure and adequate basis for exploring these issues more thoroughly.

The work of Pike and Saunders suggest that the 1851 Education Act was essentially a compromise between liberals and voluntary-ists over the place of religion in education and the respective roles of church and state in providing schools¹. I have argued, with Gouttman², that there was in fact a broad consensus among the leaders of colonial society about the need for schooling the poorer sectors of the society in order to secure a moral working class and hence a particular form of social order. However, Gouttman considers the establishment of the 1851 Act only in the context of the political debate among colonial leaders, whereas I have argued that it must be seen as the attempt to develop a particular form of schooling in a society which already supported a range of educational forms. While Gouttman pays some attention

to the form of education to be provided, in relation to the functions it was to perform, his focus on the 'politics of education' consigns this aspect of the analysis to a subordinate role. I have argued that it was central.

The explanations offered for the failure of the 1851 Act also require revision. The political constraints under which the Board worked are commonly recognized, but the failure of local initiative has been taken for granted in most accounts. Pike and Saunders, especially, accept that 'parental apathy' was a major problem³; only Hirst⁴ has suggested that this explanation does not bear thorough examination. I have argued that this issue is crucial: the conditions under which the bulk of the population lived made the form of schooling promoted by the Act ill-suited to their needs. Most historians have also portrayed those responsible for administering the Act as inept, mediocre and lacking any concern for efficiency⁵. In contrast, I have argued that they were strongly committed to a particular view of education which embodied well defined standards, and showed a marked concern for efficiency. Their administration was shaped, not by a lack of vision, but by their adherence to a particular vision of the legitimate role of the state and of the way good education could be fostered. Wyatt, for example, developed the methods of inspection which historians, following some contemporaries, have criticized, not because "he lacked

completely any constructive plan for education"⁶ but because he had a quite definite plan.

Similarly, this study has important implications for the analysis of the 1875 Act. Pike, Saunders and others working within their general interpretative framework, have claimed that the failure of the 1851 system finally forced voluntaryists to come to terms with liberal ideas and to form a consensus with liberals in order to secure good public education⁷. Goussman's argument that the withdrawal of Catholics into their own system removed the need to maintain a religious compromise within the public sphere⁸ can be seen as an elaboration of one element of the 'consensus' interpretation. However, I have argued that no such consensus existed about the form of schooling, and that there were two competing strategies for provided education by the late 1860s. Hirst has argued that the 1875 Act was primarily a response to the needs of urban education. The buoyancy of state finances in 1875 permitted it to fund a massive increase in educational expenditure without imposing direct taxation. A long tradition of central government initiative, often responsive to local needs, predisposed colonists to accept a greater centralization of control over education, the political corollary of central funding⁹. While this argument is crucial to the timing of the Act and helps explain the locus of control, it does not fully account for the new form of state intervention or for

the mode of central control it imposed. I have argued that there were deeply rooted social changes from the mid 1860s which generated new social problems, transformed the dominant ideology, and shifted the balance of political power. The formation and implementation of a new strategy for state intervention, including a new mode of control over the schools, was an integral part of those changes. However, the precise links between them and that mode of control are as yet unclear.

These revisions depend on a reconfiguring of the central problems defined by the historians. The central problem for Pike, Saunders and Gouttman, in particular, is the formation of a rational consensus concerning the development of an adequate system of public education, a consensus which was inhibited by conflict over the issues of church and state, voluntarism and liberalism. The concept of 'public education', however, is taken for granted to mean something similar to the form enshrined in the 1875 and 1878 Education Acts. By failing to ask questions such as 'good for whom?' and 'good in what sense?' they have sidestepped the crucial issue of the determinants of educational choice and the possibility that other forms of education may have been more closely attuned to the needs and cultural values of significant sectors of the society. This failure allows them to accept without question the judgement of nineteenth century colonial leaders that the poor were 'apathetic' about education. Moreover, it allows them to focus on the church-state issue as

central conflict inhibiting the development of public education. A critical examination of the concept of 'public education', however, places that issue into a different perspective as a conflict within the dominant class about the means by which it could intervene in the socialization of the children of the poor to secure a social order which reflected its own interests. The consensus which many interpretations have suggested was a broad social consensus was thus a consensus within a particular social class, set in the context of deeper social tensions.

This reformulation of the central issues in the history of 'public education' suggests important areas for further study. In the field of education history, narrowly defined, there is a need for a thorough study of the range of educational options available to colonists, the factors which shaped their choices, and the impact of 'provided' schooling on their educational practices. Such work needs to be located within a fuller understanding of the structure of colonial society and its transformations throughout the period. Fundamental to such an understanding are analyses of the economy, the family, patterns of culture, and the state and other structures through which power was exercised. Recent work by Connell and Irving provides at least one model of how such analyses might be structured¹⁰.

Such a framework should take the understanding of nineteenth century schooling well beyond the Whiggish notion that 'real'

public education was established in 1875 and indicate clearly the role of schooling and other institutions in the reproduction and transformation of social life.

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APPENDIX I : Members of Central Board of Education and Attendance at Board Meetings

	<u>Appointed</u>	<u>Resigned/Retired</u>	<u>Number of meetings held while Member of Board</u>	<u>Meetings attended</u>	
				<u>Number</u>	<u>per cent</u>
Andrews, R.B.	15 May 1856	5 May 1864	241	41	19.2
Barlow, W.	2 February 1874	-	81	75	92.5
Barrow, J.H.	3 December 1868	30 September 1872	99	71	71.8
Belt, W.C.	20 December 1854	11 May 1871	449	343	76.4
Brown, J.	10 May 1860	2 February 1874	305	166	54.4
Campbell, A.	9 June 1873	2 February 1874	23	16	69.6
	2 February 1874	-	81	54	66.7
Cavenagh, W.	14 May 1863	5 February 1874 ¹	252	190	75.4
Cawthorne, W.	15 April 1852	23 April 1853	59	47	79.7
Clarke, A.S.	5 February 1866	3 December 1868	63	42	66.6
Cumming, P.	15 April 1852	21 September 1854	131	121	92.4
Davenport, S.	2 March 1854	20 April 1863	287	97	33.8
Duncan, H.	15 April 1852	15 January 1853	44	31	70.5
Dutton, F.S.	15 April 1852	21 September 1854	131	107	81.7
Glyde, W.D.	2 February 1874	-	81	64	79.0
Gosse, W.	14 May 1853	24 November 1873	549	318	57.9
Hanson, R.D.	15 April 1852	23 April 1853	59	3	5.1
Hardy, Arthur	24 September 1857	5 February 1874 ¹	391	233	59.6
Hartley, J.A.	11 May 1871	2 February 1874	76	67	88.2
	12 March 1874	-	76	76	100.0

¹ dismissed

	<u>Appointed</u>	<u>Resigned/Retired</u>	<u>Number of Meetings held while Member of Board</u>	<u>Meetings attended</u>	
				<u>Number</u>	<u>per cent</u>
Hughes, J.B.	24 January 1855	18 August 1857	102	64	62.7
MacDermott, M.	24 February 1853	31 October 1859	279	176	63.1
Moorhouse, M.	24 February 1853	16 December 1857	171	120	70.2
	19 September 1859	10 May 1860	14	3	21.4
Newenham, C.B.	24 February 1853	28 December 1854	96	61	63.5
Paisley, J.C.	16 April 1857	21 September 1858	59	47	79.7
Schomburgk, O.	15 April 1852	21 April 1852	1	1	100.0
Scott, H.	5 January 1874	5 February 1874 ¹	6	6	100.0
Von Treuer, A.	2 February 1874	-	81	76	93.8
Waterhouse, G.M.	29 May 1852	4 September 1852	20	15	75.0
Way, S.	2 February 1874	- ²	81(51)	36	44.4(70.6)
Wickes, E.W.	15 April 1852	2 February 1854	99	91	91.9
Williams, J.	5 May 1864	23 August 1869	113	55	48.7
Wright, S.P.H.	9 May 1859	6 November 1865	130	85	65.4
Young, C.B.	9 June 1870	2 February 1874	108	74	68.5
Young, G.	28 September 1854	25 March 1856	59	27	45.8

¹ dismissed

² stopped attending 22 February 1875; the Board reported Way resigned, but I have found no trace of an official resignation.

Sources : Minutes, and S.A.G.G.

APPENDIX II : Board Meetings and Attendances

Year	Number of Meetings	Total possible Attendance	Aggregate Attendance	Attendance Rate per cent
1852-3	59	364	275	75.6
1853-4	52	364	309	85.0
1854-5	47	314	212	67.5
1855-6	39	268	167	62.3
1856-7	37	257	146	56.8
1857-8	41	283	130	45.9
1858-9	35	241	110	45.6
1859-60	27	194	88	45.4
1860-1	21	147	77	52.4
1861-2	17	119	69	58.0
1862-3	15	105	54	51.4
1863-4	21	147	77	52.4
1864-5	19	133	79	59.4
1865-6	18	123	66	53.7
1866-7	20	140	81	57.9
1867-8	22	154	99	64.3
1868-9	25	175	111	63.4
1869-70	27	184	105	57.1
1870-1	24	165	120	72.7
1871-2	27	189	143	75.7
1872-3	26	168	129	76.8
1873-4 ¹	23	159	125	78.6
1874-5 ²	49	289	235	81.3
1875 ³	32	192	133	69.2

¹ Board resigned or dismissed by 2 February, 1874.

² February 1874 - February 1875.

³ February 1875 - September 1875.

Source : Minutes and S.A.G.G.

APPENDIX III : Annual Education Estimates : 1853-1875¹

(figures in pounds)

Year .	Total	Stipends	Destitute Children	Buildings	Administration
1853	6646	5000		1000 ²	596
1854	10845	9000		1000 ²	845
1855	10765	8250		1000	1515
1856	12716	8625	500	2000	1591
1857	11761	8625	500	1000	1636
1858	16647	11000	500	3500 ³	1647
1859-60	16157	12500	550	1500	1607
1860-61	14491	11750	700	500	1541
1861-62	15117	11500	1000	1000	1617
1862-63	15117	12000	1000	500	1617
1863-64	15037	12000	1000	400	1637
1864-65	15537	12500	1000	400	1637
1865 ⁴	17638	14000	1000	1000	1638
1866	18807	15000	1000	1000	1807
1867	23326	17000	1000	3500 ⁵	1826
1868	21164	17000	1250	1000	1914
1869	21164	17000	1250	1000	1914
1870	19584	15500	1250	1000	1834
1871	20034	15500	1750	1000	1784

Year	Total	Stipends	Destitute Children	Buildings	Administration
1872	20056	15500	1750	1000	1806
1873	25126	17500	1750	4000 ⁶	1876
1874 ⁴	24906	20000	2000	1000	1906
1874-75	39384	27000 ⁷	2250	7500 ⁸	2634

Source : Estimates of Ways and Means, S.A.P.P. (annually)
1852-1874.

¹ 1852 not included: compiled prior to 1851 Education Act. Figures exclude sums voted for education outside the Central Board.

² Allowed for as interest on the proposed Bonds.

³ Includes 2000 pounds for large town schools.

⁴ Estimates for half year only; figures have been doubled.

⁵ Includes 2500 pounds for Model School and Teacher's Residence.

⁶ Includes 3000 pounds for Model School.

⁷ Includes 2000 pounds for pupil-teachers.

⁸ Includes 2000 pounds for Training School, 3000 pounds for large municipal schools, 1500 pounds for repairs to District Schools.

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